The Iveagh Trust of Dublin: A Constructed Community, 1889-1939

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Declaration

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Summary

In November 1889, it was announced that Sir Edward Cecil Guinness (later Lord Iveagh), would donate £250,000 for the 'amelioration of the condition of the poor labouring classes of London and Dublin'. The gift was split unevenly between the two capitals; London received £200,000 while the remaining £50,000 was allocated to Dublin. It was from this gift that the philanthropic housing trust, the Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust of Dublin, was established.

This thesis will provide a comprehensive history of this philanthropic housing trust. It will map its history from its announcement in 1889, and consequent establishment in 1890, to circa 1939 – the first fifty years of its existence. This will be carried out by viewing the development of the Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust from three standpoints – structural, organisational and communal. It will demonstrate that such philanthropic housing institutions, founded in the late Victorian period, were not just about bricks and mortar. Instead, the Trust constructed a self-reliant community that has flourished into the present day.

Oftentimes, the history of philanthropic housing institutions of this period are written as precursors to the welfare state, as a cog in a progressive wheel that led to state provision of housing. It is assumed that philanthropic housing providers such as the Iveagh Trust ceased to function effectively as government incentives to house the working class became widespread. This assumption is incorrect. The mere fact that the Iveagh Trust has remained an operating body, still providing housing for those in need throughout the twentieth and twenty-first century, is telling of this. Furthermore, the shortfalls of philanthropic housing trusts such as the Iveagh Trust are normally highlighted in historiography, maintaining that they were unable to solve the problem of housing the working classes entirely - an assertion that further enhanced the argument for state-intervention. It is imperative to consider the Trust's primary aim: to *ameliorate*, meaning to *make better*. Philanthropists of the time knew they could never completely resolve the problems of those they sought to help. Rather, they attempted to *make better* their present conditions. In addition, the history of philanthropic housing trusts has often been written within the context of wider

issues of public health, poverty and urban development and growth. While these are necessary approaches to take, it is imperative that Victorian philanthropic housing providers are studied in their own right, detailing the part they played, however small, in 'ameliorating' the working classes. Therefore, it is only by researching individual housing trusts that the true essence of life within them can be unveiled. By examining the Iveagh Trust *from the inside*, with access to private records previously untouched, this thesis aims to challenge these approaches and demonstrate that the Iveagh Trust was more than just a provider of working class housing - it was a community.

A focal point of this thesis is centred on the Trust's objective of amelioration. It will trace the structural amelioration of both landscape and working class homes. In addition, it will investigate the Trust's aim to ameliorate the working class individual. Analysis of mortality rates within the community, compared against those in neighbouring areas, will reveal that the Trust was successful in its primary aim. Moreover, an objective of philanthropists of this period was to ameliorate working class souls. Research into this aspect was carried out by assessing the rules and regulations that were enforced upon the philanthropic gift's recipients, and the actions taken to curb certain 'immoral' practices.

In order to trace the history of the Iveagh Trust from its foundation, it is necessary to inquire into the motivations of its founder. This thesis draws on wider discourses that dominated the mentalities of the time, while also exploring the political, religious and social attitudes and assumptions of the Trust's founder, Edward Cecil Guinness (later Lord Iveagh). Furthermore, this thesis examines the organisational structure and progress that the Trust underwent during this period. Explorations into the motivations of the founder and organisation of the Trust benefit from the use of two theories: Mauss' theory of 'the Gift', which argues that the gift relies on the principle of reciprocity, that creates mutual obligations between giver and receiver, and the 'Social Control' theory, which contends that social order was maintained not only by legal institutions (such as prisons, the police force and judicial system), but by social institutions too, with measures of social amelioration and reform acting as enforcers of social order and the maintenance of the status quo.

The history of the Iveagh Trust is the history of philanthropy in its many guises. This thesis will demonstrate that while the initial philanthropic gift was one of magnitude, philanthropic giving did not stop with its benefaction. Rather, a 'lateral philanthropy' can be seen throughout the Trust's make-up; investigation into the relationships that were fostered between administration and resident, and among neighbours, will reveal this. Moreover, a central component of this thesis is to examine the community constructed from the establishment of the Trust. This is a history of a community, and the intricacies of such will be explicated here.

Research into this constructed community of the Iveagh Trust has been made possible by gaining access to the Trust's private archive. The material found here has been a cornerstone of my research. However, this archive has its faults; it is uncatalogued, unorganised and many documents are in a very frail state. As such, research from this private archive has been complemented by further research carried out in other archives, such as London Metropolitan Archive (LMA), Dublin City Archive (DCA), Guinness Brewery Archives (GB), the National Archives of Ireland (NAI) and the National Library of Ireland (NLI). In addition, various online historical resources were used, such as the Censuses of Ireland 1901 and 1911, the Bureau of Military History, Military Pension Records and Soldiers' Wills records, to name a few. Furthermore, interviews were conducted with past and present residents and staff of the Trust, in order to add some depth and colour to the often black and white histories of these philanthropic housing trusts. It is hoped that this thesis will set the impetus for further research into individual housing trusts, *from the inside*, by using private archives, to reveal the communities that were created as a consequence of their establishment.

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List of Abbreviations

ASU	Active Service Unit
ARDP	Association for the Relief of Distressed Protestants
COS	Charity Organisation Society
DADC	Dublin Artisans Dwellings Company
DCA	Dublin City Archive
DED	District Electoral Division
DIB	Dictionary of Irish Biography
DMP	Dublin Metropolitan Police
DORA	Defence of the Realm Act
GSA	Guinness Storehouse Archive
ITA	Iveagh Trust Archive
ITGWU	Irish Transport and General Workers Union
HAS	Husband Away at Service
LGB	Local Government Board
LMA	London Metropolitan Archive
NAI	National Archive of Ireland
NCO	Non-Commissioned Officer
NSPCC	National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children
ONB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
RSPCA	Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals
TB	Tuberculosis
TCD	Trinity College Dublin

List of Charts

Chart 1. Population: People housed by the Guinness Trust, London and Dublin, 1890 - 1902 136
Chart 2. Iveagh House Demand, 1906 – 1939 161
Chart 3. Iveagh House Demographics: Age and Marital Status 164
Chart 4. Iveagh House Demographics: Birthplace 165
Chart 5. Iveagh House Demographics: Birthplace abroad 165
Chart 6. Iveagh House Demographics: Birthplace within Ireland 166
Chart 7. Iveagh House Demographics: Religious affiliation 167
Chart 8. Iveagh House Demographics: Occupation 168
Chart 9. Iveagh Play Centre: Attendance 176
Chart 10. Iveagh Baths: Annual Attendance 180
Chart 11. Male Applicants: Origins - DED 195
Chart 12. Female applicants, 1913-23 against level of Irish male recruitment during Great War, 1914-18 202
Chart 13. Female Applicants: Origins – DED 203
Chart 14. Female applicant: Income, 1890-1939 (sample) 205
Chart 15. Occupation: New Bride Street vs. Bull Alley estate, 1911 212
Chart 16. Mortality Rates: Guinness Trust (Dublin) vs. wider districts, 1893-1902 235
Chart 17. Mortality Rates: Iveagh Trust vs. wider districts, 1903-1922 240
Chart 18. Mortality Rates: Iveagh Trust vs. wider districts, 1923-39 242
Chart 19. Mortality Rates: Iveagh Trust vs. wider districts, 1890-1939 243
Chart 20. Religion: New Bride Street dwellings, 1901 and 1911 307
Chart 21. Religion: Dublin Corporation Bride's Alley dwellings, 1911 308
Chart 22. Religion: Bull Alley dwellings, 1911 309
Chart 23. Religion: Bull Alley dwellings, 1911 310
Chart 24. Religion: Corporation Brides' Alley dwellings, 1911 311
Chart 25. Eviction: Reasons, Blocks A – E, New Bride Street, c. 1897 – 1930s 339

List of Images

Image 1. Edward Cecil Guinness, 1st earl of Iveagh 12
Image 2. Iveagh Trust Private Archive 28
Image 3. A Box from the Iveagh Trust Private Archive 30
Image 4. Montagu William Lowry Corry, Baron Rowton 116
Image 5. Charles Thomson Ritchie, Baron Ritchie of Dundee 119
Image 6. David Robert Plunket, Baron Rathmore 121
Image 7. Thomas Court Buildings 133
Image 8. Aerial View of the Iveagh Trust Bull Alley Scheme 154
Image 9. Iveagh House: The Cafeteria c. 1955 157
Image 10. Iveagh House: The Billiard Room c. 1955 159
Image 11. Iveagh Play Centre 172
Image 12. Iveagh Play Centre: Cooking class 174
Image 13. Nellie's Flat: Main room (a) 254
Image 14. Nellie's Flat: Trinkets and Tales 255
Image 15. Nellie's Flat: Main room (b) 257
Image 16. Nellie's Flat: Main Room (c) 258
Image 17. Nellie's Flat: Kitchen larder 259
Image 18. Nellie's Flat: Bedroom 1 260
Image 19. Nellie's Flat: Bedroom 1, additional kitchen appliances 261
Image 20. Nellie's Flat: Bedroom 2 261
Image 21. Nellie's Flat: Dressing Table 262
Image 22. Nellie's Flat: Religious Iconography 263

List of Tables

Table 1. Guinness Trust Dwellings: London and Dublin Funds, 1890-1902 135
Table 2. Iveagh Trust Dwellings: Bull Alley and New Bride/Kevin Street 153
Table 3. Iveagh House: Demand, 1906 – 1939 160
Table 4. Iveagh House: Occupation and Religion 169
Table 5. Iveagh Play Centre: Attendance Figures, 1915-1939 175
Table 6. Iveagh Baths: Annual Attendance, 1909 – 1939 179
Table 7. Mortality Rates: Guinness Trust vs. wider districts, 1890-1902 234
Table 8. Mortality Rates: Iveagh Trust vs. wider districts,1903 – 1912 237
Table 9. Mortality Rates: Iveagh Trust vs. wider districts,1913-1922 239
Table 10. Mortality Rates: Iveagh Trust vs. wider districts, 1922-39 241
Table 11. Iveagh Trust Bull Alley: Occupation and Religion, 1911 314
Table 12. Iveagh Trust New Bride Street: Occupation and Religion, 1911 315

Table of Contents

Declaration

Summary ii

Acknowledgments v

List of Abbreviations vii

List of Charts viii

List of Images ix

List of Tables x

Introduction 1

- Aims and Objectives
- Historical Context
- Historiography of the Iveagh Trust and other philanthropic housing organisations
- Sources and Limitations
- Timeline, 1890-1939
- Thesis Structure

1. The Gift – Philanthropy and the Iveagh Trust 38

1.1. The Iveagh Trust as an emblem of Victorian Philanthropy 42

1.1.A. Victorian Virtues, Values and Respectability
1.1.B. Philanthropic Housing Ventures in the Victorian Age
1.1.C. Merchant Princes: The 'Beerage'

1.2. The Initial Gift 67

1.2.A. The Announcement of the Gift
1.2.B. Controversy and Criticism
1.2.C. Suggestions: Grasping at Philanthropic Straws

1.3. The Irony of Giving 77

1.3.A. Displacement of Peoples
1.3.B. Displacement of Culture
1.3.C. Double Standards: Beer Money and Tenant Sobriety

1.4. The Reciprocal Gift 92

1.4.A. Marcel Mauss and the theory of giving
1.4.B. The Iveagh Trust, the theory of gift giving and the expected return

1.4.C. Moral Improvement or Social Control?

2. Origins and Establishment 107

2.1. First Steps: The Deed of Trust 108

2.1.A. The Deed of Trust
2.1.B. The Trustees
2.1.C. Administration and Organisation in Dublin: the DADC

2.2. Action, 1890-1903 128

2.2.A. The London Fund
2.2.B. The Dublin Fund
2.2.C. Reflections

2.3. Severing Ties: The Split Between London and Dublin 138

2.3.A. Park Life: St. Patrick's Park
2.3.B. The Dublin Improvement (Bull Alley Area) Scheme, 1899
2.3.C. Separation: The Establishment of the Iveagh Trust

2.4. Rebirth: The Establishment of the Iveagh Trust 151

2.4.A. Shelter: Bull Alley dwellings and Iveagh House: the Hostel
2.4.B. Amenities: Iveagh Play Centre, Baths and Market
2.4.C. Beyond 1922: Iveagh Trust initiatives in Independent Ireland

3. The Amelioration of the Poor 189

3.1 The 'poorer of the working classes' 191

3.1.A. Origins – The Application Form
3.1.B. Economic Demography
3.1.C. The Iveagh Trust Rent Policy

3.2 Structural Amelioration 215

3.2.A. Slum Structure
3.2.B. Iveagh Trust Structure
3.2.C. A Structural Saviour or a Structural Disaster?

3.3 Amelioration of Health 228

3.3.A. The Guinness Trust Years, 1890-1902

3.3.B. The Iveagh Trust Years, 1903 – 1922
3.3.C. Health in a New Age, 1923-1939

3.4 Amelioration of Quality of Life: Making the House a Home 244

3.4.A. Materialism and Design and its impact on working class interiors
3.4.B. Desire and Need: The Trust's opinion of working class interior needs
3.4.C. Nellie's Flat: A Case Study

4. The Community 266

4.1. A Constructed Community 268

4.1.A. The Construction of a Community – An Examination
4.1.B. Social Constructionism – The Iveagh Trust as a 'true' community
4.1.C. The Selective Application Process

4.2. Maintenance of a Community 282

4.2.A. Conditions of Occupation
4.2.B. Shared Space, Shared Responsibility
4.2.C. A Watchful Eye: Official Supervision

4.3. Experiences of Community 297

4.3.A. Working for the Iveagh Trust: Staff on the Ground
4.3.B. Inclusivity in the Iveagh Trust: Religious Demographics
4.3.C. External Influences: The impact of wider political and social events on the Iveagh Trust staff and residents

4.4. Community Spirit 326

4.4.A. Lateral Philanthropy
4.4.B. Organised Community Spirit
4.4.C. Rule Breakers within the community

Conclusion 344

Appendices 351

Bibliography 365

Introduction

In November 1889, it was announced that Sir Edward Cecil Guinness, of the renowned brewing dynasty, would donate £250,000 'for the amelioration of the condition of the poor labouring classes' of London and Dublin, through the provision of structurally sound, clean and affordable housing.[1] The gift was split unevenly; £200,000 was allocated to London, with the remaining £50,000 given to Dublin. It was from this £50,000 gift that the Guinness Trust (Dublin Fund) was established, which in 1903 became the Iveagh Trust. Guinness, 'having long felt the gravity of the evils which result from the insanitary and insufficient accommodation supplied to a large number of the poorer of the working classes', established the Trust with the amelioration of the entirety of the working class individual in mind.[2] He sought, with the provision of improved dwellings, to make better their conditions, including 'their modes and manner of living … by giving them facilities … for obtaining the means of subsistence and the necessaries and decencies of life'.[3] Not only would the new Trust concern itself with the construction of new dwellings, but all that encompassed the creation of a community; an interest was taken in the 'convenience, health, comfort, moral welfare and improvement of their tenants and their families, and others whether tenants or not'.[4] The construction of these new dwellings in gated estates in the heart of Dublin would not only impact positively on both the urban landscape and the health and living standards of the tenants themselves, but also on the construction of a community which subsequently thrived within its walls.

Aims and Objectives

This thesis examines the history of the first fifty years of this philanthropic housing venture, from the announcement of the gift in 1889, and consequent establishment in 1890, to 1939. Over the course of these fifty years, the Trust

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[1] *The Guinness Trust (Dublin Fund) Deed of Trust,* 2 April 1890, BA/BX/1/A/ [ITA], hereafter *Deed of Trust (Dublin)*; *The Guinness Trust (London Fund)* 4 February 1890, LMA/4656/A/01/001 [LMA].
[2] Preamble, *Deed of Trust (Dublin Fund)*.
[3] Section 1 (a), Ibid.
[4] Section 3 (a) (3), Ibid.

evolved from a sizeable monetary gift to a fully established community, equipped with not only dwellings for the working classes of Dublin, but also recreational facilities that became key institutions of working class socialisation in Dublin. The period 1889-1939 also encompassed an array of wider political, social, economic and cultural transformations. It was during this period that Ireland gained independence, and Dublin, once a 'deposed capital', morphed into the first city of the Free State.[5] Theories on how to alleviate poverty, and who was to alleviate it, also evolved; for the most part, reformers of the late nineteenth century gravitated towards private forms of poverty alleviation, through independent, people-led philanthropy, while in the twentieth century, and particularly from the 1920s with the establishment of the Irish Free State, state involvement in social issues and poverty amelioration became a common feature in the amelioration of distress. Particularly, ideas on urban working class housing provision transformed; in the late nineteenth century, the housing for the urban working class in Dublin was predominantly focused in the inner city, although there were those who advocated for working class suburbanisation. By the establishment of the Free State, however, the idea of providing homes for the working class on the outskirts of the city, in specialised suburbs, became the norm.

This thesis will provide the first comprehensive analysis of the Iveagh Trust in its first fifty years. Analysis will be carried out through the prism of a 'social looking-glass', as a microcosm of wider Dublin, from three standpoints – structural, organisational and communal: a consideration into the physical development of the Trust, and its impact on Dublin's landscape is imperative. Additionally, this thesis will look at the Trust from an organisational vantage point, questioning how the Trust was administered and maintained. Furthermore, this research investigates the Trust from a communal perspective, examining the network of relationships that were formed as the Iveagh Trust community matured, along with community members' experiences and interactions with wider events of a political, social and economic nature. Researching the Iveagh

[5] See Mary E. Daly, *Dublin: The Deposed Capital, A Social and Economic History, 1860-1914* (Cork, 1984).

Trust from these perspectives will reveal the intricacies of philanthropy, housing provision and communal life during this period.

Central to the establishment of the Iveagh Trust was the concept of philanthropic giving, a practice that became an inherent element of public culture during the late Victorian age. This thesis will explore the mentalities and attitudes of the period, with particular reference to how the working class and poverty were understood. Indeed, the history of the Iveagh Trust is the history of philanthropy in its many guises. Defined as 'love of one's fellow man', Prochaska reckons that this definition of philanthropy implies a 'personal relationship' and therefore it is 'useful to think of philanthropy broadly as kindness'.[6] Thus, with this understanding, this thesis is a study of such relationships, between the giver of philanthropy and the recipients of philanthropy, as well as among the recipients themselves. Philanthropy was not just a 'top-down' affair but one that existed within the working classes themselves. This thesis will argue that while the initial gift that formed the Iveagh Trust was given by an upper-class man with philanthropic inclinations (and with the money to follow through on those inclinations), the Iveagh Trust itself thrived into the present day because of the solidarity of the people who made up its community. It will argue that while the Iveagh Trust gift was a 'top-down' form of philanthropy, its history is also one of 'lateral philanthropy', a philanthropy which occurred amongst the poor themselves, that was characterised in the social integration of community members, acts of neighbourliness and the sharing of experiences and tasks.

In addition, the questions this thesis aims to answer centre on the objective of 'amelioration', that is, the amelioration of landscape, of health and, from the perspective of the philanthropic facilitators at least, of souls. The attitudes and mentalities embraced by nineteenth century philanthropists such as Guinness were integral to the way in which this philanthropic project was managed. This thesis will demonstrate that often the reasons behind decisions taken by the administrators of the Trust were influenced by a further objective: the

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[6] Frank Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse: Philanthropy in Modern Britain* (London, 1988), p. 7; the concept of philanthropy is discussed more thoroughly in Chapter 1, Section 1.1. The Iveagh Trust as an emblem of Victorian Philanthropy, pp. 42 - 66

amelioration of the individual, not only physically, but also morally. Morality found its way into the organisation of the Trust and even the actual buildings and facilities. Here, the anthropological concept of gift-giving, championed by Marcel Mauss, will be used to highlight the reciprocal nature of the Iveagh Trust gift.[7] This theory argues that 'the gift' is a reciprocal one, one that pervades all aspects of society. It is based on a system of mutuality, of give and take, creditor-debtor. This concept can not only further our understanding of the motivations of Guinness in the creation of the Iveagh Trust, but also contextualise the actions taken by the Trust in relation to the recipients of this philanthropic gift. This gift-giving theory brings forward the theory of social control, which argues that peace was maintained not only by law enforcement but by social institutions that ensured the maintenance of the status quo and, at times, the preservation of harmony between classes. In the founding document of the Trust, Guinness stipulated that its management should not be of a political or sectarian nature. It is necessary, as part of the communal study, to assess whether this 'Ethos of Inclusion' was upheld.

Guinness's objective on establishing the Iveagh Trust was to ameliorate the 'condition' of the labouring classes of Dublin. This 'condition' referred to the health, environment and general comfort of the labouring classes; it was thought by many social reformers of the time that providing housing would be essential in achieving this amelioration of 'condition'. Consequently, a central question of this research is whether Guinness and his Trust achieved this objective. For this reason, comparative analysis has been carried out on the structural differences between the deteriorating slums and the new and improved Iveagh Trust dwellings. Moreover, similar analysis is undertaken in order to assess whether proponents of better housing for the poor were correct in their assumptions that better housing would lead to the better health of those living within them; it is necessary to ask if the improvement of housing actually ameliorated the landscape and the people.

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[7] Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies* (Trans. W.D. Halls, 1990) (Foreword Mary Douglas, 1990) (London, 2002).

Historical Context

The State of Dublin in the Nineteenth Century

> To see the abject squalor of Dublin in its very depths one has only to walk along by St Patrick's, and particularly the street which joins the two cathedrals – a street consisting of two rows of tumbledown, mouldy-looking houses, reeking of dirt, and oozing with the disgusting smell of accumulated filth of many generations, with old petticoats hung up instead of curtains, and very often instead of glass in the dilapidated windows.[8]

The Liberties of Dublin can be considered the oldest part of Ireland's capital; it was the home of St Patrick's and Christ Church cathedrals, the Guinness brewery at St James' Gate, and, in the late nineteenth century and throughout the twentieth, the heartland of the slum. The area's name implies freedom, however for many this area was a prison. Considered by some as the 'legacy from the days of British misgovernment', reckoned by others as a result of 'inherent moral indolence' by the poor themselves; one point almost everyone agreed on throughout their existence was that, 'the slums must go'.[9] Since Dublin's establishment in the tenth century as a Viking town, the city had prevailed through a multitude of harrowing political, social and economic transformations, with the late nineteenth and twentieth century as arguably the most rapid and seminal. Throughout these major challenges and transformations of Dublin's structure, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Liberties, situated in today's Dublin 8, became the stronghold of Dublin's poor, where filth, grime, disease and economic paralysis prevailed. One of the poorest and most dilapidated districts throughout the city's history, the area housed some of the poorest of the working classes, packed into unsafe tenements, both structurally and hygienically, where disease flourished and money was scant. Although this was not the only area that as rife with poverty within the city's boundaries, it was arguably the most extreme case of it. Street after street and lane after lane, it was here that impoverishment and

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[8] 'A Frenchwoman in the Liberties in the 1880s, and a visit to the Guinness brewery', *Three Months in Ireland* by Madame de Bovet, in Thomas and Valerie Pakenham, (eds.), *Dublin: A Travellers' Companion,* (London, 1988), p. 112.
[9] *The Irish Press,* 13 October 1938; Kevin C. Kearns, *Dublin Tenement Life: An Oral History* (Dublin, 1994), p.14.

squalor thrived, 'while at every three doors is a tavern, which in the midst of these hovels resembles a palace'.[10]

Indeed, the poverty in this area was extreme. On the announcement of Guinness's gift, the *Irish Times* described the living conditions of those in the area:

> Of light there is little; of air there is none … of food there is the smallest quantity … of soap and water there is what an analyst would call a "trace"; of parasites, and granular conjunctivitis, an abundance; and of bad whiskey and worse porter probably a good deal.[11]

This description of what the poverty-stricken section of the working class faced on a day-to-day basis in their homes is an apt one. Like these slums, Dublin city was deteriorating itself, crumbling economically with rigid political and social divisions splitting into many diverse fragments. A lack of industrialisation within the city, and evacuation of prominent citizens from its boundaries, coupled with the rising tension among both class, religious and political sections, were just a handful of ingredients contributing to the fading of the city.[12]

The process of tenement creation, and their disintegration into morbid slums, was greatly accelerated in the nineteenth century by a multitude of issues, which further fuelled the grime, stench, and wretchedness of these living arrangements. Intertwining with political, social and economic factors, class divisions and the Victorian questions of the morality of the poor were integral to both the creation of such slums, and the cautious approach taken towards eradicating them. Although the slums can be understood as merely a poisonous circumstance of urban living in a city lacking in economic and industrial incentives, the Victorian mentality of morality, of 'deserving' and 'undeserving' poor as well as the prevailing political-economic mentality of *laissez-faire*, which strove to maintain the 'natural' economic and social order, only intensified the situation. Politically, the introduction of the Act of Union in 1801 was one contributing factor that gave way to the deterioration of magnificent Georgian mansions into rotting buildings divided into shacks, further aiding the

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[10] 'A Frenchwoman in the Liberties in the 1880s, and a visit to the Guinness brewery', p. 112.
[11] *The Irish Times,* 28 November 1889.
[12] Mary E. Daly, *Dublin: The Deposed Capital* (Cork, 1984), pp. 2 – 17.

deterioration of Dublin into a crumbling capital.[13] As the act merged Britain and Ireland more closely together through the dissolution of the Irish Parliament, waves of prominent elite citizens abandoned Ireland's capital and moved within closer proximity of power and predominance in London. This mass exodus of influential subjects from their stately Georgian houses resulted in their consequent decay; over the course of the century these once impressive houses in landscaped squares throughout Dublin had devolved into overcrowded, unsafe and disease-ridden slums. Consequently, the evacuation fuelled an already ominous economic downturn, leading Ireland's capital, along with the majority of the country, into disrepute. The desertion and consequent deterioration of stately homes in Dublin created a city of

> arrested development, that the paralysis which followed on the Union stopped the natural and healthy growth of the city … [the elites] who should have occupied the noble mansions designed for the well-to-do had departed from the decaying metropolis, leaving these splendid houses untenanted by their natural occupants.[14]

Indeed, Dublin was a capital city left stagnant, caught between the age of decrepit streets and unsuitable infrastructure, and the increased awareness of the need for improvement in the sphere of public health, town planning and housing conditions – the present was stuck in a tug-of-war with the weight of the past and the pull of the future.[15] Not only was development 'arrested', but Dublin's social prestige and progress were more or less reversed. Remembered in the context of the flourishing eighteenth century, when Dublin was 'the social and political playground of the Protestant ruling class', the capital's desire to prevail in the nineteenth century was thoroughly impeded, when it 'lost much of its raison d'être after Anglo-Irish parliamentary union in 1801.'[16] Furthermore, such a rush away from the 'decaying metropolis' was matched with a middle and lower upper class

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[13] The deterioration of Dublin is explored by many historians such as Mary E. Daly, David Dickson and Jacinta Prunty; Mary E. Daly, *Dublin: The Deposed Capital* (Cork, 1984); David Dickson, *Dublin: The Making of a Capital City* (London, 2014); Jacinta Prunty, *Dublin Slums 1800 – 1925: A Study in Urban Geography* (Dublin, 1998).
[14] John Robert O'Connell *The Problem of the Slums: [three Papers on the Present Condition of the Housing of the Poor in the City of Dublin]* (Dublin, 1913), p. 49.
[15] Ibid.
[16] David Dickson, *Dublin: The Making of a Capital City* (London, 2014), p. xii.

fleeing the failing heart of the city to the newly established and ever-fashionable suburbs. Beyond the city boundaries, both north and south, those who could afford it fled.[17]

As a result of this departure, Dublin city continued to disintegrate, financially, structurally and economically. This geographical segregation of middle-class Dubliners seeking healthier lifestyles in the suburbs while the poverty-stricken remained in the city, further increased class divisions and a self-consciousness brimming with prejudices directed at the other.[18] Discussions on resolutions to disease epidemics sometimes held a disgruntled tone, noting that 'selfish suburbans' that were 'comparatively rich' refused to contribute 'one farthing to the expense' to a new sub-soil drainage initiative to diminish typhoid fever's grip on the capital:

> Why should these gentlemen who have their offices in Dublin live comfortably without fear of typhoid fever in the suburbs? – he should not say that, for, thank goodness, one of the suburbs had lately had an outbreak of typhoid fever which would bring them to their sense. (Laughter). [19]

Yet, while this outflow of well-to-do citizens, both overseas and beyond the city's boundaries to new independent townships such as Rathmines and Rathgar, resulted in class segregation and economic stagnation, it also made the underlying poverty more visible. Moreover, the development of statistical science and social theory 'ensured that the recording, measurement and management of poverty would be a major concern in all nineteenth century cities'.[20]

The development of the statistical method coupled with the progression of medical science over the course of the century, such as Koch's discovery that

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[17] See Jacinta Prunty, *Dublin Slums, 1800-1925: A Study in Urban Geography* (Dublin, 1998); Idem, 'Improving the Urban Landscape: Public Health and Housing in Nineteenth-Century Dublin', Brady and Simms (eds), *Dublin Through Space and Time* (Dublin, 2001), pp. 166-220; Ruth McManus, *Dublin, 1910-1940: Shaping the City and Suburbs* (Dublin, 2002); Séamus Ó Maitiú, *Dublin's Suburban Towns, 1834-1930: Governing Clontarf, Drumcondra, Dalkey, Killiney, Kilmainham, Pembroke, Kingstown, Blackrock, Rathmines and Rathgar* (Dublin, 2003).

[18] This social stratification is noted in Prunty, 'Improving the Urban Environment: Public Health and Housing in Nineteenth century Dublin', Brady and Simms (eds), *Dublin Through Space and Time, (c.900-1900)* (Dublin, 2001), pp. 166 – 220.

[19] *The Irish Times,* 18 August 1892.

[20] Prunty, 'Improving the Urban Environment: Public Health and Housing in Nineteenth century Dublin', p. 168.

pulmonary tuberculosis was caused by bacteria in 1892, resulted in a growing awareness and concern for the social, medical and infrastructural problems association with urbanisation.[21] This enlightenment came in the form of a multitude of inquiries and reports culminating in many campaigns in an effort to combat the crises of overcrowding, unsafe buildings, and disease-provoking environments, however, there was no substantial breakthrough on a large official scale. Public health, coupled with the threat, and reality, of disease became the issue of the day when statistical reports, their findings and the overwhelming mortality rates were published in various newspapers, journals and memoirs.[22] To many, the most ominous threat to the progression of Dublin as a city and its people was the problem of the tenement houses:

> It is not defective sewering, defective paving, defective street scavenging, or in the polluted state of the river Liffey, so much as in these horrible room tenements, which exist to the direct injury of more than 100,000 of the poor inhabitants, and at the indirect charge and direct money loss of the entire community.[23]

Indeed, the need for housing incentives was a pressing issue, although, with dwindling funds, Dublin Corporation had little room to manoeuvre. Furthermore, it must be noted that in Ireland, the provision of housing for the rural portion of the population was the main focus of State housing policy; by 1914, nearly 50,000 cottages had been constructed for the Irish rural population, chiefly funded by the British government in response to nationalist agitation related to the Land Wars of the last decades of the nineteenth century.[24] It was, as McManus states, an attempt

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[21] Greta Jones, 'The Campaign against Tuberculosis in Ireland, 1899-1914', Greta Jones and Elizabeth Malcolm (eds), *Medicine, Disease and the State in Ireland, 1650-1940* (Cork, 1999), p. 158.

[22] These included reports such as the *Annual Reports of the Registrar General (Ireland*), 1893 – 1921, *Annual Reports of the Registrar General for Saorstát Eireann,* 1922 – 1926, *Annual Reports of the Registrar General,* 1927 – 1939, that detailed birth, death and marriage statistics; the Chief Medical Officer for Dublin's City, Sir Charles A. Cameron's, annual public health reports; *Third Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners for inquiring into the housing of the working classes (Ireland)* [cd. 4547] [1885], and *Report of Departmental Committee appointed by Local Government Board for Ireland to Inquire into the Housing Conditions of the Working Classes in the city of Dublin,* [cd. 7273] [1914].

[23] Quote from *Royal Commission on Sewerage and Drainage, 1879*, in S. Shannon Millin, 'Slums: a sociological retrospect of the city of Dublin', *Journal of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland,* Vol. 13, Part 94 (Dublin 1913/14), p. 145.

[24] Murray Fraser, *John Bull's Other Homes: State Housing and British Policy in Ireland, 1883-1922* (Liverpool, 1996), p. 21.

to 'kill Home Rule with Kindness' through 'Constructive Unionism', and urban housing was left by the wayside.[25]

While on an official scale an effective solution was not yet reached, many attempts were made to soften the blow of such circumstances by private philanthropists. At the time of Edward Cecil Guinness's gift of £250,000, philanthropic action had become a dominant part of the Victorian mentality and culture, so much so that, at the turn of the century, almost every source of anguish or ailment had a charity or fund to assist it. These charities and funds often had different qualities to them; oftentimes, charities were relatively small in scale and had a religious nature to them, with Catholics and Protestants providing for their co-religionists. Philanthropic action, particularly in the last decades of the nineteenth century with the evolution of social science and the scientific method, could often mean larger funds and a more societal than individual focus, although religious principles could often infuse it. In the second half of the nineteenth century, housing through philanthropy was widespread through Britain and Ireland. Yet, there was not one single uniform strategy in which these housing ventures were developed and run; they varied in size, implementation and objective.

Sir Edward Cecil Guinness (1847-1927)

The benefactor of the Iveagh Trust gift, Edward Cecil Guinness, was the son of Benjamin Lee Guinness. On his father's death, Edward and his eldest brother, Arthur (later Lord Ardilaun) inherited the Guinness brewery, with Edward primarily taking over the reins after Arthur withdrew from the business.[26] Edward became the sole proprietor of the brewery in 1876 after buying his brother out, and, under his direction, the brewery underwent rapid expansion; he was, as Lynch and Vaizey put it, 'a dynamic, restless man, remarkably like his father, with a capacity for quick decision, a flair for business, and an intuitive understanding of

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[25] Ruth McManus, 'Blue Collars, "Red Forts" and Green Fields: Working-Class Housing in Ireland in the Twentieth Century', *International Labour and Working Class History,* No. 64, Issue 1 (2003), p. 38.
[26] Patrick Lynch and John Vaizey, *Guinness's Brewery in the Irish Economy, 1759 – 1876* (Cambridge, 1960), p. 236.

men's characters'.[27] In 1886, the year that the first Home Rule bill was introduced, Guinness decided to make the family business public and entered it on the stock exchange.[28] On the morning it went public, shares in the brewery totalled £127,000,000.[29] Only in his early forties, Edward Cecil was now one of the richest men in the British Isles, and he began to devote his money and time more fervently to philanthropic deeds and socialisation among the upper echelons of society.

Within the Guinness family itself, a tradition of giving was inherent; their paternalistic attitude toward their workers demonstrated a wish to improve their social circumstances, with comprehensive housing, pension and health systems set in place, making the brewery a favourable place to work compared to other employers of the time. Together with his father, Sir Benjamin Lee Guinness, and brother, Arthur (later Lord Ardilaun), Edward devoted much time and money to benevolent deeds. Collectively, the Guinness family took on the restoration of St. Patrick's Cathedral, the landscaping of public spaces such as St. Stephen's Green and Victoria Hill, Killiney, and involvement with other housing schemes such as the Dublin Artisans' Dwelling Company (DADC). In addition, Edward Cecil took an interest in research into public health; in 1900, he donated £250,000 to the Lister Institute of Preventative Medicine and often donated to Dublin hospitals, while also giving regularly to his alma mater Trinity College Dublin (TCD).

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[27] Ibid.
[28] Frederic Mullally, *The Silver Salver: The Story of the Guinness Family* (London, 1981), p. 31.
[29] Ibid.

Image 1: Edward Cecil Guinness, 1st Earl of Iveagh by Sir Leslie Ward, Vanity Fair, 11 July 1891.[30]

Dublin in the closing decades of the nineteenth century was brimming with ideological, political and religious tensions; nationalist agitation, culminating in the Land Wars and Home Rule movement generated friction between two opposing ideologies – unionism and nationalism. In the decades ahead, Dublin was to be the nucleus of this tension that transferred from ideology to physical force, rebellion and war. It was no secret that Guinness was a staunch unionist and fervent Church of Ireland member; throughout the years he led and participated in many anti-Home Rule meetings. By 1912, at age sixty-five, he became the chairman of the Irish Unionist Alliance.[31] Guinness was also the honorary president of the Dublin Conservative Workingmen's Club, a club made up of working class Protestants throughout the capital, promoting their employment in Protestant-owned businesses and the election of Protestant candidates for local government as well as general moral respectability, all the while enforcing a

[30] © National Portrait Gallery, London.
[31] Mullally, *The Silver Salver*, p. 36.

strong anti-Catholic sentiment.[32] As a Protestant and southern unionist in Dublin city, Guinness was one of a small minority (a group progressively losing influence in the face of Parnellism and growing nationalism) in a city where both council and populace were predominantly nationalist and Catholic. Yet, as will be shown, these qualities of Guinness did not damage his popularity in the City; Dublin City's nationalist Corporation consistently thanked him in meetings for his benevolent deeds and in 1910, there was a move to elect Guinness as Lord Mayor, an offer which he, however, 'declined with great tact'.[33]

Combined with a familial tradition of philanthropy, Bielenberg maintains that Edward's ambitious social aspirations were crucial in the philanthropic decisions he made.[34] Around the time that Guinness made the £250,000 benefaction to set up housing trusts in London and Dublin, he and his wife moved between Ireland and England according to their social calendar. By infiltrating himself in such social events as the regatta at Cowes, Guinness mingled amongst the inner circles of Prince Edward.[35] A shared interest in the question of housing for the poor allowed for this relationship to permeate even further, resulting in two royal visits to the Iveagh Trust buildings in Dublin; in 1903, King Edward and Queen Alexandra visited the Iveagh Trust Bull Alley estate, while in 1911, King George and his family inspected the Iveagh Play Centre.[36] During both these visits, Edward donated £50,000 to Dublin hospitals. The acceleration of his philanthropic deeds in the last two decades of the nineteenth century also coincided with his formal acceptance into the 'Beerage'; in 1891, two years after the bestowal of the Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust gift, Guinness was raised to Baron Iveagh, of Iveagh,

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[32] Martin Maguire, 'The Organisation and Activism of Dublin's Protestant Working Class, 1883 – 1935', *Irish Historical Studies,* Vol. 29, No. 113 (May, 1994), p. 66.
[33] R.G. Wilson, 'Guinness, Edward Cecil, first earl of Iveagh (1847-1927), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004) [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33601] [accessed 28 September 2015].
[34] Andy Bielenberg, 'Late Victorian Elite Formation and Philanthropy: The Making of Edward Guinness', *Studia Hibernica,* No. 32 (2002/2003), p. 133.
[35] Ibid., p. 141.
[36] Ibid., p. 137.

Co. Down. Shortly after the opening of the Iveagh Trust Bull Alley Complex, in 1905, he was given a viscountcy, and in 1919, was awarded an earldom.[37]

At the time of his death in 1927, the Iveagh Trust had been in operation for almost forty years, and Lord Iveagh was personally involved each year; on the establishment of the Iveagh Trust in 1903, which coincided with the death of the first chairman, Lord Rowton, Iveagh became chairman and remained in this position until his death. This level of interest and involvement is necessary to keep in mind; unlike some disinterested philanthropists of the age, Iveagh was a key influencer and decision maker in the organisation, progression and overall success of the Trust.

Housing Provision in Independent Ireland

Ireland during the early decades of the twentieth century experienced vast change in both political and social spheres. Along with political unrest (in the form of revolution), there was also social upset (such as labour strikes), and often these were inextricably interlinked. In his report on the housing conditions of the working classes. P.C. Cowan, chief engineering inspector of the Local Government Board (LGB), reckoned:

> The rebellion of 1916, with its terrible loss of life, vast material waste, the re-birth of dying antagonisms, the creation of new enemies, and the setting back of the clock in many most vital movements for the welfare of Ireland might possibly have been prevented if the people of Dublin had been better housed.[38]

The debate on housing provision in the early decades of the Free State is one that must be placed into the wider economic and cultural discussion on Irish nationality and the establishment of Irish power. Oftentimes, the inadequacies of housing for the working classes and the deteriorating state of Dublin's infrastructure was blamed on the direct British rule of Ireland. With the coming of independence in 1922 came a rhetoric that aimed to reassert an authority and

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[37] R.G. Wilson, 'Guinness, Edward Cecil, first earl of Iveagh (1847-1927), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004).
[38] P.C. Cowan, *Report on Dublin Housing* (Dublin, 1918), D.Dub.1.243. Irish Architectural Archive [IAA].

distinctiveness from Britain by implementing social reforms that were precisely Irish. In 1927, the *Catholic Bulletin* maintained that the creation of the Dublin slums was the 'work of the Irish landlord class … the Cromwellian ascendancy'.[39] In their view, the slum problem was made acute by 'English economic and political policy' which 'always aimed at producing unemployment'.[40]

Many social commentators and reformers during this period maintained that it was necessary to act on the failures of the past, particularly in terms of housing. In order to distinguish itself, the 'Irish home' was to be the very antithesis of what had been provided in the past by British and local government incentives. Speaking to the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland in 1925, Maguire proclaimed:

> Let Irishmen and Irishwomen, therefore, in God's Name, concentrate on this question of Housing, which will require for its proper solution all the good sense, ability, intelligence and patriotism this little island can command. If they succeed it will be no light achievement. In the words of Thomas David, "they will make the Irish home happy and the Irish name illustrious." They will provide work for the employed, and help to restore our country the economic conditions of prosperity. Moreover, they will secure dignity and comfort to the family, the basis of social life and of Christian civilisation.[41]

This call for action was as much about providing housing as it was about the ideological reclaiming of Irish land to the Irish people. At times this meant the abandoning of urban living; *The Catholic Bulletin* voiced the need to 'restore our own people to their own land' with:

> much of the money that well-intentioned people are seeking to put into urban housing should be directed to the restoration of country life on our land, under suitable conditions, taking fully into account the tastes, the outlook, and the acquired ways of those who were and are the real victims of the epoch of savage rule in Ireland … put back, then, the over heavy urban population of Ireland, on the land.[42]

A new antagonism for old philanthropic housing ventures was also voiced in the *Catholic Bulletin* during this period. The Alexandra College Guild, a

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[39] *The Catholic Bulletin,* 10 October 1927.
[40] Ibid., 5 May 1933.
[41] J. Maguire, 'The Housing problem in Ireland and Great Britain and the Essentials of its Solution' [read Friday, 30 January 1925] *Journal of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland,* Vol. XIV, Part 4 [1923-1925].
[42] *The Catholic Bulletin*, 5 May 1933.

philanthropic housing scheme run by a Protestant all-girls boarding school in Dublin, that built in some of the most degraded, and predominantly Catholic, areas of the capital city, became the subject of much criticism. It was

> an impression of a most intensely Protestant world, that concentrated essence of dominant and aggressive Englishry, in race and religion, that extreme Protestantism of the protestant world which is focused in Dublin City and suburbs. … these activities, suitably termed 'schemes' are carried on … in more than one very Catholic and poor area of Dublin. These protestant persons have given themselves no mission to their own poor …. They want to be "charitable" to the Catholics of Ireland: they want to develop their "Schemes" in Catholic streets and lanes … the schemers of aggressive Proselytism, operating in and out of Dublin in the past 125 years and more. [43]

While the *Catholic Bulletin* was critical of the 'scheming' Protestant school-girls who provided housing for the Catholic working class, analysis of the periodical from 1911 until 1939 reveals that no such criticism was voiced about Iveagh or his Trust.[44]

The shift in political organisation and rule, from remote British rule to an established Irish government, brought with it a move to more direct state housing policies. However, it was not until the Housing Act of 1932, the year Fianna Fail came into power, that extensive provisions were put in place to facilitate this. Furthermore, while many in Irish society sought a distinct Irish approach to Irish social problems, as Cousins maintains, the United Kingdom 'remained a formative influence of social welfare developments' that were 'highly influential for both policy makers and the general public'.[45]

In the first two decades of the twentieth century, the British government introduced measures 'designed to provide income support to people who were injured at work, sick, unemployed or elderly'.[46] These included the introduction of workmen's compensation in 1897, Old Age Pensions in 1908, unemployment insurance and national health insurance (both covered under the National Insurance Act, 1911). In independent Ireland, the policies introduced during the Fianna Fail administration in the 1930s 'raised the building skywards', by

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[43] Ibid., 6 June 1931.
[44] *The Catholic Bulletin,* 1911 – 1939.
[45] Mel Cousins, *The Birth of Social Welfare in Ireland, 1922-52* (Dublin, 2003), p. 183.
[46] Ibid., p. 27.

reforming the national health insurance scheme, along with the introduction of widow's pensions, unemployment assistance and an extension of old age pensions.[47] Over the course of the decade of the 1930s, as Cousins details, 'social expenditure on income maintenance schemes increased from under £5 million in 1931 to approaching £8 million by 1937-8', a clear sign that in Ireland, as well as further afield, state intervention in social needs of its population was becoming more widespread. [48]

While a return to the rural way of living that *The Catholic Bulletin* advocated for was not entirely feasible, the State and City's policy of working class suburbanisation on the outskirts of Dublin is perhaps a compromise. Here, the working classes had access to the city as well as private gardens and sometimes, allotments. Along with restoring the Irish population to the land, a rhetoric stemming from Catholic social teaching was espoused, calling for the preservation of the 'Irish family'. From this perspective, tenement blocks such as the Iveagh Trust's older estates of New Bride/Kevin Street and Bull Alley only harmed the family unit, as families were forced to share spaces with others. The move towards new builds in the suburbs can be considered in line with this train of thought; in order to preserve and protect the Irish family unit, preference was given to single-family homes. The foundation of the Free State brought with it a new social outlook, particularly in terms of housing provision, which, as McManus states 'crystallised into a new policy of mass working-class suburbanisation'. [49]

Cumann na nGaedheal's tenure in government, from 1923 until 1932, was quite a conservative one, with their economic policy during the 1920s being cited as 'cautious and orthodox'.[50] As Fraser notes, during the first year of the new Free State, both northern and southern governments 'provided an initial and short-term injection of funds for working-class housing, in an attempt to legitimise their new-found position and to deal urgently with chronic unemployment problems'. [51]

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[47] Ibid., p. 83.
[48] Ibid., p. 85.
[49] Ruth McManus, 'Is 'Suburban Community' an Oxymoron?', *Building Material* (No. 16, Autumn, 2007), p. 25.
[50] Cormac Ó'Gráda and J. Peter Neary, 'Protection, Economic War and Structural Change: The 1930s in Ireland', *Irish Historical Studies,* Vol. 27, No. 107 (May, 1991), p. 253.
[51] Murray Fraser, *John Bull's Other Homes*, p. 272.

In the South, this initiative was known as the 'Million Pound Scheme' which provided funds to local governments; Dublin Corporation finished two housing estates during the period of the conservative Cumann na nGaedheal government, known as Fairbrothers Fields and Marino. As McManus notes, rather than long-term renting, these houses were constructed with the intention of tenants eventually purchasing them.[52] After this initial provision of funds, however, there was a lull in providing homes for the working class. It was clear that Cumann na nGaedheal was not concerned with 'radical social improvement'.[53] This was confirmed by General Richard Mulcahy, commander-in-chief of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and Cumann na nGaedheal TD, who maintained in 1931 that instead of providing for the working poor, preference was given to the 'better paid workers and the middle classes':

> Attention is sometimes drawn to the fact that the Government policy of accelerating the erection of houses since 1922 has in effect improved the housing conditions of the better paid workers and of the middle classes and that there has been slow consequential improvement in the conditions of the poorly paid workers or of those living in insanitary areas. [54]

Reasons for the lack of attention being paid by the Cumann na nGaedheal government of the 1920s was partly due to the economic, social and cultural conservatism of interest groups, such as the Catholic Church, farmers and the commercial class.[55] In addition, the new wave of social conservatism in Independent Ireland led to the 'marginalisation of the Irish Labour Party and the Irish TUC' that resulted in 'their calls for an ambitious housing programme, to be carried out by a special national agency, [to fall] … deaf ears'.[56]

Cumann na nGaedheal's last years in government, however, were marked with economic decline, that led to 'substantial drops in output, trade and employment'.[57] This pressure forced the once deeply conservative policy to move

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[52] Ruth McManus, *Dublin, 1910-40: Shaping the City and Suburbs* (Dublin, 2002), pp. 166-7.
[53] Fraser, *John Bull's Other Homes,* p. 278.
[54] *Dáil Éireann Debate,* 1653 - 4 Vol. 40, No. 13, 18 November 1931.
[55] Fraser, *John Bull's Other Homes*, p. 279.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Ó'Gráda and Neary, 'Protection, Economic War and Structural Change: The 1930s in Ireland', *Irish Historical Studies,* Vol. 27, No. 107 (May, 1991), p. 250.

towards 'interventionist and protectionist ways that had been frowned on earlier'.[58] In their final year of government, 1931, the Cumann na nGaedheal cabinet introduced a Housing Act that turned the focus more towards the working classes.[59] General Mulcahy maintained that this act

> introduced a radical change in the application of State and local funds to the provision of housing. It is, however, a natural sequence to the policy obtaining since 1922, and is a development which would have been impossible without the patient work of the last nine years … [it] is designed mainly for the clearance of insanitary areas and the provision of houses for the poor. It does not cut off assistance for the rehousing of the ordinary better-paid working classes, but it leads, we hope, towards conditions in which the well remunerated ordinary working class will not have to rely solely on local authorities or on subsidies for the provision of houses. Many have been restive because of the continued existence of the slum and the slow rate of its eradication. There are complaints that better results should have been shown earlier. [60]

While showing signs of promise, this legislation had little chance to take effect, as Fianna Fail were voted into government in the general election of 1932 with the Labour Party as their coalition partners. Under this government, the Housing (Financial and Miscellaneous Provisions) Act of 1932 was introduced. It provided more funding on more liberal terms, directed at slum clearance as well as new builds. As Fraser has maintained, the results stemming from this legislation was an 'impressive campaign that in the ten years from 1932 to 1942 saw some 47,900 dwellings built by local authorities, of which sixty per cent were in urban areas and 40 per cent in rural districts'.[61]

As McManus notes, from the mid-1910s until the early 1930s, there was a strong emphasis on suburban cottage building, with only three block dwellings built in Dublin by the Corporation between 1914 and the slum clearances of the 1930s, at Trinity Ward, Ormond Market and Boyne Street.[62] While inner-city flat schemes were undertaken in the 1930s, with construction of schemes such as Mercer House, Pearse House and Chancery Place, the push for suburban housing

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[58] Ibid., p. 253
[59] *Housing (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act*, No. 50 of 1931. (Irish Statute Book)
[60] *Dáil Éireann Debate,* 1653 – 4, Vol. 40, No. 13, 18 November 1931.
[61] Fraser, *John Bull's Other Homes* (Liverpool, 1996), p. 283.
[62] McManus, *Dublin, 1910-1914*, p. 212.

schemes for the working class gained more impetus .[63] The most prominent venture was the Corporation's extensive Crumlin housing scheme, in the same vicinity as the Iveagh Trust's cottage scheme, with almost 3,000 houses built. [64] While this large-scale project was welcome, there was certain drawbacks, which included lack of amenities to compliment the new suburban village; a primary school for local children had still not been built by 1938, making it necessary for children to travel into the inner-city for their education. In addition, unlike the facilities offered by the Iveagh Trust, there were no nurseries, playgrounds or play-centres. Furthermore, there was also an additional psychological aspect to move to a new, unfamiliar environment. McManus asserts that:

> the more subtle psychological and social aspects of rehousing were generally not considered. Such aspects included the impact of moving from an elaborate network of friends and relations to an area with a lower population density and no corner shops to facilitate the formation of new relationships.[65]

Indeed, while the physical and material amelioration of the working class family and home were of obvious concern, the disconnection from their 'social norms', in the form of tight-knit communities, is an important aspect to also consider when analysis the suburban sprawl of the 1920s and 1930s. This importance of community and relationships will be highlighted throughout this thesis.

Historiography of the Iveagh Trust and other Philanthropic Housing Organisations

Historiography on Edward Cecil Guinness's philanthropic deeds, and in particular, the Iveagh Trust, is, to say the least, minimal. The only stand-alone work on the Iveagh Trust was written by F.H.A. Aalen, who in 1990 wrote a short introductory book to commemorate the Iveagh Trust's centenary, a book that was commissioned and published by the Trust.[66] A geographer who taught at Trinity

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[63] Ibid., pp. 212 – 216.
[64] Ibid., pp. 220 – 228.
[65] Ibid., p. 227.
[66] F.H.A. Aalen, *The Iveagh Trust: The First Hundred Years, 1890-1990* (Dublin, 1990); Aalen also referenced the Iveagh Trust in his work on wider public health and housing in Dublin: F.H.A. Aalen, 'Health and Housing in Dublin, c. 1851 – 1921', F.H.A. Aalen and Kevin

College Dublin, Aalen's life work has focused on the Irish landscape.[67] Through his interest in Irish landscape, Aalen turned to the evolution of the urban landscape, and, the dwellings constructed by philanthropic housing ventures in Dublin such as the DADC and the Iveagh Trust caught his attention. In 1990, the 3rd Earl of Iveagh, Benjamin Guinness, commissioned Aalen to write a history of the Iveagh Trust to mark its first hundred years.[68] The book, less than 100 pages in length, is a useful overview of the history of the Trust. However, it is merely that - an overview, a starting point. When I first began researching the Iveagh Trust, this work was a great point of reference for the Trust's trajectory; it provides an empirical account from establishment to 1990, with maps and images to illuminate it. Yet, fitting 100 years of history into less than 100 pages is telling of its limitations.

Peter Malpass, an expert on historical and present day housing policy, has contributed more fruitfully to the history of the Guinness Trust in London and on the voluntary housing sector in general.[69] However, for the most part, Malpass's work only covers Dublin in the early years of the Trust, when it was amalgamated with the Guinness Trust (London Fund). Along with focused studies on the Guinness Trust, Malpass has also traced the voluntary housing sector from their origins as almshouses in the thirteenth century to the present day. Andy Bielenberg's article, 'Late Victorian Elite Formation and Philanthropy: the Making of Edward Guinness' is an excellent contribution to the history of Iveagh and his

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Whelan (eds), *Dublin City and County: From Prehistory to Present* (Dublin, 1992) and Aalen, 'The Working-Class Housing Movement in Dublin, 1850-1920', Michael J. Bannon (ed), *A Hundred Years of Irish Planning* (Dublin, 1985), pp 131-188.

[67] Aalen's works include *Man and the landscape in Ireland* (London, 1978), *The Future of the Irish Rural Landscape* (Dublin, 1985) and Aalen et al., *Atlas of the Irish Rural Landscape,* (Cork, 1997).

[68] Foreword by the Earl of Iveagh, in Aalen, *The Iveagh Trust,* (Dublin, 1990), p. ix.

[69] Works from Peter Malpass on the Guinness Trust include: 'Continuity and Change in philanthropic housing organisations: the Octavia Hill Housing Trust and the Guinness Trust', *The London Journal,* Vol. 24, No. 1 (London, 1999), pp. 38-57 and *Housing, Philanthropy and the State: A History of the Guinness Trust* (Bristol, 1998). Works of a more general note on the development of philanthropic housing and housing policy include: *Housing Associations and Housing Policy: A Historical Perspective* (London, 2000); 'The Discontinuous History of Housing Associations in England', *Housing Studies,* Vol. 15, No. 2 (2000), pp. 195-212.

Trust.[70] In it, Bielenberg explores the factors he believes led to the establishment of the Trust. While recognising that other scholars, such as Aalen and Malpass have researched the Iveagh Trust, they did so as part of a 'wider social history of housing and institutional history of the trusts'.[71] Instead, Bielenberg takes a different approach, arguing that Guinness' family background coupled with ambitious social aspirations 'were critical factors in shaping the nature and extent of Edward Guinness' philanthropy'.[72] While he maintains that Guinness was pushed to give such a vast amount of money for philanthropic projects because of his aspirations and familial tradition, Bielenberg further argues that Guinness was 'the most significant philanthropist in Ireland and one of the most important in the United Kingdom'.[73] His contribution to the history of Irish philanthropy and the Iveagh Trust is, therefore, of crucial importance.

Save for Aalen's short history of the Trust and work by Malpass and Bielenberg, academic contributions that focus singularly on the history of the Iveagh Trust have been few and far between. Linda King has contributed in the form of two unpublished theses (B.A. and M.A.) as well as one essay published in the 2015 collection, *Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, edited by Laurence M. Geary and Oonagh Walsh.[74] With a background in art and architecture, the essay is conceptually enlightening in parts. However, like other studies, this essay fails to study the Iveagh Trust buildings in their own right. Divided into two parts, the essay first focuses on the housing and public amenities constructed by Guinness Brewery for Guinness brewery workers. In the second part of the essay, King turns to the private philanthropic venture of Lord Iveagh, -

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[70] Bielenberg, 'Late Victorian Elite Formation and Philanthropy: The Making of Edward Guinness', pp. 133-154.
[71] Ibid., p. 133.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Linda King, 'The Iveagh Buildings: A study of working class housing in Dublin, 1854 – 1915', B.A. dissertation submitted at National College of Art and Design, 1990; Idem, 'Progressive Housing: The Role of two Industrial Families in the Development of Philanthropic Architecture in Dublin', M.A. submitted at National College of Art and Design, 1994; Idem, ''Guinness is good for you': experiments in workers' housing and public amenities by the Guinness Brewery and Guinness/Iveagh Trust, 1872-1915', Laurence M. Geary and Oonagh Walsh (eds), *Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Dublin, 2015), pp. 133-160.

the Iveagh Trust. Throughout the essay, however, King links the brewery to the Iveagh Trust, a link which is misleading, as the Iveagh Trust was not, nor ever intended to be, housing provision for Guinness brewery workers. Yet even the title of this essay '"Guinness is good for you": experiments in workers' housing and public amenities by the Guinness Brewery and Guinness/Iveagh Trust, 1872 – 1915', is in itself deceiving, as it links the brewery, the brewery workers' housing and Trust together. This misunderstanding filtered into the introduction of the collection of the book, written by Geary and Walsh, who remarked on 'the efforts of the Guinness Trust to offer high standards of accommodation to their workers'.[75] While it is true that some brewery workers were housed in the Trust dwellings, they were not housed because of this; as one of the largest employers in Dublin city, it would be odd if there were no Trust residents with affiliation with the brewery. Furthermore, while it is understandable to take into consideration the brewery (as that is where Iveagh made his wealth to enable such philanthropic projects), it should not be as closely linked as King allows it to be. Concluding the essay, King makes further misleading links between a 'specific industrial concern' and a 'popular commodity', further stating:

> the architectural evidence of this relationship can be understood as suggesting an innate understanding of brand identity and corporate advertising in an age before such concepts were formally articulated.[76]

The dilution of the philanthropic contributions that Guinness made to the Irish urban landscape and to the working classes of Dublin as a form of 'brand identity and corporate advertising' forgoes any consideration of the impact this philanthropic gift had on its recipients, along with their everyday experiences and the community that evolved from its establishment.

Part of the reason for the lack of an individual study on the Iveagh Trust can be attributed to the failure to gain access to the private archive of the Iveagh Trust, a drawback which King herself notes.[77] Moreover, it would seem that King's

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[75] Geary and Walsh, 'Introduction', *Philanthropy in Nineteenth Century Ireland* (Dublin, 2015), p. 15.
[76] Linda King, '"Guinness is good for you": experiments in workers' housing and public amenities by the Guinness Brewery and Guinness/Iveagh Trust, 1872-1915', Ibid., p. 160.
[77] Ibid., in footnote 58, King states 'as the Iveagh Trust archive is not accessible to the public it is difficult to establish detail around some decisions made by the Trust', p. 148.

reliance on the Guinness brewery archives leads her to make these unconfirmed links. Furthermore, given that the Guinness's private philanthropic endeavour was focused in the Liberties area of the capital city, where the brewery was situated, it is understandable that these links are made. However, these inconsistencies highlight the necessity of a focussed study on the Iveagh Trust.

In his article, 'This Discontinuous History of Housing Associations in England', Peter Malpass has maintained that,

> The way to conduct research on voluntary housing organisations in this period has to be more bottom-up than top-down … the study of the growth and development of voluntary housing organisations … requires, amongst other things, investigation of more disparate sources of information, including research on individual housing organisations *from the inside*, using archive and other documentary and oral evidence.[78]

Research on philanthropic housing organisations has, for many decades not only encompassed the housing organisation itself, but draws relations, comparisons and contrasts to the state, other housing organisations and public health debates. While research has taken place on individual housing trusts, there has been a tendency to research from the outside, placing them within a wider institutional or conceptual context, or view them as precursors to the welfare state.[79] While this approach is necessary in order to understand the wider issue at hand, it often warps our understanding of these organisations, resulting in two common trends that have appeared in the scholarship of philanthropic housing organisations throughout the years. Firstly, many commentators have written of them as precursors to the welfare state; they have viewed them as a cog in a progressive wheel that looks to an end result in the form of local government housing schemes. Tarn is one such advocate of this, who maintains that work on

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[78] Peter Malpass, 'The Discontinuous History of Housing Associations in England', *Housing Studies,* Vol. 15, No. 2 (2000), p. 200.
[79] See John Nelson Tarn, *Five Per Cent Philanthropy: An Account of Housing in Urban Areas between 1840 and 1914* (Cambridge, 1973); Brady and Simms (eds), *Dublin Through Space and Time: (c.900-1900)* (Dublin, 2001); Aalen and Whelan (eds), *Dublin City and County: From Prehistory to Present: Studies in Honour of J.H. Andrews* (Dublin, 1992); Bannon (ed), *A Hundred Years of Irish Planning* (Dublin, 1985); Prunty, *Dublin Slums, 1800-1925: A study in Urban Geography* (Dublin, 1998); McManus, 'Blue Collars, "Red Forts," and Green Fields: Working Class Housing in Ireland in the Twentieth Century', *International Labour and Working-Class History,* No. 64 (Autumn, 2003), pp 38-54.

'Five per cent philanthropy' is in fact 'an account of how council housing was born'.[80] Secondly, it is common for the documentation of individual housing trusts to be placed within a wider institutional and conceptual history of philanthropic housing ventures, comparing and contrasting them with similar schemes of the period.[81] There is no doubt that this approach is a necessary one, but the void often created from this line of study has allowed misconceptions of these ventures to worm their way into our understanding, assuming that these housing organisations were unable 'to do more than nibble at the edges of a gigantic problem' as 'it grew obvious that the major social tasks lay well beyond the resources of private charity, however ambitious its aspirations and devoted its performance'.[82] Like many other philanthropic housing providers, the Iveagh Trust's objective was 'to ameliorate'. It is worthy to note this keyword, for it was understood by both reformers and philanthropists of this period that complete eradication of the problems that gripped urban society – overcrowding, disease, poverty and housing – was unachievable. Instead, an attempt was made to 'ameliorate', or, 'make better' their situations.

Housing organisations like the Iveagh Trust deserve to be studied in their own right; it is crucial to conduct intricate, autonomous studies of these organisations, recognising the independent part they played, however small, in the campaign against poverty and unsuitable housing. The housing ventures carried out by a multitude of philanthropists over the course of the nineteenth century varied in size, implementation and objective, demonstrating that there was no single uniform approach taken by private philanthropists. Surely this alone warrants the study of these philanthropic housing schemes independently.

Rejecting what Malpass calls 'the inevitability thesis', an inevitable progression from philanthropic housing organisations to welfare state housing, and acknowledging their importance in their own right, I aim to conduct the study

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[80] Tarn, *Five Per Cent Philanthropy: An Account of Housing in Urban Areas between 1840 and 1914* (London, 1973), p. xiv.
[81] Examples of these trends include: Tarn, *Five Per Cent Philanthropy*; Aalen, 'The Working-class Housing Movement in Dublin, 1850-1920', in Bannon, *A Hundred Years of Irish Planning,* pp. 131-188, and Garside, *The Conduct of Philanthropy: William Sutton Trust, 1900-2000* (London, 2000).
[82] David Owen, *English Philanthropy 1660-1960* (Harvard, 1965), p. 373, p. 6.

of the Iveagh Trust, predominantly from the inside, using a great volume of resources available in the Trust's private collection to shed light on it as an individual, and integral, historical housing organisation.[83] The study of the Iveagh Trust is first and foremost the study of a community, and it is by researching within this community, with access to private records previously untouched, analysis has been made possible.

Writing a history of a housing trust from the inside adds additional dimensions to this study often not found in conventional accounts of housing associations, that are built on records such as government publications, parliamentary debates, official reports and legislation. This approach examines the lives of those who lived in the Trust's buildings and it allows one to delve into the community itself and generate an account of the Trust from its natural environment. Looking within can reveal the aims, objectives, intentions and methods of the association, as well as the outcome of these. However, researching the Iveagh Trust purely from the inside has its drawbacks; on every level it is necessary to place what was found inside in the context of the outside world.

Sources and Limitations

The Iveagh Trust Private Archive

Over its 125-year history, the Iveagh Trust has observed Dublin through a multitude of tumultuous phases. Witnessing it first as a deposed capital within the Union of the United Kingdom, the Trust then survived decades of growing discontent which climaxed in the first decades of the twentieth century in revolution and war; the housing organisation saw the establishment of the Free State and subsequently the formation of the Republic. The Iveagh Trust witnessed the growth of communities and watched as society changed, as poverty flourished and abundance drained. While watching, the Trust amassed an abundance of records that not only focused on the progression of activities within the Trust, but records that also have relevance to the capital of Ireland and its people as a whole. Until now, there has been no extensive research into these records, a collection that has remained practically untouched for decades. This is the Iveagh Trust

[83] Malpass, 'The Discontinuous History of Housing Associations in England' (2000), p. 200.

private archive, and the records found here can shed a fresh light on Dublin's poor, the concept of philanthropy and housing provision in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

During my time undertaking this research, much time was spent almost in an attic on Cork Street and in a small room in Bull Alley, sifting through boxes and trunks, rooting through thousands upon thousands of pieces of paper, books, pictures and letters in my quest to research the Iveagh Trust. The materials I found, with the help of external resources, can help not only to shed a light on the administrative and day-to-day running of the Trust, but also highlight the abundance of life and community that thrived within its walls.

The Iveagh Trust private archive is one of great wealth, yet one of disorganisation and many challenges. Over 125 years of documents and memorabilia relating to the Trust can be found within the archive in a disorganised state. For the early-career historian, with limited resources and time, this gives rise to a catch-22 situation. On one hand, an untouched archive is a rare opportunity, making it possible to discover new material that can shed light on some of the past's darkest areas. A private archive of this magnitude can illuminate such housing trusts and divulge a story of everyday experience that can reveal the life of a community as part of a history that until recently has been shied away from – the history of the everyday. However, on the other hand, a privately owned, poorly preserved and disorganised archive poses many problems.

Image 2: Iveagh Trust Private Archive: Attic 1, Elveden House, Cork Street.[84]

When I first gained access to the archive, I expected the typical memoranda of a housing trust – minute books, annual reports and rent books. However, I was not anticipating the sheer volume of material; along with these items were shoeboxes full of application forms, tenant registers, flyers, letters and correspondence, even scrap paper with financial sums on the front and back.

Throughout the four years I have spent researching, a lot of time has been taken up trying to first discover what material I had before me, secondly trying to catalogue it into some manner and thirdly, trying to make sense of it all in some shape or form in order to develop my understanding of the Iveagh Trust. Documents such as the annual reports and minute books were incredibly useful for my research; these materials documented the progression of the Trust, the decisions that were taken, as well as the demand levels and mortality figures on an annual basis. In a cardboard box, piles of completed application forms were found, which date from the mid-1890s until the 1930s. These were certainly not the only

[84] Author's own photograph, Iveagh Trust Private Archive.

application records from this period, but what was recovered. Therefore, although an invaluable source that documents an applicant's background, the records recovered do not give a complete overview of all applicants during the period. At times too, while searching in different boxes, I would find a stray application form, which highlights this disorganisation and incompleteness of this source. The conditions of occupation, or rules the tenants were to abide by, were printed on the back of each application form, which were excellent points of reference in order to develop an understanding of how the Trust operated and what it expected of its residents. One rule stated that all cases of infection, death and birth must be reported to the superintendent. This statement insinuated that these 'infection logs' were somewhere within the Trust's private archive – a crucial source in order to understand the health of the community within the Trust's estates. However, after extensive searching, I came up empty-handed for the period I was researching. Infection logs were found for the 1960s, which only documented the numbers of cases of certain infections, rather than the names of residents who contracted them, and, while they were unusable for my research, their discovery confirms that such records did exist. In addition, weekly reports written to the Trustees from the Secretary of the Trust in Dublin were indispensable, although I could only find these documents from 1936 to 1939. That said, even with all the shortcomings of working out of a private archive that is uncatalogued, disorganised and ill-preserved, the materials I did find were of great interest and value.

Image 3: A Box from the Iveagh Trust Private Archive[85]

Other Sources

There is no doubt that due to the sheer volume of unorganised and uncatalogued material, I do not have a complete, A-to-Z picture of the Iveagh Trust from its own archive alone. Therefore, it has been necessary to research in other archives, such as the Dublin City Archive, the census records of 1901 and 1911 and the Guinness Trust (London Fund) records held in the London Metropolitan Archive. The Guinness Trust (London Fund) records were beneficial, including similar materials such as annual reports and minute books as well as instruction manuals, statistical reports, and public notices and signs that were hung up throughout the Trust's properties.

It has also meant searching elsewhere for other, non-traditional resources of historical research. Throughout this thesis, the use of oral history has at times helped to bring the black and white documents to life. In addition, analysis of the physical space of the Iveagh Trust, and the material culture of those living within the buildings themselves has allowed analysis that would be unequalled on an architectural drawing or map. Examination of Nellie's flat, the museum flat of the Iveagh Trust, for example, can bring to life the physical space that residents lived within and the materials, facilities and objects they possessed. Investigation into

[85] Author's own, Iveagh Trust Private Archive.

this physical space will reveal the importance of this private space and highlight the assumptions of the Trust on their working class philanthropic recipients.

This thesis draws on an array of archives. Primarily, access to the Iveagh Trust private archive has been a great asset that has enabled research into the very core of the Trust. However, in order to place the history of the Iveagh Trust and its people in a wider context of public health debates and housing provision, additional sources have been used. Beatrice Webb, who accompanied social investigator Charles Booth on his study of the poor in the East end of London in the late nineteenth century, affirmed that 'a subtle combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis is a necessary factor in social studies'.[86] This blend of methodological form is indeed imperative. Demographic and statistical analysis of census returns, registrar general reports and annual reports, were, in addition, integral. Mortality figures cited in the Iveagh Trust annual reports have been beneficial in order to assess the overall health of the community, but only with the aid of external sources that document the mortality rates of the wider neighbourhood. It was necessary to calculate these figures for both the internal Iveagh Trust community and the areas beyond its reach so the impact of the newly built Trust dwellings, and their management styles in the field of public hygiene could be evaluated. For this, the Registrar General reports were an advantageous source. These reports, released on an annual basis, record among other things the birth, death and marriage statistics of each area throughout the country. In addition, the reports also chronicle statistics on most widespread causes of death as well as documenting extraordinary occurrences, such as infectious outbreaks in a particular neighbourhood or county. Since no hard data, such as the names of the dead, the born or marriage records within the community, could be found in the private archive, it was not possible search individual birth, death and marriage records. In addition, attempts were made to access to the Glasnevin cemetery records, to no avail.

At many points throughout my research it was necessary to draw on sources that enlivened the people of the community. Most importantly, the digitised censuses of 1901 and 1911 were integral in the composition of a

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[86]Beatrice Webb, *My Apprenticeship* (first published 1926) (Cambridge, 1979), pp. 216-7.

demographic database; a fundamental component of this thesis is to enliven the history of the Trust from the often static records of the organisation itself, to the people who belonged to it. These censuses, in conjunction with records such as the application files and tenant registries from the private archive, has made this happen; it has helped to answer essential questions that have often been brushed over by previous scholarship – Who were these dwellings intended for? Did the Trust manage to house people from the very class the gift was intended for? On establishment, Guinness determined that the Trust would seek to ameliorate the poorest of the labouring classes, not usually reached by other philanthropic housing providers. Yet it is necessary to ask how far down the social ladder the Trust managed to reach. Analysis of the economic demography of a snap shot of the Iveagh Trust community, chiefly from the 1901 and 1911 census, helps answer these questions. In addition, analysis of the religious make-up of this community, along with family size, gender and birthplace have added colour to this community and have been important in assessing the levels of communal integration, socialisation and general relations of the people who lived and worked within the Iveagh Trust estates. Moreover, this examination of religious composition has answered one of the most important questions of all; did the Iveagh Trust uphold the 'Ethos of Inclusion' that Guinness included in its founding document? However, the fact that only two complete censuses are available to the public poses limitations. Therefore, the demographic analysis I use throughout this thesis can only give a 'snap-shot' of the community; the fact that the 1926 census is not due to be released until 2026 means that I could not conduct a comparable study into the later period.

No study of a philanthropic institution designed to ameliorate the conditions of the poor would be complete without the use of newspapers and official reports on public health. Using articles in newspapers from both sides of the Irish Sea, a considerable amount of information can be accumulated regarding the scale of the slum problem, perceptions of philanthropy and the Iveagh Trust in general. To investigate the relationship between the Trust and the Corporation, analysis of records of council minutes and reports are also mandatory. Furthermore, use of official reports on housing provision for the working class are integral in order to place the ameliorative objective of the Trust in some

measurable frame. Moreover, in order to reveal the everyday experience of tenants during the revolutionary period, 1913 – 1922, research was undertaken in various archives, such as the Bureau of Military History, the Military Pensions records, the Irish National Roll of Honour, as well as within the National Archives.

Timeline 1889 – 1939

Due to the incomplete and disorganised nature of the Iveagh Trust private archive, there are obvious gaps in the analysis of the Iveagh Trust for the period since establishment until 1939. While much has been done to try and fill these through the use of external archives, there are still areas where the history of the Iveagh Trust still sits comfortably in the grey. Similarly, some external resources have at times fallen short, such as the unavailability of the 1926 census until 2026.

Moreover, the majority of housing projects undertaken by the Iveagh Trust during this period were in the first fifteen years of the twentieth century. The pre-independence period, 1890 – 1922, can also be considered the formative period for the community, and the availability of the 1901 and 1911 census has made it possible to analyse this community's demography. While the period between 1922 to 1939, in independent Ireland, is covered throughout the thesis, it is limited to certain aspects where sources were available. Furthermore, during this period, new builds by the Trust were limited to one housing project in the new working class suburb of Crumlin, and the extension and modernisation of their oldest estate, New Bride/Kevin Street.

The decision to include the progress of the Iveagh Trust during the post-independence period was made because of certain sources that were available. For example, the weekly reports are an excellent resource, however, I could only find them for the years 1936-9. In addition, it was resolved to incorporate this period in order to demonstrate the shift from primarily philanthropic and voluntary associations that provided housing in the earlier period to more state involvement, which culminated in Fianna Fail's slum clearance programmes and Dublin Corporation's suburban ventures in the 1930s.

Thesis Structure

This thesis has four main research chapters, each with four subsections. Chapter one explores the announcement of the gift that led to the formation of the Iveagh Trust, placing the philanthropic benefaction in a wider context of Victorian mentalities and the culture of philanthropy that was widespread at the time. Firstly, the chapter explores the virtues and mentalities that embraced the Victorian age in Britain and Ireland, and the concept of Victorian philanthropy, which can be considered an active embodiment of these mentalities. It also examines other philanthropic housing ventures that were established during this period and draws comparisons and contrasts with the Guinness' Iveagh Trust. In addition, the motivations of Guinness' gift-giving are investigated, placing these motivations in the context of the changing character of the peerage into a more modern, industrial and entrepreneurial 'Beerage'. Secondly, this chapter assesses how Guinness' philanthropic gift was received on its announcement in November 1889. This is carried out primarily through analysis of articles in both Irish and British newspapers. While it will be shown that perception of the gift was mostly positive, it was not without controversy, which was particularly focused on Guinness' decision to split the gift unevenly between London and Dublin. Thirdly, the ironic and sometimes contradictory nature of the Iveagh Trust gift is explored, with regard to the displacement of people, the displacement of culture and a conflict of intent: the Trust forbade the sale of alcohol and intoxication from its grounds, all the while the philanthropic gift was funded by the very substance it banned. Finally, this chapter will examine the concept of reciprocal exchange, first championed by French anthropologist Marcel Mauss. In his theory, 'the gift' is a reciprocal one, one that pervades all aspects of society, which is based on a system of mutuality. Philanthropy, an act of giving, in nineteenth century Britain and Ireland, also relied on this principle of reciprocity. This concept can further our understanding of not only the motives of the philanthropists in the creation of such projects as the Iveagh Trust, but also contextualise the action taken by the Trust in relation to the recipients of the philanthropic gift. Moreover, this section will touch on issues of social control, and the desire, on the part of the philanthropists, to uplift the working poor in the realm of morality and respectability.

Chapter Two sketches out the main developments of the Trust primarily from its foundation in 1890 until 1915, as it was during this period that the Trust was most productive in terms of constructing dwellings and amenities for Dublin's working class. In addition, this chapter will also sketch out the one housing development in the period covered by this thesis that was different than the rest - Iveagh Gardens - the first and only suburban venture undertaken by the Trust during this period, in the late 1920s and 1930s, along with the extension and modernisation of the Iveagh Trust's oldest estate, New Bride/Kevin Street. Firstly, this chapter will analyse the Trust's Deed, a document that established the Trust in Dublin and set out the primary objectives of the Trust's founder. It provides biographical profiles of those chosen to implement the gift, the Trustees, and assesses the organisational structures put in place to ensure that the founder's objectives were executed. It also examines the productivity of the Trust during its first phase, when it was administratively linked with London as the Guinness Trust (Dublin Fund). It assesses the action, or inaction, of the Dublin Fund, by drawing comparisons with the London Fund during the same period. Furthermore, it argues that the reason for the severance of ties between the two funds in 1903 (which resulted in the formation of the Iveagh Trust) was not simply a rational move resulting from Iveagh's additional, yet analogous, philanthropic projects, but came about due to the inefficiency of action and slow progress that the Dublin fund experienced in the crucial establishment phase of 1890-1902. Finally, a detailed examination into the projects undertaken by Iveagh and the Trust during the period this thesis covers is provided.

Chapter Three attempts to answer probably the most important question of all; did the Iveagh Trust, through its activities of housing the poor, ameliorate their suffering that emerged from the deathly environments of the slums? In other words, did Iveagh succeed in his overall objective? Did clean, dry and structurally sound housing actually work for those it was intended for? In order to do this, an analysis of the economic demography of the community is necessary. This was completed primarily through census data from 1901 and 1911. Then, an examination of the amelioration of the physical structures notes the necessary improvements made to the new and improved Iveagh Trust buildings in comparison to the surrounding slums. While the Iveagh Trust dwellings were vast

improvements, they were not perfect and often, these imperfections were voiced. Following this, a comparative analysis assesses the impact these new buildings had on the inhabitants in terms of physical health. This has been done by calculating the crude mortality rate for the Iveagh Trust community on an annual basis for the entire period and comparing them against those of the wider neighbourhoods. Finally, the interior of an Iveagh Trust dwelling reveals the quest to ameliorate the quality of the life of the residents; the growth of consumption in the nineteenth century, and home decoration in particular, brought with it a conflict within Victorian thought. In order to placate this conflict, a growing correlation between things and morality – things evolved to have moral qualities. In their quest to ameliorate the conditions of the labouring poor under their care, the Iveagh Trust focused not only on the exterior of buildings, but on the interiors too. The amelioration of the working class home interior was a further attempt to alleviate the individual himself. Through a material culture lens, this section explores the attempts the Trust made at this amelioration of the interior, and investigate the interior of one dwelling that has been preserved since it was constructed – Nellie's flat, the museum dwelling of the Iveagh Trust.

Chapter Four explores the community of the Iveagh Trust that was formed as a result of the philanthropic venture's formation. It will firstly examine the concepts of community and analyse whether the Iveagh Trust community was a 'true' community or not, due to its artificial construction. Secondly, this chapter assesses the maintenance of this community through rules and regulations and supervision by both staff and neighbour alike. Thirdly, it undertakes a look into the experiences of members of the community, from the benefits and experiences of working for the Trust, to the community member's experience of wider political and social events, such as the Great War, 1914-18 and the fight for Irish independence, 1916-23. In addition, this section sketches out the religious composition of a snapshot of this community, in an attempt to answer whether the highly regarded 'Ethos of Inclusion' was upheld. Lastly, this chapter will explore the concept of 'community spirit' and identify how it existed within the Iveagh Trust community; it looks at the socialisation of the community members through organised recreational activities, as well as a more casual charitable activity carried out by neighbours, a 'lateral philanthropy' that saw philanthropy being

administered horizontally across rather than vertically down the social ladder. This section also looks at those who did not conform to this romantic ideal of community spirit, the rule-breakers of the community, who went against the grain and were either caught by the Trust or the law.

It is hoped that this thesis will demonstrate the potential of the Iveagh Trust private archive has to offer and set the impetus for further research to be completed on this community.

Chapter 1: The Gift: Philanthropy and the Iveagh Trust

The Guinness Trust (Dublin Fund) was established in 1890 during a period of philanthropic boom throughout the British Isles. It was during the late nineteenth century, in both Britain and Ireland, that philanthropic giving on both a large and small scale became a well-established practice amongst almost every stratum of society. Whilst, as one historian states, the 'philanthropic heart' in Britain beat 'persistently, if erratically' over the course of its history, there is no doubt that philanthropy thrived most abundantly in the nineteenth century - 'if the first half of the nineteenth century saw philanthropy ascendant, the second witnessed its triumph'.[1]

Edward Cecil Guinness' benefaction of £250,000 to Dublin and London for the 'amelioration of the condition of the poor labouring classes' was a philanthropic project of magnitude in both ambition and means - in today's money this sum equates to €33.8/£30 million.[2] During this period such grand gestures of philanthropic giving were commonplace; for example, George Peabody gave £150,000 in 1862 for a similar purpose, worth over €18.5/£16 million today, while after his death in 1900, William Sutton bestowed most of his wealth to establish a model dwellings trust, giving more than £2 million – worth nearly €270/£240 million today.[3] Yet these acts of charitable extravagance were not the only form which philanthropy took in this period. Rather, philanthropic giving was a non-discriminatory practice, permeating all social levels, class groups and genders; it occurred in smaller and more informal, but certainly no less impressive forms, from monetary subscriptions to a broad range of charities, to the multitude of philanthropic dinners, galas, balls and other functions hosted in aid of a cause,

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[1] Frank Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse,* p. 7, p. 41.
[2] *Deed of Trust (Dublin Fund)*; Inflation was calculated using inflation rates from Jim O'Donoughue, Louise Goulding and Grahame Allen, 'Consumer Price Inflation Since 1750', *Economic Trends,* No. 604, (March 2004), pp. 36-46.
[3] On the Peabody benefaction: *The Leeds Mercury*, 24 May 1862; Inflation calculated with same method as Ibid.; On the Sutton benefaction: Patricia Garside, 'The Impact of Philanthropy: Housing provision and the Sutton Model Dwellings Trust, 1900-1939', *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 53, No. 4 (Nov., 2000), p. 743; Inflation calculated with same method as Ibid.

or a more casual and relaxed benevolence, particularly practised by those lower on the social ladder.

This urge to give produced a culture of philanthropy which was a fundamental component created by, and respondent to, Victorian society. The British Isles in the Victorian era witnessed a surge in social consciousness, primarily in response to the development of the scientific and statistical method, but also due to values and attitudes stimulated by a revolution of another kind – that of Evangelicalism. An upsurge in the social consciousness of the people, blended with the values imposed on them as a result of the Evangelical devotional revolution, mixed with the growing problems resulting from the Industrial Revolution allowed philanthropy to flourish in many forms. Philanthropy became an integral part of the recreation, socialisation, and general neighbourliness of all classes, becoming a core value in itself held by Victorians.[4] Additionally, philanthropy was necessary because of the economic and social environments that were created, to a large extent, by the vast industrialisation that occurred at such a rapid rate during the period.[5] At times, the urge to give was so great, particularly by the middle and upper classes, that practically every malaise and discomfort had a cause to support it, and often, more than one. Epidemic disease, orphaned children, abused animals and housing the poor were just a fraction of the causes philanthropists sought to help. For example, during this period, some of the most well-known philanthropic organisations and societies were formed, such as the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (RSPCA, 1824), Barnardos (1866), the Charity Organisation Society (COS, 1869) and the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (NSPCC, 1884).

The history of the Iveagh Trust is, at all levels, the history of philanthropy in its many guises. From the outset, the Trust was philanthropic, and it remained so throughout its history. Obviously, this philanthropy is most clearly seen in the bestowal by Edward Cecil Guinness of the £250,000 that founded the Trust in

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[4] Brian Harrison, 'Philanthropy and the Victorians', *Victorian Studies,* Vol. 9, No. 4 (June, 1966), pp. 353 – 74; Gertrude Himmelfarb, 'The Age of Philanthropy', *The Wilson Quarterly,* Vol. 21, No. 2 (Spring, 1997), pp. 48-55.
[5] Laurence M. Geary and Oonagh Walsh, 'Introduction', *Philanthropy in Nineteenth Century Ireland* (Dublin, 2015), p. 13.

1890. However, it did not stop there, for throughout its operations and community, a more subtle and causal form flowed throughout the establishment's body and its recipients. However, for the purpose of this chapter the philanthropy which will be focused on will be that of the top-down kind, the 'vertical philanthropy' of £250,000 given by Guinness that founded the Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust.

Defined as 'love of one's fellow man', philanthropy had the intention to promote the wellbeing of others. Prochaska has determined that this definition of philanthropy insinuates 'a personal relationship' and because of this, 'it is useful to think of philanthropy broadly as kindness'.[6] Examination of this 'personal relationship' is imperative; the very idea of philanthropy as a relationship, as a personal one for that matter, is an apt one, necessary to keep in mind when assessing the influence, prominence and entire history of such an influential gift that went on to form the Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust and the community within. The 'personal relationship' that philanthropy implies is primarily one between the giver and receiver of the gift itself. Therefore, this concept of philanthropy brings about a further theory of gift-giving. It is by understanding the fundamentals of gift-giving, our understanding of philanthropy is further enlivened.

Although the virtues which spurred philanthropy to its zenith in the late nineteenth century had its origins in the Protestant Evangelical movement of the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth century, philanthropic acts were not unique to Protestants – although they were some of its greatest supporters. Rather, philanthropic giving was common to all religious groups. This is important when assessing philanthropic action and its impact in Ireland, since the religious construct of the country was predominantly Catholic. From the proselytising Irish Church Missions that targeted the Catholic poor, to philanthropy amongst Catholics themselves, it is imperative to keep the social environment, including obvious tensions, at the forefront of this study.

This chapter comprises four sections. Section 1.1 will examine the nature of Victorian philanthropy, analysing the virtues and mentalities that embraced the Victorian age. It will also investigate the philanthropic housing ventures that

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[6] Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse*, p. 7.

occurred before and during the time that Edward Cecil Guinness established his own Trust, such as the Peabody Trust, the housing operations of Octavia Hill, and housing provision by employers for their workers in purpose-built model villages in both Britain and Ireland. Furthermore, inspection into the growing prominence of men of industrial, manufacturing and brewing power, like Guinness, in the inner circles of royalty, involvement in politics, and ultimately the granting of peerages, creating a new caste known as the 'Beerage' is carried out. In Section 1.2, the gift of £250,000 to the cities of London and Dublin will be explored, as it was announced in November 1889. This section examines the reception the gift received in both leading Irish and British national and local newspapers. In addition, it investigates the controversy surrounding the uneven split of the fund that is evident in the media reports coupled with suggestions from the public on how the gift should be utilised. In Section 1.3, the paradoxical nature of philanthropy is explored. This section determines the notion that while philanthropic housing trusts, such as the Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust, had good intentions, oftentimes they did not always lead to beneficial results.[7] It will investigate the paradoxical nature of the gift, with specific regard to the displacement of peoples and culture, coupled with the stringent rules set upon the recipients of the Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust, particularly relating to the strict regulation of alcohol – even though, ironically, the money that funded this philanthropic project was made from the substance itself. Section 1.4, 'The Reciprocal Gift' explores Mauss' theory of gift exchange and reciprocity and how it applies to the Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust case. The implementation of this theory has been used by scholars of nineteenth century philanthropy such as Daniel Weinbren, and more recently, by Linda King.[8] As a key component in the gift-exchange theory, this section will focus primarily on what the givers of this philanthropic gift expected in return from the recipients of it. It will place emphasis on the desire for the moral and behavioural amelioration of

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[7] Brian Harrison, 'Philanthropy and the Victorians', p. 371.
[8] Daniel Weinbren, 'Supporting Self-Help: Charity, Mutuality and Reciprocity in Nineteenth-Century Britain', B. Harris, and P. Bridgen (eds), *Charity and Mutual Aid in Europe and North America Since 1800* (New York, 2007), pp. 67-88; Linda King, '"Guinness is good for you": experiments in workers' housing and public amenities by the Guinness Brewery and Guinness/Iveagh Trust, 1872-1915', Laurence Geary and Oonagh Walsh (eds), *Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, pp. 133-160.

the residents of the Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust, which was no doubt assisted by the rigorous rules placed on the residents, coupled with the enforcement of strict surveillance techniques to maintain these improvements. Furthermore, the theory of social control in the Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust and wider philanthropic context will be explored.

1.1. The Iveagh Trust as an emblem of Victorian Philanthropy

1.1.A. Victorian Virtues, Values and Respectability

Virtues and Values, Manners and Morals

> III. 1. Having, First, gained all you can, and, Secondly saved all you can, then 'give all you can.' - *The Use of Money, John Wesley* [9]

It was this tenet from John Wesley's sermon on the use of money - considered a central doctrine of Methodism - that summed up attitudes during the Victorian age. As Himmelfarb notes, Wesley's principle was 'the perfect expression of the apparent paradox behind the Victorian ethos: the fact that the most individualist of countries was also the most philanthropic-minded.'[10] The Victorian era was a period that encompassed virtues and values, and manners and morals, and it was these attitudes and ways of thought that were behind every action taken in the period, particularly in terms of philanthropic giving.

Philanthropy in the Victorian period was an active practice which embodied the mentality and attitudes, in all their forms, that defined the age. The virtues that were upheld rigorously, at least in theory, were ones that embodied the idea of improvement and progress as their theme. The values of thrift, diligence, cleanliness, sobriety, manners, and most of all the quality of 'respectability' were so significant in the social mentality that they became sacred

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[9] John Wesley, 'The Use of Money: A Sermon on Luke xvi. 9' (Sermon 50), *Sermons on Several Occasions* (Bristol, 1760), pp. 114 - 32.
[10] Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The Demoralisation of Society: From Victorian Virtues to Modern Values* (London, 1995), p. 143.

virtues that determined the actions of the period. Guinness' philanthropic actions in both Ireland and England embodied these virtues throughout.

A common myth of Victorian society was that it was 'ruthlessly materialistic, acquisitive and self-centred' with the image of the industrial employer 'invoking the natural, even divine, laws of political economy'.[11] In tandem with this, however, there was an enormous surge in social consciousness and philanthropy, which was grounded in the values, manners and morals the Victorians were fixated with. There was no doubt that the Victorians were obsessed with morality, and it was this moral obsession which contributed to such fanatical social consciousness and philanthropic action.

Credited to Evangelicalism, which together with Methodism was the primary inspirer of the moral reformation, it was this movement which laid the groundwork for the development of these Victorian values.[12] Initiated in the late eighteenth century, the moral reformation came to fruition in the late nineteenth, and the establishment of the Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust occurred during its peak. This moral reformation was not unique to England alone; in Ireland too, the growing influence of evangelicalism was part of a religious awakening among Protestants, including the Church of Ireland.[13] This revival led to the preaching of the Protestant gospel of 'improvement', which resulted in the founding of a plethora of Protestant voluntary societies focused on bringing 'moral elevation' as well as material amelioration.[14]

This rhetoric of moral improvement made its way into the manner in which poverty, and its solutions, were understood. Although many social reformers were aware that poverty could be caused by structural factors, such as low earnings, irregular work and inadequate infrastructure, reasons related to an individual's behaviour, their character and actions, were also taken into account.[15] As Crossman maintains, this 'overtly moralistic view of poverty' was closely

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[11] Idem., 'The Age of Philanthropy', pp. 48 - 9.
[12] Himmelfarb, *The Demoralisation of Society*, p. 6.
[13] Andrew R. Holmes and Eugenio F. Biagini, 'Protestants', Eugenio F Biagini and Mary E. Daly, *The Cambridge Social History of Modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2017), pp. 93-8.
[14] Ibid., p. 97.
[15] Virginia Crossman, *Poverty and the Poor Law in Ireland, 1850-1914* (Liverpool, 2013), pp. 14-19.

associated with evangelical Protestantism.[16] Such an association of religious belief with the act of giving therefore makes it imperative to understand the religious dynamics of Ireland during this period as 'religious faith and religious divisions had a profound impact on the organisation and administration of both private charity and public welfare'.[17]

This fixation on 'moral elevation' and the role of charity was not limited to Protestantism alone; the Catholic Church promoted similar ideals. In 1891, Pope Leo XIII's encyclical, *Rerum Novarum,* was published in response to the conflicts that were widespread due to 'the vast expansion of industrial pursuits and the marvellous discoveries of science; in the changed relations between masters and workmen; in the enormous fortunes of some individuals, and the utter poverty of the masses' and particularly, in 'the prevailing moral degeneracy'.[18] Similar to the rhetoric of the Protestant Evangelists, the Catholic Church maintained that

> the true worth and nobility of man lie in his moral qualities, that is, in virtue; that virtue is, moreover, the common inheritance of men, equally within the reach of high and low, rich and poor; and that virtue, and virtue alone, wherever found, will be followed by the rewards of everlasting happiness.[19]

The Victorian values that spawned from the Evangelical revival throughout the Isles - hard work, duty, thrift, cleanliness, self-reliance, self-respect, neighbourliness and temperance - were values of character, of conduct and of social ethos. Such values of duty and neighbourliness, in particular, and progress and improvement in general, drove the philanthropic inclination, across all classes, to its zenith. It was considered that these were values that the upper and middle classes were to practise and teach fervently, and for the working classes to learn.

Indeed, the values of cleanliness, thrift, progress, sobriety, neighbourliness and duty were bourgeois ones. But as Himmelfarb observes, while often linked to the middle class, these values were not bound to them: 'They were working class values too: ones aspired to … by the "respectable" labouring classes'.[20]

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[16] Ibid., p. 20.
[17] Ibid., p. 21.
[18] Pope Leo XIII, *Rerum Novarum: Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII on Capital and Labour*, 1891.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Gertrude Himmelfarb, 'Victorian Values and twentieth century condescension', summer address, *Centre for Policy Studies* (August 1987), p. 12.

Yet, while there was encouragement for the working classes to learn these values, as Preston maintains, the language of Dublin philanthropists in this period suggests that there was an assumption that the working classes could never attain the status of their teachers, in order to maintain the *status quo* of class structure. It was 'a glass ceiling of class up to which the poor could approach but through which they could never break'.[21]

Respectability and the deserving nature of Victorian philanthropy

> 'Miss M-K: But God helps these [sic] that help themselves!
> Tully: How are we to help ourselves? How's Mary there to help herself with her six children? Only for the Separation Allowance she and them might as well be in the workhouse, even if they could get themselves admitted. Only for that there'd be little for her, and me out of work.
> Miss M-K: Yes … it's hard, but it gives occasion for fortitude. There is much that lies in your power to do and you neglect it. For instance, you should practise cleanliness, which is next to Godliness. - *Blight,* Oliver St. John Gogarty[22]

Cloaking Victorian virtues under a giant umbrella was the concept of 'Respectability'. 'Respectability' was a code of behaviour influenced by Victorian, and predominantly Christian, values. It was a notion that presided over all aspects of the lives of the Victorians, as it encompassed the values that the Victorians were preoccupied with into one single state of mind. However, 'respectability' or 'being respectable' meant different things to different people, genders, and classes. As Harrison maintains,

> Respectability was never cramped within any clearly distinct status-group or occupation; it was an attitude of mind which deeply influenced those who rose, remained stationary, or fell. It impinged on groups of working men of every political opinion and religious denomination, in every region, and at every status-grade within their class, at whatever stage they had reached in their progress towards self-improvement.[23]

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[21] Margaret Preston, 'Discourse and Hegemony: Race and Class in the Language of Charity in Nineteenth-Century Dublin', Tadhg Foley and Seán Ryder (eds), *Ideology and Ireland in the Nineteenth Century* (Dublin, 1998), p. 103.
[22] Oliver St. John Gogarty (Alpha and Omega), *Blight: The Tragedy of Dublin* (Dublin, 1917), p. 11.
[23] Brian Harrison, *Peaceable Kingdom: Stability and Change in Modern Britain* (Oxford, 1982), p. 241.

While the idea of respectability meant different things to different people, classes and genders, its common denominator across all was that the smallest details of daily life - such as personal behaviour, the cleanliness of both body and habitation, dress and the use of language - became the main arena to judge and be judged. Respectability was organised around a complex set of practices and ideals which covered every aspect of an individual's life; it defined appropriate and acceptable modes of behaviour, language and appearance and these social rules and moral codes worked to regulate both individual and class identities. For the working classes, as noted by Himmelfarb, 'respectability was a value that was thoroughly indigenous. It did not even necessarily imply "bettering" themselves, although it was often its effect. More often it simply meant being respected by themselves and by others in their own community'.[24]

Exercising the values of duty, neighbourliness and benevolence, by engaging in some sort of philanthropic or charitable action, was a deed that was necessary for the bourgeois and upper classes to uphold in order to maintain their status as respectable citizens. However, just as the idea of respectability was used by individuals of all classes to regulate and judge their own behaviour, it was also used as a measurement tool for the upper classes to delegate charity to those beneath them, as well as what kind of charity should be employed in the first place. Primarily, this resulted in the division of the labouring classes into two distinct sub-sections, the 'deserving' and the 'undeserving' poor, with the values attached to respectability being used as its instrument of measurement. As Ó Ciosáin maintains, this categorisation of the working classes into 'deserving' and 'undeserving' bands, 'remained probably the fundamental distinctions in social welfare policy in Europe until the twentieth century, and it underlay many of the developments of the early modern period'.[25]

The classification of the labouring classes into 'deserving' and 'undeserving' categories was considered a pragmatic way to combat indiscriminate and unsystematic charity. While the Victorian values of duty, charity and respect

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[24] Himmelfarb, *The Demoralisation of Society*, p. 31.
[25] Niall Ó Ciosáin, 'Boccoughs and God's Poor: Deserving and Undeserving Poor in Irish Popular Culture', Foley, and Ryder (eds), *Ideology and Ireland in the Nineteenth Century* (Dublin, 1998), p. 96.

promoted ideas of compassion, mutual sympathy and justice, in the mid-nineteenth century there was criticism in the way in which charity and philanthropy were being administered. The introduction of the Poor Laws established a new kind of charity, it transformed it from a moral obligation to a legal right, which in turn almost, at least in the opinion of some, 'relived the poor of the obligation to work', resulting in 'fatal consequences of a good principle'.[26] Charity as a 'legal right' created a new kind of poor, 'the pauper' who, because of this legal right, was void of the values requisite for gaining respectability. 'Philanthropy' wrote the *Chamber's Journal,* 'has turned the moral world upside down' by giving indiscriminately which 'discourages habits of self-reliance, and creates the pauperism it is professedly designed to alleviate'.[27] These ideas were reflected in the establishment of certain charities which aimed to make giving more discriminatory and, therefore, by this logic, more effective. This was the objective of the Charity Organisation Society (COS), founded in London in 1869, designed, as its name suggests, to organise charity and to 'repress mendicity'.[28]

'Respectability' was used as a tool of measurement between the reputable and the rough, between poor and pauper, which almost amounted to a class distinction, a distinction that was cast in more moral than economic terms. The values that made up the concept of respectability – thrift, diligence, self-respect, hard work – were those that defined the 'deserving' poor. They were values to which the upper classes expected those seeking help to at least to strive for, and in doing so made them worthy of help from those who already embodied these values. The deserving poor were those who were poor through no fault of their own; they were poor either by accident or by age, who were responsible, did not complain and adhered to the values instilled in the Victorian mind. Although they had little, and struggles were plentiful, they also worked hard to survive by their own means. They practised the value of cleanliness upon their person, their children and their home. Even in the midst of the squalor of their slum

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[26] Himmelfarb, *The Idea of Poverty: England in the Early Industrial Age* (London, 1984), p. 49.
[27] *Chamber's Journal of Popular literature, Science, and Art*, 20 July 1878.
[28] Bernard Harris, 'Charity and Poor relief in England and Wales Circa 1750 – 1914' , Bridgen and Harris (eds), *Charity and Mutual Aid in Europe and North America Since 1800* (New York 2007), p. 31.

environment, they decorated and furnished as best to their ability. They made the effort to remain respectable, to have a good character, despite all the difficulties and temptation to the contrary.[29]

Conversely, the undeserving poor were those who were poor because they failed to adhere to the strict moral code that made up the notion of 'respectability'. They were poor because of their laziness, personal problems, spending their money on vices such as drinking and gambling. Disdain for this sector of the working class was often voiced; when Thomas Dawson was asked where he thought the 'won't-works' should live during the housing inquiry of 1914, he replied 'in a penal colony'.[30] They were the vagrants, the drunks, the beggars and the paupers of society. For this group, private charity of the late nineteenth century was not possible – giving indiscriminately would not be fair on those who seemed to deserve the philanthropic aid more. It was maintained that

> if the practice of indiscriminate almsgiving were abandoned, the poverty and wretchedness in our great cities would be enormously diminished. The undeserving would suffer, but the deserving poor would have a much better chance of securing useful assistance.[31]

This division of the poor into deserving and undeserving groups was not limited to Protestant social thinking. In 1911, the *Catholic Bulletin* split Irish society into three distinct groups, 'the useful, the useless, and the hurtful'.[32] The 'useful' were men and women that 'positively aid … fellow beings', the 'useless', 'selfishly look at [their] own interests alone', while the 'hurtful' were 'those who by word, action or omission lower or aid in lowering the tone of society', by betting and the 'reading of trashy literature'.[33] While 'betting in itself is not wrong', it could easily become an 'evil if one exposes oneself to the proximate danger of losing what one cannot afford, or had not a right, to lose'.[34] This again furthers the

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[29] Himmelfarb, *The Demoralisation of Society*, p. 32.
[30] Witness Testimony of Mr. Thomas Dawson, *Appendix to report of the department committee appointed by the Local Government Board for Ireland to inquire in the housing conditions of the working classes in the city of Dublin (Minutes of evidence, with appendices)* [cd. 7317] [1914], p. 62.
[31] *The Irish Times*, 15 January 1902.
[32] *The Catholic Bulletin,* 5 May 1911.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid.

'evangelical' ideals of thrift and diligence, demonstrating that they were as much a part of the Catholic mind-set as they were Protestant.

Furthermore, this distinction between deserving and undeserving was not only specific to how middle and upper classes looked on the labouring classes. As respectability was a state of mind that touched all social strata, even those who fell into the deserving category were quick to maintain their eligibility to be in that group. As respectability was a function of character, the written proof of respectability lay in the character references from employers, neighbours and acquaintances alike. Himmelfarb notes that often character references were carried on the person as a constant reminder of who they were.[35] Character references were necessary for acceptance into the Iveagh Trust, and there are some instances where multiple references covering the entire adult life of the person are documented.[36] This action of holding onto character references demonstrates the importance of the concept of 'respectability', or to be seen as 'respectable', to the majority of the working classes.

As will be demonstrated throughout this thesis, the philanthropy of the Iveagh Trust was embedded in the Victorian virtue of 'respectability', with the Trust administration holding the notion highly; the rules and regulations which were imposed on the recipients of the philanthropic gift enforced this idea through and through. However, the acceptance of this notion was not universal. Coinciding with the Gaelic cultural revival and the fight for independence was a sheer attack on such values that were deemed uniquely 'English', as the very antithesis of 'Irishness'. D.P. Moran's vehicle for cultural and political revolutionary thought, *The Leader*, dismissed the notion of 'respectability' as a blatant exercise in West Britonism, stating:

> I hate the word respectable … why should Irishmen want to be "respectable" in the bourgeois British sense? ... In the craving for respectability the Irishman with a modest income has grasped at the shadow and dropped the substance, or, to draw on Aesop further, the Saxon had cried, "What a sweet voice!" and the Irish raven

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[35] Himmelfarb, *The Demoralisation of Society,* p. 32.
[36] Character References, Miscellaneous files, CS/BX/HISTORICAL/MISCELLANEOUS, and Application Forms, 1899-1939, BA/BX/2 [ITA]

> had let fall the delicate morsel into his extended jaws. The Celt himself is a born flatterer, but he had been out-flattered industrially. [37]

Moran maintained that those who drifted away 'on the tide of a shoddy respectability', undermined their 'own fabric of natural nobility'.[38] In fact, to those like Moran, the emulation of these respectable values in the British sense was a turn away from Irish identity, and the acceptance of them would only hinder the Irish cause of self and state. Paradoxically, however, Moran himself was perhaps the embodiment of Catholic, middle-class respectability.[39] This conflict of 'British' values in an 'Irish' philanthropic context is especially unique in the Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust case. Although the founder of the Trust, Edward Cecil Guinness, was an Irishman, in many ways he embodied the attitudes and assumptions of a Englishman. A member of the Church of Ireland and a staunch conservative and Unionist, Guinness often voiced his opposition to Irish independence in any form. Additionally, over the course of his life, the Dublin-born Guinness gravitated towards England, with residences in Suffolk and London. Moreover, the Guinness Trust gift bestowed in 1890 gave London 80 per cent of the monetary gift. As will be explored throughout this thesis, this bestowal echoes his strive for the maintenance of a link between the two isles – as an emblem of a union itself.

The Victorian attitude toward the morality of the poor and their amelioration was integral to the outcomes of such philanthropic endeavours. Their moral attitudes were fundamental to both the creation of slums and the cautious approach taken towards eradicating them. Coupled with this, the categorisation of the poor into 'deserving' and 'undeserving' groups, only intensified the situation. The Victorians, who, according to Himmelfarb, were 'avowedly, unashamedly, incorrigibly moralists', applied their values to identifying between those respectable citizens, deserving help, and those who were beyond it, which resulted in a widening wedge within the working class, creating almost an underclass, unworthy of assistance.[40] The philosophy that all charities and projects set up to ameliorate the poor should start with the deserving group and their reluctance to

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[37] *The Leader*, 29 December 1900.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Patrick Maume, *D.P. Moran: Life and Times* (Dublin, 1995), p. 53.
[40] Himmelfarb, The Age of Philanthropy', p. 55.

recognise this splinter group made sure that poverty, filth and disintegration would prevail at least on some level; philanthropy in this period could therefore never eradicate or solve a problem, only ameliorate it. Part of the reasoning, at least to the Victorians themselves, of why this distinction could be made was because of the prevailing economic policy of *laissez-faire*, developed by Adam Smiths' *Wealth of Nations,* a policy which strove to maintain the 'natural' economic and social order. *Laissez-faire* not only recognised the economy as a free one, but it also recognised that 'the poor, as much as the rich, were free, responsible, moral agents'.[41] The poor had the ability to make their own decisions, and therefore choose to be respectable; it was the idea of moral responsibility, and those responsible were those involved. Indeed, the very impulse of philanthropy was inspired by a dual motive, 'to serve others' but also to 'fulfil a moral need'.[42] In terms of the Iveagh Trust, the values that made up the moral code of the nineteenth century was integral in the giving of the gift, the establishment of the Trust itself, and its overall survival.

1.1.B. Philanthropic Housing Ventures in the Victorian Age

Housing provision for the lower classes became an issue of paramount importance, particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century. A heightened awareness of the struggles faced by those lower on the social scale, through statistical and scientific investigations related to the sanitary and economic implications of the living situations of the poor, combined with the growing acknowledgement that city life had detrimental effects on the mind, body and soul, forced the issue of housing the poor into the public, and philanthropic, sphere. By the mid-nineteenth century, the response to urbanisation, and all the issues that accompanied it - disease, death, dirt and poverty- were that of confusion, chaos and fear. The Victorian city became an arena of perplexing and rapid change, with the romantic connotations once associated with city living long gone; the migratory flow of people from rural to urban areas ensured a constant reshaping of the population demographic and that population's needs. Dublin was no

[41] Idem., *The Idea of Poverty,* p. 63.
[42] Idem., 'The Age of Philanthropy', p. 52.

exception; this migratory flow, along with outdated infrastructure led to ruinous tenements densely crowded in the poorer neighbourhoods with critical overcrowding within their walls.

It became clear to many social reformers of all disciplines - medical officers, religious leaders, private philanthropists - that the provision of housing was necessary for not only economic and physical alleviation but for behavioural and moral elevation.[43] The improvement of the habitations of the poorer citizens of urban areas would result in the development of a more healthy urbanised workforce, which would impact positively on the individual, their families, their employers (by increased productivity), and, in turn, their communities and the city as a whole. Science also played a role in transforming attitudes towards health and housing, particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century. The development of the statistical sciences and social theory, along with the scientific method, contributed to the understanding that better environments would lead to better health. This realisation was reflected by the upsurge in legislation throughout the 1860s and 70s, aimed at clearing slum areas and providing housing, such as the Artisans' and Labourers' Dwellings Act of 1868 (known as the Torrens Act) and the Cross Act of 1875, (later amended in the Labourers' (Ireland) Act, 1883), along with the establishment of private philanthropic housing ventures in both Britain and Ireland throughout the period.

While the provision of housing as a mode of philanthropy was established at its height in the late Victorian period, this did not mean that there was one uniform strategy in which these housing ventures were developed and run. Instead, like other philanthropic causes, there were many forms and approaches envisioned for the provision of housing. This subsection will examine various philanthropic housing incentives carried out in Britain and Ireland during the second half of the nineteenth century.

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[43] For examples of this, please see the witness testimonies in *Appendix to report of the department committee appointed by the Local Government Board for Ireland to inquire in the housing conditions of the working classes in the city of Dublin (Minutes of evidence, with appendices)* [cd. 7317] 1914.

The Peabody Trust

The Peabody Trust was founded in 1862 by George Peabody, a self-made American businessman-turned-philanthropist.[44] It was this Trust which bore the most similarity to Guinness' later Trust and there is no doubt that it was the greatest influence when Guinness began to set out the plan for his own operation.

From a fund of £150,000 came one of the most successful, and well known, housing providers for the lower classes of the nineteenth century in Britain. While Peabody never specified what the money donated should be used for, the Trustees he appointed directed their attention towards housing. As Tarn outlines, there were three conditions that Peabody intended his gift to be used by. Firstly, it was a fund dedicated to the amelioration of the conditions of the poor and their comforts. Secondly, it placed a heavy emphasis on the exclusion from the fund of the influence of religion and of party politics. Thirdly, a condition was based on the recipients themselves. Peabody maintained that the 'sole qualification' for part of the fund 'shall be an ascertained and continued condition of life, such as brings the individual within the description (in the ordinary sense of the word) of 'the poor' of London; combined with moral character, and good conduct as a member of society.'[45]

From the outset, the Peabody Trust was a 'Five per cent' philanthropic venture. 'Five per cent philanthropy' was an approach that aimed to demonstrate that decent housing standards could be achieved at affordable rents if the shareholders were willing to accept a return lower than the usual seven-to-ten per cent return rate on their investment. In the case of the Peabody Trust, a rate of two per cent

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[44] While the Peabody Trust was an extensive philanthropic donation geared towards the provision of housing for the lower classes in Britain, Peabody also exercised his philanthropic inclinations in the realm of education, primarily in America. Across America, Peabody founded a plethora of educational institutions, including libraries, museums, and galleries. He funded many prizes to encourage private and public school students and after the American Civil War, and gave $2,000,000 to the Peabody Fund for Southern Education, which focused on providing education to the newly emancipated slaves; Kathleen Burk, 'Peabody, George, (1795-1869)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004) [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21664, accessed 13 July 2017]

[45] Letter dated 12 March 1862 from Peabody to the Trustees, quoted in Tarn, *Five Per Cent Philanthropy: An Account of housing in urban areas between 1840 and 1914* (Cambridge, 1973), p. 45.

was the sought after return.[46] The 'Five per cent' philanthropic model was common in housing trusts that acted as model dwellings. They led by example in the execution of philanthropy on modest commercial lines, showing that it was possible to do good and gain, while also exhibiting the possibilities of providing decent working class housing in urbanised areas.

The Peabody Trust built various estates throughout London, in Blackfriars, Chelsea, Islington, Spitalfields and Whitechapel. The estates were constructed as imposing square blocks of dwellings with courtyards in the centre. Tarn notes that their design was 'severe and unadorned' with the central doorway being the 'only relieving feature'.[47] Inside, the finishes were intentionally 'Spartan' with 'all the walls left unplastered to minimise risk of vermin and wallpaper was forbidden.'[48]

There is no question that the Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust was influenced by the Peabody Trust, even the initial media reports determine that Guinness' Trust was heavily shaped by the thirty-year-old Trust at the time of establishment, and they are, in many forms, almost indistinguishable.[49] However, unlike the five per cent philanthropists like Peabody, the Guinness Trust had no investors or shareholders, although 'they generally aimed to show an appositive rate of return on the capital invested by the Trustees.'[50]

The Dublin Artisans Dwellings Company

In 1875, the Cross Act, which focused on the clearance of slum areas was extended to Ireland. The following year, the Dublin Artisans Dwelling Company (DADC) was formed. The new company was developed and managed on the increasingly popular five per cent return on investment, much like the Peabody Trust.

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[46] Peter Malpass, 'Continuity and Change in Philanthropic Housing Organisations: The Octavia Hill Housing Trust and the Guinness Trust', *The London Journal,* Vol. 24, No. 1, (1999) p. 42.
[47] Tarn, *Five Per Cent Philanthropy*, p. 47.
[48] Ibid., p. 46.
[49] For further discussion on the similarities of the Peabody Trust and the Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust, as expressed by the media, please see Section 1.2.A, pp. 67 – 70.
[50] Malpass, 'Continuity and Change in Philanthropic Housing Organisations', p. 41.

The DADC is understood to be the first private attempt at building houses for the labouring classes on a large scale in Dublin. Edward Cecil Guinness' brother, Sir Arthur Guinness (later Lord Ardilaun) was the first president of the company. Guinness himself was a Trustee and large shareholder of the DADC, highlighting that his interest in working class housing did not begin with the benefaction that created the Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust. The DADC was registered as a company on 8 August 1876, with a capital of £50,000 in 20,000 shares at £10 each.[51] Between establishment and 31 December 1876, 3,123 shares were applied for and allotted.[52] Those involved in the running and management of the DADC were business families well known in Dublin's industrial and commercial circles, such as the Findlaters, Pims, La Touches, and Lord and Lady Meath.

Within the first few years, the company purchased a site on Upper Buckingham Street, while it also took out long leases on sites at Echlin Street and Upper Dominick Street. Like most philanthropic ventures of this age, the company stated that it aimed to provide improved housing for the working class at a moderate cost, but in reality, as often was the case, the DADC catered for the wealthier of the working classes rather than the truly needy. That said, the philanthropic model proved successful, at least on a commercial scale; by 1897, the DADC had a capital of £200,000 broken into 20,000 shares at £10 each.[53] Its rate of construction was also positive: by 1913, the total number of dwellings the DADC owned was 3,879, with an estimated population of 16,161.[54] After 38 years, the number of houses amounted to an average of 102 additional dwellings being provided each year.

Octavia Hill

In contrast to the model dwelling houses, the philanthropic housing of Octavia Hill was based on the management of existing dwellings rather than focusing on new builds. Hill was born into a lower middle class family, and did not have the financial means to set up an official Trust or Company. Instead, with the help of investors, she took over the management of properties offered to her, while

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[51] *Thom's Directory* (1877), p. 1290; *The Irish Times,* 6 March 1877.
[52] *The Irish Times*, 6 March 1877.
[53] *Thom's Directory* (1897), p. 1293.
[54] *The Irish Times*, 23 January 1914.

also concentrating on renovating and improving existing ruinous dwellings and houses throughout London.[55] Although Hill's mode of housing provision for the lower classes was vastly different in implementation and organisational structure, she still needed investors, and, like the 'Five per cent' philanthropic housing schemes such as Peabody, aimed to give her investors a similar low return on their investment.

Octavia Hill's manner of housing provision differed radically from that of the Guinness Trust. As Malpass maintains, Hill's operation was 'characterised by a deep reluctance to set up any kind of formal organisational structure'.[56] The Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust, on the other hand, was organised on every level. It was a centralised structure with a head office run by full-time paid staff, and had other paid employees on their sites. In contrast, Hill's operation was mainly run by volunteers.

Across London, Victorian housing providers were clearly noticeable through the imposing architectural mark left throughout all the areas of the city. Unfortunately, as Malpass observes, because Hill never focused on any new builds, nor had a centralised structure, her operation 'failed to make the same kind of visual impact'.[57] That said, Hill was more successful in other ways, particularly in the class of people she managed to help. Due to the fact that Hill worked on a small scale, buying existing cheap houses and dwellings, she was able to keep the rents of these dwellings at levels that were comfortable for the poorest of the poor - the same cannot be said for the bigger housing trusts which focused on new builds.

Moreover, a gender component exists when comparing the involvement of people in Hill's operation with the bigger Trusts. As Malpass notices, the majority of Hill's housing managers were female volunteers, whereas, in the case of the Guinness Trust, there was little female involvement, at least at the senior levels. Within the Guinness Trust, females seem to only appear lower down on the authority ladder.

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[55] Malpass, 'Continuity and Change in Philanthropic Housing Organisations', p. 44.
[56] Ibid., p. 42.
[57] Ibid., p. 44.

Industrial Model Villages

The developing industrial economy brought with it a new kind of worker. Skilled or unskilled, these labourers worked in factories throughout the major cities in Britain, as well as in Ireland. To industrial employers, it was understood that the health of the workforce was integral to their business success, in terms of financial profit, productivity and overall industrial accomplishment. Philanthropy, carried out by industrial factory owners, brought many advantages for their own business. In the late nineteenth century, there was a growth in the number of industrial employers providing healthcare and housing for their workers. This approach could secure employers greater financial profit through the greater capacity for productivity of their employees. It could also, arguably, secure the greater loyalty of their workers. These were the assumptions of Edward Cecil Guinness; during his witness testimony at the inquiry into the housing of the working classes in 1885, Edward Cecil Guinness was asked about the profit he received for housing his brewery workers in the Bellevue and Rialto buildings:

> (Chairman): I suppose that the direct return on the capital sunk on those dwellings is either nil or very small? – (Guinness) Between 1½ and 2 per cent., I believe.
>
> (Chairman): Then do you mean that you make your profit in the improved capacity of the people to work? – (Guinness) Yes, they live in fresher air and are more healthy; there are fewer days in the year when they are unable to do their work, it saves in that way.[58]

Throughout the Victorian age, industrial employers began constructing not only houses for their workers, but created organised communities positioned around their industrial enterprise. Behind this kind of philanthropic housing operation were many industrial Quaker families. The confectioners, Cadbury and Rowntree were both Quakers who each built model garden villages for their workers. George Cadbury built what would become known as Bournville while Rowntree was responsible for the village at New Earswick. Bournville was built on a fourteen acre site outside Birmingham and close to the Cadbury's new factory built in 1879. However, Bournville was not only for factory workers, although they

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[58] Witness testimony of Sir Edward Cecil Guinness, *Third Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners for Inquiring into the Housing of the Working Classes. Minutes of Evidence, etc. (Ireland),* [cd. 4547], [1885], p. 44.

did comprise about 40% of the inhabitants.[59] As Tarn maintains, the objective of Bournville was to 'encourage a social intermixture of all classes'.[60] While the first cottages were built shortly after the founding of the new factory in 1879, it was not until at least 1895 that the concept of constructing an entire village came to fruition. In 1900, Cadbury founded the Bournville Village Trust to administer and manage the village, which by that time covered an area of 330 acres and had 313 houses. Unlike other housing trusts which almost formed closed off citadels within towns and cities, Bournville over time became part of the wider suburbs of Birmingham.

Joseph Rowntree's model village of New Earswick was founded on a twenty-nine acre site in York. The site was purchased in 1901, close to the Rowntree's factory. It was a true model garden suburb with sites for a chapel, school, library, shops and houses as well as ample open spaces for village greens. In 1904 the village was consolidated when Rowntree established the Joseph Rowntree Village Trust to manage it.

Quakers had established a strong presence in Ireland, with successful Quaker families becoming household names, such as the Pims and Bewleys. While the Pim family did construct houses in Harold's Cross for their workers, it was two other families, the Malcolmsons and the Richardsons, who created entire model villages outside Dublin. The Malcolmsons built in Portlaw, Co. Waterford, and the Richardsons did the same at Bessbrook, Co. Armagh.

Mayfield, Portlaw, County Waterford

David Malcolmson came from a Quaker family with a history in corn-trading, who subsequently delved into the cotton milling industry. In 1825, he constructed a cotton mill at Portlaw, Waterford, that employed 1,600 people at its peak.[61] Over the course of the 1830s, Malcolmson began to build single storey houses for his factory workers and their families, eventually erecting a total of 465 houses. The village, which became known as Mayfield, was one of radial design, with houses on

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[59] Tarn, *Five Per Cent Philanthropy,* p. 161.
[60] Ibid., p. 159.
[61] Maria Elena Turk, 'Workers' Housing at Portlaw, County Waterford - An Assessment', *Industrial Archaeology Review*, Vol. 35, No.2 (November 2013), p. 100.

either side of wide streets projecting outwards from a grand fountain in the central square.

From the 1840s onwards, more houses were built to provide for an increased population, due to the expansion of Malcolmson's factory. The area surrounding the houses was redesigned into a model village, encompassing a school that employed up to seven teachers at its peak with the curriculum for religious education 'based on the Bible and avoided any denominational bias', a resident doctor, and a gymnasium. In 1838, a temperance and savings society was established known as the Portlaw Club, with shares to be paid for by a weekly deposit of 6d.[62] The club also determined that a person's membership would be forfeited if found guilty of intoxication or 'of giving or taking a drink in a public house (within four miles of his own residence)'.[63] In 1832, the Malcolmsons founded a company shop within Mayfield, even issuing their own cardboard-token money.[64]

This purpose-built model village was distinct from the traditional 'estate villages' built by the 'Big House' landlords. In the case of Portlaw, the village seemed to be in direct conflict with the 'Big House' landlords themselves. In 1834, Henry D. Inglis, a Scottish travel guide author commented that

> I regretted deeply to learn … that Lord Waterford's family have thrown every obstacle in the way of this establishment … only the other day, an attempt had been made to take advantage of some manorial rights, and to demolish the mill dams. Pity it is, that the aristocracy should, even by open acts, separate themselves from the interests of the people around them. The enterprising Quaker… has done more for the neighbourhood than Lord Waterford and all the Beresfords have ever done; and his lordship's pride ought to be less in his magnificent domain, and fine stud, than in the comfortable condition of the surrounding peasantry, and in the establishment which has produced it.[65]

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[62] Desmond G. Neill, 'Portlaw: A Nineteenth Century Quaker Enterprise Based on a Model Village', *Occasional Papers in Irish Quaker History,* No. 1 (1992), p. 9.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid., p. 10.
[65] Henry D. Inglis, *A Journey throughout Ireland, During the Spring, Summer, and Autumn or 1834*, Vol. 1, Part 1, Dublin, Wexford, Kilkenny, Cork (London, 1835), p.36.

By 1851, the industrial village at Portlaw housed 4,351 people, however this number steadily declined thereafter. In 1901, there were only 1,101 people living within the model village confines.[66]

Bessbrook, County Armagh

In 1846, John Grubb Richardson established a spinning mill and linen weaving factory at Bessbrook in County Armagh. Isolated from the linen weaving hub of Belfast, Richardson commented that the creation of a model village for his workers would give him 'the desirable condition of enabling us to control our people and do them good in every sense … I had long resolved that we should have a temperance population in our little colony'.[67] Richardson envisioned a village with wide leafy streets and structurally sound housing for his employees which was 'consciously planned to optimise well-being and social cohesion, with central squares, gardens and allotments'.[68] In addition, fearing the effects of alcohol consumption, Richardson exercised the 'Three P's philosophy at Bessbrook, forbidding public houses and pawn shops. Therefore, in consequence, there would be no need for police.[69] By 1890, the population of Bessbrook was 3,000.

While many of the industrial model dwelling villages were spearheaded by Quakers, there are similar examples which were carried out by others. The charitable endeavours of Titus Salt are one example. A wealthy industrialist, Salt made his fortune in the woollen trade in Bradford, in the north of England. In 1851, he began to build his own worker's town, Saltaire, where his five factories and workers were all in one place. This model village was situated close to the factories and included not only houses for his workers but also bath-houses, a recreation and educational centre, allotments and a park. Moreover, in Ireland, the Guinness family and their brewery were well known for their paternalistic attitude toward their workers, who demonstrated a wish to improve their social circumstances, giving them comprehensive housing, pension and health plans along with a decent

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[66] Neill, 'Portlaw', *Occasional Papers in Irish Quaker History*, p. 15.
[67] Ibid., p. 12.
[68] Linde Lunney, "Richardson, John Grubb". *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge, 2009) (http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a7670)
[69] Ibid.

wage. The Guinness family did not establish a separate 'village' but constructed their houses nearby the brewery in Bellevue and Rialto. The beneficence of the Guinness brewery towards their workers is very well known even today, so much so that often the Iveagh Trust is mistakenly thought of as housing for the brewery workers.[70]

The housing ventures carried out by a multitude of philanthropists over the course of the nineteenth century varied in size, implementation and objective, demonstrating that there was no single uniform approach taken by private philanthropists. The Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust, while influenced by certain previous attempts (chiefly the Peabody Trust), was also unique in many ways. Unlike many of the operations discussed here, the Guinness Trust had the ability to begin constructing almost immediately, because of the huge sum that that the Trustees were given on establishment which meant that they did not need to draw up prospectuses for potential investors.[71] The work of Octavia Hill, for example, differed greatly in all spheres, but like the Guinness Trust, Hill shared a 'common concern to pursue social objectives going beyond the provision of decent, well managed housing.'[72] While the Guinness Trust was not for Guinness employees (although some workers did live there), there are similarities between the purpose-built industrial model villages and the amenities and structures of the Guinness Trust, as well the implementation of rules and regulations that monitored behaviour. This component of the Trust will be touched on throughout the thesis.

1.1.C. - Merchant Princes: The 'Beerage'

The philanthropy embarked upon by growing numbers of industrialists, entrepreneurs and brewers coincided with a shift in the characterisation of the social elite. With the Victorian period defined as a time of industrial, scientific and

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[70] See King, '"Guinness is good for you": experiments in workers' housing and public amenities by the Guinness brewery and Guinness/Iveagh Trust, 1872-1915', Geary and Walsh, *Philanthropy in Nineteenth Century Ireland* (Dublin, 2015), pp 133-160.
[71] Malpass, 'Continuity and Change in Philanthropic Housing Organisations', p. 42.
[72] Ibid., pp. 45-6.

social revolution, those who held influence and power - in the spheres of political, economic, social and even on religious terms - had shifted from the stereotypical 'landed aristocracy' to the employer, the industrialist and the entrepreneur. It is argued here that engaging in philanthropy was one prerequisite necessary for admittance into elite social and royal circles. In the case of Edward Cecil Guinness, entry into what is sometimes referred to as the 'beerage', was greatly eased by his philanthropic deeds in both Britain and Ireland.

As Hanham has determined, in the late Victorian period there was a significant change in the way peerages were obtained, and who obtained them.[73] Previously, peerages were conferred on those who held a great deal of land and 'whose electoral influence or service in the House of Commons distinguish them from their neighbours'. Conferrals on those from Scotland and Ireland were given to those who were likely 'to be useful in the House of Lords'. Others, primarily distinguished public servants, were also given peerages.[74] By the 1880s, a shift occurred; the people who received such peerages were no longer those who came from the landed aristocracy (although, it was common for them to hold land). Rather, the recipients were aristocrats of the commercial and industrial world (bankers, merchants and brewers), the *nouveaux riches*, as well as individuals who had contributed to society in alternative, less obvious ways. At last, as Hanham contends, 'the cream of industry and commerce' had the ability to 'assert itself as an aristocracy':

> Second or third generation manufacturers, brewers, and merchants, whose only connection with "trade" was a block of shares and a directorship in a family firm, now graduated with ease into London society by the way of a public school and Oxford or Cambridge, while the entourage of the Prince of Wales included a high proportion of entirely self-made men.[75]

The first brewer to be raised to the peerage was Arthur Guinness III, Edward Cecil's eldest brother. In 1880, he became Lord Ardilaun of Ashford Co. Galway; an elevation made possible by Prime Minister Disraeli. Edward was raised to the peerage in 1891 as Baron Iveagh – one year after his £250,000 benefaction

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[73] H.J. Hanham, 'The Sale of Honours in Late Victorian England', *Victorian Studies,* Vol. 3, No. 3 (March, 1960), p. 279.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Ibid., p. 279.

that founded the Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust. As well as the Guinnesses, brewers Bass and Allsopp were also elevated to the beerage. In 1886, both Bass and Allsopp became members of the social elite, the former as Baron Burton and the latter as Baron Hindlip.

Peerages were also granted to other influential society members. Montagu Lowry-Corry, one of the first Trustees of the Guinness Trust, became Lord Rowton in 1880, along with Ardilaun, due to his services to Disraeli as private secretary. For her philanthropic efforts, Angela Burdett-Coutts was made Baroness in 1871. Alfred Tennyson, poet-laureate was ennobled in 1884, becoming Baron Tennyson.

The sheer number of peerages obtained by this manufacturing and philanthropic breed of man caused certain criticism among circles of 'high-minded Radicals and old-fashioned Conservatives'.[76] This was primarily due to the way the *nouveaux riches* made their money – in such plebeian and immoral ways as banking and brewing beer; this attitude was not new. Queen Victoria herself refused to ennoble Lionel Rothschild in 1869 because he made his money by banking, itself considered 'a species of gambling'.[77] Another reason for opposition did not so much lie with the way in which the new breed of peers had made their money, but their failure to engage fully or make their mark in politics at all. Henry Labouchere was one proponent of this view:

> Why were brewers selected as peers? Simply because they, of late, had accumulated very large fortunes by the sale of intoxicating liquors, and for no other reason. The names of Guinness, Bass, and Allsopp had been long household words in every public house in the country, but who ever heard of them as politicians?[78]

The Spectator, the voice of conservative thought, did not seem to raise issue with such peerages - where they had made their money was no moral crime. On the raising of Arthur Guinness to Lord Ardilaun, they maintained that his elevation was

> the elevation of an Irishman of vast wealth who has shown a desire to use his wealth philanthropically; and there is nothing that we know of in a brewer's trade which should disqualify him, any more than any other great employer of labour. The owner of vineyards would not be disqualified, and we fancy the Guinnesses, like the Basses, are

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[76] Ibid., p. 285.
[77] Philip Guedalla (ed), *The Queen and Mr. Gladstone* (London, 1933), I, pp. 207-208, quoted in Ibid., p. 285.
[78] A.L. Thorold, *Life of Henry Labouchere* (1913), p. 218 quoted from Ibid.

> beyond the necessity, which so demoralises brewers, of buying scores of public houses. The Allsopps are not.[79]

The Spectator appeared to have an issue not with the brewers themselves, or their breweries, but with the vehicle to which their product was transported to the public - the public house. It was the public house which was deemed the den of vice, not the brewer and his commercial factory.

When the Guinness brothers were raised to the newly-dubbed 'Beerage', there was no major outcry. Recognition was given to them for using their money philanthropically. In addition, both brothers were staunch Conservatives who engaged in politics; Arthur was elected an MP for Dublin in 1868 while Edward served as High Sheriff of County Dublin and stood as a Conservative candidate in the 1885 general election for the seat of St. Stephens Green, although he lost to an Irish Parliamentary Party (IPP) candidate. Moreover, throughout the 1880s, Edward Cecil Guinness pumped at least £30,000 into the Conservative Party funds.[80] In a similar fashion, brewer Michael Thomas Bass was heavily involved in politics, serving as an MP for Derby from 1848 until 1883.[81] Furthermore, Bass contributed to society through philanthropy, establishing the Derby Public Library, recreation grounds, swimming baths and an art gallery.[82]

As previously mentioned, philanthropic action, and the motives behind the action, was often mixed, a blend between helping others and helping oneself. To take Bielenberg's view, Edward Cecil Guinness' motives for establishing the Guinness Trust were largely due to firstly, his family background in philanthropic giving along with some sibling rivalry with his eldest brother, Arthur, and secondly,

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[79] *The Spectator*, 24 April 1880.
[80] R. G. Wilson, 'Guinness, Edward Cecil, first earl of Iveagh (1847–1927)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004) [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33601] [accessed 19 July 2017]
[81] Paul Sturges, 'Beer and Books: Michael Thomas Bass, Derby Public Library, and the Philanthropy of the Beerage', *Libraries and Culture,* Vol. 31, No. 2, Libraries and Philanthropy II (Spring, 1996), p. 256.
[82] R. G. Wilson, 'Bass, Michael Thomas (1799–1884)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004) [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1631] [accessed 20 July 2017]

to his 'ambitious social aspirations'.[83] Guinness' vast wealth was used as a channel to raise himself and his family 'to the summit of British society'.[84]

Particularly in the years both preceding and following the Guinness Trust benefaction in 1889-90, Guinness increasingly gravitated towards London, mixing with social and royal elites. Guinness moved between Dublin, London and Cowes according to their social calendar. 'Sticklers as they were for the social proprieties', they 'threw themselves into the élite whirl of Dublin and London with great zest.'[85] His social calendar and growing influence in royal circles reflect this. By infiltrating himself into such social events as the regatta at Cowes, Edward Guinness began to mingle amongst the inner royal circles of Prince Edward of Wales.[86] Coupled with yachting at Cowes, Guinness settled further into the recreational practices of the 'aristocratic super-rich', engaging in shoots in Scotland and subsequently at his own home in Elveden Hall, Suffolk, 'the best shoot in England' where Edward VII and George V were regular attendees.[87] Bielenberg maintains the importance of such social circles in Britain in influencing Guinness' philanthropic mission of housing incentives. Housing the poor was an issue of great importance to Prince Edward, and it was Lord Rowton, one of the first Trustees, who influenced the lodging hostel in the Iveagh Bull Alley complex. Coupled with paternalistic attitudes towards his staff and familial traditions of giving, it was his peers in Britain that were a huge influential factor in his determination to create a philanthropic housing trust both in his hometown where his family made their money, as well as in his second home, London.

Like the citizens who were traditionally elevated to the peerage, the Guinnesses held much land throughout Ireland. Ashford estate in Connaught, St. Anne's in Clontarf and Farmleigh were owned by the Guinnesses; Edward also took up residence in a town-house mansion at 80 St. Stephen's Green. Bielenberg

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[83] Bielenberg, 'Late Victorian Elite Formation and Philanthropy: The Making of Edward Guinness', p. 133.
[84] Ibid.
[85] R.G. Wilson, 'Guinness, Edward Cecil, first earl of Iveagh (1847-1927), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004).
[86] Bielenberg, 'Late Victorian Elite Formation and Philanthropy: The Making of Edward Guinness', p. 137.
[87] Ibid.

determines that their preoccupation with gaining land was because 'it conferred a higher degree of social status than trade'.[88]

While, as Bielenberg maintains, the Guinness brothers 'were more familiar with the ethos of the landed aristocracy than most industrialists', Edward Cecil Guinness in particular, was a quintessential member of the 'Beerage', for the money he expended on conspicuous consumption, lavish social affairs and philanthropy was made from the beer which he produced.[89] It was these actions, arguably, that launched Guinness into the sphere of the British elite. In 1891, just over a year after his £250,000 donation that created the Guinness Trust of London and Dublin, Guinness was raised to the peerage as Baron Iveagh. In 1905, he was made Viscount Iveagh, and by 1919 he was granted an earldom.

While it would be too crass to determine that the motives behind the establishment of the Guinness Trust were simply Edward Cecil Guinness' aspirations to reach the highest level of British society, it would also be a mistake to discount them as motivating factors amongst many others. Familial traditions of giving, an awareness of the poverty of the working classes by living in the centre of Dublin and employing many of those who faced such hardship, along with a genuine interest in social welfare, also had a role to play in his desire to give.[90] Furthermore, the culture of philanthropy created throughout the nineteenth century, and the virtues and values that instilled it, enhanced both the need to give philanthropically and the want to transform both the moral and physical manner of the lower classes and their surroundings. A combination of motive, mentality and manner therefore allowed such a gift to come into existence.

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[88] Ibid., p. 135.
[89] Ibid., p. 141.
[90] Guinness's genuine interest in the social welfare of the people was noted during his contribution to the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes in 1885, when he discussed the provision of various amenities and schemes to his worker's in the brewery, such as medical provisions, housing and pensions. Furthermore, there was a strong familial tradition of philanthropic provision in Edward's family; for example, his father, Benjamin Lee Guinness carried out the restoration of St Patrick's Cathedral at his own expense.

1.2. The Initial Gift

The initial gift that went on to form the Guinness Trust was announced in November 1889.[91] It was divided between the two capitals, with £200,000 allocated to London and £50,000 to Dublin. Overall, the announcement of the gift was well-received. However, the decision to split the gift disproportionately raised some questions, particularly from *The Spectator*, who queried if the split was 'well advised'.[92] Analysis of newspaper reports covering the announcement of Guinness' gift sheds light on the type of philanthropy that was highly regarded, and highly sought after. In addition to the examination of the reception of the gift and the commentaries made concerning the split of the gift between London and Dublin, this section will also highlight the many groups who made partial claims to the fund in Dublin.

1.2.A. – The Announcement of the Gift

> P.S. – Before I close my envelope, Denis, let me tell you of an action that for shuperangelic generosity bangs all example on either side of the Herrin'- Pond. The noble and good Sir Edward Guinness, that the boys in Dublin hasn't been personally a bit too kind to, had given a QUARTER OF A MILLION of money for the buildin' of houses for the poorer classes of workin' men! Two hundred thousand of it's for London and fifty thousand for us in Dublin! £250,000! Glory to him! There isn't a hard-handed lad like myself within the compass of the Irish seas that doesn't doff his cap this mornin', thank him from the bottom of his heart, and raise him by acclamation to the peerage of virtue and sincere good-nature as a True Man and Brother![93]

The official statement on the gift's announcement, which was carried in all major newspapers, demonstrated the public nature of the gift and its benefactor, of Guinness being seen to be giving. The statement outlined that Guinness had 'placed in the hands of the following gentlemen, namely, Lord Rowton, Mr Ritchie, President of the Local Government Board and Mr Plunket, First Commissioner of Works, a sum of £250,000, to be held by them in trust for the erection of dwellings

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[91] *Freeman's Journal,* 20 November 1889.
[92] *The Spectator,* 23 November 1889.
[93] *Weekly Irish Times,* 23 November 1889.

for the labouring poor' of both London and Dublin.[94] It was further reported that the target for these new improved dwellings was a stratum of the labouring class not usually reached by such philanthropy and that this, Guinness believed, could be carried out on a sound financial basis:

> After considerable inquiry and consultation with the gentlemen who have consented to act as trustees, and with various authorities on the subject, Sir Edward Guinness had reason to believe that this object can be accomplished, and the tenements let at such rents as will place them within the reach of the poorest of the labouring population.[95]

With this announcement came widespread appreciation, with practically every Irish newspaper, as well as those in Britain, following the story with great zeal; it remained a high interest point for many weeks, with its initial progress being covered across all major news outlets.[96] The gift was described as a 'splendid example of thoughtful philanthropy … that will serve to open a peaceable way out of a social difficulty that for many years had been assuming a more and more intense form'.[97]

While generosity in all forms, a key virtue in nineteenth century Victorian society, was to be welcomed, it is argued here that the acclamation Guinness received was attributable to the very nature of the gift itself. The Guinness gift was a practical form of 'thoughtful philanthropy' that would hopefully have long term beneficial effects on its recipients, heightening their ability for self-sufficiency and moral reformation. As previously stated, the culture of philanthropy in the Victorian period made it common for an overlapping of philanthropic generosity itself, with no set ideals or administrative plans, which in turn only confused and muddled outcomes. Contemporaries were very much aware of this – 'whether it is that the spirit of philanthropy is on the increase, or that the difficult problems presented by our complex modern civilisation challenge the human mind for solution – the fact is undeniable that works dealing with such problems are

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[94] *Freeman's Journal,* 20 November 1889.
[95] Ibid.
[96] For the purpose of this chapter, analysis was carried out on various national and local newspapers over the period November 1889 – April 1890. The newspapers sourced were, primarily, *The Irish Times* and *Freeman's Journal.* Other newspapers that were sourced were *Dublin Evening Mail, Evening Telegraph* and various British newspapers, such as *The Times, The Spectator, The Standard and The Daily Chronicle*.
[97] *Dublin Evening Mail,* 20 November 1889.

becoming more numerous every day'.[98] Such awareness about the 'proliferation of philanthropic effort which was working randomly', often for the same cause, resulted in the establishment of such regulatory charities as the Charity Organisation Society (COS), in which one of the key functions had been to 'organise, centralise, and systematise charity.'[99] This muddled pool of philanthropic generosity, coupled with the attempts to move away from such confused beneficence, is as much attributable as to why the Guinness Trust's pragmatic and workable plans were to be applauded. Guinness' philanthropic gift of £250,000 had a set objective that would ensure practical benefits for both the labourers and the landscape of Dublin and London alike. The gift was a demonstration that practicality could go hand in hand with generosity, and for this 'Sir Edward Guinness had proved himself a genuine friend of the humbler working classes.'[100] The correlation between benevolence and function was noted by the media:

> To give is well but to give wisely is much more, and the conditions laid down for the administration of this splendid endowment show that sagacity had gone hand in hand with generosity.[101]

Split between London and Dublin, comparisons were made between the Guinness Gift and other similar funds, in particular the Peabody Fund established in 1862 in London. However, while comparisons were drawn, it was also celebrated as a unique, thoughtful and, most importantly, a practical gift that would deliver 'one straight and energetic blow at that demoralisation' of the labouring classes caused by their habitations.[102] The gift was also applauded

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[98] *Nation,* 4 June 1887.
[99] Judith Fido, 'The Charity Organisation Society and Social Casework in London, 1869-1900', A.P. Donajgrodzki (ed), *Social Control in Nineteenth Century Britain* (London, 1977), p. 208; A.W. Vincent, 'The Poor Law Reports of 1909 and the Social Theory of the Charity Organization Society', *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (Spring, 1984), p. 347; While focusing on the organisation and regulation of charity, the COS blended this new scientific and rational approach, mainly in the form of familial or individual evaluation on a case-to-case basis, with the Victorian, individualist view of ameliorating the 'whole person', views based on philosophical Idealism.
[100] *Freeman's Journal,* 20 November 1889.
[101] *The Standard,* 20 November 1889, quoted in *The Irish Times*, 20 November 1889.
[102] *The Irish Times*, 28 November 1889.

because it was one of the biggest benefactions (in financial terms) ever given by a private citizen.

Due to the gift's sheer financial size, as well as its practical character, Guinness was, for weeks, placed on a pedestal by the local and national media. The 'social philanthropist' and 'noble donor' was hailed a hero and 'the warmth with which the munificent gift … has been received by the public and the Press affords sufficient assurance that everyone is in accord as to the necessity for some effort to amend the conditions under which the lowest classes exists'.[103] The dual nature of the gift, that of practicality and generosity, allowed *The Standard* to stress that 'to characterise the gift as munificent would be an inadequate recognition of the services Sir Edward has rendered to the cause of social progress.'[104] As the *Dublin Evening Mail* put it, 'we are taught "it is better to given than to receive", and to give on such a wise and well-considered plan as is before us to-day is best of all'.[105]

1.2.B – Controversy and criticism

While for the most part the Guinness gift was received with abounding gratitude, not all media outlets thought it was executed to its most practical abilities. The most controversial aspect of Guinness' gift was, according to the media, the decision to split the fund of £250,000 between London and Dublin – unevenly. Leading the argument was *The Spectator*, which, on one hand praised Guinness for his generous deed, but on the other questioned whether 'his decision has been altogether well advised.'[106] The article asked:

> Why not have given the whole sum to Dublin? That Dublin needs money for the purpose of rehousing the poor, is admitted in the terms of the gift; and if the whole amount had been devoted to Dublin, the money would not only have done real good, but, what is almost as much needed, if millionaires are to be tempted to give on the great scale, good, perceptible to the senses.[107]

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[103] Ibid., 20 November 1889; Ibid., 28 November 1889.
[104] *The Standard,* 20 November 1889, quoted in Ibid.*,* 20 November 1889.
[105] *Dublin Evening Mail,* 21 November 1889.
[106] *The Spectator*, 23 November 1889.
[107] Ibid.

The Spectator argued that Dublin was 'a manageable little place, with a sufficient area for its people' and if the entire sum of £250,000 had been devoted to the Irish capital, it would have 'cleared away some of the worst quarters of Dublin, covered them with habitable buildings, and secured for thousands of houses those minute improvements which make up half the difference between civilisation and savagery.'[108] It saw the split as a foolish one, stating that

> As it is, the sum devoted to Dublin will effect little, and that devoted to London probably nothing at all, or nothing of a general kind … No Charity can dispose of millions; and without the control of millions, to touch on London, that slow secretion of ages which no man knows thoroughly, and no man can inspect, is to stir a vast cesspool without a hope of cleansing it.[109]

While *The Spectator* speculated that an ill-decision had been made for including London at all, it is important to note that within the first decade, the Guinness Trust did make considerable strides in London, acquiring and constructing various estates throughout the city – progress which will be outlined in Chapter Two. It is also worth noting that the aim of this endowment was to *ameliorate* the working classes and their surrounding environments, not to resolve their issues entirely. It was an attempt to do good by private means while also setting an example for future ventures.

Such a sentiment expressed by *The Spectator* received fierce backlash, particularly amongst Irish media outlets, for the comments made against the 'noble donor' who bestowed such a significant gift. In an editorial in *The Irish Times, The Spectator's* statements were denounced, declaring that 'we cannot but deplore such a line of criticism, which is as unjust as it is ungrateful', maintaining that, in Dublin, the gift 'is accepted with sincere and unfeigned gratitude'.[110] The gift was 'respected here in Dublin' as 'it will encourage existing enterprises and will extend to their benefits amongst classes of the people hitherto unhelped, who will sincerely and thankfully find a better means of health and hopefulness in so signal a benefaction'.[111] *The Irish Times* had a point, public gratitude needed no

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[108] Ibid.
[109] Ibid.
[110] *The Irish Times*, 25 November 1889.
[111] Ibid.

stimulation. Patrick McCormack, in a letter to the *Freeman's Journal,* suggested that a public meeting should be called so that the citizens of Dublin could 'express their thanks', noting that

> It is not too often that our people meet with such noble philanthropy, and this, I think, is a fitting occasion to do honour to the high motives which incited Sir Edward Guinness to benefit in such a princely manner the poorer classes of his native city.[112]

The municipal council expressed similar sentiments: a vote was carried so that 'the best and warmest thanks of this Council be given to Sir Edward Guinness, Bart., for his munificent and princely gift which he had communicated his intention of presenting to the City of Dublin, for the better housing of the poor citizen classes.'[113] Similarly, the comments made by *The Spectator* were not universal on the other side of the Irish Sea, with the majority of news reports maintaining a positive tone. In March 1890, it was reported that Guinness was presented with the freedom of the Clothworkers' Company 'in recognition of the munificent gift he has recently made on behalf of the industrial classes of London.'[114]

Yet, while gratitude in Dublin was genuine, similar remarks to that of *The Spectator* were made in Irish newspapers. The *Freemans Journal,* while for the most part grateful, expressed similar sentiments, stating that,

> We might have preferred that the order of the gift should have been reversed, as the city where the Guinness family made their money is entitled to the first claim upon him. But considerations that would ordinarily arise are quite crushed out of existence by the very munificence of Sir Edward's gift.[115]

Thus, the generosity of the gift of £50,000 to Dublin, outweighed the disappointment of the city not getting more of it. This split was partially justified by the Irish media; the main argument made was that the money was proportionately divided with regard to the population of the two cities – 'Dublin, with 300,000 of a population, is getting its share with £50,000, as against London,

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[112] *Freeman's Journal,* 20 November 1889.
[113] Minutes of an Adjourned meeting of the Municipal Council of the city of Dublin, held in the Council Chamber, City Hall, Cork-hill, upon Monday, the 9th day of December, 1889*, Dublin Corporation Council Minute Book,* 1889, No. 305. Dublin City Archives [DCA]
[114] *Weekly Irish Times*, 8 March 1890.
[115] *Freeman's Journal*, 20 November 1889.

with nearly five millions of a population, to which £200,000 is being devoted.'[116] It was 'a division which, no doubt, had been based by the donor upon data derived from exhaustive inquiry and investigation', and for this the initial gift of £50,000 was acknowledged with genuine appreciation, with the *Irish Times* claiming that 'no such noble gift to a section of the community which most needs it, had been made in this generation'.[117]

However grateful the media were, it is important to ask why Guinness decided to split the gift, at a ratio of 4:1, in favour of London. The most convincing argument would be a consideration for the population ratio in the capital city, as maintained by the media. However, why give any to London at all? As stated by the *Freeman's Journal,* Dublin was Guinness' 'native city' where the Guinness family made the fortune that allowed them to confer such a philanthropic gift. To an extent, the division of the gift fuelled a further split in political and national conscience amongst newspapers. Born at his family's home at St Anne's in Clontarf, Dublin, Guinness was an Irishman, and when *The Times* referred to this philanthropic act as 'carried out by an Englishman', the *Evening Telegraph* fought back, stating that

> Sir Edward Guinness is not an Englishman, and we have never heard that he is ashamed of being an Irishman. But this is always the way whenever an Irishman does anything good, he is claimed as an Englishman, but whenever he does anything bad his nationality is exhibited with the greatest care.[118]

Clearly, the pride felt by the Irish populace overshadowed any disappointment resulting from the division of the £250,000 gift. While some media reports expressed their desire for the quantities of the gift to be reversed (*Freeman's Journal*), most Irish media outlets used *The Spectator* article as a weapon to reassert Guinness' identity as an Irishman, as well as his noble nature, in addition to insisting that Dublin was more thankful for the gift than London.

Yet, while Irish by birth, Guinness did maintain a close political and social connection with Britain; Guinness' social circles and aspirations coaxed him to the other side of the Irish Sea. Taking up residences in Elveden Hall, Suffolk and 5

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[116] Ibid.
[117] *Dublin Evening Mail,* 20 November 1889; *The Irish Times,* 20 November 1889.
[118] *Evening Telegraph*, 21 November 1889.

Grosvenor Place, London, as well as the Dublin residences of 80 St. Stephen's Green and Farmleigh, it was not surprising that Guinness would consider donating much of his benefaction to London, where the population was indeed greater than that of Dublin. As will be shown below, Guinness ended up contributing more to the Dublin Fund, in the form of the Bull Alley regeneration project, than that of London. At the turn of the century, Guinness headed and privately funded the Bull Alley Scheme, which he then handed over to the Iveagh Trust. The total cost of the Bull Alley Scheme exceeded £200,000, coupled with the further completion of St. Patrick's Park and Iveagh Market for £98,680. This scheme will be examined in detail in the following chapter.

1.2.C. – Suggestions: Grasping at Philanthropic Straws

While for the most part the announcement of the gift itself generated applause and gratitude, it also opened up further discussion in relation to the social and housing conditions of the labouring poor of Dublin. As a form of 'thoughtful philanthropy', the plight of the poor and the housing conditions which they were subjected to was a cause duly identified as one of the most important problems of the day. The *Freeman's Journal* highlighted this, stating that 'the interest and significance of Sir Edward Guinness's noble gift lie, beyond and above the generosity that prompted it, in the evidence it affords of the degrees to which the question of the housing of the poor is already recognised.'[119] It was also hoped, albeit doubtful in the opinion of the *Freemans Journal*, that Guinness's benefaction would influence further benefactions in the same area:

> Sir Edward Guinness is a rich man, and a quarter of a million is comparatively a small item in his account book. But he is not the only rich man in the Kingdom. He is not even the richest man in the Kingdom. Yet he has done what no other man had thought of doing, and has set an example which we are doubtful that the richest will follow.[120]

In setting such an example, the announcement of the gift in November 1889 can be understood as a catalyst that forced the public, and in particular its

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[119] *Freeman's Journal*, 20 November 1889.
[120] Ibid.

wealthiest members, to rediscover the turmoil faced by the labouring classes. This is not to say that the awareness of the issue was non-existent until the establishment of the Guinness Trust, but it did breathe a fresh air of hope in the form of practical progress into a stuffy and overcrowded issue, particularly in Dublin. *The Morning Post* maintained that Guinness 'has now made a praiseworthy effort to set the ball rolling, and if the hoped for results are obtained a considerable impetus will have been given to similar efforts in the same direction.'[121] In London, Guinness' steps were followed by an anonymous benefactor who 'has set the public guessing his identity' by donating a 'handsome viaticum of £100,000'.[122]

Almost immediately after the official announcement, letters to the editor of multiple newspapers were published, with particular reference to the Guinness gift and the wider plight of the lower classes. Such letters also incorporated suggestions on how to solve the problem, and sometimes, such letters and reports requested a slice of the philanthropic pie for themselves and their neighbourhood.

In a letter to the editor of the *Freemans Journal,* one citizen suggested 'placing a portion of this noble gift in the hands of our Corporation' in order to provide 'public free lavatories for sanitary purposes'.[123] The commentator also proposed that in each block of artisans dwellings 'a local hall should be attached' which 'could be used as a school by day, and in the evening turned into a place of amusement of a light and instructive character'. This idea materialised first in the form of the play centre at Myra Hall, Francis Street in 1909 and subsequently in the Iveagh Trust Play Centre at the Bull Alley estate, which opened its doors in 1915.

Suggestions also came into newspapers canvassing for the gift to be concentrated in certain localities. One such letter discussed the possibility of the Trust homing in on the Cork Street area of the city, stating that there was 'no more a neglected neighbourhood than this in our city. The houses are falling into decay, and there appears no sign of rehabilitation'.[124] The Rathmines and Rathgar Township Commissioners in their December monthly meeting also considered requesting for a share of the gift. Deputy-Surgeon Gunn asked the board if any

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[121] *The Morning Post,* 20 November 1889, quoted in *The Irish Times*, 20 November 1889.
[122] *The Irish Times,* 2 January 1890.
[123] *Freeman's Journal,* 21 November 1889.
[124] Ibid., 22 November 1889.

inquiries had been made regarding the gift, 'with a view of getting a share of the gift for the districts of Rathmines, Harold's Cross and Rathgar!'[125] Mr Samuel H. Bolton thought it was an absurd idea; 'Are we going to admit that we are in such a state of poverty that we are going to beg for this! ... [there is] no comparison between the houses of the poor people here and in the City of Dublin.' However, a motion was passed to inquire if the township was entitled to 'their share' of 'one-fifth or one-sixth of the sum – hoping for £10,000', an inquiry that did not bear any fruit.[126] Similarly, a resident of de Vesci Terrace, Kingstown, suggested that the 'liberal gift … be devoted to improving the dwellings of Kingstown where some houses are in a 'frightfully unsanitary and wretched condition'. He maintained that he 'cannot live in comfort in my own house whilst so many of my immediate neighbours are doomed to live in dwellings where not only is comfort impossible, but where they are driven to drunkenness and despair'.[127]

Certain groups also appealed for a portion of the financial gift; referring to the coal porters and quay labourers as 'an industrious, deserving, but much neglected section of the working class of Dublin', it was maintained that

> if Sir E. Guinness witnessed the wretched condition of our poor workmen here he would instantly and cordially assist in any movement for their bettering … there are 5,000 of us here who ask to be allowed to live like Christians, and not like dogs; and when we ask for a small share of the Guinness fund – say £6,000 of £7.000 – we ask for what we think is just and proper and what the donor of the gift and our fellow citizens would be glad to give if they knew fully the facts of the case.[128]

Suggestions and comments such as these were to be expected. The sum of money given to Dublin - £50,000 – was 'princely beyond any sum that has yet been subscribed either collectively or individually'.[129] However, even though these particular suggestions were not realised, the initial gift did set out to do what it was supposed to, while in addition it regenerated an awareness concerning the plight of the poor. The countless requests in letters to the editor for a portion of the gift to be considered for a particular area also suggested the prevalence of the housing issue throughout the city and boroughs of Dublin, maintaining that it was

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[125] *The Irish Times,* 5 December 1889.
[126] Ibid; *Freeman's Journal*, 5 December 1889.
[127] *Freeman's Journal,* 9 December 1889.
[128] Ibid., 11 January 1890.
[129] Ibid., 20 November 1889.

not simply confined to one specific area. In this regard, *The Spectator's* statements could be deemed accurate by stating that if the entire sum was devoted to Dublin it would have done a lot more good, as £50,000, as we will see, impacted positively on particular areas, but did not eradicate the problem entirely.

1.3. The Irony of Giving

In the Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust's case, nineteenth century philanthropic philosophy was applied in its true form - as a complex web of good intentions and impressive plans yet often becoming entangled with a series of contradictory and even ironic paradigms. Such a conflict between doing good and causing harm had been noted in a multitude of philanthropic endeavours of the nineteenth century, so much so that it led Harrison to insist that 'whatever their manifest purpose, scrutiny often reveals, in charitable bodies, latent and almost contradictory functions'.[130] The Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust was no exception. While it would be wrong to take away from the achievements of the Trust, it is worthy of note that even the most well-intentioned gift sometimes held an ironic and paradoxical quality to them. 'Reforms conceived in the most positive, benevolent spirit', Himmelfarb writes, often turned out 'to have the most unfortunate negative results'.[131]

1.3.A. - Displacement of Peoples

> Every city improvement or new railway displaces persons who must find dwellings elsewhere; and in this way the destruction of smokehouses of the poorer kind aggravates the crowded state of the rest.[132]

Philanthropic efforts to provide housing for those lower on the social ladder were applaudable; however, in many cases, the exact opposite was achieved. More often than not, campaigns for improved housing, or practical plans such as the

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[130] Harrison, 'Philanthropy and the Victorians', p. 369.
[131] Himmelfarb, *The Idea of Poverty,* p. 6.
[132] R. Denny Urlin, 'Abstract of Paper *On the Dwellings of Working Men in Cities, and the efforts that have been made to improve them*', *JSSISI*, Vol. 4, Part 29 (Dublin, 1865), p. 159.

Iveagh Trust, actually led to an increased number of homeless in the area. The calls to end overcrowding and the growing amount of legislation directed at clearing slum areas often resulted in the displacement of the people who previously resided there. When philanthropic housing trusts and associations, like the Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust or the DADC, rebuilt on these areas, the new builds would not be as densely packed together (resulting in fewer dwellings), there would be strict limits on how many people could occupy an individual dwelling (resulting in fewer people being housed) and these new houses tended to be affordable to only the higher stratum of the working classes (resulting in the lower echelon being displaced from the area entirely). Behind the initial objective of housing the poor, and the subsequent outcome of partially adding to the problem lies an irony that demonstrates the paradoxical and perplexing nature of philanthropy at a time when it needed to be inherently practical, efficient and urgent.

Edward Cecil Guinness's scheme of housing provision in the Liberties area of Dublin covered a vast area with a high density population. In 1901, the Wood Quay district, where the majority of the Guinness Trust's projects were carried out, had 130 persons per acre.[133] This entire area was cleared and rebuilt, and in the place of these disintegrating tenements came the Iveagh Trust dwellings, coupled with a public park, play centre, and baths (non-residential amenities that replaced previous accommodation). Ridding tenements of over-crowding, and clearing a geographically vast area, in a neighbourhood with a high population density, led to a migration to other parts of the city; the problem remained the same even though the region may have changed.

Writing to the *Freeman's Journal* in 1893, a frustrated citizen complained of 'plenty of tradesman and labourers' who were now 'walking about Dublin idle' as a result of the clearance of the area where the Bull Alley scheme would be built.[134] By the same token, in 1898, the *Evening Herald* reported that discussion in the Corporation on the area surrounding St Patrick's Park took a turn when 'Mr McCall complained that Lord Iveagh had not taken the public into his confidence. The

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[133] Kevin Hourihan, 'Urban Population Density Patterns and Change in Ireland, 1901-1979', *The Economic and Social Review,* Vol. 13, No. 2 (January, 1982), p. 130.
[134] *Freeman's Journal*, 12 April 1893.

people felt that they had been treated harshly both by the Corporation and Lord Iveagh. They claimed that before these houses were pulled down Corporation houses should be built.' The newspaper opined that while they do 'not think the charge against Lord Iveagh is justified … the question of what is to become of the people who are to be cleared out of the houses to be demolished is one that should not be lost sight of.'[135]

As Wohl points out in terms of Octavia Hill's philanthropic housing ventures, 'though they generally re-housed as many as were displaced the new tenants were usually of a class above those evicted, and this must be borne in mind when estimating the significance of the work of these private and public bodies.[136] There is no doubt that the dwellings built on philanthropic lines which were constructed on slum sites tended to require the financial security of labouring classes that belonged to the higher echelons of the working class. In defence of this, it was deemed that those displaced could move up the ladder by inhabiting the dwellings previously occupied by the more secure strand who would move into the new philanthropic tenements. However, it cannot be said with accuracy if this occurred in the Iveagh Trust case. Nevertheless, the problem was evident; in the case of the creation of St. Patrick's Park and the development of the Bull Alley Scheme, it was stipulated by law that it was necessary to re-home those displaced before rebuilding, in an effort to curb the worrying trend of creating homelessness. It was resolved in the case of the clearance of the area that would become St. Patrick's Park that the Iveagh Trustees would reserve three blocks of the New Bride Street dwellings for peoples displaced. It is not clear from the application records that do exist which blocks were reserved for these people, and what their financial status was. However, evidence that this was carried out was given in the testimony of Rev. John Flanagan, who maintained that in Bride Street, 'a great number of families that lived there were dispossessed … some of these people were housed in the Iveagh Buildings'. However, Flanagan continued that 'only the

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[135] *Evening Herald,* 22 November 1898.
[136] A.S. Wohl, 'Octavia Hill and the Homes of the London Poor', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (May, 1971), p. 112.

economic and better class are there'.[137] Likewise, Church of Ireland Rev. E.J. M'Creery asserted that as well as the transformation of houses in the area around St. Werburgh's parish, so too were the people. M'Creery stated that he 'would like to emphasize the fact that this improvement has considerably altered the type and class of people that are living with us, and also had had an influence upon their habits'.[138] M'Creery opined that many tenement houses in his parish were in good condition, however, certain habits saw the deterioration of the area, He thought it was imperative to curb was 'the habit of throwing waster material out into the streets [which] is very prevalent' and also insisted that the condition of the stairwells were improved, which he described as being in an often 'abominable condition'.[139] Such 'habits' described by M'Creery were forbidden in the Iveagh Trust, which would explain his satisfaction with the new developments. These testimonies would suggest that while the Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust did rehouse certain individuals who were displaced due to their schemes, they tended to select those with their feet higher on the working class social ladder.

It is unknown whether the displaced inhabitants of the cleared houses where the Iveagh Trust were to build were required to go through the rigorous applications system that was necessary for all others to go through. In the sample of applications records uncovered in the private archive, not one of the application records explicitly indicated that they were 'displaced' or 'rehoused', or listed an address that was within the vicinity of the cleared houses as a previous address.[140] As will be explored more thoroughly in Chapter Three, census data from 1901 and 1911 indicates that there was a demographic variance in terms of economic status between the two populations of New Bride Street and Bull Alley. The head of each family in the Bull Alley community tended to be engaged in an occupation that would indicate membership within a higher strand of the working class. Conversely, the older estate, New Bride Street, where three blocks were reserved

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[137] Witness testimony of Rev. John Flanagan, C.C., *Appendix to report of the department committee appointed by the Local Government Board for Ireland, to inquire into the housing conditions of the working-classes in the city of Dublin (Minutes of evidence, with appendices)* [cd.7317] 1914, p. 108.
[138] Witness testimony of Rev. W.J. M'Creery, B.D., Ibid, p. 200.
[139] Ibid.
[140] Application Forms, 1899-1939, BA/BX/2 [ITA]

for displaced families due to the park, had a majority of heads' of families working in more causal and unskilled jobs. It is necessary to ask, therefore, did the occupation of these three blocks by people of a lower class, establish a hierarchy within the Iveagh Trust estates themselves? This question will be examined in future chapters.

1.3.B - Displacement of Culture

> For their aim was not to accept working-class attitudes; on the contrary, philanthropists were in the forefront of the nineteenth century attack on popular culture.[141]

There is much truth to Harrison's claim that philanthropists were leading an attack on popular culture. In some cases, philanthropic causes were set up to banish social and recreational activities, practices and amenities that were considered by the middle and upper classes as immoral and dens of vice. The public house was attacked by reformers preaching the moral laws of temperance and replaced with coffee shops and public parks, the act of pawning was frowned upon and card playing and other games were viewed as forms of gambling that were forbidden in many areas of philanthropic excursion, such as public parks; and fêtes, an area where many working class people grouped together, were at times considered a threat to social stability and security. Sometimes too, the act of street trading - a practice considered to be an 'ancient custom' in the Liberties - was also attacked.

In 1907, the Iveagh Market opened its doors on Francis Street, where it would remain a bazaar for dealers of clothes and foodstuffs until the early 1990s. It was part of the grand Bull Alley Improvement Scheme, spearheaded by Edward Cecil Guinness which saw the development of the Iveagh House hostel, the Play Centre and the Bull Alley estate. All three of these amenities were given to the Iveagh Trust, of which Edward Cecil Guinness was chairman, to oversee. The Iveagh Market, on the other hand, while constructed as part of the scheme, was given to Dublin City, and was to be managed by the Corporation, much like St.

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[141] Harrison, 'Philanthropy and the Victorians', p. 371.

Patrick's Park which had been landscaped a few years before. However, what was considered a gift to the city by the creator, caused chaos, confusion and anger to the supposed recipients of the gift.

The decision to create an indoor market for the multitude of dealers who normally took their business to the Patrick Street area was met with discontent; in 1906 a number of tradespeople took legal claims in a bid to secure compensation 'for the loss of rights to sell old clothes and other commodities on open stands in Patrick Street and adjoining thoroughfares'.[142] The claims of compensation caused outrage in the Council Chambers, when it was disclosed that 'some persons connected with the Corporation' held a public meeting in Patrick Street whereby 'the people were urged to send in claims, and promised that legal assistance would be provided for them free of cost to themselves.'[143] Alderman Kelly, one of the men accused of summoning the meeting, stated during arbitration that Mr. Frank North's assessment that there would be no loss to the street-trading people of Patrick Street was inaccurate, maintaining that:

> Mr. Frank North, who, and I say it with all respect knows nothing about the people. He may have been - of course I know he had been when he says it - often down in Patrick Street, but he really knows nothing of the people … then, as to this talk about having a roof over them. In my opinion, the people would rather be without a roof over them.[144]

The arbitration of the Iveagh Markets heard individual claims from those affected. Ms. Hannigan, a dealer, asserted that Sundays were the busiest times for selling, and claimed that 'in moving to the new market would … lose a lot of customers she had at the present time, because Patrick Street was a busy thoroughfare, with people constantly passing to and fro.'[145] In total, Dublin City Corporation paid out £4,360 [worth £488,300/€545,923 today] to cover the

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[142] *The Irish Times,* 20 September 1906.
[143] Letter re Iveagh Market attitude of corporation in Dublin City Council Reports*, Dublin Corporation Council Report Book, 1908,* Vol.1, No. 32, pp. 335-348] [DCA]; the two men involved in summoning the meeting were Alderman Kelly and Councillor Sheehan.
[144] Ibid.
[145] *The Irish Times,* 20 September 1906.

claims, compensation and expenses of the Iveagh Market Arbitration, a bill that was footed by Lord Iveagh.[146]

The controversy surrounding the Iveagh Market did not stop with the compensation claims from street-traders. The Iveagh Markets Act, 1901 (the legislation which banned dealers from trading on Patrick Street and compelled them to move to the indoor market) actually governed the entire city even though 'it was the intention of the Corporation' to limit its jurisdiction to the Patrick Street area.[147] This legislation forbade any street selling, anywhere in the city, north or south of the River Liffey. This included the prohibition of traders from placing displays outside their shop fronts. Those who defied the law were reprimanded by the police. In March 1908, Ms. Flanagan, a furniture dealer, was summoned for 'having exposed furniture for sale at a place other than the Iveagh Market or her own dwelling house or shop after the market had been open for public use'. [148] This case was dismissed as it was argued that furniture was not covered under the terms of the act. Richard Nelson of 9 Meath Street, however, was fined 2s. 6d for displaying meat for sale outside his shop. The prosecutor maintained that 'the practice of exposing meat for sale outside was objectionable, and afforded an incentive to theft.' Similarly, Mr. O'Brien of Bride Street exposed vegetables for sale, and was fined a similar amount.[149] In May 1908, several summonses were carried out against residents of Riddall's Row and the surrounding vicinity of Moore Street, on the north side of the city, for defying the Iveagh Market law and exposing clothes and furniture on the path. By July, the matter had come to a head, when a motion moved by Councillor John Kelly was carried that

> The system of persecution, now being carried out by the Dublin Metropolitan Police against Shop-keepers exposing their wares, according to ancient custom, and harassing industrious street traders, is deserving of the strong condemnation by this council.[150]

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[146] Minutes of an Adjourned Quarterly Meeting of the municipal Council of the City of Dublin held in the Council Chamber, City Hall, Cork Hill, on Monday, the 13th day of April, 1908, *Dublin Corporation Council Minute Book, 1908,* No. 314, p. 224 [DCA]
[147] *The Irish Times,* 26 May 1908.
[148] Ibid., 28 March 1908.
[149] Ibid.
[150] Minutes of a Special Meeting of the Municipal Council of the City of Dublin, held in the Council chamber, City Hall, Cork Hill, on Monday the 27th of July 1908, *Dublin Corporation Council Minute Book,* 1908, No. 501, p. 378 [DCA].

While the action by the police was condemned by the council, initially there was no drive to change. Before taking a vote, an amendment was placed on the motion, Councillor Briscoe moved

> that this Council conveys to the Chief Commissioner of Police its desire that the traders in the City of Dublin should be allowed to expose as heretofore, in accordance with ancient custom, samples of their goods outside their shops.[151]

This amendment was put and declared lost.

By the end of 1909, it was evident that the controversy surrounding the enclosed indoor market was having a negative financial impact, as well as causing social tensions. In a LGB inquiry, it was recommended by the Superintendent of the Iveagh Market and the Market's committee that rents and tolls for the shops and stalls in the market be reduced as a large number of the stalls were vacant: 'the people who sold in the market had not a large margin of profit, and they could not afford to pay a high rent'.[152] The failure of the market to profit was also due to the relaxing of the prosecutions of casual street traders; it was claimed that 'the people of Patrick Street and Francis Street had an undoubted grievance, because there were other places within the market area where the law was not enforced against the casual trader.'[153]

The establishment of the Iveagh Market meant that no person could sell items anywhere on the streets of the city. Theoretically, the idea was a logical one, a public health measure that would monitor the goods to stop the spread of diseases through the disinfecting of old clothes that were to be sold and the monitoring of foodstuffs and sanitary practices. In this way, the intentions of Guinness can be understood. However, the economic and cultural displacement of street-trading in Dublin also served another purpose. *The Irish Times* welcomed this move of 'this peculiar business' to an indoor, and hidden, location, and speculated that it would be 'regarded with pleasure by the congregations attending the Services in the [St. Patrick's] Cathedral as well as by numerous residents in the neighbourhood'.[154]

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[151] Ibid.
[152] *The Irish Times,* 30 November 1909.
[153] Ibid.
[154] Ibid.

This statement also highlights a further motive on the part of philanthropists – to make poverty less visible. In addition, it further represented an attack on the popular culture of the working classes with the upper classes failing to identify outdoor market trading as a Dublin working class tradition; in their opinion those beneath them needed uplifting, whether they wanted it or not. Along with displacing some people, philanthropy had managed to displace a part of their culture.

1.3.C. - Double Standards: Beer money and tenant sobriety

> Tully: Why do we drink? Because we want to sleep, because it's cheaper than chloroform! Who could stand this living hell without drink? … The worst thing drink does is that it brings us visits from the likes of you. For it's not to do good ye cam there; ye kem here to get yer self-complacency stroked down mud the smoothing-iron of our vices. Its all drink, drink and nothing else. Yer putting the cart before the horse, me lady. Poverty first, then dirt and disease and discontent and the vice follow, and your preaching … Did it ever strike you that nothing good was ever done by preaching in this town? What built Findlators Church - was it preaching or drink? Drink. And the new hostel in Hatch Street? Drink. What put a roof on Christchurch Cathedral? Drink. What renovated St. Patrick's and cleared Bull Alley? Drink. What gave us St. Stephen's Green? Drink. And the ducks swimming in it! Drink doesn't keep us poor, but poverty makes us drink. - *Blight: The Tragedy of Dublin,* Oliver St. John Gogarty, 1917.[155]

Gogarty's *Blight*, one of the earliest so-called 'slum dramas', premiered in the Abbey Theatre in December 1917. In its review, *The Irish Times* maintained that the play dealt with the slum issue in 'an intelligent way' providing 'room for furious thought'.[156] It was a polemical play: the scenes and issues that the characters were situated in and faced with highlighted the critical problem of poverty, drink and housing in Dublin at that time, while its lead character, Stanislaus Tully, demonstrated the ironic manner in which charity was administered and the contradictory and often paradoxical attitudes of charity's beneficiaries, particularly with regard to alcohol consumption. 'The hypocritical philanthropists are unmercifully and justifiably laid under the lash', *The Irish Times* declared in its review of the play.[157]

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[155] Gogarty (Alpha and Omega), *Blight: The Tragedy of Dublin* (Dublin, 1917), pp. 13-4.
[156] *The Irish Times,* 12 December 1917.
[157] Ibid; As well as a playwright, Gogarty was also an established surgeon, taking a position in the Meath Hospital in 1912; he had previously worked at the Richmond Hospital and in addition opened a medical practice at his own home in Ely Place. Through his profession,

Tully's speech, highlighting the hypocritical nature of charity givers and their attitude to drink, was not just included for dramatic effect. In it he referred directly to the charity of the Guinness brothers - Lord Ardilaun and his new park, St. Stephens Green, Iveagh and Bull Alley, and both brothers and their father, Benjamin Lee, in the St. Patrick Cathedral renovations. The attack was perfectly valid: how could a philanthropist demonise the poor for consuming the very substance they manufactured, the very substance which funded the philanthropic endeavours that sought to aid the working poor? This paradox was particularly prominent in the Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust case, as the Trust imposed stringent rules regarding drink on its residents.

When assessing the rules and regulations imposed on the residents of the Trust, a central concern was the issue of temperance among them. The Trust prohibited the sale of 'intoxicating liquors of any kind' in the shops at Bull Alley, while tenants were 'not to misuse, improperly occupy, be guilty of, or allow disorderly or intemperate conduct in the Tenement, [and] not cause annoyance to the neighbours' with a warning that 'drunken and disorderly Tenants will be subject to their tenancy terminated immediately'.[158]

The consumption of alcohol was a topic which was heavily debated throughout the nineteenth century. In Ireland, a war against alcohol consumption was fought by many sides and was not limited to one particular religious or political group. Like many other social reform movements that promoted values of respectability, self-restraint, and thrift, the Irish temperance crusade sprang from the Protestant Evangelical movement. Yet, the movement also found Catholic support. As Malcolm has maintained,

> the movement was both religious and secular, catholic and protestant, moderationist and teetotal, conservative and nationalist. It was largely middle

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Gogarty came into contact with the working classes, their ill-health, the poverty they were subjected to and the environments they were forced to live in. It was clear that, amidst the countless numbers of voluntary societies, charities and individual benefactions that were in operation, poverty and prejudice prevailed, demonstrating how ineffectual charity was at times; in his own practice he would often waive fees for the less fortunate patients, Patrick Maume, "Gogarty, Oliver St John", *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge, 2013) (http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a3513) [accessed 23 September 2017].

[158] Point 7 and 8 in 'Conditions of Occupation', Application Forms, 1899-1939 (BA/BX/2)

> class and largely urban, but by no means exclusively so, especially in Ulster, where it had greatest support.[159]

Perhaps the best known campaign was Father Mathew's crusade against the immoral liquid. A Capuchin friar who led an independent campaign against alcohol in the 1830s and 40s, Father Mathew gained the support of many Protestants, as well as Catholics. While many of the Catholic citizens of Ireland were supportive of his crusade, the hierarchy of the Catholic Church were not. In contrast to the Protestant churches involvement with the temperance movement, the Catholic Church had severe reservations, particularly when Fr Mathew's crusade was at its peak.[160] This moderate position taken by the Catholic hierarchy continued throughout the nineteenth century, although more toleration grew over time. In 1889, James A. Cullen, a Jesuit priest, set up the 'Total Abstinence League of the Sacred Heart', a new national organisation which paved the way for the Pioneer League of the early twentieth century. While Cullen's work, like Father Mathew before him, was by

> no means acceptable to the whole church … [he] was far more successful than Father Mathew in dealing with clerical opposition to teetotalism. He worked from within the church, repeatedly emphasising that his pioneers were a small band of dedicated catholics who took the total-abstinence pledge as a sacrifice and a sign of their piety.' It was hard for critics of teetotalism to fault such devotion.[161]

Ardent supporters of the temperance and abstinence movements consistently voiced their condemnation of drink as an evil that not only hindered the economic status of the subject and his or her family, but also physical and moral health. Yet, the production of alcohol was an important industry which generated much income in an otherwise stagnant economy. Dublin's prime

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[159] Elizabeth Malcolm, *The Drink Question in Ireland, 1856 – 1901,* (Ph.D. Thesis, Trinity College, Dublin, 1979), p. xiii.

[160] The reservations felt by the Catholic hierarchy were, as Malcolm describes, caused by many factors, both practical and doctrinal concerns. Many felt that, practically, it would be asking for total abstinence for life was asking too much of people. The doctrinal concerns were more serious; many questioned how the pledge was to be interpreted, questioning if it was a vow binding under the threat of sin. In addition, drink was lawful when not abused, the Bible itself references the consumption of wine. In addition to the practical and doctrinal apprehension, some, even the future Archbishop of Dublin, Paul Cullen, raised concerns about the 'protestant character of the movement'; Elizabeth Malcolm, 'The catholic church and the Irish temperance movement, 1838 – 1901', *Irish Historical Studies,* Vol. 23, No. 89 (May, 1982), pp. 1 – 4.

[161] Ibid., pp. 13 – 16.

industry was alcohol production; by the first decade of the nineteenth century, the capital city exported over 90% of Irish beer.[162] Over the course of the nineteenth century, Guinness brewery, the source of the Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust funding, grew to be the largest brewery in the country; in 1833 it overtook Cork's Beamish and Crawford and expanded its rural presence impressively from 17,000 hogsheads in 1855 to 230,000 in 1880.[163]

From the early to mid-nineteenth century, advocates of temperance had first promoted an abstention from spirit drinking, consumption of which was at a record high during the 1820s and 1830s. These campaigns were predominantly led by middle class Protestants, particularly members of the Presbyterian church. Their efforts seem to have been worthwhile; from the 1850s the consumption of spirits such as whiskey was declining. Nevertheless, the eradication of one liquid of vice was soon replaced by another. An analysis of the trends of beer consumption over the course of the nineteenth century by Elizabeth Malcolm indicates that at the same time that spirit consumption was declining, beer drinking was rapidly increasing, with 19.8 gallons drank per capita per annum in 1891, increasing to 26 gallons per capita per annum in 1901. [164] This growing increase in beer consumption coincides with the growing prominence of Guinness brewery as the most successful supplier of the substance. As Malcolm maintains, 'beer was thus becoming an increasingly popular drink in Ireland in the second half of the century, with Guinness taking the lead in penetrating the former bastions of spirit drinking'.[165]

The outcome of such chronic alcohol consumption was drunkenness, a vice that many reformers had long considered a moral flaw of the working class, assuming that 'the working classes of Dublin were not so poor, and it was, this that they expended enormous sums of money on intoxicating drinks - so much so that Dublin enjoyed the unenviable notoriety of being one of the most drunken towns in the United Kingdom.[166]

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[162] Daly, *Dublin: The Deposed Capital* (Cork, 1984), p. 11.
[163] Ibid., p. 23.
[164] Elizabeth Malcolm, *'Ireland Sober, Ireland Free': Drink and Temperance in Nineteenth-century Ireland* (Dublin, 1986), pp. 275, 322-324.
[165] Ibid., p. 323.
[166] *The Irish Times,* 20 February 1888.

James Haughton, a fervent follower of Father Mathew who advocated for prohibition and temperance throughout his life, believed that 'there is no other question in science or morals which so forcibly calls on thoughtful men to labour earnestly for its wise and speedy settlement'.[167] Alcohol was, according to Haughton, the ultimate 'destroyer of human virtue and happiness'.[168] Not only was it the cause of much crime in Dublin, but it was also economically, socially and morally wrong:

> The use of alcohol is *economically* wrong, as it shortens human life, and, in so doing, deprives society of the advantages resulting from the labour of those whom it destroys. In this way it is also *socially* wrong as it deprives families, in early life, of those upon whom their conduct and sustenance depend; and any custom which leads to these results must be *morally* wrong.[169]

Societies crusading against the immorality of working class souls were widespread, such as the Dublin Total Abstinence Society, that placed an emphasis on 'promoting the social and moral well-being of the community by spreading the principles and habits of Total Abstinence from Intoxicating Drinks.' [170] According to *The Leader,* 'the drunken Irishman is the bane of Ireland … the people of Ireland spends more money on drink, in proportion to their income, than any other in the Universe'.[171]

In addition to a disdain for alcohol consumption, the public house – the watering hole where alcohol was consumed – was also the target of much criticism. As Harrison maintains, 'the nineteenth century temperance debate was really an argument about how leisure should be spent', with the reformer's idea of recreation to be focused on the home and the school, and not in the public house.[172] Cultural-nationalist newspaper, *The Leader,* echoed these sentiments, asserting in 1900 that 'there is no trade that brings less agreeable to the family

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[167] James Haughton, 'On the necessity for prompt measures for the suppression of intemperance and drunkenness', *Journal of The Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland* , Vol. 2, Part 11 (Dublin, 1858), p.166.
[168] Idem., 'The Use of Alcoholic Liquors: Economically, Socially and Morally wrong', Ibid., Vol. 1, Part 2 (Dublin, 1849) p. 9.
[169] Ibid., p. 4.
[170] *Thom's Directory* (1903), p. 1393.
[171] *The Leader,* 15 September 1900.
[172] Brian Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians: The Temperance Question in England 1815-1872* (second edition) (Keele, 1994), p. 34.

circle, to the privacy of the home, and everything that makes life worth living, than the publichouse'.[173] Yet the public house served two primary functions for the working class that 'mirrored the interests of their localities', as a place of recreation and a space for meetings.[174] In terms of recreation, the public house gave the working man an escape from the dreary environment of his own home. As Harrison states, 'the working man's home was often cold, uncomfortable and noisy', while the public house offered 'light, heat, cooking facilities, furniture, newspapers and sociability'.[175] The public house as a meeting place was essential to 'itinerant trades; trade union lodges were usually held there and the tramping routes of particular groups of artisans seeking work'.[176] They also acted as a place to hear and relay news:

> The drinking place was 'for the operative, what the public squares were for the ancients'; the centre for local gossip and the sporting news, the window through which unadventurous local residents saw the world. It was also the mirror in which they saw themselves. [177]

Working class charity was also often organised in the public house, where 'organised "drinkings" raised funds for the impoverished.'[178] Nevertheless, even though the public house was more than a watering-hole to the working classes, those higher up on the social ladder sought its eradication and a step to curb the vices that stemmed from alcohol consumption.

While throughout the nineteenth century the temperance movement was linked to social betterment and reform, at the turn of the twentieth century, support for the movement became entwined with ideas of nationality and independence. D.P. Moran's radically Catholic and Nationalist newspaper, *The Leader,* was, at the outset, a fervent critic of the misuse of alcohol. It maintained that 'nothing had contributed more to blight and banish our industries, and to

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[173] *The Leader,* 27 October 1900.
[174] Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians,* p. 46.
[175] Ibid., pp. 46-7.
[176] Ibid., p. 51.
[177] Leon Faucher, *Manchester in 1844: Its Present Condition and Future Prospects,* p. 52, quoted in Ibid., p. 52.
[178] Ibid., p. 43.

denationalise us, than the degrading vice of intemperance.'[179] If alcohol consumption could be curbed, *The Leader* insisted that Ireland's position would be radically different:

> To make the Irish powerful you must first make them sober and self-respecting … with a sober, educated, self-respecting Ireland, England would be a mere shuttlecock to be driven in any direction we pleased.

Keeping in line with the virtues and values of the time, the Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust set forth numerous rules and regulations in a bid to avoid drunkenness, and all the vices that came with it, amongst its community. The regulation of the affairs of the tenants, especially with regard to temperance, was significant when considering 'the source from which that wealth [that funded the Guinness Trust] has arisen'.[180] A contradiction lay dominant here, calling for the supervision of sobriety, while the money to fund such an 'experiment' was made from the very substance that resulted in such intoxication. Iveagh made his wealth from the family brewery, supplying 'the black stuff' to the public, the very substance which resulted in, according to some, 'little children … left neglected at home while their parents were out enjoying themselves' that the middle and upper classes complained of.[181] The inconsistencies apparent in Guinness' motives demonstrate the complexities and clashes of philanthropic thought. Throughout its commentary on the correlation between temperance and nation building, *The Leader* insisted that much of the problems felt by the Irish working class man was down to alcohol consumption. Referring to Edward Cecil Guinness' philanthropic scheme, *The Leader* noted that

> If the Guinness family never made enough profits out of the drunkenness of this country to enable them to spend a quarter of a million or so on a housing scheme, the people of Dublin would be much better housed.[182]

However, the other side of this moral conflict was, as *The Spectator* insisted, that 'beer is a good thing, not a bad thing, although so many abuse it; and however

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[179] *The Leader*, 27 October 1900.
[180] *The Spectator,* 23 November 1889.
[181] *The Irish Times,* 4 February 1887.
[182] *The Leader,* 10 November 1900.

rich a man may be, in parting with a quarter of a million he parts with a source of great potential pleasure'.[183] According to the report, the gift was 'a splendid one' and it was unfair to suggest that the 'grace of the gift is diminished alike by the donor's wealth and by the source from which that wealth had arisen.'[184] For the most part, however, the sources highlight that the general public did not dwell upon this irony at the time. Yet, this conflict of interests is worth noting, aiding us to understand the highly complex and multi-dimensional nature of philanthropic giving during this period.

1.4.- The Reciprocal Gift

1.4.A. – Mauss' theory on gift-giving

> 'And among the people admired for their opulence, one part of the population is obliged to rely on the gifts of the other in order to live'
> *Memoir on Pauperism,* Alexis de Tocqueville[185]

Charity, as Alexis de Tocqueville understood it, was a gift - one to be bestowed, bequeathed and given. In his *Memoir on Pauperism,* Tocqueville analysed the state of England, the country with 'more dazzling wealth than in any country of the world' in order to understand pauperism and the problem with it, arguing that the problem lies in public charity, or state welfare as was conceived.[186] 'Public assistance', administered by the Poor Laws, 'will relieve the poor of the obligation to work', creating a lazy, idle, pauper underclass, dwelling outside the high-held moral virtues of the era such as duty, hard work, self-respect, self-help and diligence.[187] In terms of private charity, while Tocqueville was not in complete support of it, it did not do as much damage as the latter, since it was more temporary, transient and discriminatory. Instead, individual charity established

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[183] *The Spectator*, 23 November 1889.
[184] Ibid.
[185] Alexis de Tocqueville, *Memoir on Pauperism* (first published 1835), translated by Seymour Drescher, with an introduction by Gertrude Himmelfarb (London, 1997), p. 17.
[186] Ibid.
[187] Ibid., p. 28.

'valuable ties between the rich and the poor' where 'the deed itself involved the giver in the fate of the one whose poverty he had undertaken to alleviate.'[188]

The custom of gift-exchange is a widespread phenomenon that has existed across all cultures, peoples and parts of the world, from ancient times to the present day. 'The Gift', as it is understood in this context, is a reciprocal one, one that permeates all facets of society. It is based on a system of relationships, of mutuality, of give and take, creditor and debtor. This universal practice has, most influentially, been traced through various indigenous cultures and archaic societies by Marcel Mauss, a French sociologist and anthropologist, who published *Essai sur le Don, forme achaïque de l'échange* originally in 1925.[189]

In this prominent study, Mauss explained in detail the continuous cycle of gift exchange. By studying gift-exchange practices of various indigenous cultures and archaic societies, Mauss concluded that the peoples of his study all shared a common feature with regard to the tradition of gift exchange – that of reciprocity and mutuality. While in theory, gifts given are voluntary, 'in reality they are given and reciprocated obligatorily'.[190] This is the same for charitable giving. Charity, as we understand it, is considered a free gift, a 'voluntary, unrequited surrender of resources'.[191] However, this notion is a misunderstanding. Rather than free gifts, there are gift cycles that 'engage persons in permanent commitments that articulate the dominant institutions'.[192] The gift, 'apparently free and disinterested' is in actual fact 'constrained and self-interested'.[193]

According to Mauss there are three themes within the gift, each focusing on obligation: the obligation to give, to receive and to reciprocate. By accepting the gift given (the obligation to receive), the receiver was obligated to reciprocate, which forces the act of gift-giving to repeat, therefore creating a continuous cycle of

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[188] Ibid. p. 31.
[189] Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*, (London, 1966 [1925] reprint) (trans. Ian Cunnison); Mauss, Marcel, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies* (Trans. W.D. Halls, 1990) (Foreword Mary Douglas 1990) (London, 2002).
[190] Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies* (Trans. W.D. Halls, 1990) (Foreword Mary Douglas 1990) (London, 2002), p. 3.
[191] Mary Douglas, Foreword, in Mauss, *The Gift*, p. ix.
[192] Ibid., p. xii.
[193] Ibid., p. 4.

obligation and mutuality. It is upon this gift-giving cycle that societal stability is maintained with communities and relationships being formed and strengthened through such transactions.

Each theme of the gift is as true for nineteenth century philanthropic giving as it was for the 'potlatch' systems of total services found in the indigenous societies of Polynesia, Melanesia and the tribes of the North-West Pacific that were investigated by Mauss.[194] As previously discussed, philanthropy can be understood as a personal relationship, and it is this personal relationship which allows mechanisms of gift-exchange to come into play, creating a personal, reciprocal relationship between giver and receiver. There were mutual obligations – to give, to receive, and to reciprocate – inherent in each act of philanthropy, and it is these obligations which create valuable symbiotic ties between the rich and poor that Tocqueville discussed in his *Memoir.* Through the action of gift-giving, or private charity, 'a moral tie is established between those two classes whose interests and passions so often conspire to separate them from each other, and although divided by circumstance they are willingly reconciled'.[195]

Indeed, the Maussian gift economy was one which maintained the relationships necessary for the workings, and progression, of society. As Douglas remarked, 'the theory of the gift is a theory of human solidarity'.[196] The archaic societies investigated by Mauss 'have progressed in so far as they themselves, their subgroups, and lastly, the individuals in them, have succeeded in stabilising relationships, giving, receiving, and finally, giving in return'.[197]

Applying the laws of the gift economy to nineteenth century British and Irish society, the same can be concluded. The stabilising of these relationships, by giving 'gifts' through philanthropic means generated the symbiotic ties and henceforth the continuous cycle of obligation, mutuality and reciprocity. Applying the Maussian theory of the gift to nineteenth century philanthropic activities is possible because of its universal and timeless reach and applicability. One such advocate of this theory is Daniel Weinbren, who applies Mauss' theory of gift-

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[194] Ibid., p. 83
[195] De Tocqueville, *Memoir on Pauperism,* p. 31.
[196] Ibid., p. xiii.
[197] Ibid., p. 105.

exchange to both charities and friendly societies in nineteenth century Britain.[198] By utilising Mauss' theory, Weinbren argues that 'if gifts were a mixture of altruism and selfishness based on the principle of *do ut des* (I give so that you may return), then "generosity and self-interest are linked in giving"'. By employing notions of reciprocity, Weinbren recognises that both charities and friendly societies were capable of varying degrees of solidarity. He highlights what Mauss had maintained before him, that 'reciprocity was more than an economic survival strategy; it helped to create communities based on obligation.'[199] The philanthropy which gave rise to the Iveagh Trust fits this gift-exchange model of human solidarity, by creating and maintaining its own 'community based on obligation' as well as benefitting the giver himself, in the form of social prestige and mobility.

1.4.B – The Iveagh Trust, the theory of gift-giving and the expected return.

The gift that established the Iveagh Trust was an example of personal almsgiving which had implications greater than the disposal of a sum. It is argued here that Maussian theory on gift-giving can enlighten our understanding of the Iveagh Trust as an entire 'social entity', inclusive of its relationships both within and without, between giver and receiver, the recipients themselves, its administrative workings and the community as a whole – all of which operate on the basis of obligation. What's more, utilising this theory in the context of the gift that established the Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust enlivens our understanding of how philanthropy is applied, how it is received, how it is returned, and, more importantly, its overall impact in this philanthropic gift cycle on its recipients.

Until now, there has been no in-depth application of this theory on the study of the Iveagh Trust. Only very recently has one historian of architecture and design hinted at the use of the gift exchange theory in relation to the Iveagh Trust, however, stating that it is, 'impossible to ascertain the exchange value of this philanthropic gesture', but 'at the very least the buildings [of the Iveagh Trust] were the visible and constant reminder of the munificence of an individual

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[198] Daniel Weinbren, 'Supporting Self-Help: Charity, Mutuality and Reciprocity in Nineteenth-Century Britain', pp. 67-88.
[199] Ibid., p. 71.

benefaction as linked to a specific industrial concern and a popular commodity'.[200] This is a statement that can be contested. While it might be difficult to conclude with certainty the motives attached to 'this philanthropic gesture', assessing its exchange value is possible and necessary. As Mauss determined that the gift-giving theory was the basis of entire social entities, which constructed communities based on obligation and thus created relationships full of symbiotic ties, the Iveagh Trust community itself and the relationships within it are by default the outcome, or 'exchange value' of the gift itself. Furthermore, the linking of the private philanthropic endeavour of Guinness with the 'popular commodity' of Guinness the drink, is shortsighted, as, the Iveagh Trust was not, nor was it ever intended to be, a philanthropic gift for brewery workers.

Collectively, there were two recipients of Edward Cecil Guinness' gift of £50,000 to Dublin. Indirectly, the first recipient was the city of Dublin as a whole. Directly, the members of the labouring class who became residents within the Iveagh Trust buildings became the chief recipients, directly obligated to the gift and its giver.

The £50,000 given to Dublin city established an obligatory relationship between Guinness and the people, and Corporation, of Dublin. It was necessary for the Guinness Trustees to communicate with the Corporation of Dublin, in order to establish their cooperation when finding suitable sites, clearing them, and utilising specific legislation for these matters. The initial announcement of the gift was reciprocated by the council, giving 'the best and warmest thanks … to Sir Edward Guinness … for his munificence and princely gift'.[201] In January 1890, it was communicated by Lees Knowles of the Trust, that the Trustees would desire 'the full sympathy and co-operation' of the Lord Mayor and Council, in order to

> further the object of the Trustees by assisting them to acquire such sites as may be considered suitable for the purpose, either on the estates of the Corporation or on unhealthy areas, which they may think it desirable to clear, and they wish also to

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[200] King, '"Guinness is good for you": experiments in workers' housing and public amenities by the Guinness Brewery and Guinness/Iveagh Trust, 1872-1915', p. 160.
[201] Minutes of an Adjourned Meeting of the Municipal Council of the City of Dublin, held in the Council Chamber, City Hall, Cork Hill, on Monday, the 9th day of December, 1889, *Dublin Corporation Council Minute Book,* 1889, No. 305, p. 274 [DCA].

> take this opportunity of appealing through you to owners of ground in Dublin, and others, to aid them in their work.[202]

Utilising specific legislation, the Corporation and Trust cooperated in an effort to clear certain sites and rebuild better, more suitable housing for the labouring classes, as well as more recreational facilities that were not limited to the Trust's residents. In return for granting permission to rebuild certain areas, in many of their projects, Edward Cecil and the Trustees widened and straightened public paths and streets and fixed drainage issues throughout the area. Furthermore, the construction of the Trust's complexes changed the visual and architectural landscape of Dublin, a constant reminder of the gift bestowed and the impact it had. The obligation to receive the gift on the part of the Municipal Council gave rise to an obligation to reciprocate in the cooperative state, developing a relationship between public council and private citizen and trust.

The gift to the prospective residents of the Trust established a more direct relationship between them and the Trust, and garnered a more significant prospective return. Most obviously, the financial return in the form of weekly rents by the residents was one manner in which the gift was reciprocated. However, this mean of return only touched the surface of the gift exchange theory, particularly confined to economics. The more significant aspect of return was the behavioural amelioration and moral improvement of the tenants, or the hope of such, through the implementation of rules, regulations and integration that taught the values and virtues of the Victorian philanthropic mind-set. For example, even the economic characteristics of return, in the form of the payments of weekly rents, also taught the residents the values of thrift, duty and diligence. The implementation of rules forbidding drunkenness demonstrated the desirable virtues of sobriety. The sharing of cleaning duties, and the organisation of communal recreational activities, trained them in cooperation, neighbourliness, cleanliness and self-respect. These regulations were set out on the Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust application form under the title of 'Conditions of Occupation'. By adding

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[202] Minutes of an Adjourned Meeting of the Municipal Council of the City of Dublin, held in the Council Chamber, City Hall, Cork Hill, on Monday, the 6th day of January 1890, *Dublin Corporation Council Minute Book*, 1890, No. 16, p. 51 [DCA].

conditionality to the gift, Guinness and his Trust were exposing the reciprocal nature of the gift for all to see. It further highlights the *do ut des* nature of the Iveagh Trust gift. This expected return will be touched on throughout this thesis.

Examining archaic societies, Mauss maintained that 'competition, rivalry, ostentatiousness, the seeking after the grandiose, and the stimulation of interest' were the motives which underlie the act of giving.[203] By giving philanthropically, Edward Cecil Guinness also gained a personal return. The granting of a peerage almost immediately after the bequeathing of the gift allowed for Guinness, and his family, to rise further up the social ladder. As Mauss declares, giving was a method to climb to new social heights. By doing so, it 'not only promotes oneself, but also one's family up the social scale. It is therefore a system of law and economics in which considerable wealth is constantly being expended and transferred'.[204]

Furthermore, it can be argued that Guinness gave philanthropically in order to appease the recipients. In terms of providing social, health and housing services to his workers at the brewery, Guinness hoped to gratify his workers enough to deter them from joining trade unions. While not related to the Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust, this exercise in gift-giving demonstrates Guinness's willingness to receive something in return for his benefactions. As Mauss maintains,

> nowhere is the individual prestige of the chief and that of his clan so closely linked to what is spent and to the meticulous repayment with the interest of gifts that have been accepted, so as to transform into persons having an obligation those that have placed you yourself under a similar obligation. Consumption and destruction of goods really go beyond all bounds.[205]

On resignation of the position of Chairman of the Brewery in 1890, Guinness wrote a letter to his employees, published in *The Irish Times.*[206] In it he outlined his hopes for the future, asking 'those in positions of authority …. to aim at the preservation of those cordial relations which have ever subsisted at St. James' Gate between employers and employed'.[207] Focusing on the preservation of social and industrial harmony, Guinness further stated:

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[203] Mauss, *The Gift*, p. 36.
[204] Ibid., p. 48.
[205] Ibid., p. 47.
[206] *The Irish Times*, 23 August, 1890.
[207] Ibid.

> I do not wish to express any hostility to Trades Unions …. but I cannot take leave of you without referring to the efforts which I have reason to believe are being made to induce workingmen in your employment to become members of a union which had unfortunately been involved of late in disputes with employers. I would earnestly ask those who may have joined, or who intend to join that union, that they should very fully consider the possible consequences of their action … Those who are employed here should feel that the directors are always ready to consider favourably all questions affecting the welfare, and, if possible, to anticipate their wants.[208]

After making this statement, Guinness disclosed that 'in recognition of the excellent service which has been rendered to me in the past', he would give 'a personal gift' of one month's salary to clerks and one week's pay to 'every working man in the employment on the 1st August'.[209] It was hoped that this personal gift would be well received, and that it would be reciprocated by resisting the attempt to mobilise through trade unions.

1.4.C. Moral Improvement or Social Control?

The exchange value of a philanthropic gift can be measured by both the motives that spurred the action and the outcome of its creation. As a concept central to this thesis, the gift that established the Iveagh Trust was a reciprocal one that centred on the relationships between giver and receiver. Underlying this act of giving was a multitude of motives, both personal and social in nature. In addition, another motive can be drawn out of this reciprocal gift - that of control. In his thesis, Marcel Mauss determined that 'gifts to humans and to the gods also serve the purpose of buying peace between them both'.[210] The act of giving, and the obligation to return, can be considered as a method used in order to generate peace between the involved parties, or even control of one over the other. While the munificent gifts bestowed by men like Edward Cecil Guinness were celebrated for their humanitarian and ameliorating qualities, the intertwined preoccupation of philanthropy with the morality of the poor during the late nineteenth century has often been noted in both contemporary accounts and in historiography as a method of 'social control'.

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[208] Ibid.
[209] Ibid.
[210] Mauss, The Gift, p. 21.

The term 'social control' was first coined in 1901 by American scholar E.A. Ross.[211] In the historiography, the term, and the concept that accompanies it, has experienced fluctuations of popularity and discredit. However, just as philanthropy often had unintentional consequences, so too were deliberate uses of it as a method to alter behaviour or even control its recipients, in order to maintain social order and preservation of the status quo.

The concept of social control has encouraged some historians, particularly of social history to portray most reform movements and social institutions as instruments of social discipline. For historians who abide by the concept rigidly, it is argued that social order was maintained in the nineteenth century by not only legal institutions and state infrastructures (such as prisons, police forces and the judicial system), but by more informal and social practices and institutions too, with measures of social amelioration and reform seen by their advocates and enforcers as also an integral part of the maintenance and strengthening of social order. In this definition, it can be considered as an unofficial policy that came about in a society that felt threatened by the possibility, real or perceived, of its very disintegration, and it was this fear of chaos and disorder that propelled a desire for social order.

A concept borrowed from sociology, 'social control' has been applied to historical study. One such prominent study is the collection of essays devoted to the concept in Britain edited by A.P. Donajgrodski.[212] *Social Control in Nineteenth Century Britain* demonstrates the ability of such a concept to reach every node of society and civilisation, particularly in nineteenth century Britain, where the threat to civilisation was considered a very real one for many in power. As Donajgrodski states, the social control theory can be used primarily 'to study relationships between rich and poor', with the belief that social institutions 'from religion to family life, and including for example, leisure and recreation, education, charity and philanthropy, social work and poor relief' maintain social order as much, if not more than, 'by legal systems, police forces, and prisons.'[213]

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[211] E.A. Ross, *Social Control; a Survey on the Foundations of Order* (London, 1901).
[212] A.P. Donajgrodski (ed), *Social Control in Nineteenth Century Britain* (London, 1977).
[213] Ibid., p. 9; Judith Fido and Robert D. Storch, for example, have implemented the social control thesis into their work on charity and recreation in nineteenth century Britain:

The institution of philanthropy, and particularly its use in the establishment and management of the Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust, can be viewed through the theoretical prism of social control. The desire for the maintenance of social order was stimulated by a fear of disorder in a society where order was determined predominantly by an industrial patriarchal structure. Edward Cecil Guinness and his comrades in philanthropy, were at the summit of industrial and social ladders, and within his brewery a patriarchal structure was enforced in the dealings with his employees. Likewise, the foundation of the Iveagh Trust was built on a patriarchal structure, with a line-management style hierarchy of Trustees, secretaries, supervisors, porters and finally the residents themselves.

Particularly in the late nineteenth century, fears and threats of disorder were increasing due to a multitude of social, political and economic shifts. The growing popularity of trade unionism was one fear that Edward Cecil Guinness had specifically voiced. Moreover, the decision to announce and establish a gift in the late 1880s and early 1890s coincided with growing political and social agitation in Ireland. During this period, the Home Rule movement was in full swing, with the bestowal of the Guinness Trust gift in 1889 occurring between the two Home Rule Bills of 1886 and 1893, as well as the social and economic struggle of the land wars. Both of these campaigns were challenges to the perceived status quo that Edward Cecil Guinness in particular conformed to. Describing himself in 1918 as a 'life-long Unionist', the then Lord Iveagh stated that he 'always opposed Home Rule from the beginning, and I opposed it to the last, because I believed that the government of Ireland by the Imperial Parliament is best'.[214] Speaking of the Home Rule crises of the 1880s and 1890s, Iveagh maintained that 'when Home Rule was all but an accomplished fact, we were saved by the madness of disorder'.[215] Along with his Unionist persuasions, Iveagh was also a fierce conservative, and promoted these ideals to the lower echelons of society. In 1883, the City and County of Dublin Conservative Working Men's Club was founded, with the endeavour 'to spread

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Storch, 'The Problem of Working Class Leisure: Some roots of Middle-class Moral Reform in the Industrial North, 1822 - 50', Ibid., pp. 138 – 162, and Judith Fido, 'The Charity Organisation Society and Social Casework in London, 1869-1900', Ibid., pp. 207 – 230.

[214] *The Irish Times,* 1 October 1918.

[215] Ibid.

Conservative and Protestant principles in the City of Dublin'. At the first general meeting of the club in September, Guinness accepted the position of president of this newly-formed working men's club.[216]

Within the Irish context of the political, social and cultural struggle for independence during this time, the prevalence of charities and other forms of philanthropy operating in the capital city, and the values they promoted, had an added value. Researching the language of charity in Dublin during the nineteenth century, Margaret Preston maintains that the language used by Dublin charities 'bolstered Britain's hegemonic control within Dublin by reinforcing the upper classes' desire to create an innocuous working class'.[217] This bolstering of control was not limited to the language of Protestant philanthropists. Rather, Catholic philanthropists also engaged in this action, as on a class level, both Protestant and Catholic 'described the Dublin poor in class terminology espoused by the British upper classes'.[218] As has been demonstrated, the application of the concept of 'respectability', and the division of the working class into 'deserving' and 'undeserving' subclasses, were concepts and values that certainly crossed over the Irish sea. Preston continues,

> By championing the belief that the Irish poor were morally, intellectually and racially inferior and then attempting to train them to be model employees and loyal subjects, the work of Dublin charities strengthened English rule in Ireland.[219]

Furthermore, the appeasement of the lower classes considered to be the greatest defence to a revolt. In a letter to *The Times,* John C. Miller, the Dean and Vicar of Greenwich in London, spoke with 'extreme urgency' about the possibility of 'actual starvation in East Greenwich … unless prompt aid be forthcoming'.[220] Miller added that the cause was most pressing as 'we are not without fear of disorder, and even riot, if something be not done promptly'.[221]

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[216] Ibid., 3 September 1883.
[217] Preston, 'Discourse and Hegemony: Race and Class in the Language of Charity in Nineteenth-century Dublin', Foley and Ryder (ed), *Ideology and Ireland in the Nineteenth century* (Dublin, 1998), p. 101.
[218] Ibid.
[219] Ibid.
[220] *The Times*, 18 January 1867.
[221] Ibid.

Whether real or perceived, certain modes of philanthropy can be seen as safeguards to protect the status quo, or to socially control those lower on the social scale. Even in its architectural construction, the Guinness (later) Iveagh Trust can be viewed as a physical instrument of social control. As Linda King writes,

> Depending on perspective, the Bull Alley Scheme can be alternatively 'read' as symbolic of working-class containment or, conscious of the area's extreme poverty, segregation in support of the rhetoric of self-improvement.[222]

Indeed, the sturdy walls encircling the Trust's dwellings, with entrances that were gated, supervised and closed at night, would insinuate partial containment. Moreover, internal courtyards and the provision of specific amenities, as well as shops in the complexes allowed the staff and Trustees to supervise, observe and control the behaviour and activities of its citizens - to an extent.

Similarly, the regulation of working class past times, for example, the removal of street traders from the Patrick Street area into a confined space that imposed specific guidelines and regulations, illustrated the imposition of middle and upper classes values and practices on the working class. This control was further enforced with the help of legislation by local government, management by the Corporation, and monitoring by the police force. Whether perceived as an attack on popular culture, or simply a desire for increased public order within society, the complexities and ironies within philanthropic thought and action in the nineteenth century, as well as the imposition of these foreign class values upon the poor is analogous with the theory of social control. The case of the Iveagh Market and resistance to such controls by the working classes themselves demonstrated, however, that the working classes were not docile to such attempts of control.

The rules and regulations imposed by the management of the Trust and enforced by their staff on the ground, such as the prohibition of drunkenness and gambling, also had moral connotations. That said, most of these rules did have more than one reason behind them. Often moral and practical rationale

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[222] King, '"Guinness is good for you": Experiments in workers' housing and public amenities by the Guinness Brewery and Guinness/Iveagh Trust, 1872-1915', p.159.

complimented each other. The dual purpose of these rules and regulations will be discussed at length throughout this thesis. [223]

The application of the social control theory, however, is not without criticism, and it is worth taking into account these critiques. Gertrude Himmelfarb, for example, states that, 'the difficulty with the 'social control' thesis' lies in the fact that 'it can be neither proved nor refuted, since any empirical fact can be interpreted in accord with it'.[224] For example, services such as the transport system, or even the clock, the very measurement of time, can be considered as mechanisms of social control. Similarly, as Donajgrodski himself notes, the overuse of the concept can commit 'the social historian to a species of crude reductionism, which doubts the humanity of the humanitarian, sees clergymen, social workers or educators as *only* and *merely* policemen without boots, to an approach which, in short coarsens out appreciation of the complexity of relationships and historical processes'.[225] Prochaska, who examines the philanthropy across all class levels and genders, also discredits the thesis:

> At the level of human contact, in often tragic circumstances, the idea that philanthropy can be reduced to a form of middle-class social control, unresponsive to the genuine grievances of the poor, is not only inadequate but insensitive.[226]

While taking into consideration these historiographical critiques, it is possible to argue the social control case without specifically insinuating that those enforcing the control premeditated it. Paul Landis made the significant point that many social control mechanisms did in fact act without any conscious manipulative awareness:

> The most deep-seated and important influences in the development of the socialised personality, and in the regulation of human institutions, come from the non-national, unconscious, all pervasive influences that mold [sic] the individual without his knowledge. They are a part of the general culture and come

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[223] The dual purpose of these rules and regulations will be discussed at length throughout this thesis, specifically in Chapter 4, pp. 283 – 290.
[224] Himmelfarb, 'The Age of Philanthropy', p.53.
[225] Donajgrodski, p. 9; Other historians such as F.M.L. Thompson and Prochaska, have also questioned the reach of the social control thesis: F.M.L. Thompson, 'Social Control in Victorian Britain', *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (May, 1981), pp. 189-208; Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse,* p. 52.
[226] Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse,* p. 52.

> incorporated there without any conscious attempt on the part of any particular group, or even of a society to develop or foster them.[227]

The nineteenth century culture of philanthropy, intertwined with the saving of poor through the alteration of their behaviour and morality, regardless of intent or not on the part of the philanthropic enforcers, is a form of social control. The Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust, as part of their objectives, sought to, through 'the provision of improved dwellings', to ameliorate the labouring classes and 'their modes and manner of living … by giving them facilities … for obtaining means of subsistence and the necessaries and decencies of life'.[228] Guinness explicitly stated in the *Deed of Trust* that this covered convenience, health, comfort, moral welfare and improvement of their tenants and their families, and others whether tenants or not'.[229] Hence, even if it cannot be proved if premeditation of control was present in Guinness's motives, the statement here would at least suggest that the desire for moral control, or alteration of the labouring classes behaviour, was. As will be demonstrated throughout this thesis, the institutions that sprang from the gift of £50,000 to Dublin all held moral and social control qualities to them.

Conclusion

The establishment of the Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust occurred during a period when philanthropy had reached its peak. In particular, the focus on housing reform by private philanthropists had reached its zenith. A complex blend of willing citizens and groups, mixed with a cautious and vigilant approach resulting from rigid doctrinal attitudes and assumptions, characteristic of the virtues and values that defined the Victorian age, did at times, either halt progress or worsen the situation. Armed with predominantly good intentions, philanthropists, and the projects they promoted, did not always lead to such beneficial results. The unyielding mentality, concerned with the morality of the subject's soul, often damaged original philanthropic aspirations. 'Philanthropy,' as the *Saturday Review*

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[227] P. Landis, *Social Control: Social Organisation and Disorganisation in Process,* revised edition (Chicago, 1956), p. 7.
[228] Section 1 (a), *Deed of Trust (Dublin Fund)*, pp. 2-3.
[229] Section 3 (a) (3), Ibid., p. 4.

maintained, 'like opium, is essentially a stimulant which acts beneficially or injuriously upon those who indulge in it, according to the larger or smaller amount of rational self-control which accompanies its use'.[230] It had been continuously noted that, intertwined with the vast multitude of conceptual philanthropy lies a self-serving nature, benefitting oneself by benefitting others - 'in the place of "the love of mankind", philanthropy is now identified with the love of self'.[231] While the initial announcement of the Guinness Trust gift was received with praise for its thoughtful and practical application, the ironic and paradoxical qualities of philanthropy cracks soon begin to show. However, what did arise from the gift was a community based on obligation, reciprocity and mutuality, whether its intention or not. The concept of philanthropy itself is an elastic one; its definition is fluid and ever-changing, and its application is often contradictory and ironic. The establishment of the Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust, and the community that formed out of it, however, are telling of its nature in practice and its achievements. After much speculation on what form the philanthropic housing gift would take the details were finalised in the *Deed of Trust* in April 1890.

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[230] *The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, 8 May 1886.
[231] Himmelfarb, 'The Age of Philanthropy', p. 53.

Chapter 2: Origins and Establishment

> If this great work is ever done the name of Sir Edward Guinness will be blazoned high on the scroll of honour recording the gifts of those who, by their generous self-sacrifice, furnished the elementary conditions necessary for the social redemption of the masses who toll in unregarded misery and degradation.[1]

The establishment of the Iveagh Trust in 1903 resulted from the severance of ties between the two funds of the Guinness Trust of London and Dublin. For this reason, analysis of its foundation under the name of the Guinness Trust (Dublin Fund) in November 1889, as well as the establishment of the Iveagh Trust in 1903, is necessary in order to monitor the progress and path the Trust was to take over the period 1890-1939.

The aim of this chapter is to assess the progress undertaken by the Trust from its inception in both Dublin and London, particularly during the establishment phase of 1890-1902, when both funds were amalgamated as 'The Guinness Trust'. Examination of the action taken regarding both funds is necessary, action which can be mapped from a multiple range of sources, particularly minutes of Trustees meetings and annual reports.[2] This chapter will assess the action, or inaction, of the Trust and argue that the reason for the severance of ties between the two funds in 1903 (which resulted in the formation of the Iveagh Trust) was not simply a rational next move resulting from Iveagh's additional, yet analogous, philanthropic projects in the same areas, both geographically and objectively, but also came about due to the inefficiency of action and slow progress that the Dublin Fund experienced in the crucial establishment phase of 1890-1902. Furthermore, a detailed examination of the projects developed under the Iveagh Trust over the period studied will be carried out.

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[1] *The Daily Chronicle*, 20 November 1889.
[2] *Guinness Trust (Dublin and London Fund) Minute Reports, 1889-1898 & 1899 – 1903*, LMA/4656/A/02/001 – 002 [LMA]; *Iveagh Trust Minute Reports, 1903-1939,* BA/BX/1/A [ITA]; *The Guinness Trust Annual Reports* 1890-1903, LMA/4656/A/05/001, [LMA]; *Iveagh Trust Annual Reports* BA/SR/13/ANNUALREPORTS/1903-1944 [ITA].

2.1. First Steps: The Deed of Trust

In 1890, the vague details of the philanthropic gift given by Edward Cecil Guinness in November 1889 were given more precision in the form of two almost identical deeds – a deed for each fund in London and Dublin. As the primary legal document that instructed the Trustees, Secretaries and all other administrative staff as to the modes, manner and methods to employ in administering the fund and managing the Trust's operations, analysis of this Deed is imperative in order to gain a greater understanding of the objectives, incentives and consequent progress the Trust was to undertake.

2.1.A. – The Deed of Trust

On the Trust's announcement in November 1889, the official statement maintained that the initial fund would act as a starting point, and that the income derived from rents was to be 'reinvested with a view to the further development of the scheme' with the object to 'provide clean and healthy homes for the people somewhat poorer than those who, as experience proves at present, avail themselves of the existing artisans' dwellings, and to show that this can be done on a sound financial basis.'[3] Furthermore, Guinness anticipated that this housing experiment, if successful, would 'lead to many other similar efforts in the same direction, with the result that great benefit will be conferred on a class probably more highly rented, and certainly more badly housed, than any other class in the community'.[4]

The *Freeman's Journal* maintained that this gift differed in 'three notable ways from anything that has yet been done in the way of providing proper homes for the poor'.[5] Firstly, the financial sum of the gift was of greater proportions than previously acquired in Dublin. Secondly, the objective to reach 'the lowest stratum of the artisan class, a class that has been missed by the existing Artisans' Dwellings Companies', was commended. Thirdly, it was not a 'speculative venture, it provides for no shareholders, and it contemplates no dividend; whatever is

[3] *Freeman's Journal*, 20 November 1889.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.

realised by the money, either by way of rents or of interest, it is to be set apart for the benefit of the original object of the money.'[6] This approach was a telling move away from other similar ventures that enticed contributors with the proposition of profit – the 'Five Per-Cent' philanthropic model of other housing organisations such as the DADC – a company of which Sir Edward Guinness was a board member.[7]

The statements made on the gift's initial announcement were formalised in the *Deed of Trust*. Dated 2 April 1890, the *Deed of Trust* is still one of the primary indentures used by the Trustees of the Iveagh Trust, some 125 years later, as the basis for its operations.[8] A Deed for the London Fund was produced two months earlier, in February 1890, and save for the change in location and size of the fund, they are almost identical. Guinness's primary aim was that of amelioration; he sought, through the 'provision of improved dwellings', to make better their conditions, including 'their modes and manner of living … by giving them facilities … for obtaining means of subsistence and the necessaries and decencies of life'.[9] Thus, while the Trust would predominantly concern itself with improved housing for the lower classes, this also meant taking an interest in the 'convenience, health, comfort, moral welfare and improvement of their tenants and their families, and others whether tenants or not'.[10] It was speculated that the additional objectives would almost naturally be achieved as a result of the clean and stable housing the Trust were to build.

By concerning itself with such a wide range of objectives, it is clear that the Trust was dedicated to the amelioration of the entirety of the working class individual. This embrace of both body and soul embodies typical characteristics of philanthropic giving in the late nineteenth century; the concentration on the moral improvement of the working class, as well as their physical and material well-

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[6] Ibid.
[7] 'Five Per-Cent Philanthropy' and other philanthropic housing approaches are discussed in Section 1.1.B. of Chapter 1, p. 50 – 60.
[8] *Deed of Trust (Dublin Fund);* This Deed is used as the main indenture in conjunction with other acts such as *Dublin Improvement (Bull Alley Area) Act*, 1899 [62 Vict.] [Ch. xi], *Iveagh Trust Act, 1903* [3 Edw. 7.] [Ch. iii] and *The Iveagh Trust (Amendment) Act, 1961* [No. 1, (Private), 1961].
[9] Section 1 (a), Ibid., pp. 2-3.
[10] Section 3 (a) (3), Ibid., p. 4.

being, was directly in line with the nineteenth century, holistic view of giving. Such objectives were integral to the ethos and general success of the Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust, with the aim that the recipients of the gift would prosper both within the community created by the Trust's formation, as well as outside of it. The media held this particular notion closely, suggesting that the improved dwellings that Guinness' new Trust was to build would also enlighten the working classes morally:

> What we have is the bountiful demonstration that Sir Edward Guinness sincerely wishes our Dublin workingmen prosperity and happiness, and deems that he best can assist men by improving their homes … But now … we can hope to find many of the worst and unhealthiest parts of Old Dublin swept away, and pleasant homes reared upon the wider spaces, that will minister to the influences which further sobriety, morality and thrift.[11]

While moral improvement of the working class was an integral component of the Trust in ameliorating their condition, the physical improvement of both landscape and housing structure was, first and foremost, the primary aim of it. By regenerating the physical homes of the working class, moral amelioration could be achieved. Guinness maintained in the Deed 'very wide discretion should be left to the Trustees as to the mode of application and management' in the hope that 'by economical and wise administration' the objectives of the Trust, specifically to reach the lowest stratum of the poor, would be realised.[12]

While Guinness gave the Trustees such freedom, he did outline ideas of his own, ideas that were ultimately followed closely. With respect to financial organisation, it was affirmed that along with the original capital of £50,000, the 'Fund' of the new Trust would incorporate

> all accumulations of net income from time to time to accrue therefrom or from the application thereof in terms of the Trust, and all property for the time being representing the original capital and accumulations, the whole of which shall be applied in perpetuity to the like objects.[13]

It was intended that 'The Fund' would continue to increase its capital over time, so that 'whilst payments of money in the nature of gifts or not returnable by the recipients are not precluded, the purpose to be kept in view may be assistance

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[11] *The Irish Times,* 21 November 1889.
[12] Preamble, *Deed of Trust (Dublin Fund*).
[13] Ibid., p. 2.

to individuals to improve their condition, without placing them in the position of being the recipients of a bounty'.[14] While the payment of rents was necessary for the maintenance of the fund, it also served as an exercise in self-sufficiency in order to make the tenants feel responsible for their own position in life. In the eyes of those who gave, the demand to pay such rents weekly taught those who received how to economise, it extended the virtue of thrift down to the lower classes. The Trust, in its ameliorative mission, presented its recipients with an *opportunity* for self-sufficiency and self-reliance; it created the environment for which the tenants were to further ameliorate themselves.

The suggestions Guinness gave with regard to the use of 'the fund' were mostly related to construction of accommodation. Guinness determined that the use of the fund would be for 'the acquisition of land, with or without buildings thereon, in Dublin and the provision, erection, adaptation, or improvement of buildings.' The modes of application for which the Trust was established encompassed four main uses. Firstly, the fund would be used for the building of dwellings to be let out as tenements, specifically in 'crowded neighbourhoods, or in places of easy access to the centres of labour'.[15] This decision was in line with the wider consensus of housing provision and urban development. While many agreed that buildings should be provided, *where* they would be provided was a matter of contention; certain experts during this period deemed the provision in expanding suburbs as the best option, while others determined that the regeneration of the dilapidated and overcrowded areas of the inner city was more beneficial. The predominant issue that divided opinion across urban-suburban lines surrounded the issue of transport links for labourers to get to and from work if housed within the suburban sprawl. Guinness suggested, if the Trust were to expand out of the inner-depths of the city, the Trustees could 'make arrangements with railway and other Companies or otherwise for cheap means of transit.'[16] There was only one project which fell in line with this approach, that of the Crumlin estate, where cottages were constructed in the outskirts of the city over

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[14] Section 1 (b), Ibid.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid.

the decade 1926-36. Secondly, it was advised that part of the dwellings could be used as shops; this was eventually completed in both the Kevin Street and Bull Alley estates. Thirdly, it was proposed that a portion of the fund would be used to create 'common and other lodging houses'. Iveagh House, the working man's hostel, was established in 1905, and was modelled on the lodging houses pioneered in London by Lord Rowton, one of the first trustees of the Iveagh Trust and a close friend to Guinness. Lastly, it was suggested that the fund be used for 'all or any matters, things and conveniences for any and every purpose'.[17] In addition to the dedication to the moral improvement of the tenants, more practical features and plans were implemented by the Trust. The Coal Fund was one such provision along with the provision of cots for infants and pram sheds for storage.

The Ethos of Inclusion

A key detail central to the workings of the Iveagh Trust was for the administration of the Trust to operate always in an unsectarian and non-political manner. In Section 5 (a) of the *Deed of Trust*, Edward Cecil Guinness made clear that the administration of the Trust 'shall be wholly unsectarian and non-political … [with] a rigid exclusion of all influences' maintaining that 'it will be a violation of the intentions of the Founder if participation in its benefits should be excluded on the ground of religious belief or political bias'.[18] While this 'ethos of inclusion' was especially significant with regard to those applying for accommodation within the Iveagh Trust, it also permeated throughout the day-to-day running of it; the Trust kept separate religious and political beliefs in strict form, with no evidence of political or religious leanings found in the records of the Iveagh Trust. In line with this ethos, the application form for the Iveagh Trust, while documenting a plethora of information, did not ask for the religious persuasion or political leanings of prospective tenants. Furthermore, the tenant registries used by the staff to record those who were living in a certain dwelling at a certain time omit such information.

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[17] Section 3 (a), Ibid.
[18] Section 5(a), Ibid.

It is necessary to question the motivations behind Guinness's decision to keep the Trust free from political and religious influences. Considering that Iveagh was known for his staunch unionism and devout association with the Church of Ireland, this ethos is even more striking. As will be shown below, the Trustees chosen to steer this philanthropic ship held views similar to those of its founder. In a time when Parnellism was at its height, Guinness was one of a very small minority of Protestant Southern Unionists – a group progressively losing influence in the face of growing nationalism – in a city where, during this period, both council and populace were predominantly Nationalist and Catholic. In his other benevolent deeds, Guinness showed his support for the Kingdom and his church by making a 'very patriotic' offer to set up an Irish Field Hospital in South Africa during the second Boer War;[19] in his bequest of 1927, he gave £126,000 to the Representative Church Body of the Protestant Church of Ireland while he gave £65,000 to St. Patrick's Cathedral for its upkeep. He maintained that 'if at any time the said Cathedral shall be used for the ritual, practice or any other purposes of the Roman Catholic Faith … the bequest is to revert to the Representative body.'[20] In the bequest to employees, similar sentiments were shown; he granted an annual sum of £50 to his nurse, however, this would 'cease if at any time she should become an inmate of any Roman Catholic Community'.[21] On his death, *The Times* wrote that 'it may be doubted whether any man of his strong unionist opinions has ever enjoyed greater popularity with Irishmen of all parties and conditions'.[22] These strong unionist opinions transformed into action, particularly through the Home Rule crisis; he hosted many events in the name of the unionist cause and spearheaded many campaigns to hinder Home Rule's progress.

Even with such intense political and religious beliefs, 'his political opinions were never allowed to interfere with his affection for his native city, his profound interest in all its problems and his wise and thoughtful sympathy with the poor and suffering'.[23] Guinness' decision to forbid such influences from pervading

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[19] *Weekly Irish Times,* 13 January 1900.
[20] *The Irish Times,* 7 November 1927.
[21] Ibid.
[22] *The Times,* 8 October 1927.
[23] Ibid.

through the administrative walls of the Iveagh Trust can be attributed to a number of reasons. Firstly, the nature of philanthropy must be taken into account, which moved from a more religious charity to a liberal and 'scientific' form of giving.[24] Secondly, with specific regard for philanthropic housing associations, Guinness's 'ethos of inclusion' was not the first of its kind. The Iveagh Trust's inclusive ethos was a mirror image of an early philanthropic housing association – The Peabody Trust; the ethos of inclusion found so prominently in Guinness' Deed of Trust was also to be found in Peabody's, where it was stated that 'there shall be a rigid exclusion from all management of this fund, of any influences calculated to impart to it a character either sectarian as regards religion, or exclusive in relation to local or party politics.' [25]

Finally, while the demand of political and religious exclusion, for the most part, lies within the principle of philanthropic giving of this period, as well as the inspiration Guinness evidently took from the Peabody bequest, it must be considered that Guinness took the religious, social and political tension prevalent in Dublin at the time into consideration. For example, when Guinness was questioned about the practice of working class people keeping a corpse in their dwelling for days during the 1885 housing inquiry, he maintained that he would be happy to help curb this practice, but only if he received approval from the heads of both religions in Dublin. Rev. James Daniel commented earlier in the inquiry that public wakes were 'amongst the evil effects following from the overcrowding of people in those large tenement houses and the want of accommodation'.[26] While the bodies were not kept in rooms as long as they were in London, where they were held for up to a week, in Dublin,

> the inconvenience of those large wakes arises from the large number of people in those houses; death always occasions inconvenience; the entire house is kept

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[24] This shift from a religious philanthropy to a 'scientific' form came about due to the development of statistical science, as well as charities such as the Charity Organisation Society, which sought not scientifically discriminate on the grounds of who could, or deserved to, be helped.
[25] *The Times,* 26 March 1862.
[26] Witness Testimony of Rev. James Daniel, *Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes (Third Report), Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, Index* [cd. 4547] [1885], p. 28.

> disturbed during the continuance of the wake; and then others gather into the room when a wake occurs, and so demoralisation and dissipation occur.[27]

When asked if Guinness had attempted to do anything about this 'serious inconvenience', he replied:

> No, I should be very glad to erect mortuaries if I was asked by the people and clergy of different denominations to do so; but I should be sorry to take any steps in that direction unless it was entirely with their approval … at the same time I am well aware of the great evils that arise at the present time from the presence of the dead in these already overcrowded rooms, and the great excesses that often attend to the practice of waking the dead.[28]

Although the Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust was not the first housing association to apply this code of inclusion, it is the situation in which the Trust in Dublin found itself that allowed for this ethos of inclusion to hold a certain significance not prevalent in other philanthropic housing projects. This ethos was of great importance in Dublin, where political and religious tensions were rife, and allowed the Trust to grow in the midst of such trouble. Rather than exclusion on such religious or political grounds, it was more so on behavioural or economic grounds that an applicant might be denied membership in this community.

2.1.B. – The Trustees

The guidelines set out in the *Deed of Trust* were specific, yet gave flexibility to the Trustees and Secretaries who were to administer them. The Trustees who were chosen to administer the gift were formally named in the media reports and legally in the *Deed of Trust.*[29] While the number of Trustees expanded over the course of the following decade, to understand why Baron Rowton, Charles Ritchie and David R. Plunkett were chosen to act as the primary leaders of the Trust from its inception is imperative in order to assess their suitability for the task at hand. As Aalen states, all three Trustees were 'distinguished men … close associates of

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[27] Ibid.
[28] Witness Testimony of Edward Cecil Guinness, Bart., Ibid., p. 44.
[29] For a full list of the Trustees as well as the Secretaries of the Trust (Dublin), 1890-1939, please see Appendix. 1.

Iveagh, all Conservatives and strong Unionists but with deep interests and involvement in social reform especially working-class housing.'[30]

Montagu Lowry Corry – Lord Rowton

Montagu Lowry Corry, who became Baron Rowton in 1880, was private secretary to Benjamin Disraeli from 1866 until Disraeli's death in 1881. Through the social company he kept, Rowton established good relations within royal circles and developed many close friendships, particularly with Queen Victoria and the Prince of Wales.[31]

Image 4: Montagu William Lowry Corry, Baron Rowton by Sir Leslie Ward, Vanity Fair, 3 March 1877.[32]

[30] F.H.A. Aalen, *The Iveagh Trust,* p. 17.
[31] M.G. Wiebe, 'Corry: Montagu William Lowry, Baron Rowton (1838 – 1903)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004) [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32576] [accessed 28 Sept 2015].
[32] © National Portrait Gallery, London.

Yet, while in the political sphere he maintained a prominent role, Rowton was best known as the founder of the Rowton Houses, 'a poor man's hotel' that aimed to replace the common "doss" house prevalent in London. The idea for these houses was first conceived after Rowton was approached by Guinness in the 1880s, regarding his idea of establishing a Trust for housing for the working classes and it was from this encounter that Rowton's philanthropic inclinations began. In his obituary in *The Times,* it is stated that he

> sympathized with the project … and he and Sir Edward Guinness, under the escort of a detective, began a tour of inspection of the dwellings in the East-end of London, with the view of ascertaining for themselves the conditions under which the poor and the artisans of the metropolis really lived.[33]

It was during this visit that Rowton became interested in the plight of the single working man:

> they went into many common lodging-houses, and Lord Rowton became greatly impressed with the fact that, in addition to better houses for families, there was wanted some improved accommodation for poor men of a superior class to the ordinary casual, instead of leaving them with no alternative but such undesirable dwelling-places as those that he and his companion had seen.[34]

After inheriting his aunt's estate in December 1889, Rowton invested £30,000 in the first Rowton Houses Limited, which opened in 1892 in Bond Street, Vauxhall.[35] This first venture 'proved a financial success, and vindicated the business capacity of the founder'.[36] The Rowton Houses provided cheap yet respectable accommodation for over 5,000 men. Like the 'Five Per-Cent' philanthropy housing models of Peabody and the DADC, Rowton Houses were a form of 'philanthropy conducted on business principles', by realising a modest profit. Known as the 'poor man's hotel', it was hoped that the new and improved surroundings 'might encourage the men to make a fresh start in life, or at least keep them from sinking still lower'.[37] Rowton's input was pivotal in the smooth

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[33] *The Times,* 10 November 1903.
[34] Ibid.
[35] M.G. Wiebe, 'Corry: Montagu William Lowry, Baron Rowton (1838 – 1903)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004) [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32576] [accessed 28 September 2015].
[36] *The Manchester Guardian,* 10 November 1903.
[37] *The Times,* 10 November 1903.

organisation and running of the operation, with 'not even the smallest detail' escaping his 'close personal attention':

> When in London he scarcely spent a week without visiting one or more of the houses, constantly getting into conversation with the lodgers, learning their wants and their opinion … and ready at all times to consider any suggestions that might add to the general comfort and welfare.[38]

Just like his attention to detail and focus with regard to the Rowton Houses, Rowton devoted as much time and energy into the establishment and consequent development of the Guinness Trust. His co-trustees, Ritchie and Plunket, were both more deeply involved in politics; as they had 'many demands on their time by reason of their Parliamentary duties, the greatest part of the labour involved in organizing the work of the Trust fell on the shoulders of Lord Rowton'.[39] In its first phase, 1890-1902, the Guinness Trust was led by Rowton, as Chairman. While Rowton's poor man's hotel inspired the Iveagh Hostel, which opened its doors in 1905, he failed to see it materialise. His death in 1903 coincided with the break between the two funds he had committed much energy in his last years to, and the establishment of the Iveagh Trust which he was pivotal in steering.

Charles Thomson Ritchie – Baron Ritchie of Dundee

Charles Thomson Ritchie was a fierce candidate in both social, fiscal and local government reform from 1874 until his death in 1906. In 1874, he was elected as Tory MP in the predominantly working-class constituency of Tower Hamlets, London. Ritchie, a candidate 'combining Conservative tendencies with freedom from the "taint" of aristocratic connexions', amassed great popularity among the East London working class by focusing on reforms devised for their benefit, such as the 1875 bill which extended the 1871 Bank Holiday Act to dockyard and customs workers.[40] By 1880, he was a leading member of the fair-

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[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid.
[40] *The Times,* 10 January 1906; Jane Ridley, 'Ritchie, Charles Thomson, first Baron Ritchie of Dundee (1838-1906)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004); [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35762] [accessed 28 Sept 2015].

trade movement and when Salisbury's second ministry began in 1886, he was appointed president of the LGB.

Image 5: Charles Thomson Ritchie, 1st Baron Ritchie of Dundee by Carlo Pellegrini, Vanity Fair 31 October 1885. [41]

It was during his time as president of the LGB that Ritchie achieved a 'significant output of social reform', which further highlighted his suitability for the position as Trustee of the Guinness Trust. [42] Aside from the restructuring of local government, he was responsible for acts regarding infectious diseases notification (1889), housing of the working classes (1890) and public health for London (1891). In 1894-5, he sat as an alderman on the London County Council (LCC), however, by May 1895, he returned to the House of Commons. Between 1895 -1902, Ritchie was appointed president of the Board of Trade, introducing

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[41] © National Portrait Gallery, London.
[42] Jane Ridley, 'Ritchie, Charles Thomson, first Baron Ritchie of Dundee (1838-1906)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004) [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35762] [accessed 28 Sept 2015].

the conciliation Act of 1896, which established conciliation boards for the settlement of labour disputes. After the 1900 election, he was promoted to Home Secretary, and, while at the Home Office, he passed a 'measure consolidating and amending the Factories and Workshops Act (1901).'[43] In 1902, Richie was appointed to the post of Chancellor of the Exchequer, a position where he 'achieved distinction as a statesman, rather than a competent official politician'.[44]

Ritchie died suddenly in 1906, before he could take up the appointment of chairman of the poor-law royal commission.[45] His sympathy towards the welfare of the working classes, coupled with 'his business skill, his industry and persistence' that 'displayed courage and strength of character', made him an ideal candidate for Trustee of the Guinness Trust.[46] He was also a Conservative, which aligned with Guinness's political persuasion. With these characteristics, Ritchie was an ideal and influential member of the board; he remained an integral member of this exclusive group until his sudden death.

David Robert Plunket – Lord Rathmore

Born in Ireland in 1838, David Robert Plunket was the only Irish-born member among the first Trustees. The grandson of 'the distinguished politician and Lord Chancellor of Ireland, William Conyngham Plunket', Plunket was educated at Trinity College Dublin and Kings Inns.[47] In 1868, Plunket was named as law adviser to Dublin Castle, and in the same year ran (unsuccessfully) for parliament. Two years later, he was returned unopposed for Dublin University, holding the seat until 1895. In that year, he was raised to the peerage of Lord Rathmore.

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[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Patrick M. Geoghegan, 'Plunket, David Robert, 1st Baron Rathmore', *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, (Cambridge, 2009) [http://dib.cambridge.or/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a7366] [accessed 17 November 2016].

Image 6: David Robert Plunket, 1st Baron Rathmore by Carlo Pellegrini, Vanity Fair, 29 May 1880.[48]

A conservative in politics, Plunket was a committed unionist who was valued for his views on Irish affairs, and between 1875-7, he was Solicitor-General for Ireland. As a celebrated orator and fierce unionist, his speeches 'on public affairs, especially on the anarchy in Ireland, and the fore-shadowing of Parnellite Home Rule, made their mark on the mind of the country.'[49] In addition Plunket was also Guinness' political advisor.[50]

Each of the newly appointed Trustees had suitable experience that warranted their administration of the Trust. Rowton, with his administrative and enterprising tack, coupled with his philanthropic inclinations; Ritchie with his experience in finance, commerce and local government, as well as his commitment to legislation related specifically to the working class; and Plunket, a revered orator and experienced barrister with a deep understanding of the political and

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[48] © National Portrait Gallery, London.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Aalen, *The Iveagh Trust*, p. 19.

social relations within Ireland – all of these qualities collectively enhanced the running of the Trust.

Other notable Trustees

Over time, others were appointed to the Trustees' board, including Iveagh. On Rowton's death, and the establishment of the Iveagh Trust, Lord Iveagh was appointed Chairman and remained in this position until his own death in 1927. Together with these distinguished men was Lieut.-Col. Addison, another significant member of the board who was appointed in 1899. After a long military career with the Royal Engineers, Addison joined the Guinness company as Iveagh's personal assistant. Addison remained a Trustee devoted to the works of the Trust until his death in November 1937, after serving thirty-eight years on the board.[51]

Members of Iveagh's family also sat on the board of Trustees. Indeed, the Iveagh Trust philanthropic mission was very much a family affair. His three sons sat on the board; Arthur Edward, Walter Edward (later the 1st Lord Moyne), and Rupert, who, on his father's death in 1927, became the 2nd Earl of Iveagh and took over as Chairman of the board until 1962. Rupert's son, Arthur Onslow Edward Guinness, Viscount Elveden, was also appointed to the board in 1936; he remained on the board until he was killed in action during the Second World War.[52] In 1928, Lord Moyne's son, Bryan W. Guinness also became a Trustee, and acted as Chairman from 1962 until 1975.

In addition to family members, other men known in British and Irish society were members of the board. In 1920, William Vesey Harrel was appointed Trustee to the Iveagh Trust. From 1902, Harrel was Assistant Commissioner of the Dublin Metropolitan Police (DMP). During his tenure in this post, Harrel's name became well-known for 'an unfortunate exercise of initiative' which ultimately brought an end to his policing career.[53] In July 1914, after receiving information that members of the Irish Volunteers collecting arms and ammunition from the

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[51] Meeting 9 February 1938*, Iveagh Trust Minute Reports, 1903-1939,* BA/BX/1/A [ITA]
[52] *The Times,* 14 February 1945.
[53] Jim Herlihy, *The Dublin Metropolitan Police: A Short History and Genealogical Guide* (Dublin, 2001), p. 169, 232; Eunan O'Halpin, *The Decline of the Union: British Government in Ireland, 1892-1920* (New York, 1987), p. 104.

Asgard at Howth in North County Dublin, Harrel, without consulting his superiors, ordered a detachment of troops to aid the police in intercepting the Volunteers and seizing the weapons. The operation was a failure, with only nineteen rifles out of about 700 seized.[54] As the soldiers retreated, members of the military forces were followed by a protesting crowd, and, at Bachelor's Walk in the city centre, they opened fire, resulting in the death of three civilians.[55]

Harrel's actions on the day had a detrimental impact, with much criticism and protests being voiced throughout the country. The *Irish Examiner* maintained that Harrel had made 'no attempt to consult his superiors' before taking such drastic action, and the consequences of such were astounding.[56] As a result of this harsh criticism, he was forced to resign.

In 1920, Harrel was recruited as assistant managing director of Messrs Guinness, the same year that he was appointed as a Trustee of the Iveagh Trust.[57] In 1925, he resigned from his position in Guinness Brewery.[58] Aside from his involvement in the 1914 Howth gun-running, Harrel was not so different from the other Trustees. He was a member of the Church of Ireland and socialised in the same upper-class circles as his chums on the Trustee board, belonging to Kildare Street Club and the Royal St. George Yacht Club.[59]

What is evident from the Trustee profiles is the lack of women sitting at the top table of this philanthropic venture. As Preston has asserted, women were heavily involved in philanthropy, so much so that 'by the late nineteenth century, it was the rare middle- or upper-class woman who was not a volunteer'.[60] It was so popular among women in part because it was one of the few areas where women

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[54] O'Halpin, *The Decline of the Union,* p. 104.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid.
[57] *The Irish Examiner,* 5 August 1920.
[58] Ibid., 15 August 1925.
[59] W.V. Harrel is mentioned in his father's entry: Patrick Long, 'Harrel, Sir David Alfred', *Dictionary of Irish Biography Online* (Cambridge, 2017) [http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a3814-A&searchClicked=clicked&quickadvsearch=yes#] [accessed 8 February 2018]
[60] Margaret Preston, 'Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century Dublin', *The Historian,* Vol. 58, No. 4, p. 767; Prochaska, Frank, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth Century England* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 155-56.

could engage in 'the public sphere without threatening its male domination'.[61] A quality of women philanthropists was their tendency to 'characterise their relationship with the impoverished as essentially that of mother and child'.[62] Considering that the Trust concerned itself with the amelioration, or caring, of the working classes, it is worth noting this absence of female involvement in decision making. True, in specific gender-defined roles, such as the management of the children's Play Centre, women were engaged; there was a Lady Superintendent and, as far as can be discerned from the records, all teachers and dance instructors were female. Equally, women were employed in Iveagh House, the men's hostel, however in more menial roles such as bedmakers and cooks.

It was not until 1936, at the very end of the period studied, that Gwendolen Guinness, wife of Edward Cecil Guinness' first born son, Rupert, was made a Trustee. Coming from a family 'steeped in traditions of public service' (her father was the 4th Earl of Onslow, who served as governor general of New Zealand from 1889-1892), Gwendolen assisted her husband Rupert in nine of his election campaigns in the Guinness family seat of Southend-on-Sea.[63] Gwendolen also engaged in charitable work; during the Great War, 1914-18, she organised relief efforts for prisoners of war.[64] The combination of tradition and hands-on experience led Gwendolen to venture into the realm of politics herself. From 1925-33, she was chairman of the Conservative Party's women's advisory committee and also served as the chairman of the National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations in 1930. On the death of her father-in-law, her husband was Rupert elevated to the peerage as the 2nd Earl of Iveagh and the new Lady Iveagh ran for his Southend seat in a by-election, which she won. She remained in this seat until 1935.[65]

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[61] Preston, 'Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century Dublin', p. 765.
[62] Idem, 'Discourse and Hegemony: Race and Class in the Language of Charity in Nineteenth-Century Dublin', p. 104.
[63] M. Pugh, 'Guinness [née Onslow], Gwendolen Florence Mary, countess of Iveagh (1881-1966), politician', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-33602?rskey=aCFUkq&result=5] [accessed 8 February 2018].
[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid.

It is safe to say that all those at the top of the Iveagh Trust organisational structure embodied the ideals that Guinness (later Lord Iveagh) espoused. With the exception of Gwendolen Guinness, all the Trustees of this period were male. In addition, they were all Protestants, Conservatives and Unionists, vocal about their political and religious leanings. It is a surprise, then, that there did not seem to be any controversy or criticism of the Trust from Catholic bodies, media outlets or the Church itself.[66] In a time when sectarian and political tensions were coming to a head, when the majority of the Dublin working class were Catholic, it is not naïve to expect such controversy.

2.1.C. Administration and Organising in Dublin: the DADC

The Deed of Trust gave the Trustees substantial free reign when it came to the administration of the Trust. They were granted liberal powers in terms of the ability to acquire land by 'purchase, lease, or otherwise', to manage, control and regulate these buildings at their discretion, to lease, sell or dispose of lands, to borrow money, and to place the management or control of the fund, or any part thereof, 'in the hands of any public body, Company, Committee, or other body or persons'.[67] This flexibility in the administration and the encouragement to work with external bodies, both public and private, allowed for the Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust to involve itself in the wider discourse on housing issues in Dublin. It also ensured cooperation in acquiring such lands in the capital and, it can be argued, that the ability to collaborate set the focus on the community at the heart of the project, ensuring that the recipients were those most likely to benefit from such a scheme.

The Guinness Trustees immediately arranged that primary administration and management of the Dublin Fund would be given to the DADC. [68] From this point, Mr Spencer of the DADC travelled to London on numerous occasions to

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[66] Research was made into Catholic and nationalist-leaning newspapers and periodicals as well as in the Dublin Diocesan Archives looking for this expected outrage. However, none was found.
[67] Section 4 (a – j), *Deed of Trust (Dublin Fund)*.
[68] Meeting 6 January 1890, *Guinness Trust (Dublin and London Fund) Minute Reports, 1889-1898,* LMA/4656/A/02/001 [LMA].

confer with the Trustees, who were based in London, regarding various Dublin sites. The conferral of the management of the Dublin Fund on the DADC is telling of the distance, both physically and emotionally, the Trustees were from Dublin and Iveagh's plans for rejuvenation there. Such a detachment came with an unsatisfactory price for the Dublin Fund and the people it aimed to ameliorate. While the Trustees had the final say on which sites to focus on and what construction tenders to choose, the hard labour of inspection, negotiation, overseeing the construction and selection of tenants was left to the forces on the ground, and, in the early years these responsibilities were left in the hands of a committee that the Trustees were ultimately dissatisfied with. The formal relationship with the DADC had lasted just under two and a half years; the 1892 Annual Report cited that the DADC had been in control up until May 1892. However, work was 'now being performed by the Trustees directly' because 'it had been considerably retarded owing to the great difficulty hitherto experienced in obtaining suitable sites.'[69]

Understanding that direct control over their own Trust was paramount, the Trustees employed their own Secretary on the ground in Dublin; as the prime authority in action, the Secretary transformed the vision of the Trustees from fanciful theory into reality. The first Dublin Fund Secretary to be appointed was Mr J.L. Davoren. It was during Davoren's period that the New Bride Street/Kevin Street site was acquired. Since establishment, the London Fund had a Secretary, Captain Thomas H. Vickers, (as well as the Trustees), present for all matters in terms of site acquisitions and erection of buildings in London. As will be later demonstrated, the failure to have active and engaged staff members on the ground impeded the progress of the Dublin Fund from its inception, while the London Fund actively and quickly succeeded in achieving its aims. This was partly due to capital, but also due to interest on the part of the Trustees and correct administrative organisation on the ground.

Mr Davoren resigned in 1897. His replacement was Captain James Edward Bonner, who officially took up the post of Secretary of the Guinness Trust (Dublin

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[69] The Guinness Trust Annual Report of 1892, *The Guinness Trust Annual Reports* 1890-1903 , LMA/4656/A/05/001, [LMA].

Fund) on 1 March 1897 at a salary of £150 per annum after spending the month of February in London to complete his training.[70] Bonner retained this post through the transition into the Iveagh Trust, making him the first Secretary of the new, Dublin-based Iveagh Trust. He remained in the job until his death in December 1909.

A retired army captain, Bonner was the force on the ground who oversaw the key changes in the direction the Trust was to undertake as well as the management of the projects and community during a pivotal time in the Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust's establishment in Dublin.[71] On his death in December 1909, the Trust reported in its minutes that since the year 1896, his 'care and active superintendence of all matters under his charge have tended much to the successful working of the business of the Trust'.[72] He was succeeded by his son, James Alfred Bonner.

The younger Bonner became Secretary of the Trust after working as a clerk in the Trust for a number of years.[73] When appointed, Bonner was given a probationary six month salary of £15 per month. After this period, Bonner's salary increased to £200 a year, increasing in £10 annual increments to £300.[74] James Alfred Bonner retained this position for a lengthy period, from 1909 until his death, an impressive forty-four years. On his death in 1953, Bonner was replaced

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[70] Meeting 24 February 1897, *Guinness Trust Dublin and London Fund) Minute Reports, 1889-1898,* LMA/4656/A/02/001 [LMA].
[71] Bonner had enlisted in 1860 at age 18. He was in the 55th (Westmorland) Regiment of Foot until 1881, when it was amalgamated with the 34th (Cumberland) regiment of Foot to form the Border Regiment (2nd Battalion), spending time in the East Indies during his service. Record Service of J.E. Bonner, Record of Officers Services: Army Book 83, TNA/WO/76-176, The National Archives, UK [NAUK].
[72] Meeting 12 January 1910, *Iveagh Trust Minute Reports, 1903-1939,* BA/BX/1/A [ITA].
[73] It is unknown how long Bonner Jnr worked in the Iveagh Trust before taking up the position of Secretary, however Census records of 1901 maintain that he was at this time a clerk; Census of Ireland 1901 http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/pages/1901/Dublin/Rathmines___Rathgar_East/Moyne_Road/1293296/.
[74] Meeting, 12 January 1910, *Iveagh Trust Minute Reports, 1903-1939,* BA/BX/1/A [ITA].Taking into consideration historical inflation rates, I have calculated £200 in 1909 as €25,905.15 per annum. This was calculated using data from the UK's Office for National Statistics [https://www.ons.gov.uk/economy/inflationandpriceindices/timeseries/czbh/mm23] and then converting this figure into Euro using current conversion rates [http://www.xe.com/currencyconverter/convert/?From=GBP&To=EUR].

by Alfred Edward Thompson who worked in this role until his retirement in 1975. Thompson also hailed from the middle-class suburb of Donnybrook and was a member of the Church of Ireland; he had worked as a clerk in the Trust from as early as 1938.[75]

The indirect management of the Dublin Fund in its early years, as will be shown, had consequences which impeded the action aimed at ameliorating the working class individual of the city. While it was not the only reason for the slow start in Dublin, it became obvious that direct control, in the form of a Secretary on the ground working for the Trustees alone, was essential. The secretaries chosen, like the Trustees, all had similar characteristics; it is clear from the biographical analysis that those in positions of administrative power and control in the Guinness Trust (Dublin Fund) and later Iveagh Trust were typically Protestant males, living in middle-class suburbs.

2.2. Action 1890-1902

With the legal tools in the form of the Deed and its capable implementers in the form of the Trustees and Secretaries in place, practical work could begin. The formative period 1890-1902 was a crucial one for the Trust. As both the Dublin and London funds were administratively linked during this period one cannot analyse the progress of one fund without the other and, as such, it is vital to compare the two funds during this period. This section will map the progress of both funds for the period that they were legally bound together, from the establishment in 1890 until the two funds were severed in 1902.

2.2.A. The London Fund

Within the first twelve months, the Trustees had made quite a stride in London. Almost immediately, they began by inquiring into sites in Whitechapel, Bethnal Green and Hoxton before acquiring sites in Columbia Road, Bethnal Green and Brandon Street, Walworth as well as receiving a benefaction from Lord

[75] Meeting 9 February 1938, *Iveagh Trust Minute Reports, 1903-1939,* BA/BX/1/A [ITA].

Cadogan in the form of a sizeable and valuable piece of land in Chelsea.[76] With a substantial sum of £200,000 in their pockets, the Trustees were able to act instantly – action, it is argued here, that resulted in the Trust's operations in London taking precedence over that of Dublin.

At their second meeting on 30 November 1889, Charles Ritchie, who had significant ties with local government in London, wrote to Lord Roseberry, chairman of the newly formed London County Council, informing him of the 'munificent gift of £250,000', and asking his assistance and influence at the council to aid them in 'one of our chief difficulties … the question of sites'.[77] They maintained that

> it is necessary that they should be in such localities as will make the buildings erected upon them available for the class it is intended to benefit and at the same time they must be of such moderate cost as will enable us to place the buildings within the reach of the very poor.[78]

Roseberry replied with the assurance that he would lay it before the committee for the housing of the working classes 'who I am very sure will lend every assistance'.[79] This was the first exchange in what would prove to be an integral relationship between the private philanthropic endeavour and city administration, a relationship that was made possible by the personal connections and experience of the first Trustees. Two days later, on 2 December 1889, the Trustees discussed the possibility of acquiring various sites in London suitable for the class of people they sought to help. They deemed that a site proposed by architect Mr Mervyn E. Macartney in Whitechapel was 'too large'; however three other sites, all situated in Hoxton and Bethnal Green, were of interest, and Macartney was instructed to make inquiries with a demand to have 'a definite proposal by December 16th as well as sketch plans.'[80] In addition, this meeting gave the first mention of the Lord Cadogan gift of a site in Chelsea. However, the Trustees initially turned his offer down, maintaining that 'they were obliged to

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[76] Meeting 2 December 1889, *Guinness Trust (Dublin and London Fund) Minute Reports, 1889-1898,* LMA/4656/A/02/001 [LMA].
[77] Meeting 30 November 1889, Ibid.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Meeting 2 December 1889, Ibid.

Lord Cadogan for his proposal, but that their attention was at present directed to other parts of London. They would, however, bear in mind his offer when they came to consider the requirements of the West end of London.'[81]

It was clear from their first few meetings that the Trustees were fixated on London's east end, an area known for its poverty and heavy immigrant and working class demographic; it was also the area where Guinness and Rowton had carried out their investigative work prior to the formation of the Trust itself. Although the Cadogan offer was put on hold for the moment, the speed at which the Trustees acted with regards to the London fund was quite impressive. Conversely, the first mention of the Dublin fund in the minutes was not until 6 January 1890.[82]

On both sides of the Irish sea, the question of sites, and their acquisition, would take the lead in the Trustees' deliberations. For its London operations, the Trustees decided on a site at Columbia Road, Bethnal Green at a meeting on 18 December 1889, instructing Mr Macartney to 'carry out your plans on an area of about half an acre'.[83] The title deeds for the Columbia Road site were subsequently signed on 21 March 1890. In addition to the first site proposed at Columbia Road, another site was contracted at Brandon Street, Walworth. Comprising of 190 tenements, the Brandon Street site opened in 1891 and was the first Guinness Trust London Fund development to begin operations. Columbia Road, consisting of 258 tenements opened the following year, 1892. By June 1890, the Trustees had decided to accept Lord Cadogan's offer of land in Chelsea. The one-acre site situated in Draycott Avenue was completed in 1892 and contained 303 tenement rooms. At the end of 1892, Guinness Trustees accepted £25,000 for the London fund from the Goldsmiths' Company with the condition that the Trustees would use the funding to extend their Lever Street site at Clerkenwell/Finsbury Park. This particular area was chosen 'because considerable numbers of the poorer class of workmen in the trade with which the company is identified live in that locality.'[84] The gift was on the condition that preference would be given to

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[81] Ibid.
[82] Meeting 6 January 1890, Ibid.
[83] Meeting 18 December 1890, Ibid.
[84] *The Times,* 10 December 1892.

workmen of the goldsmith trade, 'who fulfil the conditions prescribed by the trustees as to wages and other matters'.[85] These conditions were accepted by the Trustees, and an additional portion of land at Lever Street was purchased and built on by 1893.

Moreover, within the first decade, the Trustees in London had acquired, and built on, sites at Vauxhall Walk in Lambeth (1894), Page's Walk at Southwark (1895), Snowsfields at Bermondsey (1897) and Fulham Palace Road in Hammersmith (1901). It was evident that not only were multiple sites acquired, they were also built rapidly so that by 1902 the London Fund housed 9,517 people in 2,574 dwellings across the city.[86]

2.2.B. The Dublin Fund

On 6 January 1890, Plunket submitted to the Trustees communications from the DADC stating the terms and conditions 'upon which the company would be willing to undertake to act for the Trustees in the erection and management of the dwellings'.[87] With the offices of the Guinness Trust, along with the Trustees' regular professional and personal commitments situated in London, there was a need to seek an authority on the ground in Dublin to carry out the day-to-day administrative and organisational tasks of acquiring sites and building thereon suitable dwellings in line with the Guinness Trust housing manifesto. A formal agreement was only made with the DADC during the Trustees' meeting on 22 May 1890. However, prior to this, Mr Spencer of the DADC had, at least on one occasion, visited London to meet with the Trustees to 'confer with home about the Dublin sites'.[88] The Trustees also made contact with the municipal council, drafting a letter to the Lord Mayor of Dublin, 'asking for the cooperation of the Corporation with reference to sites'.[89]

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[85] Ibid.
[86] The Guinness Trust Annual Report of 1902, *The Guinness Trust Annual Reports* 1890-1903, LMA/4656/A/05/001, [LMA].
[87] Meeting 6 January 1890 in *Guinness Trust (Dublin and London Fund) Minute Reports, 1889-1898,* LMA/4656/A/02/001 [LMA].
[88] Meeting 21 March 1890, Ibid.
[89] Meeting 6 January 1890, Ibid.

One of the first sites to be acquired was within the Kevin Street area of the Liberties. During the Trustees' meeting on 6 May 1890, the Trustees instructed Mr Spencer of the DADC to begin offering sums to landholders on what would become the New Bride/Kevin Street site under long-term lease conditions.[90]

From the summer of 1890, hopes of acquiring prospective sites in Dublin gained momentum, with inquiries being made into numerous sites with the hope of expanding Trust operations in the capital. Such sites included Millers' Alley near St Catherine's Church, for which Spencer was directed to 'offer the Earl of Meath the sum of forty pounds per annum, per acre, for a term of two hundred and fifty years'; a site at Thomas Court for which Meath was offered '£22 per annum, on a lease for 250 years, for the land in Thomas Court, about ½ an acre in extent', along with a site at Blackhall Place, on the north side of the city.[91] Of these three prospective sites, however, only the Thomas Court development was ever realised. After the meeting on 5 June, the Millers Alley site was not mentioned again, while the plan at Blackhall Place was hindered as 'it was considered not advisable to build on this site, on account of building operations by the Dublin Corporation, and the Dublin Artisans Dwellings Company in the immediate neighbourhood'.[92]

The Thomas Court dwellings were the first Guinness Trust development to materialise in Dublin. Situated at the corner of Thomas Court and Bellevue on land acquired from Lord Meath's estate, and, in close proximity to the Guinness Brewery, these first dwellings were erected on behalf of the Trustees by the DADC. In June 1892, the DADC handed over the Thomas Court property to the Guinness Trustees, however, by December, it was reported that the condition of the ceilings in the new dwellings were not satisfactory; the Trustees resolved that they should be repaired, or replaced, with the expenses met by the Trust.[93] Coupled with complications of the ceilings, it was sanctioned that 'necessary repairs … to remedy smoky chimneys' were required.[94] Consisting of two large three-storied, red brick blocks containing 118 tenements (mainly single room apartments with

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[90] Meeting 6 May 1890, Ibid.
[91] Meeting 5 June 1890, Ibid.; Meeting 12 August 1890, Ibid.; Meeting 29 November 1890, Ibid.
[92] Meeting 29 November 1890, Ibid.
[93] Meeting 6 December 1892, Ibid.
[94] Ibid.

shared toilet and bathroom facilities), the Thomas Court buildings contained no surrounding open spaces other than narrow communal yards. Furthermore, the constant need for repairs of these newly built dwellings proved costly and the Trustees eventually deemed them wholly unsatisfactory; in December 1895, the Trustees authorised Mr Sutton, the solicitor to the Trust in Dublin, 'to sell the Thomas Court Buildings to the Dublin Artisans Dwellings Company for any sum over £5000' with 'the sum of £47 for cleaning and colouring the walls of passages etc.' approved before sale.[95] The Trustees' annual report of 1896 maintained that they had disposed of the cottages to the DADC as they wished that 'all the Buildings under their management should be similar in construction.'[96] The Thomas Court estate was clearly not what was envisioned by the Trustees and the founder.

Image 7: Thomas Court Buildings, Date Unknown[97]

[95] Meeting 9 December 1895, Ibid.
[96] The Guinness Trust Annual Report of 1896, *The Guinness Trust Annual Reports* 1890-1903, LMA/4656/A/05/001 [LMA].
[97] Image 7 is taken from The Iveagh Trust website, (December 2018) (http://www.theiveaghtrust.ie/?page_id=644)

After the failed Thomas Court enterprise, a much larger operation, in terms of physical size, prospective capacity and landmass, began on the corner of New Bride Street and Kevin Street – a site which had been acquired years previously. Dublin-born architect Robert John Stirling was given the task of designing the New Bride Street dwellings with the objective of making them 'similar in construction to those erected in London'.[98] Stirling had amassed an impressive portfolio over his working life, responsible for some of Dublin's finest buildings of the period, including many throughout Trinity College Dublin. In the same year that he began work on New Bride Street, Stirling was also charged with renovating and improving Trinity's red-brick Rubrics by erecting an additional storey to each building and placing Dutch gables on the top – much like that found in the New Bride Street Development and throughout Guinness Trust property in London.[99]

Comprising three extensive red-brick blocks, each five storeys high, with impressive gateways to the estate and imposing Dutch gables, the New Bride Street development was built between 1894 and 1901 by Messrs. Meade and Co. On completion, the project contained 584 rooms in 336 separate tenement apartments – 108 one room, 208 two room and 20 three room tenements. While this extensive project was to be welcomed in Dublin, in comparison to the progress made in London, the Dublin fund lagged. The absence of the Trustees from Dublin (at least officially – not one meeting of the Board of Trustees was held in Dublin in the entire period, 1889-1898), coupled with the poor performance of the DADC in managing the Trust's Dublin affairs, explains the lack of progress. By the end of the Trust's first decade, the Dublin Fund only had one major estate built, that housed 1,066 people in 336 dwellings.[100]

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[98] The Guinness Trust Annual Report of 1893 in Ibid.
[99] Stirling, Robert John: Works in Dictionary of Irish architects, 1720-1940, http://www.dia.ie/architects/view/5171/stirling-robertjohn#tab_works [Date accessed: 26 April 2017].
[100] The Guinness Trust Annual Report of 1902, *The Guinness Trust Annual Reports* 1890-1903, LMA/4656/A/05/001 [LMA].

2.2.C. Reflections

While it must be remembered that the two funds did not begin their philanthropic endeavour on equal financial footing, much of the reason for the stagnation of the Dublin Fund was due to human error rather than lack of cash. That said, what seemed like a trial-and-error management style of the Dublin Fund in the first period not only slowed progress but also inhibited capital gains. Assessment of capital growth of both funds over the period 1890-1902 indicate that while the London Fund grew by 40.4%, the Dublin Fund only increased its capital by 21.2%.[101] Table 1 below demonstrates the extensive difference in the number of dwellings and rooms provided in London compared to Dublin by 1902.

Table 1: Guinness Trust Dwellings: London and Dublin Fund, 1890-1902 [102]

Estates	*Tenements*				*Total Dwellings*	*Total Rooms*
	1 Room	2 Room	3 Room	4 Room		
London						
Brandon St, Walworth	42	129	18	1	190	358
Marlborough St, Chelsea	96	112	95	-	303	605
Columbia Rd, Bethnal Green	77	181	-	-	258	439
Lever St. Finsbury	56	178	94	7	335	722
Vauxhall Square, Lambeth	65	186	59	1	311	618
Page's Walk, Bermondsey	52	285	106	15	458	1000
Snows Fields, Bermondsey	45	154	147	9	355	830
Fulham Palace Rd, Hammersmith	69	191	100	4	364	767
Total	**502**	**1416**	**619**	**37**	**2574**	**5339**
Dublin						
New Bride Street	108	208	20	-	336	584
Total	**108**	**208**	**20**	**-**	**336**	**584**

With such a limited number of dwellings, there was a severe difference in the number of people the Trust in Dublin could house, which, in turn, resulted in a strict limitation on rent that could be accrued. Chart 1 demonstrates the number of

[101] For Table detailing the Capital accumulations please see Appendix 2.
[102] Data in Table 1 is from The Guinness Trust Annual Report of 1902, *The Guinness Trust Annual Reports* 1890-1903, LMA/4656/A/05/001 [LMA].

people the Trust housed in London and Dublin over the period 1890-1902. While the difference between the two trend lines initially looks rather stark, taking into account both city's population shows that the Trust managed to house 0.2% of the population of London and of Dublin in 1901.

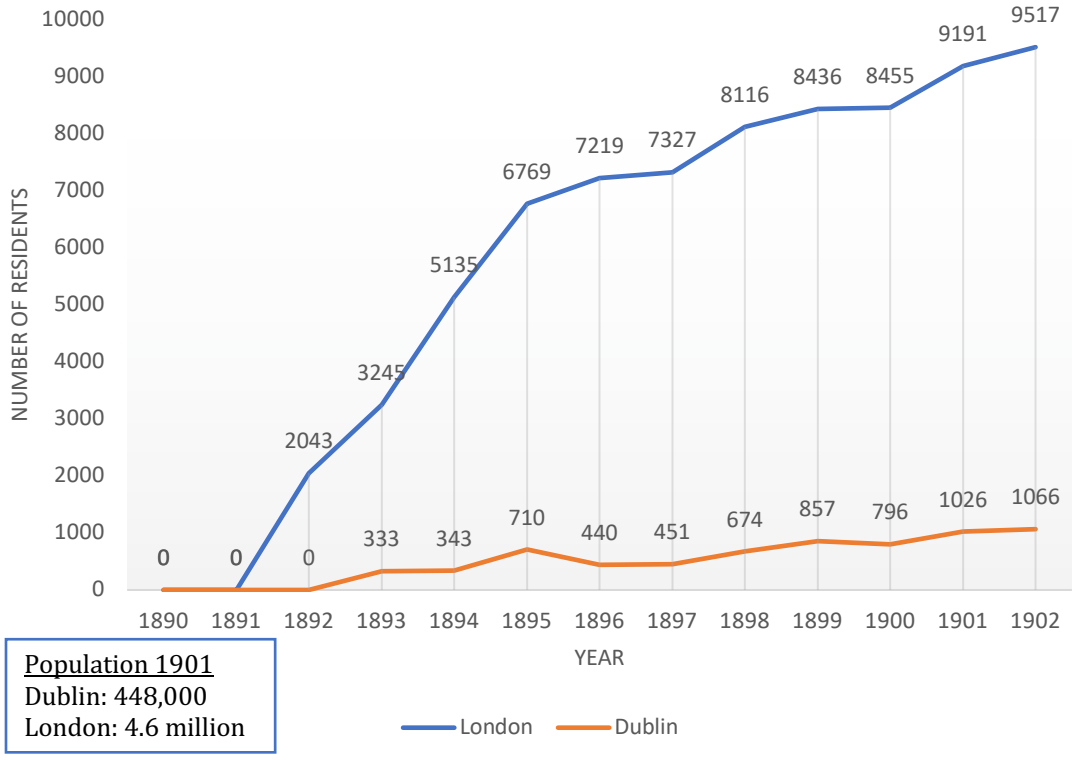

Chart 1: Population: People housed by the Guinness Trust, London and Dublin, 1890-1902. [103]

The relative stagnation of progress in Dublin can be attributed to a number of reasons. Firstly, with each of the Trustees primarily based in London, they were physically removed from the area they were tasked with ameliorating. With their headquarters in London, coupled with a fund of £200,000 at their disposal, the Trustees could begin to look for sites on their doorstep. Being geographically removed from Dublin forced the Trustees to enlist the help of the DADC, who took over operational management almost immediately after the formation of the Trust. Analysis of the minute books demonstrate that not once did any Trustee venture, officially at least, to Dublin. Rather, it was those on the ground in Dublin who were required to travel to London to report on Dublin matters. There is no surprise then

[103] Data in Chart 1 is from *The Guinness Trust Annual Reports* 1890-1903, LMA/4656/A/05/001 [LMA].

that the DADC management were increasingly criticised over the years for not emulating the Trust's grander London plan. It was only when the first venture failed that the DADC were removed from this role with the Trustees citing that progress had been 'considerably retarded owing to the great difficulty ... in obtaining suitable sites'.[104]

Nevertheless, this argument that there was a lack of suitable sites available in Dublin is one to be contested. Over the course of the first twelve months, December 1889 - December 1890, numerous sites had been inquired into; however, these investigations led to very few material plans. Save for New Bride/Kevin Street, the Trustees had either acquired and left bare, or declined, other sites. Moreover, as in London with Lord Cadogan's gift, the Dublin fund received an offer that was first accepted and then, perplexingly, declined. In November 1890, one year after the announcement of the gift, Major Courtney 'made an offer of a site at Ringsend of two acres in extent … free of rent; on 999 years lease or free from grant' which the Trustees accepted. Notably, the Trustees ordered that 'no communication is to be made on this subject to the press', an edict which ultimately was followed. [105] Yet, for some reason, the plan was not realised. In June 1892, land agents Messrs Stewart and Galbraith**,** wrote a letter to the Trustees 'asking the cause of delay in building of the Ringsend site'.[106] The following August, it was stated that a letter had been drafted regarding the return to Major Courtney of the Ringsend site. No evidence could be found in the private archive to shed any light on why this plan was halted. While only mere speculation, it could be argued that the Trustees were focused on one specific area in Dublin, that was, the Liberties. All other projects between the period of establishment and Lord Iveagh's death in 1927 occurred in this area.

The slow progress of the Dublin Fund in acquiring sites that the Trustees deemed suitable caused frustration. In a letter to the editor of the *Freemans Journal* in 1893, a disgruntled citizen voiced concern of both at lack of progress,

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[104] The Guinness Trust Annual Report of 1892, *The Guinness Trust Annual Reports* 1890-1903, LMA/4656/A/05/001 [LMA].
[105] Meeting 29 November 1890, *Minute Book, London and Dublin funds, 1889*-1898, in Guinness Trust Collection, LMA/4656/A/02/001 [LMA].
[106] *Thom's Directory(* 1892), p. 1847; Meeting 17 June 1892, *Minute Book, London and Dublin funds, 1889*-1898, in Guinness Trust Collection, LMA/4656/A/02/001 [LMA].

and the consequent displacement of peoples from the properties between Golden Lane and Wood Street, an area that the Trustees had acquired in 1891:

> The neighbourhood where this ground lies was, up to a few years ago, one of the most densely populated in Dublin, and principally by the very class for whose benefit this fund was created. Visit the place now and it looks as if a destroying angel has come and swept the greater part of the houses bodily away. All the houses in Wood street, save a few, are gone; a large slice of Patrick's close and Patrick street is gone; the entire of Arthur's lane in gone; a large number of houses in Bride street are gone; the whole of one side of Bull alley is gone, and all within the last few years. Plenty of tradesmen and labourers are now walking about Dublin idle, and yet for nearly two years this plot has been in the hands of these trustees, with plenty of funds, and not a thing had been done; on the contrary, in their report, recently issues, they state "their operations in Dublin have been restricted by the difficulty in procuring suitable sites". [107]

The geographical separation and a failure to take full responsibility for both funds demonstrates the inherent complexities of philanthropy. Inaction was fuelled by distance but also by mismanagement on the part of the DADC and the Trustees themselves with regard to the Dublin Fund. The inaction of the Dublin fund led the same disgruntled citizen writing in the *Freeman's Journal* that 'if Lord Iveagh intends to benefit the labourers of Dublin he will have to set the ball rolling himself and not leave it to his English trustees'.[108] Indeed, Iveagh did set the ball rolling himself, firstly in a joint effort with Ardilaun and Talbot Power for the St Patrick's Park regeneration project in 1897, and secondly, in the extensive Bull Alley scheme, which ultimately led to the severing of ties between the two funds in 1903.

2.3 – Severing Ties: The Split Between London and Dublin

2.3.A. Park Life: St Patrick's Park

> True, we have the magnificent Phoenix Park and its urban rival, St. Stephen's Green, but though both of these are a perpetual joy to thousands of our fellow-citizens, there must still remain hundreds of little children in our Dublin slums who are strangers to them, and to whom the beauty of flowers and trees and grass is all but unknown. Soon, however, this reproach will be removed from at least one quarter of the city by the opening of St. Patrick's Park.[109]

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[107] *Freeman's Journal,* 12 April 1893.
[108] Ibid.
[109] *The Irish Times,* 1 August 1902.

In 1897, Lord Iveagh, along with his brother, Lord Ardilaun, and Sir James Talbot Power, of the Power distilling family, promoted an Act of Parliament to landscape a portion of land north of St Patrick's Cathedral to be used as a public park. The area was previously one of intense slum congestion, 'a network of narrow, evil-smelling, unhealthy lanes and alleys', however, when the area was cleared, 'a beautiful park sprung up as if by magic'.[110] Rather than an organic transition from slum to space as this article in *The Irish Times* suggested, St Patrick's Park was born out of intense legislative and physical labour.

That said, parks and open spaces were considered a form of magic themselves; arguments for more of them in congested areas were made by both medical and moral reformers. Parks and green open spaces were considered 'lungs' for the city and its people to breathe. Medically, fresh air was imperative to cleanse the body of toxins. Morally, bringing the poor city people in touch with nature, with flowers, shrubs and trees, cleansed their souls of vices borne from urban living. While the Victorian period aligned itself symbolically with such progressive movements as the Industrial Revolution, the growth of the industrial town and urban living, one pitfall of such progression and consequent migration to urban areas and congested city living was the lack of nature. Hence, coming to the end of the nineteenth century, there was a call for more 'garden suburbs', 'public parks' and 'city allotments', in cities internationally, as a way to return to the rural landscape once eulogised.

Dublin, and its citizens, were no different in the call for a return to nature, in some form at least. Regarding the area of what was to become St Patrick's Park, the idea for an open green space had been in the works for decades; when renovating St Patrick's Cathedral Iveagh and Ardilaun's father, Benjamin Lee Guinness, first conceived the idea of a garden to add to the cathedral, although this plan did not materialise.[111]

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[110] Ibid.

[111] When St. Patrick's Cathedral was reopened in 1865 avid praise was given to Benjamin Lee Guinness for carrying out the work, so much so that many schemes were suggested to commemorate Guinness' work. One company, formed on the occasion and accordingly named 'The St. Patrick's Buildings Company Ltd' suggested clearing and rebuilding the area (which encompassed the Bull Alley area Iveagh was to improve at the end of the

It was not until the preparations for Queen Victoria's Jubilee in 1887 that this idea was revisited. The Dublin Jubilee Celebration Committee, a committee whose members included Iveagh and Ardilaun along with some of the most prominent business families in the city (the Pims, Findlaters, Dockrells for example), two ideas were considered as a way to celebrate the Jubilee that would not only be symbolic, but also have practical consequences. The first was a 'hospital for consumption and diseases of the chest', while the second was an idea to 'adopt the opening of public parks and pleasure grounds'. In a meeting of the committee in May 1887, a debate ensued as to which project the committee should concentrate on. The shared objective of the two ideas posed to celebrate Victoria's Jubilee was its emphasis on aiding the impoverished. What was to be decided, however, was whether to establish a project aimed at curing an ailment, or one that prevented one. Subscribing to the Jubilee Fund, Dr Robert McDonnell explicitly stated that

> as I am quite opposed to the project of an [sic] hospital, I do not wish any part of my subscription to go for that purpose. We have more hospitals than we can maintain, and after a short time this new one will die of consumption. Prevention is better than cure, and recreation grounds and open spaces will do in the end much more for the health of the humbler classes than another hospital.[112]

The Chief Medical Officer for Dublin, Sir Charles A. Cameron, agreed, maintaining that there was 'no doubt' that the question of the health of people in urban areas was 'greatly dependent upon a good supply of pure air'; he quoted the words of Oliver Wendell Holmes: 'To guard is better than to heal, the shield is nobler than the spear'.[113]

The two proposed sites for public parks and recreation spaces were the Obelisk Hill of Killiney and the area north of St Patrick's Cathedral. After deliberations, the site at Killiney Hill was chosen. While Victoria's Park at Killiney was established as part of the Jubilee celebrations, the site at St Patrick's Cathedral lay dormant. It was not until a decade later that Parliament gave licence for the

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century), create a cathedral park and rename some of the streets in commemoration of Guinness – "East-Guinness street" for example. Although this plan never materialised it is telling of the close connection – a symbolic monopoly – the Guinness family had to this particular area; *The Dublin Builder,* Vol. 7 No. 125 (1 March, 1865).

[112] *The Irish Times,* 20 May 1887.

[113] Ibid.

park's creation under the direction, and at the expense of Lord Ardilaun, Iveagh and Talbot Power.[114]

The Park was opened in 1902, and was received with fervent acclaim for the dramatic transformation that the park brought to the area:

> It is difficult to realise now the site of the Park, with its trim, well-kept walls, and green sward, its fountain, and pleasantly laid out flower beds and roof garden, was once a congested slum area, inhabited by families who were shut out from all the bright healthy surroundings which help to make life sweet and wholesome.[115]

The 'charming park' in the heartland of the slum district was 'in keeping with the stately character of the Cathedral'. The landscape design of the park was 'to give as great a surface of green as is consistent with effective ornament, thus throwing up as in a picture the grey Gothic masonry of the Cathedral.'[116] As a centrepiece to the park, full of green spaces and flowerbeds which were broken up by 'several roads skilfully laid out', was 'an ornamental fountain' which sent 'up its jet of cooling crystal'.[117] Another feature of the open space was the terrace wall, with the upper portion dedicated to bands playing in the summer evenings, while beneath it numerous alcoves were created with sheltered seating for the poorer weather.[118] According to reports, this romantically-landscaped park had a practicality to it too, catering for everyone, with 'even the youngest children' provided for in this 'perfect scheme' with the park containing 'a sloping way specially designed for perambulators'.[119]

Although a project independent of the Guinness Trust, Iveagh sought the aid of the Trustees. In a meeting on 13 July 1897 a letter was read to Chairman Rowton from Lord Iveagh, Lord Ardilaun and Sir James Talbot Power regarding the scheme, with the Park Trustees asking the Guinness Trust to consider 'that tenants displaced by the Park Trustees may be taken on in the buildings in New Bride Street', to which the Trustees agreed, 'should it be necessary – to offer their

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[114] *Saint Patrick's Park (Dublin) Act, 1897* [60 Vict.] [Ch.xvi], HL/PO/PB/1/1897/60&61V1n38, British Parliamentary Archives [BPA].
[115] *Weekly Irish Times,* 18 March 1905.
[116] *The Irish Times,* 25 July 1903.
[117] Ibid.
[118] Ibid., 1 August 1902.
[119] *The Irish Times,* 25 July 1903.

co-operation to the St. Patrick's Park Trustees on the terms mentioned.' [120] By February 1898, it was resolved that three blocks of the new buildings in New Bride Street were to be kept vacant and 'available for reoccupation by persons displaced by the St. Patricks Park Trustees'.[121]

While Iveagh and his associates engaged the Guinness Trust (Dublin Fund) Trustees and staff with the St Patrick's Park project to assist displaced residents, the Patrick's Park Trustees had also enlisted the help of the Corporation, firstly, for the acquisition of the land and support in obtaining the Act of Parliament, and secondly, for the park's subsequent management. When the Park Trustees had completed the task at hand, Iveagh took charge in gifting the park to the city of Dublin. The Municipal Council took charge of overseeing how the park should be run, particularly in drawing up by-laws that would control its workings and the behaviour of those who made use of it.

The By-Laws were extensive, and in some areas highlight the inextricable connection made during this time between nature, cleanliness and the good, and gambling, intoxication and the bad. By-Law 11 maintained that no intoxicated person would be permitted to enter or remain in the park, while No. 14 forbade 'any act in violation of public decency' including the use of 'profane, indecent, or obscene language'.[122] It was also forbidden to give any kind of public address (No. 9) or to hold a public meeting within its ground (No. 10).[123] In terms of protecting the Park against vandalism (and also promoting self-respect and the respect for the clean and joyful surroundings), it was prohibited for any person to 'walk on any flower-bed, or through any shrubbery or enclosed plantation', to destroy or injure 'any tree, shrub, or plant, or pluck any flower', to climb 'the trees, railings, and fences', while 'Bird's nesting and taking, destroying or injuring birds' were

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[120] Meeting 13 July 1897, *Minute Book, London and Dublin funds, 1889*-1898, LMA/4656/A/02/001 [LMA].
[121] Meeting 15 February 1898, *Minute Book, London and Dublin Funds, 1898-1908*, LMA/4656/A/02/002 [LMA].
[122] Bye-Law Number 11 and 14 in *Bye-Laws for the Use, Government, Control and Management of St Patrick's Park, made by the Corporation of Dublin in pursuance of the Provisions of the St Patrick's Park, Dublin, Act 1897* [60 & 61 Vict] [Ch. xvi],*The Public Parks (Ireland) Act, 1869; and the Dublin Improvement Act, 1849,* 12 and 13 Vic., cap, 97, [DCA].
[123] No. 9 & 10 in Ibid.

forbidden.[124] Concerning recreation, no person was permitted to 'drill or give military evolutions, or use arms, or practice gymnastics or play any game' except in designated areas within the park. In addition, by-law 7 stipulated that cricket and football were forbidden, while No. 8 maintained that catapults were prohibited.[125] Regarding behaviour and proper conduct, the selling or letting of any article was banned, wilfully interfering with or annoying any other person using or enjoying this park was not permitted, while No. 15 stated that

> No person shall discharge any firearms, or wantonly throw or discharge any stone or other missile to the damage or danger of any person, or make any bonfire, or throw, or set fire to any firework in this Park.[126]

An additional by-law was introduced in 1905 against betting within the park. This by-law stated that it was forbidden for a person to 'frequent or use St. Patrick's Park, or any part of it, either on behalf of himself or of any other person, for the purpose of bookmaking or betting or wagering, or agreeing to bet or wager, or paying or receiving or settling bets.'[127] The eradication, or attempt at eradication, of vices considered detrimental to the morality of the poor such as betting, was an integral component in ameliorative philanthropy in all forms; the Iveagh Trust buildings themselves advocated for similar bans on gambling, particularly in the use of playing cards.

The well-kept grounds of the park were immediately popular as *The Irish Times* reported in March 1905: 'we well remember last summer the crowds who continuously thronged them from morning to night'. [128] The park was aimed at all, but was specifically regarded as an amenity for the 'families who live within reach' who 'can spend their leisure in a quiet garden plot, and for a time forget the strife and turmoil of the streets'. Comparisons were made with Kensington Gardens in London, where 'one can rest and quite forget the great roar of the world hard

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[124] By-law No. 12,13,20,21 in Ibid.
[125] By-law No. 4, 7,8 in Ibid.
[126] No. 15 in Ibid.
[127] Minutes of a Special Meeting of the Municipal Council of the City of Dublin, held in the Council Chamber, City Hall, Cork Hill, on Monday, the 13 day of March, 1905, *Dublin Corporation Council Minute Books* 1905, No. 173, p. 163-164 [DCA].
[128] *The Irish Times,* 10 March 1905.

by'.[129] This practical park was considered a recreational escape, a lung for the city that aimed to cleanse the lungs, and souls, of the people.

With its carefully manicured flowerbeds and grassy plots, its regal fountain and meandering pathways, the new St Patrick's Park would necessitate much maintenance, which would evidently come at a cost. Iveagh suggested to the Council in December 1904 that 'he would for a period of five years, at his own expense, maintain and manage the said Park (subject as to the Park Regulations to the Bye-Laws of the Corporation), [with] such work being carried out for his Lordship through assistance of the Iveagh Trust'.[130] While this agreement was accepted, it was suggested in *The Irish Times* in 1929 that the maintenance of the park had been the responsibility of the Iveagh Trust for much longer than the five year period initially offered in 1904. It was indicated that after a 'quarter of a century' under the maintenance of the Iveagh Trust, 'The Commissioners of Dublin City are about to assume control of Saint Patrick's Park, and in future it will be maintained at the cost of the citizens'.[131] Interestingly, there is no mention of the subsequent maintenance in any of the minute reports from the Trustees' meetings for this period. While developed as a distinct philanthropic endeavour aimed at ameliorating the lower classes through the exposure to nature's wonders (albeit in an urbanised and relatively manicured manner), St Patrick's Park was part of a bigger rejuvenation plan between the two Cathedrals of Dublin, St Patrick's Cathedral and Christ Church Cathedral. This extensive plan encompassed one of the most ambitious plans that a private citizen, or the Corporation for that matter, was to undertake, known as the Bull Alley Scheme.

2.3.B. The Dublin Improvement (Bull Alley Area) Scheme, 1899

In a meeting on 6 December 1898, a letter was read to the Chairman of the Trust, Lord Rowton, from his companion and colleague in philanthropy, Lord

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[129] Ibid., 25 July 1903.
[130] Letter from Fred Sutton & Son on behalf of Lord Iveagh to the Municipal Council, Minutes of the Monthly Meeting of the Municipal Council of the City of Dublin, held in the Council Chamber, City Hall, Cork Hill, on Monday, 1st day of February, 1904, *Dublin Corporation Council Minute Book,* 1904, No 95, [DCA].
[131] *The Irish Times,* 7 August 1929.

Iveagh. What was contained within it transformed the administrative and operational qualities of the Guinness Trust in its entirety, with particular regard to the Dublin Fund. In his letter, Iveagh outlined his plans for an improvement scheme to rejuvenate an area of Dublin which was consistently at the heart of his philanthropy – the Liberties. The area was between the two prominent cathedrals of Dublin, St Patrick's and Christ Church. In order to carry out the scheme, Iveagh needed the cooperation of a number of stakeholders, particularly the LGB, Dublin Corporation, the central government in Westminster, the Church of Ireland, the citizens of the area themselves and most notably the Trustees of the Guinness Trust (Dublin Fund). Iveagh hoped that the Trustees would 'be willing to undertake in the future the additional burden I propose to throw on them when the scheme in question is completed.'[132] The scheme in question was called the 'Dublin Improvement (Bull Alley Area) Scheme', a development plan that concerned a substantial area between the two cathedrals centred around Bull Alley; a mammoth venture that would permanently transform the surrounding landscape of Dublin, and the communities within it, as well as the Guinness Trust (Dublin Fund) itself.[133]

In the letter, Iveagh divulged that he was promoting a bill in parliament 'to acquire about three acres of a rookery in the heart of the City of Dublin adjoining the new St. Patrick's Park', an area which had been condemned by the Medical Officer of Health. This bill would empower Iveagh to carry this scheme out at his own expense, 'but without personally deriving any pecuniary gain'.[134] He declared that, 'as soon as the ground is cleared I am building myself to cover the whole of it, excepting only some pieces to be given to the Corporation for street widenings', with workmens' dwellings 'on the lines of the Guinness Trust houses', a lodging house 'for men on the model of your own [Rowton's] admirable houses' and 'a block or blocks to contain a Concert Hall, a room suitable for Loan Exhibition of Pictures etc., a couple of Reading Rooms, Lecture or Class Rooms for music etc., a

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[132] Meeting 6 December 1898, *Minute Book, London and Dublin funds, 1889-1898*, LMA/4656/A/02/002, [LMA].
[133] For the purpose of this chapter hereafter the Dublin Improvement (Bull Alley Area) Scheme will be referred to as the Bull Alley Scheme.
[134] Meeting 6 December 1898, *Minute Book, London and Dublin funds, 1889*-1898, in Guinness Trust Collection, LMA/4656/A/02/002, [LMA].

Gymnasium and a Swimming Bath.'[135] In response, the Trustees agreed to 'willingly undertake the responsibilities connected with it', their names being inserted in the Act of 1899.[136]

The workmens' dwellings Iveagh proposed would be 'let out on the principles of the Guinness Trust Buildings'. [137] The second type of buildings, however, had a different objective; these buildings would be open

> to the public … and to provide Concerts and other entertainments at prices within the power of the poor inhabitants of the district to pay perhaps at times or in part gratuitously [with] the use of the Buildings to be on non-sectarian or political lines…I propose to place an Organ in the Concert room and provide all the necessary instruments, music etc., for an Orchestra with the intention that the Organist shall be specially engaged to teach and train, - at no expense to the pupils, - an Orchestra and Choir from the boys and men and possibly girls of the district.[138]

It was necessary for Iveagh's ambitious scheme to receive governmental and legislative backing; an improvement plan of this magnitude that would alter the urban landscape of a substantial piece of land, which was predominantly owned by landlords who allowed their property to fall into disrepute while charging extortionate rents, and therefore would need to utilise specific urban health legislation to enable the scheme to be carried out quickly and effectively. This governmental backing was solidified by the legislation granting rights to Iveagh known as the Dublin Improvement (Bull Alley Area) Act, 1899.[139] It was this act that allowed for Guinness, in cooperation with the Corporation of Dublin, to proceed with the clearance and subsequent construction of his vast plan to rejuvenate the area.

The Act determined that Iveagh would carry out the scheme at his own cost, and would 'purchase, acquire and take compulsorily or by agreement the lands, houses and buildings and property or any part thereof situated in the parishes of St Bridget's, St. Nicholas Without and Saint Patrick's (liberties of) in the city'.[140] The majority of the land that was to be taken over by Iveagh was privately-

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[135] Ibid.
[136] Ibid.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Ibid.
[139] *Dublin Improvement (Bull Alley Area) Act, 1899*, [62 Vict.] [Ch. xi]
[140] Part 2. No. 6, Ibid.

owned slum accommodation; however, the area also included a 'disused church and churchyard of St. Bridget's' – a parish of the Church of Ireland. [141] According to the legislation, the Church of Ireland was required to sell the ruinous church and graveyard to Iveagh; it was necessary that the 'remains of any person interred or deposited' in the graveyard were to 'be removed under the superintendence of the medical officer of health for the time being of the city of Dublin and re-interred in any consecrated burial ground'.[142] This was completed, and a list of the tombstones inscriptions and names of those buried there was kept as a record.[143]

Clearance of these sites proceeded rapidly, although before this could take place provisions were put in place for those displaced. The area cleared was one with a high population density and so, the Act stipulated that Iveagh was to provide new dwellings in 'dwelling-houses, lodging-houses or otherwise in the immediate neighbourhood of such houses or to the place of employment of such persons'. A warning was issued that if Iveagh 'displaces or causes to be displaced' any person residing in any house in the areas without appropriate resettlement 'he shall be liable to a penalty of five hundred pounds'.[144] In terms of the accommodation of those displaced the LGB needed to be satisfied as to the reallocation. The issue was time-sensitive – it was required that the replacement dwellings for those displaced be ready for occupation before their current accommodation was cleared in an attempt to combat further homelessness.[145]

The powers given to Iveagh in this legislation to acquire sites extended to areas outside the zone described in the accompanying schedule. Iveagh could purchase additional lands for the purpose of the scheme 'as if the Undertaker [Iveagh] were a sanitary authority within the meaning of the public Health (Ireland) Act 1878'.[146] Acting as a kind of 'sanitary authority', being permitted to purchase compulsorily or by agreement, through the use of existing public health legislation, allowed for the Bull Alley Area to be cleared rapidly and for rebuilding

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[141] Part 2: No. 7, Ibid.
[142] Ibid.
[143] These documents were found in the Iveagh Trust private archive.
[144] Point 11 (5), *Dublin Improvement (Bull Alley Area) Act, 1899*, [62 Vict.] [Ch. xi].
[145] Point 11 (3), Ibid.
[146] Point 11 (6), Ibid.

to begin. In terms of displacement of people who lived within the scheme's zone, they were allocated places in the New Bride Street dwellings nearby.

Once the land was acquired and cleared, Iveagh was given notable powers to 'erect and maintain' whatever buildings he chose to construct.[147] Once this was completed, Iveagh was required to vest the scheme in the hands of the Trustees who would manage the scheme. In this management, the legislation made it a requirement that Iveagh or his Trustees prohibit the use of the buildings

> for political purposes of a party character or for sectarian meetings but may in their discretion allow the use of the recreative buildings for bazaars, entertainments or exhibitions which are solely in aid of charitable objects although the charity to be benefited thereby may of a sectarian character.[148]

In addition to the private erection of buildings by Iveagh, certain zones within the area were to be cleared and returned to the Corporation for the purpose of street widening and straightening throughout the area. The areas included the widening and improvement of a main thoroughfare, Patrick Street, along with the widening, straightening and improving of Brides Alley, Bull Alley and Bride Street.

The rejuvenation of the Bull Alley area was an integral aim for Iveagh. Not only did it transform an area brimming with dirt and overcrowded slums, it also replenished a district of symbolic importance to the Guinness family. The philanthropic tradition of the Lee Guinnesses homed in on this area for decades. Benjamin Lee – Iveagh's father – fixated for years on the renovations of St Patrick's Cathedral, a centre of Protestant power in a city where Protestants had lost much influence. As patrons of the Cathedral, it was only natural for them to want their beloved church surrounded by a landscape that matched its splendour. To the north of the Bull Alley Area Scheme lay Christchurch Cathedral, which had been recently renovated by Henry Roe, a prominent distiller.[149] It could be considered a buffer zone between two 'beerage' families and the area that lay between was

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147 Point 13, Ibid.
148 Point 13 (f), Ibid.
149 David Murphy, 'Roe, Henry', *Dictionary of Irish Biography,* (Cambridge, 2009), http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a7771 [accessed 13 February 2018].

rejuvenated into a philanthropic fortress of the Irish Beerage and Protestant power.

2.3.C Separation: The Establishment of the Iveagh Trust

There were multiple outcomes of Iveagh's Bull Alley Scheme. The physical, structural and architectural changes to the urban landscape, as well as the social implications of these changes were plentiful. One direct consequence was the legislative severance of ties between the Dublin and London funds of the Guinness Trust and the subsequent establishment of the Iveagh Trust. The legislation which brought this into place was the Iveagh Trust Act, 1903.[150]

The Bull Alley Act of 1899 maintained that once the scheme had been completed at Iveagh' expense, it was to be handed over to a group of Trustees for its management. The Guinness Trustees' agreement to take on these responsibilities was formalised in 1899 and further consolidated in 1903.

The Act of 1899 outlined the responsibilities of the Trustees: they were 'to manage, control and regulate the buildings', 'to borrow money on any terms', 'to demise or let or otherwise dispose of … in such a manner as he thinks fit any of the said lands buildings and premises', 'to employ, appoint and remove' staff such as secretaries, clerks and servants, 'to make byelaws, rules and regulations' subject to the approval of the LGB, as well as prohibit the use of the buildings for events for political purposes and of a party or sectarian character. The Act allowed the Trustees to 'act in all things in relation to the improvement scheme and improvement area and exercise all or any of the powers and discretions by this Act or otherwise'.[151] They were to carry the same powers conferred on Iveagh during the scheme's undertaking after it was carried out and handed over to them. Iveagh did, however, maintain some form of control; it was stipulated that during his lifetime, the Trustees were forbidden to rescind, revoke, amend or vary byelaws, rules and regulations made by him without his written consent.

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[150] *Iveagh Trust Act, 1903* [3 Edw. 7] [Ch. iii].
[151] *Dublin Improvement (Bull Alley Area) Act, 1899* [62 Vict.] [Ch. xi].

The legal linkage made between the new improvement scheme of the Bull Alley area and the Guinness Trustees necessitated the severance of the ties so that the Dublin Fund could manage such a large operation with full dedication. The 1899 Act stated that it was Iveagh's desire and intention that as long as the Guinness Trust was in existence, the Trustees of that Trust would be the same persons appointed as Trustees for the Dublin Improvement (Bull Alley Area) Scheme. It was under this premise that the Iveagh Trust was formed.

There were several objectives of the Iveagh Trust Act. Firstly, and most importantly, it was an act to amalgamate the Guinness Trust Dublin Fund with the Bull Alley Scheme. Secondly, it was necessary to vest the property already owned by the Guinness Trust (Dublin) fund into the new Trust. Thirdly, a new name for the amalgamated Trust was imperative and lastly, the act was used to confer additional powers on the Trustees of this new Trust.[152] As the 1903 Act specified, both the objects and purposes of the two Trusts – the Guinness Trust (Dublin) Fund and the Bull Alley Scheme – were 'to a large extent similar' and, therefore, 'it would increase their usefulness and the benefit to be derived from them and tend to the more efficient and economical management of such trusts if they were consolidated and amalgamated into one Trust'.[153]

Further to the amalgamation of the two schemes, it was decided to name the new consolidated trust the 'Iveagh Trust', distinguishable from the Guinness Trust exclusively based in London. The Trustees cited in the 1899 Act were those named as the new 'Iveagh Trustees', with three additions, the Right Hon. William Lee Baron Plunket, Hon. Arthur Ernest Guinness and the Hon. Walter Edward Guinness – the latter two being Lord Iveagh's younger sons. Furthermore, necessary actions were to be undertaken, such as the creation of new accounts and for an audit to be carried out before embarking on this new chapter of Trust operations.

Additional powers were also conferred on the Iveagh Trustees. They were able 'to delegate the management and control of the Iveagh Trust … to any public body, company, committee … as they may think fit' or could enter into

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[152] Preamble, *Iveagh Trust* Act, 1903, [3 Edw. 7] [Ch. iii].
[153] Ibid.

arrangements for the 'joint working administration or management' of the new Trust 'with any other trustees or with any public body, company, committee, person or persons carrying out analogous objects'.[154]

Despite such alterations to Iveagh's Dublin Fund, its foundation remained unchanged. It continued to be, like all other ventures connected to it,

> wholly unsectarian and non-political … [with an] exclusion of all influences calculated or tending to impart to it a character sectarian as regards religion or belief or exclusive as regards politics and no person or persons shall be excluded from participation in the benefits thereof on the ground of religious belief or political bias. [155]

This strong ethos of inclusion was to remain intact 'provided that nothing … shall restrict the discretion of the Iveagh Trustees in giving aid to or contributing … towards any undertakings, charities or other objects they think fit notwithstanding the same may have a sectarian or political character'.[156]

And so the Iveagh Trust was born out of a web of legislative dealings in order to make it more efficient, economical and effective. The next phase of its history is one of boom, chiefly due to the projects 'of a permanent character' attached to the Bull Alley Scheme. [157]

2.4. Rebirth: The Establishment of the Iveagh Trust, 1903-1915

2.4.A. Shelter: Bull Alley dwellings and Iveagh House: the Hostel

Bull Alley Scheme

The housing of the labouring classes of Dublin was the chief objective when it came to Iveagh's Bull Alley scheme; its alignment with the Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust was a key reason why the two separate schemes integrated effectively.

To design the buildings, Iveagh commissioned an architectural firm he had employed before, Messrs. Joseph & Smithem of London. This firm was responsible

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[154] Ibid.
[155] Point 13, Ibid.
[156] Ibid.
[157] Preamble, Ibid.

for the design of five of the Guinness Trust's estates in London – Brandon Street, Fulham Palace Road, Lever Street, Page's Walk, and Snowsfields. The result was a linkage between the London and Dublin funds through architectural design and style. The dwellings constructed at Bull Alley comprised eight T-shaped blocks, five stories high and built using the vivid red-brick used in previous developments such as in Kevin Street as well as in London. Decorative brickwork and copper domes also surrounded the entrance doorways to the blocks. Although maintaining a link between Trust buildings on both side of the Irish Sea, *The Irish Builder* took issue with the fact that an English firm had been chosen for the job:

> It is rather regrettable that Lord Iveagh should have again thought it necessary to go across the water in search of an architect. Was there no practitioner here capable of meeting his lordship's views?[158]

For assistance on the project, Dublin firm Kaye-Parry & Ross were hired for their local expertise, although it is unclear how influential a part they had in the formation of the buildings.

Completed in December 1903, the first four blocks (A-D) lined Patrick Street and contained 122 tenements (eleven one room, seventy-eight two room and thirty-three three-room dwellings) and twenty shops on ground level.[159] It was reported in the 1904 annual report that the tenements in these blocks had been fully let. By 1905, the second phase of the build was underway, with the first two blocks E and F facing the parallel thoroughfare of Bride Street, 'housing in all seventy families'.[160] These blocks contained ten one-room, forty two-room and twenty three-room dwellings. By 1906, blocks G and H had been added, which brought the total number of families which could be housed by the project up to 128. These last blocks also contained six shops at ground level. The construction of the Patrick Street and Bride Street blocks almost doubled the rooms provided by the New Bride Street/Kevin Street project. Table 2 demonstrates the room breakdown per estate:

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[158] *The Irish Builder,* 30 January 1901.
[159] The Iveagh Trust Annual Report of 1903, *Iveagh Trust Annual Reports 1903-1939*, BA/SR/13/AnnualReports/1903-1944, [ITA].
[160] The Iveagh Trust Annual Report of 1904, Ibid.

Table 2: Iveagh Trust Dwellings: Bull Alley and New Bride/Kevin Street [161]

Estates	**Tenements**						**Total Dwellings**	**Total Rooms**
	1Room	%	2 Room	%	3 Room	%		
Kevin Street	108	32%	208	62%	20	6%	336	584
B.A. (A,B,C,D)	11	9%	78	65%	33	27%	122	266
B.A.(E,F,G,H)	10	8%	80	63%	38	30%	128	284
Total	**129**	**24%**	**366**	**69%**	**91**	**17%**	**528**	**1134**

Coinciding with the erection of dwellings for families on the East and West sides of the Bull Alley Area complex, was Iveagh House, holding the hostel for single men to the North and the Iveagh Play Centre to the South. The entire complex was cordoned off with railings, and so formed an enclosed area surrounding the blocks of tenements which created a relatively open site that could be used as a recreation space for children of the residents. This enclosed courtyard model was also adopted in the earlier scheme of New Bride Street/Kevin Street. By the end of 1906, the Iveagh Trust had increased its population by 44.5% (802 people) since the severance of ties with the Guinness Trust (London Fund). The Iveagh Trust housed 1,868 people throughout their properties in 1906, compared to 1,066 in 1902. [162]

[161] Data displayed in Table 2 was sourced from the *Iveagh Trust Annual Reports 1903-1939*, BA/SR/13/AnnualReports/1903-1944, [ITA].
[162] The Guinness Trust Annual Report of 1902, *The Guinness Trust Annual Reports* 1890-1903, LMA/4656/A/05/001, [LMA]; The Iveagh Trust Annual Report of 1906, *Iveagh Trust Annual Reports 1903-1939*, BA/SR/13/AnnualReports/1903-1944, [ITA].

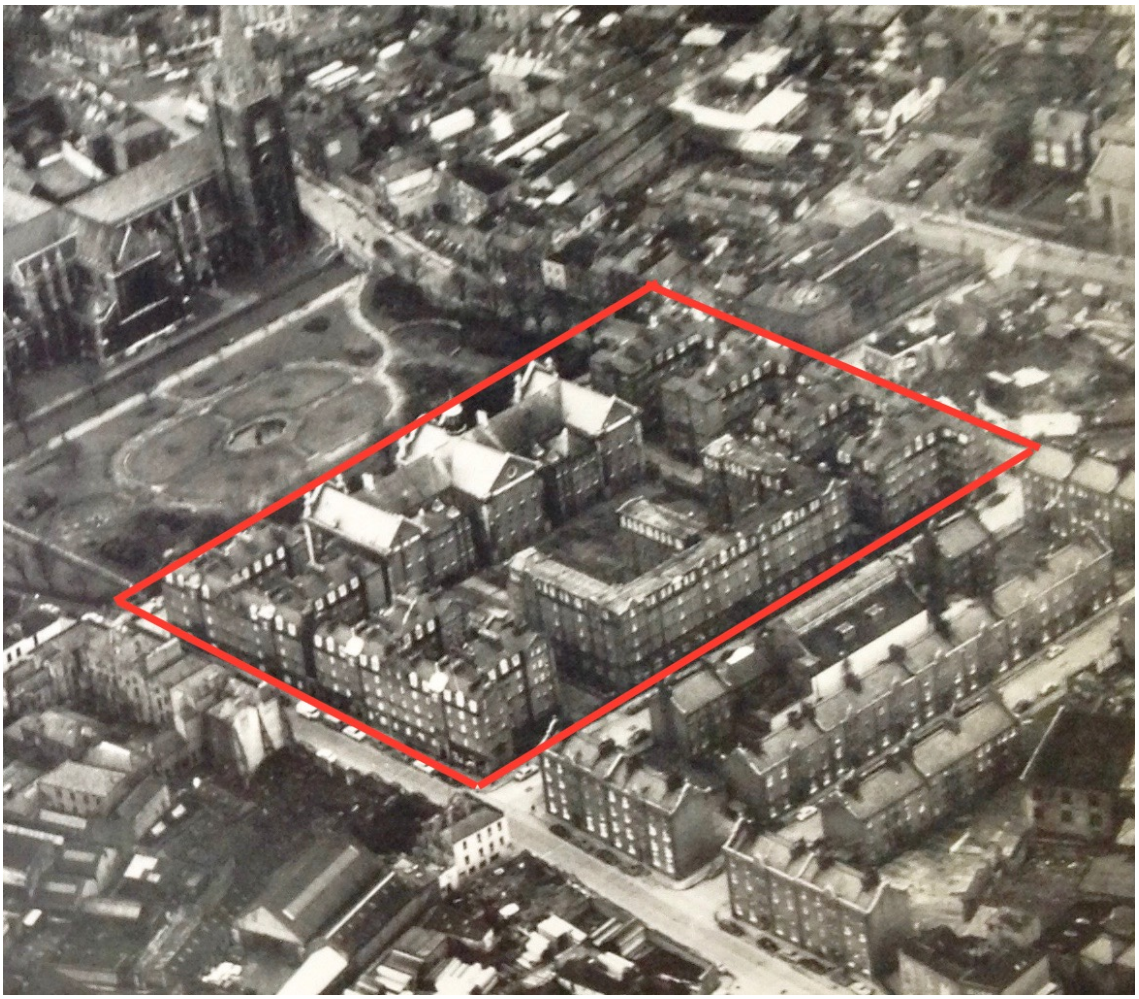

Image 8: Aerial View of the Iveagh Trust Bull Alley Scheme.[163]

Iveagh House: the Hostel

> All classes of the very poor live badly enough in Dublin, but there is a special tragedy about the fate of the "struggling single man"… The single man is thrown upon his mercy of the dirty lodging house. Cleanliness and neatness are almost impossible for him. His scanty leisure searched in vain for occupation and companionship… The elevating effects of such institutions as Iveagh House on the character of the poor cannot, therefore, be overestimated. This house can change the whole colour of life for thousands of young and middle-aged men in Dublin. It will preserve and perhaps, renew, self-respect. It will make life comfortable instead of barely tolerable. It will stimulate ambition, and it is bound to raise the standard of living among our poorer classes generally.[164]

As part of the Bull Alley scheme, a form of accommodation dedicated to the housing of single men was devised. Opened in July 1905, the Iveagh Hostel was set

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[163] Photograph found in ITA.
[164] *The Irish Times,* 19 July 1905.

up with the aim to house working class men, who were single, widowed or homeless. Throughout the first decade, thousands of men of all walks of life passed through their doors, with some staying longer than others. On its establishment, it was hailed a 'genuine specimen of practical philanthropy' marking 'an epoch in the lives of the struggling poor of Dublin'.[165] Media reports referred to its target group as the 'the submerged tenth'- i.e. the underclass – 'the dregs of the population of the capital of Ireland'.[166] It was for the 'poor causal worker who ekes out a very precarious existence in our midst'.[167] However, while this was what was presumed, it was often not the case. Analysis of census data for Iveagh House, as well as later media reports suggest that those who occupied a bed within the hostel were of many different classes and professions.

Just as the entire Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust was modelled on the earlier Peabody Trust of the 1860s, the Iveagh House project within the Bull Alley Improvement scheme was modelled on the Rowton Houses of London. As the *Weekly Irish Times* maintained, it was 'an exact replica of the Rowton Houses', while the *Irish Independent* called it the 'Irish Rowton House'.[168] Indeed, it could be considered the Irish extension of the Rowton Houses of London, in its structural make-up, the amenities provided and its operational style, in addition to the close connection between the two lodging-house founders.

Rowton Houses Ltd. was founded in 1892 by Lord Rowton, Montagu Lowry-Corry. As previously discussed, Rowton conceived the idea for a 'poor man's hotel' while, with Edward Cecil Guinness, investigating the living conditions of the poor in the East End of London. With the help and guidance of Richard Farrant, a co-director of the Artisans' Dwellings Company in London, Rowton conceived a plan 'to build a gigantic model lodging house for London's homeless men, a house that would provide them with comfortable beds and good food at

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[165] *Weekly Irish Times,* 18 March 1905; *Irish Independent,* 19 July 1905.
[166] The term 'submerged tenth' was coined by General William Booth in his work *In Darkest England and the Way Out* (1890). The term related to the supposed fraction of the population that would permanently be living in poverty i.e., the underclass, unable to get a foot on the social ladder; *Irish Independent,* 19 July 1905; *The Irish Times,* 13 April 1914.
[167] *Irish Independent,* 19 July 1905.
[168] *Weekly Irish Times,* 18 March 1905; *Irish Independent,* 19 July 1905.

prices they could afford'.[169] The first Rowton House was built in Vauxhall in 1892. After the initial success of Rowton House, Vauxhall, others followed in subsequent areas of London such as Parkview House, Newington Butts, (1897), Butterwick House, Hammersmith (1899), Tower House, Whitechapel (1902) and Arlington House, Camden Town (1905).[170] Shortly before Rowton's death, a party of thirty-seven Germans from the Central Department for Working Men's Benefit Institutions visited the Rowton House in Whitechapel, as part of a twelve day visit to 'inspect the British methods of housing the working classes and the institutions we have which tend to the welfare of the poor'.[171] A member of the German group, Dr Von Erdberg, stated that they were 'amazed' by the Rowton House venture,

> at its completeness and its perfection, the care bestowed on details, its superb cleanness, and the inspiring determination that everything about it should be beautiful. There is nothing like it in Germany, and we shall endeavour to imitate it on our return … we have seen nothing that could do more hopeful work in lifting men and keeping them from sinking into the lower stages of poverty … I think that Rowton House, a living monument [is] a living monument, showing how excellently the poor can live with proper common management.[172]

It is clear that while Iveagh looked to the Rowton House as a model for his own Iveagh House, Rowton initially became inspired to establish the Rowton House while conducting the investigative survey of conditions of the labouring class for what would become the Guinness Trust. It demonstrates how inextricably linked these two philanthropic endeavours were.

When the doors of Iveagh House first opened in July 1905, a multitude of detailed media reports accounting what it had to offer in comparison to the common lodging house surfaced - an excellent source to utilise in order to comprehend the amenities and facilities provided. A *Freeman's Journal* reporter wrote that 'on entering it, one's first impression is of coolness and cheerfulness – the walls from floor to ceiling are lined with shimmering tiles in a soft creamy shade that reflects the light'.[173] The hostel contained 508 'cubicles' (bedrooms), a dining room, a smoking room, a reading room, a games rooms, a shoemaker's, a

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[169] Ibid, p. 12.
[170] *Rowton Houses Limited,* Information Leaflet (no date) [ITA].
[171] *The Manchester Guardian,* 28 September 1903.
[172] Ibid.
[173] *Freeman's Journal*, 20 July 1905.

tailor's, bath rooms, wash houses, dressing rooms, foot baths, laundry room and kitchen. In February 1906 an account of staying in the Iveagh hostel was given by a 'paying guest'.[174] 'Visitors', he maintained, 'are at all times courteously received and shown over the entire premises' and on inspection, the guest maintained that 'it is certainly no exaggeration to say that in point of comfort, cleanliness, and hygienic arrangements Iveagh House could scarcely be improved upon'.[175] There was a kitchen supplied if guests wished to do their own cooking: however, a restaurant service was also provided including dishes such as Irish stew (4d), roast beef (4d), steak pudding (4d), boiled fish and sauce (4 ½ d), rice pudding (1d), apple pie (1d) as well as tea, coffee and cocoa (1d for large, ½d for small).[176] Breakfast was served between 5:30 a.m. an 10.30 a.m., dinner from 12 o'clock until 2.30 p.m., the dining room reopened at 4 p.m. and remained open until 10 p.m., with slight differences in opening times on Sundays. [177]

Image 9: Iveagh House: The Cafeteria c. 1955 [178]

[174] *The Irish Times,* 15 February 1906.
[175] Ibid.
[176] Ibid.
[177] Ibid.; On Sundays breakfast was served from 7 a.m. until 10.30 a.m. The dining room reopens at 12.30p.m., and remained open until 8 p.m.
[178] Photograph found in ITA; copy also found in Guinness Archives, GDB/PE13/0002.

The reading room, or library as it was also called, was one of the two spaces designed for sober and rational recreation amongst the lodgers. The second room was the 'smoking room', 'though you can smoke in both'.[179] Along its walls hung 'attractive pictures' with the 'entire tone of the room … one of refinement and comfort'.[180] The library was designed in such a way that it had 'pleasant nooks and cosy corners round the big fire places and under the windows' where men could sit in 'arm-chairs of some dark brown wood' and against 'teak tables'.[181] In rooms decorated with 'harmonious colouring' with 'dado of greenish-blue tiles – the veritable St. Patrick's blue shade – walls, pale terra cotta; paquet [sic] floor of oak blocks … a study in browns and blue', as the *Irish Times* declared, 'Everything is solid, substantial and not without a certain elegance'.[182] Above the tiled hearths hung mirrors, and along the walls engravings. The library was

> well supplied with the daily newspapers, together with a large number of leading weekly and monthly magazines. There is a fine mahogany bookcase at the lower end of the room, filled with splendid editions of leading English, Irish, and Scotch authors, such as Shakespeare, Milton, Goldsmith, Scott, Dickens, Lytton, Lever, Lover, Cooper, Thackeray, Marryat, Tennyson, etc. These books are issued twice daily at 12 and 7 o'clock p.m., and may be retained by the reader for a fortnight.[183]

In addition to reading material, on the tables 'chess, draughts and other games' could be found, but 'card-playing is strictly and properly prohibited'.[184] The prohibition of card-playing fell into the moralistic pattern of Victorian philanthropy. Just as gambling was forbidden, so was alcohol.

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[179] *Freeman's Journal,* 20 July 1905.
[180] *The Irish Times,* 15 February 1906.
[181] Ibid; *Freeman's Journal* 20 July 1905.
[182] *Freeman's Journal* 20 July 1905; *The Irish Times*, 15 February 1906.
[183] *Freeman's Journal*, 20 July 1905.
[184] Ibid.; *The Irish Times*, 15 February 1906.

Image 10: Iveagh House: The Billiard Room, c. 1955[185]

Demand

In each annual report from its establishment, the figures of Iveagh House demand were documented.[186] The 1905 annual report maintained that demand for Iveagh House was 'steadily increasing', although no exact figures were disclosed. From 1906, however, the average nightly occupancy is revealed; these figures are crucial in highlighting firstly, the demand for such services and, secondly, the impact certain political, social and economic external forces had on the everyday experience of civilians.[187] Table 3 and Chart 2 show the demand figures for Iveagh House across the entire period where attendance figures are available, 1906-1939:

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[185] Photograph found in ITA; copy also found in Guinness Archives, GDB/PE13/0004.
[186] *Iveagh Trust Annual Reports 1903-1939*, BA/SR/13/AnnualReports/1903-1944, [ITA].
[187] Figures collected for 1906 – 1908 have been calculated on the basis of information given in the Annual reports. For these years, rather than giving an average for the entire year, a nightly average was given for both January and December. The figures shown above are calculations from finding the average of these two month per year. For all other years, 1909-1939, the annual reports give the average nightly attendance for the entire year.

Table 3: Iveagh Hostel: Demand, 1906 - 1939

Years	Average No. of People per night	% of Total Capacity*
1906	194	38.18%
1907	295.5	58.16%
1908	350	68.69%
1909	400	78.74%
1910	422	83.07%
1911	437	86.02%
1912	456	89.76%
1913	477	93.89%
1914	463	91.14%
1915	401	78.93%
1916	392	77.16%
1917	390	76.77%
1918	495	97.44%
1919	499.47	98.32%
1920	508.34	100%
1921	509.79	99.95%
1922	507.63	99.92%
1923	506.69	99.6%
1924	507.04	99.81%
1925	505.16	99.44%
1926	497.16	97.86%
1927	464.95	91.52%
1928	442.01	87%
1929	461.15	90.77%
1930	451.04	88.78%
1931	440.41	86.69%
1932	452.8	89.13%
1933	443.7	87.34%
1934	480	94.48%
1935	466	91.73%
1936	440	86.61%
1937	413	81.29%
1938	426	83.85%
1939	415	81.69%
1940	380	74.8%
1941	354	69.68%
1942	325	63.97%
1943	400	78.74%
1944	446	87.79%

* Total Capacity for the Iveagh Hostel was 508 cubicles

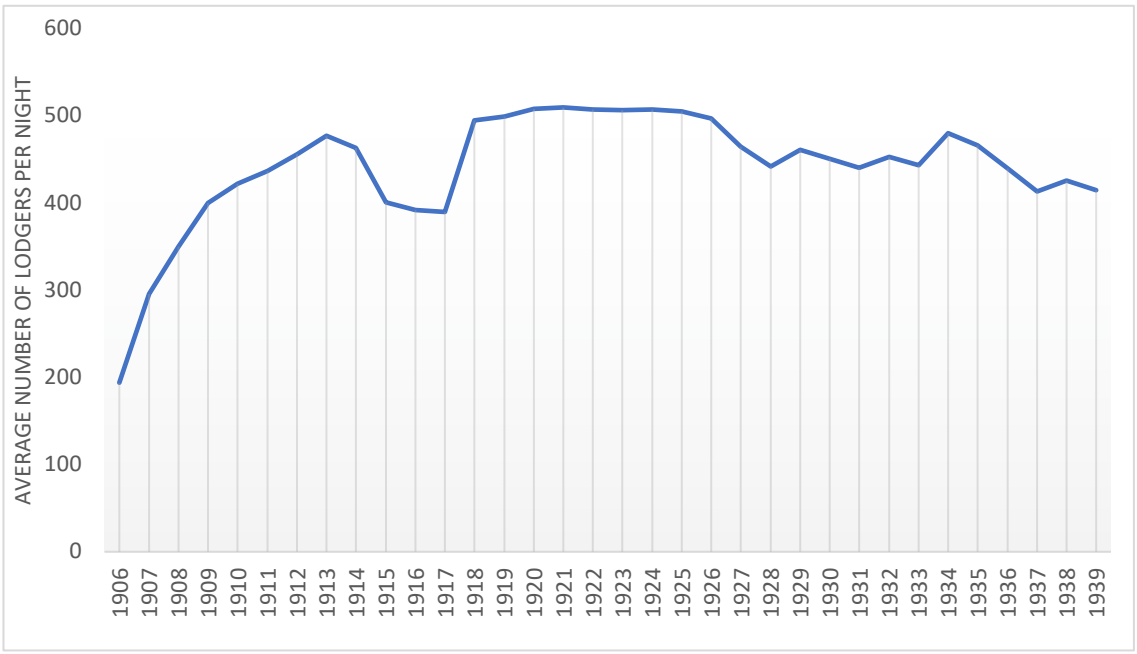

Chart 2: Iveagh House Demand, 1906 – 1939 [188]

As can be discerned from Chart 2, there was a rapid increase of demand for Iveagh House in its early years, 1906 - 1909. Between 1910-1914, the average nightly attendance was 451 beds, with the highest attendance being the year 1913 with 477 on average per night – the year of the Strike and Lockout. Between 1915 and 1917, at the height of the Great War, the average nightly stay fell markedly to 401 in 1915, 392 in 1916 and 390 in 1917. The low figures can be attributed directly to the war, corresponding with the high level of Irish recruitment during these years; the annual reports for the war years, 1914-1918 cite the Great War as the reason for the fall in demand. In 1914, the demand for accommodation, 'prior to the outbreak of war, was very satisfactory, but there has been some falling off since then.'[189] 1915 demand compared to the previous year had 'naturally been still more marked'.[190] In 1916 and 1917, the demand was satisfactory, 'taking everything into consideration' - this is likely hinting at both the Great War and the Rising which took place in April 1916.[191] By 1918, the year the war ended, the increase in men seeking the Iveagh Hostel's accommodation jumped to above pre-

[188] Data for Chart 2 was taken from *Iveagh Trust Annual Reports* BA/SR/13/ANNUALREPORTS/1903-1944 [ITA].
[189] The Iveagh Trust Annual Report of 1914, *Iveagh Trust Annual Reports* BA/SR/13/ANNUALREPORTS/1903-1944 [ITA].
[190] Ibid. 1915.
[191] Ibid, 1916.

war averages, to 495.[192] This could be attributed to the return of soldiers from the war, normally single, and perhaps injured or shell-shocked, who had nowhere or one to go to. It was common for such men to find refuge after discharge, such as a man known as 'Grenade', 'who threw imaginary hand grenades during his fits'.[193]

The period encompassing the War of Independence and Civil War, 1919-1923, demonstrated the heightened demand for Iveagh House accommodation, continuing the rise from pre-war averages. In 1920, the hostel reached 100% (508.34) capacity on average per night; in 1921 the Trust increased the numbers of beds by two to 510, resulting in a 509.79 nightly occupancy. For the years 1922-23, the occupancy rate remained high (99% occupancy). One reason for this escalation in occupancy rates during this period could be the imposition of a curfew during the independence struggle. It was not until 1927 that there was any significant drop in occupancy rates. The 1930s witnessed fluctuations at a lower level than seen in the 1920s, remaining in the 400s on average per night. It is worthy of note that at the height of the Second World War, once again demand dropped significantly with occupancy rates for 1940 being 380, 1941, 354 and 1942, 325 respectively. However, the annual reports for these years do not mention the war as a contributory factor to the low occupancy rates.

The levels of attendance demonstrate the necessity for such accommodation and highlights the crises single men faced regarding housing. It reinforces the theory that, along with reasons for recruitment such as a sense of adventure, peer-pressure and even patriotism, a shortage of steady employment amongst working-class Dubliners was a reason for enlistment itself. The demand for the Hostel was constantly high, with the lowest rates being 76.7% of full capacity for the years selected. This demonstrates a lack of accommodation similar to that of the Iveagh Hostel in Dublin at this time.

While, according to the occupancy figures, the Iveagh Hostel was a popular resting place for single men in Dublin, there was a stigma attached to staying here; Aalen notes that many shunned those who availed of the hostel's services, calling

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[192] Ibid.
[193] Aalen, *The Iveagh Trust,* p. 59.

the place 'the last refuge of boozers'. [194] It is possible that this stigma was generated from the heavy media coverage of men convicted of crimes who resided within the hostel.[195]

Yet, the negative opinion associated with the hostel was certainly outweighed by the hostel's benefits of providing a warm and safe place to stay for single men, where gambling and drinking was inherently forbidden. 'Our guests here,' remarked one official, 'are a miscellaneous lot. The once lofty and the ever humble meet here at the same table. We have had representatives of nearly all the professions, from a lieutenant–colonel down to a tramp.' [196] On its opening, the *Irish Times* focused on the respectability of the men who lodged in the Iveagh House: they were of a 'respectable and well-conducted class, and amongst them are a number of men of culture and refinement'.[197]

Unlike the stringent application process necessary to obtain a dwelling in the regular Iveagh Trust estates, gaining entry to the Iveagh hostel was straightforward. Personal information on the residents was not kept, with the only requirement being in need of accommodation, and sobriety.[198] This relaxation of the admittance regulations resulted in men from all walks of life using Iveagh House as a place of refuge. Demographic analysis of this hostel population from the 1911 census will demonstrate this variation. Due to the anonymous nature of admittance into the hostel, the 1911 census record is the only dataset that details demographic information on those who resided within Iveagh House. While it cannot be confirmed how long these residents stayed, analysis of those who were residing at the hostel on 2 April 1911 can give us an insight into the type of people who availed of this accommodation service. It is important to state that all residents were male, save for eight female members of staff.

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[194] Ibid.
[195] For further information on the levels of crime within the Iveagh Hostel, please see Chapter 4: The Community, pp. 333 – 338.
[196] *The Irish Times,* 23 May 1919.
[197] Ibid., 15 February 1906.
[198] Interview with Fred Stephens, former secretary of the Iveagh Trust, 16 December 2014.

On the night the census was taken, 454 men were registered as staying in Iveagh House, encompassing an occupancy rate of 89%.[199] Of the 454 men listed, there are great variants in age: however, it is clear that the young adult to middle-age range dominated, with 227 (50%) occupants aged between twenty-one and forty. There were also twenty-nine men who were twenty years old or younger. As a hostel dedicated to single men, it is no surprise that 350 of the 454 men (77%) were single. However, there were also fifty-two married men (11%) and forty-seven widowers (10%). A link between the age of residents and their marital status indicates an expected higher percentage of single men in the younger cohort, whilst the number of widowers increases for the older men.

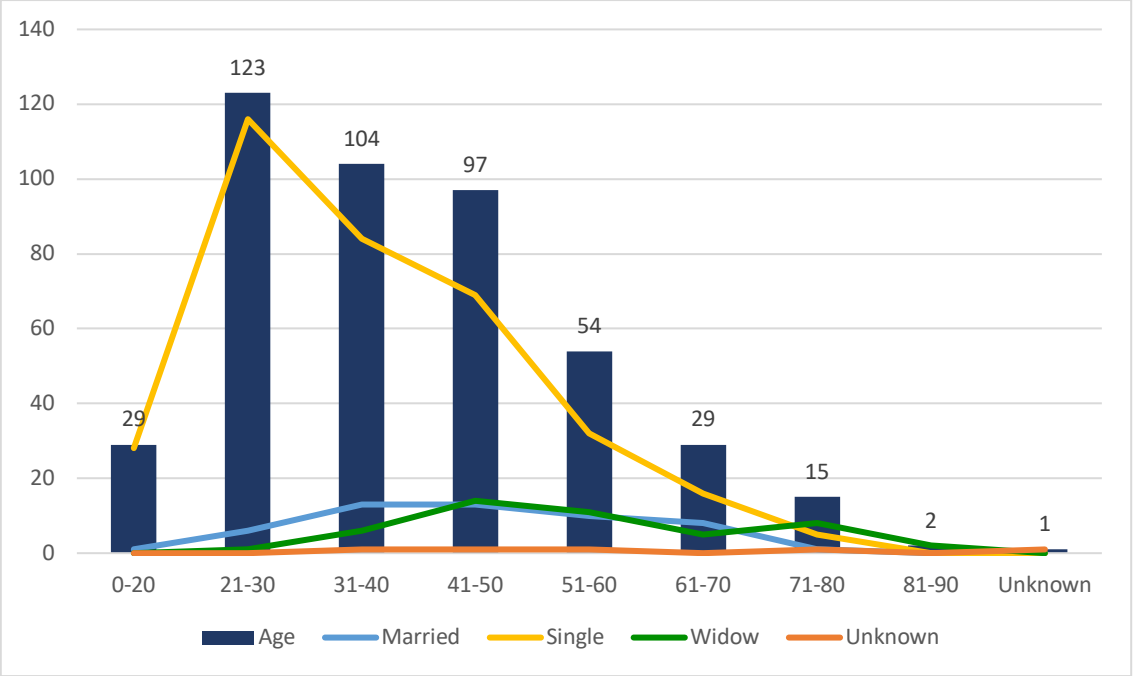

Chart 3: Iveagh House Demographics: Age and Marital Status, Census of Ireland, 1911.

In terms of where these residents hailed from, there were also variations. 44% listed their birthplace as Dublin (both city and county), 41% of boarders originated from other parts of Ireland (but outside of Dublin) and 14% were born abroad.

[199] Iveagh Hostel, Bride Road, Census of 1911 - http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/pages/1911/Dublin/Wood_Quay/Bride_Road/63222/Census 1911; 89% occupancy worked out as capacity was 508 cubicles.

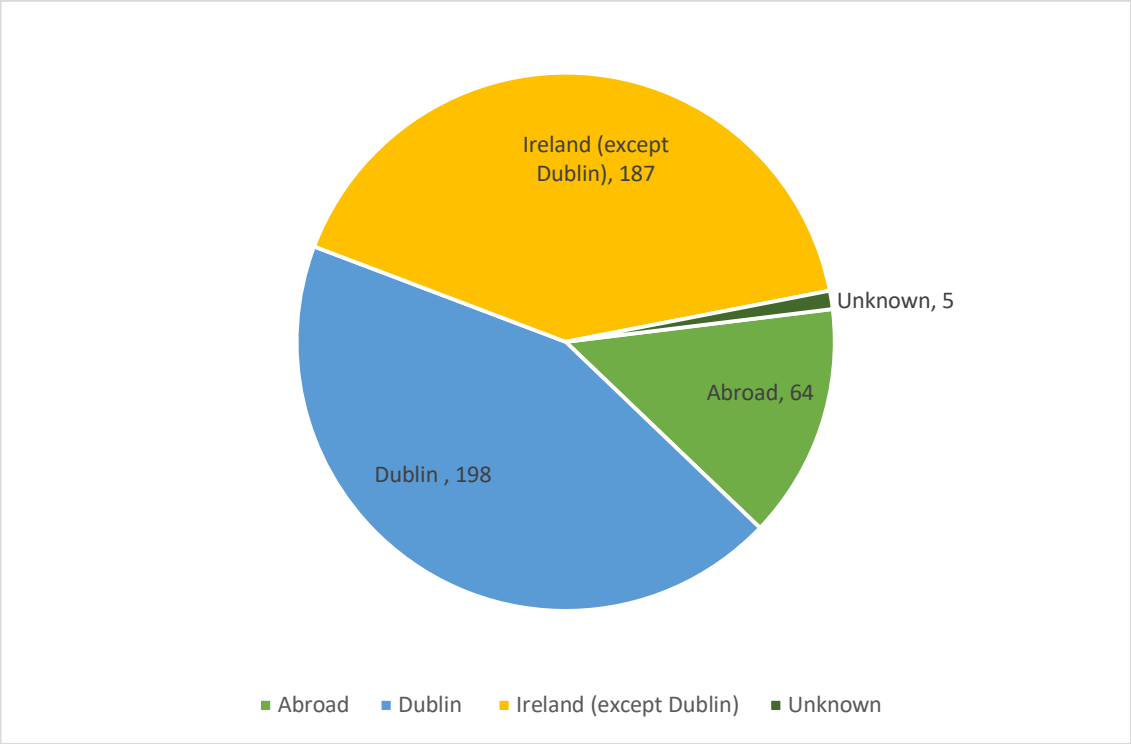

Chart 4: Iveagh House Demographics: Birthplace, Census of Ireland, 1911.

The majority of those born abroad were from England (47%), however there were also residents from America, Germany France, Belgium and Russia, as well as from British Colonies – New Zealand, Australia, and Bermuda. One boarder cited 'Africa' as his birthplace.

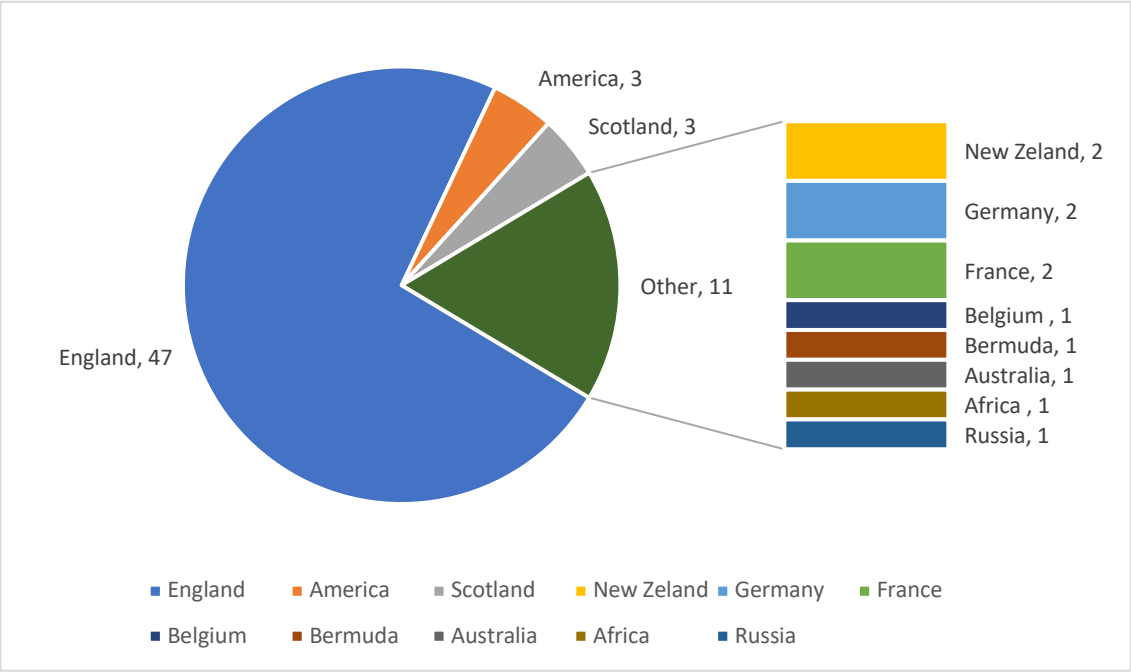

Chart 5: Iveagh House Demographics: Birthplace Abroad, Census of Ireland, 1911.

Of the 187 men who were born in Ireland but outside Dublin, a breakdown in geographical location into provinces indicates that those hailing from Leinster were most likely to travel to Dublin. Those originating from Connaught were the least likely to travel to Dublin, at 12%. This could be partially due to the geographical distance of Connaught to Dublin, as well as it being the least populous province in Ireland.

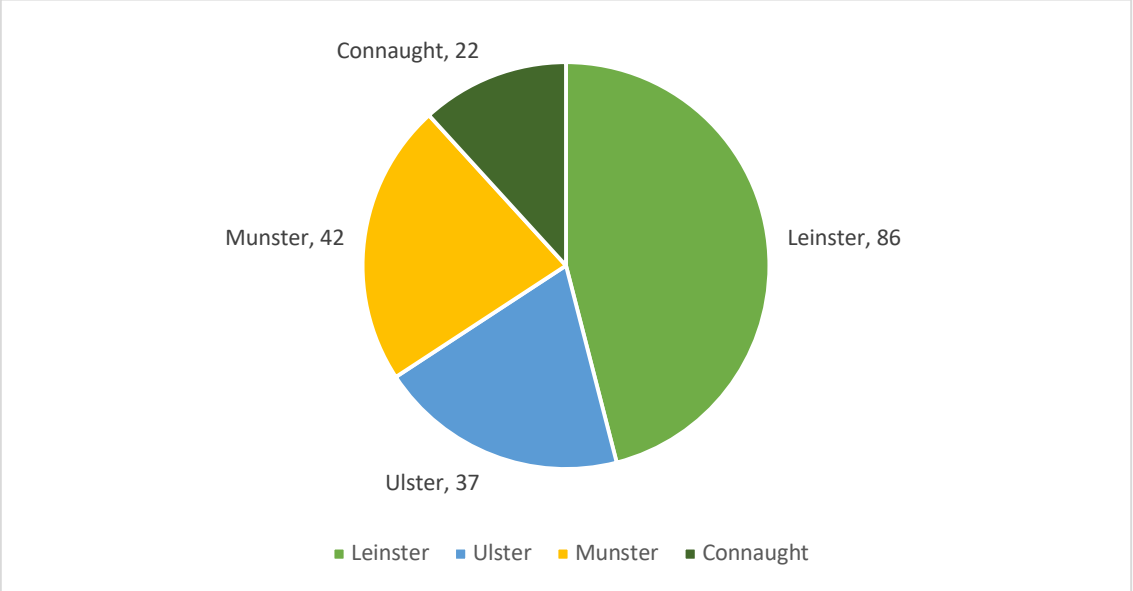

Chart 6: Iveagh House Demographics: Birthplace within Ireland, Census of Ireland, 1911.

Religious affiliation mirrored the wider community of the Iveagh Trust, with the majority being Roman Catholic (75%), although a substantial portion of Church of Ireland worshippers (21%) did reside at the hostel. However, there were also different denominations and religions, albeit on a much smaller scale. Two residents listed themselves as 'Free Thinker' and a 'Rationalist', while there were three Jews, three Methodists, two Baptists and five Presbyterians.

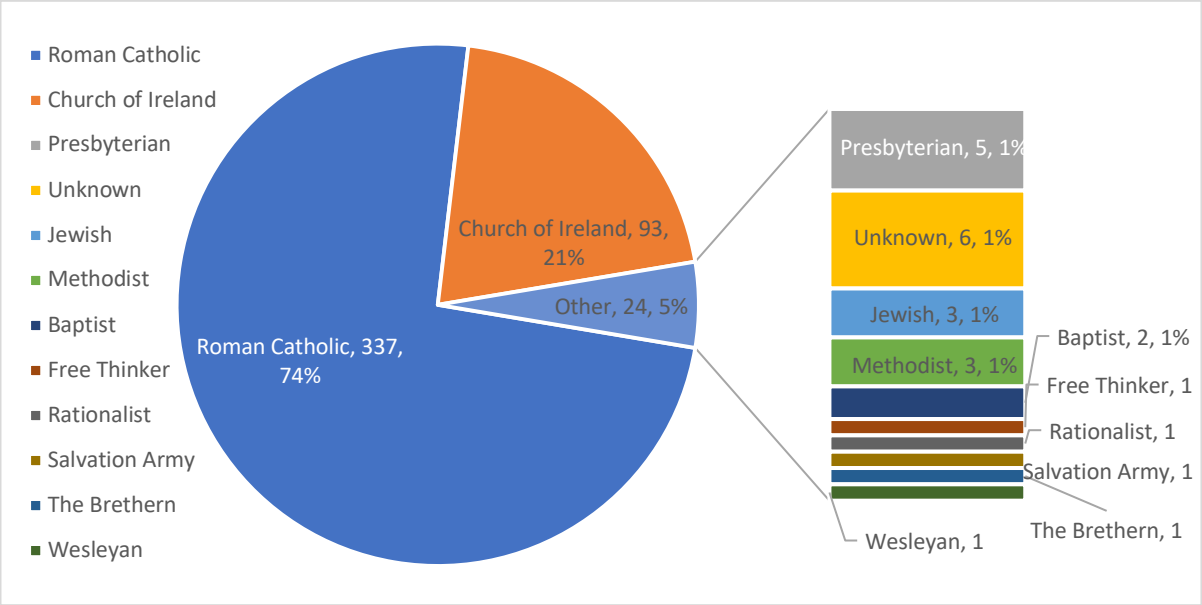

Chart 7: Iveagh House Demographics: Religious Affiliation, Census of Ireland, 1911.

Only four residents listed themselves as being unable to read and write, while the majority (445) claimed they could do both.[200] Just one man in the entire hostel had a specified 'illness', who was reported as being 'Deaf and Dumb'.[201]

There were great variations in the occupations of those residing in the Iveagh hostel. The Industrial Sector, which encompassed the majority of general and casual labourers, dominated with 25.8% of the 454 men on census night in April 1911. There were also professional residents such as accountants, solicitors, commercial travellers, a journalist and a school teacher availing of the single working-man's hostel, although it is impossible to tell their economic circumstances. This difference could be attributed to the contrast in application process between that of the long-term Iveagh Trust dwellings and that of the short-term hostel. The application process for a dwelling in the estates required the declaration of earnings; certain applications were rejected on the basis that the head of family earned too much to be admitted. The hostel application did not require such a declaration, allowing for any male to avail of its services. The occupational groupings seen in Chart 8 could suggest that the hostel was used for those passing through the capital on work commitments (such as commercial

[200] Save for the 5 people that no information is available.
[201] Iveagh House, Bride Road, Census 1911: http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/pages/1911/Dublin/Wood_Quay/Bride_Road/63222/.

travellers) along with those finding it difficult to acquire accommodation in the city.

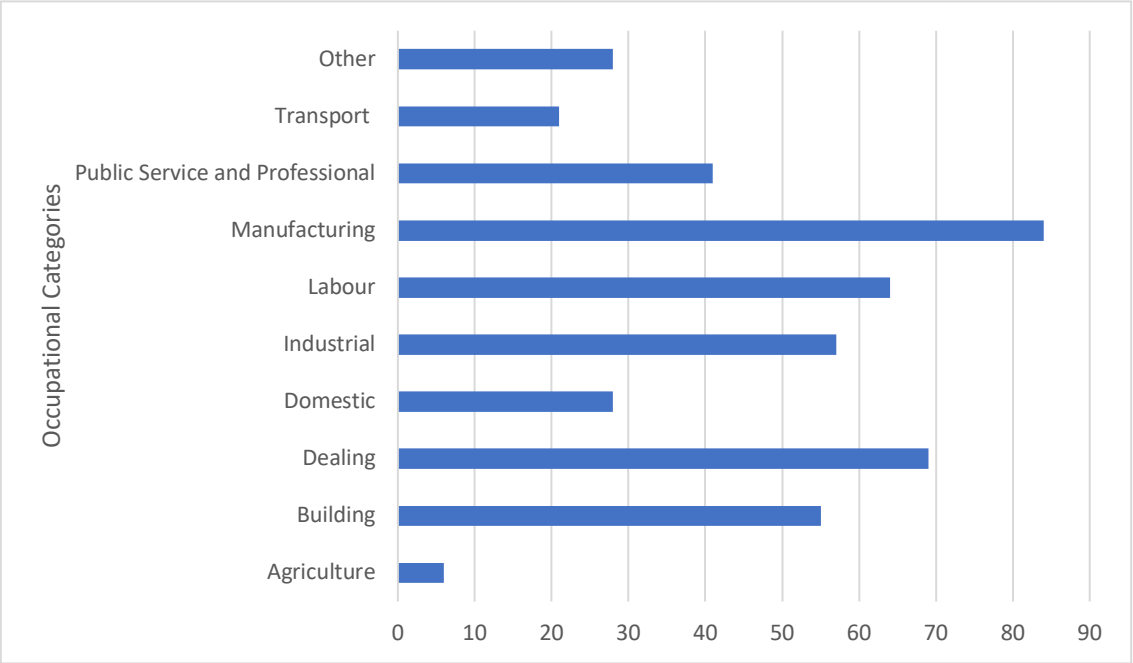

Chart 8: Iveagh House Demographics: Occupation, Census of Ireland, 1911.

Correlating the occupational categories with religious denomination for the Iveagh House working man's hostel highlights similar observations to that of the New Bride Street dwellings.[202] While the majority in each sector was Roman Catholic, higher proportions of those in more elevated sectors, such as the Public Service and Professional Sector were Protestant, at 31.7%. For example, within this sector there were fourteen soldiers, ten of whom were Church of Ireland. Again, the lower, and more unskilled sectors, such as labour, had a much higher proportion of Roman Catholics, at 96.9%, with only 3.1% of the labour force being Church of Ireland.

[202] The occupational categorisation and religious demography of the New Bride Street community is discussed in Chapter 4: The Community, pp. 304 – 315.

Table 4: Iveagh House: Occupation and Religion, Census of Ireland, 1911.

	Total	Roman Catholic	%	Church of Ireland	%	Other	%
Agricultural Sector	**6**	4	**66.7%**	2	**33.3%**	0	
Building Sector	**55**	39	**70.9%**	13	**23.6%**	3	**5.5%**
Dealing Sector	**69**	54	**78.3%**	12	**17.4%**	3	**4.3%**
Domestic Service	**28**	20	**71.4%**	6	**21.4%**	2	**7.1%**
Manufacturing Sector	**84**	64	**76.2%**	16	**19%**	4	**4.8%**
Mining Sector	**1**	1	**100%**	0		0	
Public Service and Professional Sector	**41**	25	**61%**	13	**31.7%**	3	**7.3%**
Transport sector	**21**	17	**80.9%**	3	**14.3%**	1	**4.8%**
Labour	**64**	62	**96.9%**	2	**3.1%**	0	
Industrial service	**57**	36	**63.2%**	18	**31.5%**	3	**5.3%**
Other	**28**	18	**64.2%**	5	**17.9%**	5	**17.9%**
Total	**454**	340	**74.9%**	90	**19.8%**	24	**5.3%**

From this census analysis, it can be determined that although intended as a 'working man's hostel', Iveagh House had a varied population, primarily due to its transient nature and lack of formal application processes.

2.4.B. Amenities: Iveagh Play Centre, Baths and Market

While a main component of Iveagh's Bull Alley improvement scheme was to provide housing for families and single men within the labouring class, on the same lines as other ventures such as Rowton Houses as well as the Trust itself, this was not its only objective. Just as St. Patrick's Park brought the working classes into touch with nature and fresh air whilst also promoting sober and clean recreation, Iveagh felt it necessary to provide particular amenities as part of the scheme that was established and managed with similar principles. As with the majority of philanthropic endeavours in this period, social, recreational and ideological forces came into play when deciding what amenities to provide in

order to enhance and better the lives of the working poor. Alongside the Bull Alley accommodation complex and Iveagh House, Iveagh developed three key amenities for the wider community of the working poor of Dublin – the Iveagh Play Centre, the Iveagh Baths, and the Iveagh Market. While these facilities all had practical, social and recreational qualities to them, each facility also incorporated a deeper ideological purpose – that of moral and physical rejuvenation and improvement of the poor.

The Play Centre

> A "Play Centre" is useful in more ways than one. First of all, it gives pleasure to children … Also, it takes them for a brief period away from the degrading circumstances in which many of the slum children must normally live. It gives them some idea that there are better things than tenements; it can teach them, for instance, something about the meaning of cleanliness … They have few chances of enjoying themselves away from the atmosphere of slums; they have even fewer of learning to be self-respecting citizens with some ambition to attain a better way of life than that in which they are being brought up.[203]

Probably the most ambitious, both architecturally and ideologically, of the Bull Alley Scheme was the Iveagh Play Centre, known locally as 'The Bayno'. In April 1915, the architecturally impressive and imposing structure which faced onto St Patrick's Park opened its doors and remained active until the mid-1970s. The centre at Bull Alley was the continuation of Lord Iveagh's earlier play centre, the 'Dublin Play Centre' which was established in 1909 close by at Myra Hall, 100 Francis Street. When the grand centre at Bull Alley was finally completed in 1915 (*The Irish Times* attributed delay to labour trouble), the communal amenity relocated. [204] The Play Centre catered for all poor children of the wider community, whether they were resident in the Trust or not. It was, 'in effect a "people's palace", intended for education with recreation'.[205] The Play Centre offered an alternative to 'the filthy, dust of the street' that working class children were normally confined to.[206] On its completion, the *Irish Times* highlighted the necessity of such recreational ventures, stating that similar amenities should 'form

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[203] *The Irish Times,* 27 April 1915.
[204] Ibid., 13 February 1914.
[205] Aalen, *The Iveagh Trust,* p. 50.
[206] *The Irish Times,* 20 June 1932.

a part of a general scheme which is devised to deal with the problem of the slums' as without open spaces, the 'children must inevitably suffer'. [207] It continued,

> In many parts of the slums of Dublin they have to choose for playgrounds … either the streets or the tenements in which they live. Neither alternative provides a suitable environment for children. They grow up without having any chance of learning, outside school, to appreciate better things than their home provide. It is not surprising that in the majority of cases, they afterwards make no real efforts to improve the conditions in which they live.[208]

Once again, the correlation between the slum environment and the social behaviour and morality of its inhabitants was made. The removal of the inhabitants, particularly at a young age, even for a short period of time, was deemed worthwhile for the improvement of their future. The services that the Play Centre provided were focused on educational recreation, which can be considered in these times as analogous to moral improvement of the young.

On 15 December 1909, the doors of Lord Iveagh's 'Dublin Play Centre' at Myra Hall, 100 Francis Street were opened, a stone's throw away from the Iveagh Trust Buildings and from where the bigger Iveagh Play Centre would be established in 1915. On this first evening, the Play Centre hosted 50 children. From then on, attendances by local children 'increased by leaps and bounds to reach an average figure of 133 per night' in January 1910.[209] The programme for the Golden Jubilee of the Play Centre in 1959 states that for the five years that the Play Centre was held in Myra Hall, it opened for '1,184 days and cost £6,093 3s 7d., covering rebuilding, furnishing, rents, rates, maintenance, etc., buns, cocoa, teachers' salaries', the outlay being covered by Iveagh personally.[210]

A highlight from this period of Iveagh's Play Centre was the visit paid by King George V and his wife, Queen Mary on 8 July 1911 during their Royal Tour of Ireland. Crowds filled the streets on their arrival and Their Majesties were received with the 'heartiest and most spontaneous' of welcomes:

> Every window commanding the scene was filled with men, women and children and was so dense was the crowd in the streets that the police and the 5th Lancers,

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[207] *The Irish Times*, 27 August 1915.
[208] Ibid.
[209] *Iveagh Play Centre Golden Jubilee, 1909-1959 Programme* [ITA].
[210] Ibid.

who were on duty for the occasion, had considerable difficulty in controlling the traffic.[211]

After the national anthem was sung, about 500 children from schools in the district performed a programme of songs and dances in the main hall of the Play Centre with 'most of the performers being in their bare feet'.[212]

The relocation of Iveagh's Play Centre from Myra Hall in 1915 was the result of the major construction of a purpose-built centre, costing an estimated £40,000. The new centre at Bull Alley completed Iveagh's Dublin Improvement (Bull Alley Area) Scheme. The Play Centre contained twelve rooms which were set apart for educational purposes, in addition to an assembly room and a large concert hall. Coupled with this were staff quarters: rooms for the Lady Superintendent, Teachers and Caretakers' quarters, along with cloakrooms and lavatories.

Image 11: Iveagh Play Centre [213]

Under supervision, the children between the ages of three and fourteen accumulated a vast number of both moral and practical skills, while also

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[211] *The Irish Times,* 10 July 1911.
[212] Ibid.
[213] Courtesy of the Iveagh Trust [ITA].

reinforcing a strong sense of community within the surrounding areas. Activities included singing and dancing, basket-making, mat-weaving, needlework, drawing and painting. In addition, several newspaper reports discussed the use of the large halls for 'drill'. [214] The large hall was also used by the Guinness Brewery Medical Officer Dr John Lumsden's St. John's Ambulance Brigade for training, lectures and award ceremonies; at the end of the 1930s, with the looming of another European War, the Brigade was integral in providing Air Raid Precaution (ARP) training to the public. For this, they used Lord Iveagh's gardens in Dublin, and held ARP lectures and first aid training in the Play Centre. The topics covered in these lectures related to high explosives and incendiary bombs, poison gases (their types, effects and protection against them), first aid during air raids, decontamination after air raids, evacuation of danger zones, the shelter system and the psychological effects of air raids.[215] In October 1938, Corporation officials inspected the basements of the Play Centre with a view of 'having them used as Air Raid shelters'.[216]

[214] *Irish Times,* 27 August 1915; 25 February 1933.
[215] Ibid., 28 December 1938.
[216] Ibid.

Image 12: Iveagh Play Centre: Cooking class [217]

Demand

Like the hostel, the Iveagh Trust annual reports included attendance figures that reflect the usage of the Play Centre. In the immediate years after opening in 1915, the daily and annual intake is impressive. Given the fact that the Play Centre was only open five evenings and one morning per week, and that it closed on holidays, the demand of an average daily attendance, such as 1,615.50 in 1917 is striking and highlights the need for such recreational outlets for children of the surrounding areas. Table 5 below details both annual attendance and average daily attendance, against the number of days open in a given year.

[217] Courtesy of the Guinness Archive, GDB/PE13/0009.

Table 5: Iveagh Play Centre: Attendance Figures, 1915 - 1939[218]

Year	Days Open	Total Attendance	Average Daily Attendance
1915	214	259,582	1,213
1916	221	280,855	1,270.83
1917	202	333,605	1,651.50
1918	187	264,012	1,411.76
1919	190	268,983	1,415.70
1920	220	219,421	997.36
1921	230	178,840	777.56
1922	216	173,254	804.88
1923	227	175,571	773.44
1024	231	171,739	743.45
1925	226	173,499	767.69
1926	225	166,199	738.66
1927	217	167,597	751.55
1928	223	167,438	766.27
1929	201	154,022	766.27
1930	214	180,331	842.66
1931	210	168,429	802.04
1932	210	184,764	879.83
1933	218	184,126	845
1934	209	174,017	833
1935	227	192,452	848
1936	212	175,387	828
1937	220	190,136	864
1938	214	184,170	861
1939	213	170,360	800

Even in its declining years, in which numbers are noticeably falling by a thousand over the course of the ten years selected, the figures, are still commendable. This decline could be attributed to the increased provision of working class housing in the suburbs during the 1920s and 30s. Chart 9 illustrates the demand levels of the Play Centre against days open per year:

[218] Data for Table 5 from *Iveagh Trust Annual Reports* BA/SR/13/ANNUALREPORTS/1903-1944 [ITA].

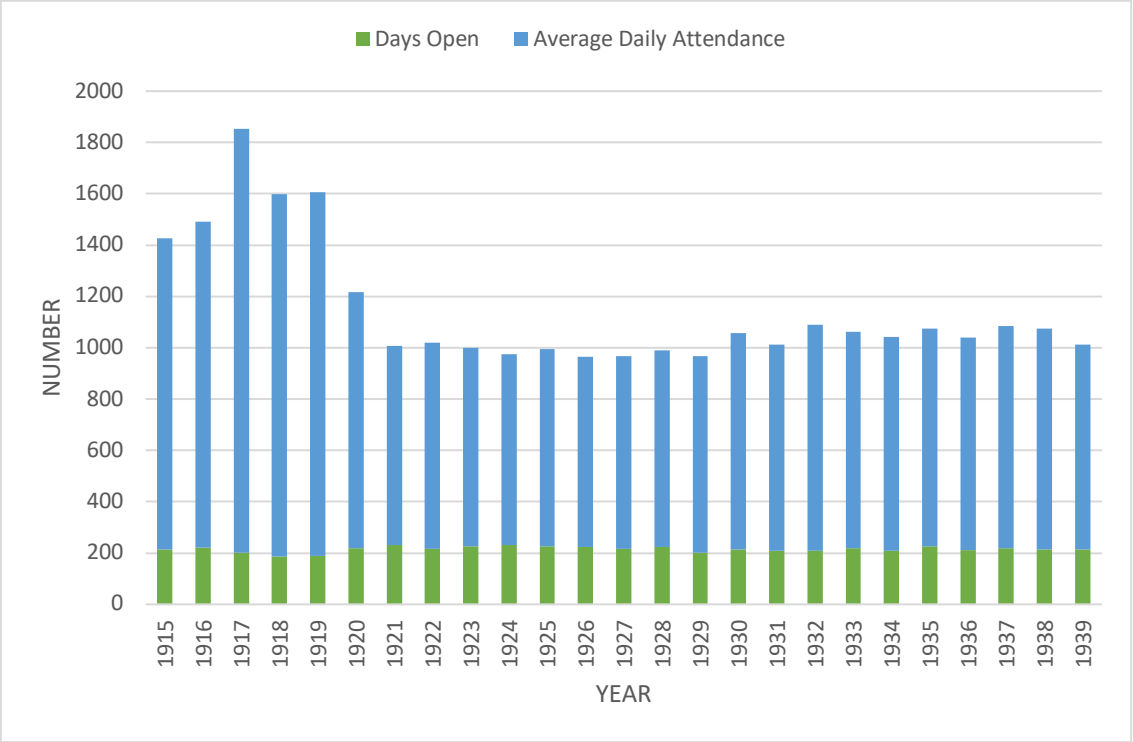

Chart 9: Iveagh Play Centre: Attendance [219]

These impressive attendance figures also reinforced the intention of upper class philanthropists that purposeful facilities were the best way to ameliorate and improve the lower classes. Education through recreation was a means by which the upper and middle classes could infiltrate their virtues and values to an impressionable, young group without suspicion of being patronising or controlling.

Iveagh Baths

The Iveagh Baths, located immediately opposite the Iveagh Hostel, were built in line with the vow to not only house the poor but to take care of them in the realms of 'convenience, health, comfort, moral welfare and improvement'.[220] According to *The Irish Times,* the baths formed 'a fitting adjunct to the great Iveagh

[219] Data derived *Iveagh Trust Annual Reports* BA/SR/13/ANNUALREPORTS/1903-1944 [ITA].
[220] *Deed of Trust (Dublin Fund)*.

building scheme, and are another example of the philanthropic spirit which prompted the generous donor'.[221]

Externally, the baths' main building was constructed with redbrick, sandstone and granite which presented 'a most attractive appearance.' Internally, the pitch pine roof was supported with steel principals and the walls were embellished with white enamelled tiles, 'which lend an artistic tone to the entire surroundings and produce a most agreeable effect upon the eye.' The 65 x 30 foot swimming pool was also tiled with the white enamelled bricks to match the surrounding walls. The pond itself catered for both the novice and the expert with 'a safe 3 feet 6 inches … at its shallowest end, to six feet at its deepest'. Natural light flooded the bathhouse; directly above the pool was 'a splendid glass roof' as well as 'a range of side windows' that also aided in ventilating the buildings. At night time, the entire bathhouse was lit with 'a series of handsome electric lamps'.[222] Above and surrounding the swimming pool was a 'fine ornamental galley' for spectators.

In addition to the swimming pool, Iveagh Baths were also equipped with private hot and cold wash baths, eighteen for men and nine for women, which were 'arranged on opposite sides of the buildings' that enforced the segregation of the sexes. Furthermore, in providing for modesty, forty-seven changing rooms were installed. At the south end of the bath complex were shower baths, footbaths and lavatories. This end also housed the washhouse which was equipped with 'washing, wringing and mangaling machines, together with a drying closet of a new design for the sole use of the baths'.[223] For the staff, there was an instructor's box, a towel store, a workshop and staff lavatories.

Two twin boilers were used to heat the water throughout the Bathhouse. In addition, there was a water purification plant. *The Irish Times* maintained that 'every detail in connection with the baths had been carried out in a most elaborate and sumptuous manner, and no expense has been spared in making them one of the finest public institutions in the city.

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[221] *Weekly Irish Times*, 9 June 1906.
[222] Ibid.
[223] Ibid.

Along with the use of the baths for the public, it was also the venue for a multitude of galas from its inception. The Dublin University Swimming Club (TCD), The Boys Brigade Dublin Battalion, the City of Dublin YMCA and St. Andrew's College Swimming Club all hosted swimming galas which included individual races as well as team sports such as water polo in the swimming pool to crowds of spectators in the gallery. Bands often played at these events; the Dublin University Swimming Club had musical programmes inserted into the official programmes of the galas, providing a selection of songs including, of course, a rendition of God Save the King.[224]

Demand

The Iveagh Baths opened their doors to the public on 6 June 1906. As can be seen from Chart 10 below, demand for the Iveagh Baths over the period 1909-1939 fluctuated drastically. Hard figures are only available from 1909 onwards, when they were reported in the annual reports.[225] Prior to this, comments were made on attendance, without figures. In 1907, it was commented that the attendance at the baths was 'fairly satisfactory, in view of the cold summer'. 1908 declared an increase of 'about 6%' while in 1909 the figure of 36,227 visitors was not as numerous as the previous years, 'but the decrease was entirely doubled due to the cold summer'.[226] It is worthy of note that the figures in Table 6 and Chart 10 excluded that of gala attendances (both spectators and competitors) and consisted only of members of the public.

[224] Multiple official swimming gala programmes, loose, [ITA].
[225] Figures for Iveagh Bath attendance was given in the annual reports. There was no figure published in the year 1909, however the year 1910 did publish it, using it as a comparison.
[226] The Iveagh Trust Annual Reports 1907-1910, *Iveagh Trust Annual Reports* BA/SR/13/ANNUALREPORTS/1903-1944 [ITA].

Table 6: Iveagh Baths: Annual Attendance, 1909 - 1939

Year	Annual Attendance
1909	36,227
1910	41,340
1911	47,187
1912	45,529
1913	47,061
1914	47,472
1915	46,188
1916	73,503
1917	72,514
1918	59,331
1919	61,063
1920	43,790
1921	37,780
1922	37,955
1923	47,719
1924	45,448
1925	44,721
1926	48,628
1927	36,090
1928	35,802
1929	33,310
1930	30,438
1931	37,733
1932	40,619
1933	49,668
1934	45,498
1935	41,160
1936	34,466
1937	36,394
1938	46,387
1939	45,204

The greatest annual increase was between 1915-16, when attendance figures jumped from 46,188 in 1915 to 73,503 in 1916 (27,315 additional visits). This large increase was ascribed, at least in part, to the Corporation Baths at Tara Street being closed for alterations and renovations. The Tara Street Baths were

constructed on the same lines as those of the Iveagh, and reopened in March of 1917, however, the Iveagh Baths' attendance figure for that year was still markedly high (72,514).[227]

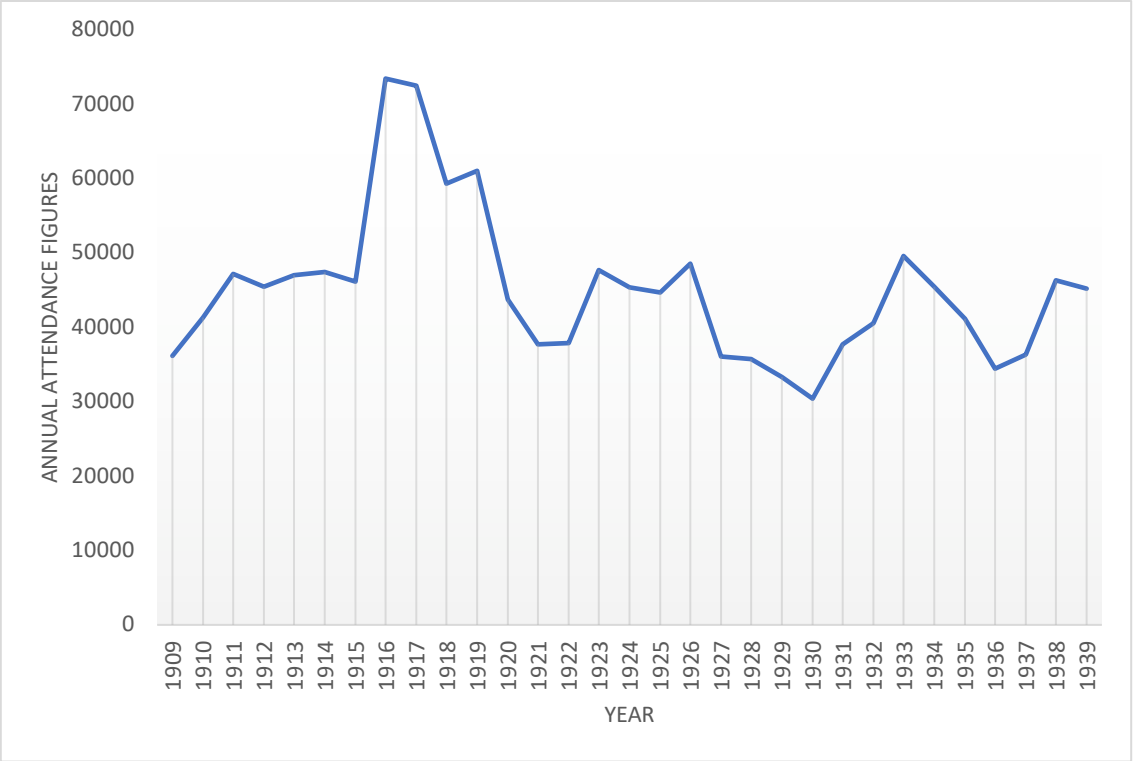

Chart 10: Iveagh Baths: Annual Attendance [228]

The provision of public baths and a washhouse was in line with the nineteenth century philanthropic philosophy of social reform. Not only did it aim to cleanse the public physically, promoting hygiene and ridding the smell of the poor, it also aimed to reform the poor morally, believing that physical and moral uncleanliness was inextricably intertwined.[229] Bathing can also be understood as a leisure activity of the middle-classes, and hence, demonstrates the infiltration, to an extent of middle class ideals onto the lower classes. As Teresa Breathnach explores, the upsurge in the practice of bathing, and of Turkish baths themselves

[227] *The Irish Times,* 6 March 1917; The Iveagh Trust Annual Report, 1917, *Iveagh Trust Annual Reports* BA/SR/13/ANNUALREPORTS/1903-1944 [ITA].
[228] Data derived from *Iveagh Trust Annual Reports* BA/SR/13/ANNUALREPORTS/1903-1944 [ITA].
[229] Aalen, *The Iveagh Trust,* p. 42.

in Ireland, fulfilled the 'desires of the "romantic gaze", a pre-occupation of the Victorian bourgeoisie'.[230] With the leisure world of the middle-classes becoming consumed with bathing, this respectable activity was also associated with health and physical fitness. Hence, the Iveagh Baths were built with an ideal of respectable, middle-class leisure mixed with the improvement of health and fitness as well as cleanliness in terms of hygiene.

Iveagh Market

As explored in Chapter One, street dealing, trading and hawking were occupations that had been passed down through generations of Dublin families, becoming a part of tradition, of working class culture itself. Throughout Dublin, both north and south, street traders carried out their operations; one of the chief hotspots for this line of work was the Patrick Street area, which was also in the centre of Iveagh's extensive improvement plan. Iveagh's final component, which would finish off his work for this area was the establishment of the Iveagh Market. Although it was never officially linked to the Iveagh Trust, its construction during the period of the completion of other philanthropic works for the labouring classes, coupled with its targeted group and area, make it a necessary amenity to analyse.

The clearance of the vast Bull Alley area (including the area for St Patrick's Park, for street widenings, and the Bull Alley Improvement scheme of the Play Centre, Hostel, Baths and Houses) resulted in the clearance of a zone that had traditionally been seen as the home of the street trader, leaving them economically displaced. Yet, it is also worthy of note that this was also the spiritual home of the Guinness family. To rectify this issue, Iveagh acquired a substantial piece of land on Francis Street with the aim of establishing 'a market for the sale of old clothes and other articles which are disposed of in Nicholas Street, Patrick Street, and other places in the immediate neighbourhood of St. Patrick's Cathedral'.[231] *The Irish Times* welcomed this move of 'this peculiar business' to an indoor (hidden)

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[230] Teresa Breathnach, 'For Health and For Pleasure: The Turkish Bath in Victorian Ireland', *Victorian Literature and Culture,* Vol. 32, No. 1 (2004), p. 161.
[231] *The Irish Times,* 24 November 1900.

location, and speculated that it would be 'regarded with pleasure by the congregations attending the Services in the Cathedral as well as by numerous residents in the neighbourhood'.[232] Indeed, the removal of the working class street trader from the vicinity of the reverent cathedral which Guinness held close to his philanthropic and religious heart, was another move to ameliorate the surroundings of his beloved Cathedral. [233]

Like St Patrick's Park, the Iveagh Market on completion was handed over to the Corporation for management. The market was officially opened on 18 September 1907 by the Lord Mayor and several other officials, including Iveagh Trustee Lieut.-Col. Addison. It opened from 8am to 7pm on all weekdays and until 10pm on Saturdays. The Market closed each Sunday and on Bank Holidays. Within the complex were two market departments. The first was the 'Old Clothes market' which focused on the sale of 'clothes, drapery, wearing apparel, carpets, and bed furniture'. Armed with a disinfecting chamber, the market authorities forbade any old clothes to be resold without being disinfected 'to the satisfaction of the officer'. The second department was the 'fish, fruit and vegetable market' geared towards the sale of foodstuffs such as fish, eggs, bacon, fruit and vegetables. [234]

General regulations were administered for the smooth – and sanitary – running of the market. It was forbidden to 'feed any horse or other animal, under any circumstance' within the market. In terms of refuse disposal, it was prohibited to put 'any garbage, trimmings, ashes, dust, or refuse of any kind in, behind, upon, or about any shop, office, stall or standing in the market'. The upkeep of cleanliness was paramount, with all stalls and surfaces to be 'properly cleansed before the reception, deposit and exposure for sale' of any item. Moreover, it was forbidden for any person to 'throw, or wilfully or negligently drop upon any part of

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[232] Ibid.

[233] The decision to construct an indoor market for the multitude of dealers who normally took their business to the Patrick Street area was not, however, welcomed by all. In 1906 a number of tradespeople took legal claims in a big to secure compensation for loss of their ancient liberty rights to sell old clothes and other commodities on open stands in Patrick Street. This is discussed in Chapter 1, Section 1.3.B: The Irony of Giving: Displacement of Culture, pp. 81 – 85.

[234] *Bye-Laws for the Use, Government, Control and Management of St. Patrick's Park, made by the Corporation of Dublin in pursuance of the Provisions of the St. Patrick's Park, Dublin, Act 1897,* [60 & 61 Vict.] [Ch. xvi] 1904, DCA, R1/04/49

the Market any orange peel or vegetable substance, meat garbage, fish or other matter, save in places allotted'.[235] Similarly, 'no person shall empty any slop or waste water elsewhere in the Market than down the drains or down some of the sinks in the Market.

In terms of behaviour within the markets, loitering or standing in any gateway or passage 'to the annoyance or disturbance of any person was prohibited, and every person using 'any water-closet, urinal or yard shall observe decency and cleanliness therein'. The defacing of buildings was prohibited as was the possession of 'gunpowder, fireworks, naphtha, petroleum, paraffin oil or other dangerous articles'. In terms of who was to sell, 'save a duly licensed hawker' no person was permitted to 'hawk, carry about, or cry any article for sale'.[236] Every carrier in the Market 'shall at all times, while plying for hire, conduct himself with civility and propriety towards every person hiring or seeking to hire such carrier, and shall comply with every reasonable required of any person hiring such carrier.'[237]

Relocating street traders to an enclosed, purpose-built location enabled the Corporation to maintain some form of control and regulation on what was sold. By being under one roof, the Corporation could consistently inspect the goods that were being sold. This practice of supervision made it easier for inspectors to curb the practice of the adulteration of food and the selling of gone-off produce – practices which were rife throughout the nineteenth century. That said, this level of inspection did not mean the complete eradication of such practices; in 1930, an elderly vendor of the Iveagh Markets, was 'summoned by the Dublin Corporation for exposing for sale three hams and a piece of bacon weighing 37lb., which were found to unfit for human food'.[238] On inspection, an officer of the Corporation maintained that when he discovered the hams, 'putrefaction had set in'.[239] The Chief Veterinary inspector of the Corporation asserted that on examination the 'piece of bacon was magotty [sic], soft and wet', concluding that it must have been

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[235] No. 14, 19 & 30 in Ibid.
[236] No. 29 & 36 in Ibid.
[237] No. 48 in Ibid.
[238] *The Irish Times,* 3 July 1930.
[239] Ibid.

a home cured produce that had gone bad'.[240] The curbing of such practices in the Iveagh Market was of paramount importance to the Corporation, who maintained that they 'were anxious that it should be made the dumping ground for diseased meat of this kind, which might poison people'.[241] In addition to such inspections, which seemed to have an effect on the levels of bad produce being sold in the market, the implementation of a disinfecting chamber was integral for the cleansing of second-hand clothes, to limit the spread of infectious diseases caused particularly by lice. The market remained a key marketplace of the Francis Street area until the mid-1990s.

2.4.C. Beyond 1922: Iveagh Trust initiatives in Independent Ireland

Iveagh Gardens, Crumlin, 1926-36

The Iveagh Trust's final housing venture covered in the period of this thesis was the Crumlin housing scheme, known as Iveagh Gardens. The scheme, which was initiated in 1926, was a telling move away from the earlier housing schemes of New Bride/Kevin Street and Bull Alley inner-city tenement complexes that were built in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The Crumlin housing scheme was a move towards the cottage-style working class dwelling in the suburbs; it was one reflected in wider debates regarding where the working classes should be housed: in urban areas or new suburban settlements. During this period, the suburbanisation of the working class gained more backing, with State and Corporation-backed developments being constructed on the outskirts of the city.

The site where the Crumlin estate would lie was situated on a piece of land purchased from the Guinness Brewery, close to the Iveagh football grounds. Designed by Irish firm O'Callaghan and Webb, 136 two-storey, predominantly terraced and semi-detached houses were built comprising fifty-two four-roomed homes, eighty-four five-roomed homes and one five-roomed home with a shop.

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[240] Ibid.
[241] Ibid.

Each house had a garden which was sealed off with wrought iron railings.[242] Like the older dwellings, there was a single entrance to the estate, and most houses faced onto a tree-lined avenue, that gave it 'an air of seclusion and self-respect, reminiscent of the better garden-city suburbs of English towns'.[243] Moreover, a similar management style of porters and supervisors was in place in this new estate, a move which further demonstrated that the Trust thought it necessary to monitor their tenants, whether in tenement complexes in the inner city or in single-unit family homes in the suburbs.

Construction began immediately in 1926; by 1927 the first forty-two houses were occupied, and by 1930 in total eighty-two of the cottages were built.[244] By 1935, much of the development had come to fruition, although, the construction of the remaining fourteen cottages was delayed, owing to a short strike among plumbers.[245] Initially known as 'Iveagh Cottages', in October 1935 the name was officially changed to 'Iveagh Gardens', owing to 'agitation [which] … started amongst the tenants' who voiced their dislike of the word 'cottages'.[246] By 1938, there was 664 people living in Iveagh Gardens.[247]

A key argument against working class suburban living was the inability for them to get to a from work on public transport at reasonable fares. Iveagh had considered this in the Trust's founding deed, stating that if the Trust were to build outside the city boundaries, arrangements could be made 'with railway and other Companies or otherwise for cheap means of transit'.[248] However, it appears that this was not followed through, as, according to Bonner's weekly reports to the Trustees, many tenants had issues with the rising cost of transport; in September 1935, Bonner mentioned that there had been another increase in bus fares that

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[242] Aalen, *The Iveagh Trust,* p. 72; Iveagh Trust Annual Reports, 1928 – 1936, BA/SR/13/ANNUALREPORTS/1903-1944 [ITA].
[243] Aalen, *The Iveagh Trust*, p. 72.
[244] Ibid., pp. 69-72.
[245] Weekly report ending 7 September 1935, *Iveagh Trust Weekly Reports, 1936-9,* CS/BX/4/A/1935-6 [ITA].
[246] Ibid., 20 September 1935; 26 October 1935.
[247] The Iveagh Trust Annual Report 1938, *Iveagh Trust Annual Reports 1903-1939*, BA/SR/13/ANNUALREPORTS/1903-1944.
[248] Section 3 (a) (1), *Deed of Trust (Dublin Fund)*.

would total an additional 2/- per week for tenants.[249] In addition, weekly rents for the suburban homes were markedly more expensive than the older tenement-style dwellings of new Bride/Kevin Street and Bull Alley; the weekly rent for five-roomed cottages were 21/-, four-roomed homes were 19/- per week, while weekly rent of the shop was 42/-. [250]

While the Iveagh Gardens cottages were leased in full, over time, and as a consequence of these high prices, there were requests from tenants to move to cheaper dwellings.[251] Both in 1937 and 1939, it was noted that the Trust were having difficulty collecting rents and some tenants were going into arrears.[252] This burden resulted in some tenants requesting transfers back into the Iveagh Trust city dwellings; in November 1939, four families applied for a transfer into the newly extended Kevin Street estate.[253] The financial burden associated with living in the suburbs can be considered a substantial reason for the want to relocate back to the city.

Kevin Street Modernisation and Extension

Before the completion of the Iveagh Gardens Crumlin estate, major renovations and extensions were carried out on the New Bride/Kevin Street estate, the Iveagh Trust's first development. In 1933, an additional block constructed on the estate, with twenty self-contained 'apartments', each with three rooms and a bathroom. While the rent for these new dwellings were higher than the rest of the estate (4/3 per week compared to 2/5), they were substantially more reasonable than the new suburban homes in Iveagh Gardens. Consequently, these new dwellings were let out immediately; many families who could no longer afford the rent for the suburban cottages in addition to high transport costs requested transfers to these new dwellings. After the success of this initial development, the Trustees worked with Dublin Corporation to acquire the

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[249] Weekly report ending 13 September 1935, *Iveagh Trust Weekly Reports* CS/BX/4/A/1935-6 [ITA].
[250] Meeting 12 April 1928, *Iveagh Trust Minute Reports, 1903-1939,* BA/BX/1/A.
[251] Ibid., 16 May 1936; Ibid., 31 October 1936; Ibid., 18 November 1939.
[252] Ibid., 31 July 1937; Ibid., 12 August 1939.
[253] Ibid., 31 October 1939.

adjoining site next to the estate by compulsory order.[254] The new blocks on this additional land contained three and four roomed dwellings with balconies, along with 'baths, washhouses [and] drying rooms' in a separate building; shops were also incorporated into the scheme.[255] This programme of extension and modernisation was contributed throughout the decade. Construction continued from 1935 until 1950, with thirteen additional blocks. An addition 200 self-contained dwellings were built between 1938 – 49.[256]

Conclusion

By the end of the First World War, the Iveagh Trust had established itself in Dublin city as a prominent philanthropic institution that provided not only homes for labouring families, but also shelter to single men, a sanitary marketplace to sell clothes and food, a recreational space for children, and swimming and bathing facilities to all. What began as a philanthropic wish had developed into something more concrete. However, the Trust's operations in Dublin in the first decade of its existence ran into many difficulties in terms of progress. By comparison, progress in London took immediate strides. The reasons for this disparity between the two funds can be attributed firstly to the stark difference in monetary funding, but also due to the Trustees physical absence in Dublin. The reliance on the DADC to organise sites and construct the dwellings in Dublin resulted in the construction of buildings that were considered substandard and did not fit the overall vision of the Trust. Consequently, the Trustees decided to abandon their first Dublin venture, Thomas Court.

While there is no doubt that the fund ran into many difficulties, particularly in the early years, Iveagh's Dublin Improvement (Bull Alley Area) Scheme pushed the Trust forward to establish it as a significant outlet for the labouring classes at a time when not many healthful alternatives existed. This pivotal period for the Trust also witnessed the transformation of a part of Dublin's Old Town that was

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[254] Ibid., 14 February 1934.
[255] Meeting 17 May 1935, Ibid.
[256] Aalen, *The Iveagh Trust,* p. 72.

symbolically important for Iveagh and his family. In later years, as the Trust matured, it took action in the suburbs; it aligned itself and acted upon the wider debates of working class suburbanisation. Furthermore, extensive modernisation also took place within the Trust's inner city complex, New Bride/Kevin Street. Through the construction of these dwellings, amenities and other outlets, the Iveagh Trust managed to create an environment that would ameliorate the working class individual, in terms of physical health, quality of life and the community as a whole.

Chapter 3: The Amelioration of the Poor

> Do you believe if you improve the housing conditions generally you improve the morals of the people? – I do not think that that admits of question.
> It also improves their health? – Yes. The whole standard is raised.[1]
> *Mr. John Cooke, Honorary Treasurer of the NSPCC.*

The administrative organisation of the Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust from its inception in 1890, and the subsequent construction of residential buildings and amenities, established the necessary foundations on which the Trust could achieve the aims and objectives of its founder. The overall objective of Edward Cecil Guinness' fund was to 'ameliorate the condition of the labouring classes of Dublin'.[2] This chapter considers whether this objective was achieved, and demonstrates that this overall objective of amelioration was translated into the day-to-day activities performed by the Trust. It will attempt to answer probably the most important question of all – did the Iveagh Trust, through its activities of housing the poor, ameliorate their suffering that emerged from the decrepit and deathly environments of the slums? In other words, did clean, dry and structurally sound housing work for those they were intended for? In order to address these questions, an evaluation will be carried out of the physical indicators of amelioration, that is, in terms of physical health, economic status and structural amelioration, relating to both the architectural exteriors and the decorative interiors.

This chapter has four sections. Section 3.1 questions in the first instance whether those who gained access to the ameliorative venture were in fact 'the poorer classes of the working population of Dublin', a precondition stipulated in the *Deed of Trust*, or if they were instead pulled from a pool of more 'respectable', employable and, according to the administration at least, a morally righteous

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[1] Witness Testimony of Mr. John Cooke, Honorary Treasurer of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, *Appendix to the report of the departmental committee appointed by the Local Government Board for Ireland to inquire into the housing conditions of the working classes in the city of Dublin (Minutes of evidence, with appendices)* [cd. 7317] 1914, p. 104.
[2] Preamble, *Deed of Trust (Dublin Fund)*

lower class – the cream of the working-class crop.[3] To do this, an 'economic demography' of the tenants will be carried out, taking into consideration residents' origin, family composition and occupational status.[4] In Section 3.2 an examination of the structural differences between the tenement buildings and the newly built Iveagh Trust dwellings will be conducted. It was understood by improving the working class dwellings' structure, it would improve the physical health of the tenants, as the close link between ill-suited dwellings and a deterioration in the physical health of inhabitants was widely recognised in official reports and public discourse at the time.[5] Section 3.3 assesses the impact of structural amelioration on the inhabitants, by carrying out a statistical assessment of the physical health of the Iveagh Trust residents over the entire period of occupation, 1893-1939, by comparing the annual mortality rates published in the Iveagh Trust's annual reports with death rates extracted from the Registrar General reports for the same period. Finally, Section 3.4 investigates the interiors of the new working class dwelling. While it was understood that warm and stable structures were necessary for the improvement of the physical health of the tenants, for many, turning the dwelling into a home was just as important. To both administration and inhabitant, improving the interiors of the working class dwelling was an aim that sought to achieve the amelioration of the interior of the individual himself, to aid the inhabitants in their 'convenience, health, comfort, moral welfare and improvement'.[6] This section will examine the development of interior decoration during the Victorian period, interrogate the instructions given by the Trustees in terms of decoration for the working class, and use 'Nellie's flat', the museum flat in

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[3] Section 1 (a), Ibid.

[4] Throughout this chapter, some identifying details of tenants and staff have been changed, most often by initialising last names. For consistency, this applies to those cases that fall within and outside the 100 year rule and where the information comes from previously unpublished archival material, namely that of the Iveagh Trust. This does not apply to those interviewed as these individuals gave permission to be named.

[5] This correlation is closely reflected in the various reports into the housing of the working classes during this time, such as the *Third Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners for inquiring into the housing of the working classes (Ireland),* [cd. 4547] [1885]; *Report of the Committee appointed by the Local Government Board for Ireland to inquire into the Public Health of the City of Dublin*, [cd. 243] [1900]; *Report of the departmental committee appointed by the Local Government Board for Ireland to inquire into the housing conditions of the working classes in the city of Dublin*, [cd. 7273] [1914].

[6] Section A (3), *Deed of Trust (Dublin Fund).*

the Iveagh Trust, as a case study for understanding the importance of 'home' to the working classes. An exploration of the interiors of the Iveagh Trust allows for further analysis of the entire individual, living within the Trust community.

By assessing these components of physical health, physical environment, and economic status, a clearer picture of the inhabitants' quality of life can be painted, a component integral to the Iveagh Trust objective of amelioration. Assessing quality of life is difficult, as aspects imperative to it, such as happiness – 'an inaccessible dimension of people's lives' – are almost impossible to gauge.[7] That said, it is possible to assess whether there was an improvement in other more measurable components of quality of life, such as health, income, environment and material needs, elements that are basic foundations from which quality of life is built. These components can be measured by both qualitative and quantitative methods; assessment of health and income can be derived from reports that detail statistical and numerical figures, while environmental and material needs can be sourced through documents such as manuals and letters, as well as an examination of the physical space itself.

3.1. The 'poorer of the working classes'

Before the Trustees could ameliorate the poorest of the labouring classes, a rigorous assessment of prospective applicants was essential. On one form, this assessment encapsulated a profile of the tenant and his family, assessing his social position, economic status, health and family composition. These application records are notable sources when trying to discern the economic background of those admitted into the Trust's community. It is imperative to ask if 'the poor' accepted into the Iveagh Trust were in fact 'the poorest' of the working classes in Dublin, as Edward Cecil Guinness had intended, before examining the impact the new environment had on its residents.

Within the academic discourse of the philanthropic housing associations of this period in general, and of the Iveagh Trust in particular, many scholars

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[7] Thomas E. Jordan, 'Source, Method and Surmise: Quality of Life in History', *Social Indicators Research,* Vol. 94, No. 2 (Nov., 2009), p. 227.

maintain, like King, that the 'initial intention was to "reach the poorest of the labour population" – as opposed to the artisan worker favoured by other housing schemes – although this aspiration was not achieved.'[8] King maintains that 'the city's poorest were excluded from the Trust by virtue of the fact that they would have been in casual employment and therefore not able to make the necessary advance rent payments'.[9] While this is a reasonable assumption, there has been no direct analysis of the people within the Iveagh Trust, or examination of the processes and policies of paying Iveagh Trust rents, in order to test this statement.

This section seeks to understand the demography of the Iveagh Trust residents in terms of economic position and social status, primarily through analysis of a sample of application records and census returns from 1901 and 1911. The application form required potential residents to list their previous addresses, employment and weekly income, along with family size and children's ages. This information, together with analysis of census data of occupation and family composition, can shed light on the economic demography of the Iveagh Trust community, which in turn forms the basis on which the impact of amelioration can be gauged.

3.1. A. Origins – The Application Form

In a manual for superintendents of the Trust's estates, it was maintained that 'if the houses tenanted by the labouring class are to be improved this must be done by building dwellings for this class especially, and not for a higher class, in the hope that those lower on the social scale will have a step up'.[10] Furthermore, it was desired by the Trustees that:

> The whole of the tenements in a building would have, generally speaking, to be occupied by the same class, for there is some difficulty in mixing a lower class, with those in a somewhat higher grade. The latter do not like their introduction and complain. Class does not readily mix with class.[11]

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[8] King, "Guinness is good for you': experiments in workers' housing and public amenities by the Guinness Brewery and Guinness/Iveagh Trust, 1872-1915', p. 134.
[9] Footnote 5 in Ibid., p. 134.
[10] *Manual: indexed manuscript guide compiled on the management of estate buildings, fittings, tenants and staff*, LMA/4656/D/01/001, [LMA], p. 10.
[11] Ibid., p. 19.

The Ethos of Inclusion, as discussed in previous chapters, therefore, was not an all-encompassing one; instead of their concern being religious and political in nature, it was relevant to class and behaviour. Examination of the demographic profile, of the 'class' that prospective Iveagh Trust tenants belonged to, is therefore an essential component in order to determine both the origins and subsequent amelioration of the residents.

The Iveagh Trust's application process was a rigorous procedure. By analysing the forms of first time applicants, it can be understood if such residents were those that the Trust originally intended on housing, by placing them on the working class poverty scale. For this purpose, a sample of 125 application forms were used from the Iveagh Trust private archive.[12] As the archive is unorganised and uncatalogued, it was only possible to use a small sample from what was found.[13] The application records explored here were discovered in a shoe box along with a plethora of transfer requests dating from as early as 1898 to the 1930s. Eighty-one of the 125 first-time application forms were male applicants, while forty-four were completed by females. There is a broad range in terms of the dates of applications, but the majority of the records recovered and used within the sample received are from the period 1913-1923. It is unclear whether this is due to a surge in accommodation needs during this period, or if it is merely a coincidence attributable to the unorganised state of the archive. What is clear, however, is that there was a wide variation in terms of applicants' backgrounds and economic status.

Male Applicants

Of the eighty-one male applications from the sample of 125, 65% dated from the period 1913-23. Sixty men (74%) were married, while sixteen (20%) were 'single to marry'. Only a small minority of single men (2) or widowers (3) sought accommodation from the Trust. Such a predominance of married and soon

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[12] Application Forms, 1899-1939 (BA/BX/2)

[13] Many of the application records that were recovered in the Iveagh Trust private archive were unusable because they were either in too poor condition to be legible, or they were transfer applications, rather than first time application records.

to be married men, reflects an understanding of the Trust's new dwellings as primarily reserved for families.

Origin

The origin of applicants can disclose much about their social position. For this purpose, analysis of the applicants' previous addresses, listed on each application form, has been carried out. Next, each previous address was pinpointed within the relevant District Electoral Division (DED) as set out in the 1911 census. DEDs were the smallest legally defined administrative area with each street listed in the census falling within a particular DED. By analysing the district where the applicants originated, in terms of quality of housing and overall valuation, the socio-economic background of applicants can be further understood.

Four of the eighty-one male applicants listed their previous address as outside Ireland. Two applicants, John H. in 1916 and James M. in 1923 had been living in Scotland; in 1914, Matthew B. had just arrived from the United States and Edward C. had moved to Dublin from London.[14] Only two male applicants travelled from outside Dublin; John G. came from Killarney in 1913 while John D. in 1919 came from Cork.[15] The majority of the applicants (sixty-nine men) resided within Dublin prior to their application into the Iveagh Trust. Chart 11 below illustrates the DEDs applicants were living prior to their application to the Iveagh Trust:[16]

[14] Applications of John H, James M., Matthew B. and Edward C. in Application Forms, 1899-1939 (BA/BX/2).
[15] Applications of John G. and John D. in Ibid.
[16] 69 of the 81 male applicants originated in Dublin. 6 of the 81 male applicants are listed in the 'unknown' category because their address was not listed or handwriting was illegible.

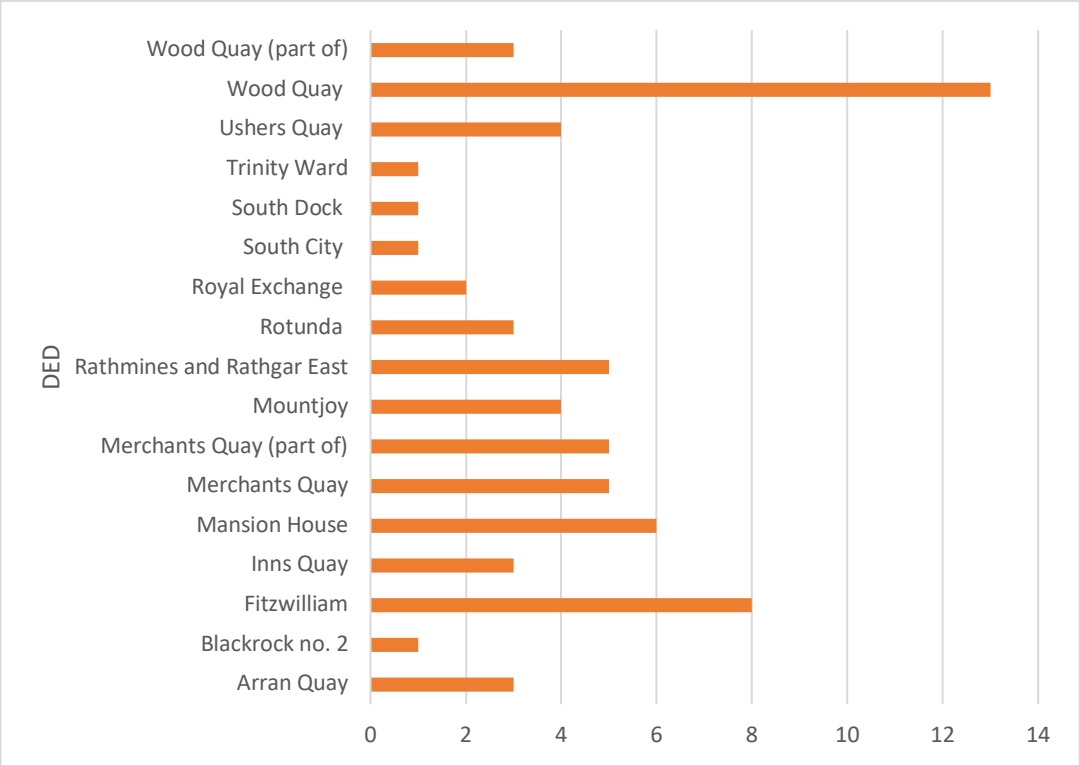

Chart 11: Male Applicants: Origins - DED[17]

As shown in Chart 11, it is immediately clear that the majority of male applicants came from the Wood Quay district, where the Iveagh Trust dwellings were situated. At the close of the nineteenth century, the area was one of the most densely crowded in terms of population. Population density, as Dickson maintains, was extremely high in the south west of the city, and 'as late as 1881 Wood Quay ward contained 152 persons per acre, at a time when the city average was 66.'[18] By the 1911 census, the Wood Quay ward still had one of the highest numbers of one-room tenements, a figure of 1,662.[19] In terms of valuation of land and houses within the ward, Wood Quay was relatively poor, valued at £37,296.0.0.[20]

Other applicants hailed from even poorer districts. The wards of Rotunda (valued at £35,73.5.0), Mountjoy (valued at £45,922.6.0), Merchants Quay (valued

[17] Data taken from Application Forms, 1899-1939 (BA/BX/2)
[18] Dickson, *Dublin: The Making of a Capital City,* p. 311.
[19] Table X, *Census of Ireland, 1911, General Report: Areas, Houses and Population: Also the Ages, Civil or Conjugal Condition, Occupations, Birthplaces, Religion, and Education of the People, Province of Leinster, City of Dublin, 1912.* [Cd. 6049-II.], p. 9.
[20] Table III (Part 1) in Ibid., p. 2.

at £42,999.5.0), Mansion House (valued at £37,166,10.0) and Inns Quay (valued at £45,521.15) were, like Wood Quay, some of the lowest valued wards within the city boundaries.[21] These districts were also among the highest in terms of one-room tenements; with 2,650 one-room tenements in its area, Mountjoy ward had the highest level in the city as a whole in 1911.

Yet, surprisingly, others originated from relatively prosperous areas. Eight male applicants listed their previous addresses as within the Fitzwilliam ward, south of the Iveagh Trust New Bride Street buildings. Compared to Mountjoy ward, Fitzwilliam had only 781 one-room tenements and was valued at £55,763.15.0.[22] Similarly, although in small numbers, there were applicants who resided in the more prosperous districts of South City (valued at £66,677.15.0 with only 258 one-room tenements) and Royal Exchange (valued at £62,799.10.0 with only 253 one-room tenements).[23]

Moreover, a proportion of applicants resided in the prosperous township of Rathmines and Rathgar East, a township valued in 1911 at £90,025.5.0 with only 604 one-room tenements.[24] In addition, two applicants came from other parts of South County Dublin. In 1907, a van driver earning 22/- a week, applied for an Iveagh Trust dwelling listing his current residence in the district of Kingstown No. 4. While the total valuation of Kingstown was on the less wealthy side of the scale, at £45,283.10.0, district No. 4 had only thirty-six one-room tenements. In 1917, a government pensioner, earning 23/9 a week was residing on Temple Road, in Blackrock district no. 2, an area with 107 one-room tenements. The combined value of the three districts in Blackrock was £56,288 in 1911.[25]

This assessment of the origin of 81 male applicants demonstrates that while the majority did come from areas proven to be poor in terms of both valuation and high levels of overcrowding and one-roomed tenements, there were also a substantial proportion of applicants from more well-off areas.

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[21] Table III (Part 1) and Table X in Ibid, p. 2, 9.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Table III and Table X, *Census of Ireland, 1911: Areas, Houses and Population: Also the Ages, Civil or Conjugal Condition, Occupations, Birthplaces, Religion, and Education of the People, Province of Leinster, County of Dublin, 1912*. [Cd. 6049-I.]
[25] Ibid.

Earnings

There was great variation of weekly earnings over the period 1890-1939 for first time applicants. While there was a limit on how much an applicant could earn weekly to guarantee a place within the Iveagh Trust buildings, there are many instances among the sample where applicants declared their wages on a much higher scale. This suggests that even with substantial earnings (from the perspective of the Trust administration), it was still difficult to find good quality accommodation within the city. The limits imposed by the Trust were strict. In many instances, while recognising the applicants' need for accommodation, correspondence between Trust staff and Trustees over an application resulted in the application being denied, primarily due to the applicant's income exceeding the limit. From the sample of male applicants in the period 1890-1912, there were none with excessive wages, and all fit under the earning maximum permitted by the Trust. However, in the period 1913-1923, there was a substantial proportion of 'high' wage earners, ranging from a carpenter earning 36/- per week, a butcher earning 54/- and a library clerk earning 75/- a week.

The two applicants in the sample from the Guinness Trust period of 1890-1902 had declared relatively low wages, however, their previous living situations varied completely. Joseph M., a childless married man worked as a porter, and earned on average 14/- a week.[26] Conversely, it appears that the second applicant, Cornelius C., came from a much more privileged background. Applying in 1898, Cornelius was a messenger in the Four Courts, and while not earning above the limit, at 20/-, he had listed his previous address as Merrion Square in South Dock, where he had lived for the previous 26 years. His previous dwelling was, in the 1901 census, listed as a first-class home, with fourteen rooms and sixteen front-facing windows, that housed only one family of eight. [27] This was worlds away from the last residence of Joseph M. Living at Cross Kevin Street, Joseph was sharing the building with eight other families. Although the building was not regarded as being unsuitable, obtaining a rating of first-class in the 1901 census, in

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[26] Application of Joseph M. in Application Forms, 1899-1939 (BA/BX/2).
[27] Application of Cornelius C. in Ibid; Census 1901, (http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/pages/1901/Dublin/South_Dock/Merrion_Sq__East/1351167/) [date last accessed: 1 January 2019]

comparison to Cornelius's previous address, it consisted of twelve rooms shared between twenty-two people.

Of the eight applicants in the period 1903-12, five were earning a wage below 25/- per week, the lowest of which was John B., a married night porter earning 12/-.[28] The remaining three applicants had no wages. James A., an unemployed coach smith, stated that he was supported by his son.[29] Anthony P., a married father, listed his income as 'private means', while Thomas L., married with an infant son, was unemployed. Although unemployed at the time of application, and with no declaration of alternative income, Thomas L., a member of the Church of Ireland, managed to obtain a place within the exclusive community. By 1911, Thomas's family had grown to four. While his wife stayed at home with the two children, Thomas L. was then employed as a 'gentleman's valet'.[30] Anthony P., a Roman Catholic, was also successful in the application process. He moved into the New Bride Street estate and lived there with his wife, son and seventy-four year old Italian-born father. Both father and son worked as 'general workmen' at the time of the 1911 census.[31] For both periods, 1890-1902 and 1903-12, there were no pensioners among the sample.

As the majority of applicants in the sample are from the period 1913-23, it is no surprise that applicants have the greatest amount of income variance. While the majority of these applicants declared their income as under the accepted threshold on 30/-, as outlined in the Dublin Improvement (Bull Alley Area) Bill, there were instances where income reached well above it.[32] While inflation must be taken into account, certain applicants' income surpassed even the expected inflation rates. For instance, Patrick E., applying in 1922, maintained that he

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[28] Application of John B. in Application Forms, 1899-1939 (BA/BX/2).
[29] Application of James A. in Ibid.
[30] Thomas L., House 175, Iveagh Trust Buildings New Bride Street, Census of Ireland 1911, http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/pages/1911/Dublin/Wood_Quay__part_of_/Bride_Street__New__Iveagh_Trust_Buildings_/76327/ [date last accessed: 10 January 2018]
[31] Anthony P., House 9.2, Iveagh Trust Buildings, New Bride Street, Census of Ireland 1911, http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/pages/1911/Dublin/Wood_Quay__part_of_/Bride_Street__New__Iveagh_Trust_Buildings_/76405/ [date last accessed: 10 January 2018]
[32] Due to the unorganised state of the private archive, particularly in terms of the application records, it was not possible examine if all initial applications were successful. However, this alone reflects the hardship all strata of the working class faced in looking for suitable accommodation.

earned 54/- on a weekly basis as a butcher.[33] Other applicants were also high earners, such as James B., applying in 1918, who earned 61/6 as a blacksmith, William W., 1917, earning 40/- as a coachbuilder, Francis C., 1920, who was a van driver earning 50/- per week and Matthew B., a library assistant earning 75/- who came from a first-class dwelling on Dame Street.[34] Although the Old Age Pension was introduced in 1909, according to the sample, the Trust did not experience a surge in applications by old age pensioners acting as the primary applicant. Of the eight men receiving some kind of pension, six were army pensioners, one was a labourer earning 4/- along with a pension of 14/-, and another was a 'government pensioner, earning 23/9, who was married with three children under the age of five.

Each applicant in the later period of 1924-39 was earning a substantial weekly wage, ranging from a silk weaver in 1927 earning an average of 53/- per week to a painter in 1928 earning 80/- weekly. There was only one pensioner among the sample from this period. In 1937, James. D. listed his occupation at a 'caretaker and pensioner'.[35] He was earning a weekly pension of 10/6 under the Connaught Rangers (Pensions) Act, 1936 for his part in the Connaught Rangers Mutiny in India in 1920. Irish-born soldiers in the 1st Battalion of the Connaught Rangers serving in India, after hearing details of the Black and Tan atrocities in Ireland, revolted against the British Army, leading to two men being shot dead and the leader, Private James Daly, being executed. Those involved in the mutiny were consequently imprisoned. Denied a military pension by the British government, in 1936 the Irish government passed the Connaught Rangers (Pensions) Act to award state pensions to those involved in the mutiny.[36]

James D.'s pension application file details a life of struggle and hardship after the mutiny and consequent imprisonment. In letters written to the pensions board, he declared, 'I am one of the men of the Conn. Rangers that rebelled in India in 1920 on account of the Black an' Tans in this country persecuting our Irish

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[33] Application of Patrick E. in Application Forms, 1899-1939 (BA/BX/2).
[34] Applications of James B., William W., Francis C. and Matthew B., in Ibid.
[35] Applications of James D. in Ibid.
[36] *Connaught Rangers (Pensions Act), 1936,* No. 37 of 1936.

people.' [37] According to his pension application, at age eighteen, James joined the army in April 1918 and arrived in India in October 1919 where he remained on active duty until the mutiny in June 1920. After the mutiny, he was sentenced to twenty-one years imprisonment, and moved to various prisons throughout India and England. In Dagshai prison in India, James maintained that 'the food was very bad and the prison was very damp, the walls were all wet. I was ill-treated by the warder, knocked and kicked and thrown into a cell and put on bread and water for three days when I went on hunger strike'.[38] In Portland Prison in England, where he arrived in January 1921, 'one of our men was ill-treated and we went on strike and we were put on 15 days bread and water, 28 days Skilly diet, 28 days No.2. diet and 3 months solitary confinement. We went through this punishment twice. We were over a week on hunger strike when the punishment was first imposed on us. I was taken out of cell and brought to hospital suffering from pains all over my body.'[39] James D. was removed to the Convalescent Hospital, Parkhurst, Isle of Wight and remained there until he was released in January 1923. His pension file extends throughout the 1930s. Although only in his thirties, James was plagued with many illnesses and physical conditions, that forced the doctors to remark: 'He looked starved and miserable, and appeared to be unable to hold himself upright'.[40] On his medical examination, they remarked that he was 'totally incapacitated with Rheumatism … he walks in bent posture'. Devers was also diagnosed with Gastritis and Gastroptosis: 'he also [started] vomiting ten minutes after eating ordinary food (meat, cabbage, potatoes). He states that he had no abdominal pain, lives on milk, and had continual "heart burn … the applicant is thin and badly nourished'. In addition, James had hallux valgus, a deformity of the feet. While he had no signs of TB, he was further diagnosed with a 'chronic gonorrhoeal infection'. Inspecting officer MacAuley maintained that 'this man's condition is wretched in the extreme'[41].

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[37] Letter from James D., 29 March 1933, 'Pathological Reports', *WCR58: D., James, Military Pensions Record*, http://mspcsearch.militaryarchives.ie/detail.aspx [accessed 10 February 2018]
[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid.
[40] 'Pathological Reports' in Ibid.
[41] Ibid.

Over the course of the application process in the 1930s, James also had multiple addresses throughout Dublin. In many cases, it was commented that he was close to eviction. His application in 1937 to the Iveagh Trust was successful, he resided in 85 D block of the Kevin Street buildings, where he remained until circa 1940. He died in 1958, aged fifty-nine at Connolly Hospital, Blanchardstown, of Pulmonary Tuberculosis.[42]

Female Applicants

Of the forty-four first-time female applicants, thirty-seven (84%) dated from the period 1913-23. While it must be taken into consideration that the sample that contained a high level of female applications dating to the period 1913-23 was merely a coincidence (as this period also had the highest proportion of male applicants in the sample, at 65%), it seems unlikely when the wider political and social events that occurred during this period are taken into account. During the years of the Great War, 1914-18, there is a striking upsurge of female applicants to the Iveagh Trust. Chart 12 below illustrates the breakdown of female applicants during the period 1913-1923, which clearly shows a significant proportion of female applicants during the war years of 1914 -18. These statistics on female applications are compared against the levels of Irish male recruitment during the same period.

[42] 'Certified Copy of Entry in the Register Book of Deaths, 1958', Ibid.

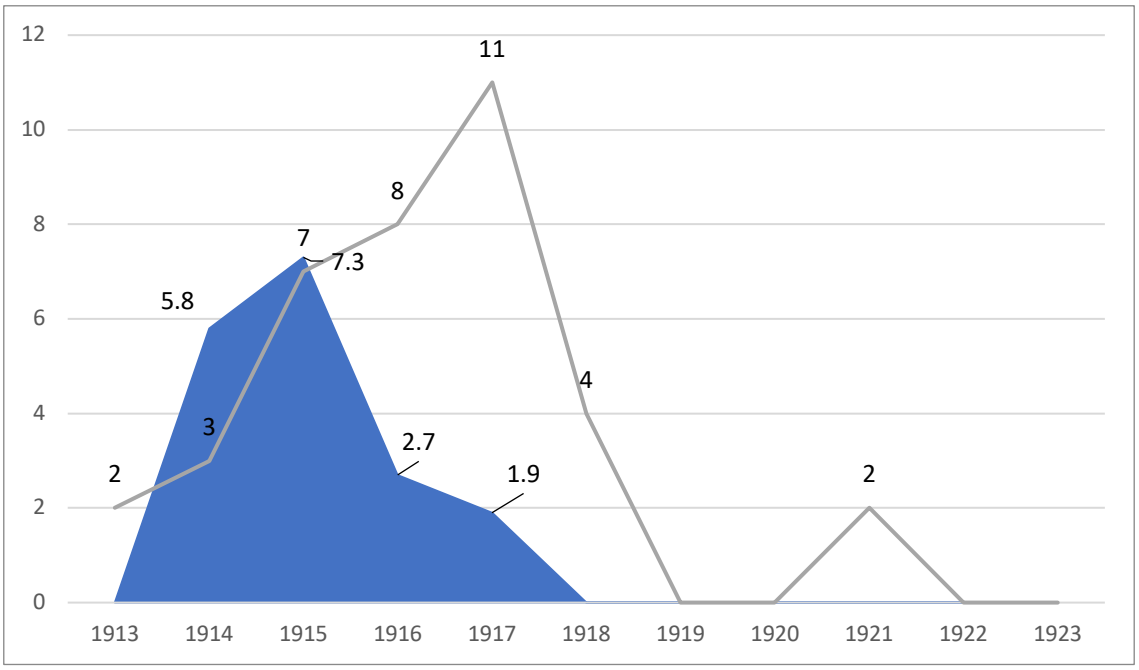

Chart 12: Female Applicants, 1913-23 (grey line) against level of Irish male recruitment during Great War, 1914-18 (blue block) [43]

In addition to the levels of female applicants during this time, an assessment of the female applicant's marital status reveals much about the position of women in society and in the home. It is clear that women only took the lead in matters such as applying for accommodation when their husbands were not present. From the sample, there were no female applicants in the period 1890-1902, while the period 1903-1912 saw only two applicants, a widow and one single woman. The later period of 1924-39 only saw six female applicants in total, four of whom were widows, one was single, (seeking accommodation with her mother) and one was married, who stated that her 'husband was in hospital'.

The period 1913-1923, however, is more striking in terms of the levels of female applicants when analysed against their marital status. In this period, the majority of the women applying were married. Twenty-one of the thirty-seven female applicants during this period claimed to be married; however, eighteen were currently acting independently, listing their status as 'Married HAS –

[43] Data for the levels of Irish recruits for the war during the period 1914-18 was taken from Table 1: 'Men enlisted as a percentage of all men with non-agricultural occupations' in David Fitzpatrick, 'The Logic of Collective Sacrifice: Ireland and the British Army, 1914-1918', *The Historical Journal,* Vol. 38, No. 4 (December 1995), p. 1019.

'Husband at Service', indicating enlistment in the Great War. One woman listed her husband as 'in England'. Only two listed themselves as simply married. A further eleven women were widowed, and five were single. Only one of the single women was applying alone, the other four were accompanied by their siblings.

Origin

The origin of female applicants was generally similar to that of the male applicants. Unlike the male applicants, no women applied who previously had resided abroad. There were three women who had lived outside of Dublin prior to applying, one in Cork and two from Naas in Co. Kildare. Like male applicants, the majority of females had come from similar wards within Dublin.[44]

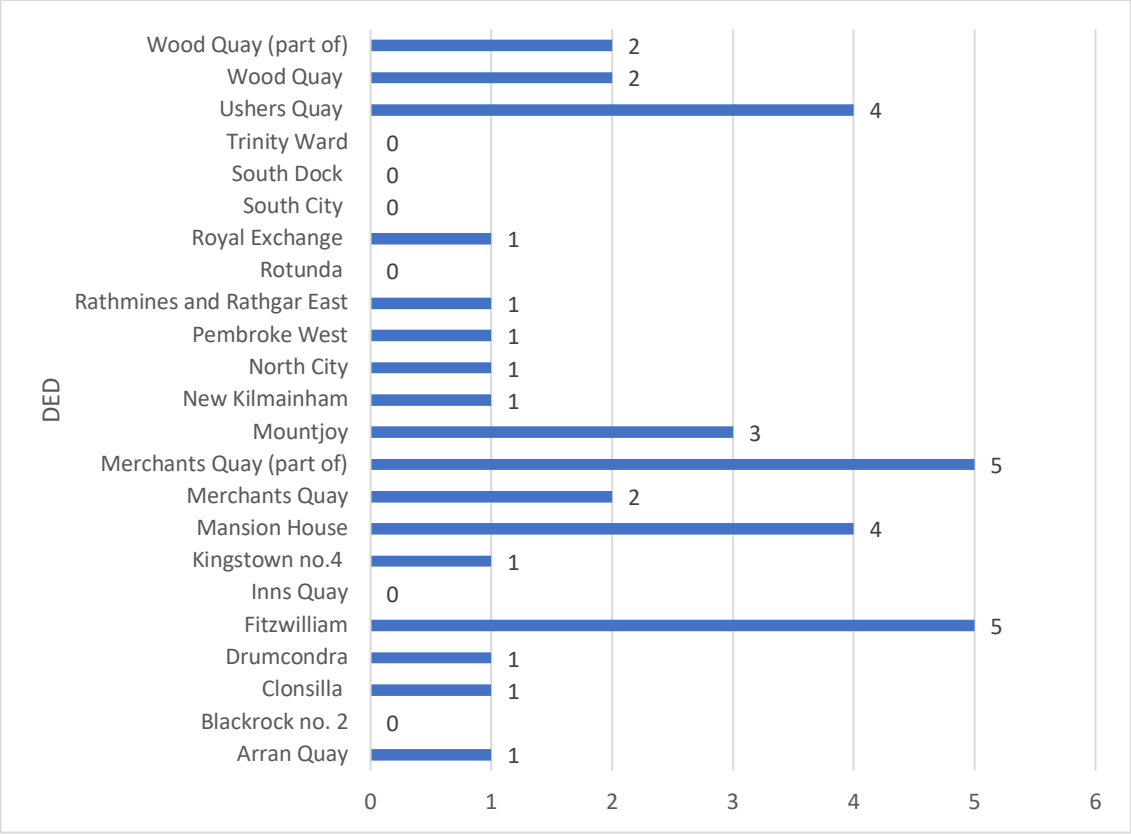

Chart 13: Female Applicants: Origins - DED[45]

In comparison to male applicants, there are more females applying who

[44] Out of the 44 female applicants within the sample, 36 originated in Dublin, three from outside of Dublin and none from outside of Ireland. There were five applicants with unknown origins, primarily due to illegible handwriting.
[45] Data taken from Application Forms, 1899-1939 (BA/BX/2)

came from outside the original city boundary. Seven male applicants came from outside Dublin city proper (five from Rathmines and Rathgar East, one from Kingstown and one from Blackrock), accounting for 10% of the Dublin male applicants. Coupled with this, there were six female applicants (17%) who had previously lived in the suburbs of Dublin, coming from areas such as Pembroke West, New Kilmainham and Clontarf. In addition, one woman originated in Clonsilla, an area within rural county Dublin. The wards within Dublin City proper where female applicants originated from were Merchants Quay (part of) (five applicants) and Fitzwilliam (five applicants). While these were close to the new Iveagh Trust residential dwellings, they were not in the immediate vicinity. Both wards of Wood Quay and Wood Quay (part of) presented fewer female applicants, with just two applicants each.

Earnings

The female applicants had more varied ways of obtaining an income than men. Only nine of the forty four women, (20%), were earning their income because they were employed. Those women whose husbands had gone to war were entitled to a government allowance; fifteen women in the period 1913-1923 listed this as their main source of weekly earnings. Two women, also in this period, received government pensions. In 1914, Rose H., a widow with three children under four years old applied for residence in the Iveagh Trust with weekly earnings of 26/3. Three years later, in 1917, Anne M., a widow with three young children under seven, applied in 1917 who was receiving 31/3 per week.[46] Chart 14 below provides the earning breakdown of the female applicants:

[46] Applications of Rose H. and Anne M. in Application Forms, 1899-1939 (BA/BX/2).

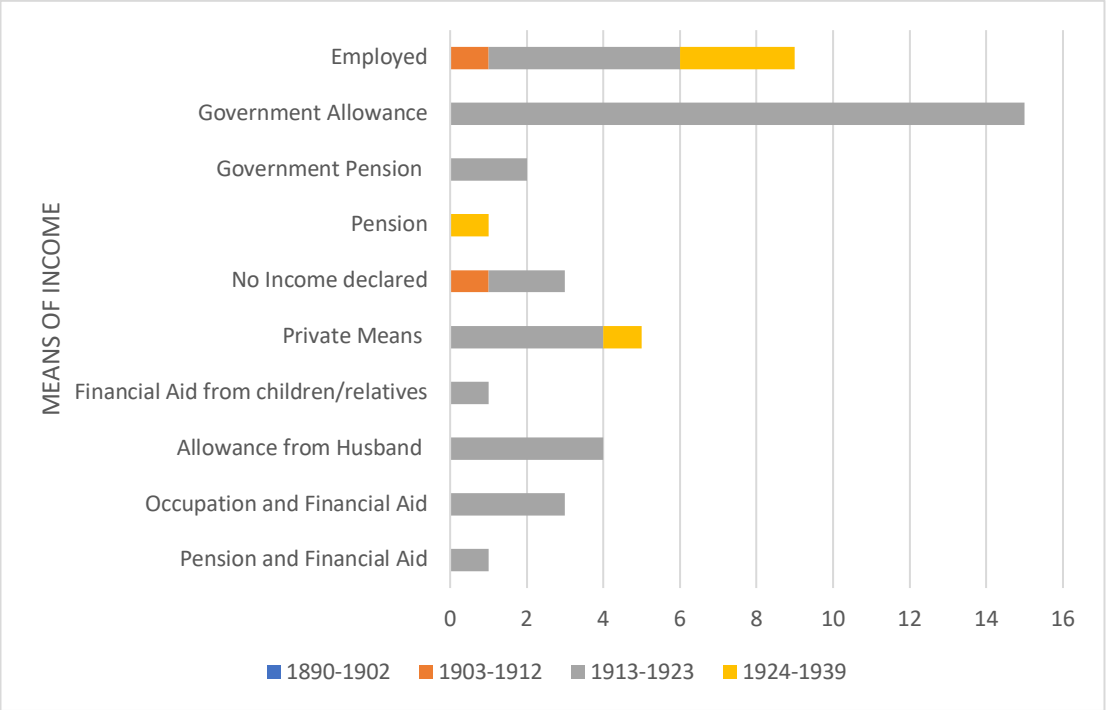

Chart 14: Female Applicants: Income, 1890-1939 (sample)[47]

As shown by the chart above, the greatest source of income for female applicants across the sample was the government allowance for women whose husbands had joined the war effort during the years 1914-18. This period coincides with the largest level of female applicants, further demonstrating the reliance women had on their husbands in all matters relating to external applications for housing. However, as has been shown by historians of women and daily life such as Caitriona Clear, women took on a more dominant and leadership role when it came to the internal space of the home, not only in terms of housekeeping duties, but also in the management of the family's finances.[48]

Through this sample of Iveagh Trust application records, a clear picture of the origins and incomes of the applicants is unveiled. It shows that while there were no cases of applicants in situations of grave destitution, there was still notable variation in the applicants' backgrounds.

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[47] Data taken from Application Forms, 1899-1939 (BA/BX/2)

[48] The role of women in the management of the family is discussed at length by Caitriona Clear, *Social Change and Everyday Life in Ireland, 1850-1922,* (Manchester, 2007); Idem, *Women of the House: women's household work in Ireland 1921-61: experiences, memories, discourses,* (Dublin, 2000).

3.1. B. Economic Demography

The Deed of Trust confirmed Guinness's intention for the housing venture to reach the 'poorer of the working classes'.[49] In the Dublin Improvement (Bull Alley Area) Act of 1899, the Trust's definition of labouring class was made clear, referring to

> Mechanics, artisans, labourers and others working for wages; hawkers, costermongers, persons not working for wages but working at some trade or handicraft without employing others except for members of their own family and persons other than domestic servants whose income does not exceed an average of thirty shillings a week and the families of any such persons who may be residing with them.[50]

This classification of what constitutes the labouring class left a wide pool from which the Trustees could select prospective labouring class residents. It was hoped that by pinpointing an income maximum of 30/- a week, the Iveagh Trust's new dwellings would be reserved for those lowest on the working class scale. However, as previously explained, the mere requirement of paying a weekly rent, on a consistent basis, almost automatically ruled out these very people the dwellings were originally intended for. Many unskilled casual labourers in Dublin worked on an inconsistent, seasonal and temporary basis. Uncertainty eliminated any possibility of casual labourers securing a home.

Therefore, it can be discerned that the Iveagh Trust dwellings were not suitable for those placed on the lower end of the working class scale; the very administrative structures put in place by the Trust on admittance and application for a dwelling quickly vetoed them. Yet, while accepting the failure of the Trust to reach its intended target group, it is still imperative to examine those who did fall within its remit and who obtained a dwelling within the Trust. This can be done by analysing the occupational demography of the 'Heads of Families' from the 1901 and 1911 censuses. Assessment of these census records, from the Iveagh Trust's most prominent estates New Bride Street/Kevin Street and Bull Alley, demonstrate that there was great variation among the occupations held by Head of

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[49] *Deed of Trust, (Dublin Fund).*
[50] *Dublin Improvement (Bull Alley Area) Act, 1899,* [62 Vict.] [Ch. xi]

Families in the Trust community. This section will analyse the listed occupations of the head of each family living in the two estates. [51] It is important to note, however, that analysis of just the head of each family does not give a complete overview of income, as children, other relatives and at times, wives, also worked. The Trustees were also aware of this reality, noting that while the head of the family was most likely the main breadwinner, 'calculations of earnings of Heads of Families' is a fallacious test, [as] the woman earns and the children too'.[52]

Occupational categorisation has been modelled on the suggestions and tables given by W.A. Armstrong, a model subsequently used by prominent social and economic historian of Dublin, Mary E. Daly.[53] The 'Industrial Service' occupation category, which contained those in the banking, insurance and accounts industry with general labour has been divided into separate groups, for the purpose of clarity.

1901

New Bride Street

Of the 208 families counted in the 1901 census as living in New Bride Street, 158 were headed by males, while fifty were headed by females. Overall, the sector with the highest proportion of residents engaged was the Labour sector, at 21% or forty-four people. The majority of these labourers were general labourers, which indicates relatively unskilled and possibly casual types of work. However, there were also five 'Corporation Labourers' as well as others engaged in specific industrial labourer such as iron-works and a mineral water factory.

The Manufacturing Sector, which encompasses an array of subsectors such as furniture, machinery, dressmaking and food preparation, was the second highest sector that those in the New Bride Street dwellings were employed in, at

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[51] Analysis for New Bride Street is for 1901 and 1911. For Bull Alley, analysis is only for 1911, because the buildings were not completed/inhabited by the time of the 1901 census.

[52] *Manual: Indexed manuscript guide compiled on the management of estate buildings, fittings, tenants and staff, 1889-1890,* LMA/4656/D/01/001 [LMA)], p. 139.

[53] W.A. Armstrong, 'The use of information about occupation', E.A. Wrigley (ed), *Nineteenth-century society: Essays in the use of quantitative methods for the study of social data* (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 191 – 254; Daly, *Dublin: The Deposed Capital* (Cork, 1984).

thirty-four people, or 16%. This sector would include the 'artisan worker' type of resident that King made reference to.[54] Within this section of the Iveagh Trust community, occupations included tailors, bakers, silk weavers and a diamond polisher. Twenty-five people, or 12% of the New Bride Street community in 1901, were occupied in the Transport Sector, in jobs such as railway porters, van drivers, carters and messengers. The Industrial Sector was relatively small at only seven people, or 3%, of the community, mainly clerks.

Going against the definition laid out in the Dublin Improvement Bill, there was a small but noteworthy presence of those working in the Public Service and Professional sector, at thirteen people. This sector included those engaged in public service on various levels, as well as professions such as law, medicine and education. Within this sector, the majority were employed in the military or police. Similarly, the Domestic Sector comprised 9% of the Heads of Families, employed as waiters, gardeners, a school janitor and a coachman. The Dealing Sector held a similar proportion of the community with 9% (eighteen people). This included those working in a draper's store, to general commission and commercial agents and travellers, as well as two butchers. The sector with the smallest proportion of New Bride Street heads of household involved was agriculture, with only four people.

Among the female head of families, the majority (twenty-seven women - 54%) listed no occupation. The remainder of this group engaged in occupations within either the 'Domestic' or 'Manufacturing' sectors. In the Manufacturing sector, the majority of females were engaged in occupations related to dressmaking. In addition, there was one general machinist and a 'paper bag maker'. In the Domestic Service sector, the majority were housekeepers. However, there were also two laundresses, a charwomen, and two women listed as 'office cleaner' and 'working in office'. A full breakdown of the occupations and their proportion related to the New Bride street community of 1901 is available in Appendix 3.

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[54] King, "Guinness is good for you': experiments in workers' housing and public amenities by the Guinness Brewery and Guinness/Iveagh Trust, 1872-1915', p. 134.

1911- New Bride Street and Bull Alley

Analysis of the occupations of each 'Head of Family' in the 1911 census for the New Bride Street complex demonstrates a close alliance with the definition of 'labouring class' given in the Dublin Improvement (Bull Alley Area) Bill of 1899. By 1911, of the 308 families listed in the New Bride Street estate, eighty two (27%) were female with the remaining 226 (37%) male.[55] The pattern of employment in 1911 remained relatively the same as in 1901, with Labour and Manufacturing retaining the highest proportions, at 18% (fifty-six men) and 17% (fifty-two men) respectively. Similar occupations in each sector are also noted. There were, however, some new occupations. In the Manufacturing sector, along with the popular professions like tailoring, there was a boat maker and a carver, a coffee roaster and a clock maker. As with the 1901 census, the majority of females acting as head of their family (forty-four females or 54%) had no listed occupation. In addition, five females with no current occupation listed their means of income. One had 'private means', three were retired (ladies' maid, teacher and domestic nurse) and another listed her occupation as 'daily work'. As in 1901, those females who were working were engaged primarily in the Domestic Service and Manufacturing sectors, employed as dressmakers, domestic servants and cooks. Only one woman was occupied outside these two sectors. Mary H., a twenty-seven year-old single woman originally from Kildare, was a 'Book Keeper'. She lived with her two sisters who were also listed as Bookkeepers, and had a visitor staying, Elizabeth B., (18), a 'draperess'.[56] A full breakdown of the occupational categories apparent in the New Bride Street estate in 1911 is also available in Appendix 3.

From the detailed figures of occupational demography for New Bride Street for 1901 and 1911, found in the appendix, it can be discerned that only two sectors, agriculture and dealing, showed a decline amongst the community. In 1901, it has been noted that four males were engaged in agricultural work. By 1911, only two males worked in the sector. Similarly, residents working in the

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[55] Bride Street, New, Iveagh Trust Buildings, Census of Ireland, 1911 – [http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/pages/1911/Dublin/Wood_Quay_part_of)/Bride_Street_New_Iveagh_Trust_Buildings_/] [last accessed: 27 March 2018].

[56] Mary H., No. 301, Iveagh Trust Buildings, New Bride Street, 1911, *Census of Ireland 1911* [http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/pages/1911/Dublin/Wood_Quay__part_of_/Bride_Street__New__Iveagh_Trust_Buildings_/77608/] [last accessed: 27 March 2018].

dealing sector declined by 33.3% over the ten year period. By 1911 there were no commission agents or commercial travellers living in the New Bride Street estate. The vast increase in those listed in the 'Other' sector, which includes those with no occupation, retirees, unemployed and pensioners, is attributable to the higher percentage of women in 1911 acting as Head of Family. Moreover, the amount of those listed as 'unemployed' doubled in the ten year space, albeit only from three to six.

While the largest sector among the New Bride Street portion of the Iveagh Trust community was the Labour Sector, primarily 'general labourers', the Bull Alley community had a slightly different occupational make-up. The proportion of residents working in the Labour Sector was much smaller than in the older estate. Instead, the largest employment sector in this portion of the community was the Manufacturing Sector. Residents in this occupational sector made up 28% (sixty-six heads of families) within the Bull Alley community. Here, the two most populous subsectors were 'Dress', comprising tailors and boot makers, and 'Printing', which included book binders and printer compositors. Additionally, there were individuals employed as blacksmiths, bakers, and one jeweller, a gun smith and a wicker chair maker.

The number of men living in Bull Alley employed in the Labour Sector in 1911 was much lower than the proportion in New Bride Street and Dublin as a whole. As Mary E. Daly has demonstrated, the percentage of those occupied in General Labour within Dublin was 19.5%. In the New Bride Street section of the community, the proportion in 1911 was 18% (fifty-six men). By contrast, only 13% (thirty-one men) of the Bull Alley community belonged to this sector. Eighteen of these listed their occupation as 'General Labourer' or 'Labourer', while thirteen documented themselves as labourers in specific industries, ranging from the breweries, biscuit factories, distilleries, and cooperages, to building and iron works. This underrepresentation of the Labour sector in the Bull Alley portion of the community would indicate that the Iveagh Trust community was not one homogenous social group. This demographic distinction between the two estates suggests a differentiation in status among the community, with those living in Bull Alley higher on the working class scale. These two groups were differentiated by

economic standing and separated by estates. Further exploration into why this occurred is discussed in the following subsection.

The second highest occupational sector in which the Bull Alley Heads of Families were employed was the Building Sector, at 16% (thirty-seven men). The majority of those within the Building Sector worked in Operative occupations, such as plumbing, painting, bricklaying and carpentry. However, there was one resident who listed a managerial occupation within this sector, as an engineer.

The Public Service and Professional Sector also featured in the Bull Alley estate. In 1911, the sector accounted for 10% of the Bull Alley heads of family (twenty-four of 232). In the public service portion of the Bull Alley estate, there were eleven postmen, two of whom were also army pensioners; a soldier; two policemen; two municipal officers; one clerk at the general valuation office; and five military pensioners (four from the army and one from the navy). In addition, two people were listed under the professional sector, an engraver and a druggist, the latter recorded on the census return that he was a 'Registered Druggist, Pharmaceutical Society of Ireland'. Similar occupations were evident in the New Bride Street estate, with the majority being postmen, corporation employees, army or police pensioners, as well as serving soldiers and a 'harbour constable'. Three men were classified under the professional section of this sector – a National Museum attendant, a musician, and a church sexton.

The Bull Alley estate also housed residents belonging to the 'Other' occupational sector, such as pensioners (non-military), retirees, and those unknown or 'none', at 10.3% or twenty-four people. Not one person in the Bull Alley community listed themselves as 'unemployed' and the majority of those listed with no occupation were female-headed households. 8% (nineteen) of the Bull Alley community in the domestic service sector, including three domestic servants, three waiters, three coachmen, a gardener, a valet a canteen manager and a hairdresser. This sector also included those employed by, and living in, the Iveagh Trust, such as the stoker and superintendent of the Iveagh Baths, caretakers, an attendant and a laundry man. In addition, the Transport Sector, which included occupations such as messengers, porters, carters, van drivers and railway stokers was 6.5%, or fifteen people of the Bull Alley community.

There was a much smaller proportion of families headed by women in the Bull Alley estate in 1911, in thirty families out of a total of 232 (13%).[57] Similar to the New Bride Street female population, the majority, nineteen women, were not in employment. The remaining eleven women worked in similar industries to their New Bride Street counterparts. Eight were engaged in the manufacturing sector and one in the domestic service sector. Two women were in the dealing sector, one who dealt clothes and another who sold dairy products. Only one of the women was listed as married; three were widowed, and seven were single.

Chart 15 illustrates the proportion of Heads of Families' in both Iveagh Trust estates, New Bride Street and Bull Alley, in each occupational sector. It also reflects the disparity between the two estates in terms of certain sectors, with the newer Bull Alley estate having a high proportion of workers in the Manufacturing, Building and Public Service and Professional sectors than its counterpart in New Bride Street.

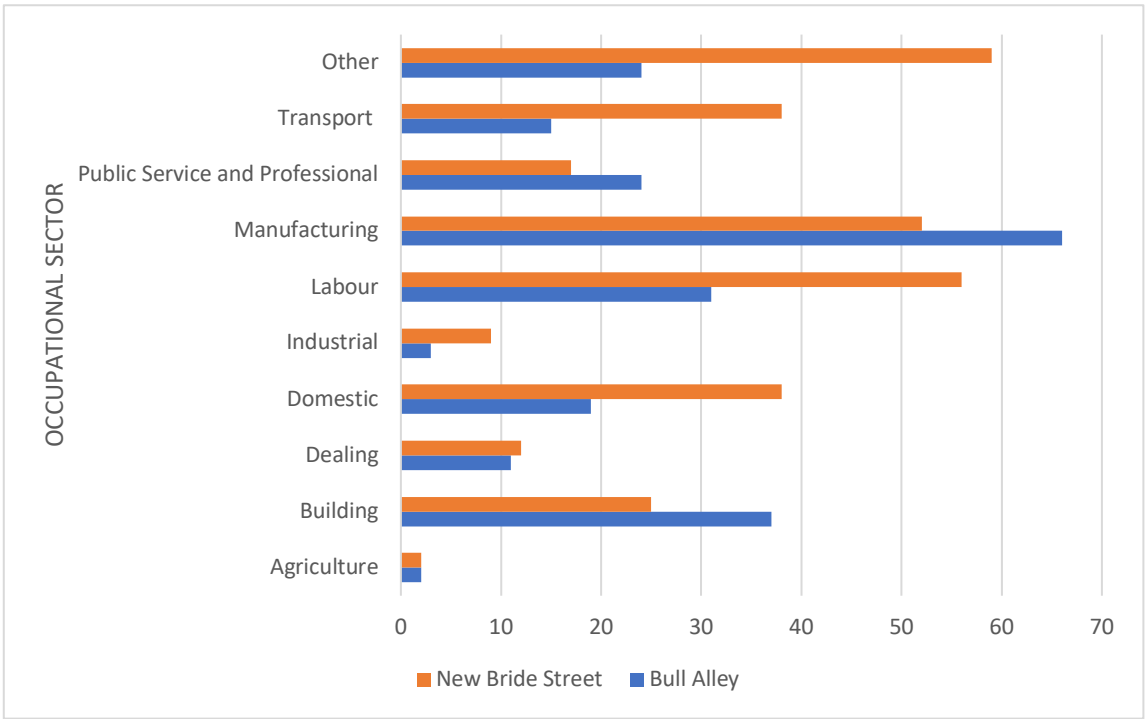

Chart 15: Occupation: New Bride Street vs. Bull Alley estate, 1911, Census of Ireland, 1911.

[57] As construction on the Bull Alley estate only began in 1903, the first and only census currently available for this section of the community is the 1911 census.

3.1.C. The Iveagh Trust Rent Policy

On the Trust's establishment, Guinness maintained that it would serve to accommodate the poorest of the working classes and believed that the very structure and organisation of the Trust itself, would make this feasible. To enable this, there were limits placed on prospective residents in terms of how much they earned on a weekly basis. While this was a logical move in an attempt to reach the lowest stratum of the working class, the weekly payments of rent, which were necessary to maintain a dwelling in the Iveagh Trust, would have immediately eliminated a substantial portion of Dublin's working class population, who relied on sporadic bouts of work in unskilled and low paying jobs. Therefore, the poorest of the working class as well as the even lower 'underclass' of vagrants, the jobless and the idle, would have been unable to obtain residences in the Iveagh Trust purely on economic terms.

As has been demonstrated, the Iveagh Trust residents varied greatly in their economic and occupational backgrounds. While all profiles examined can be considered members of the working class, the data indicates that there were few that could be considered the poorest of the poor. This was mainly due to the requirement that rent was to be paid in advance, each week. While the rent of an Iveagh Trust dwelling were considered reasonable (Bull Alley dwellings ranged from 2/6 for a single-roomed dwelling, 3/6 for two rooms and 5/- for three rooms), the uncertainty among families concerning job security and consistency in pay, coupled with the requirement to log employment information, such as company, address of company and weekly wages, resulted in the failure of many poorer working class families in applying or in their refusal if they did. However, among the private archive correspondence regarding applications, there were no instances that could be recovered where the Trust had refused admission based on levels of low wages. More usually, it was because the applicants' wages were too high. Applying in January 1901, Edward G. was a young married man working as a locksmith. There was a slight alteration to the application form; in the place of 'weekly wages' was 'weekly wages earned by the Family', reflective of the difficulty of calculating total family earnings. Edward declared he was earning 28/- per week; however, after some investigation, Captain Bonner forwarded the

application to Captain Vickers in London, after finding out that 'this applicants' earnings, including overtime, for the past 16 weeks amount to £23.10.4 = an average of £1.9.5 a week' although, he added, 'he is well recommended'.[58] Vickers replied that 'this case is scarcely one for submission'.[59] By the time of the census in April 1901, Edward, age twenty-two, was living with his wife and two young children in a one-roomed tenement (rated a first-class class dwelling) on Hill Street in the DED of Rotunda. Such a case shows the complexities of the application system and the economic politics of the housing problem.

It has been noted that the residents of the Iveagh Trust community were not, by any means, one homogenous group in economic terms, as was demonstrated in the occupational demography of residents in the two primary estates, New Bride Street and Bull Alley. The New Bride Street estate had a higher rate of labourers acting as the primary wage earner; in Bull Alley, those working in the manufacturing sector, primarily artisans, were the majority. This divergence can be explained by the Trust's policy of wage limits that differentiated based on the estate that the prospective resident was applying for. While the imposition of the maximum wage limits was a practical exercise aimed to reach the poorest classes, it posed significant, and unexpected, problems. In 1904, it was decided to raise the wage limit of applicants to 36/- per week 'for both associated and self-contained tenements' in the Bull Alley estate as there was a notable problem in filling them. This increase in the wage limit was to be fixed only until the buildings were fully occupied. [60] The result was, however, subtle differences in the community make-up between the two estates, with those in Bull Alley tending on average to earn higher wages and have more secure employment opportunities.

The fact that the Iveagh Trust administration had difficulties filling the new Bull Alley dwellings to capacity raises a further question. Why, given the public outcry on the housing conditions of the working classes, and the lack of enough dwellings to curb the vast overcrowding throughout Dublin, were new dwellings designed for this class specifically lying empty? It is probable that, from the

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[58] Application of Edward G., Application Forms, 1899-1939 (BA/BX/2)
[59] Ibid.
[60] Meeting 3 March 1904, *Iveagh Trust Minute Reports, 1903-1939,* BA/BX/1/A

perspective of the average working class family, the wage limits were too restrictive, resulting in them failing to apply for housing in the new estate at all. Another possible reason for this struggle to occupy to capacity could be related to the other regulations the Trust made necessary, in terms of conduct once in the new dwelling, further deterring prospective applicants. This line of inquiry will be explored further in the following chapter.

The analysis carried out in this section of origin, income and occupation of residents of the Iveagh Trust, for the most part, reflects assumptions made by King and others regarding the actual residents and their economic and class make-up. However, it is also important to add that not all residents were one homogenous group of 'artisan workers'. Instead there were great variances throughout both estates, on income type (through wages, pensions, or private means), marital status and family composition, and origin. These nuances in the community make-up must be carefully considered, particularly when analysing the impact such philanthropic amelioration had on its recipients, in terms of health and environment.

3.2 Structural Amelioration

It was widely understood in the late nineteenth century that there was a connection between the ramshackle state of Dublin city, the inadequate and insufficient housing conditions found within its boundaries, and the ill-health of the city's dwellers. It was no secret that the slum, in its overcrowded, dilapidated, dirty and ill-ventilated state, was a potential death trap. Yet the eradication of the slum proved to be a most challenging task. The Public Health Inquiry of 1900 reaffirmed the Royal Commission's conclusions made two decades before, finding that 'the most injurious influence upon the health of Dublin to be the state of the tenement houses, their overcrowding, their defective drainage, and the absence of any organised system for the removal of filth from their surroundings'.[61] Moreover, a report in 1914 to inquire into the housing conditions of the working class in Dublin came to practically the same conclusion – that the housing question

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[61] *Report of the Committee appointed by the Local Government Board for Ireland to inquire into the Public Health of the City of Dublin* [cd.244] [1900] xxxix, p.7.

was still one of paramount importance, stating that action should be taken in the form of 'the breaking up of the tenement house system as it exists'.[62]

The differences between the tenement house system and the slum must be highlighted. A tenement is any building that has multi-occupancy; the new dwellings that the Iveagh Trust built were tenement buildings. Over time, however, the 'tenement' came to mean the 'slum'. The recognition of the slum as the birthplace of sickness, disease and premature death, as well as, at least according to some, the homestead of moral and social evil amongst the poor themselves, was the reasoning behind the desire to demolish the system to its very foundations. A fresh start, however, was not possible on any level, either by public or private means. Tenement dilapidation was found throughout the entire city and with it being the main kind of housing provision for the majority of the working classes, such an ideal 'fresh start', if the finances were available (which they were not) would result in mass displacement.[63] Instead, both public and private schemes focused on specific areas to demolish and rebuild. For the Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust's schemes, as previously discussed in Chapter Two, work was concentrated around the St. Patrick's Park area of the Liberties. In each case, careful planning was carried out when designing the dwellings, not merely in an architectural sense, but also in other ways in order to eliminate, or at least minimise, any possibility of the spread of infection and disease amongst the resident working classes who would reside in these new dwellings. Assessment of the structural form of the Iveagh Trust buildings is therefore imperative when examining any kind of physical amelioration of the working classes.

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[62] *Report of the Departmental Committee appointed by the Local Government Board for Ireland to inquire into the Housing Conditions of the Working Classes in the city of Dublin,* [cd. 7273] [1914], xix, p. 20.

[63] There was a substantial deficit in the finances of the Corporation due primarily to the city boundaries of Dublin pre-1900. Surrounding Dublin city proper (enclosed by the two circular roads, north and south) were independent townships, such as Rathmines and Rathgar, and Pembroke. These independent townships were exempt from taxation from the Corporation. In the Third Commissioners report on the housing of the working classes in 1885, it was recommended that 'the extension of the boundaries of Dublin would give uniformity in the system of taxation', *Third Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners for inquiring into the housing of the working classes (Ireland),* [cd. 4547], 1885, p. 191.

3.2.A. Slum Structure

> I condemn the whole of the tenement system now existing. It breeds misery; and worse, it causes a great waste of human life and human force; men, women and children can never rise to the best that is in them under such conditions. The whole environment is too sordid and mean for the great majority to resist; men and women sow the wind of bad habits, and the children reap the whirlwind of cruelty and neglect in youth, ruined manhood and womanhood in the years to come.
> *Mr. John Cooke, Honorary Treasurer of the NSPCC.*[64]

The structure of the slum, and its influence on its inhabitants was the subject of much debate throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. While there were many, like John Cooke, who maintained the slum was the breeding ground of vice, bad habits and poverty in general, there were others who were determined it was the character of the individual who made the slums. In his report into Dublin Housing in 1918, Peter Cowan, chief engineering inspector for the Local Government Board, questioned, 'do the slums make the slum people, or do the slum people make the slums?'[65] Men such as Rev. W.J. McCreery, from St. Werburgh's parish, maintained that it was the latter, stating, 'the slums are the results, not of the high rents and of the low wages, but the results very largely of the unfortunate habits of the people … It depends upon the man'.[66]

Regardless of how the slums originated, it was evident that something had to be done. In their manual complied on the establishment of the Guinness Trust in 1889/1890 which outlined with precision how each estate should be built, how they should be fitted and how they should be run, the Trustees noted the grave dangers of overcrowding.[67] They maintained that the practice of overcrowding

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[64] Witness Testimony of Mr. John Cooke, Honorary Treasurer of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, *Appendix to the report of the departmental committee appointed by the Local Government Board for Ireland to inquire into the housing conditions of the working classes in the city of Dublin (Minutes of evidence, with appendices)* [cd. 7317] [1914], p. 103.
[65] P.C. Cowan, *Report on Housing* (Dublin, 1918), p. 8.
[66] Witness Testimony of Rev. W.J. McCreery, St. Werburgh's parish, Dublin, *Appendix to the report of the departmental committee appointed by the Local Government Board for Ireland to inquire into the housing conditions of the working classes in the city of Dublin (Minutes of evidence, with appendices)* [cd. 7317] [1914], p. 200.
[67] *Manual: Indexed Manuscript guide on the management of estate buildings, fittings, tenants and staff, 1889-1890,* LMA/4656/D/01/001 [LMA], p. 87.

'lowers the standard, makes people depressed, weary and deteriorate in health. It reduces stamina and produces consumption and general debility whereby life is shortened' while also noting how overcrowding contributes largely to 'the spread of epidemic and contagious diseases'.[68] The thronged accommodation of Dublin's lower classes largely resulted from their structural arrangements as devolved and disintegrating eighteenth century Georgian homes of the elite – a stately house designed and constructed for one family was never supposed to attune itself a shelter to twenty. Indeed, the tenement house was a quick fix to an extensive and highly problematic housing crisis, which proved itself impractical in all aspects. A blend of old, unsuitable structures coupled with the problem of overcrowding, resulting from an immense influx of citizens to the urban capital, created a high-density death trap. The lack of physical space consequently compelled families to take up residency in one room of a tenement house, so much so that Dublin was singled out as 'a city of one-room tenements'.[69] With its unsafe structures, lack of sufficient sanitary facilities and its capacity for overcrowding, the slum was a detrimental threat to public health.

The substandard structural arrangements of the tenement house system of Dublin, as Prunty outlines, 'prevented the provision of separate sanitary accommodation for each family, and turned these houses into sanitary nightmares'.[70] These 'sanitary nightmares' were described in various reports and witness accounts on the housing of the working classes, shedding light on a very murky reality:

> It is no uncommon thing to find halls and landings, yards and closets of the houses in filthy conditions, and in nearly every case human excreta is to be found scattered about the yards and on the floors of the closets and in some cases even in the passages of the house itself.[71]

Such scenes encountered by examiners (usually a member of the middle class acting as social investigator) were at times considered attributable to the low

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[68] Ibid.
[69] Ibid., p. 3.
[70] Prunty, *Dublin Slums, 1800-1925*, p. 112.
[71] *Report of the Departmental Committee appointed by the Local Government Board for Ireland to inquire into the Housing Conditions of the Working Classes in the city of Dublin,* [cd. 7273] [1914] xix, p. 5.

morals and filthy habits of the working man himself. In the mid-nineteenth century, a pamphlet issued by the Society for Improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes entitled 'Home Reform' maintained that

> However much the physical and moral evils of the working classes are justly attributable to their dwellings, it is too often the case that more may in truth be imputed to themselves. For surely the inmate depends less on the house, that the house on the inmate; mind has more power over matter than matter over mind. Let a dwelling ever so poor and incommodious, yet a family with decent and cleanly habits will contrive to make the best of it, and will take care that there shall be nothing offensive in it which they have power to remove.[72]

Here the idea of respectability came into play once again: it was argued that 'a sober, industrious and cleanly couple will impart an air of decency and respectability to the poorest dwelling' while 'the drunkard, the spendthrift, or the gambler, will convert a palace into a scene of discomfort and misery'.[73] Even into the first decades of the twentieth century, it was divulged at lectures given by social investigators that it was still common to find 'occupiers who get their dwellings in fair order, but by dirt and destruction allow them to become the worst of slums'.[74] However, in some cases at least, it was also identified that 'in spite of many drawbacks, an effort is made by occupants to keep their rooms tidy, and the walls are often decorated with pictures'.[75] Whether commentary on their living situations were deemed by investigators as positive or negative, whether blame for the state of the house was allocated either to the house itself or to those who lived within its walls, there is no question that the home of the working class was considered a physical edifice, representative of the working class beings themselves.

While many of these social commentators offered critiques on the modes and manners by which the poor lived, as well as the physical structures that they

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[72] 'Home Reform: or, Advice to the Labouring Classes on the Improvement of their Dwellings, and the Keeping them in Good Condition', pamphlet by Society for Improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes [c. 1855], pp. 3-4.
[73] Ibid. p. 4
[74] Charles Dawson, Esq., "The Dublin Housing Question –Sanitary and Insanitary', *Journal of Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland,* Vol. 13, Part 93, (Dublin, 1912/3), p. 93.
[75] *Report of the Departmental Committee appointed by the Local Government Board for Ireland to inquire into the Housing Conditions of the Working Classes in the city of Dublin,* [cd. 7273], 1914, xix, p. 5.

did live in, the amount of action which followed was minimal in comparison to the amount of commentary. The poor were still obliged to live in homes 'which reek of disease, and sap the very strength and vitality out of the wretched people, thereby imperilling the health of the whole community', regardless of cause.[76] The decaying structures of these buildings, partly from their age and partly from over- or misuse, and their unsuitability as a stable familial environment that kept out disease was represented both figuratively, with the excessive high mortality rate amongst those who were subjected to them, and literally, with tenement houses themselves crumbling to their foundations – such as the 1913 tenement collapse in Church Street that killed seven people, where 'old and young men, women and children were crushed into lifelessness, and up to the small hours of this morning the dead and dying were being dug out of the piles of debris of wood, earth and stones'.[77]

3.2.B. Iveagh Trust Structure

The Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust project was a marked improvement to the ramshackle homes found throughout Dublin. The acknowledgment of the severe inadequacy of the current tenement house system allowed for intricate and mindful consideration when planning the design and structure of the Trust's buildings; in all the estates built since the establishment of the Iveagh Trust, careful forethought was given to the construction and maintenance of the dwellings, ensuring their suitability as healthy and safe homes for potential residents. Like many others during this industrial and individualist age, those responsible for the administration of the fund saw an inextricable link between quality accommodation, better health and increased productivity. To them, it was simple: 'better houses, better health, more earnings, less rates'.[78]

In the structural planning process of the buildings, the Trustees' prime focus was on air and light. 'Pure air, and plenty of light', the Trustees maintained,

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[76] Quotation from Sir. Lambert Ormsby in Charles Dawson, Esq., 'The Dublin Housing Question – Sanitary and Insanitary' in *JSSISI*, Vol. 13, part 93, p. 93.
[77] *Irish Independent,* 3 September 1913.
[78] *Manual: indexed manuscript guide compiled on the management of estate buildings, fittings, tenants and staff, 1889-1890*, LMA/4656/D/01/001 [LMA], p. 59.

'are essential, and will cure many evils – if the pure air can get in, it will drive the foul air out.'[79] There is almost a spiritual notion to this resolution, of good versus evil. It was deemed paramount that the utmost amount of light could be obtained for all amenities and areas – 'rooms, stairs, closets, baths' to have a positive effect.[80] As well as the advantages that pure air would bring to the health of the residents, the constant supply of pure air, via proper ventilation, had economic benefits. According to the manual, if pure air was able to flow through the residences on a continual basis, this would allow the rooms to be small, meaning that 'the cost of the ground is considerably reduced, if you can have more rooms and more tenants, by less space being taken up and yet provide sufficient pure air for all.'[81] 'Breathing space', as they referred to it, was the necessary amount of cubic space in relation to the supply of air; the manual specified that 300 cubic feet per adult was necessary in terms of enough space to get sufficient air, any bigger and air would be 'unused'.[82] If breathing space was designed and constructed correctly, as in, the 'atmosphere is renewed ... with sufficient frequency, by the regular admission of fresh air … without drafts', such 'evil influences could be removed' so much so that under such conditions even 'the Black Hole of Calcutta itself, so far as atmosphere is concerned, would have been pure and healthful'.[83]

With ventilation and plenty of light ordained, focus was drawn to the floors of both public spaces and the private dwellings themselves within the buildings. While the floors of the passages, washhouses and water closets were to be of 'concrete, cemented over and sloped to the exits' the floors of the private dwellings were to be fireproof, either 'made with iron inserts and concrete blocks, or wet concrete poured in [with] the surface … covered with laths and planking.[84] In terms of the exterior of the block residences themselves, their form would consist of flats of '4 to 7 storeys' in straight rows, with only slight projections or indentations'. The space in between each block would be concrete or asphalt, the object being to 'seal the surface, and prevent gases, or other exhalations' from

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[79] Ibid., p. 1.
[80] Ibid., p. 69.
[81] Ibid., p.2.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid., p. 10-11.
[84] Ibid., p. 45.

being omitted through the ground. The blocks on the estates being designed in such a way would allow for air and light to flourish throughout. It would 'induce free play of wind and sunlight on almost every part' in comparison to the 'lofty squares, where wind and sun cannot act'. [85]

The Trustees, having the exterior designed in such a way, had made provisions for the children of the estate. It was paramount that children living within the Trust dwellings would be safe (while the estates were not 'lofty squares', they were enclosed and gated communities - saving the children from playing on the open streets) but also that they had access to fresh air. In doing so, this would 'free the breathing space in rooms'.[86]

If the Trust were to build up, as opposed to across, there needed to be provisions to get down in case of fire. Regulation of the dwellings was also of paramount importance to the Trust, making the buildings fireproof, or, if that failed the installation of fire escapes was deemed necessary.[87] The tenement buildings, in their unregulated and devolved state rarely, if ever, had such provisions put in place.

3.2.C. A Structural Saviour or a Structural Disaster?

Although the careful planning of the structure and design of the buildings, as well as the consistent maintenance of the dwellings, was carried out, structural problems, or even disasters, did occur. One of the most significant of such was the death of two female residents of the Bull Alley estate on Christmas Eve, 1913. James A. Bonner, Secretary of the Iveagh Trust, reported the incident in a letter to Addison, Trustee.[88] According to Bonner's letter, while the cause of death was unknown, a gas leak was suspected.[89] The two women, Mrs Jane Westgate and her daughter, Mrs Annie Craig, were found by the Superintendent; they were rushed to Meath Street Hospital, but it was determined that Mrs Westgate, aged 60, was

[85] Ibid., p. 1, 9.
[86] Ibid., p. 122.
[87] Ibid., p.48.
[88] Letter from James A. Bonner to Lieut. Col. G.W. Addison Re Gas leak in Trust Buildings, 26 December 1913, No. 3822-3823, BA/SR/9/BUNDLE/MULTIPLE/6 [ITA].
[89] Ibid.

'extinct' for more than twenty-four hours and Mrs Craig less than an hour.[90] On 30 December, legal advisor and close friend to Edward Cecil Guinness, Fred Sutton, also wrote to Addison. In his letter, he explained that while a breakage in a pipe had been located by the Gas Company, it seemed 'unlikely that the gas could possibly pass through one house, namely, the back portion of the block, and find its way into one of the rooms in the front portion, which had its own supply from Bride Street'.[91] Rather, Sutton suggested that,

> The tenants had a gas stove, and worked a penny in the slot machine, they might possibly have left the gas jet in their bed-room open while they were cooking their evening meal, and, the door being shut, might not have noticed the leakage, and subsequently have found that gas had escaped, have turned off the cock, and gone to bed without sufficiently ventilating the room.[92]

Nonetheless, from 6 January 1914, an inquest was held into the two deaths before Louis A. Byrne, Coroner for Dublin. Fourteen witnesses were called before this inquest, and it was thus ascertained that both women 'died from asphyxiation with carbon monoxide gas which is a constituent of coal gas'.[93] The transcripts from the inquest demonstrate the necessity of action upon the dual-responsibility of both tenants and staff for the maintenance of the buildings, indicating that without this relationship, the efficient running of the Trust, including the maintenance of its physical structures, would prove impossible. While multiple witness statements insisted that residents had smelled gas from as early as 22 December, this warning was not acted upon. One resident reported that he, his wife and his children all fell ill and were vomiting due to the smell, but while 'the escape of gas was opposite my door, I did not report this case to anyone'.[94] Similarly, the Superintendent of the Buildings, insisted that 'the first complaint of

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[90] 'The Examination of Constable Peter O'Connor 162A of Chancery Lane, City of Dublin' in Inquest into Deaths of Mrs. Westgate and Mrs. Craig, 27 December 1913, No. 3840 BA/SR/9/BUNDLE/MULTIPLE/6 [ITA].
[91] Letter from Fred Sutton to Lt. Col. G.W. Addison, Re. Mrs. Mary Jane Westgate and Mrs. Annie Craig, tenants of H 2. Iveagh Buildings, 30 December 1913, No. 3832-3833 BA/SR/9/BUNDLE/MULTIPLE/6 [ITA].
[92] Ibid.
[93] Inquest into the Deaths of Mrs. Westgate and Mrs. Craig, 27 December 1913, No. 3837 BA/SR/9/BUNDLE/MULTIPLE/6 [ITA].
[94] 'The Examination of [resident] of H Block Iveagh Buildings, City of Dublin in Ibid., 3842, Ibid.

gas was on 24th December 1913'.[95]

However, criticism concerning the buildings themselves also took form during the inquest; when addressing the jury at the inquest, Mr Brady, the representative of the victims' next-of-kin, described the rooms of the Iveagh Buildings as 'bandboxes', coaxing the *Weekly Irish Times* to report that 'Much had been said about tenement property, but rooms in Gardiner street were palaces compared with those in the Iveagh Buildings, where it was a wonder people were not smothered without any escape of gas at all'.[96] Indeed, compared to today's standards, the Iveagh Trust dwellings, were small; a single-roomed dwelling was about 144 square feet, the two-roomed dwellings had a common area of about 164 square feet with a bedroom of 120 square feet, while the three-roomed dwelling had an average area of 164 square feet for the common room and bedrooms were about 102 square feet.[97]

Criticism of the structure of the Iveagh Trust dwellings were also voiced on a more general basis. Rev. P.J. Monahan, curate in St. Francis parish, had nothing but compliments for the work of the DADC, a company in which both Edward Cecil Guinness and his brother, Lord Ardilaun were major shareholders in. However, when it came to the Iveagh Trust buildings, he maintained that

> The artisans' dwelling company, have of course provided admirable habitations, and Lord Iveagh has provided habitations of another kind, but which I would not consider the last word. [98]

Similarly, comments were made about the Iveagh Trustees focusing too much of their attention on the outside of the buildings, in terms of architectural and decorative design, and not enough on the structural interiors and facilities. During the housing inquiry in 1914, Charles Cameron, Medical Officer for the city of Dublin, was asked whether he had heard that 'the Iveagh Trust people put all their money on the outside, and did not pay sufficient attention to the inside'.

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[95] The Examination of … Caretaker of Iveagh Buildings, City of Dublin' in Ibid. No. 3845, Ibid.
[96] *Weekly Irish Times*, 10 January 1914.
[97] Aalen, *The Iveagh Trust,* p. 39.
[98] Witness Testimony of Rev. P.J. Monahan, C.C., *Appendix to the report of the departmental committee appointed by the Local Government Board for Ireland to inquire into the housing conditions of the working classes in the city of Dublin (Minutes of evidence, with appendices)* [cd. 7317] [1914] p. 118.

Cameron replied, stating 'I do not like to disparage the Iveagh Buildings, but in the first place I disapprove altogether of the sanitary accommodation being common to several families'[99] According to Cameron, the buildings were substandard compared to the Corporation's newest builds, where 'each tenement had its own sanitary accommodation, and that is what I desire to see in Dublin.'[100] The installation of common water closet arrangements was one feature that was questionable when analysing the structure of the Iveagh Buildings as it was reiterated throughout social investigations, papers on recommendations and in comments made by authority figures on the subject that they were not conducive for the eradication of infection and maintenance of cleanliness. Another complaint was regarding the size of the dwellings, which some thought were still too cramped. Patrick J. Dillon, Assistant Superintendent of the Corporation Dwellings, was asked during the inquiry whether a 'steady working man' was content to remain within the Iveagh Buildings. He replied that 'he is content to remain until he can get a cottage'.[101]

Corporation Buildings – the Bride's Alley Scheme

The Corporation's working class housing scheme of Bride's Alley is an excellent example of municipal housing to compare with the Iveagh Trust's dwellings, both in terms of structural amelioration of landscape and of dwellings for the poor, but also in terms of demography, primarily because of proximity of the two communities.

The Corporation blocks of Ross Road, Bride Street and Nicholas Street, that were part of a scheme first adopted in September 1893 known as the Bride Alley Scheme, serve as an excellent example for the purpose of a structural comparative with the Iveagh Trust residential estates.[102] This scheme was built just north of the

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[99] Witness Testimony of Sir Charles A. Cameron, *Appendix to the report of the departmental committee appointed by the Local Government Board for Ireland to inquire into the housing conditions of the working classes in the city of Dublin (Minutes of evidence, with appendices)* [cd. 7317] [1914] p. 52.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Witness Testimony of Patrick J. Dillon in Ibid., p. 38.
[102] Report of the Artisans' Dwelling Committee, No. 33, in re, the scheme for providing Artisans' Dwellings on the Bride's Alley area in *Dublin Corporation Council Report Book,* 1896 (Vol. 1, p. 543) [DCA]

Iveagh Trust's most ambitious and well-known estate, Bull Alley. The new blocks would still be able to accommodate 198 families in twenty-six 'houses' with eighty families housed in three-roomed flats and 118 families in two-roomed flats.[103] Clearance of the area and construction on the Bride's Alley Scheme began in 1895, and was designed by Charles James McCarthy, the City Architect who held the post from 1893 until 1921 and was responsible for over 1,700 working class dwellings during this period.[104]

Unlike the Trust's Bull Alley estate, the Corporation's Bride's Alley scheme focused solely on residential dwellings and eliminated all proposals for the erection of shops at the site, chiefly due to the Local Government Board's refusal to sanction loans for the erection of such buildings. Yet, like the Trust's residential blocks, there were to be common open spaces left behind the dwellings and the buildings themselves would have a 'somewhat ornamental character'.[105]

The Corporation dwellings consisted of red brick blocks with pitched slate roofs with red-brick chimney stacks.[106] The Nicholas Street flats were eight blocks, four storeys in height and either three-bay or four-bay in width. To the east, the four blocks of Bride Street were of similar composition: they were four storeys high and five wide. The eleven blocks of Ross Road were only three storeys in height and ranged from three bays to five in width. Each block's windows were two-over-two pane timber sash windows, with granite sills.[107] Described by the

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[103] *Report of the Artisans' Dwelling Committee, in re alternative Building Scheme, Bride's-alley Area.* [1898, Vol. 3, no 129] p. 389 [DCA].
[104] McCarthy, Charles James, (1857-1947), *Dictionary of Irish Architects, 1720-1940*, http://www.dia.ie/architects/view/3746/MCCARTHY-CHARLESJAMES [date accessed: 20 May 2017].
[105] *Report of the Artisans' Dwelling Committee, in re alternative Building Scheme, Bride's-alley Area.* [1898, Vol.3, No. 129], p. 388, [DCA]
[106] Nicholas Street Flats, Blocks 9-26, Ross Road, Dublin 8, Dublin City, *National Inventory of Architectural Heritage*, http://www.buildingsofireland.ie/niah/search.jsp?type=record&county=DU&regno=50080691. [date accessed: 18 April 2017]; 'Blocks 1-4 Bride Street, Werburgh Street, Dublin 8, Dublin City' in *National Inventory of Architectural Heritage*, http://www.buildingsofireland.ie/niah/search.jsp?type=record&county=DU&regno=50080690. [date accessed: 18 April 2017]; 'Ross Road Flats, 1 – 11 Ross Road, Dublin 8, Dublin City' in *National Inventory of Architectural Heritage*, http://www.buildingsofireland.ie/niah/search.jsp?type=record&county=DU&regno=50080689. [date accessed: 18 April 2017]
[107] Ibid.

National Inventory of Architectural Heritage as 'relatively plain', the Corporation's project was definitely less decorative than its Iveagh Trust neighbour, although a similar style was followed. Like the Bull Alley Dwellings, the Corporation dwellings incorporated curved Dutch gables along the roofs. It was decided in its design proposal stage that the 'front and gable walls will be faced with Portmarnock red bricks' with 'the window cills, strong-courses and copings of gables and parapets' to be of 'breeze concrete, finished with cement and coloured red'.[108]

The analysis of the 1911 census returns of both the residents in the Corporation dwellings and the Iveagh Trust dwellings shows that in terms of family size, the Corporation housed bigger families (at an average of 5.7 people per family) compared to the Iveagh Trust (which had an average of 4.00 people per family). However, there were big families in both, which no doubt had an impact on density and overcrowding. In the Corporation estate, there were eighteen families with eight people, eight families with nine people, five families with ten people, and one family with twelve people living in either two- or three- roomed dwellings. Conversely, in the Bull Alley estate, there were much smaller numbers of big families – thirteen families consisting of seven people, seven families of eight people, three families of nine people, one family of ten people and one of twelve people. Yet, it is also worthy to consider that the Iveagh Trust had incorporated strict rules against large families occupying certain dwellings, noting on the application form that overcrowding was forbidden; in the Corporation dwelling's case, it is not known whether similar rules were imposed.[109]

The Iveagh Trust's Bull Alley's dwellings were organised within eight vast 'high-rise' residential blocks with an average of 116 people or twenty-nine families per block, according to the census in 1911. The Corporation blocks were much smaller in terms of scale and density; the 776 residents in the 1911 census were spread across twenty blocks. This dispersal of the Corporation community across a much smaller scale housing estate resulted in an average of 38.8 people and 6.7 families per block. Accordingly, it is worth noting that although the Corporation

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[108] *Report of the Artisans' Dwelling Committee, in re alternative Building Scheme, Bride's-alley Area.* [1898, Vol. 3, no. 129] p. 389 [DCA].
[109] Application Forms, 1899-1939 (BA/BX/2)

dwellings tended to house larger families, the architectural and structural planning of the dwellings made the blocks, on a whole, less dense compared with the Bull Alley buildings.

While there were cases where criticism regarding the infrastructure of the Iveagh Trust dwellings were strong, these were few and far between. For the most part, the structural innovation of the Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust buildings was applauded, with many reports stating that housing trusts of the 'Guinness stamp are the quickest and safest methods of dealing with the question of the proper housing of the artisan class' and 'a boon to tenement lodgers'.[110] The practice of inspection and continual maintenance apparent in the Iveagh Trust was also commended, with the necessity for the supervision of the sanitary action of the poor in relation to their housing becoming an emerging realisation by the twentieth century. Charles Dawson, reading to the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland in 1913, stressed the necessity of supervision:

> These houses are under supervision of proper caretakers, a precaution by the way I deem absolutely necessary where there are many occupiers, and, where, as in most cases, the adults must be absent for the greater part of the day. This supervision insures cleanliness and the protection of property.[111]

It was, therefore, a combination of clever architectural and structural design with strict sanitary supervision that brought the Iveagh Trust one step closer to amelioration of the individuals under their care in terms of habit, health and home.

3.3. Amelioration of Health

The quest to rid Dublin of the 'great blot' of the slum was a pressing one, primarily due to the understood connection between dirt and disease, a relation that manifested in the form of the slum and the subsequent high death rate during this period. Since the labouring classes' dwellings were understood to be

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[110] *The Irish Times,* 10 January 1914; Witness Testimony of John Devlin, *Appendix to the report of the departmental committee appointed by the Local Government Board for Ireland to inquire into the housing conditions of the working classes in the city of Dublin (Minutes of evidence, with appendices)* [cd. 7317] [1914], p. 105.
[111] Charles Dawson, Esq., "The Dublin Housing Question –Sanitary and Insanitary', *JSSISI,* Vol. 13, Part 93, (Dublin, 1912/3), p. 91.

detrimental to their overall condition – physically, socially, morally and spiritually – this chief objective was translated as the construction of better housing. It was, as social investigator George Godwin declared, 'a fight against dirt, disease, disorder, degradation and death; - a fight in a Holy War'.[112] The house was a breeding ground; what it bred, however, was dependent on its condition. If the house was a decrepit one, it would breed dirt, disease and vice. If the house became a 'home', was structurally sound, safe, dry and clean, it would breed an atmosphere of healthfulness, family and virtue. As outlined in the previous section, the Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust buildings were considerable structural improvements in comparison to the tenement houses in the surrounding neighbourhoods. Nevertheless, it is essential to question whether these structural improvements made an impact on the labouring classes who lived within them, particularly in terms of an improvement in physical health. Did the new Iveagh Trust dwellings breed disease and death or health and vitality? In other words, how effective was the Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust in achieving one of its primary aims – the amelioration of 'condition' of the poorest classes?

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Dublin's mortality rate was at levels unprecedented in comparison to other urban towns and cities within the British Isles, and even further afield.[113] This was to be expected: with a city consumed by dirty and dangerous living conditions, disease and death were imminent. Overcrowding fuelled the spread of disease, and in the early twentieth century, not much had changed in this sphere, with nearly two-fifths of families in Dublin occupying single rooms – a statistic reflective of the city's poverty.[114] Epidemic diseases that came in waves such as typhus, typhoid and cholera were commonplace; however it was tuberculosis (TB) that was the leading cause of death in nineteenth and early twentieth century Ireland. Unlike epidemic diseases, TB developed more slowly and less dramatically, with symptoms such as fatigue,

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[112] George Godwin, *London Shadows* (London,1854), p. vii.
[113] In the year 1899, Dublin's mortality was higher than it had been in any year since 1880, with 33.6 per 1000. This figure is compared to other cities, such as those within the British Isles and the United States, and was only slightly below the death rate for Calcutta, India. These comparative figures are found in Joseph V. O'Brien, *"Dear, Dirty Dublin" A City In Distress* (Berkeley, 1982), p 102.
[114] Sir Charles A. Cameron, *How the Poor Live* (Dublin, 1904), p 1.

weight loss, haemorrhaging, the production of sputum, night sweats and the characteristic cough would eventually lead to the destruction of the lungs. From the 1880s, TB in England, Scotland and Wales was in decline yet it was on the rise in Ireland, peaking in 1904 when 12,694 people died of the disease, accounting for almost 16% of all deaths in Ireland. It was a disease particularly destructive for young life; between 1881 – 1890, 45.6% of deaths in the 25-35 age-bracket were caused by TB.[115] Working class Dubliners, living in tenements across the city, were especially prone to infection and death from contagious diseases, because of their damp and cramped inhabitations that accelerated its spread but also because of the likelihood that they had weakened immune systems due to malnutrition. Cameron noted in 1885 that 'it is mainly attributable to the deteriorated constitutions of the population, a deterioration which is the result of inferior and insufficient food, poor clothing, and misery generally for generations, resulting in sickly, feeble, and strumous conditions of the body, rendering the poor people obnoxious (to use a medical term) to disease, and unable successfully to resist its inroads and consequences.'[116]

The Trust's structural amelioration of the buildings and sites within the Liberties was one step towards a more healthful environment for its inhabitants. However, to assess whether an improvement of physical health of the Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust tenants was achieved, it is imperative to analyse the mortality rates documented in the Trust's annual reports from its first year of occupancy, 1893, to the end of the period 1939 in order to gain concrete evidence of an improvement of health or otherwise. To corroborate these mortality rates, a comparison has been made against those in the surrounding areas from the Registrar General Reports for the same period. For clarity, these statistical assessments have been broken into three subsections. These are 1. The Guinness Trust period, 1893-1902; 2. The Iveagh Trust period, 1903-1922; and 3. The 'New Ireland' phase, 1923-1939. It is important to note that the death rates published in

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[115] Greta Jones, 'The Campaign against Tuberculosis in Ireland, 1899-1914', Jones and Malcolm (eds.), *Medicine, Disease and the State in Ireland, 1650-1940* (Cork, 1999), p. 159.
[116] Witness Testimony of Sir Charles A. Cameron, *Third Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners for inquiring into the housing of the working classes (Ireland),* [cd. 4547], [1885], p. xii.

the Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust annual reports were for all tenants under their care and were not broken down in any year on an estate-by-estate basis. Still, a glimpse of the health of the housing institution as a whole is useful when questioning the capacity of such philanthropic enterprises in ameliorating the working classes' physical condition.

The Registrar General Reports for the period 1893-1939 offer great insight into the health and social progress of the nation, not only in terms of supplying statistical figures of birth, marriage, migration and death rates, but also in terms of cause of death, whether any epidemics spread during the year, and if so, in what area they flourished in.[117] For the purpose of situating the death rates of the Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust in context, statistical comparisons have been made, where possible, with both the immediate neighbourhood, Dublin South City District No. 3, the wider neighbourhood, Dublin South, and the entire Dublin area, which after 1901 was categorised as Dublin County Borough.[118] Where the Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust rates show an increase or surpass its neighbourhood, the Registrar General reports have been useful in discovering if there was a particular reason for this: was there an outbreak of cholera in the area during this year, or an increase in deaths by influenza in the neighbourhood? Analysis has also been made to see, in years that the Guinness Trust estate death rates were exceptionally low, if there were any infectious outbreaks or epidemics in other areas, that the Trust managed to avert. If so, this will suggest that, even though there was an epidemic affecting many parts of the city, there is a possibility that the Trust managed to curb it within its own community – through sanitary regulations as well as the overall health of their tenants.

Due to the unorganised nature of the private archive of the Iveagh Trust, the logs of infection, which would have been of much use for this particular task,

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[117] *Annual Reports of the Registrar General (Ireland*), 1893 – 1921, *Annual Reports of the Registrar General for Saorstát Eireann,* 1922 – 1926, *Annual Reports of the Registrar General,* 1927 - 1939.

[118] The establishment of Dublin County Borough was a result of the extension of the city of Dublin's boundary lines in 1900, incorporating the once independent townships of Drumcondra, Kilmainham and Clontarf. The southern townships of Rathmines and Pembroke managed to avoid amalgamation with the city until 1930; Dickson, David, *Dublin: The Making of a Capital City* (London, 2014), p. 417.

have not been recovered. That said, much can still be discerned from data that is available both within the Trust along with the help of external resources. Mortality rates, as maintained by O'Brien, 'were the standard by which the general public judged the effectiveness of the public health administration of the municipality.'[119] Here too, mortality rates will be the primary medium whereby analysis of the effectiveness of the Iveagh Trust, in terms of the buildings themselves, their effective management and sanitary controls, can be discerned. Overall, it can be confirmed that while Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust mortality rates for the entire period 1893-1939 followed a similar pattern of flux to that of the immediate neighbourhood and the wider Dublin area, for the most part at least, the mortality rates within the Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust remained consistently lower – a telling sign that they were effective. However, it is important to note that, the Trust had an additional advantage that kept mortality statistics lower than surrounding areas. Firstly, as has been demonstrated, the Trust's residents were not the poorest of the poor, as had been intended. Therefore, there is a possibility that those who first entered the Trust were healthier and came from better accommodation. Secondly, all people who sought to become members of the Iveagh Trust community were required to be vaccinated prior to their application, resulting in the curbing of the spread of infection from the outset.

3.3.A. The Guinness Trust Years, 1890-1902

The 'Guinness Trust years' concern the decade 1893-1902. This first phase corresponds with the period when the Trust was first established; it was also when the Trust was under administration from London, as the Guinness Trust (Dublin Fund). In 1893, the first inhabitants of the Guinness Trust moved into their new abodes in Thomas Court. While these unsatisfactory buildings were sold shortly after, analysis of the death rates is still imperative. This phase also includes the first inhabitants of the vast New Bride/Kevin Street complex first occupied in 1894. By calculating mortality rates from figures published in the Iveagh Trust annual reports, compared with rates of the immediate locality, that is, the registrar district 'Dublin South City No. 3', the wider Dublin South area, and the entire rate

[119] J.V. O'Brien, *"Dear, Dirty Dublin",* p. 102.

for Dublin as a whole, an idea of their amelioration for the period can be understood.

During this first phase of 1893 - 1902, mortality rates for the Iveagh Trust dwellings followed a similar pattern to those in the surrounding district no. 3, but for the most part, the mortality rates of the Iveagh Trust remained consistently lower. In only two instances, the mortality rate of the Iveagh Trust buildings went above that of the immediate neighbourhood, in 1900 and 1902. When comparing the Guinness Trust (Dublin Fund) with Dublin South as a whole, again, mortality rates in the Guinness Trust follow a similar pattern as when analysed with District no 3. Moreover, in the years 1900 and 1902, the death rate surpasses the figure given by the Registrar General for the area. Table 7 displays the comparative death rates for the entire period, with the exceedingly high Iveagh Trust death rates in 1900 and 1902 highlighted in red.

In 1898, the mortality rate within the Trust community was exceptionally low, at 5.93 per 1,000, compared to 27.88 per 1,000 in the immediate vicinity, Dublin South City No. 3. The Registrar General report for this year disclosed that there was an increase in deaths by typhus, enteric fever, whooping cough, diphtheria, and influenza, which caused 2,277 deaths nationwide, and diarrhoea and dysentery, which caused 1,824 deaths (30% above the average in the decade 1888-97).[120]

[120] *Registrar General Report, 1898,* pp. 8-16.

Table 7: Mortality Rates: Guinness Trust vs. wider districts, 1890-1902

Year	*Guinness Trust (Dublin*	*Dublin South City No. 3*	*Dublin South*	*Dublin**
1893	6.00	27.02	26.25	25.2
1894	12.77	23.00	24.37	23.4
1895	22.53	26.29	27.56	26.2
1896	13.63	21.92	24.44	23.2
1897	15.52	27.88	28.79	27.1
1898	5.93	18.21	26.16	25.0
1899	15.16	25.96	30.12	28.3
1900	28.89	25.71	28.28	25.3
1901	12.56	23.44	24.07	26.6
1902	33.77	22.68	27.69	26.9

*From 1901 Dublin death rate was for Dublin County Borough, reflecting the amalgamation of the surrounding townships as part of the Dublin Boundaries Act 1900.

Chart 16 below illustrates the findings of comparative mortality rates between the Guinness Trust (Dublin Fund) residents in Thomas Court and New Bride Street dwellings and the surrounding vicinities. It is clear from chart 16 below that the Trust had a much lower death rate. While the rates for South City No. 3, Dublin South and Dublin follow almost identical patterns, the Trust's mortality rates are in hyperactive flux yet do remain at a consistently lower level, save for 1900 and 1902.

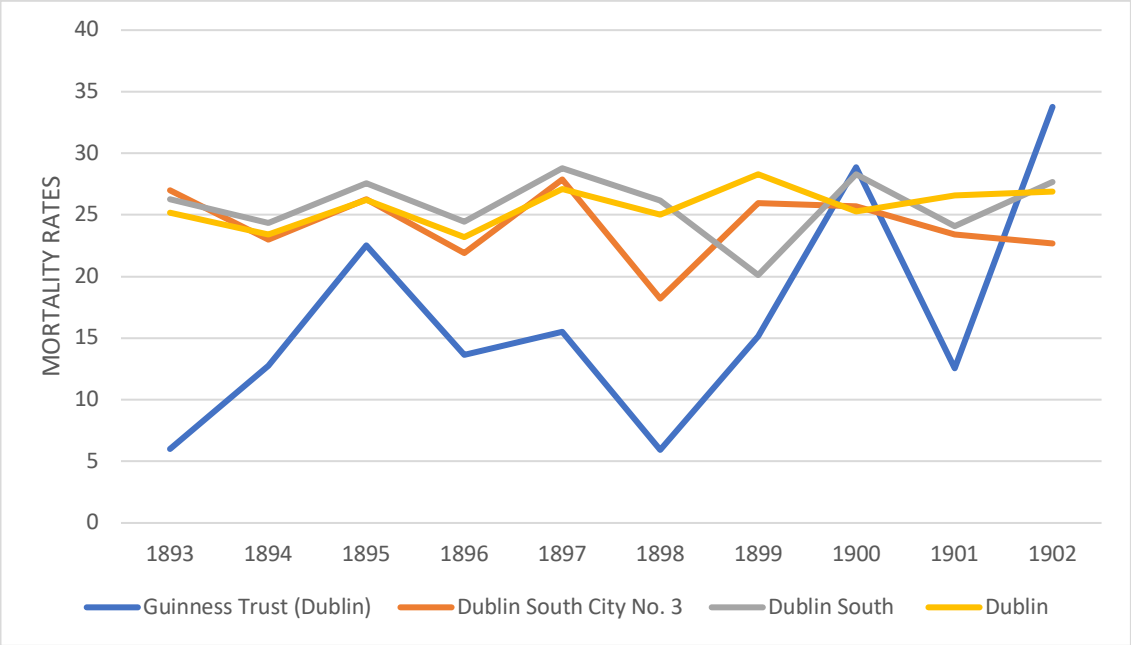

Chart 16: Mortality Rates: Guinness Trust (Dublin) vs. wider districts, 1893-1902

What could have caused these dramatic spikes? In 1900, there was an outbreak of influenza in Ireland, which caused 4,677 deaths compared with 1,716 deaths the previous year.[121] The high death rate in the Trust's buildings in this year could be attributed to this flu outbreak, as deaths by other infectious killers, such as whopping cough, enteric fever and diphtheria had all declined.[122] Yet, as the cause of death of each individual within the Iveagh Trust is not known, it cannot be confirmed conclusively. That said, it is worth noting that influenza had killed 314 people in Dublin in 1900, the majority of whom were over 55 years of age.[123] After death by old age, tuberculosis and related diseases were the second most prominent killer, accounting for 12,859 deaths, or 14.7% of total deaths in 1900. This high death rate from TB is also likely attributable to the high death rate in the Iveagh Trust this year.

In 1902, there was no such influenza outbreak, only 77 people in Dublin dying from the disease compared with 314 in 1900. Death in Ireland by forms of tuberculous diseases was prominent, at 11,837 deaths nationwide.[124] Dublin

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[121] *Registrar General Report*, 1900, p. 9.
[122] Ibid., pp. 13-14.
[123] Table XII in Ibid., p. 15.
[124] Tuberculous diseases include Tuberculosis (TB), phthisis, Tuberculous meningitis and Tuberculous peritonitis.

County Borough had the highest rates nationwide, at 4.7 per 1,000.[125] The high figure made tuberculous diseases the primary killer in Ireland for 1902, overtaking death by old age, which accounted for just under 10,000 deaths (2.21 per 1,000 nationwide).[126] In addition, there was a slight increase in death by measles, at 1,076, an increase of 617 from the previous year.[127]

3.3.B. The Iveagh Trust Years, 1903 – 1922

Mortality Rates, 1903-1912

1903 began a new phase in the Trust's history, with the severance of ties between London and Dublin, and the establishment of the Iveagh Trust, a separate entity from the Guinness Trust operating in London. Mortality rates for the period 1903-1912 follow a similar pattern to that of the period 1890-1902, with the Iveagh Trust mortality rates markedly lower than that of the wider locality, both Dublin South City District No. 3 and Dublin City as a whole. However, in both cases, the year 1911 saw a surge in the death rates in the Iveagh Trust, although this surge did not surpass that of the wider Dublin area death rate. The mortality rate of the Iveagh Trust in 1911 is calculated at 27.28 while Dublin South is 27.490 and South City No. 3 district is markedly lower, at 23.9. The Registrar General Report for 1911 highlighted the noticeable decrease in a number of diseases contributing to death, such as measles, whopping cough, influenza, tuberculosis, pneumonia and bronchitis. However, there was a pronounced increase in scarlet and enteric fever, diphtheria and cerebro-spinal fever.[128] Whether this had any influence on the residents in the Trust cannot be determined, as there is no comment made by the Trustees in the minutes or annual reports in relation to whether there was an outbreak of any disease or any extenuating circumstances to explain this abnormally high death rate. Table 8 displays the death rate comparison for the period 1903-1912:

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[125] *Registrar General Report*, 1902,p. 13, 16.
[126] Diagram 2 in Ibid.
[127] Ibid., p. 9.
[128] *Registrar General Report,* 1911, p. xiv.

Table 8: Mortality Rates: Iveagh Trust vs. wider districts, 1903 - 1912

Year	Guinness Trust (Dublin	Dublin South City No. 3	Dublin
1903	14.49	23.38	26.18
1904	18.88	23.14	27.74
1905	12.49	22.54	23.87
1906	13.91	21.96	26.13
1907	16.29	23.04	27.30
1908	17.05	22.16	26.31
1909	11.83	29.52	25.74
1910	8.32	22.23	25.05
1911	27.28	23.90	27.49
1912	14.31	23.45	25.83

The surge in mortality rates in 1911 within the Iveagh Trust community, although not surpassing the surrounding neighbourhoods, is cause for further exploration. While deaths by tuberculous diseases were in steady decline from 1904, when it killed 12,694 people, at a rate of 2.9 per 1,000, it was still the primary cause of death in 1911 (9,623 deaths), overtaking old age (under 9,000).[129] Nevertheless, the steady decline was significant: the Report commended the work of the Women's National Health Association, maintaining that the decline in death by tuberculosis (down 24% from its peak in 1904) 'cannot be disassociated' from its foundation, especially from the 'personality of its Founder (Lady Aberdeen, philanthropist and wife of Lord-Lieutenant, Lord Aberdeen) who continues to inspire its work'.[130]

The reports of infection and disease from the Trust have not been uncovered, which makes it difficult to establish reasons behind dramatic spikes in the mortality rates. On occasion, there are instances where certain cases are documented, primarily through the minute reports and usually concerning staff members. In the minutes of a Trust meeting in February 1908, the health of Porter

[129] Ibid., p. xxiv.
[130] Ibid.

J. O'Neill was discussed. O'Neill had contracted an early onset of 'consumption of the lungs' (i.e. pulmonary tuberculosis). The Trustees approved the suggestion of Dr Lumsden, medical officer for Guinness Brewery, and adviser to the Iveagh Trust, to send O'Neill to the Newcastle Sanatorium in Co. Wicklow, for a period of ten weeks.[131] By 1911, the Trustees has an agreed protocol for 'servants of the Iveagh Trust' to be paid 1/- per day if they were admitted into hospital.[132] This would suggest that staff were being admitted to hospital, and that numbers were possibly increasing. The following year, it was decided to pay an annual subscription of £10 to Mercers Hospital to cover hospital charges for Iveagh House lodgers. [133]

Mortality Rates – 1913-22

The period of 1913-22 was one of turbulent change, in political, social and economic terms. One thing that did not change, however, were the high mortality rates in Dublin, which had become something of an unfortunate certainty. In comparison, the Iveagh Trust mortality rates also stayed in a consistently lower state when compared with the neighbouring vicinities and the city at large. For this period, the Iveagh Trust supplied two death rates, one for deaths that occurred within the buildings themselves, and another that also incorporated deaths of residents and staff in hospitals. Table 9 below includes the rates for hospital and building deaths combined:

[131] Meeting 26 February 1908, *Iveagh Trust Minute Reports, 1903-1939,* BA/BX/1/A [ITA].
[132] Ibid., 8 February 1911 [ITA].
[133] Ibid., 1 February 1912 [ITA].

Table 9: Mortality Rates: Iveagh Trust vs. wider districts, 1913-1922

Year	Guinness Trust (Dublin)	Dublin South[134]	Dublin
1913	12.53	20.56	25.08
1914	11.65	23.42	26.48
1915	16.48	-	28.08
1916	16.54	-	25.34
1917	10.7	-	23.81
1918	16.81	-	30.98
1919	21.62	-	24.57
1920	13.77	-	22.1
1921	12.4	-	19.99
1922	10.88	-	20.98

In 1918 and 1919, deaths in the Iveagh Trust, and the city as a whole jump to colossal levels. Between 1917 and 1918 there was a 37% increase in deaths in the community; in 1919, there was a further 27% increase in deaths from 1918, or 54% increase from 1917. The dramatic rise in death among the community can be explained by the influenza epidemic of 1918-19; it has been estimated that the epidemic may have killed 100 million people worldwide.[135] The epidemic took hold in Ireland with great strength, creating hysteria among the population. Such hysteria was valid. As Clear notes, in October 1918, Glasnevin cemetery had 240 funerals over 8 days, a busy figure when the norm was between 12 and 13.[136] In 1918, there were 10,651 deaths attributed to influenza, compared with 1,438 in 1917 (an increase of 86%); in 1919, the epidemic continued to ravage, claiming the lives of 9,406 people. In Dublin County Borough, influenza took 1,240 lives in 1918 (4.02 per 1,000 of the population). By 1919, the influenza epidemic, 'a

[134] Over the course of the fifty years, the Registrar General reports changed the boundaries that they used to measure death rates. From 1915 onwards, the reports ceased breaking down mortality rates in district areas.
[135] Guy Bernier, Patricia Mensh, and Ida Milne, 'Greatest Killer of the twentieth century: The Great Flu of 1918-19', *History Ireland,* Vol. 17, No. 2 (Mar-Apr, 2009), p. 40.
[136] Clear, *Social Change and Everyday Life*, p. 98.

malady re-appearing with virulence' claimed 768 lives (2.467 per 1,000 of the population) in the Borough.[137] This decline compared with the year previous is reflected in the total death rate figures for Dublin displayed in the table above. However, in the Iveagh Trust case, the rate is higher in 1919 than in 1918. One possible answer to this is that, due to its closed off nature, the epidemic took longer to spread within the community confines. By 1919, given the evidence presented in Chart 17 below, there is reason to believe that the epidemic did spread to the Trust estates.

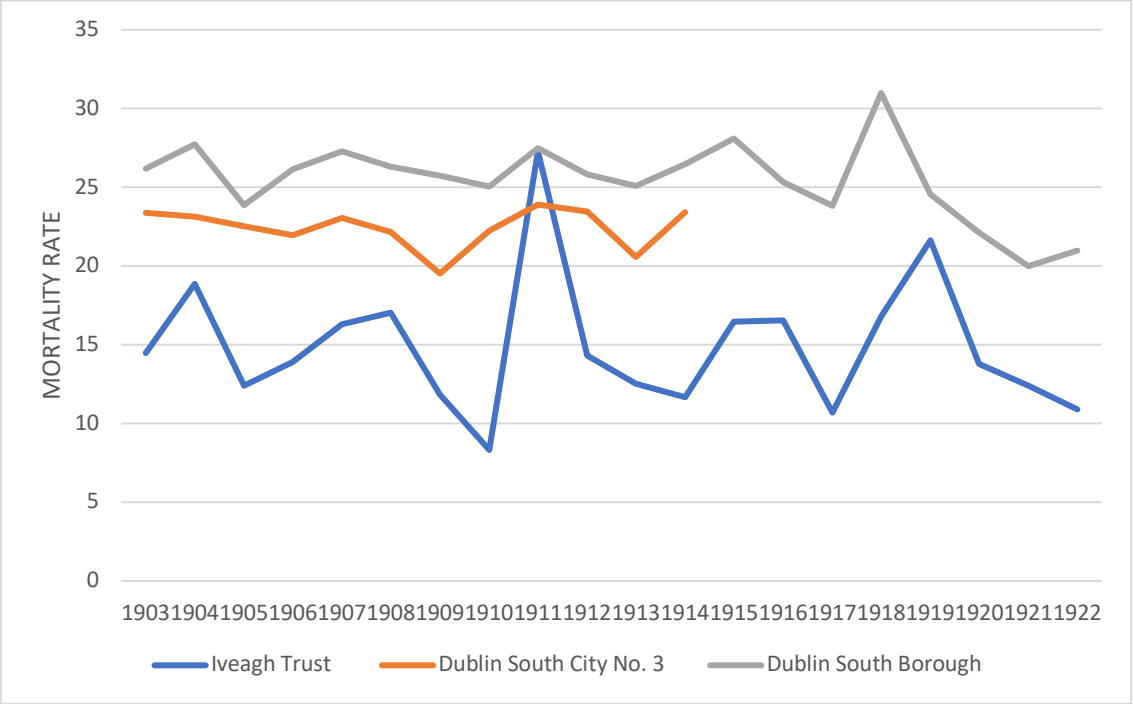

Chart 17: Mortality Rates: Iveagh Trust vs. wider districts, 1903 - 1922

In addition to the outbreak of influenza, in 1918 there was also a pronounced increase in deaths caused by pneumonia, with 6,120 deaths registered compared with 4,111 in 1917.[138] In terms of infections that were decreasing, the report noted a reduction in 'enteric fever, typhus, scarlet fever, diphtheria … cancer, bronchitis, diarrhoea and enteritis of children under 2 years and puerperal septic diseases'. There was also a slight decrease in death by tuberculosis (with

[137] *Registrar General Report*, 1919, p. xiii.
[138] *Registrar General Report*, 1918, p. xiii.

9,576 deaths in 1918 compared to 9,680 in 1917).[139] Along with influenza, deaths by scarlet fever, diphtheria and bronchitis rose.

Although there was a spike in deaths in the Iveagh Trust over the years 1918-19, the number of deaths did not jump to extreme levels, indicating that the sanitary regulations and assessment system for admittance into the Trust served as successful defences against this epidemic. It also demonstrates the healthiness of the Iveagh Trust tenantry, whose immune systems built up and resisted such an epidemic in 1918-1919. Additionally, throughout the minutes of all meetings during 1918 and 1919, there is no mention of the epidemic at all.

3.3.C. Health in a New Age, 1923-1939

The third phase of mortality rate assessment is the 'New Ireland phase', the period between 1923 and 1939, which encompassed the end of the Civil War, the establishment of the Free State and the development of welfare provision by Free State governments, particularly in the 1930s. Over the course of this period, the Dublin area experienced a pronounced decrease in mortality rates when compared to previous periods. Table 10 displays the mortality rates for the period.

Table 10: Mortality Rates: Iveagh Trust vs. wider districts, 1922-39

Year	Iveagh Trust	Dublin
1923	14.34	18.32
1925	11.6	20.06
1925	12.04	19.67
1926	12.85	18.81
1927	13.17	19.52
1928	7.77	17.51
1929	14.76	18.64
1930	10.37	16.88
1931	14.69	17.76
1932	12.87	17.89
1933	7.02	17.54
1934	11.6	15.97
1935	14.34	15.62
1936	12.66	16.78
1937	13.15	16.91
1938	7.36	15.34
1939	12.92	15.54

[139] Ibid., xiii.

The mortality rates in the Iveagh Trust were also markedly lower than both the rates in the Dublin area, and also did not experience major spikes in its rates as it had in earlier years. Indeed, the highest death rates recorded in the Trust community was in 1929, at 14.67 per 1,000, yet still noticeably lower than the greater Dublin area (at 18.64). The highest mortality rates recorded in Dublin were from 1924, at 20.06 per 1,000. In the same year, the Trust community was considerably lower, at 11.6 per 1,000. In this year, influenza throughout Ireland was once again a major killer, claiming 2,073 compared with 621 in 1923.[140] There were higher instances of fatal cases of whooping-cough and a slight increase in death by tuberculosis (2,264 compared with 2,222 in 1923). The corresponding chart below illustrates the mortality rates for this period:

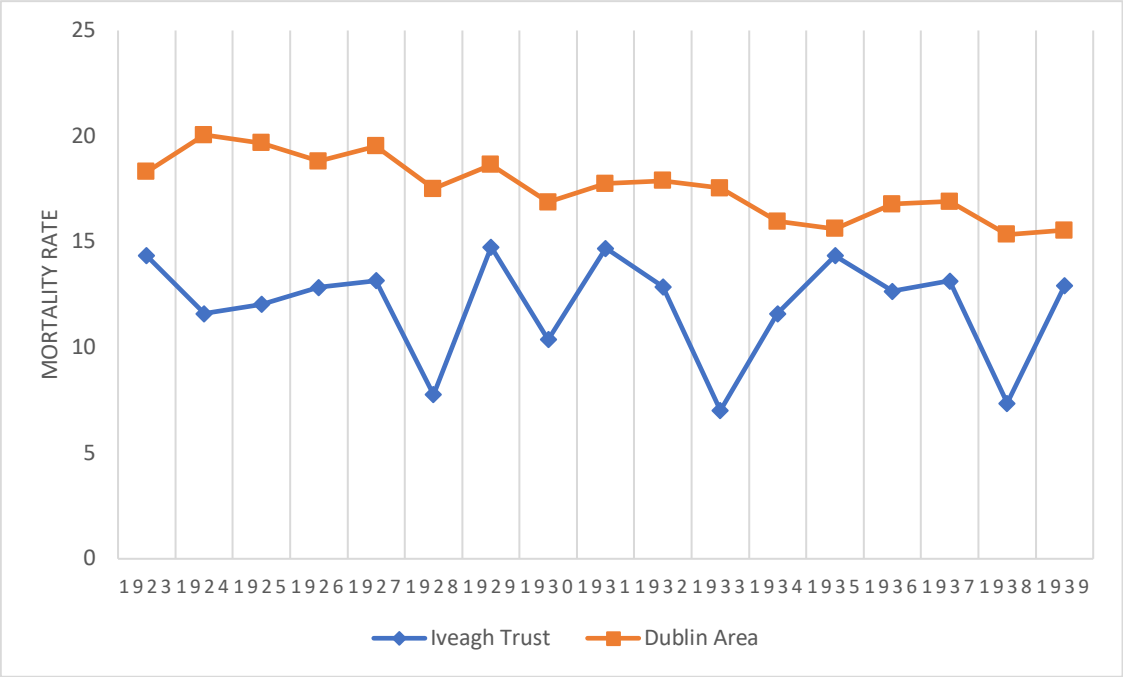

Chart 18: Mortality Rates: Iveagh Trust vs. wider districts, 1923-39

In 1935, the mortality rates for both the Iveagh Trust community and Dublin as a whole were almost aligned, with 14.34 per 1,000 in the Trust and 15.62 per 1,000 in Dublin. Tuberculosis was again a prominent killer, claiming 3,770 lives nationwide.

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[140] *Registrar General Report*, 1924, p. xii.

The improvement in the health of the population, both in Dublin and specifically in the Iveagh Trust buildings, is a telling sign that the amelioration of housing, along with the rise in living and hygiene standards, was working. An assessment of the mortality rates indicates that both rates in Dublin and the Iveagh Trust community declined over the period 1890-1939. Chart 19 below illustrates this, covering the entire period. From this, it is evident that, save for a few surges, particularly in the year 1900 and in 1918/19, the mortality rates for the areas were declining. In the case of the Iveagh Trust, remarkably the rates remained low consistently, save for these years of dramatic increases. This would suggest that over time the health of the tenants in the Iveagh Trust benefitted from their living conditions and surroundings. Another interesting observation is that the chart below makes clear the similar patterns over the three areas analysed. This indicated that while the Trust maintained lower death rates, it was not completely protected from all infection, particularly in the case of widespread epidemic.

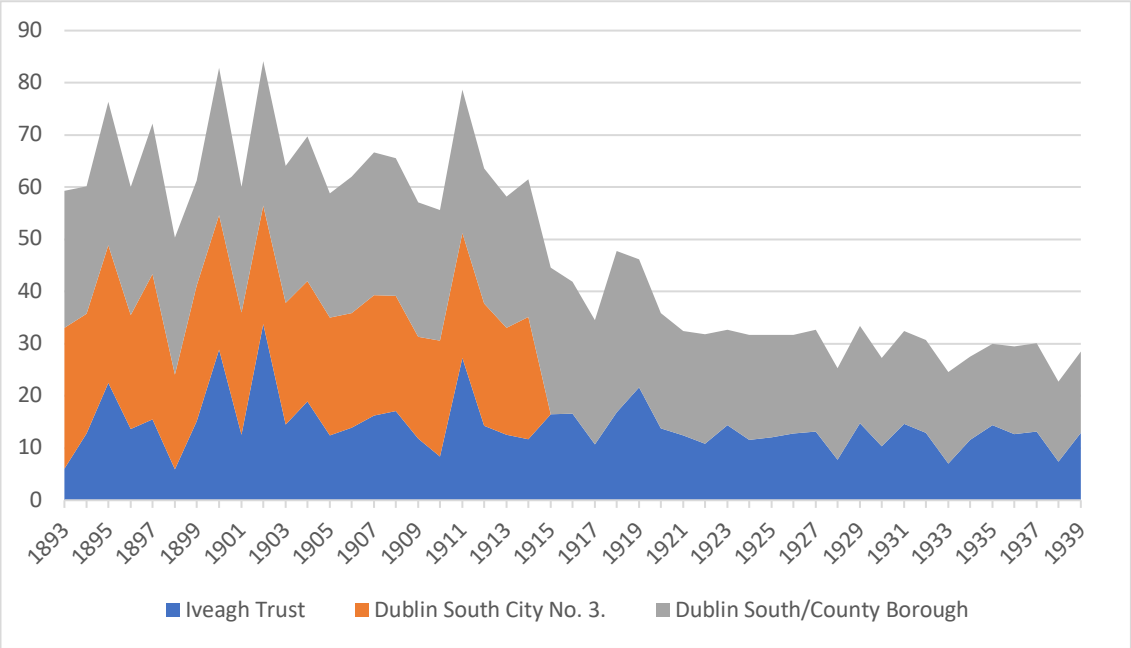

Chart 19: Mortality Rates: Iveagh Trust vs. wider districts, 1890-1939

Nevertheless, it was not the buildings alone that contributed to this miraculous decline in death. Consideration must be taken of the Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust's application system, which warded off prospective tenants who might spread disease. An important question asked in the application records was whether the applicant and his or her family were vaccinated. If a prospective

tenant answered 'no', the Trust's administration would immediately deem him ineligible.[141] Therefore, by default, the Trust eliminated those who threatened to spread disease in the first instance. The development of vaccinations was growing apace during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century; by this time, vaccinations for rabies, cholera, tetanus and typhoid to name a few, although it is not known what vaccinations were required for admission into the Trust.

The exclusion of un-vaccinated people by the Trust was one method of prevention rather than cure. However, as maintained through both death rates and through cases of infection, this precaution was not fool proof. Yet, the notably low rates in the Trust from the beginning suggest that proper housing would in fact ameliorate the individual. The 1930s saw a wave of social housing being built under the Free State government, and the decline over the 1920s and 1930s in illness and mortality would also suggest that their housing innovations too had an impact on physical health.

3.4. Amelioration of Quality of Life: Making the House a Home

The Trust's objective to ameliorate the working classes was executed by improving the environments in which a select few of the working class lived, in order to improve their overall physical health. Yet, there was concern for more than just the physical matter of the individual and the structure they were to inhabit. This focused on the interior of both the individual and of the house, of moral and material, components that were understood to be inextricably intertwined.

With the basic necessities for survival in hand, a further component of the Trust's ameliorative aim was to cater for all conveniences and comforts required. The Trust's Deed stated that the fund could be used for 'obtaining the means of subsistence and the necessaries and decencies of life' including 'all or any matters, things, and conveniences for any and every purpose, tending … to the convenience, health, comfort, moral welfare and improvement of their tenants and their

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[141] Conditions of Occupation, BA/BX/1/4, [ITA]. Further discussion on the conditions of occupation and the sanitary regulations imposed is covered in Chapter 4, The Community, pp. 282 – 290.

families'.[142] Including the provision of 'things' in the Trust's founding document highlighted the importance of objects to the comfort and entire amelioration of the individual. The entry also permitted the Trustees not only to build the external structures of the dwellings and residential estates, but to furnish them with 'things' as part of the crusade to ameliorate working class individuals and families under their care. As will be discussed, 'things' held more significance than mere utility. From the Victorian period, they represented the individual.

This section will explore the interior world of the residents of the Iveagh Trust, including the furnishings, fittings and decorative materials used by, or imposed on them. It will examine the growth of materialism and interior design, analyse design suggestions given by the Trust administration, and interrogate the design and interior of one such dwelling as a case study – Nellie's flat, the museum flat preserved within 'B' block, Bull Alley.

3.4.A. Materialism and Design and its impact on working class interiors

The development of interior decoration, of making the house a home, grew a pace in the Victorian period, during the height of the Industrial Revolution, with the introduction of mass production.[143] This led to a development of personal and class-based 'taste'. As Edwards maintains, this period of consumption and availability created a shift in the understanding of the value of goods; in the nineteenth century a person's goods became 'part of the expression of self-identity (as opposed to the earlier eighteenth century idea of goods as part of 'social performance''.[144] Furthermore, the evangelical revolution, in the face of growing consumption, the development of taste and the correlation of objects with identity, promoted opposing virtues of thrift, simplicity and diligence. This juxtaposition of material consumption and virtuous morality was a difficult one to resolve. Such a conflict between moral and material needed reconciliation, and, as Cohen

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[142] Section 1 (a) and 3 (a) (3), *Deed of Trust (Dublin Fund).*
[143] The history of the development of household design and taste is detailed in Cohen, Deborah, *Household Gods* (Yale, 2006).
[144] Clive Edwards, *Turning Houses into Homes: A History of the Retailing and Consumption of Domestic Furnishings* (Aldershot, 2005), p. 144.

maintains, the Victorians found a solution: 'things had moral qualities'.[145]

In the Iveagh Trust case, the giving and display of 'things' to fill the dwelling was as much about morality as it was about utility. The exposure of the Dublin tenements by social reformers and middle class do-gooders brought with it a sense of shock as to how the lower classes were living; the mixing of the sexes in the same bed, the lack of toilet facilities, the absence of decent, tasteful and useful furnishing inside the abode, all not only threatened the cleanliness of a house but also the morality of the people within it. As Lamb maintains, the '"Scientific"/sociological investigations of working-class homes and domestic habits were a form of safe scopophilia that effectively distanced, objectified, and colonized the working class Other'.[146] In fact, those who came into contact with the poor, their habitations and belongings, used material objects as a form of measurement to characterise the working class individuals themselves. In his evidence before the Housing Inquiry in 1914, John Cooke, Honorary Treasurer of the NSPCC, voiced his grievances with working class interiors:

> The furniture is of the poorest description, some rooms being totally devoid of any sleeping accommodation, a piece of sacking or rags being considered for a whole family; it was quite exceptional to get a room properly fitted with bed or bedding, table, chairs, or some recent domestic utensils.[147]

In his dismay, Cooke divulged a plethora of instances where he had come across a distressing scene within a habitation, often listing what was contained within it

> the family of nine (seven children) sleep on the floor, on which there was not straw enough for a cat, and no covering of any kind whatever. The children are poorly clad; one was wrapped in a rag of a kind, and his only other clothing was a very dirty loin cloth. The utensils were a zinc bucket, can, a few mugs and jam-pots for drinking.[148]

Another family of four were 'living in a large room with dilapidated walls

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[145] Deborah Cohen, *Household Gods,* (Yale, 2006), p. x.
[146] John B. Lamb, 'Turning the Inside Out: Morals, Modes of Living, and the Condition of the Working Class' in *Victorian Literature and Culture,* Vol. 25, No. 1 (Cambridge, 1997), p. 40.
[147] Witness Testimony of Mr. John Cooke, Honorary Treasure of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, *Appendix to report of the department committee appointed by the Local Government Board for Ireland to inquire into the housing conditions of the working classes in the city of Dublin (Minutes of evidence, with appendices)* [cd. 7317] 1914, p. 102.
[148] Ibid.

and ceiling. The bed consisted of an old straw mattress and old cotton quilt for covering; a table, stool, orange box, two tin cases, saucepan, and a few pieces of delf formed the rest of the furniture'.[149] This listing of belongings and their condition, was a way that middle classes measured the wants and needs of the poor, through their own middle class consumption-lens. Lamb succinctly states that these preoccupations with working class interiors sought both

> to know through the material the moral essence of working-class identity and to master and control its transgressive energies … the interior and its objects function metonymically to mark the moral condition of the occupants. The absence of "proper" artifacts that designate bourgeois domesticity and respectability as well as the absence of cleanliness and order signify lack in the 'interior' moral being of the working classes themselves.[150]

Measuring the morality and character of the working class individual with the materiality of the interiors of the working class home was common in the social investigations during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Once again, Cooke highlighted his alarm when

> in all the rooms I visited I saw no woman with a needle in her fingers, while there were plenty of tatters on her own and children's garments for the use of it and thread. Even were she inclined to cook, little could be done with the fireplace, while the shelf if not entirely bare, has seldom anything better than the materials for a poor tea. Under such conditions of living, under such uncertainty of means of a livelihood among large numbers, and with the drink habit so strong, it is very easy to account for the squalor and uncleanliness and general untidiness prevailing in the slum areas of the city.[151]

Thus, from the perspective of the middle and upper classes, the close correlation of working class surroundings and their belongings with the character and morals of the individual made it necessary to ameliorate both the inside and outside of working class homes. The Iveagh Trustees were equipped with the funds and the assumptions of what the working class needed for their own saving – in both physical and moral terms.

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[149] Ibid.
[150] Lamb, 'Turning the Inside Out: Morals, Modes of Living, and the Condition of the Working Class', p. 40.
[151] Witness Testimony of Mr. John Cooke, Honorary Treasure of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children in *Appendix to report of the department committee appointed by the Local Government Board for Ireland to inquire into the housing conditions of the working classes in the city of Dublin (Minutes of evidence, with appendices)* [cd. 7317] [1914], p. 102.

3.4.B. Desire and Need: The Trust's opinion of working class interior needs

The Deed of Trust specified that the fund could be used for the 'comfort' of its recipients.[152] This notion of 'comfort' is at the 'heart of the Victorian home' serving as a 'practical purpose, but also as an element in the creation of meaning in the interior.'[153] The Iveagh Trustees and their administration were heavily involved in the design and structure of the working class buildings they provided. Furthermore, they took meticulous interest in the 'comfort' of their tenants, through the ideal of the home and thus the design of the inside of the dwelling, in terms of the dwellings' layout, the design of appliances and fittings, and the decoration of the dwelling to turn it from a dwelling into a suitable home. The hand-written manual provided to superintendents at the turn of the century highlights what the Trustees understood made a working class home.[154] The instructions contained within it related to the design and fittings of the interiors and focused on utility and cost-saving alternatives. However, in certain cases, what was considered as tasteful or appropriate design, suitable for the working classes, was also disclosed.

With regard to the dwelling's fittings and design, the Trustees took security as well as the morality of their subjects into consideration; the entrance door was to have a 'good lock with key', while the other doors within the dwelling itself did not need keys.[155] Inside, it was recommended that the walls of the interior rooms should have 'a line of dark green glazed bricks 3ft 6in', and above this was 'washed neat grey or light chocolate'. Below the line, 'a darker chocolate colour wash' was recommended, with the Trustees maintaining that 'pleasant colours are always preferable'.[156] The floor should be covered with 'coloured tiles … in place of concrete or cement' as it 'is much nicer and nothing dearer'.[157]

Furnishings were used to serve two purposes, 'as either a physical function

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[152] Section 3 (a) (3), *Deed of Trust (Dublin Fund).*
[153] Edwards, *Turning Houses into Homes*, p. 160.
[154] *Manual: indexed manuscript guide compiled on the management of estate buildings, fittings, tenants and staff*, LMA/4656/D/01/001, [LMA], P. 10.
[155] Ibid., p. 69.
[156] Ibid., p. 99.
[157] Ibid., p. 45.

or a ritual or symbolic function'.[158] In many cases, a fitting or furnishing served as both at the same time. As a rule, the character of all appliances and furnishings that the Trust were to provide 'should be simple, strong, durable and as nice as the cost will allow'.[159] As well as being cost-effective, this simplicity and functionality stemmed from the concept of 'appropriateness' of one's furnishings to the 'position or status' of the individual.[160] Armed with the assumption that the working classes were in need of the basic necessities, priority was given to the furnishing's usefulness. The provision of storage was important from the opinion of the Trustees. It was instructed that in each room there would be 'a shelf on the side wall, with two metal pegs under it'.[161] The bedrooms were to have a clothes press, or wardrobe, fitted 'where there are inlets or recesses in the walls'. In the clothes press, superintendents were instructed to 'put a piece of wood across the top, with hooks, to hang clothes on' with a further instruction that 'no doors to be put up'.[162] In addition to a clothes press, coat and hat rails were also considered. The Trustees opined that coat and hat rails

> are very attractive to poor people, and conveniences of shelves, pegs too go a long way in the good opinion of them. The cost need not be large, as only small shelves are wanted and the metal coat pins are cheap.[163]

Such storage provisions served as 'homes' in themselves for particular objects, and the allocation of sufficient space meant that there was a more efficient use of space for the family themselves. In addition, certain connotations of position and status related to particular objects, such as the coat and hat rails. They were, from the perspective of the administration, a symbol to the working class of middle class respectability.

To dry clothes, the manual instructed 'hooks for clothes lines to be built in the walls', a feature which seems to go against the objective of maintaining dry and

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[158] Ibid., p. 155.
[159] Ibid., p. 1.
[160] Edwards, *Turning Houses into Homes*, p. 144.
[161] *Manual: indexed manuscript guide compiled on the management of estate buildings, fittings, tenants and staff*, LMA/4656/D/01/001, [LMA], p. 47.
[162] Ibid., p. 18.
[163] Ibid., p. 19.

damp-free dwellings.[164] Another rule maintained that the practice of hanging clothes out of the window to dry, a common custom throughout working class tenement buildings, was forbidden, mainly due to preventing eyesores and stopping draughts from entering the rooms.

The kitchen and living areas were also considered by the Trustees. A cupboard with shelves was to be fitted with 'pins about for china, and shelves inside a cupboard with doors, for other things'.[165] Kitchen larders, 'fitted with shelves and hooks' were to be 'moderate in size', projecting '12 to 18 inches outside the wall', ensuring enough ventilation while also giving space in the room.[166] In addition, 'plate shelves', it was noted by the Trustees, 'are very good'. A kitchen range was installed, also 'moderate in size, with an oven, no boiler, and [which should] not burn much coal'.[167] A coal box would be supplied, made of 'either an iron moveable one, or a wooden fixture' which would be fitted under the cupboard or press 'to save space'. It was further noted that concrete coal receptacles were now being used because 'wood rots'.[168] Upon the fire place, 'small grates' were added to 'have a hob for a kettle'.[169] In addition, the main living space was to also have a 'Richter dresser' with 'shelves, hooks for delf and cupboards with doors, locks and keys'.[170]

The window and door frames 'should be strong, on good hinges, and as neatly made as cost will allow'. On the back of each door, 'three metal pegs' were to be placed.[171] Moreover, all doors had a 'wedge, or buffer to strike against when violently thrown open.'[172] The entrance door to the dwelling has a knocker and a 'place for letters to be dropped in'.[173]

The detailed manual relating to how the new working class homes in the Iveagh Trust were to be designed and decorated, fitted into a much wider

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[164] Ibid., p. 18.
[165] Ibid.
[166] Ibid., p. 69.
[167] Ibid., p. 45.
[168] Ibid., p. 20.
[169] Ibid., p. 45.
[170] Ibid., p. 48.
[171] Ibid., p. 45; p. 48.
[172] Ibid., p. 70.
[173] Ibid.

understanding of the working class individual from the perspective of the middle- and upper-class Iveagh Trustees and administrators. The Iveagh Trust administration were classifying the working class 'according to the bourgeois standards of domesticity – the ordering of working classes according to the paradigm of bourgeois domestic space – contained within it, already and as a given, a judgement of their character'.[174]

This manual's instruction filled the bare dwelling with necessities of utility and appropriateness. Moreover, rules were imposed to regulate the contents and use of the interior of the new Trust dwelling. Yet, while the Trust's fittings in the dwelling were uniform, each individual dwelling developed its own personality due to its residents. This was the case with Nellie's flat, a dwelling that incorporated the Trust's uniform furnishings with a personal touch, revealing much about the people and the period that they lived in.

3.4.C. Nellie's Flat: A Case Study

The Trustees focused for the most part on the utility of the furnishings and objects they installed in the dwellings. However, objects had other purposes too; they placed a spotlight on individual and class-based taste, reflecting personality and highlighting what an individual or family deemed important in life. Although the majority of people who lived within the Iveagh Trust dwellings during the period 1890-1939 are long gone, much of their lives can be told through the objects they owned. Deborah Cohen insists that the study of personal objects can highlight much about the person who owned them as people 'vested their identity in their things discovered.' At times too, such possessions 'could even take on a life of their own'.[175] Using Nellie's flat, the museum dwelling in the Iveagh Trust, as a case study is unique in many respects, as the family who owned these possessions are long gone. However, through these personal objects, an intimate picture of life within the walls of a Trust dwelling can be discerned. These objects also tell a story of the individual themselves, of Nellie and her family, their influence and

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[174] Lamb, 'Turning the Inside Out: Morals, Modes of Living, and the Condition of the Working Class', pp. 40-41.
[175] Cohen, Deborah, *Household Gods,* p. xvii.

experiences and of society as a whole.

Background – the Molloy family

Ellen Jane Molloy, known as Nellie, was a life-time resident of the Trust. In 1907, the year she was born, Nellie's family moved into the Bull Alley estate, after they returned to Ireland from Scotland. Before settling in 3b in 1915 (which is now the museum flat), the Molloy family resided in 4b and 5b. Flat 3 'B' block in Bull Alley was a three room (two bedroom and a kitchen-cum-living room) dwelling. Nellie was one of six children; including her parents, there were eight people sharing this space. Nellie remained in this dwelling until her death in 2002.

Nellie's father, Henry John, was born in Drogheda, Co. Louth and married Anne Jane, a native of Cashel, Co. Tipperary in June 1904 in Glasgow.[176] In the 1911 census return, Henry is classed as a 'motor man', while Anne remained at home.[177]

Although registered in 1911 as a motor man, Henry John Molloy was also a military man, first joining the Leinster Regiment of the army in June 1892 under an alias, John Metcalfe (his mother's maiden name). His young adult life was spent on military tours throughout the Empire – in India, Malta, Bermuda, Canada, West Indies, and he was engaged in the Boer War in South Africa in 1901-2.[178] Before the outbreak of the Great War in August 1914, Molloy re-enlisted in the army on 27 April, under his real name, with the 5th Battalion, Leinster Regiment. At the time of enlistment, Molloy stated he was occupied as a 'general labourer'. His first

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[176] WO364; Piece: 2523, *British Army WW1 Pension Records 1914-1920* (Ancestry.com) [database on-line] https://search.ancestry.co.uk/cgi-bin/sse.dll?_phsrc=SUI28&_phstart=successSource&usePUBJs=true&gss=angs-c&new=1&rank=1&gsfn=Henry%20John&gsfn_x=0&gsln=molloy&gsln_x=0&cpxt=1&cp=11&catbucket=rstp&MSAV=1&uidh=mp1&pcat=39&h=638277&dbid=1114&indiv=1&ml_rpos=3 [Date Accessed: 28 November 2017], Original data: National Archives UK; census 1911, http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/pages/1911/Dublin/Wood_Quay/Patrick_Street__Guinness_Trust_Buildings__Blocks_A__B__C__D_/68172/ [date last accessed: 5th January 2018]

[177] Census of Ireland, 1911. http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/pages/1911/Dublin/Wood_Quay/Patrick_Street__Guinness_Trust_Buildings__Blocks_A__B__C__D_/68172/ [date last accessed: 5th January 2018].

[178] WO364; Piece: 2523, *British Army WW1 Pension Records 1914-1920,* (Ancestry.com)

campaign during the war began on 5 August 1914 and on 9 September 1916, Molloy was wounded during the battle of Ginchy in France. He was discharged at the end of the Great War, on 3 March 1919.

From cradle to grave, Nellie lived in the Iveagh Trust and worked for 27 years in the Greenmount Linen Company in Harold's Cross as a weaver; she never married or had children and instead she chose to take care of her ailing mother until she passed in 1967. Throughout the decades, the Trust sought, in line with newer and more modernised housing standards, to renovate and improve the existing and older buildings, including the fitting of internal bathroom facilities within the older flats as well as the installation of electricity. Each time the Trust offered to renovate and modernise flat 3b, Nellie 'politely declined', refusing the internal bathroom facilities to continue using the original shared facility outside the dwelling. She did, however, make one concession to modernisation with the provision of electricity. While this aversion to progression might seem strange, reluctance of residents to the installation of electricity and other modes of modernisation was noted in the weekly reports.[179] Consequently, while each dwelling in its surroundings was being modernised, flat 3b in Bull Alley evolved to be a time-capsule of old times past, presenting an opportunity to study it from a material culture perspective into how the dwellings were presented, how the family who lived within the dwelling shaped their space through their objects, decorations and experiences, as well as how much the administration of the Trust were able to exert control over its interior.

The Interior

The objects in the Molloy's home opens up the material word of a working class, Catholic, Irish family who lived through times of tumultuous political and social change within the deposed capital of Dublin through to the formation of the Free State and subsequently the Republic. Through the objects within the home, the experiences of Nellie's family are reflected, and demonstrate the nuances of family life during this period. The dwelling is a space filled to the brim with religious and Marian iconography, one that would suggest a traditionally Irish and devoutly Catholic background. Yet many of the possessions within the Molloy

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[179] *Iveagh Trust Weekly Reports, 1936-9,* CS/BX/4/A/1935-6 [ITA].

home were manufactured in Britain or further afield, such as the Goetze piano from Germany, which is also a symbol of musicality and respectability.

Image 13: Nellie's Flat: Main room (a) [180]

The Heart of the Home – the main room

Image 13 depicts the main room of the Molloy's home, viewed from the entrance door. By today's standards, the dwelling is limited in space for a family of eight. Yet, the Molloy family managed to fill it with a plethora of furnishings and objects used for their physical functionality as well for decorative purposes. The majority of the furniture, austere in style and Irish in manufacture, is from the inter-war period of the 1920s and 1930s.[181] The walls covered in a floral wallpaper of pinks, blues and creams, are further decorated with objects that reflect the personal experience of this family. Framed pictures of family members, certificates and religious portraits feature upon the decorative walls. Above the piano, family photographs and portraits of Henry John Molloy in army uniform

[180] These images were kindly given to me by the Iveagh Trust, for use in this thesis.
[181] Special thanks to Fabien Oman, of Oman antiques, for his expert analysis of the furniture depicted in the photographs.

hang. Sitting on top of the piano are two photographs of Nellie's mother and the children, likely taken while Henry was away at war. They are mounted in matching iron picture frames, that feature cherubs and women interwoven in the frame. This section of the house, immediately striking upon entry, is a homage to the experiences of war and its effect on the family. Proudly posing for the photographs, Henry Molloy is also absent from his young children and wife. These images, placed together over a German-manufactured piano, symbolise the nuances of ordinary life during this period. Placed among the photographs are trinkets and decorative ornaments, sitting on a white lace doily, that were collected over the years and hold value more so in their symbolism of personality and self-identity, than in utility. Small bottles of holy water in the shape of the Virgin Mary, a small floral ceramic bowl, a letter holder and a small bronze copy of the statue of 'Maria of Monserrat', one of the Black Madonnas of Europe, from Santa Maria de Monserrat Abbey in Catalonia, Spain, feature upon the piano top.[182]

Image 14: Nellie's Flat: Trinkets and Tales

Above the brown leather settee that is brightened by red patterned

[182] It must be noted that not all objects found within Nellie's flat is dated from the period covered by the thesis, 1890-1939. However, the majority of the main furnishings do.

cushions, hang more framed photographs, one of which is a photograph of Dr. Glennon, Archbishop of St. Louis, U.S.A. Nellie's mother's maiden name was also Glennon, and this photograph could be a possible familial connection to the well-established figure in the Catholic church, although this cannot be corroborated. In addition, above the door frame leading to the first bedroom is a certificate awarded to Nellie after she won second place in the Domestic Science component from the Father Mathew Feis competition of 1924. The Father Mathew Feis was founded in 1909 in Father Aloysius Travers, a Capuchin Friar. It was an annual festival to encourage 'people interested in preserving Irish culture and language'.[183] By 1924, the annual Feis expanded to include competitions for singing, instrumental music, dramatic art, arts and craft industries, recitation (in both English and Irish), Irish dancing, Irish costume, physical culture (such as drill), religious knowledge and domestic science.[184] Entry into the competition was open for any child or young adult of school-going age at a nominal fee. At age 17, Nellie entered the knitting competing under the Domestic Science category, and won second by knitting a jumper. The honours diploma hung above this door since 1924 reflects the pride felt in this achievement. Her domestic skills, which were celebrated here, also came into use when Nellie went to work in the Greenmount Linen Co.

[183] Correspondence with Brian Kirby, Provincial Archivist at Irish Capuchin Provincial Archives, Capuchin Friary, Church Street, Dublin 7.
[184] Father Mathew Feis, Syllabus of Competitions in Music, drama, Art, dancing, Singing – Easter Week, 1924, Irish Capuchin Provincial Archives, Capuchin friary, Church Street, Dublin 7.

Image 15: Nellie's Flat: Main room (b)

Against the farthest wall from the window, more photographs line the floral wallpapered walls. Beneath sit additional more austere furniture, including a Singer sewing machine complete with a 'Sphinx' treadle and coffin top cover, dating back to circa 1911. This is a further reflection of Nellie's talents as a seamstress and weaver. A mahogany radio, and a neat chest with an accompanying mirror accompany it.

Image 16: Nellie's Flat: Main room (c)

Placed in the centre of the room is the dining table, covered with a fringed floral-patterned velvet table cloth, Surrounding the table are four bentwood chairs dated from the 1920s.[185] Beside the entrance door is the fireplace with the original portable Larbert Range, that doubled as an oven and water boiler, made by Dobbie Forbes and Co. in Stirling, Scotland. The mantelpiece is draped with a yellow gold fringed covering. Sitting on top is a clock in front of a mirror complete with cherub figurines and candle stick holders. An arm chair is situated beside the fire. Behind the armchair sits the original iron coal box supplied to store coal for the stove.

[185] Special thanks to Fabien Oman, of Oman antiques, for his expert analysis of the furniture.

Image 17: Nellie's Flat: The Kitchen Larder

Hidden behind the white wooden doors at the side of the fireplace is the kitchen larder installed by the Trustees for storage. Two shelves and pins for hanging delicate teacups are fitted, as specified in the instructions given the Trust's superintendent's manual. Enamelled tins labelled 'bread' and 'sugar' are evident along with ceramic plated bowls and cups, a butter jar and tins for storing tea. In front of the larder is an elongated table with a floral-patterned jug and Nellie's navy hat.

This main room in Nellie's flat was central to all activity over the decades the Molloy family lived in it. The objects found within it also reflect an air of respectability among the family. The sewing machine, featuring prominently in the room, is one such object that denotes virtues of diligence, craft and thrift. In addition, the piano highlights the talent and musicality within the family. In this family room, family virtues were upheld.

The Bedrooms

In addition to the main living space, the Molloys' dwelling had two bedrooms.

Image 18: Nellie's Flat: Bedroom 1

Bedroom one contains a wrought iron bed frame, a wash basin, a chest of drawers, and a trunk, as well as many religious and decorative ornaments and pictures. Suspended above the end of the bed is a curtain rail, most likely used for privacy and dividing the room in half. Beside the bed is a small fireplace, painted in cream with blue accents – matching the entire colour scheme of the room. The wash basin and jug are enamelled, and the mahogany chest of drawers is likely to date to the inter-war period, just like the rest of the furniture throughout the home. Placed upon it is a doily with combs and soap holders, a station used for preparation for the day ahead.

This bedroom also acted as a storage room for additional kitchen and utility appliances. Behind the door sits another stove, with tin kettles above it. In the face of growing modernisation, this reflects the quaint nature of the early twentieth century Iveagh Trust dwellings.

Image 19: Nellie's Flat: Bedroom 1, additional kitchen supplies

The second bedroom contains two small single beds. Again, the walls are decorated with various religious and Marian pictures and statues:

Image 20: Nellie's Flat: Bedroom 2

A dressing table is placed in front on the window. On it is a plethora of trinkets, vases and boxes, a watch, perfumes, hair clips and brushes. Additionally, a small Christmas tree is placed on the table along with more Holy water in Marian-shaped bottles.

Image 21: Nellie's Flat: Dressing Table

Image 22: Nellie's Flat: Religious Iconography

Nellie's flat was teeming with objects that reflected the private life of a Dublin working class family in the twentieth century. The austere and utilitarian furniture, coupled with the intricate trinkets and décor, highlight the nuances of domestic life during this period. While the Iveagh Trust organised the interior setting of a dwelling for prospective families, it was the family themselves who filled it with their own memories and style. These personal objects reflect a separation between the administration, exerting control over the amelioration and utility of the working class interior, and the free rein, enjoyed by the tenants who populated their space with personal objects of meaning and morality. Through this analysis, the individuals who occupied this space have been enlivened through these objects.

Conclusion

This chapter sought to answer whether the Iveagh Trust achieved their primary aim of amelioration of the poorest of the working class, primarily in terms of the physical components of amelioration, such as health and environment.

An analysis of those who were selected to join the Iveagh Trust community, from an economic standpoint, has been imperative in order to gauge whether the working class admitted into the Trust's dwellings were in fact the poorest, as stipulated by Guinness in the Trust's founding document. This analysis has also formed the basis on which subsequent examination into the achievement of the aim of amelioration was achieved. Assessment of the occupational groupings and economic demography, along with family composition and origin, has demonstrated that, on a whole, applicants were not the poorest of the labouring classes as intended by the Trust's founder. This is an important outcome, as it highlights the inability of the Trust to provide for those lower on the working class scale, primarily by the very administrative guidelines that aimed to target them in the first place. While it was hoped that setting a maximum limit on how much an applicant could earn would allow the new dwellings to be reserved for those on the lowest of the working class scale, this chapter has argued that the mere requirement of paying weekly rent on a consistent basis, almost automatically ruled out the very people the dwellings were originally intended for.
This chapter has also shown that the residents within the Iveagh Trust estates were not one homogenous socio or economic group. Instead, there were great variances in terms of origin, occupation and income. Such nuances must be carefully considered, particularly when analysing the impact such philanthropic amelioration had on its recipients, in terms of health and environment.

While considerable thought and planning went into the design and construction of the exteriors and interiors of the new Iveagh Trust dwellings, they were not without their faults, and consequent criticism. The new buildings were structurally sound and a noticeable improvement to the landscape of Dublin's Liberties. That said, the lack of individual sanitary facilities, as condemned by Cameron, coupled with the often criticised dimension of the dwellings, were bones of contention, particularly when compared to the new Corporation buildings. Yet, in comparison to the deteriorating slums littered throughout the city, the Iveagh

Trust dwellings were a welcome addition.

The statistical assessment of the mortality rates of the Iveagh Trust community for the entire period 1890-1939 garnered remarkable results when compared against the wider neighbourhoods. Generally speaking, the residents' mortality rates were consistently lower than neighbouring districts and of Dublin as a whole. Nevertheless, this cannot be attributed to the construction of better housing alone. Rather, the implementation of strict sanitary regulations and surveillance, in addition to the precautions taken in the form of vetting of the health of prospective tenants and ensuring that all were vaccinated, complemented the new and improved structures. Together, these components contributed to the overall better standards of health within the Trust as compared to neighbouring districts and Dublin as a whole.

Furthermore, the structural amelioration of the houses of the working classes was not limited to the exterior. As has been demonstrated, great care was taken with regard to the interior of the working class home – an interior that corresponded with the interior of the individual. Analysis of the Iveagh Trust dwellings' uniform interiors has revealed not only the basic internal structures but also the assumptions behind them. Moreover, the examination of one such interior through a material culture lens as a case study has highlighted how such basic structures morphed into a home for its occupants, reflective of their own identity and memories.

Chapter 4: The Community

The announcement in November 1889 that Sir Edward Cecil Guinness (later Lord Iveagh) would donate £50,000 'for the amelioration of the condition of the poor labouring classes of Dublin' through the provision of clean, dry and structurally sound housing began a process which led to not only residential construction, but brought together a section of the labouring class to create a new community, with an interest taken in the 'convenience, health, comfort, moral welfare and improvement of their tenants and their families, and others whether tenants or not'.[1] While the construction of these new dwellings in gated estates in the heart of Dublin positively affected both the urban landscape and the health and living standards of the tenants themselves, it also constructed a community which subsequently thrived within its walls.

This chapter will explore the constructed community of the Iveagh Trust, by examining how it was constructed in the first place and consequently maintained, along with the everyday routines, experiences and sense of community spirit practiced and felt among the residents. Analysing the records in the Iveagh Trust's private archive, coupled with the use of oral testimony, aids in our further understanding of such housing organisations as more than just a philanthropic institution, but also as a community. Furthermore, an examination of external sources, such as the military pension applications, soldiers' wills, census records and newspaper reports bring more understanding of who these community members were, and often details their ordinary, and sometimes extraordinary, experiences both within the community and outside of it.[2]

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[1] Title page, *Deed of Trust (Dublin Fund*); Section 3 (a), Ibid.

[2] Throughout this chapter, some identifying details of tenants and staff have been changed, most often by initialising last names. For consistency, this applies to those cases that fall within and outside the 100 year rule and where the information comes from previously unpublished archival material, namely that of the Iveagh Trust. In cases where there is significant personal information outside of the 100 year rule, particularly in relation to the Trust's employees, first names have also been changed but initials retained. In the case of family evictions first names have also been changed and the family is denoted by an initial.

This chapter has four sections. In section 4.1, how the Iveagh Trust community was constructed will be examined, primarily concerning the selective application process *and* subsequent screening of prospective tenants. This section will also examine the concept of the community itself, in order to place the argument of a constructed community of the Iveagh Trust within a more solid framework. Section 4.2. will investigate how this community was maintained; it will analyse the rules and regulations that were followed by tenants in order to maintain a place within the community, coupled with the intense supervision implemented by both staff and neighbour alike. Section 4.3. enquires into the experiences of this community from three perspectives. It will firstly examine the staff on the ground, who were an integral part of the workings of this community. Secondly, this section will assess the religious demographics of the Iveagh Trust community, chiefly from the census records of 1901 and 1911, in order to discern whether the 'ethos of inclusion', a key pillar of the Deed of Trust, was upheld. Finally, this section will assess the impact of external influences and experiences on the Iveagh Trust residents and staff, in particular by focusing on key political and social events that often gripped everyday lives, such as the First World War and the fight for independence. Finally, section 4.4 examines the sense of community spirit present among this group, examining the recreational activities and social interaction they participated in, along with the sense of neighbourliness so many practiced. It will also look into those members of the community who went against the communal grain, including those who broke rules, committed crimes and were evicted. Examination of these rule-breakers is necessary, in order to assess how effective the rules and regulations, and overall supervision of the tenants were. As Prochaska has noted, 'the creation of stable urban communities has been perceived as the greatest challenge of philanthropists since the mid-nineteenth century, and traditionally, they have turned to local initiatives, which offer scope for participation and citizenship, as the best way forward.'[3] It will be demonstrated in this chapter that participation of the tenants as fully-fledged members of the Iveagh Trust community, along with the imposition of

[3] Frank Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse,* pp. 18-19.

administrative structures and practices, was imperative for its continuance as a stable, local community into the modern day.

4.1. – A Constructed Community

The Iveagh Trust community is one that was overtly and artificially constructed in terms of physical space, administrative selection of its members and recreational community spirit. A conceptual examination of what community is, what it means to be 'a community' and how it can possibly be constructed is the purpose of this section.

4.1. A – The Construction of Community – An examination

The concept of 'community' is a difficult one to define; it is, as Abercrombie states, 'one of the most elusive and vague in sociology and is by now largely without specific meaning'.[4] At first its definition might seem obvious enough, referring to things which people have in common, which draw them together, and give them a sense of belonging to one another. However, as Day maintains, 'as soon as one tries to specify more firmly what these common bonds are, how they arise, and how they can be sustained, the problems begin.'[5] The difficulty in defining the concept of community is further compounded when placing it in historical context, as well as wider socio-historical debates. Historians have, for decades, debated how the concept of community should be defined, as well as how it should be used and applied in historical studies. [6] In their article, 'Rethinking the

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[4] Graham Day, *Community and Everyday Life* (New York, 2006), p. 1.
[5] Ibid.
[6] For an examples of this debate and for further reading on the concept of community, please see Alan MacFarlane, 'Anthropology and the Study of Communities', *Social History,* Vol 2, No. 5 (May, 1977)pp. 631 – 652, and a reply by American historical sociologists, Craig Calhoun: Craig Calhoun, 'History, Anthropology and the Study of Communities', *Social History,* Vol. 3, No. 3 (Oct., 1978), pp. 363 – 373; Dennis Mills, 'Defining Community: A Critical Review of 'Community' in *Family and Community History', Family and Community History,* Vol. 7, No. 1, (May, 2004), pp. 5 – 12, and a reply by Bernard Deacon and Moira Donald, 'In search of Community History', *Family and Community History,* Vol. 7, No. 1 (Mat 2004), Elizabeth Faue, 'Community, Class and Comparison in Labour History and

Concept of Community', Walsh and High explore the approaches and debates taken in applying this fluid concept in historical studies, and they argue that like 'concepts [such as] 'the family' and 'the nation', historians must make 'community' a problem to be studied, discussed, and debated' since 'community, as a socio-historical process, has long been fundamental to the formation and experiences of individual and group identities'.[7] Although significant, Walsh and High note the difficultly of defining and studying 'community' and many definitions given to explain the concept raise even further questions, such as:

> Is it commonness that defines community, or do community boundaries define what is common among a group of people? Can a single space not sustain a group of people? Can community cut across and through a number of places? Are communities simply social democratic utopias of equality and solidarity?[8]

Yet, understanding the literal meaning of the word is a necessary starting point when attempting to come to terms with a concept that is widely known, but rarely understood in its totality. The word itself derives from the two Latin words of *cum*, meaning 'together', and *munus* meaning 'obligation', suggesting 'a mutual obligation'. Implying a common or mutual reliance, it is useful to think of this as a symbiotic relationship formed to enhance the betterment of those within the community. This symbiotic relationship, in the form of a community, has particular characteristics which academics use to identify it as such. According to Hoffer, there are three ideals essential to the concept of community, being, that 'the community is a human group'; that 'the people in it have common activities and experiences'; and that 'it occupies a definite territorial area'.[9] Alternatively, Philip Selznick identifies seven key elements that make up a community – historicity, identity, mutuality, plurality, autonomy, participation and integration, whereby 'a fully realised community will have a rich and *balanced* mixture of all these seven

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Local History', *Labour History,* No. 78 (May, 2000), pp. 155 – 162; C. J. Calhoun, 'Community: Toward a Variable Conceptualization for Comparative Research', *Social History*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (Jan., 1980), pp. 105 – 129.

[7] Walsh, John C. and High, Steven, 'Rethinking the Concepts of Community', *Histoire Sociale/Social History,* Vol. 32, No. 64 (1999), pp. 255 – 256.

[8] Ibid., p. 257.

[9] C.R. Hoffer, 'Understanding the Community', *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 36, No. 4 (Jan. 1931), pp. 616.

elements'.[10] McCann summarises Selznick's seven elements under four broader components, components that will be used in this chapter to frame our analysis of the Iveagh Trust community. They are: Common Location, Common Interests, Common Participation and Community Identity.[11]

Common Location

Common location indicates the sharing of a common territory.[12] As Day reveals, it was Ferdinand Tönnies who was influential in 'crystallising a dominant conception of community as a spontaneous outgrowth of close social and geographical relations'.[13] This dominant conception, of close geographical links as a key formative factor in the establishment of a community, permeates through both academic and popular thought even today, with certain geographical locations being understood as 'more' communal than others. In his discussion on understanding the community in the 1930s, Hoffer maintains that unlike rural areas, in cities, 'it is generally known that often people living in adjoining houses are not acquainted with one another … only when similar occupational groups or certain nationalities live in particular parts of a city do community activities in any significant number develop'.[14] In general, this perception, that the more urban the situation, the more aspects of the community are lost, is quite common. However, this is not always the case. From his oral history research on tenement dwellers in Dublin, Kevin C. Kearns concluded that there was a

> strong community spirit and tradition of sharing and caring for one another … there existed a communal system of mutual dependency in which neighbours

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[10] Philip Selznick, *The Moral Commonwealth,* p. 364 in Joseph McCann, 'A Sense of Community', *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, Vol. 91, no. 364 (Winter, 2002), p. 364.
[11] Joseph McCann, 'A Sense of Community', *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review,* Vol. 91, no. 364 (Winter, 2002), p. 361.
[12] That said, here the fluid nature of the concept of 'community' itself comes to the fore, with the term being often applied to a group of people with common aspirations of perspective', who do not share a common and defined territory, such as the medical community, the labouring community, or the religious community. However, in the case of the Iveagh Trust, common location was a necessary starting point in which the constructed community was able to be created, and in turn, flourish.
[13] Day, *Community and Everyday Life,* p. 10.
[14] Hoffer, 'Understanding the Community', p. 618.

> routinely shared food, clothing, fuel, cared for the sick, consoled the suffering, assisted evictees, took in orphans and waked the dead.[15]

Although it is more likely for urban communities to assume a looser geographical link, in the case of the Iveagh Trust, this component of a shared geographical location is explicit. The premeditated manner in which the community was constructed, coupled with the very nature of the estates themselves, being gated and enclosed, resulted in an exclusive yet very common territory, to be shared by all who were admitted in.

Situated in the Liberties area of Dublin, the two principal Iveagh Trust estates – Bull Alley and New Bride Street/Kevin Street – were based within the Wood Quay district, between the two cathedrals of Christ Church and St Patrick's. The architectural planning of the estates themselves added to the creation of this common, yet relatively exclusive, territory. Both the Bull Alley and the New Bride Street estates were based upon the enclosed courtyard model, separating the block dwellings from the immediate surroundings; they were constructed citadels in close proximity to, yet cordoned off from, the outside world. It can be argued that this segregation, or cordoning off from the outside world, enforced an 'us and them' mentality, a sense of belonging amongst the Iveagh Trust community members and, as a result, an exclusion of the outsider. The very construction, and the manner in which it was constructed, as a physically exclusionary fortress, raises questions on whether this 'community' was in fact a 'true community' in every sense of the word, or instead one of counterfeit construction – a line of inquiry which will be discussed further in the close of this section.

Common Interests

McCann asks whether the sharing of a territory, i.e. a common location, naturally causes common interests, 'or', he asks, 'can true community be formed only among those who share the same aspirations, goals, projects, and desires'?[16] It is necessary to question whether the Iveagh Trust residents who made up this community had any common interests which, in turn, created the sense of

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[15] Kevin C. Kearns, *Dublin Tenement Life: An Oral History* (Dublin, 1996), p. 25.
[16] McCann, 'A Sense of Community', p. 362.

belonging imperative to the formation of a solid community. As they were selected to become a part of this community based on criteria derived from the application system, chosen specifically by the staff and Trustees who controlled each step of the process, further investigation is needed into whether this component existed amongst the Iveagh Trust residents.

That said, Hoffer maintains that 'a community implies that there exists some kind of social group'.[17] McCann adds that the notion of common interests stems from 'past situations where one is affected by matters, rather than engagements for future actions … Thus the interests of members of a community are based on a common history of traditions, practice, experiences, values and standards'.[18] This understanding of 'common interests', coupled with the notion that there must exist some form of social group, lends itself nicely to our analysis, with the Iveagh Trust residents certainly prescribing to this criterion. The common denominator across all successful applicants was the need, or want, of accommodation. In addition, as had been shown in the analysis of economic standing of the residents, while there was variance for the most part, residents came from similar areas as well as economic, social and occupational backgrounds.

Common Participation

The traditions, practices and experiences that form common interests lead into the idea of common participation, according to McCann.[19] Borrowing from Selznick's analysis of such participation, community is one form of group experience which 'stresses shared beliefs, interests, and commitments around a set of varied activities'.[20] The common interests that bound the residents of the Iveagh Trust together (occupation, social group, working class background) meant that there was a natural progression into a common participation in pursuit of these interests. By treating the people living in the Iveagh Trust estates as active, more or less conscious, participants engaged in the creation of a shared social

[17] Hoffer, 'Understanding the Community',), p. 616.
[18] McCann, 'A Sense of Community', p. 363.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid.

reality, i.e. the community, the characteristic of common participation comes to light. This understanding lends itself appropriately to the theory of social constructionism, a concept which will be further discussed in the second part of this section. Common participation involves the contribution of members in the creation of the community spirit, through such varied activities as participation in social events and mutual dependence on one another, for example the sharing of chores in communal areas or children playing with one another in the open grounds. It is the 'mutual obligation' amongst all members through the custom of common participation that brings about the community as a solid, durable entity. This will be further discussed in Section 4.2 and 4.4 of this chapter, which deals with the analysis of mutual reliance and the community spirit apparent within this community in more detail.

Community Identity

The final component in the make-up of a community is 'community identity', a characteristic formed as a consequence of the three previous variants, particularly common participation. A shared geographical territory, with a successful blend of common interests and participation leads to such community identity and it is this identity which continues to solidify the community as a whole through the mutual obligations which spring from it. It is these mutual obligations and formation of an interdependent relationship that ties community together. Each of the four components are emergent, meaning that one is the springboard for the next, so much so that 'common location or "geography" leads to common participation or "history" which encouraged common interests or "culture" and a common identity and "solidarity"'.[21]

However, most commentators, according to McCann, agree that it is this component, 'community identity' which is the 'problem element of community', the 'two-edged sword' which 'can be easily generated as the reverse side of hostility'.[22] Initially easy to characterise, 'a "we" feeling, a sense of personal commitment, a sense of belonging and allegiance, a feeling of needing people to

[21] Ibid., p. 365.
[22] Ibid., p. 363.

complete one's own life, of interdependence', there is also a need to differentiate between psychic unity and community solidarity. A 'true' community, 'includes diversity of people, utilises definite structures, leaves more space (even physical space) between persons and families, and takes definite steps scheduled and sustained activities – to ensure stability' whereas psychic unity, such as a commune, 'proves to be precarious, because cohesion was dependent on feelings and emotions'.[23] The Iveagh Trust community was in fact a true community. While members shared common identities such as class, they were not identical duplicates of each other; when broken down more succinctly, the diversity in family size, occupation, economic and social backgrounds, although sometimes slight, comes through.

Furthermore, community identity is not just formed as a result of who is within the community, but also who is excluded from it. As Day states, 'as humans we are boundary drawing animals and we erect barriers between ourselves and others, quite as much as we identify with them' and it is 'community' which captures these 'elements of inclusion and exclusion, painting towards those who belong together, and those who are held apart.'[24] Community is, according to Day, 'one way of speaking about groupness, and distinguishing it from conditions of isolation or individualism'.[25] The boundary-drawing nature of the Iveagh Trust community in its formation and overall existence will be demonstrated evidently in the course of this chapter.

4.1. B. Social Constructionism – The Iveagh Trust as a 'true' community

With the criteria of what requirements are considered necessary to form a community laid out, it is now imperative to ascertain whether the Iveagh Trust community was in fact a 'true' community or a counterfeit one, due to its carefully controlled fabrication at the hands of the staff and Trustees. There is no doubt that the community of the Iveagh Trust was a constructed one; it was not a natural

[23] Ibid., p. 364.
[24] Day, *Community and Everyday Life,* p.1.
[25] Ibid.

creation determined simply by factors such as migration, economics or urban growth. Rather, the community was arranged, beginning with the construction of a physical, geographical space where the community would be placed, to the selective process of choosing its members which was regulated by the application system – with each process being controlled by the Trustees and administrative staff.

In much sociological discourse on the concept of community, it is argued that the community is a natural and organic one, standing for real ties of interdependence and emotion between people who form part of an ongoing, bounded entity, often linked to a place or territory.[26] If we are to take this to be true, it is necessary to ask, as Day does, if communities can ever be planned, and if so, 'how realistic are these aims, if they involve artificially engineering something as natural as community?'[27]

As will be shown, the Iveagh Trust community was artificially constructed in all forms. While the main objective of its founder was to construct suitable housing for a section of the labouring class of Dublin, from the very beginning it was also a gift that aimed to develop and improve all aspects of the recipient's life. By constructing walled and gated estates, closed off from the outer-world of Dublin city, the Trust sealed off a geographical territory that aided in the formation of the consequent community. Even the members of this community, along with their habits, practices and behaviour, were controlled to some degree by the Trustees. Due to its obvious artificial and intentional construction, can the Iveagh Trust community be considered a true one at all? What exactly ensures a true community?

Although it is obvious that this 'community' was a meticulously and carefully planned one, it is argued here that it was still a 'true community' by applying the theory of social construction which postulates that 'community' is a social construct; it is through the people that the community is made up and maintained. As Walsh and High determine, it is necessary to take on board an interdisciplinary approach when exploring a study on a community, taking into

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[26] Ibid., p. 6.
[27] Ibid., p. 8.

consideration the work of social scientists and humanists, and the concentration they have given to the importance of not only space but also networks within social life: 'it is simply not enough to think of socio-historical processes like community as existing in a vacuum. Social relationships and experiences occur through space, giving that space meaning and value'.[28] The physical construction of the Iveagh Trust community, coupled with the selective process of choosing its members, were simply the foundations that would allow for a community to flourish, a process which occurred because of the people who belonged to it. The theories of social constructionism, complemented by the idea of social networks, help in this regard.

Social constructionism is a manner in which theorists look at the way 'community is defined and deployed by social actors themselves, in their everyday lives and in their political imagination'.[29] By considering the people as active agents 'engaged in the creation of a shared social reality', the focus on community shifts to that of perception; 'it is based on the presupposition that there are portions of the real world [i.e. community] that attain factual status only by virtue of human agreement, and therefore, they exist only because people believe them to exist'.[30] As Day suggests, 'community can be regarded as such a fact, having no independent existence outside the capacity of human beings to conceptualise it'.[31] Viewing the community as a social construct, they have to be seen as resulting from some form of creative process, through which they are built and maintained. Like the physical construction adopted by the staff and Trustees of the Iveagh Trust, the 'sifting of people into relatively homogenous social groupings, the articulation of shared interests, and mobilisation for collective action can all be seen as steps towards the construction of community.'[32]

While the physical, material and demographic processes enter into the actual creation of communities, the social constructionist theory focuses on 'the way in which communities are brought into being through interpretive activities

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[28] Walsh and High, 'Rethinking the Concept of Community', *Histoire Sociale/Social History,* p. 268.
[29] Day, *Community and Everyday Life*, p. 154.
[30] Ibid., pp. 154-155.
[31] Ibid. p. 155.
[32] Ibid. p. 156.

of their members and registered among the concepts which they use in everyday talk and interaction'.[33] Any community can be contrived by a plethora of planners, such as happened with the Iveagh Trust administration, however, it is the members of the community which create and maintain its existence as a community in its truest form. As will be discussed throughout this chapter, the interdependencies and networks created between neighbours of the Iveagh Trust community, as well as the recreational activities the residents engaged in with each other, solidified the community as a 'true' community.

From the social constructionist perspective, it is not the structures and institutions that define a community, but the feelings and experiences of its members and the manner in which they express them. They do this by drawing boundaries between themselves and others, stipulating who belongs and who falls outside the limits of their community. According to Cohen, the symbolic nature of the opposition means that people can 'think themselves into difference'.[34] What the members of the community have in common with everyone else in their wider society matters less than what makes them different and unique. They also reassert their membership to the exclusive community by what they create on the inside, the relationships, the interdependency on one another, and the communal activities formed to enhance the community spirit as a whole. However, it would be wrong to suggest that the administrative staff had no part to play in the maintenance of this community; their enforcement of rules and regulations, surveillance and the rapport between all parties made them members of this community too, actions that ensured its continuance as much as those of other members.

Complementing the social constructionist's perspective, social networks can deepen our understanding of the Iveagh Trust community as one which was sustained through the interdependency and relationships of its members. The use of the social network theory 'as a powerful new approach to the study of community in sociology' emerged first in the 1970s.[35] Those who employed the

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[33] Ibid.
[34] Anthony Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community* (London, 1985), p. 117, quoted in Ibid., p. 159.
[35] Walsh and High, 'Rethinking the Concept of Community', p. 259.

social network theory emphasized that, unlike what many contemporary sociologists in the nineteenth century saw as the loss of communal ties in the face of growing industrialisation and modernity, community was not 'lost' but rather community was not necessarily confined to one particular space: 'Network theory placed community in the social spaces of everyday interactions and exchanges. Communal boundaries were defined by the extent of these social networks'.[36] While sociologists Wellman and Leighton maintained in the late 1970s that the way to approach the 'community question' was by first looking at the networks, and second the space, this does not mean that space is irrelevant. Rather, physical space and social networks are complementary to the formation and maintenance of a community.

In the following sections, these themes will be teased out, by analysing the shared social experience of the members of the community, through the use of traditional records as well as the employment of oral history where required. A community is a particular kind of group, consisting of all those who affiliate themselves to, and make use of, a distinctive framework of symbols. Through doing so, they set limits to their variation and generate a form of collective being. Such symbols will be explored in the following sections of this chapter.

4.1. C. The Selective Application Process

After the establishment of a certain geographical territory, by constructing dwellings within an enclosed and defined area, who would occupy these dwellings became the next concern. This was dealt with through the rigorous enforcement of assessment policies, which aided in the construction of the community as a whole. Assessment was deemed necessary to ensure the success of the venture; according to former Secretary of the Iveagh Trust Mr Fred Stephens, 'assessment was one of the key issues whereby the Trust stood or fell, whether we made good decisions or bad decisions'.[37] By enforcing such meticulous assessment practices, the Trust could determine who was to belong to this newly constructed community, and

[36] Ibid., p. 260.
[37] Interview, Fred Stephens, 16 December 2014; Stephens began working at the Iveagh Trust at age 17 in 1959, became Secretary of the Trust in 1975 and remained in this position until his retirement in 2005.

who was to remain outside of it. The exclusion of those who were unsuccessful in the application process was reinforced by architectural and structural barriers such as walls and gates, barriers created 'to keep out improper characters' that would only hinder the Trust's progress in the realm of social amelioration, and the furtherance of the community as a whole.[38]

To be considered for accommodation in the Trust, and therefore to be included in the new community, two basic criteria were required – criteria derived from the guidelines found in the Deed of Trust; it was necessary for people to be in 'housing need' and also 'have limited income'.[39] It was the intention of Guinness to have the Trust fix the rents of such tenements 'on such a basis as to make them accessible to those of the poorer of the working classes, who it is his desire to attract from the crowded and insanitary tenements which they now inhabit'.[40] However, as has been demonstrated in Chapter Three, the very requirement of consistent payment of rents did not, or could not, appeal to those at the bottom of the social ladder, for which consistent work was hard to come by. Therefore, income of applicants needed to be limited but in consistent existence, meaning, the main bread-winner was to be in steady, yet low-paying employment. To be in housing need was more open-ended, with prospective tenants coming from insanitary or dilapidated housing, those staying temporarily with relatives, or others without accommodation at all.[41]

Coupled with the necessity of the two fundamental criteria of 'housing need' and 'limited income', assessment based on the character of the applicants was crucial in selecting prospective members and constructing this community as a whole. A strong, respectable and generally good character was integral to both the success in the selection process, and the survival of the community in general. Good behaviour ensured the smooth running of the community and the entire venture with as little intervention as possible. That said, the stringent rules

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[38] *Manual: Indexed manuscript guide compiled on the management of estate buildings, fittings, tenants and staff, 1889-1890*, LMA/4656/D/01/001 [LMA] p. 20.
[39] Interview, Fred Stephens, February 2015.
[40] Section 3 (a)(1), *Deed of Trust (Dublin Fund).*
[41] As described in Chapter Three, there were some instances where applicants stated they were without a home, normally this occurred when they just returned from overseas or moved to Dublin from elsewhere in Ireland.

enforced guaranteed, for the most part, good behaviour from the outset, with the threat, real or perceived, of being excluded from the accommodation firstly, and the community entirely, acting as the primary incentive.

The first step in the assessment process was the 'Form of Application for Tenements', a source supplying a great wealth of information in relation to the type of people applying for Trust accommodation.[42] The form first listed the type of property the applicant had applied for, how many rooms it contained, what estate it was in, what floor it was on and the weekly rent payable in advance. Coupled with this, the application form documented the name and previous address of the applicant, along with how long the applicant had lived at their previous address. Applicants were required to answer if they were married or single, and if any, how many children would be living with parents in the prospective Trust dwelling. The form also inquired if all members of the family had been vaccinated. In order to garner an understanding of the applicant's ability to pay the required rent weekly, in advance, the applicant's occupation, weekly wages and employers' name and address were required. This application form had to be completed by each Head of Family, requiring accommodation in the Trust for his family.

This initial application was followed up by employers' and associates' references to corroborate employment, income and character. One main employer whose references can be found in the private archive of the Iveagh Trust is Jacob's & Co. Ltd, the biscuit factory situated nearby on Bishop Street. In an analysis of a sample of these letters of reference from Jacob's Factory for the years 1898-99, the details included in them are a corroboration of employment and verification of weekly wages. However, in every case, a comment upon the character of the applicant is made. William A. was described as 'a man of good character' who 'has been with us for a great number of years'.[43] In 1898, Jacob's wrote to the Trust about Thomas L., who, although only 'in our employment for about 3 weeks … so

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[42] Application Forms, 1899-1939 (BA/BX/2)

[43] William A. reference, Jacobs, 28 January 1898, Character References, Miscellaneous files, CS/BX/HISTORICAL/MISCELLANEOUS/ [ITA].

far found him satisfactory and [we] believe him to be a steady young man'.[44] Joseph M., who worked for Jacobs for a number of years, 'bears a very good character and we consider him a desirable tenant for your Building'.[45] In some cases, more detail was disclosed in the reference letters. Dated 8 October 1898, a letter from Jacobs was sent to Bonner, Secretary of the Trust in Dublin, outlining the case of two employees seeking accommodation in the Trust – John M. and Edward M. While both had only been in employment for a short time, John M. was deemed 'very satisfactory, and his wages are 24/- as stated'.[46] It was also disclosed that he 'is doing carpentry work for us'.[47] As for Edward M., Jacobs clarified that his 'wages are only 16/-, not 18/- as stated', and, while 'he has been satisfactory at his work here', Jacob's 'do not know much about his antecedents, and we understand he is already looking out for work elsewhere'.[48]

In some cases, these recommendations were anything but. Described as a 'young man', William M. was dismissed 'some time ago' from his employment at Jacob's, who added, 'we are not likely to employ him again … [as] his conduct was not satisfactory when here'.[49] There was also cases of either mistaken identity or duplicity. One applicant named himself as John G., who worked at Jacob's factory. However, on inquiring about references, Jacob's replied stating that 'we have only one man working in our Factory named [John G.], at present, and he states that he had not made any application to you for rooms … [with] his wages [being] also much higher than what you state'.[50]

In addition to references from employers, letters were often sent in from known associates, such as previous neighbours, giving an indication of character to the Trust when making their decision. Writing in 1925, Miss M. sent a letter to the Trust recommending their acceptance of Mrs J., an 'excellent young woman' who Miss M. has known since childhood.[51] She stated:

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[44] Thomas L. reference, Jacobs, 14 October 1898, Ibid.
[45] Joseph M. reference, Jacobs, 8 September 1898, Ibid.
[46] John M., Edward M. reference, Jacobs, 8 October 1898, Ibid.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibid.
[49] William M. reference, Jacobs, 12 October 1898, Ibid.
[50] John G. reference, Jacobs, 24 October 1898, Ibid.
[51] Letter from Miss M. to Iveagh Trust, reference, 1925, Ibid.

> I am sure you would find her a very desirable tenant – She has had a great deal of trouble of late and it would be a real charity if you would kindly help her in this way, if you possibly can do so.[52]

As well as letters of reference indicating the quality of character of a prospective tenant, selection for this community was, as Mr Stephens maintained, largely based on the staff's 'individual or collective knowledge of them'.[53] He said:

> We would often inquire around the locality where they lived … that one of the staff would go out and perhaps talk with the local traders out there, did they know Johnny or Mary … and we used to get a feel of that individual before they ever came into the accommodation.[54]

The three stages of the application process were each integral to the maintenance of the Iveagh Trust community. The initial application form laid out the vital information of who the applicants were, if they were able to consistently pay their rent and what type of accommodation they were looking for. Step two in the application process – the quest for employee and character references – was a necessary one in order to corroborate what information had been divulged in step one. Finally, in cases deemed necessary, the Trust's own staff would inquire in the localities of the applicants; they got first-hand knowledge from those who encountered the applicant on a day-to-day basis.

This three-tier process, and rigid enforcement of it, highlights how the Iveagh Trust community was constructed. The vetting ensured the continuation, and hopefully, the thriving of the community and the philanthropic organisation as a whole. By ensuring the subjects were appropriate and compliant with the status quo of the Trust, the administration could carry on with its work.

4.2 – Maintenance of the Community

The community, which was constructed by the strict application system, created the basis on which this community was to thrive. However, in order to maintain the community, and prolong its existence as a successful example of

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[52] Ibid.
[53] Interview with Fred Stephens, former Iveagh Trust Secretary, 11 September 2014, 16 December 2014.
[54] Ibid.

philanthropic aid to the working class, steps were taken in rigorous fashion. The strict rules and regulations imposed by the Trust, coupled with practices of supervision and maintenance created a binary system of responsibility between its members for both the dwellings' upkeep and the community's survival as a whole. It was the rigorous enforcement of maintenance, regulation of cleanliness and monitoring of behaviour that ensured both the continuation of the quality of dwellings and the successful workings of the community.

4.2. A. – Conditions of Occupation

On application to the Iveagh Trust, conditions of occupation and responsibilities of maintaining a sanitary environment were laid out.[55] The obeying of these rules were integral to a tenant's personal and familial success within the community, and such obedience was closely monitored by the management and other community members alike. These rules were firstly found on the initial application form, and were subsequently elaborated in the lease agreement between successful applicants and the Trust. The conditions laid out in these documents fall under three main categories: Administrative Regulations – administrative guidelines related to the logistics of renting a Trust dwelling; Sanitary Regulations – rules imposed to maintain conditions of cleanliness and upkeep of hygiene standards; and Behavioural Regulations - conditions specifically designed to preserve the peace within the community. While all interconnected, the imposition of these rules and the following of them by the tenants, was imperative for the maintenance of the community and the success of it as a whole, they jointly affected both the improvement of public health and morality of the tenants, as well as the assurance of the smooth workings of the community and the Trust itself.

[55] Application Forms, 1899-1939 (BA/BX/2)

Administrative Regulations

The administrative conditions laid out can be considered as the basic ground rules that were to be followed in order to remain within the Iveagh Trust dwellings. Generally, applicants were instructed 'to conform to the general rules issued by the Landlords from time to time'; in the lease, this was elaborated to state that tenants were to 'observe any bye-laws or rules which the Trustees may from time to time promulgate for the regulation of the several Tenants occupying their premises'.[56] Tenants were also ordered to 'pay rent weekly in advance on Mondays to the superintendent' with a statement that 'no arrears of rent will be allowed'.[57] They were to 'give up possession of the premises at any time on receiving seven days' notice' and 'at the expiration of the tenancy to deliver up the Tenement in good and tenantable repair'.[58] If repairs were needed, tenants were required to 'pay on demand for all damage, fixtures removed, and injury to the premises by such removal, and for all broken panes of glass'.[59] If it was the tenant's choice to leave, 'a week's notice in writing on either side or payment of a weeks' rent by the tenant, in lieu of notice, shall be sufficient'.[60] In addition, tenants were instructed 'not to sub-let any portion of the Tenement, or to take in lodgers', or to use the tenement as a 'shop for the sale of goods'.[61] According to Edward Cecil Guinness, the topic of lodgers living with working class families was one of 'great importance'; discussing the houses he provided for brewery workers at the housing inquiry in 1885, Guinness asserted that nothing good could come from taking in lodgers, in fact, 'a great many evils arise from taking in lodgers'.[62] Speaking to a local history group, one resident of the Iveagh Gardens, Crumlin spoke of the stringent rules regarding lodgers and visitors;

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[56] Application Form/Conditions of Occupation, Point 14 [ITA]; Lease Agreement, Point 15. [ITA].
[57] Application Form/Conditions of Occupation, Point 1 [ITA].
[58] Ibid., Point 2 and 13. [ITA].
[59] Ibid., Point 3. [ITA].
[60] Ibid., Point 12. [ITA].
[61] Ibid., Point 4. [ITA].
[62] Witness testimony of Sir Edward Cecil Guinness, Bart., *Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes (Third Report), Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, Index* [cd. 4547] [1885], p. 44.

> You weren't really allowed to have people staying over full stop. My brother-in-law had trouble. He had two young fellas staying with him who had just got jobs in Jacobs. They were only there for a couple of weeks but Mr O'Rourke the supervisor heard about it and reported the brother-in-law. The two young fells had to leave. And there were many other stories about people having a relative or friend from down the country come to stay. The visitor would be in the house late in the evening and suddenly a knock would come on the door. That meant that the visitor would have to find somewhere else to stay.[63]

On another application form, the conditions of occupation were slightly altered, highlighting the procedure taken if a tenant went into arrears. Point 13 of this application form stated:

> If the Weekly Rent is not paid in advance when due, of if the Tenant does not quit and deliver up possession according to Notice, the Landlords, or their Agents, shall be entitled immediately to enter upon and take, and resume possession of the premises, and to eject, expel, and remove the Tenant, and all occupiers and his or their goods therefrom without any Legal Process, and as effectually as any Sheriff might do for taking possession of the said premises, and this provision shall be a sufficient defence to any proceeding in respect of any such possession being so resumed.[64]

In the General Rules of the Guinness Trust Buildings, it was made clear that 'tenants are to report to the Superintendent the loss of keys' with 'a charge of two shillings' to be made for a replacement.[65] These simple administrative regulations were the most basic instructions tenants were required to follow in order to maintain a dwelling in the Trust. That said, adhering to these rules ensured the financial continuity of the Trust as a philanthropic enterprise that relied on rental income for the furtherance of its cause. Furthermore, these administrative regulations, such as the timely payment of rent, or the repercussions if fallen into arrears, also had a behavioural or moral aspect to them. The expectation of consistent rent to be paid on Mondays was a way in which the administrative educated the tenants on thrift and financial responsibility. For the most part, these rules seem to have been obeyed. In his weekly report to the Trustees in December 1939, Bonner commented that they had the 'unusual experience of ejecting a

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[63] Interview with anonymous, *Iveagh Gardens, Crumlin, Dublin 12,* Iveagh Gardens Residents Association (Dublin, 2004).
[64] Conditions of Occupation, BA/BX/1/4 [ITA].
[65] General Rules, Ibid., BA/BX/1/4 ITA].

tenant last week for non-payment of rent'.[66] While evictions due to non-payment of rent seem to have been few and far between, it is also worthy of note that often in these weekly reports, Bonner had commented that arrears were growing on certain estates. This would suggest a certain leniency among the Trust establishment, depending on individual circumstances such as in the Crumlin estate, where Bonner attributed growing arrears to 'the builders strike'.[67] However, as will be examined below, particularly in the earlier period there were more comments on tenant registries about families going into arrears, and, at times, they were evicted.[68]

Sanitary Regulations

The Iveagh Trust administration deemed good hygiene and cleaning habits necessary for the improvement of the health of the working classes, with most diseases rampant amongst the class resulting from a lack thereof. The Trust maintained that 'good dwellings will cause these [cleaning habits] to grow by successive steps'.[69] These successive steps to maintain the dwelling and hence improve the cleaning habits of the tenants were enforced with rigor; the Trustees attributed ignorance as the main reason for bad hygiene standards rampant amongst the working classes:

> Ignorance on all sanitary matters explains peoples' objection to the circulation of air, and why they block up ventilations, and for days keep corpses in their living rooms. But don't forget to make allowance for it on account of their being ill-fed, ill-class, and without sufficient bed clothes to keep their bodies warm and comfortable.[70]

An attempt to quash this ignorance was done by the enforcement of strict sanitary regulations which, it was hoped, would educate the residents of the

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[66] Weekly report ending 2 December1939, *Iveagh Trust Weekly Reports, 1936-9,* CS/BX/4/A/1935-6 [ITA].
[67] Weekly report ending 20 September 1935; 31 July 1937, Ibid.
[68] Please see section 4.4.C. on evictions, pp. 338 – 342.
[69] *Manual: Indexed manuscript guide compiled on the management of estate buildings, fittings, tenants and staff, 1889-1890*, LMA/4656/D/01/001 [LMA], p. 59.
[70] Ibid., p. 63.

community. Dwellers were 'not to keep on the premises, poultry, pigs or other animals' and were instructed to

> keep the Tenement and its windows clean, and colour wash it once a year, and in turn with other tenants on the same floor, clean the Water Closets, Sinks, Windows, Passages, Landings, Walls and Stairs, to the floor below, and if on the Ground Floor, to clean as far as the Entrance ... [with] The Stairs and Passages to be swept daily, and on Saturday washed before 10 a.m.[71]

Furthermore, it was necessary for tenants to 'report all the Births, Deaths and cases of infectious Disease to the Superintendent without delay' and, if cases of Infectious Disease were present, to have the person 'removed to the proper Hospital' with 'all removals to Hospital to be reported to the Superintendent'.[72] In the Lease agreement, it was further added that tenants were 'not to place or deposit refuse or soil in any of the passages or thoroughfares, or keep in the yards, out-houses or grounds any manure or other refuse whatsoever'.[73] Additional general rules attached to the application form stated that 'anything likely to choke the pipes must not be put into the water closets, troughs, sinks and dust shoots' while 'large articles such as old boots, hats, tins &c. must be taken down to the dust bin; and as far as possible, vegetable, and all other refuse should be burned.'[74] Carpets and mats were not to be 'cleaned or shaken on the landings, stairs or passages, but only in the yards on weekdays before 10 a.m.'[75] In addition, clothes were not 'to be hung out of the windows, or in the passages'.[76] In order to prevent overcrowding, one of the most detrimental problems facing Dublin's working class, the Superintendent was instructed to 'report all cases of families too large' for the Trust accommodation.[77] In order to maintain such practices, it was deemed necessary for tenants 'to allow the Landlord, or their Agents, at reasonable hours, to enter and inspect the condition of the rooms', a key step in the rigorous supervision practices employed by the Trust.[78]

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[71] Conditions of Occupation, Point 5 and 9 [ITA].
[72] Point 11, Ibid.
[73] Lease agreement, Point 9 [ITA].
[74] General Rules, BA/BX/1/4 [ITA].
[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Ibid.
[78] Conditions of Occupation, Point 10 [ITA].

Moreover, additional rules were enforced to ensure the safety of the tenants. These included the reporting of any leakage in the water pipes; a ban on nails or screws driven into the walls or woodwork, 'except at a distance of three inches from the ceiling', and the tenants themselves had to ensure that 'flower-pots are so secured as to prevent their falling from the windows'.[79] Clothes were 'not to be hung out of windows or in passages', while it was maintained that in 'dwellings with flat roofs, the doors leading to the roof should be carefully secured to prevent access by strangers'.[80] Failure to abide by these sanitary rules and regulations would result in eviction, as occurred in 1939, when Bonner reported to the Trustees that he was pleased to report that 'after a long and troublesome time we have happily got rid of a very dirty tenant'.[81]

Behavioural conditions

The administrative and sanitary guidelines the Trust imposed on its tenants were significant in order to guarantee the smooth running of the venture on both a financial, managerial and hygienic scale. Nevertheless, these rules also enforced a responsibility on tenants to become self-sufficient. The imposition of paying rent on time forced tenants to be responsible for their own accommodation and get their financial affairs in order, while the allocation of sanitary rules not only contributed to the improvement of health for the entire community, but also gave the tenants a duty to conform to that would also improve their moral well-being. That said, the third category of rules and regulations was specifically designed to shape, or re-shape, the behaviour of the tenants themselves.

As previously mentioned, tenants were instructed 'not to use the Tenement as a shop for the sale of goods' and 'not to sell intoxicating liquors of any kind'.[82] Most importantly, tenants were warned 'not to misuse, improperly occupy, be guilty of or allow disorderly or intemperate conduct in the Tenement, nor in any way cause annoyance to the neighbours' with a caution that 'drunken or

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[79] General Rules, BA/BX/1/4 [ITA].
[80] General Rules Notice, BA/BX/1/10; Ibid [ITA].
[81] Weekly reports week ending 7 October, 1939, *Iveagh Trust Weekly Reports, 1936-9,* CS/BX/4/A/1935-6 [ITA].
[82] Conditions of Occupation, Point 6 and 7 [ITA].

disorderly tenants will be subject to have their tenancy terminated immediately, and to forfeit the rent paid'.[83] Moreover, gambling, specifically card-playing, was forbidden in both the Iveagh House hostel and in the Trust dwellings. Furthermore, a general rules notice requested that 'music, in any form, should not at any time cause annoyance to adjoining tenants'.[84] The Trust expected the parents to keep their children in line too:

> Parents are to warn their children not to loiter, or play, or make noise on the stairs, landings, or passages. Games of ball or tip-cat are not allowed in the playground. Parents are responsible for the cost of replacing glass broken by their children.[85]

While not outlined in the conditions of occupation, management were concerned about the working class practice of holding public wakes, which included keeping the corpse of a loved one in the same room as living people for a few days. The staff manual noted that the keeping of a corpse in the same room as a living person 'is not advisable', although it was suggested that 'perhaps if a small room near the bath houses was available, people would use it for that purpose'.[86] While this suggestion, as far as can be discerned, was not implemented, the keeping of a corpse was forbidden due to not only its effects on health but also because wakes enticed, as Rev. James Daniel in his evidence before the 1885 Housing Inquiry, , 'demoralisation and dissipation'.[87]

The detailed regulations concerning the behaviour of the tenants highlight the attitudes those in charge of this philanthropic gift had of the recipients of it. It was deemed necessary to apply such rules in order to ameliorate the working classes' behaviour, which, in the minds of higher classes, was brimming with vice and immorality. These regulations were reinforced with stringent supervision – action that was deemed vital – by the Trust itself through its staff on the ground, as well as supervision by the tenants themselves, in order to keep the peace within

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[83] Ibid., Point 8 [ITA].
[84] General Rules Notice, BA/BX/1/10 [ITA].
[85] General Rules, BA/BX/1/4, [ITA].
[86] *Manual: Indexed manuscript guide compiled on the management of estate buildings, fittings, tenants and staff, 1889-190*, LMA/4656/D/01/001 [LMA], p. 115.
[87] Witness Testimony of Rev. James Daniel, *Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes (Third Report), Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, Index* [cd. 4547] [1885], p. 28.

the community. Supervision was considered essential because of the realistic understanding that the necessity of a character vetting process beginning with the application form did not always ensure the complete guarantee of good behaviour once in the Trust. However, with these behavioural regulations imposed by the Trust, everyone belonging to this community was held accountable for themselves, as well as those related to them.

4.2.B – Shared Space, Shared Responsibility - a mutual obligation

The strict and thorough application process was one mechanism that ensured that this community would flourish. Furthermore, the imposition of rules and regulations to monitor all aspects of the tenant's life reinforced this possibility. The enforcement of these rules by strict supervision of the tenants and the community as a whole was considered a necessary course of action for the maintenance of the community as a peaceful and workable environment for all to enjoy and progress.

Supervision on an administrative scale, by superintendents and porters based on the Iveagh Trust estates, was not the only safeguard utilised by the Trust to ensure peace and communal continuance. Similarly, the rules and regulations printed in black and white on the application forms, the lease agreements and on notices throughout the estates were only of a handful of instruments utilised to preserve this community. As part of the mantra of the Trust, and nineteenth century philanthropic giving as a whole, the make-over of working class behaviour and morality promoted desired characteristics of temperance, thrift, self-sufficiency and respectability. While the rules were printed and enforced, to a large extent by those in charge, the residents also had a responsibility for the community's maintenance.

Once applicants were awarded a dwelling in the Iveagh Trust, it was common for their families, and the generations that followed to live within the Trust's buildings. There was, according to Mr Stephens, a 'great emphasis on trying to keep a family continuity within the various estates … there were many generations, three to four generations of the same family living in Trust

property'.[88] The reason for this great emphasis was because of the benefits which familial continuity had on the management of the community as a whole. Familial continuity on a generational scale, from the perspective of the management, had its advantages in keeping the peace and order within the community. It was

> A good way of actually managing because the generations [before] said it to the next generations how you should live here, this is how you should behave, this is what you should do and this is what you should not do … anybody that really stepped out of line was clearly seen.[89]

A common understanding in the way one was to conduct oneself permeated through multiple generations of different families, an understanding learnt from past experiences and interactions with staff and other tenants. The administration of the Trust used these familial links to their advantage. In 1937, Bonner noted to the Trustees that 'some of our tenants' sons are becoming active cat burglars'; in an attempt to curb this behaviour, Bonner cautioned 'the parents that they may lose their house if their children are not kept under better control'.[90]

The strict and selective application process that monitored both income and character created an exclusive quality regarding the community's nature, however the dependence on familial supervision also ensured communal stability. 'To get into the Iveagh Trust', according to Mr Stephens, 'was a great achievement for those who sought accommodation in the city'.[91] It was an achievement because of the rigorous system of character assessment that applicants endured. 'To get in' to the Iveagh Trust reinforced the notion of respectability, of deserving poor amongst the tenants. This notion of prestige associated with the Iveagh Trust further enhanced the nature of exclusivity regarding the community. This sense of pride and prestige was strong enough to force tenants to hold on to it, by instructing younger generations on the way to behave to maintain a position in this prestigious and exclusive community. It was hoped that the moral ideals of thrift, respectable behaviour and self-sufficiency that were promoted by the Trust

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[88] Interview with Fred Stephens, former Iveagh Trust Secretary, 11 September 2014, 16 December 2014.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Weekly report ending 3 July 1937, *Iveagh Trust Weekly Reports, 1936-9,* CS/BX/4/A/1935-6 [ITA].
[91] Interview with Fred Stephens, former Iveagh Trust Secretary, 11 September 2014, 16 December 2014.

would filter down through the generations by broadcasting clearly what was expected of the residents of the community.

Shared space, shared responsibility

The very design and structure of the dwellings allowed for tenants to keep a watchful eye over each other. Each tenement dwelling in a block was connected with passages and stair-wells – these were public areas adjoining individual tenant families with one another. Entry into each block was from 'the interior court' which would be advantageous for the safety and security of the tenants, with 'less chance of vagrants getting in'.[92] Entrances directly onto the street were inadvisable, and each tenant had a key for 'his own outer block and passage door'.[93] Moreover, staircases had rails which were 'to be of iron, with wood tops, and points on the surface to keep boys from sliding on them'.[94] The passages were to have 'lighting by skylight and widows on each landing'.[95] It was recommended that there should be one water closet for every three tenements on a floor, and this was mainly adhered to. In addition, laundry and wash facilities were common to three or four families, with 'two water taps and sinks are sufficient for each floor, one inside the laundry and the other outside'.[96]

With this shared space came shared responsibility. There was a mutual obligation or responsibility amongst all the tenants in each block to maintain this shared space, which was imperative for the smooth workings of this community as a whole. As part of the sanitary regulations, tenants were required to, 'in turn with other tenants on the same floor, clean the Water Closets, Sinks, Windows, Passages, Landings, Walls and Stairs, to the floor below, and if on the Ground Floor, to clean as far as the Entrance'.[97] Dividing the tasks between neighbours who shared the public spaces not only ensured a consistent state of cleanliness but also a consistent reliance on each other.

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[92] *Manual: indexed manuscript guide compiled on the management of estate buildings, fittings, tenants and staff, 1889-1890*, LMA/4656/D/01/001, [LMA], p. 59.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Ibid
[95] Ibid.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Conditions of Occupation, Point 9, Conditions of Occupation, BA/BX/1/4, [ITA].

4.2.C. A Watchful Eye: Official Supervision

Along with the enforcement of multiple rules and regulations, and in addition to familial supervision of the community, managerial supervision was vital for its maintenance. The Trust's style of management was, as described by Mr Stephens, 'structured and paternalistic', incorporating a strict practice of observance and supervision, that watched over both the upkeep of cleanliness and maintenance of good behaviour for the greater good of the community. [98] This supervision was relayed to those at the top table of the organisation; the weekly reports sent to the Trustees on the happenings throughout the estates contained not only updates on renovations and repairs, uptake in the hostel and so on, but also reported incidences where the behaviour of the tenants was out of line with the accepted behavioural rules that the Trust imposed.[99]

Those responsible for such enforcement and supervision were primarily the Superintendents and Porters (sometimes referred to as Caretakers) who were based on each estate. The men who held these positions usually came from a military or law enforcement background. They lived on-site and kept a watchful eye on happenings both day and night. This preference of military character seemed to have been the norm for such ventures; the Rowton Houses in London also employed men of similar backgrounds. A collection of poems written by William Andrew Mackenzie in 1911, entitled *Rowton House Rhymes,* described the role of 'The Manager' of the Rowton Houses, as an 'ex-sergeant Major of the Guards, he's here/The Colonel of a raffish regiment/… And off he trots/ With Chawles [sic] for aide, his barracks to inspect - / His House, his cubicles, his kitchen-pots - / And cull the easy laurels of respect'.[100]

The organisation of the Trust was no different. In a 1971 report on the Trust and its possible future, it was stated that it might be necessary to cut the position of a 'resident superintendent and his wife [who] resides on most estates and/or resident porters', mainly due to wages, but also because

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[98] Interview – Fred Stephens.
[99] Due to the disorganised and incomplete nature of the Iveagh Trust private archive, weekly reports were only found from 1936 – 1939.
[100] William Andrew Mackenzie, 'The Manager' *Rowton House Rhymes* (London, 1911), p. 79.

> the type of man available to carry out such work has not got the sense of vocation of the former ex-Garda sergeant or ex-army sergeant. The man available today is disinclined to live on the job, works for as long as it suits his convenience, and he is only interested in it from the income point of view and has little regard for the needs of the tenants.[101]

During the period of 1890 – 1939, however, it was rare for the men employed by the Trust to not live on site. It was desired by the Trust to have a Superintendent with a military background; the disciplinary nature and strict and meticulous practices entwined with military life made a candidate with this background an ideal one, in order to enforce the rules of the Trust on an administrative, sanitary and behavioural level. Writing to Captain Bonner in 1903, Trustee Col. Addison referred to a 'Constable [James C.], D.M. Police, S Malpas Terrace, New Street' who 'is anxious for employment on his retirement … I imagine, as he is not an NCO (non-commissioned officer), it is unlikely he would do for Superintendent.'[102] However, it was suggested that he might do for 'the position of Porter in connection with the Patrick Street Dwellings'.[103] The Superintendent of the Iveagh Trust public baths also had a military background; at the time of the 1911 census, he was a military pensioner after serving with the Royal Engineers.[104]

In February 1903, a man named H. C., a retired Colour Sergeant of the Royal Irish Rifles, sent a letter to Captain Bonner attaching the form of application and a number of recommendations he had received over the years in his jobs. His references highlighted the characteristics deemed desirable for such a role: however, it is not explicitly clear if he was intentionally applying for a position of employment in the Trust, or just accommodation itself. He maintained that he 'only left the army in September last' and took up an appointment as a caretaker in Galway; however, he had been 'entirely ignorant as to the inconveniences which I would have to put up with in leading a country life'.[105] H. C. decided to move back

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[101] '*The Iveagh Trust 1890 -1971 and its possible future*', manuscript, (ITA).
[102] Letter Addison to Bonner, 21 May 1903, BA.BX/1/R, [ITA].
[103] Ibid.
[104] Superintendent, Iveagh Baths, Census of Ireland, 1911, [http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/pages/1911/Dublin/Wood_Quay/Bride_Street/63670/] [accessed 24 February 2018].
[105] Letter from H. C. to Captain Bonner. BA/BX/1/R, [ITA].

to Dublin, maintaining that he had 'good prospects of employment'.[106] The references concerning H. C. describe him as 'an exemplary character' who is 'anxious for employment in civil life and I believe him to be thoroughly sober and trustworthy'.[107] He was noted for his 'careful and zealous superintendence' who is 'a strict and conscientious disciplinarian', and 'thoroughly honest and reliable steady and sober'.[108]

The characteristics deemed necessary for maintaining the community through supervision and regulation enforcement were reflected in the roles that the supervisors and porters were expected to carry out on-site. The fact that the supervisor lived on site ensured constant supervision during the day, and also made sure that 'from dusk till daylight' a watchman could keep an eye out for 'improper characters'.[109] For this purpose, the supervisor's office and living quarters were near the entrance gate. These gates were at each end of the estate, and had locks, with the Trustees maintaining that 'both gates may be opened by day if necessary but at night only one should remain open … near the caretaker's office'.[110]

If pressure from neighbours or family members was not enough to maintain the sanitary conditions desirable within each dwelling, tenants were required to allow staff to inspect the conditions of the rooms and public areas. Supervisors were also responsible for enforcing the 'No Drunkenness or Disorderliness policy', whereby they were required to terminate the tenancy of those found guilty of this immediately.

Nevertheless, such systematic supervision and imposition of regulations was not always followed. In June 1903, a letter was sent to the Secretary of the Trust from the Director of Millar & Beatty House Furnishers complaining of the damage caused by children of the New Bride Street estate to the company's stable yard which adjoins the estate on Heytesbury Street.[111] In order to bring attention

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[106] Ibid., [ITA].
[107] Reference letter 30 August 1902 BA/BX/1/R, [ITA].
[108] Reference Letter 26 August 1902 BA/BX/1/R, [ITA].
[109] *Manual: Indexed manuscript guide compiled on the management of estate buildings, fittings, tenants and staff, 1889-1890,* LMA/4656/D/01/001 [LMA].
[110] Ibid.
[111] Letter Millar and Beatty, 1903, BA/BX/1/5, [ITA].

'to the lawlessness which goes on in the Artisans Dwellings', the director described instances where

> every evening after School Hours Boys commence to throw stones at the high corrugated Wall, which makes a most unearthly noise and frightens the horses whilst being washed, and in their anxiety to excel each other they throw higher and strike the horses and men; they have also broken the glass roof, which we have had to replace. [112]

The letter was sent as a result of an attack which occurred earlier that day. When the Director of the company visited the Stables 'a fusillade began', but the unruly boys 'only went harder', when he got a ladder 'to look over and they nearly knocked the eye out of him'.[113] Owing to this incident, the Director approached the on-site caretaker of the New Bride Street buildings to complain. However, he was informed, 'that the place was not under Police protection and he is perfectly powerless to prevent this going on, as no one there takes the slightest notice of his authority'.[114] The Director continued,

> We consider this most unfair to the Citizens of Dublin, who try to keep their premises in good order, and it is most annoying to have the glass roofs broken by unruly Boys, as well as their men and horses harmed. We believed it would not be possible to plant a Colony like this in the centre of Dublin, but owning to your rules and regulations it is not subservient to any law, and the police men cannot interfere… all this could be avoided if your Committee or Board would allow the place to be patrolled, the same as any of the other Streets in Dublin, and to be amenable to police supervision … to put a stop to this nuisance. [115]

The fact that law enforcement lacked any authority to enter into the premises to patrol highlights the segregated nature of the Iveagh Trust community; it operated as its own independent citadel, self-governed by the Trustees and their staff, with its own rules and regulations. Local police did not have any jurisdiction within the exclusive community, unless called in as reinforcements when the primary forces of law and order (the staff) failed. This was the case in October 1935, when Bonner was contacted by the Corporation's medical officer, Dr Russell regarding the dumping of rubbish in a graveyard at the rear of the Kevin Street estate. Bonner asserted that he had 'undertaken to assist

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[112] Ibid.
[113] Ibid.
[114] Ibid.
[115] Ibid.

him in any prosecutions he may take against any tenant throwing rubbish into the graveyard from their tenement window'.[116]

The implementation of rules and regulations that were reinforced by supervision on both a familial, neighbourly and official scale was necessary for the maintenance and perseverance of the Iveagh Trust community. However, as has been shown, such regulations and supervision were not always as effective as perhaps thought. The Trustees did however consider why working class people might object to model dwellings and housing trusts, noting that 'where persons of a slightly higher position get in, poorer people feel restraint', and, most importantly, that in these communities there is 'too strict supervision'.[117] That said, supervision and strict guidelines were deemed imperative in order to enhance the workings of the community as a whole, and in doing so, allow for some sort of community spirit to flourish within its boundaries.

4.3. – Experiences of a Community

Through the application process, the members of the new Iveagh Trust community were selected. Moreover, from the perspective of the Trust, it was necessary to implement controls and ways of managing the community in order to ensure its overall survival and success. In Chapter Three, the economic demography of this community was mapped out. Yet, it is also necessary to expand our understanding of the members of this community through their everyday experiences. This section will examine three crucial components of the Iveagh Trust community. Firstly, an assessment of the staff on the ground, integral members of the community themselves, will be carried out. Secondly, an analysis of the religious make-up of a snap-shot of this community will be conducted with data derived from the censuses of 1901 and 1911. The final subsection will explore the effects war and revolution, politically and socially altering events, had on the Iveagh Trust community during the period 1914-1923.

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[116] Weekly report week ending 19 October 1935, *Iveagh Trust Weekly Reports, 1936-9,* CS/BX/4/A/1935-6 [ITA].
[117] *Manual: Indexed manuscript guide compiled on the management of estate buildings, fittings, tenants and staff, 1889-1890*, LMA/4656/D/01/001 [LMA], p. 87.

4.3.A. Working for the Iveagh Trust: Staff on the Ground

To maintain the link between the Trustees and the residents, staff were employed on the ground to ensure the smooth running of the community. As mentioned above, along with the Trust Secretary in Dublin, who oversaw the management of the entire venture, there were also superintendents on each estate, porters who carried out maintenance and other staff for specific duties such as the stoker and attendants in the Iveagh Baths, bedmakers and cooks in the Iveagh hostel, and teachers of music, dance and home economics in the Iveagh Play Centre. While these staff members were integral to maintain the link of authority between resident and Trustee, they also ensured the efficient running of the community as a whole. Their close interactions and experiences with the residents made them integral members of this community themselves.

This section will assess the benefits of working for the Iveagh Trust and examine who exactly these staff members were. The perks of being a Trust employee were plentiful; most staff who worked on the estates, and often those who worked in Iveagh House and Baths, were given accommodation on site. Coupled with their weekly wage, staff often received Christmas boxes and were given gratuities after retirement along with a pension. Moreover, when a staff member fell ill, the medical expenses were usually covered by the Trust. Living on the estate was beneficial for both the staff member, his family and the Trustees. For the Trustees, staff living on-site meant the provision of around the clock supervision; for the staff member and his family, they were guaranteed decent accommodation as part of an employment package. Moreover, these living situations also enhanced communal integration between staff and tenant.

Much like the tradition of good working conditions and benefits at the Guinness brewery, Guinness' Iveagh Trust as a workplace granted decent wages, numerous benefits and fostered loyal relationships between the Trustees and the staff on the ground. At times, the Trustees took it upon themselves to look out for families of members of staff who had passed on. After the passing of Porter V. of the New Bride Street estate in January 1901, the Trustees approved a

'compassionate donation of £12.10/-' to his widow, Kate V.[118] The following June, Kate V. wrote a letter to the Trust asking, if you could do anything possible to enable me to get some daily work as you are aware my husband [died] some months ago leaving me very destitute'.[119] She continued:

> Should you recommend to me any of the Dublin office's to clean or dust I would feel awfully thankful to you as I am in great need of employment at present. I would be awfully thankful should you let me have a letter of recommendation to the Brewery, James St. as I would accept of anything owing to excess of distress.[120]

From the 1901 census, it appears that Kate V. was granted her request; she was now employed as an Office cleaner, while still living in Trust property with her son William, aged fourteen. [121] The Trust also permitted families of deceased staff members to remain in their Trust dwellings. After the death of another porter, in 1927, his widow was given permission to remain in her dwelling free of charge.[122] A superintendent of the New Bride Street dwellings passed away in 1929. Consequently, the Trustees permitted his widow to remain in her dwelling for 1d per week, 'only so long as she may remain a widow'. In addition, she was granted a 10/- per week allowance.[123]

Along with helping out family members of Trust staff, the Trustees awarded gratuities to staff on leaving their jobs or for special circumstances. In 1914, a 'washerman' in the Iveagh Baths since opening in 1905 received £12 'to enable him to go to his son in Canada'.[124] Similarly, in February 1923, the Trustees covered a superintendent of the Iveagh Hostel, and his wife's travelling expenses and allowance for a fortnight's holiday to London in June.

Medical expenses were often covered for the staff. Joseph N. was a porter in the Play Centre from 1918 until he was forced to retire in 1942 due to multiple

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[118] Meeting, 18 February 1901, *Iveagh Trust Minute Reports, 1903-1939,* BA/BX/1/A
[119] Letter from Kate V. to Captain Vickers, BA/BX/1/4/, [ITA].
[120] Ibid.
[121] Kate V., Census of Ireland, 1901, [http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/pages/1901/Dublin/Wood_Quay/Guinness_Trust_Buildings/1346948/] [accessed 24 February 2018]
[122] Meeting 4 February 1927, *Iveagh Trust Minute Reports, 1903-1939,* BA/BX/1/A
[123] Meeting, 11 February 1930, *Iveagh Trust Minute Reports, 1903-1939,* BA/BX/1/A
[124] Meeting, 9 February 1914.

ailments.[125], Joseph N. and his family lived in a Trust dwelling from the time he took up the job at the Play Centre. Over the years, the Trust was forced to send Nolan to various medical officers and hospitals for treatment. By July of 1942, Nolan's health had deteriorated so much that Bonner released him from his staff duties. Bonner then wrote to Dr Pringle stating, 'you might agree with me that it would be better if Nolan could be transferred to one of the Corporation houses. If so, perhaps you would kindly favour me with a good letter, which would assist me in obtaining a house for him'.[126] Two days later, Bonner acknowledged receipt of the recommendation letter and maintained that he could now press for Nolan to be housed in the newer Corporation houses in the suburbs 'provided, of course, that he and his family are willing to go'.[127] In a letter to Nolan from 1960, regarding an increase in his pension as part of his Christmas box, it was sent to an address in the Iveagh Trust, indicating that either Nolan had refused to move his family, or that the Corporation declined the request. [128]

The Trustees also granted special leave to staff. Kate L. was a dance teacher in the Play Centre from May 1912 until her retirement in 1958, after forty-six years of service. [129] A Roman Catholic, each year, Kate L. would be granted a special week of leave so she could go on a pilgrimage to Lourdes, where she volunteered as a nurse. The Trust also helped Kate L. with the employment of her daughter.[130]

On her retirement in 1958, Kate L. was awarded a gratuity of £1 for every year she had served the Trust, equalling £46, in conjunction with a weekly pension; this was standard for all long-time serving staff. Accompanying the cheque for £46 was a letter from Lord Moyne, who said, 'Your decision to leave us after so many years, and such remarkable work as you have done had been received with the greatest possible regret on the part of the Trustees'.[131]

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[125] Joseph N., CS/BX//1/A/Joseph N [ITA
[126] Ibid.
[127] The Trust's relationship with the Dublin Corporation grew stronger over time; by the 1930s, it was common for the Trust and corporation to cooperate with each other when either of their tenants were looking to move to a new Corporation house in the suburbs or to move back into the city for cheaper and smaller dwellings.
[128] Joseph N CS/BX//1/A/Joseph N. [ITA].
[129] Kate L., CS/BX/1/A/Kate L, [ITA]
[130] Letter from Kate L. to Bonner, 13 November 1942 in Ibid.
[131] Copy of letter from Lord Moyne to Kate L., 17 April 1958.

At times, the Trust were forced to release staff from their duties for more unfortunate reasons. Eileen O., the pianist and music teacher in the Play Centre had joined the team in February 1923.[132] For most of her life, she had numerous part-time temporary jobs 'which enabled her to live quite comfortably'. However, as the years went by, her wage from the Play Centre was her only source of income. In light of this, and because she could not yet qualify for the Old Age Pension (which was from seventy years of age), the Trustees swayed from their usual £1 per year of service as a gratuity. Instead, they granted her £3 per year maintaining that 'this sum would tide her over until she … would be eligible for the Old Age Pension'.[133]

While the staff of the Iveagh Trust enjoyed many perks, not all staff were satisfied. The services provided by Iveagh House, the hostel, were halted for a considerable period in 1919, when it was forced to close due to the strike of a number of staff. In May, porters and attendants walked out of the hostel 'without any notice whatsoever'.[134] Two months previously, the strikers, classified as 'hotel workers', had joined the Irish Transport and General Workers Union (ITGWU). An 'official' of the Trust stated that 'there was no trouble until members of the staff joined' the Union; after that, they developed a 'defiant attitude, to remain out late, and to complain that they were being overworked'.[135] The hostel staff were demanding an increase of 10/- in weekly wages for those who lived in the hostel grounds, an increase of 15/- for those who lived outside the hostel, and a decrease in working hours to forty-four hours per week.[136] With no one left 'to cook the food, to wash up, and make the beds', the Trustees were compelled to close temporarily as they could no longer operate efficiently with the depleted staff numbers. To mitigate the situation, the Trustees had offered concessions with regard to working hours 'but this offer was rejected because it was not accompanied by a promise of increased wages'.[137] Almost immediately,

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[132] Eileen O., CS/BX/1/A/Eileen O. [ITA].
[133] Ibid.
[134] *The Irish Times,* 23 May 1919.
[135] Ibid.
[136] *Freemans Journal,* 21 May 1919; *The Irish Times*, 22 May 1919.
[137] *The Irish Times,* 22 May 1919.

condemnation of the striking staff and their union ensued, as the closure of the hostel had 'brought suffering and hardship to over 500 workingmen', asking if the

> Transport Workers' Union is satisfied with the result of its labours. It aimed at securing impossible terms for a few of its members, and had succeeded in depriving 500 men of a comfortable home. Some of them will have to seek refuge in the workhouse; none of them will be able to secure accommodation equal to that of which they have been deprived. Nothing could be more absurd than to classify the attendants in Iveagh House as "hotel workers". In no sense of the word is the institution a "hotel". It has never been conducted for *profit*. It was built and equipped … for the sole purpose of providing workingmen with comfortable lodgings at the lowest possible cost.[138]

The strike was considered a 'serious punishment' for those who availed of the hostel, which was 'an excellent place of refuge for the homeless, unmarried workingman'.[139] Unlike hotels that were expensive, or common lodging houses that were below standard, Iveagh House managed to charge very low nightly and weekly rates (8d per night, which was increased from 7/- before the war, or 4/- a week), and as has been demonstrated, was popular among men from all walks of life.

The initial condemnation of both the ITGWU and the hostel staff did little to alleviate the labour tension. By September 1919, it was reported that the Iveagh Trustees had decided to 'close permanently 'owing to the attitude of a section of labour'.[140] The *Freeman's Journal* reported that the Trustees had tried to reopen the hostel the previous week, 'but as supplies were held up and pickets posted to prevent other workers coming in, a resumption was found to be impossible'.[141] While some of the men found accommodation throughout the city during the hostel's closure, others 'had to be content with a "shake-down" in Phoenix Park and other open spaces during the summer nights', yet condemnation towards the strikers ensued once again, owing to the approach of winter.[142] In a plea, *The Evening Herald* stated:

> The position of such a large body of men, who hitherto enjoyed good, clean beds, airy, well-lighted rooms, baths, and well cooked food at moderate charges, when contrasted with their present condition, sleeping on any kind of make-shifts for beds, stuffy rooms, and eating badly cooked meals for which higher prices are

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[138] Ibid.
[139] Ibid., 23 May 1919.
[140] *Weekly Irish Times,* 13 September 1919.
[141] *Freeman's Journal,* 5 September 1919.
[142] *Weekly Irish Times*,

> imposed, is deplorable, to say the least of it. Can nothing be done to end the dispute before the doors are barred for ever more against those for whom the place was founded?

The labour tension was alleviated when a deputation from the Public Health Committee, that consisted of the 'Mr. M.J. Kelly … the Lord Mayor, his chaplain, Rev. Fr. Nicholas … Sir Charles Cameron, and Dr M.J. Russell' intervened because of the 'hardship which would be inflicts upon a deserving class of men if Iveagh House were to close'.[143] The intervention relieved the pressure between the Trust and its staff, as the *Irish Examiner* reported that the Trustees 'met the deputation more than half-way'.[144]

After 136 days of closure, Iveagh House reopened. Although they had been closed for such a long period, the average number of men staying in the hostel did not waver much, with an average nightly attendance of 499 over 229 nights.[145] The following meeting of the Trustees reflects this concession; in this meeting it was agreed to increase porters wages by 5/- per week, with the 'minimum rate to be 23/- per week as against 18/- per week previously'. The kitchen porter received a 3/- pay increase.[146] Additionally, all women employed had their wages increased by 2/- per week. Furthermore, it was decided that a wage increase to staff of 1/- would occur every three years after twelve years' service, while the hostel's superintendent's wage was increased to £4 per week. To mitigate any future tension amongst staff in the various Iveagh Trust projects, the Trustees also increased the wages of the Iveagh Baths staff.[147] Yet these wage increases came at a price, as in the same meeting the Trust were forced to increase the nightly and weekly rates of the hostel to 9d per night up to two nights, and 8d per nights for longer stays.[148]

The labour troubles experienced by the Iveagh Trust, and the attitude they adopted when faced with such a crisis, was similar to the stance Guinness took

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[143] *Irish Independent,* 24 September 1919; *Irish Examiner,* 2 October 1919.
[144] *Irish Examiner,* 2 October 1919.
[145] Iveagh Trust Annual Report, 1919, *Iveagh Trust Annual Reports 1903-1939*, BA/SR/13/ANNUALREPORTS/1903-1944.
[146] Meeting 14 November 1919, *Iveagh Trust Minute Reports, 1903-1939,* BA/BX/1/A
[147] Ibid.
[148] Ibid.

when it came to his brewery workers joining unions.[149] *The Irish Examiner* reported that, as soon as staff in Iveagh House joined the union, the 'manager adopted a hostile attitude towards the staff, giving them all kinds of abuse, making ugly references to the Union, and threatening to put it down. The staff stood this for a long time, and eventually the manager started to dismiss the older members.'[150] Before the Public Health deputation, it was reported that the 'Minister of Labour and other parties had offered arbitration' and while the union accepted this, 'the Trustees ignored all approaches towards a settlement'.[151]

The approach taken by the Iveagh Trust towards their staff was almost identical to the attitude of Guinness to his brewery workers; promising benefits and stable incomes were given in return for loyalty, and oftentimes appeasement. This is seen in the reaction to the labour trouble in Iveagh House in 1919, that was ultimately settled after popular outcry and public intervention. Yet, for the most part, this style of employer-employee relations worked in the Trust, with staff members and their families being taken care off, with access to benefits such as a dwelling in the Trust and medical care, along with the assurance that they were fully-fledged members of the Iveagh Trust community.

4.3. B. Inclusivity in the Iveagh Trust: Religious Demographics

The Ethos of Inclusion maintained that the administration of the Iveagh Trust, including the selection of tenants, would be inclusive, regardless of religious or political persuasion.[152] While there is no real way of determining the political persuasions of each community member, it can be done for religion, by examining census data of the residents for the Kevin Street estate in both 1901 and 1911 and of the Bull Alley estate in 1911. As the Bull Alley estate was only completed after 1901, the 1911 census is the only data available on religion for this proportion of the community. Consequently, a further analysis of the nearby Corporation scheme, Bride's Alley, which was examined in Chapter Three, will be carried out in

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[149] Guinness's aversion to his workers at the brewery joining unions is discussed in Chapter 1, p. 95.
[150] *Irish Examiner*, 8 September 1919.
[151] Ibid.
[152] *Deed of Trust*, 1890 [ITA].

order to compare the Bull Alley community against other communities outside the Iveagh Trust.

The religious make-up of Dublin City in 1911 was 85% Roman Catholic, 13% Church of Ireland, 2% Presbyterian and Methodist and 2% other denominations, including Quakers and Jews.[153] Similar to the overall picture, by the time of the establishment of the Iveagh Trust, the Dublin working class was overwhelmingly Catholic. That said, working class Protestants did exist. Maguire asserts that Dublin at the turn of the century had about 10,000 Protestant working class males; in 1911, 38% of all Protestant occupied males in Dublin belonged to the working class.[154] The Protestant working class subgroup was a declining one, and in certain working class occupational categories, they were almost non-existent. That said, while small in proportion, there were members of the Dublin working class who were Protestant and poor; such charities as the Association for the Relief of Distressed Protestants (ARDP), founded in 1836 and operating throughout the nineteenth century, is telling of this. Even though the proportion of Protestants in the working class was small, in certain DEDs, the proportion of Protestants and Catholics living side by side was almost equal. For example, 8% of both the entire Dublin city Catholic population and Protestant population were residing in the Wood Quay district in 1891, the same district where the Iveagh Trust estates were predominantly built. By 1911, 7% of each population were living in this DED.[155] It is important to note, as Maguire does, that unlike Belfast city, Dublin city was divided more on socio-economic (class-based) lines rather than on religious (sectarian) ones; Catholic and Protestant lived alongside one another, once they belonged to the same social class.[156] It is argued here that this was also the case for the Iveagh Trust community, which can be seen as a microcosm of wider Dublin working class demographics and living arrangements.

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[153] Census, 1911.
[154] Martin Maguire, 'The Church of Ireland and the problem of the Protestant working class of Dublin, 1870s-1930s', Alan Ford, James McGuire and Kenneth Milne (eds.), *As by Law Established: The Church of Ireland since the Reformation* (Dublin, 1995), p. 195.
[155] Idem., 'A Socio-Economic Analysis of the Dublin Protestant Working Class, 18870-1926', *Irish Economic and Social History,* Vol. 20 (1993), p. 39.
[156] Martin Maguire, 'The Church of Ireland and the problem of the Protestant working class of Dublin, 1870s-1930s', Ford, McGuire, and Milne, (eds.), *As by Law Established: The Church of Ireland since the Reformation* (Dublin, 1995), p. 197; Ibid., p. 40.

This means that a blend of working class people from different religious groups within the Iveagh Trust community was no different from the 'norm', particularly when studying the Wood Quay district.

This statement is justified by long-time members of this community; lifetime resident of the New Bride Street estate, Patsy Dunne, a Catholic, maintained that the religious affiliation of neighbours 'just never entered our heads … what difference does it make?'[157] As a child, Patsy's next door neighbour, a Protestant woman, one day called to the Dunne's door to return a pair of rosary beads she found. However, in the next block, there were 'Sally Anns' as Patsy and her friends used to call them, a reference to the Salvation Army, a Protestant charity, as 'they would go out with their bonnets and we used to jeer them'.[158] According to Patsy, the first time she became aware of the differences in religion was when she went up north, first to Bangor and then to Belfast. In Belfast, the innkeeper asked what religion they were, and they were subsequently refused accommodation and directed to a Catholic convent up the road. When asked if the staff ever interfered in terms of religion, Patsy replied, 'No, never … although they were Protestants'.[159]

New Bride Street

Not surprisingly, Roman Catholics dominated amongst the tenant's religious persuasion in both censuses. 75% (620) of all tenants listed as living in the Kevin Street estate in 1901 belonged to the Church of Rome, while 17% (140) were Church of Ireland. The remaining 8% (twenty) consisted of other denominations such as Baptists, Presbyterians or members of the Church of England. By 1911, the denominational breakdown of tenants in New Bride Street reflected an increase in the proportion of Catholics. Of the 1,110 tenants, 82% (905) were Roman Catholic, while there is a slight decrease in Church of Ireland members, at 15% (170). There were twenty Methodists, making up 2% of the total, and the remainder were Presbyterians and Baptists (1%).

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[157] Interview with Patsy Dunne, Iveagh Trust Kevin Street, Dublin, 17 February 2015.
[158] Ibid.
[159] Ibid.

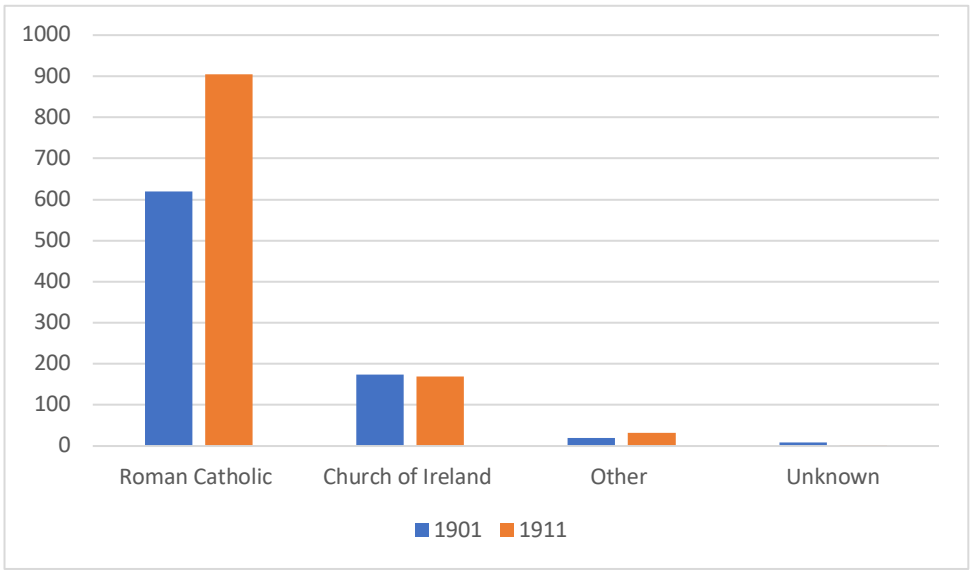

Chart 20: Religion: New Bride Street dwellings, Census of Ireland, 1901 and 1911

Demographic Comparative: Iveagh Trust Bull Alley Blocks vs. Corporation's Brides Alley Scheme.

As previously stated, the Bull Alley project was by far the most ambitious scheme carried out in the name of the Iveagh Trust. It encompassed a vast area enclosed by a main thoroughfare, Patrick's Street, as well as Bull Alley, Bride Street and Bride Lane. North and east of the estate lay Corporation dwellings, built around the same time, known as the Bride's Alley Scheme, intended for the same class. The 'Corporation Blocks' at Ross Road, Nicholas Street and Bride Street, that made up the Bride Alley Scheme, serve as a perfect case study for a religious comparative to the residents of the Bull Alley's eight blocks of residential buildings (blocks A-H). Comparative analysis between privately-built philanthropic dwellings and state-built dwellings is of paramount importance in order to understand in particular the religious composition of those in both housing realms, which in turn puts the question of whether the Trust's 'ethos of inclusion' was upheld. This section will tease out the religious profiles of those who lived under philanthropic and municipal roofs in order to question whether any difference in demographic profile arises from the census data of 1911.[160]

[160] The Census 1911 is only used as it is the only census dataset available while the Iveagh Trust Bull Alley dwellings were opened.

According to analysis of data presented from each block of Iveagh Trust and Corporation dwellings, Catholicism was the most prevalent religious denomination amongst residents in 1911. In the Corporation Buildings, Roman Catholics made up 88% (686 of 776 people) of total residents. Similarly, across the eight blocks of the Bull Alley estate, 74% (682 of 929 people) belonged to the Church of Rome. In each block in both Corporation and Iveagh Trust dwellings, there were few people belonging to the Church of Ireland. Within the Bride's Alley Corporation blocks, only 9% (seventy-three people) of those housed belong to this denomination. In Bull Alley, there are more members of the Church of Ireland, a substantial minority of 23% (216 people). In both cases, Presbyterians were present, albeit in miniscule proportions. In the Iveagh Trust, there were nineteen Presbyterians (2%), while in the Corporation, there were fifteen (also 2%). The Iveagh Trust also housed other denominations. There were seven Methodists, two Congregationalists, two 'non-denominational Protestants' and one Jew, while in the Corporation Buildings, save for Roman Catholics, Presbyterians and Church of Ireland members, in all twenty blocks there were no other religions present, with only two people, father and son, who declared themselves as 'agnostic'. Chart 21 and 22 display the religious breakdown of both Corporation and Iveagh Trust residents.

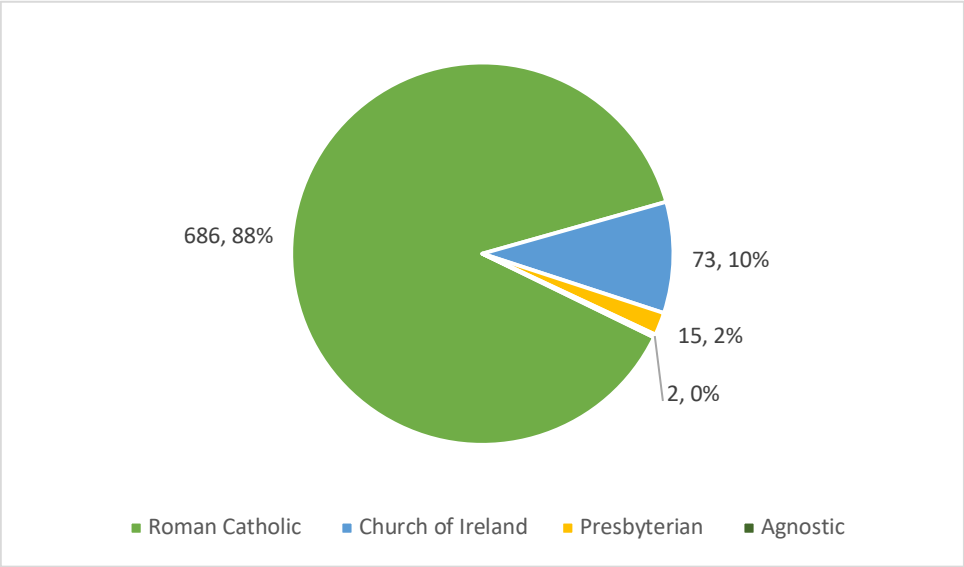

Chart 21: Religion: Dublin Corporation Bride's Alley dwellings, 1911

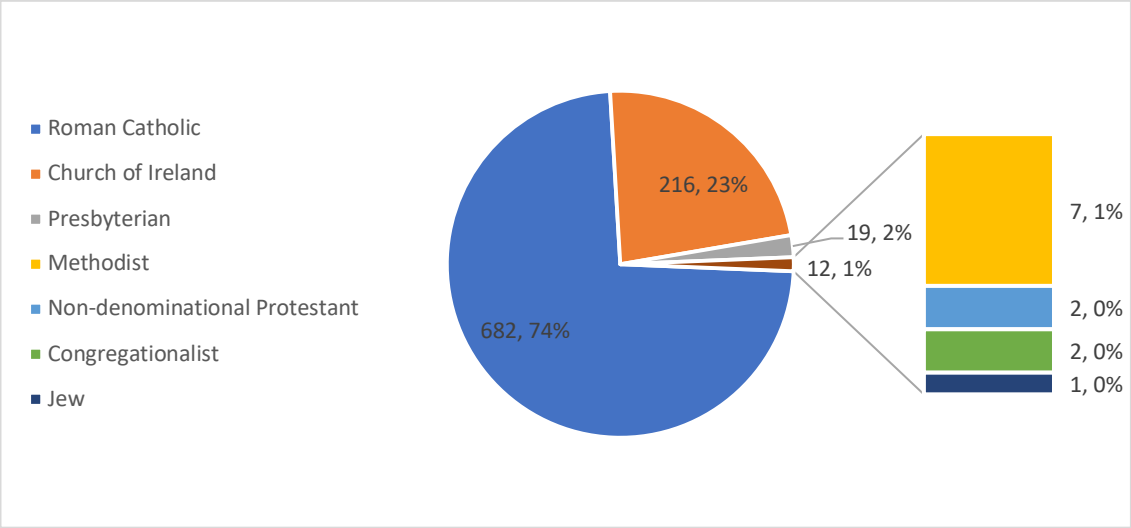

Chart 22: Religion: Bull Alley dwellings, 1911

When religious denominations are broken down on a block-by-block basis for both the Iveagh Trust's Bull Alley and the Corporation's Bride's Alley dwellings, an interesting difference occurs in terms of the situation of religious denominations throughout the Bull Alley estate, particularly in the east-facing blocks of E, F, G, H. In each west-facing block on Patrick Street (A, B, C, D,) the percentage of Roman Catholics is fixed comfortably in the 80-percentile range. However, in the four east-facing blocks on Bride Street (E, F, G, H,), the percentages of Roman Catholics present falls dramatically to a range between 52% and 69%. Correspondingly, the amount of Church of Ireland members increases. In blocks A, B, C, D, they consist of between 10-15%, while in blocks E,F,G,H this figure rises to 44% in Block E, 24% in F, 32% in G, and 29% in H. Chart 23 below illustrates this:

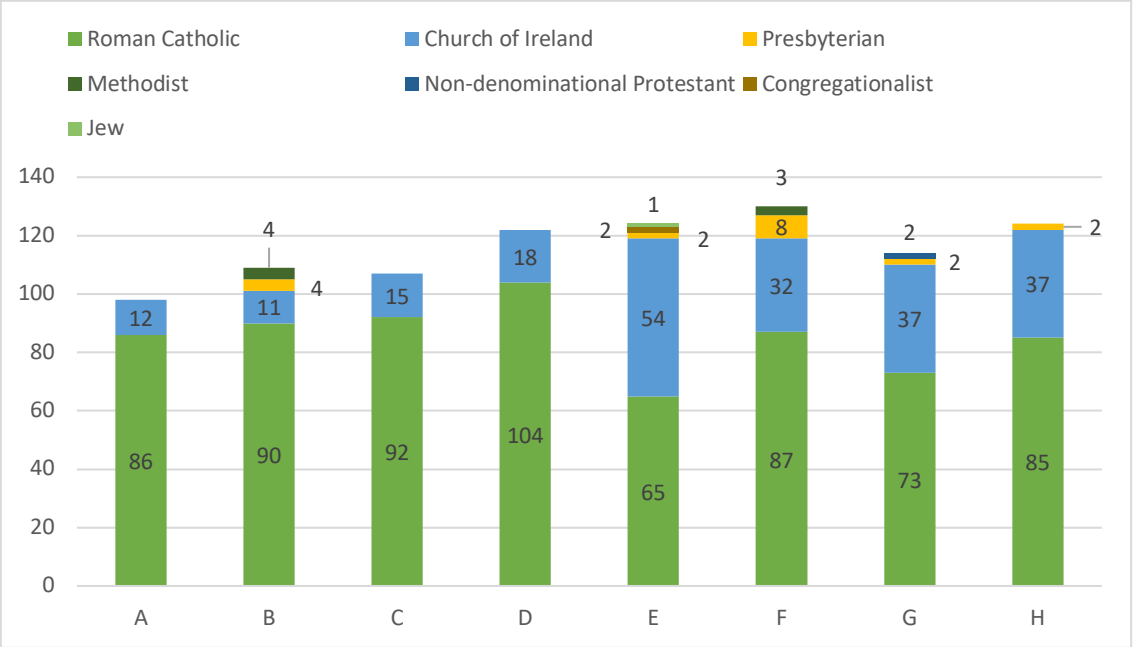

Chart 23: Religion: Block breakdown of Bull Alley Dwellings, 1911

A block-by-block religious breakdown of the Bride's Alley Corporation dwellings demonstrates a lack of religious diversity in each block. Although there is a Roman Catholic majority in each block in the Bull Alley, there are also a blend of other denominations. Conversely, there are blocks within the Corporation Bride's Alley dwellings that have 100% Roman Catholic occupancy rate. Three of the five blocks analysed at Nicholas Street show 100% Roman Catholic occupancy and on the whole street only two of the families belong to the Church of Ireland. The four blocks on Bride Street show slightly more integration, with only one of the four blocks, Block 3, being 100% Roman Catholic. Similarly, the eleven blocks at Ross Road show a greater blend of religious denominations with Block 1, 2, and 7 being the only three blocks with 100% Roman Catholic occupancy.

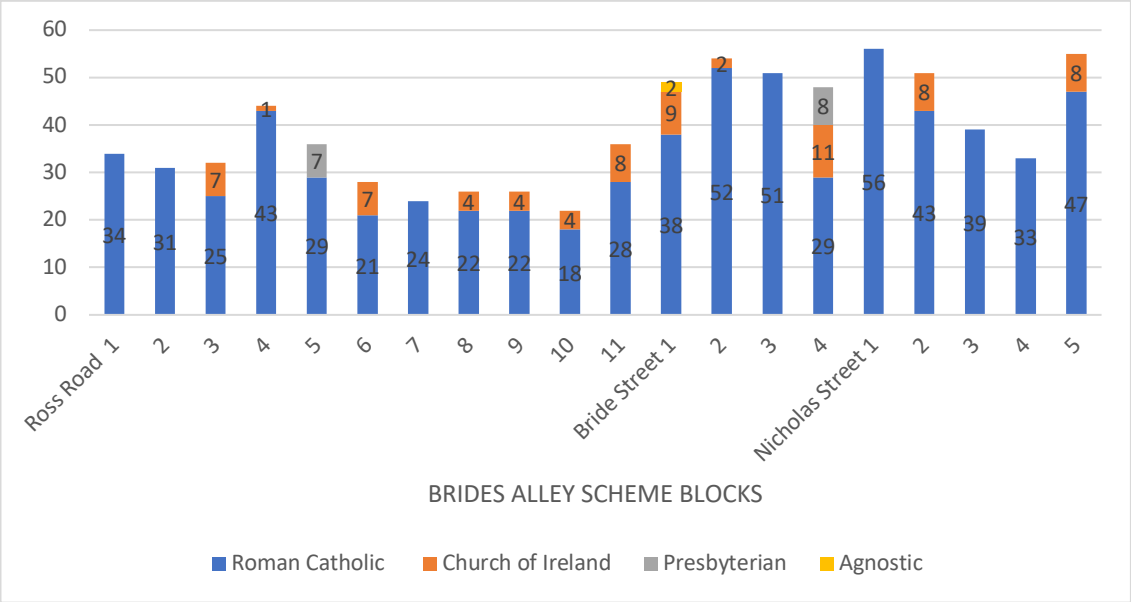

Chart 24: Religion: Block breakdown Corporation Brides' Alley dwellings, 1911

As mentioned before, as an integral component to its ethos, the Iveagh Trust was to maintain a non-discriminatory selection process with regards to religious denomination and political affiliation. The application process itself upheld this ethos, as it did not ask the religion of an applicant or his family or what parish they belonged to. Therefore, there is no physical evidence of discrimination or preferential treatment based on religion apparent in any application records or tenant registries. That said, as has been shown, the Iveagh Trust housed more Protestants when compared with neighbouring Corporation estates. From the census data, it can be discerned that while the portion of Church of Ireland members housed in the Bull Alley complex never took the form of a majority, at times, and in certain blocks, they came close. Block E, for example, had fifty-four Church of Ireland residents (44%) with sixty-five Roman Catholics (52.4%). If the Trust upheld a policy of non-discriminatory selection of prospective residents, when comparing with neighbouring state housing estates, how could the proportion of Church of Ireland goers living in the Trust be significantly higher than in the neighbouring Corporation dwellings and even the wider city percentage? As no hard documentary evidence survives, if it existed at all, we can only hypothesize. One plausible explanation for this could be an unconscious bias on the part of the Trust officials to choose prospective residents who upheld similar social values to themselves, values linking across class, on religious lines.

As Maguire notes, 'Protestant philanthropists who responded to Protestant working-class poverty were shaped in their attitudes to poverty by the same evangelical conviction that religion shaped character'.[161]

As has been discussed, those at the top of the administrative table of the Iveagh Trust, the Trustees and the Secretary, were predominantly Protestant middle and upper class men. It could be likely that the behaviour of an applicant, during the selection process, reflected assumptions about social and behavioural qualities more strongly associated with one religious group over the others. The Victorian values which philanthropy was founded on, and the concept of respectability in all classes, derived from the Protestant Evangelical movement. The data can indicate that the respectable nature of the Church of Ireland working class members, whether real or perceived, benefitted from the selection process, controlled by members of the Church of Ireland. Furthermore, it could be argued that in addition to an unconscious bias based on class values, of Protestant Trust workers selecting Protestant applicants, more indicative traits, such as particularly 'protestant-sounding' surnames, as well as previous addresses that were situated within a certain Church of Ireland parish. Given the size of the Church of Ireland community within Dublin and the existence of communal networks, this is a plausible theory.

Moreover, the heightened proportion of Church of Ireland tenants in the Iveagh Trust estates can also be explained by a more class-based argument than social character which was influenced by religion. In his analysis of the Dublin Protestant working-class, Maguire notes that while there were about 10,000 working class Protestants in Dublin at the turn of the century, they were not spread across the many internal tiers of working class structure. Indeed, Protestant working classes tended to congregate in particular occupational sections. In 1911, for example, only 6% of the entire Protestant population of Dublin were unskilled workers, compared with 31% of the entire Catholic population of Dublin. Conversely, working class Protestants were found more

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[161] Martin Maguire, 'The Church of Ireland and the problem of the Protestant working class of Dublin, 1870s-1930s, Ford, McGuire, and Milne, (eds.), *As by Law Established: The Church of Ireland since the Reformation* (Dublin, 1995), p. 197.

prominently in the skilled workers section, at 22% of the entire Protestant working population. Likewise, the military was also an important employer for the Protestant working class, at 21% of the entire Dublin Protestant population, compared with only 2% of all Dublin Catholics joining the military.[162]

Amongst the 232 households resident in the Iveagh Trust Bull Alley estate in 1911, 202 were headed by men and thirty were headed by women. Mary E. Daly corresponds occupations of males with their religious denomination, to get a clear picture of the social status of each religious group within the working class. The same model has been used here with regard to the demographic profiles of the 202 male heads of families in the Bull Alley estate and the 226 male heads of families in the New Bride Street estate from data collected from the census taken in April 1911.

Of the 202 males in the Bull Alley estate who headed their families in 1911, 70% were Roman Catholic, 26% were members of the Church of Ireland and the remaining 4% were of other denominations, namely Presbyterians and Methodists. Save for the agricultural sector, composed of two Roman Catholics, each sector showed a blend of at least the two predominant religious denominations. The Labour Sector, which encompassed unskilled general labourers as well as labourers who listed specific industries, held the greatest difference of Roman Catholic to Church of Ireland, with 84% Roman Catholic, 10% Church of Ireland, and 6% 'Other' religious denominations. The proportion of members of the Church of Ireland in any sector did not overtake the proportion of Roman Catholics. In the Dealing Sector, made up of ten individuals, the proportion was equally shared at 50% each. Within the Domestic Service sector, there was almost an equal proportion of Roman Catholics to members of the Church of Ireland, at 56% to 44%. Table 11 below displays the full breakdown of religious denomination per occupational sector:

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[162] Idem., 'A Socio-Economic Analysis of the Dublin Protestant Working Class, 18870-1926', *Irish Economic and Social History,* Vol. 20 (1993), p. 37.

Table 11: Iveagh Trust Bull Alley: Occupation and Religion, Census of Ireland, 1911

	Total	**Roman Catholic**	**%**	**Church of Ireland**	**%**	**Other**	**%**
Agricultural Sector	**2**	2	**100**	0		0	
Building Sector	**37**	23	**62**	11	**28**	3	**8**
Dealing Sector	**10**	5	**50**	5	**50**	0	
Domestic Service	**18**	10	**56**	8	**44**	0	
Manufacturing Sector	**59**	42	**71**	15	**25**	2	**3**
Public Service and Professional Sector	**23**	17	**74**	6	**26**		
Transport sector	**14**	11	**79**	3	**21**		
Labour	**31**	26	**84**	3	**10**	2	**6**
Industrial service	**3**	2	**67**	0	**0**	1	**33**
Other	**5**	4	**80**	1	**20**		
	202	142	**70%**	52	**26%**	8	**4%**

Similar results are found in the New Bride Street estate. Table 12 below demonstrates that the more unskilled sectors, such as agriculture and labour, had a vast majority of Roman Catholics in comparison to other denominations. The two men engaged in agricultural work in 1911 were Roman Catholics while 89% of those in Labour were Roman Catholic. In addition, the Transport Sector in this portion of the community was made up of 94.7% Roman Catholic and only 5.3% (two people) being Church of Ireland. In terms of the industries that had higher proportions of Church of Ireland members, it can be clearly seen from both tables that the more skilled and professional occupations had a higher rate of Protestants. In 1911, the proportion of Church of Ireland members in the Public Service and Professional Sector was 23.5%. Dealing and Manufacturing were two other sectors with high proportions of Protestants.

Table 12: Iveagh Trust New Bride Street: Occupation and Religion, Census of Ireland, 1911

	Total	Roman Catholic	%	Church of Ireland	%	Other	%
Agricultural Sector	**2**	2	**100**	0		0	
Building Sector	**25**	21	**84**	3	**12**	1	**4**
Dealing Sector	**12**	8	**66.7**	4	**33.3**		
Domestic Service	**17**	14	**82.4**	3	**17.6**		
Manufacturing Sector	**43**	30	**69.8**	9	**20.9**	4	**9.3**
Public Service and Professional Sector	**17**	13	**76.5**	4	**23.5**	0	
Transport sector	**38**	36	**94.7**	2	**5.3**		
Labour	**56**	50	**89.3**	6	**10.7**		
Industrial service	**8**	6	**75**	2	**25**		
Other	**8**	5	**62.5**	1	**12.5**	2	**25**
Total	**226**	185	**81.9%**	34	**15%**	7	**3.1%**

Overall, analysis of the religious breakdown of the Iveagh Trust community would indicate that it was more varied in religious composition than neighbouring Corporation housing schemes.

Compared with the wider religious demographics of working class Dublin, the Iveagh Trust community was generally a mirror of those demographics apparent in the wider neighbourhood of Wood Quay. It is equally as important to remember that Dublin was divided in class lines rather than on religious ones. This is important when assessing the importance of the ethos of inclusion; the lack of division on political and religious lines amongst the working class made the ethos of inclusion less significant; the ethos was merely a statement that reinforced an unstated practice. This lack of discrimination was simply a reflection of wider social norms within Dublin working class communities.

4.3.C. External Influences: The impact of wider political and social events on the Iveagh Trust Staff and Residents

The Iveagh Trust staff and tenants experienced Dublin through a multitude of tumultuous phases; witnessing it first as a deposed capital within the Union of the United Kingdom of Britain and Ireland, the Trust then survived decades of growing discontent which climaxed in the first decades of the twentieth century in

revolution and war, culminating in the establishment of the Free State. This section will analyse the impact of major political and social events had on the Iveagh Trust and its residents, with particular regard to the Great War, 1914-18 and the fight for independence, including the Easter Rising 1916, the War of Independence 1919-21, and the Civil War, 1922-23. It will demonstrate the often opposing experiences encountered by neighbours; while some were fighting for the Crown, others were battling against it.

The Great War, 1914-18

Although the war of 1914-18 was fought on the continent, its impact was felt throughout the Ireland. For the Iveagh Trust community in Dublin, this was no different; during the war period there was an increase in applications completed by females who cited their husbands were away at service and their weekly income as the separation allowance, while the assessment of the nightly stays in Iveagh House, the hostel shows a significant drop in residents during the war years.[163] As Dickson maintains, the IPP's leader, John Redmond's Woodenbridge speech in September 1914, where he urged support for the British cause of war, resulted in 'recruitment in the city to reach unprecedented levels'; within the first five months there were 7,283 Dublin recruits rising to 21,187 by the end of 1916.[164] Some of these recruits were members of the Iveagh Trust community. Furthermore, Dublin companies supported their employees joining the ranks, through 'promises of job security or better'.[165] Although not a company, the Iveagh Trust employed staff, and these sentiments were echoed in the philanthropic housing trust.

Throughout the years 1915 – 1919, the war in Europe was mentioned at almost every Trustee's meeting, which usually occurred twice or three times a year. As was demonstrated previously, the minutes of these meetings highlight the Trustees' preoccupation with staff affairs and their own and families' welfare; this preoccupation was only accentuated during the war. In order to ease the

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[163] See Chapter 2, pp. 159 – 169.
[164] Dickson, *Dublin: The Making of A Capital City,* p. 444.
[165] Ibid.

hardships of swapping family life for the battlefield, the Trustees introduced measures related to wages, gratuities and living arrangements. These measures can also be understood as incentives to go to war; the promise of a job when they returned, the payment of salaries while they were away, coupled with the assurance that their family would be taken care of, gave staff an opportunity to join the ranks.

In their meeting in January 1915, the Trustees decided to grant gratuities 'to wives of members of the staff called to the colours'.[166] One year later, on the eve of the Easter Rising, the Trustees granted

> war gratuities of 10/- per calendar month to married men who are staff in receipt of weekly wages, and to include married men temporarily in lieu of those of the staff absent on naval or military service.[167]

Furthermore, the Trustees decided at this meeting to grant half pay to the office clerk, Edward James M., while he was serving with 'His Majesty's Forces'. In addition to the maintenance of salary and the protection of a job when they returned, the Trustees permitted the wife and family of one of the porters, who worked on the Bull Alley estate, to live in 'their quarters free of rent while he is serving with His Majesty's Forces'.[168] Throughout the war, these war bonuses and gratuities were increased for married men on the staff to 20/- per month from February 1917. [169] They were increased again one year later in addition to war grants to the wives of staff who were on active duty, and again to male and female staff members on February, May and September 1918.[170] Coupled with this, the Secretary of the Trust, J.E. Bonner, received a war gratuity of one month's salary at Christmas 1916.[171]

The Trustees discussions on the subject of increasing war gratuities, bonuses and in the paying of salaries to men on active duty would suggest that a considerable number of staff members did join the war effort. Yet, it was noted only once that the Trust had a staff member killed in action. The office clerk, Mr.

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[166] Meeting 26 January 1915, *Iveagh Trust Minutes, 1903-39,* BA/BX/1/A [ITA], p. 25.
[167] Ibid., 7 February 1916, Ibid., p. 29.
[168] Ibid.
[169] Ibid., 1 February 1917, Ibid., p. 33.
[170] Ibid., 7 February 1918, Ibid., p. 37; Ibid., 4 February 1919, Ibid., p. 40.
[171] Ibid., 1 February 1917, Ibid., p. 33.

Edward James M., a Methodist born in Armagh, was killed in France on 31 October 1918; the thirty-year-old was a lieutenant with the Royal Irish Fusiliers.[172] The Iveagh Trustees sent their condolences to his wife and documented their 'personal feeling of loss', commenting that 'Mr [M.] faithfully served the Trust from March 1910, until he offered his services to his King and country in May 1915.'[173]

Residents also experienced this feeling of loss, as husbands, fathers, brothers and sons who joined the war effort, never came back. Research into men who joined the war effort with connections in the Iveagh Trust, from sources such as Irish National Roll of Honour, 1914-21, Soldiers' Wills and Irish Soldiers' Records, show that at least eighteen men from the community who went to war were killed in action or later died from their wounds received in combat.[174] It is not known how many tenants in total enlisted. Married couple Samuel and Esther Massey, Roman Catholics who lived in 334 'N' block New Bride Street, lost two sons within the first year of war: John James Massey, of the 1st Battalion, Irish Guards, died of his wounds in November 1914, aged twenty-two. His brother Leo, in the 2nd Battalion of the Royal Dublin Fusiliers, was killed in action in Ypres in April 1915, aged twenty.[175] Seven other men ranging from eighteen-years-old to thirty-nine, had parents living in the Trust at the time of their death. Mary O'Connor, who lived in 116 New Bride Street, lost her eighteen-year-old son

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[172] *The Irish Times*, 31 October, 1924; *Ireland, National Roll of Honour, 1914-21*[via findmypast.ie]; [https://search.findmypast.ie/record?id=ire%2fmil%2fnatrollhono%2f1015863] [accessed 18 February 2018].
[173] Meeting 14 November 1918, *Iveagh Trust Minutes, 1903-39,* BA/BX/1/A [ITA], p. 39.
[174] *Ireland, National Roll of Honour 1914-21* [via findmypast.ie]; *Soldiers' Wills* [http://soldierswills.nationalarchives.ie/search/sw/home.jsp]; *Irish Soldiers' Records* [https://www.nam.ac.uk/soldiers-records/persons].
[175] Massey, John Joseph, *Ireland, National Roll of Honour*, 1914-21 [https://search.findmypast.ie/record?id=ire%2fmil%2fnatrollhono%2f1014909]; Massey, Leo, Ireland, *National Roll of Honour*, 1914-21, [https://search.findmypast.ie/record?id=ire%2fmil%2fnatrollhono%2f1014910] 'Massey, John Joseph', *Soldiers' Wills*, [http://soldierswills.nationalarchives.ie/reels/sw/MasseyJ_E62707.pdf]; No will could be found for Leo Massey; The Massey family were living house 9.3 Stephen's Street in the Royal Exchange DED at the time of the 1911 census: *Census of Ireland, 1911*, [http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/pages/1911/Dublin/Royal_Exchange/Stephen_Street/81299/] [date last accessed: 18 February 2018].

Thomas (10th Battalion, Royal Dublin Fusiliers) in May 1917.[176] George McLean, a member of the Church of Ireland, left in his will all his belongings to his father, Alexander, who lived in the Bull Alley estate.[177] Patrick Joseph McCormack, (Roman Catholic), a private with the Royal Irish Fusiliers, died aged 18 in 1916, leaving his mother Mary behind.[178] This was also the case for Thomas McGuirk (Lance Corporal, Royal Dublin Fusiliers), James Courtney (Private, Leinster Regiment), George Kavanagh, Church of Ireland, (Private, Royal Dublin Fusiliers) and Thomas Dobbyn, Roman Catholic, (Corporal, Duke of Wellington's (West Riding Regiment)).[179] All were killed in action or died of their wounds and had parents living in the Iveagh Trust community.

In addition to parents losing sons, wives also lost husbands and children lost fathers. Michael Reynolds, a Roman Catholic married with three children was killed on 20 April 1916 while undertaking his duties with the 7th Battalion of the Leinster Regiment.[180] Similarly, Martin Doyle, who lived in F block of the New

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[176] 'O'Connor, Thomas', *Ireland, National Roll of Honour*, 1914-1921, [https://search.findmypast.ie/record?id=ire%2fmil%2fnatrollhono%2f1018811] [Date last accessed 18 February 2018].
[177] 'McLean, George', *Ireland, National Roll of Honour*, 1914-21, [https://search.findmypast.ie/record?id=ire%2fmil%2fnatrollhono%2f1015993]; 'McLean George', *Soldiers' Wills*, [http://soldierswills.nationalarchives.ie/reels/sw/McLeanG_E92784.pdf]; 'McLean Family', *Census of Ireland, 1911*, [http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/pages/1911/Dublin/Wood_Quay/Bride_Street/63189/]
[178] 'McCormack, Patrick Joseph', *Ireland, National Roll of Honour, 1914-21,* [https://search.findmypast.ie/record?id=ire%2fmil%2fnatrollhono%2f1015371]; 'McCormack family', *Census of Ireland, 1911*, http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/pages/1911/Dublin/Arran_Quay/Prussia_Street/46197/ [Accessed 18 February 2018].
[179] 'McGuirk, Thomas', *Ireland, National Roll of Honour*, 1914-21, [https://search.findmypast.ie/record?id=ire%2fmil%2fnatrollhono%2f1015858]; 'Courtney, James', Ibid;, [https://search.findmypast.ie/record?id=ire%2fmil%2fnatrollhono%2f1004646]; 'Kavanagh, George', Ibid., [https://search.findmypast.ie/record?id=ire%2fmil%2fnatrollhono%2f1012007]; 'Dobbyn, Thomas', Ibid., [https://search.findmypast.ie/record?id=ire%2fmil%2fnatrollhono%2f1006023]; 'Dobbyn family', *Census of Ireland, 1911,* [http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/pages/1911/Dublin/Wood_Quay__part_of_/Bride_Street/85758/] [Accessed 18 February 2018].
[180] 'Reynolds, Michael', *Ireland: National Roll of Honour, 1914-21,* [https://search.findmypast.ie/record?id=ire%2fmil%2fnatrollhono%2f1020941];

Bride Street estate was killed in action in Belgium in 1917, leaving his wife behind.[181] Henry Gaster's wife was also left behind with a young son after he was killed in France in 1916; he was a Roman Catholic company sergeant with the 10th Battalion of the Essex Regiment who worked at Guinness brewery.[182] William Hope, Roman Catholic, died in France from Cerebral Spinal Meningitis in 1917, leaving his wife Annie behind in the Trust.[183] The wives and children of Nicholas Mulvany, (13th Battalion, Norfolk Regiment), John McGrath, (2nd Battalion, Royal Dublin Fusiliers) and William Lawrence Campbell (2nd Battalion, Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers) were also left grieving.[184]

Revolution

Living alongside those members of the community who took the King's Shilling, were residents who fought to end British rule in Ireland. One such resident was John Cullinane (sometimes spelt 'Cullinan') of 9 'H' block, Bride Street, who was heavily involved in republican military activity during the period 1918-21 for the 'national interest'.

'Reynolds Family', *Census of Ireland, 1911* [http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/pages/1911/Dublin/Wood_Quay__part_of_/Bride_Street__New__Iveagh_Trust_Buildings_/77824/] [Date last accessed 18 February 2018].

[181] 'Doyle, Martin', *Ireland: National Roll of Honour, 1914-21,* [https://search.findmypast.ie/record?id=ire%2fmil%2fnatrollhono%2f1006658] [Date last accessed 18 February 2018]

[182] 'Gaster, Henry James', *Ireland: National Roll of Honour, 1914-21,* [https://search.findmypast.ie/record?id=ire%2fmil%2fnatrollhono%2f1008922]; 'Gaster Family', *Census of Ireland, 1911,* [http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/pages/1911/Kildare/Newbridge_Urban/Moorefield_Road/568892/] [Date last accessed: 18 February 2018].

[183] 'Hope, William Joseph', *Ireland: National Roll of Honour, 1914-21,* [https://search.findmypast.ie/record?id=ire%2fmil%2fnatrollhono%2f1011199]; 'Hope Family', *Census of Ireland, 1911,* [http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/pages/1911/Dublin/Wood_Quay__part_of_/Bride_Street__New__Iveagh_Trust_Buildings_/77161/] [Date last accessed: 18 February 2018].

[184] 'Mulvany, Nicholas', *Ireland: National Roll of Honour, 1914-21* [https://search.findmypast.ie/record?id=ire%2fmil%2fnatrollhono%2f1017227]; 'McGrath, John', Ibid., [https://search.findmypast.ie/record?id=ire%2fmil%2fnatrollhono%2f1015755]; 'Campbell, William Lawrence', Ibid., [https://search.findmypast.ie/record?id=ire%2fmil%2fnatrollhono%2f1002807] [Date last accessed: 18 February 2018].

In February 1918, Cullinane was arrested with twenty-seven other men in a building on North Frederick Street. While they maintained that they were there for 'Gaelic class', it was reported that they 'took part in an unlawful assembly, held for the purpose of training and being trained in the use of arms'; notebooks were found on the subjects of 'military engineering, knot tying, bridge building, slide bridge buildings and barrel raft construction, origin and use of explosives, difference between gunpowder, guncotton, dynamite and gelignite and different methods of handling and detonating'.[185] After being transferred to Mountjoy jail after refusing to pay bail, Cullinane and his fellow prisoners went on hunger-strike.[186] According to James Foley, the commander of the 'D' Company of the Dublin Brigade, 1917-21, Cullinane was part of the company, and played an integral part in many dissident activities and plots, such as the collection of tax in April 1920, the destruction of the Raheny RIC Barracks in August 1920, the execution of two British secret agents in the Gresham Hotel in Dublin, an attack on Auxiliaries in LMS Hotel, North Wall in April 1921, a raid on MGW Railway at Broadstone and the infamous destruction of the Custom House in May 1921.[187]

Raids by Crown forces were also carried out in the Iveagh Trust estates. On 23 October 1920, a raid on the Iveagh Trust proved successful, with the apprehension of two brothers, Michael and Thomas O'Connor, who lived in 55 'C' block, New Bride Street. Leading the raid was Lieutenant W.Y. Price, who reported that they were directed to raid the block the day before, looking for arms, ammunition, explosives and seditious literature.[188] In 59 'C' block, which was occupied by Anne Sweetman, they found a locked box hidden under the bed. Ms Sweetman 'stated that she had not got the key, but said the box belonged to a

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[185] 'Cullinan, John', WO/35/100/25, Army of Ireland Easter Rising Records, The National Archives [via findmypast.ie – Easter Rising and Ireland Under Martial Law] [https://search.findmypast.ie/record?id=ire%2feas%2fris%2f099610]
[186] *The Irish Times,* 28 February 1918.
[187] Witness Statement of Garda James Foley, Company Commander, 'D' Company, 2nd Battalion, Dublin Brigade, 1917-1921, Member of Garda Siochana, 1952', BMH.WS0774, *Bureau of Military History* [http://www.bureauofmilitaryhistory.ie/reels/bmh/BMH.WS0774.pdf#page=8] [date last accessed 18 February 2018].
[188] 'O'Connor, Michael', Easter Rising and Ireland under Martial Law, 1916-1921 Transcription, [https://search.findmypast.ie/record?id=ire%2feas%2fris%2f017317] [date last accessed: 19 February 2018].

friend whose name she would not reveal'.[189] After breaking open the box, the raid team which consisted of '2 Officers, 8 NCO's, 29 men and 1 DMP', uncovered one Webley revolver with eight rounds of ammunition, fifty rounds of small arms ammunition, a Sinn Fein Uniform and equipment, and various papers and documents. The box, which was left in Ms Sweetman's, belonged to the O'Connor brothers, who when admitting they owned it, said 'the box is ours; will the old woman get into trouble?'[190] Consequently, the brothers were sent to Bridewell prison. In November 1920, Thomas was found not guilty and immediately released. Michael was found guilty of all charges and was given two years with hard labour. Yet while Thomas found not guilty for this incident, he was involved in the fight for independence as a member of the IRA. The following year, in May 1921, Thomas was arrested at a band hall in Bridgefoot Street when an IRA meeting was taking place. He was among forty-four other men arrested and detained, however they were subsequently released after interrogation.[191]

A subsequent raid on the New Bride Street estate was carried out in November 1920 which led to three members of the community being apprehended by Crown forces. The raiders searched all members of the community including 'young ladies … [who were] … taken to the Superintendent's office and searched by female searchers… even schoolchildren … were examined, caps being taken off and school bags inspected. Every apartment was entered, as well as the outhouses.'[192] The three members of the community that were arrested were Frank Griffith, an employee of the Trust, who had in possession 'some copies of "Young Ireland" and books … [and] A photograph showing the signing of the anti-Conscription pledge'.[193] John R. Collins, a corporation employee living in the New Bride Street estate, was arrested after a 'Republican card' was found in his

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[189] Ibid.
[190] Ibid.
[191] 'O'Connor, Thomas', in Ibid, [https://search.findmypast.ie/record?id=ire%2feas%2fris%2f081962] [accessed 19 February 18]
[192] *Irish Independent,* 13 November 1920.
[193] Ibid.

possession. The third man arrested was Henry Roche, after 'photos of Sean Connolly, Roger Casement, and The O'Rahilly' were found.[194]

The extensive and consistent searches carried out by Crown forces during this period in the Iveagh Trust estates made the efforts of Kathleen Byrne, who aided the national cause for independence at an extreme level, even more impressive. Byrne, a Roman Catholic, of 312 Iveagh Buildings, Block 'N' in New Bride Street, played an integral role in storing arms, ammunition, medical supplies, documents and even wanted men in her Iveagh Trust dwelling over the course of the revolutionary period. The part she played in the fight for independence was explained at length to the Military Pensions Board, when she applied in 1937. At the time of application, Byrne was still residing in the Iveagh Buildings, which would indicate that her efforts went undetected.[195] It was claimed that Kathleen was 'badly off nowadays; her parents are dead, and she has no means nor no work'.[196] Byrne joined the Ranelagh Branch of Cumann na mBan as an 'unofficial member' between 1917 and 1918, where she attended some meetings, until things 'got too hot':

> I would be too pronounced to go on parades. I think Maeve discovered that I and my home would be more useful to the men for storing their arms.[197]

She reported directly to Maeve Phelan, who determined that Byrne's role was so integral to daily operations that recognition as an official member would put her, and her home, in danger:

> On more than one occasion she asked me for admission into the ranks of Cumann na mBan; but on account of the help that she was giving, the danger of the publicity involved through the wearing of a uniform and through the chance

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[194] Ibid.
[195] 'Byrne, Kathleen', Military Pensions Application, MSP34REF55504; The earliest record of the Byrne family residing in the Iveagh Trust estate comes from the census of 1911. Kathleen Byrne, aged 25 at this time, lived in the dwelling with her sister and her mother and father. The entire family were born in Co. Wicklow; Kathleen was single and cited her occupation as a Photographers Assistant; Census or Ireland 1911 [http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/pages/1911/Dublin/Wood_Quay__part_of_/Bride_Street__New__Iveagh_Trust_Buildings_/77671/] [date last accessed 26 February 2018].
[196] Letter from Maeve Phelan to the Military Service Pensions Board, 20 December 1937, 'Byrne, Kathleen', Military Pensions Application, MSP34REF55504.
[197] Ibid.

> capture of a Roll-Book, I in conjunction with other officers through it expedient that she should be merely an unofficial member of the Organisation.[198]

The role Kathleen undertook and her ability to avoid detection, by official authorities or the Iveagh Trust staff, looking back, was remarkable, especially when considering the amount of successful raids within the community. Over the course of the revolutionary period, Kathleen held arms (Webley revolvers and rifles), ammunition, land mines, grenades, medical supplies, numerous documents and throughout the period, wanted men in her flat in the Iveagh Trust buildings.

During the insurrection of Easter Week in 1916, Kathleen Byrne helped a man named Patrick Rooney escape from Jacob's biscuit factory before the surrender. She then 'kept him for two nights and a day to my own home until he could get across the bridges. He lived in Seville Place'.[199] During the War of Independence and consequent Civil War, Byrne continued to house men involved in insurgency. Captain Sean Budds, of the ASU, 3rd Battalion, asserted the Miss Byrne undertook her duties 'at great personal risk … to herself and the other members of her family'.[200] This personal risk included putting up men of the battalion in her home, including Budds, Peter Brennan who 'has since gone to America', Ned Byrne who 'was on the trams at the time' and Peter Shorthall, among others.[201]

Even before April 1920, Kathleen Byrne stored many arms: 'eleven rifles … grenades and all sorts … Webley' and a land mine.[202] She would store them in her bedroom, and used to oil the guns 'with machine oil of my own'.[203] Byrne would transport the arms to various locations for Maeve Phelan and members of the ASU, such as grenades to the Dame Street corner for Maeve in reach of the Jury's hotel.

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[198] Letter from Maeve Phelan to the Military Service Pensions Board, 20 December 1937, 'Byrne, Kathleen', Military Pensions Application, MSP34REF55504.
[199] Sworn Statement made before Advisory Committee by Kathleen Byrne on 23rd June 1938, 'Byrne, Kathleen', Military Pensions Application, MSP34REF55504.
[200] Reference from Sean Budds to the Military Pension Board, 10
[201] Sworn Statement made before Advisory Committee by Kathleen Byrne on 23rd June 1938, 'Byrne, Kathleen', Military Pensions Application, MSP34REF55504.
[202] Ibid.
[203] Ibid.

Likewise, Byrne also brought grenades to a house 'just past Dawson St' for the 'attack in Oriel House'.[204]

Along with weapons, Byrne was tasked with transporting and storing documents, medical supplies, and, after a raid on Phelan's shop in Wexford Street, Byrne held the 'Irish Prisoners Dependants' money'.[205] Additionally, members of the A.S.U. – G. Coy. 3rd Battalion of the Dublin Brigade – used Miss Byrne's residence to meet, where they would inspect the guns.[206]

For her service, Kathleen Byrne received a lump sum of £15.8.4 as pension payable per annum from 1934. In addition, she received £5 per year for her three and a half years' service.[207] In 1946, Kathleen applied for a special allowance on top of her military pension allowance and national health allowance, citing herself as an invalid, incapacitated with spinal arthritis.[208] Her undetected exploits, by Crown forces or the Trust staff indicates either a possible weakness in the supervisory organisation, or the strength of Byrne's diversionary techniques.

Revolutionary activity also occurred in the vicinity of the Iveagh Trust buildings. During the Easter Rising of 1916, Christopher Byrne, 'F' Company, 4th Battalion of the Irish Volunteers, who fought alongside Con Colbert and Eamon Ceannt in the South Dublin Union and Marrowbone lane area, asserted that the surrender of their troops occurred on Bride Road:

> He [Eamon Ceannt] ordered us to surrender and we obeyed. We formed up in fours and marched to Bride Road, and at the north side, opposite the Iveagh Lodging House we laid down our arms on the road. The men's from Jacob's came along and did the same.[209]

Robert Holland, who was in the same company as Byrne, corroborated this:

> We marched in military formation … On our route we were subjected to very ugly remarks and cat-calls from the poorer classes … As we marched into Bride Road the British military with fixed bayonets were formed up two deep on each path. They had machine guns posted at Bride Street end facing us and the military then closed in behind us. Orders were given to halt and people were ordered to get

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[204] Ibid.
[205] Ibid.
[206] Ibid; Reference from Ledwidge, 8257 Special Branch, G.Coy, 3rd Battalion, Dublin Brigade, 23 June 1938, Ibid.
[207] 'Byrne, Kathleen', Military Pensions Application, 34E4424.
[208] Ibid., DP15788.
[209] Witness Statement Christopher Byrne, 5 February 1952 (BMH.WS0642)

away from the windows of the buildings on each side and to close them. We were then put in double file facing what is known as the Iveagh Baths …'

These activities and raids on Iveagh Trust property were grounds for claiming compensation. On four occasions, James A. Bonner made compensation claims on behalf of the Trust for damage to property as a consequence of the struggle for independence in 1921-22. In August 1921, Bonner claimed that a pane of glass was 'wantonly and maliciously broken and destroyed', this occurred again in March 1923, when three panes of glass were destroyed in the shops on the Bull Alley estate. Bonner also made a compensation claim after his bicycle was stolen on Dame Street, and again when men broke into the Superintendent's office and took some money. [210]

The Iveagh Trust community had varied experiences during this period of political and social upheaval. Between neighbours, while a lack of religious antagonism was present there were even unspoken animosities between neighbours, resulting from political inclinations. Samuel and Esther Massey, who lost both sons during the war in 1914 and 1915, were living in 319 N block. A few doors down was people like Kathleen Byrne, living in 334 N block, who kept arms and men fighting for the end of British rule in Ireland. This demonstrates the intricacies of communal life; while all common in their want of accommodation and their membership in the working class, diversity prevailed within the community – a sign of a 'true' community.

4.4 – A Community Spirit

The formation of the Iveagh Trust community and its maintenance through measures implemented by the administration and the tenants alike, created an opportune environment for the development of a communal spirit. While there were obvious differences among members of the community, in terms of religious,

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[210] James Alfred Bonner, 32 Oaklands Park, Ballsbridge (FIN/COMP/2/28/720); Ibid. (FIN/COMP/2/28/1045); James Alfred Bonner, Secretary of the Iveagh Trust, (FIN/COMP/2/28/357); James Alfred Bonner, Secretary of the Iveagh Trust, (FIN/COMP/2/28/1677).

political and ideological inclinations, these differences are representative of the wider community of Dublin working classes; they were not all one homogenous group. Community spirit, finding expression in individual or group activities in which members of a community choose to engage for the benefit of that community, it is defined as 'a sense of fellowship and solidarity which is felt by the members of a community'.[211] This section is dedicated solely to the concept of community spirit within the Iveagh Trust community, through analysis of collective activities and actions performed by the tenants and administration alike. Furthermore, an exploration into the idea of casual benevolence and neighbourliness among tenants will also be undertaken. This section will also look at those who hindered the progress of the community and hence, the cohesiveness of the community: the black sheep within the community who ignored the rules and regulations implemented by the Iveagh Trust, those who were involved in incidents of crime as well as traumatic incidents which took place on Trust grounds.

4.4.A. Lateral Philanthropy

> The poor are relieved much more by the poor than by the bourgeoisie; and such relief given by an honest proletarian who knows himself what it is to be hungry, for whom sharing his scanty meal is really a sacrifice, but a sacrifice borne with pleasure, such help has a wholly different ring to it from the carelessly-tossed alms of the luxurious bourgeois.[212]

It is often assumed that 'charity is a duty which specifically belongs to the rich', and, on first look, the philanthropy of the Iveagh Trust does fit this top-down, vertical template.[213] The initial benefaction was given by a wealthy businessman from a family with a history of philanthropic tendencies; the recipients of this philanthropy were nurtured in mind, body and spirit; they were supervised, counselled and in some ways, controlled. However, what is missing from the study of the Iveagh Trust is the study of the workingman's benevolence, a 'lateral

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[211] Definition of 'Community Spirit', *Oxford English Dictionary,* http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/37337?redirectedFrom=community+spirit#eid8779972

[212] Friedrich Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (first published 1845) (Oxford, 1993), p. 284.

[213] Frank Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse,* p. 27.

philanthropy' that moves horizontally rather than vertically down the social ladder. This is apparent in the neighbourly, familial and self-help nature inherent in the community's make-up. As Prochaska maintains, by defining philanthropy as kindness through personal relationships 'opens up the subject to include casual benevolence with the family or around the neighbourhood, activities which often expand and lead to the creation of formal societies'.[214] Considering lateral philanthropy amongst the Iveagh Trust community, as Prochaska states, 'helps us to avoid misconceptions inherent in assuming that charity is invariably a relationship between rich and poor'.[215] He states that such 'familial kindness and neighbourliness would ideally extend ever wider into the community bringing social harmony'. [216]

The idea of 'lateral philanthropy' is really charity of the poor to the poor. In the case of the Iveagh Trust, this form of philanthropy is charitable activities that occurred in the most casual of ways among the tenants and neighbours – the members of this community. Prochaska, a key proponent of this subsection of philanthropy, maintains that

> as with their social superiors, working class philanthropy flowed from their own needs and aspirations … much working class charity was of the type applauded by Engels, local, spontaneous and independent, which rarely leaves a trace behind [such as]… caring for ageing relatives, assisting kin in times of adversity, the provision of Sunday dinners, visiting sick friends, taking in washing, helping with rent, or dropping a coin in a hat at a local voluntary centre, the pub, to support an unemployed neighbour or someone who had lost a purse.[217]

The casual nature of lateral philanthropy amongst the working classes, the fact that such casual benevolence occurred without the paperwork found amongst the top-down model of philanthropy, makes it incredibly difficult to trace within the Iveagh Trust community. However, it is not a completely lost cause. The use of oral history and alternative analysis lends itself positively to the argument for lateral philanthropy within the Iveagh Trust community. Moreover, those living in the Trust often volunteered their time to communal activities or left money to

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[214] Ibid., p. 7.
[215] Ibid.
[216] Ibid., p. 25.
[217] Ibid., pp. 28-29.

local charities, such as one elderly woman who lived in the Kevin Street estate, who passed away in December 1938 and 'left over £200 to local charities'.[218]

As has been shown, the population of the Iveagh Trust community, which began with the formal application process created a varied cohort of tenants in terms of family size, age and gender, amongst other characteristics. Analysis of the tenant registers show that the consideration seen in selecting applicants initially also permeated into the very placement of people into particular dwellings. Elderly people, lone parents, single people, and families were all intentionally intermingled which created an opportune atmosphere for the possibility of self-sufficiency and co-dependence. Save for the designated elderly homes in Mount Anthony and Moyne House (which were not established until the 1960s), there was no segregation or compartmentalisation of certain family types into particular dwellings. Instead, a deliberate mixing of different kinds of families and tenants can be seen from as early as 1901.[219] This deliberate placement of different family types beside one another in the Iveagh Trust estates served as one mechanism of interdependence. The management aimed to get the 'balance right' to mirror the wider social demographics in the surrounding areas, because as Mr Stephens stated, 'that was the way society was moving'.[220] It was an attempt to reflect the wider social sphere in a controlled manner that was mutually beneficial to both the tenants, the staff and the community as a whole.

The conscious intermingling of various family types created an interdependent atmosphere of reliance and mutual obligation on one another. Patsy Dunne, born into the Iveagh Trust in 1931, explained that, an elderly neighbour would normally watch over their neighbour's children while the parents were either in work or running errands. In return, one of the children would run to the shop for the elderly neighbour to pick up sugar or milk.[221] Dunne

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[218] Weekly report week ending 11 March, *Iveagh Trust Weekly Reports, 1936-9,* CS/BX/4/A/1935-6 [ITA].
[219] Guinness Trust Buildings, Census of Ireland, 1901 - http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/pages/1901/Dublin/Wood_Quay/Guinness_Trust_Buildings/
[220] Interview with Fred Stephens, former Iveagh Trust Secretary, 11 September 2014, 16 December 2014.
[221] Interview with Patsy Dunne, Iveagh Trust Kevin Street, Dublin 17 February 2015.

also recalled an 'oul woman on our landing' who would make an apple cake every Sunday and, after taking a slice for herself, would say 'May [Patsy's mother], I made too much for myself' and would give the rest to the Dunne family.[222] The formation of personal bonds between neighbours through their positioning in the dwellings, as well as the use of the public areas, created a mutual reliance and as a result a neighbourly attitude within the community. Myles Kelly was born in his family's dwelling in the 1950s. His mother was aided in his birth by her female neighbours.[223] Myles also recalled that, 'when one of the women had a baby, there was a huge celebration throughout the estate; your neighbours would also help out too, they would mind the other children for a few hours or bring small gifts to help out with the baby'.[224]

These examples are just a small amount of those that probably will never be known, due to the spontaneity of such philanthropic acts, very rarely leaving any written evidence behind. However, living in the close confines of the Trust dwellings, sharing cleaning duties of the public areas as well as the organised communal recreation, all aided in the creation of personal relationship that no doubt allowed this causal, lateral philanthropy to flourish through the Iveagh Trust estates.

4.4.B. Organised Communal Spirit

While the neighbourly and charitable atmosphere amongst the tenants of the Iveagh Trust contributed to the community spirit, it was also enforced through recreational activities, organised for the tenants by the staff of the Trust, as well as by the tenants themselves.

The most significant contribution to organised recreation for the Trust was the establishment of Lord Iveagh's Play Centre, known locally as the 'Bayno'. The Play Centre, situated on the Bull Alley estate, contained classrooms, a gymnasium, a library and a concert hall, with its aim being for education or instruction of working class children through play. The centre gave lessons in such things as sewing, cooking, singing and dancing and woodwork. The concert hall also acted as

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[222] Ibid.
[223] Interview with Myles Kelly, Iveagh Trust Kevin Street, Dublin 08 October 2014.
[224] Ibid.

a lunch room where children who attended received a cup of cocoa and a bun. The Play Centre, however, was not reserved solely for the children who resided within the Iveagh Trust. Rather, it was open to all in the surrounding areas – one example of how the usually closed off, detached community of the Iveagh Trust was perforated. In addition to the usual activities conducted in the Play Centre, there were other special events held for the children. In 1936, there was 'great excitement amongst the children' regarding a cinema show that was going to be held on 1 December. The show was organised by Trustee A.E. Guinness 'at his own expense'. It was a 'great success [with] nearly 1,800 children' in attendance.[225]

Particularly in the first few decades of its establishment, both in Francis Street and later in Bull Alley, the Play Centre was immensely popular by both the children of the Iveagh Trust and those in the surrounding areas. Educational and cheerful songs were sung collectively by those who attended, emphasising comradery and perseverance in the face of bleak circumstances. The 'Whistling Song', sung when King George V and his wife Queen Mary visited in 1911, is one example of this.

Have you any petty cares, boys,
Just whistle them away,
There's nothing cheers the spirits
Like a merry roundelay.
No matter if the heart beat
'Neath silk or hodden grey,
For the sake of those who love you
Just whistle them away.

Then as you climb life's hill, boys,
Put music on your tongue,
Turn from your daily trials, boys,
And whistle for a while;
Be steadfast in the right, boys,
Whate'er the world may say,
Temptation never conquers those
Who whistle them away.[226]

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[225] Weekly report for the week ending 5 December, 1936, *Iveagh Trust Weekly Reports, 1936-9,* CS/BX/4/A/1935-6 [ITA].
[226] 'Whistling Song' in *Programme for Use on the Occasion of the Visit of Their Majesties The King and Queen to Lord Iveagh's Dublin Play Centre,* 8 July 1911 [ITA].

For the older members of the community, tea parties were also held regularly, organised by the staff and Trustees.

The residents also organised their own activities, further enhancing the communal spirit and social interaction. Living in the Kevin Street estate all her life, Patsy Dunne became heavily involved in the running of the estate itself, particularly in terms of tenant - organised recreation for the children of the estate, which in itself can be considered a form of lateral philanthropy:

> Tricia and a few of us, we all ran a club for the children … for years … we used to have a laugh with them, with the kids yea. We would have fashion parades, brilliant they were. They were [the children] all about twelve … it was their club.[227]

Unlike the Bayno, the club that was run by Dunne and other female neighbours was exclusively for the children who resided in the Iveagh Trust. The organisers would charge the children 20 pence, and for that price they would 'for Easter all get their Easter egg … we would bring them over to the green in the summer and play all the games with them … it was the simplest of things'.[228] Another example of communal spirit organised by the tenants was such events as the window-box competition, run by the residents in each estate to "engage the tenants' interest in flowers'.[229] Those who wished to compete were to decorate their window sills with flower boxes. Judges would inspect the window boxes throughout the year, 'from February to October' and the winner would receive a cup that would 'remain in the possession of the winner' for one year.[230]

The organisation of activities on a recreational and social level no doubt strengthened the sense of community spirit and belonging within the Iveagh Trust community. Recreational activities officially organised fell in line with the objective of ameliorating the entirety of the working class individual, orchestrating recreation that distanced itself from gambling, the public house and vice as a whole. Creating cohesion between tenants via communal activities aided in the

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[227] Interview with Patsy Dunne, Iveagh Trust Kevin Street, Dublin 17 February 2015
[228] Ibid.
[229] The Iveagh Trust Bull Alley Window Box Competition' organised by Mrs. Gleeson, Miss Pearson, Mrs. McNamara and Miss Waters – all residents in the buildings, 1955 [ITA].
[230] Ibid.

progress of the Iveagh Trust on an official scale, but also assisted in the 'comfort, moral welfare and improvement of their tenants and their families' as well as those in the surrounding areas.

4.4.C. Rule Breakers within the community

While the structures that were put in place – the selective application process, the maintenance of the community through rules, regulations and intense supervision and organised recreational activities – to ensure that a community spirit was almost certain, not all members who lived in the Iveagh Trust estates lived peacefully within its community. Rather, there were multiple incidents in which the peace was broken in the community, despite the stringent procedures put in place to avert it. Analysis of newspaper records and the available weekly reports which detailed crimes committed either by Iveagh Trust residents or on Iveagh Trust property during this period effectively demonstrates this. In addition, analysis of the tenant register for the Kevin Street estate shows multiple evictions on various grounds.[231]

Over the period 1890-1939, a number of larceny, theft and robbery committed by Iveagh Trust residents made their way into the newspapers. In September 1910, John Murray with an address at the Iveagh Buildings was charged with another man for 'loitering in the streets of Kilkenny on August 28th, the day of a Nationalist demonstration, with intent to commit a felony'.[232] It was alleged that the pair were attempting to pick pocket amongst the crowds. Both men were, according to the Head Constable, 'not known at the Dublin addresses given', but John Murray was a known offender. He had been

> twenty-one times in jail, and had been convicted under numerous names. The principal offences for which he was committed in England, and were nearly all similar to the present charge.[233]

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[231] Analysis was carried out only on the Kevin Street Registers [Tenant Register: Kevin Street (BA/SR/BK/TENREG/KEVST/1890-1955) as this was the most complete register found, encompassing blocks A-E from the opening of the blocks until the 1930s. Tenant registers could only be found for the Patrick Street side of the Bull Alley estate.
[232] *Weekly Irish Times,* 10 September 1910.
[233] Ibid.

Both men were sentenced to three months' imprisonment with hard labour. The following month, Robert Diamond, who was staying at Iveagh House, was charged in Mayo with 'larceny of £27 or £28 from an old age pensioner'.[234] Pleading guilty, Diamond was sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment, his long list of convictions being already proved against him. In July 1912, Ellen Morrissey, 24, with an address of 258 L Block Iveagh Trust Buildings, was also charged with larceny, for entering a house on Harcourt street and stealing a purse containing 30/-.[235] Morrissey 'admitted the charge and stated that with the money she had paid her rent and her debts'; she was sentenced to three months imprisonment with hard labour.[236] In July 1923, John Costello with an address at Iveagh Buildings was charged, along with two other men for

> breaking into the premises of the National Clothing Company, Drury street, Dublin and stealing articles and clothing ... [with] £400 worth of material missing.[237]

It was later discovered that certain articles of clothing were pawned.[238] In January 1930, Patrick Hayes was charged with breaking into a licenced premises of Mr. Baker, Palmerstown. Given that Hayes had served three years of penal servitude for a similar offence, he was sentenced to six months with hard labour for this particular crime.[239] In 1933, an insurance clerk named Edward Vaughan was prosecuted with the theft of 'thirty overcoats from hotels and restaurants in the city'.[240] The following year, a group of young men were arrested and charged with larceny and robbery, with two of the men being Iveagh Trust residents, Michael Prown and Denis Byrne.[241] The series of charges concerned the

> Larceny of motor cars, snatching a lady's handbag, and breaking and entering the premises of Messrs. A. Clerkin, Pearse street, and Messrs. Kennan, Fishamble street.

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[234] Ibid., 22 October 1910.
[235] Ibid., 20 July 1912.
[236] Ibid.
[237] *The Irish Times,* 30 July 1923; *Irish Independent,* 30 July 1923.
[238] Ibid.
[239] Ibid., 16 January 1930.
[240] *Irish Press,* 5 January 1933.
[241] *The Irish Times,* 31 March 1934.

Detective Officer Ward stated that he was present when Denis Byrne's father asked his son "Is it true you stole motor cars, snatched ladies' handbags, and went into houses,", with Byrne replying "I did, Daddy.". Three years later, in January 1937, Denis Byrne was arrested again, this time he was charged with embezzlement of £6 15s. from Messrs. Lipton, Upper Rathmines Road, where he was employed as a messenger. Byrne claimed 'the money had been spent on pictures and dances'.[242]

Similar charges of fraud and welching were laid against Iveagh Trust residents. In 1913, John McDowell, a "bookmaker" who gave his address as 19 C block, Iveagh Buildings on arrest, was charged with obtaining money by fraud at Powerstown Park Races by taking money in bets but not paying winnings out.[243] Michael Kelleher, who gave his address as the Iveagh House, was given six months for fraud in 1925, for obtaining money from the Rev. Canon Thompson at St. Catherine's Rectory, 'by pretending that he was collecting to buy nets for fishermen, and also a Christmas box for the Dublin lamplighters'.[244] In addition, there was a subsequent charge of 'obtaining eggs form a trader in Queen street by presenting a cheque which he found in the Cattle Market' that belonged to someone else.[245]

In 1935, William Gillooly, age twenty-one was charged with trespassing on enclosed grounds on Waterloo road and subsequently having escaped after arrest. Due to the 'youth of the accused man, and the fact that he had borne a good character', Gilhooly was not sent to jail, but instead put on probation for twelve months.[246] Five years later, in 1940, a warrant was issued under the Emergency Powers Acts for Gilhooly's arrest because of his membership in the IRA. He subsequently gave an undertaking to 'sever his connection with subversive organisations'.[247]

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[242] Ibid., 12 January 1937.
[243] *Weekly Irish Times*, 27 September 1913.
[244] *The Irish Times,* 15 January 1925
[245] Ibid.
[246] *The Irish Times,* 2 October 1935
[247] William Gilhooly, 26F Iveagh Buildings, Bride Street, Dublin: interned under the Emergency Powers Acts, 1940 (2011/25/304) [NAI]

Involvement in motor accidents were also commonplace. In 1929, Philip Doughney a fitter aged twenty-three was charged with 'causing the death of Miss Caroline Shelbridge … by striking her with a motor bicycle at Malahide road'.[248] In 1924, James Stafford of G block Iveagh buildings was arrested for a fatal collision in Dublin's Phoenix Park that claimed the life of Michael J. Bolger, a farmer from Clonsilla.[249] It was found that Stafford, who was in the company of two other men of the Iveagh Buildings, had been driving under the influence of alcohol when the incident occurred.[250] Ten years later, James Stafford was once again apprehended and prosecuted 'for driving a motor cycle combination in a reckless and negligent manner at Merrion Road'.[251]

More sinister crimes were committed by residents, including the association with the so-called 'animal gangs' in the 1930s. In 1935, ten men 'who have been described as members of the "animal gang"', were arrested for assaulting two young men. Two members of the gang Patrick Green (18) and John Green (17), were living in the Iveagh buildings. [252] In 1911, Thomas Alexander Meehan, aged 16 years was charged with attempted murder for shooting fellow resident Philip Glass, 'a Jew [who was] employed as a tailor's presser'.[253] It was stated that Glass asked the accused for a penny, 'which Meehan refused to give him. They both left the Iveagh Buildings and Glass stated that Meehan suddenly discharged a toy revolver in his direction, with the result that a pellet lodged in his knee'.[254] Meehan was sentenced to either pay 40/ or spent 10 months in jail.[255]

While the supervision put in place by the Trust as well as the physical barriers of the gated estates secluding the community from outside 'vagrant's, these barriers were not always successful. In 1938, Henry Evans of no fixed abode

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[248] *The Irish Times,* 1 October 1929.
[249] *Evening Herald,* 25 December 1924.
[250] Ibid.
[251] Ibid. 27 March 1934.
[252] Ibid., 25 April 1935
[253] *The Irish Times*, 2 November 1911; *Freeman's Journal,* 6 November 1911; *Irish Independent,* 6 November 1911.
[254] *The Irish Times,* 3 November 1911.
[255] Thomas A. Meehan record, 1 November 1911 - Dublin Metropolitan Police: Prisoners Book 3, 1911-13 (DMP) - UCD digital file – [https://digital.ucd.ie/view/ucdlib:43947https://digital.ucd.ie/view/ucdlib:43947] [accessed 17 August 2016]

was charged with larceny of a silver watch and a chain from Christopher McDonnell, a blind man who lived in the Iveagh Buildings.[256] Evans, who had befriended McDonnell in Stillorgan Convalescent Home, called to his house in the Iveagh Buildings saying that 'he would take McDonnell for a walk:

> The watch was in a drawer in the room, and while witness [McDonnell] was getting ready to go out with Evans the latter left the house. When Evans left suddenly witness found the drawer open and the watch and chain gone.[257]

In some cases, Iveagh House was used by those running from the law. In 1925, William Morgan, 'a convict in licence' was charged with stealing a suitcase from a woman on a tramcar in Dublin after been found in the hostel.[258] In 1927, 'James Hunter, alias Grant (50 years)' was arrested at Iveagh House after breaking into a house in Blackrock and stealing three silver racing cups.[259]

Trauma also occurred within the Iveagh Trust estates that disturbed the peace of the community. On 31 December 1910, James A. Bonner wrote to Lieutenant Colonel G.W. Addison, Trustee, to report 'two cases of madness in Kevin St. Buildings during this week'. The first incident was described as 'religious mania'. A man who had been a tenant for six years

> entered another tenement in his stockinged [sic] feet and threw a woman into the fire and then nearly strangled the woman's father. He escaped from the police who had come to arrest him, and he after an exciting chase around the buildings, he was captured in Kev St. He has been committed to Richmond Asylum.[260]

The second case related to a woman, described as a 'former lunatic' who had been a tenant for two years. She 'threw herself from the top-floor window – death instantaneous'.[261] The woman was named in *The Irish Times* as Mrs Elizabeth O'Connell, aged twenty-nine. She had been a patient for two years in the Richmond Asylum and was living in the Iveagh Trust by herself, 'her husband being absent in San Francisco'.[262] The inquest maintained that

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[256] *The Irish Times,* 7 February 1938.
[257] Ibid.
[258] *The Irish Times,* 1 Sept 1925.
[259] *The Irish Times*, 15 August, 1927.
[260] Letter from Bonner to Addison, 31 December 1910, Miscellaneous files (CS/BX/HISTORICAL/MISCELLANEOUS/1) [ITA].
[261] Ibid.
[262] *The Irish Times,* 31 December 1910.

> Two empty porter bottles and one full one were found in the deceased's room, and in front of the open window was a table, so that the deceased must have deliberately climbed over the table and thrown herself out. [263]

Evictions

Rules and regulations were put in place so that peace and order would be kept. Failure to adhere to the various rules gave the administration licence to evict. While there are cases mentioned in the weekly reports of tenants who break the rules, it seems that attempts were made to rectify issues, with eviction only as a 'last resort'. Analysis of the tenant registers, on first look, would negate this assumption, since the 'remarks' section of the tenant registers only give one or two word comments on a reason why tenants 'vacated' or were 'dispossessed'. Without corroborating these with weekly reports, it would be reasonable to assume that eviction occurred on a 'one strike' basis. Therefore, it is imperative to keep in mind that, for the majority of cases, attempts were made to ameliorate the behaviour of the individual before finally the administration was forced to evict them.

That said, the Kevin Street Tenant Register, which covers Blocks A-E from first occupation until, in most cases, the 1930s, contains many cases of eviction. The reasons for eviction vary from tenants being in arrears, to behavioural causes, such as being 'quarrelsome' or 'troublesome', or being 'drunk' or 'dirty'.[264] Chart 25 below shows the reasons for eviction across blocks A-E of the Kevin Street estate.

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[263] Ibid.
[264] Tenant Register: Kevin Street (BA/SR/BK/TENREG/KEVST/1890-1955) [ITA].

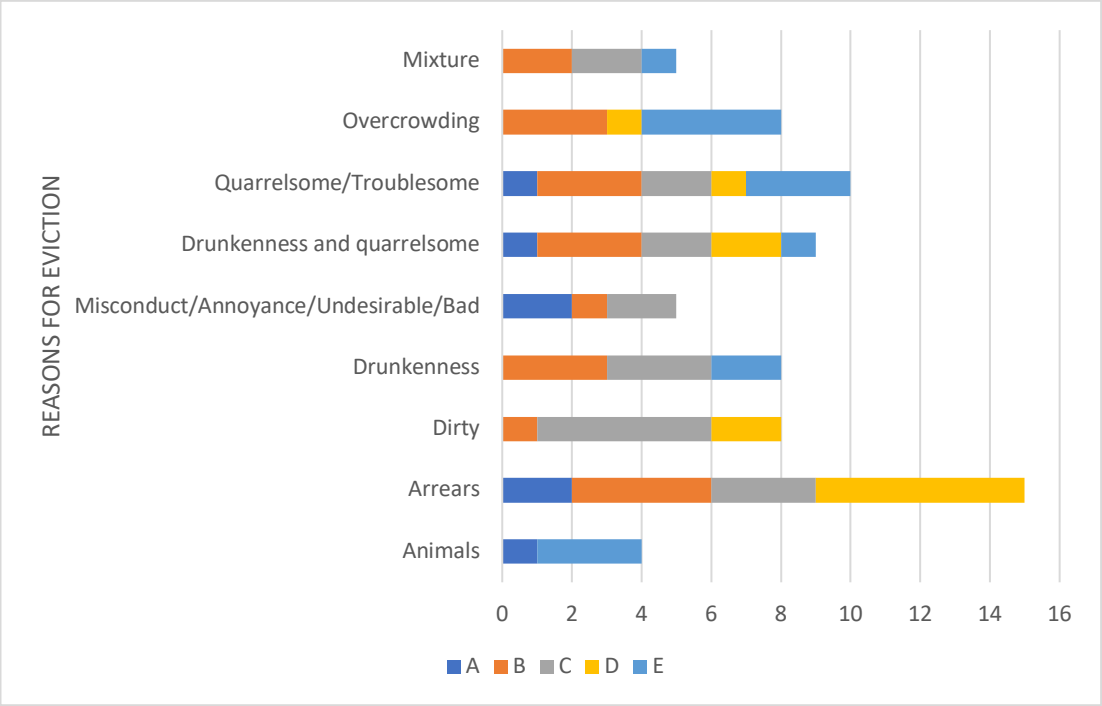

Chart 25: Eviction: Reasons, Blocks A-E, New Bride Street, c. 1897 - 1930s

As can be discerned from the chart above, in the majority of cases the reason for eviction was arrears and debt. While it was commented that Terry F. and his family were 'good tenants' they were eventually evicted because they were behind in rent, owing 21/-.[265] Similarly, Anne Marie M., who moved into a dwelling in block B in March 1916, was evicted by September that year owing to arrears while her husband was away in the army.[266] There were only a small amount of cases in which overcrowding was the reason behind an eviction; one was Walter C. of 'B' block, who was evicted in March 1910 as he had eleven children along with his wife living in a dwelling.[267] There was only one case where a tenant was evicted because they kept an animal: the A. family vacated their dwelling in August 1913 after three years for having 'cats'.[268]

In addition to falling behind with rent, overcrowding or keeping animals, more sinister behavioural issues, particularly regarding drunkenness, quarrelling, and general 'annoyance' or 'misconduct' led to eviction. The C. and K. families of B block were evicted in August 1911 and October 1913 respectively for drunkenness

[265] F., Terry, 'A' block, Ibid., p. 12.
[266] M., Anne Marie, 'B' block, Ibid., p. 22.
[267] C., Walter, 'B' block, Ibid., p. 40.
[268] A. Family, 'A' block, Ibid., p. 18.

and being very quarrelsome.[269] It seems like the C. family were given another chance in December 1913, when they moved into a dwelling in C block. However, they were evicted by June 1914 because the wife was showing signs of 'drunkenness'.[270] Drunken and quarrelsome wives were often mentioned in the tenant registries. This was the case for various families such as the O. family (dispossessed August 1911; 'very quarrelsome wife'), the F. family (June 1911; 'Wife drunken'), and the M. family (June 1915; 'wife quarrelsome').[271] It was remarked on Sheila B.'s record that she, a widow, was 'very good' for fifteen years, although 'lately drunken'.[272] Moreover, another family were evicted in July 1917 after five years over 'drunken relations'.[273] Other tenants were evicted because their children, were 'troublesome'. This was the case for Martha L., who was evicted from her home in September 1909 after two years because of her 'troublesome sons'. Likewise, Wesley S.'s family were evicted because his 'children [were] very troublesome, [and had] dirty habits'.[274]

'Dirty habits' were also a common cause for eviction; by having such habits, tenants were breaking the many of the sanitary rules put in place to ensure healthy living spaces for all. A family in E block, were evicted because they had a 'dirty tenement'.[275] In similar fashion, Richard M. and his family were evicted in July 1910 because they 'turned to dirty ways'.[276] The B. family of C block were 'poor tenants' because of the 'dirt', just as the M. family, who were not only 'very bad tenants' because of 'dirt', but were also in arrears.[277]

It was clear that no matter how many rules, regulations and surveillance practices were in place, not everyone belonging to the Iveagh Trust community would adhere to them. It could be suggested, especially in terms of incidents which occurred within the Iveagh Trust estates, that consistent surveillance and

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[269] C. Family, 'B' block, Ibid., p. 34; K. family, 'B' block, Ibid., p. 28.
[270] C. Family., 'C' block, Ibid., p. 47.
[271] O. Family, M., 'B' block, Ibid. p. 24; F. Family, 'B' block, Ibid, p. 40; M. Family, 'C' block, Ibid., p. 95.
[272] B., Sheila, 'C' block, Ibid., p. 71.
[273] 'B' block, ibid., p. 34.
[274] L., Martha, 'C' block, Ibid., p. 72; S., Wesley, 'E' block, Ibid., p. 98.
[275] E block, Ibid., p. 106.
[276] M. Richard, 'E' block, Ibid., p. 98.
[277] B. Family, 'C' block, Ibid., p. 52; M. Family, 'C' block, Ibid., p. 41.

supervisions was ineffective. However, in numerical terms, the population of those who stayed out of trouble in comparison to those who did is much higher.

There were other indicators of effectiveness, or ineffectiveness, of the supervisory mechanisms administered by the Trust. One such example is the case of Kathleen Byrne and her insurgent activities that occurred on Trust premises, as discussed in section 4.3.C.[278] Ms Byrne managed to carry out subversive activities without detection; evidence of this is found in her pensions application file, along with the fact that at the time of application, Byrne was still residing in the Iveagh Trust dwellings.

The lengths that Ms Byrne went in order to conceal revolutionary weapons and even men in her dwelling raises questions about the level, and consequent effectiveness, of supervision and monitoring on the part of staff and neighbours alike. Maeve Phelan, Kathleen's superior at the Ranelagh Branch of Cumann na mBan, made it clear in her referral to the Pensions Board that she did not have to worry about Ms Byrne being caught, as she was very careful, so much so that her neighbours did not suspect a thing; '… not only was she discreet then, but also up to the present moment her neighbours are unaware of her activities at that time … I have no hesitation is [sic] stating that so far as Kathleen Byrne or her home were concerned I never had to worry'.[279] How could it be, that in the close confines of the dwellings in New Bride/Kevin street, that no one suspected a thing? How did they not notice numerous wounded men, hiding out for a night or two, with a single woman in her 30s? It is possible that her neighbours did not suspect a thing, for it was not until 1937 in her pension application that this comes to light. She was still living in her dwelling thirty years after the insurgency and illegal activity she committed occurred: she was not evicted, arrested, or even mentioned in the letter books, the minutes or the newspapers.

In an interview with the Military Pensions Board, Miss Byrne stated that at one time she had eleven rifles in her possession during the war of independence that she kept hidden 'up the chimney in her bedroom'.[280] In addition, she sheltered

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[278] See 4.3.C, pp. 323 – 325.
[279] Letter from Maeve Phelan to the Military Service Pensions Board, 20 December 1937, 'Byrne, Kathleen', *Military Pensions Application,* MSP34REF55504.
[280] Interview with Kathleen Byrne, Ibid.

various men 1916, through to the war of independence and civil war. When asked if her house was known as a 'safe house', she replied:

> It was very safe. Although I was surrounded by the military they did not dream that there was anything. It was quite safe. [281]

Some wanted men would stay for a couple of nights in which they 'would go out in the day and come back'.[282] Furthermore, groups of men belonging to the Active Service Unit (ASU) would meet at her residence to 'see were the guns in working order'.[283]

It seems remarkable that, with such activities, and the use of her home as a 'safe house' and arms storage unit, Byrne was not found out, or reported by her neighbours, porters of the superintendents, who were instructed to keep 'a watchful eye for improper characters'.[284] There is a chance that her neighbours and porters turned a blind eye; they could have been sympathetic to the cause. However, for the staff higher on the organisational structure not to notice, and not to react with warning, eviction, or reporting to the authorities, does raise questions about the effectiveness of the supervisory regulations set in place – while concrete in theory, this case highlights their fragility in practice. Wounded and wanted men, or a land mine, for instance, are not easy to conceal.

Conclusion

The creation of the community of the Iveagh Trust, and the subsequent maintenance of it through both supervision, rules and regulations and recreation, ensured that Iveagh Trust was more than just the provision of housing for the working class. The consideration of the importance of the amelioration of the entirety of the working class individual allowed for the recipients of the gift to prosper both within the community and outside of it. Yet, not all members of the Iveagh Trust community were willing participants; as has been noted, throughout the period studied there were many residents who broke rules, committed crimes

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[281] Ibid.
[282] Ibid.
[283] Ibid.
[284] *Manual: indexed manuscript guide compiled on the management of estate buildings, fittings, tenants and staff* [LMA/4656/D/01/001]

or were evicted for their failure to align with the spirit of the community. As Prochaska has stated, 'the immediacy and familiarity of the parish bound the community together, rich and poor, in a web of kindness, obligation and expectation. Perhaps the desire to reinvigorate the bonds of parochial life was inevitable in a time of religious revival and increasing urban decay'[285] The Iveagh Trust encompassed the four basic components which make up a community. Firstly, a common location or territory was chosen and constructed upon, which formed the groundwork for the community-building to begin. Secondly, those who were chosen to be a part of this community held common interests, which, thirdly led to common participation in such practices as recreation, chores and 'lateral philanthropy'. Finally, a community identity was formed, an identity which is still very prominent within the community today.

[285] Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse,* p. 26.

Conclusion

In the closing decades of the nineteenth century, Dublin was a city left both politically, structurally and economically stagnant. Indeed, the landscape where Edward Cecil Guinness' Trust would build the majority of its dwellings during this period could be considered during this period as the stronghold of Dublin's poor; the area between the two prominent cathedrals of St Patrick's and Christ Church was one of the poorest and most dilapidated districts throughout the city, where some of the poorest families in Dublin resided in structurally unsafe and disease-ridden slums.

By 1939, this landscape had been transformed. In particular, the space surrounding Lord Iveagh's beloved St Patrick's Cathedral was cleared of the hotbeds of disintegration and in their place stood impressive, decorative red-brick buildings and landscaped gardens that became key institutions of socialisation and accommodation for the working poor of Dublin. The reason for this transformation was primarily due to the establishment of the Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust in 1890. What began with an idea to provide improved dwellings for the 'poorer of the working classes', from a man with deep-seated philanthropic inclinations, developed into a venture that ameliorated an area that was rife with ill-suited dwellings, previously considered a den of vice and disease.[1]

The establishment of the Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust occurred during a time when philanthropy was at its peak. For the purpose of this study, it was necessary to explore this fluid concept of philanthropic giving. In a time when state intervention in housing the poorer class was ineffectual, philanthropy by private citizens took centre stage. Indeed, philanthropy was inherent in the Victorian mentality; it was a key feature of Victorian culture and society. This thesis has explored the multiple motivations behind philanthropic deeds such as the Iveagh Trust, as well as the virtues and values that underpinned the reasons for giving, that also influenced the administration and management of the outcome.

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[1] *Deed of Trust (Dublin Fund).*

Moreover, this thesis has demonstrated the importance of studying the relationships fostered between the giver and receiver of philanthropic gifts, and amongst the recipients themselves. It has highlighted, within the realm of class relations, the intricacies of assumption between giver and receiver. The philanthropic culture rampant in the Victorian period was consumed with moral connotations; it was during this period when philanthropists and social commentators divided those in need of aid into two distinct groups – the 'deserving' and 'undeserving' poor. Moreover, often the philanthropic inclination to do good often had a contradictory or ironic nature to it. This is true in the case of the Iveagh Trust; while the philanthropic initiative received applause for its practical intentions, there were unintended, negative consequences, such as the displacement of people and their culture. Furthermore, philanthropy's ironic nature came to the fore when examining the Trust's embargo on alcohol use within the estates, even though the money used to build these estates was made from the sale of alcohol.

While the Trust's work improved the landscape, it was not its only aim. Rather, Edward Cecil Guinness sought, through philanthropic giving, to ameliorate 'the condition of the poor labouring classes of Dublin'.[2] In line with debates on how to alleviate poverty, it was thought that by providing better environments and accommodation for the poor, an improvement would be made to their health and economic welfare. Guinness's intention was to provide dwellings for the poorest people in society with his newly established Trust. However, analysis of the occupations and income of successful applicants into the Trust has demonstrated that this was not the case; it has been argued throughout this thesis that it would have been impossible for the Trust to reach this intended group; the Trust was restricted in doing this by its own administrative structures that required prospective tenants to have a consistent income in order to pay rent on a weekly basis.

Central to this thesis was the question of whether the Iveagh Trust achieved its primary aim of ameliorating the 'poorer of the working classes',

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[2] Ibid.

primarily in terms of their health and environment.[3] While the Trust failed to reach this section of the working classes, those they did house benefitted from more healthful environments; analysis of mortality rates within the community, against corresponding data on infection and mortality from surrounding areas, has revealed that mortality rates were markedly lower in the Trust community. Yet, this cannot be attributed to better quality dwellings alone. Complementing the improved dwellings were rules, regulations and policies put in place to curb the spread of infection and disease; the Trust imposed strict sanitary and cleaning guidelines while also ensuring that all prospective residents were vaccinated prior to entry into the new community.

Over the course of the first fifty years since its announcement in 1889 and establishment in 1890, the Iveagh Trust transformed from the simple provision of housing to something more; the Iveagh Trust's estates became self-reliant communities. The creation of the community of the Iveagh Trust, and the subsequent maintenance of it through both supervision, rules and regulations and recreation, ensured that the Iveagh Trust was more than just the provision of housing for the working classes. The formation of personal bonds between neighbours through their positioning in the dwellings, as well as the use of public areas, created a mutual reliance and hence solidarity and harmony within the community.

It is worth stressing that while those housed in the Iveagh Trust were not those originally intended, they were also not one homogenous group of artisans as previously assumed. The demographic, occupational and economic analysis conducted throughout this thesis has demonstrated that there was a high level of diversity within the Trust community; there was a blend of people from different areas, with different occupations, religious persuasions and family types. This diversity must be recognised, as they highlight the intricacies of communal life within the Trust.

As has been shown, philanthropists during this period sought not only to ameliorate the working classes physical conditions, but also aimed to elevate their souls, through the regulation of practices and behaviour. Regulation of behaviour

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[3] Ibid., p. 1.

and attempts to uplift the morals of the philanthropic gift's recipients can be seen through almost every facet of organisation and construction within the Trust. The buildings themselves are telling of this. Both inner-city Dublin complexes, New Bride/Kevin Street and Bull Alley, were physical structures that created closed-off citadels, separate from the outside world in many ways, with high walls, wrought iron gates and usually only one entrance and exit, while the suburban development of Iveagh Gardens in Crumlin had a similar structure. In addition, staff were employed on the ground to monitor the comings and goings of residents and visitors and were instructed to keep a watchful eye out for strange characters or intruders.

Membership of the community was conditional, conditions based on the rules and regulations that accompanied every application form. While a practical step to ensure the basic workings of the Trust, the consistent payment of rent was also a method of teaching self-reliance, diligence and frugality – key values instilled in the culture of the time when the Trust was first founded. Similarly, the insistence on maintaining a clean and organised home had a dual purpose; the implementation of these sanitary rules was necessary to curb the spread of infection or disease but also to teach order, house pride and cleanliness. Implicit rules that regulated behaviour were also enforced; the prohibition of drunk and disorderly behaviour and the sale of alcohol, coupled with the forbiddance of gambling and card playing as well as the desire to deter unruly children from certain games and playing loud music taught sobriety, self-control and respect for thy neighbour. In addition, strict codes of supervision were used to ensure the adherence to practices deemed acceptable by the philanthropic givers. These assumptions are evident in the physical layout of the interiors themselves, which correspond with the manuals and instructions given to superintendents on how a working class home should be.

This thesis has argued that while the initial gift that formed the Iveagh Trust was given by an upper-class man with philanthropic inclinations (and with the money to follow through on those inclinations), the Iveagh Trust itself thrived into the present day because of the solidarity of the people who made up its community. It has argued that while the Iveagh Trust gift was a 'top-down' form of philanthropy, its history is also one of 'lateral philanthropy', a philanthropy which

occurred amongst the poor themselves, that was characterised in the social integration of community members, acts of neighbourliness and the sharing of experiences and tasks. That said, this thesis has also shown that not all members of the community abided by the rules enforced by the Trust or their neighbours. Some members of the community went against the grain by breaking rules, committing crimes and disrupting the peace.

On the establishment of the Trust in 1890, Guinness vowed to exclude all influences of a political or religious nature in the management of the Trust. A focal point of this thesis has been to explore this 'Ethos of Inclusion' and question if it was upheld. On an official scale, no records were found which directly relate to political or religious bias on the part of the Trustees or the staff. Indeed, investigation into the demographics of the community show a blend of religious denominations. Overall, the majority of Iveagh Trust residents were Roman Catholic. However, it is worth noting that Protestants did make up a substantial minority of the community, greater than the city average for this economic class. In addition, certain blocks within the Bull Alley estate witnessed Protestants as a majority. This thesis has explored reasons as to why this might be. It has theorised that this heightened proportion of Protestants could be due to an unconscious bias based on Protestant class values on the part of the Trustees and admittance staff. Furthermore, given the small size of the Protestant working class community, it is possible that the recognition of particular surnames, as well as information networks, could have played a role.

In addition to an 'Ethos of Inclusion' based on religion and politics, this thesis has argued that there was also an 'Ethos of Exclusion' based on character and income; the importance of character, along with economic sustainability, was integral in the selection of tenants, and the Trust excluded based on these conditions.

Oftentimes the historical literature on philanthropic housing ventures of this period focus on the logistical amelioration and provision of buildings, preoccupied with the numbers of houses constructed, how they were built, and how many of 'the working class' they eventually housed. While this thesis has mapped out these developments, a key argument here is that housing providers such as the Iveagh Trust were more than simply bricks and mortar; they were

communities. Exploration into the planning and implementation of practical solutions is necessary, but it is also integral to highlight who is within these new buildings. This thesis has portrayed a snap-shot of this community, from their demographic makeup, to their experiences within the Trust's space and the impact wider events of political, social and economic nature had on them. It tells a tale of the everyday, as a microcosm of the Dublin working class experience during this period. Moreover, the weaknesses and shortfalls of philanthropic housing institutions such as the Iveagh Trust are often highlighted in historical literature, maintaining that they were never able to solve the problem completely. Here it is important to emphasise that it was never the intention to solve the societal problems of working class housing and conditions entirely, and the philanthropists of the period knew this. Rather, their objective was to *ameliorate* their condition, meaning *make better*.

Furthermore, the longevity of the Iveagh Trust is reflective of its successes. While historians in the past have claimed that such philanthropic housing institutions were insignificant and affected little, the fact that the Iveagh Trust withstood, and for the most part flourished, during multiple changes in wider social mentalities, political transformations and a shift from an individualist perception of philanthropic and voluntary aid to a nation where state intervention of welfare and housing became commonplace, is telling of this. The Trust survived these shifts in perception by forging relationships with state bodies and aligning itself with the wider ideas on how to provide housing for the working class of the time. The Trust is still in existence today, some 125 years after its inception, and is considered one of the largest voluntary housing providers in the capital city. Its survival has demonstrated its adaptability and versatility. The current housing crisis has made such voluntary housing bodies as integral as they were back when the idea for it was first conceived. Throughout its history it has shown its versatile nature by constantly reconfiguring how to ameliorate the pressures of those in need. In the 1920s and 1930s, it shifted from inner-city tenement style dwellings to suburban development. In later periods, the Trust also realigned their approach to focus on certain enclaves of 'poverty' in particular groups such as the elderly. As Carole Holohan has stated, the 1960s brought with it a rediscovery of poverty that shifted a focus to 'groups that had not benefitted from the rising tide' of welfare

provision; one example of this was the vulnerability of elderly people who were on the cusp of poverty and degradation.[4] This 'rediscovery of poverty' was practically infused in the Iveagh Trust model; in the same period, the Trust concentrated on new builds specifically for elderly people – Moyne House and Mount Anthony in Rathmines. These complexes offered security to this vulnerable sect of society while also enabling independence, camaraderie and community.

The private archive of the Iveagh Trust has enabled research into this community. Yet, as has been demonstrated throughout this thesis, the unorganised nature of the archive predominantly used made it impossible to paint a complete A-Z picture of its history. A primary objective of this thesis was to demonstrate the importance of such private archives and the opportunities they present to the historian of urban development, philanthropy and class relations. Access to the private records of the Trust, in conjunction with other sources from external archives, has made it possible to study this constructed urban community from the inside outwards, and the pride and willingness of both tenants and staff to speak of their everyday experiences in this housing trust, makes such a community come alive. The use of this archive, which, it is hoped, will be preserved and catalogued in the near future, can aid in future research on this period, and beyond.

[4] Carole Holohan, 'Conceptualizing and responding to poverty in the Republic of Ireland in the 1960s: a case study of Dublin', *Social History,* Vol. 41, No. 1, p. 40.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Trustees and secretaries of the Guinness Trust (Dublin Fund) and Iveagh Trust, 1890 – 1939 [1]

Trustees

Guinness Trust, London and Dublin, 1890-1903

Lord Rowton, Right Hon. Montagu William Lowry-Corry, C.B., *Chairman*

Right Hon. Charles T. Ritchie, M.P., (afterwards Baron Ritchie of Dundee)

Right Hon. David Robert Plunket, Q.C., M.P. (afterwards Lord Rathmore)

Sir Edward Cecil Guinness, K.P., (afterwards 1st Earl of Iveagh)

Col. George W. Addison, R.E.

Jacob Luard Pattison, Esq., C.B.

Right Hon. Lord Plunket, C.V.O. (afterwards Governor of New Zealand)

Hon. A.E. Guinness

Hon. W.E. Guinness (afterwards 1st Lord Moyne)

The Iveagh Trust, 1903-1939

1903

Earl of Iveagh (formerly E.C. Guinness) *Chairman,* 1903-27

Right Hon. Lord Rathmore

Right Hon. Charles T. Ritchie, M.P.

Jacob Luard Pattison, Esq., C.B.

Col. George W. Addison, R.E.

Right Hon. Lord Plunket, C.V.O.

Hon. A.E. Guinness, D.L.

Hon. W.E. Guinness, M.P.

Hon. Rupert E.C.L. Guinness, C.M.G., C.B., M.P. (afterwards 2nd Earl of Iveagh), *Chairman,* 1927-62

1905

Charles E. Sutton, L.L.B,

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1920

W.V. Harrel, Esq., C.B., M.V.O.

1928

Hon. Bryan W. Guinness (afterwards 2nd Lord Moyne) *Chairman* 1962-75

1936

Gwendolen, Countess of Iveagh, C.B.E.

Viscount Elveden (Arthur O.E. Guinness)

1938

O.S. Baker, Esq.

Secretaries

Guinness Trust

Captain T.H. Vickers, Secretary of Guinness Trust (London and Dublin), 1890-1905

Mr. J.L Davoren, Dublin Secretary of Guinness Trust, 1892-1895

Captain J.E. Bonner, 1895 – 1903

Iveagh Trust

Captain J.E. Bonner, 1903 – 9
Mr. J.A. Bonner, 1909 - 53

Mr. A.E. Thompson,. 1953-1975

Mr. F.S. Stephens, 1975 – 2004

Appendix 2: Capital Accumulations London and Dublin Fund, 1890-1902.

Year	**London Capital Year Previous**	**Profit/Loss**	**%**	**Dublin Capital Year Previous**	**Profit/Loss**	**%**
1890	200,000	209,339 5s 10d	**+ 4.5%**	50,000	52,487 14s 7d	**+4.7%**
1891	209,339 5s 10d	214,704 1s 10d	**+ 2.5%**	52,487 14s 7d	54,294 9s 8d	**+3.3%**
1892	214,704 1s 10d	220,567 11s 8d	**+2.7%**	54,294 9s 8d	55,361 15s 10d	**+1.9%**
*1893**	220,567 11s 8d	252,341 11s 7d	**+12.6%**	55,361 15s 10d	56,686 1s 7d	**+2.3%**
	+ £25,000: Goldsmiths' Co.					
1894	252,341 11s 7d	260,641 19s 8d	**+3.1%**	56,686 1s 7d	57,415 0s 2d	**+1.3%**
1895	260,641 19s 8d	269,446 1s 9d	**+3.3%**	57,415 0s 2d	58,894 12s 5d	**+2.5%**
*1896**	269,446 1s 9d	279,802 10s 6d	**+3.7%**	58,894 12s 5d	57,038 9s 10d	**-3.3%**
				Sale of Thomas Court Buildings		
1897	279,802 10s 6d	289,456 6s 5d	**+3.3%**	57,038 9s 10d	57,860 5s 3d	**+1.4%**
1898	289,456 6s 5d	298,140 0s 3d	**+2.9%**	57,860 5s 3d	59,290 9d 3d	**+2.4%**
1899	298,140 0s 3d	307,084 4s 3d	**+2.9%**	59,290 9d 3d	59,882 6s 1d	**+1%**
1900	307,084 4s 3d	316,296 14s 9d	**+2.9%**	59,882 6s 1d	61,070 9s 0d	**+2.8%**
1901	316,296 14s 9d	325,785 12s 9d	**+2.9%**	61,070 9s 0d	62,238 1s 9d	**+1.8%**
1902	325,785 12s 9d	335,559 4s 2d	**+2.9%**	62,238 1s 9d	63,475 2s 5d	**+1.9%**
	London Original Capital			**Dublin Original Capital**		
Total	**200,000**	**335,559 4s 2d**	**+40.4%**	**50,000**	**63,475 2s 5d**	**+21.2%**

Appendix 3: Occupation Tables

New Bride Street: 1901

Sector	Number	Percentage
Agricultural sector (A.G)	**4**	**1.9%**
Farming (1)	2	
Agricultural Labourer 1		
Farmer 1		
Breeding (3)	2	
Stableman 1		
Horse Shoer 1		
Building (B)	**10**	**4.8%**
Management (1)	1	
Overseer 1		
Operative (2)	9	
Bricklayer 1		
Plumber 2		
Carpenter/Joiner 3		
Sawyer 1		
Mason 1		
Stone cutter 1		
Dealing Sector (D)	**18**	**8.7%**
Clothing materials (3)	4	
Draper's Assistant 2		
Draper's Packer 1		
Draper's Porter 1		
Dress (4)	1	
Jewellery Porter 1		
Food (5)	2	
Butcher 2		
Unspecified (13)	11	
Agent 1		
Shop Assistant 2		
Commercial Traveller 1		
Storeman 1		
Commission Agent 1		
Drug porter 1		
Auctioneer's porter 1		
Wine porter 3		
Domestic Service (DS)	**19**	**9.1%**
Indoor Service (1)	8	
Servant 1		
Waiter 2		
Domestic servant army pensioner 1		
Housekeeper 4		
Outdoor (2)	5	

Gardener 4		
Coachman 1		
Extra Service (3)	6	
Superintendent Guinness Buildings 1		
School Janitor 1		
Charwoman 1		
Office cleaner 1		
Laundress 2		
Industrial Sector (IS)	**7**	**3.4%**
Banking, Insurance, Accounts (1)	7	
Bank Messenger 1		
Bookkeeper Clerk 1		
Distillery Clerk 1		
Clerk 1		
Telephone man 2		
Working in office 1		
Labour (L)	**44**	**21.2%**
General Labour (1)	32	
Labourer 10		
General Labourer 22		
Specific Labour (2)	12	
Corporation Labourer 5		
Bricklayer Labourer 1		
Carpenter Labourer 1		
Factory Labourer 3		
Iron works labourer 1		
Warehouse Labourer 1		
Manufacturing Sector (MF)	**34**	**16.3%**
Machinery (1)	3	
Cycle Mechanic 1		
Fitter 1		
Machinist 1		
Iron and Steel (4)	2	
Smith's helper 1		
Iron Monger Porter 1		
Copper, Tin, lead (5)	1	
Brass Finisher 1		
Gold, Silver, Jewellery (6)	2	
Silversmith 1		
Diamond Polisher 1		
Paper (16)	1	
Paper bag maker 1		
Cotton and Silk (19)	1	
Silk Weaver 1		
Dress (23)	18	

Tailor 6		
Dressmaker 5		
Seamstress 2		
Tailoress 5		
Food Preparation (25)	1	
Fish Cleaner 1		
Baking (26)	4	
Baker 3		
Confectioner 1		
Unspecified (31)	1	
Case maker 1		
Public Service and Professional Sector (PP)	**13**	**6.3%**
Administration (Central) (1)	2	
Postman 2		
Administration (Local) (2)	1	
Corporation employee 1		
Army (4)	6	
Army pensioner 1		
Soldier 2		
Corps military Foot police 2		
Gunner R.G. Military 1		
Police and Prisons (6)	2	
Ex Constable RIC 1		
Constable DM police 1		
Law (7)	1	
Messenger in Four Courts 1		
Art and Amusement (Painting) (9)	1	
Attendant science and art museum 1		
Transport Sector (T)	**25**	**12%**
Warehouses and Docks (1)	5	
Warehouseman 3		
Messenger 1		
Porter 1		
Ocean Navigation (2)	1	
Shipping Checking 1		
Railways (4)	2	
Railway Porter/Foreman 2		
Roads (5)	17	
Van driver 11		
Engine Driver 3		
Carter 3		
Other (O)	**34**	**16.3%**
None/unknown 26		
Unemployed 2		
Retired Labourer 1		

Housewife 2		
Total	**208**	**100%**

New Bride Street: 1911

Sector	Number	Percentage
Agricultural sector (A.G)	**2**	**0.6%**
Breeding (3)		
Horse Shoer 1		
Stableman 1		
Building (B)	**25**	**8.1%**
Management (1)	2	
Builders Porter 1		
Building Contractor 1		
Operative (2)	23	
Painter 7		
Bricklayer 4		
Plumber 3		
Plasterer 1		
Carpenter/Joiner 5		
Whitewasher 1		
Stone Cutter and Marble Mason 1		
Gas Fitter 1		
Dealing Sector (D)	**12**	**3.9%**
Clothing materials (3)	3	
Drapers Packer 1		
Drapers Porter 2		
Food (5)	2	
Pork Butcher 1		
Grocer's Porter 1		
Furniture (9)	1	
Furniture Packer 1		
Unspecified (13)	6	
Delivery Assistant 1		
Goods Store Clerk 2		
Packer 2		
Shop Assistant 1		
Domestic Service (DS)	**38**	**12.3%**
Indoor Service (1)	18	
Cook 4		
Waiter 3		
House Hand 1		
Housekeeper/maid 6		
Domestic servant 2		
Ladies maid 1		
Room keeper 1		
Outdoor (2)	4	

Gardener 2		
Gentleman's Valet 1		
Chauffeur 1		
Extra Service (3)	16	
Hairdresser 1		
Artisan Dwelling Superintendent 1		
Hotel Porter 5		
Charwoman 6		
Laundress 3		
Industrial Sector (IS)	**9**	**2.9%**
Banking, insurance, Accounts (1)	9	
Auctioneer Porter 1		
Bank Porter 3		
Clerk 3		
Solicitor General Clerk (Army Pensioner) 1		
Bookkeeper 1		
Labour (L)	**56**	**18.2%**
General Labour (1)	32	
Casual Labourer 10		
General Labourer 22		
Specific Labour (2)	24	
Bricklayer Labourer 2		
Builder Labourer 1		
Blacksmiths Labourer 1		
Carpenter Labourer 1		
Carriers Labourer 1		
Coal Labourer 1		
Dray Man Labourer 1		
Guinness Labourer 2		
Gas Works Labourer 1		
Corporation labourer 3		
Factory Labourer 1		
Foundry Labourer 1		
Furniture Labourer 1		
Iron Works Labourer 1		
Mechanical Labourer 1		
Quay Labourer 1		
Skilled Labourer 1		
Ship Labourer 2		
Warehouse Labourer 1		
Manufacturing Sector (MF)	**52**	**16.9%**
Machinery (1)	4	
Engine Fitter 1		
Machinist 1		
Steam Boiler Man 1		
Firelighter at factory 1		

Shipbuilding (3)	2	
Boat Maker 1		
Boat Carver 1		
Iron and Steel (4)	2	
Blacksmith 1		
Iron Moulder 1		
Copper, Tin, lead (5)	3	
Brass Finisher 3		
Gold, Silver, Jewellery (6)	1	
Silversmith 1		
Furs and Leather (10)	1	
Farrier 1		
Hair (12)	2	
Brush maker 2		
Carriages and Harness (15)	3	
Coachsmith 1		
Carriage Fitter 1		
Saddler 1		
Paper (16)	1	
Paper folder 1		
Cotton and Silk (19)	3	
Silk Weaver 3		
Dress (23)	17	
Tailor 5		
Shoemaker 3		
Tailor's Cutter 1		
Bootmaker 3		
Dressmaker 2		
Seamstress 1		
Shirt maker 1		
Sewing maid 1		
Baking (26)	7	
Baker 6		
Confectioner 1		
Drink Preparation (27)	1	
Coffee Roaster 1		
Watches, instruments and toys (29)	2	
Billiard Maker 1		
Clock maker 1		
Printing and bookbinding (30)	1	
Printer Compositor 1		
Unspecified (31)	2	
Factory hand		
Public Service and Professional Sector (PP)	**17**	**5.5%**
Administration (Central) (1)	3	

Postman 2		
Porter GPO 1		
Administration (Local) (2)	2	
Corporation Overseer 1		
Corporation Employee 1		
Administration (Sanitary) (3)	1	
Waterworks inspector 1		
Army (4)	4	
Army pensioner 2		
Corporation 1st Battalion Royal Fusiliers 1		
Sergeant Army Corps 1		
Police and Prisons (6)	4	
Police Pensioner 2		
Ex RIC Sergeant Pensioner 1		
Harbour Constable 1		
Art and Amusement (Painting) (9)	1	
Attendant National museum 1		
Art and Amusement (Music) (10)	1	
Musician 1		
Religion (14)	1	
Church Sexton 1		
Transport Sector (T)	**38**	**12.3%**
Warehouses and Docks (1)	14	
Warehouseman 3		
Messenger 2		
Porter 9		
Ocean Navigation (2)	1	
Boatman 1		
Railways (4)	3	
Railway Signalman 1		
Railway Porter 1		
Railway Clerk 1		
Roads (5)	20	
Van driver 18		
Carter 1		
Engine Driver 1		
Other (O)	**59**	**19.2%**
None/unknown 47		
Unemployed 6		
Pensioner city firm 1		
Private means 1		
Retired Ladies Maid 1		
Retired teacher 1		
Retired nurse - domestic servant 1		
Daily work 1		
Total	308	100%

Bull Alley: 1911

Sector	Number	Percentage
Agricultural Sector (AG)	**2**	1%
Farming (1)	1	
Agricultural Labourer 1		
Breeding (2)	1	
Stableman 1		
Building Sector (B)	**37**	**15.9%**
Management (1)	1	
Engineer 1		
Operative (2)	36	
Bricklayer 3		
Carpenter 7		
Electrician 1		
Engineers Pattern Maker 1		
Gas Fitter 1		
Glazer 4		
Painter 8		
Plasterer 2		
Plumber 7		
Dealing Sector (D)	**11**	**4.7%**
Dress (4)	1	
Clothes Dealer 1		
Food (5)	6	
Dairy Proprietor 1		
Fish Merchant 2		
Pork Butcher 2		
Pork Butcher Servant 1		
Unspecified (13)	4	
Shop Assistant 1		
Market Caretaker 1		
Store Keeper 1		
Traveller 1		
Domestic Service (DS)	**19**	**8.2%**
Indoor Service (1)	7	
General Domestic Servant 2		
Indoor Servant 1		
Waiter 3		
Canteen Manager 1		
Outdoor Service (2)	5	
Coachman 3		
Gardener 1		
Valet 1		
Extra Service (3)	7	
Hairdresser 1		
Stoker – Iveagh Baths 1		
Superintendent – Iveagh Baths		

1		
Caretaker 2		
Laundry Man 1		
Attendant 1		
Industrial Sector (IS)	**3**	**1.3%**
Banking, Insurance, Accounts (1)	3	
Newspaper Clerk 1		
Clerk 2		
Labour Sector (L)	**31**	**13.4%**
General Labour (1)	18	
General Labourer 18		
Specific Labour (2)	13	
Brewery Labourer 3		
Builders Labourer 1		
Cooperage Labourer 1		
Distillery Labourer 1		
Electricians Labourer 1		
Biscuit Factory Labourer 2		
Iron Works Labourer 1		
Brass and Cooper Labourer 1		
Labourer in Guinness 2		
Manufacturing Sector (MF)	**66**	**28.4%**
Machinery (1)	5	
Mechanical Fitter 2		
Machinist 3		
Tools (2)	1	
Gunsmith 1		
Shipbuilding (3)	1	
Shipwright 1		
Iron and Steel (4)	3	
Iron moulder 1		
Blacksmith 2		
Copper, Tin, Lead etc., (5)	2	
Tinsmith 1		
Whitesmith 1		
Gold, Silver and Jewellery (6)	1	
Jeweller 1		
Earthenware (7)	1	
Stain Glass Glazer 1		
Chemical (9)	1	
Dyestamper 1		
Furs and Leathers (10)	1	
Skin dresser 1		
Hair etc (12)	1	
Brushmaker 1		

Wood Worker (13)	2	
Wood carver 1		
Frame Maker 1		
Furniture (14)	4	
French Polisher 1		
Chairmaker – wicker 1		
Cabinet maker 1		
Basket maker 1		
Carriages and Harness (15)	3	
Coach builder 1		
Harness maker 1		
Saddler 1		
Paper (16)	1	
Paper cutter 1		
Woollens (18)	1	
Carpet Planner 1		
Cotton and Silk (19)	3	
Silk Warper 1		
Silk Weaver 2		
Dress (23)	15	
Tailoress 1		
Tailor (Army Pensioner) 1		
Tailor 5		
Vest Maker 1		
Boot maker 7		
Baking (26)	5	
Baker 5		
Watches, instruments and toys (29)	1	
Billiard Maker 1		
Printing and Bookbinding (30)	11	
Printer –compositor 7		
Printer machine man 3		
Book binder 1		
Unspecified (31)	3	
Weaver 1		
Packer 1		
Presser 1		
Public Service and Professional Sector (PP)	**24**	**10.3%**
Administration (Central) (1)	12	
Assistant Clerk General Valuation Office 1		
Postman 9		
Postman (Army Pensioner) 2		
Administration (local.) (2)	2	
Municipal Officer 2		

Army (4)	5	
Soldier 1		
Army Pensioner 4		
Navy (5)	1	
Pensioner Royal Navy 1		
Police and Prisons (6)	2	
Police Constable 1		
L. Cap M. Foot Police 1		
Medicine (8)	1	
Druggist 1		
Art and Amusement (Painting) (9)	1	
Engraver 1		
Transport Sector (T)	**15**	**6.5%**
Warehouses and Docks (1)	8	
Warehouseman 1		
Porter 5		
Porter + messenger 1		
Night watchman 1		
Railways (4)	1	
Railway Porter 1		
Roads (5)	6	
Motor Man 1		
Van Man 4		
Engine Driver 1		
Other (O)	**24**	**10.3%**
Pensioners (P)	1	
Unknown/Not Lister (U)	5	
None (N)	17	
Retired (R)	1	
Retired Mechanic 1		

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