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The Origins and Early Development of the Pembroke Estate beyond the Grand Canal 1816-1880

Volume 1

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The Origins and Early Development of the Pembroke Estate beyond the Grand Canal 1816-1880

(in two volumes)

Eve McAulay

Volume 1
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The University of Dublin, Trinity College
for the degree of
Doctor in Philosophy

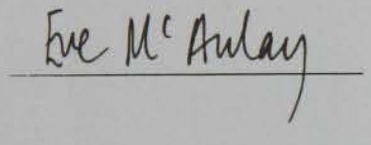
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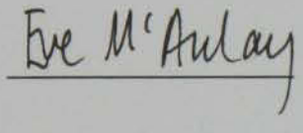
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Eve McAulay

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Summary

This thesis studies the formation and early development of the Pembroke estate in Dublin, between the years 1816 to 1880. Previously the Fitzwilliam estate, the property was left to the Herbert family of Wilton in 1816, at the death of Richard, seventh Viscount Fitzwilliam. Thus it became the Pembroke estate.

The chief sources for this study have been the collection of estate papers in the National Archives of Ireland and the entire collection of the Griffith Valuation. This has led to a thesis structure which combines aspects of administration, policy and planning, with the evolution of the buildings, in terms of the dates of the houses and the developers involved.

With the exception of a few studies where individual topics have been researched in depth - such as Fitzwilliam Square, by Mary Bryan - little research has been carried out thus far on the Pembroke estate from an architectural perspective. Other studies have been geographical and historical in focus, such as the morphogenetic development of the older districts of Ringsend and Irishtown, by Dr Jacinta Prunty. This thesis is concerned with establishing, through primary research, the historical narrative of the building development and thus explain the evolution of the appearance of the present artifact.

While the landlords were certainly interested in the welfare of their estate, the chief protagonists in the building development were the agents. The period of the 1830s and 1840s has been focused on in detail because it corresponds with a time of great plans for development, as well as an unusually detailed record of correspondence on the part of the agent, Cornelius Sullivan (1827-49). While the other major agent during the period of this thesis, John Edward Vernon (1853-84), coincided with a more productive period of building speculation and was more rigorous in establishing a coherent built fabric, the information recorded in the letter books during his agency does not provide the same detail or insight into the day to day administration and progress of building.

Throughout the thesis, the developments of the western estate have been studied separately to those of the east. As it shall be seen, this reflects the different topographies of the two districts, as well as a different attitude towards them by the administration in terms of their development.

There are three appendices which aim to help further research in this area. Appendix 1 provides summary lease information, extracted from the letter books, of all allocations of building ground between the years 1827 and 1849. Although it cannot be claimed with certainty that this information is complete, it is the most comprehensive available, in the absence of any regular official record of lease allocation. Appendices 2 and 3 proceed from information garnered from the Griffith Valuation; appendix 2 establishes a provenance, as comprehensive as possible, in terms of the dates and developers of houses on selected roads around the estate, west and east; appendix 3 attempts to establish a profile of the developers involved in building on the estate. Appendix 4 is a chronological analysis of the houses and builder-developers of Wellington and Waterloo Roads.

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the great help, advice and patience of my supervisor, Dr Edward McParland, throughout the course of this research. I would like to thank Aideen Ireland of the National Archives, who was so helpful in helping me gain access to the estate papers. I would like to thank her for her continued interest, immense help and enthusiasm. I would also like to acknowledge the encouragement and interest of Professor Anne Crookshank and Dr Desmond FitzGerald, the Knight of Glin, for whom I was research assistant.

I would like to thank the Board of Trinity College, Dublin, for the financial assistance provided by a Trinity College Postgraduate Award. I am very grateful also for the financial assistance provided by a Desmond Guinness prize, awarded by the Irish Georgian Society.

The course of this study has not run smoothly, however I have been very fortunate in the generous assistance and kindness of most people. I would particularly like to thank those who helped in various ways in the search for the 'missing' archives: Mary Bryan, Dr David Dickson, and Dr Jacinta Prunty. For other queries and inquiries I would like to thank Jaqui Donnelly, Dr Gerard Hogan, Dr Kenneth Milne, Dr Séamas O'Maitiú, and Dr W.E. Vaughan.

I am very grateful to the director, David Griffin, and all the staff of the Irish Architectural Archive for their great help over the years: Aisling Dunne, Anne Henderson, Simon Lincoln, Colum O'Riordan, and Ann Martha Rowan. I would like to acknowledge the assistance provided by the staff of the Berkeley and Lecky Libraries in Trinity College; the Department of Early Printed Books, particularly Shane and Rose; and Paul Ferguson of the Map Library. I would like to thank the director and staff of the National Archives, particularly Frances McGee for her assistance and accommodation in accessing Griffith Valuation maps. I am also very grateful for the help of the following: Mary Clark of the Dublin City Archives; Colette O'Flaherty of the Manuscripts Department in the National Library; Dr Susan Hood of the Representative Church Body archives; the Very Revd Dr John Patterson, Dean of Christ Church Cathedral, and Stuart Kinsella for access to the Cathedral archives; the staff of the Architecture and Planning Library, Richview; the Director and staff of the Valuation Office, particularly Pat and Geoff in the archives, and Pat McCarthy, Head of Administration, for his kind help in accessing maps.

A very special thank-you must go to Gareth John and T.J. O'Meara of the National Inventory of Architectural Heritage, for their great help and immense patience with my persistent inquiries about plot widths and mapping in general. I would also like to thank Robbie Goodhue and my brother, Alastair McAulay, for help with computer matters, and my father for his invaluable help with illustrations. I would particularly like to acknowledge the help of Rachel MacRory who introduced me to the arcane worlds of the Valuation Office and the Registry of Deeds. I was very lucky to have such a good teacher.

I would like to thank Rachel Moss and Jason Ellis, for a 'study retreat' which helped enormously; Pauric Dempsey and William Murphy for historical insights and suggestions, and for relieving the long, long hours in the National Archives. I would like to acknowledge the help and support of Marta Bustillo, Peter Cherry, Michela Clark, Gertie Goodhue, Louise Keane, Catherine Kelly, Catherine Lawless, Katherine McClatchie, Jane Meredith, Brendan Rooney, and Erika Sjoberg. I would especially like to thank Mildred Dunne for her great friendship and encouragement.

My greatest debt is to my parents, Ian and Olivia McAulay. I thank them for their constant support and forbearance, and for their great help. This part of Dublin has intruded into our lives for too many years, and I would like, with my apologies, to dedicate this thesis to them.

Abbreviations

Dublin Pictorial Guide	Henry Shaw, *The Dublin Pictorial Guide & Directory of 1850* (repr. Belfast, 1988).
Estate-Township Map Folio	Bound volume of 'Maps of part of the Estate of the Earl of Pembroke & Montgomery, Pembroke Township' (n.d.), NAI, PEP, Maps (Acc. No. 2011/2/6). They are Ordnance Survey maps, probably the 1:1056 edition, surveyed 1865 and published 1869.
Griffith (1849)	Richard Griffith (Commissioner), General Valuation of Ireland. Valuation of Tenements Rateable to Poor Rates. County of Dublin. South Dublin and Rathdown Unions. Barony of Dublin. (Dublin, 1849).
Griffith Cancelled Book 1	Griffith Valuation, County of Dublin, District of Dublin, Electoral District of Donnybrook [currently Ward of Pembroke, East and West], Cancelled Book, vol.1 (1855-63).
Griffith Cancelled Book 2	*ibid.*, Cancelled Book, vol.2 (1860-68).
Griffith Cancelled Book 3	*ibid.*, Cancelled Book, vol.3 (1862-68).
Griffith Cancelled Book 4	*ibid.*, Cancelled Book, vol.4 (1868-76).
Griffith Cancelled Book 5	*ibid.*, Cancelled Book, vol.5 (1876-82).
Griffith Map 1	Griffith Valuation, watercolour map, series 1, December 1847.
Griffith Map 2	Griffith Valuation, watercolour map, series 2, 6 April 1852.
Griffith Map 3	Griffith Valuation, watercolour map, series 3, n.d.
IAAIIA	Irish Architectural Archive, Index of Irish Architects
NAI	National Archives of Ireland.
OS	Ordnance Survey of Ireland.
PEP	Pembroke Estate Papers.

Introduction

In terms of nineteenth-century suburban building in Dublin, the Pembroke estate was by far the largest single holding of land to be developed. Formerly known as the Fitzwilliam estate, it was left to the Herbert family in 1816, on the death of the seventh Viscount Fitzwilliam, thus it became the Pembroke estate. In its formative nature, the building development of the Pembroke estate is of great significance in terms of the architectural development of Dublin as a whole. It forms one of the grandest, most coherent and comprehensive suburban building campaigns of the nineteenth century. The very fact of its relatively coherent survival surely bears witness to its importance. Although well-known, Elizabeth Bowen's description of the Pembroke estate, as it lay across the Grand Canal from her home in Herbert Place, is worth repeating as a testimony to its ambience of a suburban idyll:

> The terrain across the canal from us looked open, compared to the city on our side. The houses were lower and either light grey or red. The streets were wider; the sheen of the spaced-out slate roofs seemed to reflect itself on the milky sky... There were gardens, half-moons of gravel, railings and many trees. From the moment one had crossed the canal bridge it all had - I can see now - the spaciousness of a *banlieue*. The plan was still distinct, but it made for ease...[1]

****

The aim of this thesis is straightforward: to establish the narrative of the building development of the estate, and to investigate the various agents of influence upon it. This has led the course of research into legal, historical and geographical areas, as well as architectural. It should be emphasised that the nature of the subject has led to a study which analyses the evolution of the morphological development of the estate as a whole, rather than a three-dimensional architectural analysis of the houses erected.

There are two reasons for this. Firstly, it is impossible to gain access to the hundreds of private houses which comprise the estate; it has therefore not been possible to make an examination of the plans and interiors of the houses. Secondly, the houses

[1] Elizabeth Bowen, *Seven Winters. Memories of a Dublin childhood* (London, 1943), p.20.

were built speculatively, many without the involvement of a professional architect. Some of the speculators were themselves architects, but their practices have long since ceased to exist and it has generally proved impossible to trace any surviving material relating to the planning and design of the houses. Similarly, there is a glaring absence of architectural material in the collection of estate papers in the National Archives - to such an extent that raises suspicion that it was at some point destroyed. This is particularly the case when it is clear that, during the agency of John Edward Vernon, agreement for all building leases was dependent on the submission and approval of architectural drawings.

It will become clear during the course of the thesis that the chief primary source is the collection of estate papers held in the National Archives. Although this collection is extensive it is not comprehensive, and this has led to a number of difficulties which have determined the method, structure and content of the thesis. This will be examined later in the introduction. The other major source of the study was the Griffith Valuation, 1849 onwards. Other primary sources, such as contemporary newspapers, were initially sampled, but yielded nothing. In terms of productivity of research it was not expedient to continue examining them once the extensive estate papers became available. However, it should be stressed that the newspapers were only examined on a sample basis - they might still prove a fruitful source for future research. It should be noted that the almost complete lack of reference to building on the Pembroke estate in the *Dublin Builder* (later *Irish Builder*) is itself worthy of notice.[2] A selection of *Directories* was examined, however the Griffith Valuation proved a much more effective and reliable method for tracing the evolution and dates of houses.[3] A sequence of *Thom's Directories* was used in Chapter 6 to analyse the occupancy of houses.

There is a comparative lack of secondary sources on the subject of the Pembroke estate as an entity in itself. Most of the work has been in the form of theses studying particular developments in the estate. Studies have been carried out on Merrion Square by Siuban Barry and Nicola Matthews, on Fitzwilliam Square by Mary Bryan, and on Sandymount by Helen Hewson. A detailed primary study of the morphogenetic development of Ringsend and Irishtown has been carried out by Dr Jacinta Prunty. Details of these theses can be found at the end of the bibliography. Other studies, by Mary Daly, Séamas O'Maitiú and Louis Cullen are invaluable contextual texts on nineteenth century suburban development in Dublin.

[2] The *Dublin Builder* and *Irish Builder* were comprehensively checked.

[3] The sequence of numbering houses changed continually. As the *Directories* are not accompanied by annotated maps it proved impossible to trace which houses were being referred to. The fluidity of house occupancy compounded this problem (i.e. house could not be identified continuously by their occupiers). Also, the efficiency with which the information was up-dated in the *Directories* was not possible to establish.

****

The single most important source in the collection of estate papers in the National Archives is the letter books. Most of the correspondence which was outgoing from the estate office was recorded in these books. This provides a detailed 'half' account of all matters which arose during the administration. The detail of the letters varies among the various agents: the most fully recorded agency for the period of this study is that of Cornelius Sullivan, who was agent between 1827 and 1849.

There is no complete collection or record of building leases allocated by the estate. There are, instead, two sources which relate to leases in the estate collection in the National Archives: an 'expired leases book' and a collection of leases under the initials from A to F.[4] Both these sources are far from comprehensive, and are not of great use for the purpose of this study. The Registry of Deeds was not a very useful source for researching leases. Firstly, not all leases were registered, therefore it is not a comprehensive record. Secondly, many deeds which were registered were for other purposes and not building in particular, thus there are many, many leases of no use for the purpose of this study, and it is not possible to determine from the indexes which leases are of use or not. Thirdly - and most significantly - where building leases were registered, the information recorded frequently does not include the details of the building covenants, stating merely that the lease binds the lessee to the covenants 'as specified in the lease'; also, there is no map information recorded, often making it impossible to establish the precise location the leases refer to.

The best means of gathering lease information is through the letter books in the years between 1827 and 1849. During the period of Sullivan's agency, every time a lease was sent to England to be signed by the landlord, Sullivan included a brief memorandum of the salient information about each lease in an accompanying letter. This was then transcribed in the letter book. There are two problems in using this information. Firstly, it is difficult to establish precisely the efficiency with which this was done. However, from research carried out so far, it seems to be a fairly comprehensive - as well as the most accurate - record of building leases on the estate. The second problem is more significant: there were (naturally enough) no street-numbers mentioned in the leases. This means that it is not obvious which house or houses each lease refers to.

[4]NAI, PEP, Deeds, (Acc. No. 97/46/2).

There are, fortunately, two further sources which can be used *in tandem* with the letter book references, to correlate information and, in turn, help establish the relevant building developer of each house. The first is a very useful map in the estate collection in the National Archives.[5] A bound volume of twenty-two Ordnance Survey sheets, the maps comprise the jurisdiction of the Pembroke Township, which was created in 1863. What is particularly useful about the map is that for around eight of the premier roads on the estate, each house is assigned a name. From cross-referencing with other sources (i.e. which definitely identify particular houses) it is possible to establish (with near certainty) that the map seems to identify the leaseholders under which each house was built. The aim of the map is not clear - in other words, what is the reason for gathering this information and, in particular, why was this information only included for eight roads?[6] Such as it is, though, this collection of maps is invaluable in assigning particular houses to their respective builder-developers and leases. The second source is the Griffith Valuation, 1849 onwards. This can be used in the same way as the bound volume of Township maps, with the name of the 'immediate lessor' frequently (but not consistently) corresponding with the name of the builder-developer. The advantage of the Griffith Valuation is that it is comprehensive in its coverage; the disadvantage is that it only commences in 1849, leaving a lot of building development already established before it can be used.

The various difficulties involved in the cross-referencing of various sources to establish the builder-developers and dates of building have to be stated, chiefly to warn of potential inaccuracies which are impossible to avoid or determine. This is an account written on partial availabilty of sources with the attendant risks involved. The particular difficulty of using the Griffith Valuation should also be noted; the Cancelled Books can be impenetrable in the overlay of subsequent information, which is frequently undated. It is also often physically impossible to read, and also contains mistakes. Where possible, if doubt exists on anything this has been mentioned in the text.

An attempt has been made to establish something about the speculative process involved in the building development of the estate - in other words, who was involved in the building process, and in what capacity. The lack of building leases, and the reliance on the Griffith Valuation means that it is not possible to determine always who were the building leaseholders. Beyond that, when building leaseholders *are* known, it is not possible to establish the precise nature of their involvement in the speculation. Therefore, the term 'builder-developer' has been used throughout the thesis either to represent people

[5] NAI, PEP, Maps of part of the estate of the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, Pembroke Township, n.d., 1 bound volume, (Acc. No. 2011/2/6). Hereafter referred to as 'Estate-Township Map Folio'.
[6] It is possibly connected with the establishment of the Pembroke Township.

who acquired building leases or to identify people who emerge from the Griffith Valuation as being somehow involved in the building process.[7] Where possible the trades or professions of builder-developers have been established from directories, in the hopes of establishing better the nature of their involvement.

Sources have been a problem for this thesis for a number of reasons. In the light of considerable difficulties over access to material when it was still in the estate office, it is reasonable to suspect other estate papers may yet come to light. The partial nature of the sources extant in the estate collection in the National Archives also raises suspicion of some more that are missing. It is scarcely conceivable that there was no regular official record made, of any sort, of all building leases granted, similarly rentals, and similarly architectural drawings. The partial nature of the estate sources has required a considerable amount of cross-referencing with different sources. It has also, to a large extent, determined the structure of the thesis. Hence, this study is dominated by the period 1827 to 1849. Although this was not the most active period in building terms, it is of importance in formative terms and, most significantly, it is the period which is best documented in the letter books, due to the administrative practice of the agent at the time, Cornelius Sullivan. The nature of the sources as described above, means that Waterloo and Wellington Roads are the two most coherent and significant roads which can be analysed in detail. This is because the period of their development (which commenced in the mid-1840s) is encompassed by the best overlap of both available sources - the letterbook lease memoranda of Cornelius Sullivan with the Griffith Valuation. For no other roads does this overlap of the different sources occur.

The nature of the administration of the estate changed with the death of Cornelius Sullivan. It is fortunate that a period of immense planning and difficulty corresponds with the period of the most comprehensive letter writer. After Sullivan's death in 1849, the chief source becomes the Griffith Valuation, which commenced in 1849. Hence the nature of this study, from the mid-1850s, becomes dominated by information about dates of houses and the builder-developers involved. There is not the same information available on the administration and its policy but, fortunately, this period corresponds with one of a much healthier period of building speculation. The story of the building development becomes more straightforward.

The scale and planning of the building development on the estate created a unique character - something greater than the mere bricks and mortar of the houses. As Elizabeth

[7]Suggested by Dr David Dickson, Department of Modern History, Trinity College.

Bowen said of the 'red roads' around Saint Bartholomew's Church which are the culmination of the period of this study:

> The large plum-red brick houses, with their porches and bow windows and gables, were mansions; they stood apart in lawns behind carriage gates, with evergreen bushes to screen them in. Here trams were quite out of hearing; the residential silence might be taken to be either null or rich. Between the mansions the roads ran almost empty, as though a premium were set upon walking there.[8]

[8]Bowen (1943), p.20.

Chapter 1

Introduction to the Estate: Description, Administration

According to some reports, in the middle of the eighteenth century the prospects for the prosperity of the Fitzwilliam estate were not good. A few months after the death of Richard, fifth Viscount Fitzwilliam, in June 1743, the new Viscount received a letter from a Robert Cornwell of Dublin. The writer described how the vast tract of land which extended south from Ringsend to Merrion, and from the coast inland, had for some years been 'in a most ruinous and despicable condition, tho' in every respect the best Scituated & best in Nature of any lands at that distance from Dublin'.[1] A number of subsequent letters echoed this grim description of the property, describing an estate much neglected and abused. Despite this, however, another correspondent to Fitzwilliam foresaw in 1745 the potential of 'a fine Improv'd Estate'. He elaborated thus:

> the River and Sea, which are now thought frightfull inconveniences, & Evills, wou'd be beauties, and advantages; and the Chiefe Temptation, to enduce people to build and Improve. and I say my Lord that any person with that care and Judgement, wou'd in less than Ten years, make all the lands from Dublin to the Black-rock, which is the extention of this Estate, like a garden, and Inhabited by Rich Creditable people, instead of beggers, who are mostly the Tennants, this day upon it...[2]

This aspiration could almost be regarded as the central mission of the Fitzwilliam, later Pembroke, estate over the following one hundred and fifty years. Although wildly optimistic in terms of the length of time necessary to turn the fortunes of the estate around, nevertheless the writer was prescient in recognising the possibilities for its development. In fact, the process took many, many years; development and improvement were slow and haphazard. Even so, by 1816, when the estate became the property of the Earl of Pembroke, it was already much improved and showing the pattern for its future suburban development.

---

[1] NAI, PEP, Correspondence, Robert Cornwell to Lord Fitzwilliam, 23 December 1743 (Acc. No. 97/46/1/2/6/2).
[2] NAI, PEP, Correspondence, Michael Cullen to Lord Fitzwilliam, 8 June 1745 (Acc. No. 97/46/1/2/6/8).

Physical Description of the Estate

In terms of other individual estates around Dublin county, the Fitzwilliam estate was immense and extended over a wide variety of terrain. Surveys of the estate in 1774 and 1794 (**1.1**) by Patrick and John Roe, respectively, show the physical extent of the boundary of the Dublin estate.[3] These are the earliest surveys of the eighteenth century to show the entire estate on a single sheet. The earliest comprehensive and detailed survey of the estate, extant, is by Jonathan Barker of 1762.[4] According to Barker, the total area of the estate (including lands around Bray) was 4,373.3.31 A.R.P. statute measure.[5] The description this survey affords is very valuable because it is a rare example of one in which both the maps and accompanying information survive.[6] The information it conveys is comprehensive and useful in forming a topographical analysis of the time.

The estate stretched west from the coast deep into the Dublin Mountains, and as far south as Bray. The map of Dundrum and its surroundings shows the large western part of the estate - nearly eleven hundred acres - extending as far as Ticknock. This part of the estate contained a wide variety of terrain: from the rugged mountain land around Ticknock to the cultivated rolling fields of Ballinteer, Dundrum and Drumartin. The land is only sparsely settled with some cabins and a couple of more sizeable houses.[7] Another part of the estate far removed from the city of Dublin is that around Great Bray in County Wicklow; two hundred and twenty six acres in area, it is almost entirely given over to farmland.

---

[3] NAI, PEP, Maps, Patrick Roe, 'A Map of Baggotrath, Mt Merrion, Booterstown, etc Situate in the County of Dublin containing 1377.3.13 a.r.p. Plantatn Measure being part of the Estate of the Lord Viscount fitzwilliam baron Thorncastle, Knt of the Bath etc. etc.', 1774 (Acc. No. 2011/2/1/41); John Roe, 'A Map of that Part of the Estate of the Rt Honble Richard Lord Visct Fitzwilliam between the Merrion Square and the Blackrock particularly describing the lane which separates the County from the County of the City of Dublin', 1794 (Acc. No. 2011/2/1/40).

[4] NAI, PEP, Surveys/Valuations, Jonathan Barker, 'A Book of Maps and References to the Estate of The Right Honourable Richard Lord Viscount Fitz William wherein are Expressed, all Roads Rivers, Bridges, Mills and Gentlemen's Seats, the Quantity and Quality of each Tenement, with a Ground Plott and Prospective View, of all the New Buildings thereon. the whole being accurately surveyed: as they were Set and Held in 1762.' (Acc. No. 2011/3/1); accompanying maps (Acc. No. 2011/2/2/1-11).

[5] Or 2,700.0.39 A.R.P. Irish measure.

[6] The survey comprises nine maps which cover the entire estate: namely, Owenstown, Old Merrion and Simmonscourt, Bray, Ringsend and Irishtown, Mount Merrion, Merrion Street 'and the adjacent Neighbourhood', and Baggotrath, Booterstown, and Dundrum with their respective 'Subdenominations'. There are also two other maps in the same collection which, although undated, seem to have been made at the same time as the rest; however, they are plans for 'intended streets around Merrion Square' and are not part of the survey.

[7] There are two quarries bearing interesting names in the district of Ticknock. One is described as 'Essex Bridge Quarry' and the other as 'window Stool Quarry'.

At this time, of course, even parts of the estate much closer to Dublin city were still strongly rural in character, with large swathes of farmland sparsely settled with cabins, and interrupted at occasional intervals by substantial houses. The demesne of the Fitzwilliam family was at Mount Merrion. It was a large property of eighty-four acres which was evidently meticulously planted and maintained, and afforded magnificent views over the wider estate.[8] However such a demesne, in its area and cultivation, was atypical of the rest found on the estate. Elsewhere on the estate, some building had recently taken place along the coast in Booterstown and Owenstown, with more about to take place. Unfortunately not all recent developments seem to have been 'improving': some were described as 'only an Apology for Houses, and Disgrace ye Neighbourhood'.[9] Nevertheless, this type of building does seem to be the exception: most of the new houses around Booterstown are described as being built 'agreeable to lease'. In fact, outside the city, this is the only part of the estate in which a relatively coherent building development is in progress, with a healthy amount of building speculation even at this early stage.

Thus far, Barker's survey of 1762 has been used to give a generalised account of the topography of that part of the Fitzwilliam estate at some distance removed from the city and hence not part of this thesis. There is one other part of the estate which is not included in the ambit of this thesis: that part which is within the city, which will become defined in the future by the still inchoate Grand Canal. This is the other part of the estate, in addition to the pocket already mentioned in Booterstown, where coherent building development is taking place at this early stage.

From the map of 'Baggat-Rath and all its Subdenominations' **(1.2)** **(1.3)**, it is possible to see that, in 1762, the development of Merrion Square was just about to take place. The projected outline of the north side is shown, about to cut through the orchard of a Patrick Falkner: one part 'to be Added to Merrion Square' and the other part 'to be built frontg. to ye square'. The map shows part of the passage on the opposite side of the square actually laid out, with two plots at the end nearest Kildare House assigned for building. The plots which will comprise the centre of the square have also been assigned. Thus there can be little doubt that the square is on the threshold of development, with the line of the square determined upon, although not yet laid out.[10]

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[8] The survey describes an 'Ash Grove', a 'Pleasure Garden', an 'Elm Wilderness', and a 'Scotch Firr Grove'. In the grove was an Octagon Shell house, which 'from its Center, extends 32 Visto's representing the points of a Mariner's Compass, these Visto's Command an Extensive and delightfull prospect of the sea, Lowlands & Mountains'.

[9] The holding of Edward Hoare, also on Booterstown Avenue.

[10] By the time of Bernard Scalé's 'Map of Dublin (1773), the whole of the north side of the square was built - including a junction with Holles Street, but no sign of the south or east side of Merrion Square.

The part of the estate which will now be examined in more detail is that which is the focus of this study, that is the the rest of the lands of 'Baggat-Rath and its Subdenominations'.[11] This, after the district of Dundrum, is the largest subdivision of the estate. It comprises almost six hundred and twenty one acres. The impact of its geography on this part of the estate and its development is already evident in Barker's survey; it can be divided into two significantly different sectors.

The eastern flank of Baggotrath, with its long sea boundary running from Ringsend in the north to Merrion Castle in the south, forms a sprawling lowlands. There are two reasons for the marshy nature of this part of the estate. Firstly is the proximity of the sea. The lands lying behind this long shore were constantly breached by the sea, creating what must have been a deeply unpleasant boggy wetland, as can be seen in an oil painting by Francis Danby, *Ringsend from Beggar's Bush, Co. Dublin* (**1.4**).[12] In fact, these unsavoury conditions happened to be ideal for making bricks - an industry of considerable economic significance to the estate for much of the eighteenth century. Unfortunately, the practice of using the land for brickfields actually increased the damage to the estate. As the land was excavated to create the bricks, it was made even more prone to flooding by the sea; hence the resulting boggy pools shown clearly in Barker's map (**1.2**). The second reason for the marshy nature of this eastern part of Baggotrath is the river Dodder. The river is in its mature phase, about to enter the sea at Ringsend, and its course is typical of a river in such a phase; it meanders widely and floods the lands on either side of its banks extensively. This is reflected in the names of the lands encompassed by the western banks of the curving river: 'The Strand' and 'The Salt Marsh'. One of the holdings is described in the survey as 'a large Tract of Land daily overflown by the Tide, which has Destroyed a great part thereof'.[13]

The other sector of Baggotrath, comprising the lands west of the road to Beggars Bush, shows, even in this early survey, a very different character to the eastern lowlands. This part of Baggotrath is higher and better drained than the eastern lowlands and thus is more conducive to productive and effective management. It can be seen in Barker's map (**1.3**) that as early as 1762 these lands were already coherently divided into fields and plots, which were more efficiently exploited and managed. The survey describes holdings of pasture land and orchards, 'handsome cabins' or 'brick houses' built on 'fields' or 'gardens'. This contrasts markedly with the sprawling, under-utilised holdings of the eastern, coastal lands, where there is little implication of agriculture.

[11] Although, as has already been mentioned, the 'city' part of Baggotrath is not included in this study.
[12] The painting is undated, but is known to be before 1813, when Danby left Ireland.
[13] Barker, 'References...', p. 37.

According to Barker's survey, there are only three real foci of settlement established in Baggotrath by 1762. The two larger and denser are Ringsend and Irishtown, both of which were well established by this time. Nevertheless it is quite clear from the map the difference in age, and hence the form, between the two. Houses in Irishtown (**1.5**), the older of the two villages, are laid out in a haphazard way. There are two vague suggestions of streets, both running parallel to the shore, heading north in the direction of Ringsend. Otherwise, the houses are laid out individually in a cluttered manner, with little sense of coherence or continuity and differing greatly in size. According to the survey, there were one hundred and eighteen houses in Irishtown at this time. Although laid out in such a random way, Irishtown was clearly a well-established settlement, and bears the trappings of such; along with a duck pond, a sizeable 'Roman Chappel' tucked amongst a cluster of houses, as well as 'Irishtown Church and yard' on the southern outskirts.[14]

Ringsend (**1.6**), however, has a distinctly more formal lay-out It consists of two main parts: one with buildings ranged around a central square, which is itself built on, and the other formed around Thorn Castle Street, which has a row of houses on either side of the street which leads to the 'Part of the New |South| Wall'. Although the plots are not all exactly equal in their frontage to the streets, there is a definite coherence in the size of the houses erected, implying that the ground had been allocated in lots specifically for building. It can also be seen in the accompanying survey that several holdings comprise three or more houses, implying that they were built as one lot by the lessee. According to the survey, there were one hundred and two houses in Ringsend at this time.

As well as being distinct in form, the map shows that the two villages were geographically quite distinct as well. The road which joined them is shown as running through 'My Lords Pond' to the east and 'The Strand' to the west. Although it is shown as land on the map, the name describing it as a 'pond' seems to imply that this ground flooded frequently. In fact, it seems from the map that there was a remarkably vague demarcation between the land and sea. It is possible therefore to understand the necessity of the constant battle fought against the encroaching sea here, and elsewhere along the shores of the estate, throughout the eighteenth century.

The other established focus of settlement evident in Barker's map is Ballsbridge (**1.3**), which appears to be in a very early phase of development. The village is built entirely on the north-west side of the Dodder and comprises just four plots. For one of

[14]Saint Matthew's Irishtown.

the holdings west of the road to Dublin, Barker describes 'there is a great part of this Lott destroyed by Mr Grants making a road thro' it to Simons Crt. Ground'. The road as shown on the map exists today, but as a cul-de-sac, on the north bank of the river, west of the village.[15] It never extended to Simmonscourt. Although it is difficult to come to any definite conclusion about the possible reasons for the termination of the intended road, the siting of the mill on that bank of the Dodder might have been an impediment to the further progress of the road. The road to Simmonscourt - Anglesey Road - was eventually built on the other side of the river, outside of the estate.

There were two surveys carried out in the eighteenth century, subsequent to Barker: by Patrick Roe in 1774, and John Roe in 1794 (**1.7**) (both already mentioned). The topography of the estate changed little over the course of these surveys, and still retained a largely pastoral character, with a slight increase in the number of settlements. The two most significant changes in terms of the landscape can be seen in the Roe survey of 1794: the creation of the Circular Road and the Grand Canal. Both cut through the Fitzwilliam estate and will be discussed in further detail later.

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Administration of the Estate

Having established a physical context of the estate from which the nineteenth century development emerged, it is now of value to consider the question of administration. For much of the eighteenth century the landlord was absentee, thus leaving the responsibility for the administration of the estate largely in the hands of a representative in Ireland. There is no documentation to describe the precise responsibility of the representatives; the only means of analysing the nature of the role is by examining the surviving correspondence. The administration of the estate between the years 1725 and 1772 was carried out by four different people. From 1725 to 1751 the responsibility was that of a Richard Mathew; from 1751 to 1761 it was that of a Bryan Fagan, and from 1761 to 1770, an Elizabeth Fagan. Between the years 1752 and 1763, there is an overlap, with correspondence being sent to the landlord by his brother, William Fitzwilliam, who was living in Dublin, and seems to have had some sort of an overseeing role over the administration.

[15] The houses, Ballsbridge Terrace, survive also.

Despite the fact that his agency was lengthy, Richard Mathew's tenure seems to have ended acrimoniously. Nowhere are any reasons for his dismissal stated explicitly, but subsequent correspondence in the collection hints at possible reasons.[16] On further investigation William Fitzwilliam claimed to discover more dishonesty, which had serious implications for the administration of the estate. William Fitzwilliam pursued Mathew relentlessly about these matters of fraud, certain that he was a 'thorow Knave & Hypocrite even to Heaven',[17] and eventually resorted to bringing the case to court. However Mathew died in 1759, before the case was concluded.[18]

These circumstances - of Mathew's agency and his alleged corruption - are important to consider in the context of the later administration of the estate. Although it is not possible to surmise from the surviving documentary sources whether these events directly caused a change in the circumstances of the agent, it is perhaps possible to see the distinctly close relationship consistently evident between the landlord and the agent throughout the development of the estate as a consequence of the sorry events of Mathew's agency.

From Mathew's letter of resignation already referred to, it is clear that Fitzwilliam had already directed who was to be his replacement: Mathew wrote that he would 'give my Aide to Bryan Fagan, to the best of my Power, he is a Faire honest man, and wishe him in the Conduct of his Affaires all Successe'. It is likely that Fagan, a brewer with a premises on Ussher's Quay,[19] had been working for Mathew for some time already, although there is no firm evidence to support this. In his first (surviving) letter to Fitzwilliam, dated 22 August 1751 (only five days after Mathew's letter of resignation), although he makes no reference to the circumstances of his appointment, he assures Lord Fitzwilliam 'Believe me I have yr Lordships Interest as much at heart as if it were my own'.[20] The body of this letter contains a full description of all the building work taking place in the estate at the time, almost as if it is a progress report to Fitzwilliam. Interestingly, also in this letter, there is an implication that Fitzwilliam had recently visited

[16]From correspondence to Lord Fitzwilliam from his brother, William, it seems that Mathew had failed to reimburse arrears due to their brother John. NAI, PEP, Correspondence, William Fitzwilliam to Lord Fitzwilliam, 6 May 1756 (Acc. No. 97/46/1/2/7/81).

[17]Ibid.

[18]William Fitzwilliam was not exactly grief-stricken in reporting Mathew's death to his brother, 'the Devil has at last pulled to himself, by a Leg that has been some time in the Grave, his sure Friend Dick Mathew', NAI, PEP, Correspondence, William Fitzwilliam to Lord Fitzwilliam, 1 September 1759 (Acc. No. 97/46/1/2/7/123).

[19]NAI, PEP, Correspondence, William Fitzwilliam to Lord Fitzwilliam, 11 November 1755 (Acc. No. 97/46/1/2/7/66).

[20]NAI, PEP, Correspondence, Bryan Fagan to Lord Fitzwilliam, 22 August 1751 (Acc. No. 97/46/1/2/8/2).

Dublin and perhaps it is possible that he decided to appoint Fagan as agent following a favourable impression having met him in person.

By all accounts Fagan was an efficient and capable agent (although there was not a great amount of building improvement during his ten year agency, 1751-1761) and had what seems to have been a familiar, although respectful, relationship with his employer. Indeed, interestingly, he seems to have had an especially close relationship with the young Richard Fitzwilliam, the future seventh viscount.[21]

The circumstances surrounding the appointment of Bryan Fagan's successor are much more straightforward. William Fitzwilliam, in reporting the news of Fagan's sudden death on 21 January 1761, was clearly shocked and saddened: 'I set down to write to you with an heavy Heart... Fagan (I verily think as honest a Fellow as ever breathed) Died yesterday morning of an Apoplexy - I fear He will be a great loss to you'.[22] All estate matters were suspended immediately. Lord Fitzwilliam wasted little time in appointing a successor; he wrote back to Dublin on 29 January sending a letter of attorney to Fagan's widow, Elizabeth. William Fitzwilliam strongly approved of this appointment, writing to his brother on 7 February, 'The Widow (& a Sensible Clever Woman She is) is willing to do her best, & will attempt it, & if she finds She cannot Do agreable to your Interest, She Will readily Give it up when you think proper'.[23] And so it seems that such was the trust in the probity of Bryan Fagan, that despite several applications for the position of agent after his death,[24] Fitzwilliam was happy to appoint Fagan's widow as agent - and by so doing effectively determine the agency of the estate for almost the next ninety years.

Elizabeth Fagan was determined and dedicated. She immediately set to work 'to Collect the Arrears due to your Lordship to make up the Accounts'.[25] Evidently she found that she was able to cope - both to her own and to Fitzwilliam's satisfaction - for she continued as agent for many years.[26] Her husband's death left her with 'a very numerous charge of Children', and she herself 'with Child'. He had died intestate,

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[21]In a letter to the sixth viscount congratulating him on the birth of a 'young Miss', Fagan requests the landlord to 'present our most sincere Respects to... my Dear Mastr Richard, who (I hope) has not forgot Fagan, If he has, Fagan has not Forgot him', NAI, PEP, Correspondence, Bryan Fagan to Lord Fitzwilliam, 22 November 1753 (Acc. No. 97/46/1/2/8/3).

[22]NAI, PEP, Correspondence, William Fitzwilliam to Lord Fitzwilliam, 22 January 1761 (Acc. No. 97/46/1/2/7/131).

[23]NAI, PEP, Correspondence, William Fitzwilliam to Lord Fitzwilliam, 7 February 1761 (Acc. No. 97/46/1/2/7/132).

[24]'most of them have been from Attorneys a race of People I would chuse to avoid', NAI, PEP, Correspondence, William Fitzwilliam to Lord Fitzwilliam, 7 February 1761 (Acc. No. 97/46/1/2/7/132).

[25]Ibid.

[26]The surviving correspondence of Elizabeth Fagan ends in 1770, but it is not known when her agency finished.

leaving her very unsure about the state of her financial affairs. Thus in this context she was clearly a hugely capable and efficient woman, not only continuing the administration of the estate, but also the family brewing business, in order to support her large family. It seems clear from the surviving correspondence that there was an easy relationship between employer and employee, for there is a confidence and familiarity (but never disrespect) in Elizabeth Fagan's letters - as there was also in those of her husband.[27] She settled into the role quickly; as early as 19 March, not even two months after her appointment, she was keen to assure Fitzwilliam that there was no necessity for him to make a visit to Ireland any sooner than he had originally planned.[28]

The role of William Fitzwilliam in relation to the administration of the estate is hard to define. From the context of his surviving correspondence it seems possible that he was sent over to Ireland in the immediate aftermath of Mathew's dismissal, to investigate the apparent corruption of the agent.[29] It is clear from his correspondence to his brother that William Fitzwilliam, although he took his duties in the interest of the estate seriously, was deeply ambivalent about his position. It would seem that he had been banished to Ireland under some cloud of disgrace, and maybe had been given this position by his brother as a consolatory means to earn his keep. Towards the end of the extant correspondence he becomes increasingly bitter and describes himself apparently pejoratively as his brother's 'Bailiff'.[30]

His letters contain much information about the state of affairs of the estate and the rate of its improvement. There was probably a blurring of the administrative roles while William Fitzwilliam was resident in Dublin; he probably had a more senior role in terms of forming policy and determining development than the Fagans, leaving them to sort out the more mundane details of administration. In the context of Mathew's agency, it would seem a distinct possibility that William Fitzwilliam took on the responsibility of sorting out the administration, and then resigned his post at a time when he was satisfied that it was in capable hands. He left Ireland permanently in 1764, apparently leaving Elizabeth Fagan as the sole agent.[31]

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[27]Indeed, in her first letter to Fitzwilliam shortly after the death of her husband, she thanks him for his 'most kind and affectionate Letter which Contains so much tenderness for me and mine that I wand [sic] words to Express my Gratitude and Acknowledgement to your Lordship for your tender expressions and Confidence repos'd in me'. NAI, PEP, Correspondence, Elizabeth Fagan to Lord Fitzwilliam, 17 February 1761 (Acc. No. 97/46/1/2/8/38).

[28]Ibid.

[29]The collection of correspondence from William Fitzwilliam starts 9 July 1752, almost a year after Mathew's dismissal; NAI, PEP Correspondence, (Acc. No. 97/46/1/2/7).

[30]NAI, PEP, Correspondence, William Fitzwilliam to Lord Fitzwilliam, 11 March 1762 (Acc. No. 97/46/1/2/7/144).

[31]The death of Elizabeth Fagan was announced in *Exshaw's Magazine* of October 1789.

After 1770 the first collection of correspondence relating to the administration of the estate terminates. It recommences in 1796 and introduces the agency of Barbara Verschoyle. Her surviving correspondence bears testament to a remarkable woman. Her agency continued well into the nineteenth century, even into the accession of the estate by the Herbert family for whom she served as agent for eleven years. She was ferociously devoted to her position. Her agency left an enduring legacy; much of the day to day administration and practice, and even general policy, was established during her tenure. On examination of her extensive correspondence[32] it is possible to see her agency as reflecting the criteria given to Lord Colambre in *The Absentee* when he inquired what was meant by a good agent:

> he is the man that will encourage the improving tenant; and show no favour or affection, but justice, which comes even to all... and going about continually among the tenantry, he knows when to press for the rent, and when to leave the money to lay out upon the land; and, according as they would want it, can give a tenant a help or a check properly'.[33]

It should be noted that all the agents of the estate of the eighteenth century - Richard Mathew, Bryan Fagan, Elizabeth Fagan, and Barbara Verschoyle - were Catholic. This, in itself, never seems to have been an issue of significance from the landlord's point of view. However, at least twice during the course of the century, in 1749/50 and 1756, a bill came very close to being passed by the Commons which would have prohibited Catholics acting as agents. Apparently, the outcome of the bill would have been that a 'Protestant Lord or Gentleman' could not have a Catholic agent. Both bills were rejected by the House of Commons. However, when the issue returned in 1756, the situation was serious enough for William Fitzwilliam to suggest that Lord Fitzwilliam might have to come over to Ireland to 'procure' a new agent, 'or find some quirk to continue your present man'.[34] Although these acts failed, it is of interest to note the attempts, as they indicate that there was an element of non-conformity about the administration of the estate; they also indicate the political context, and perhaps disadvantaged position, from which the Catholic agents to the Fitzwilliam estate had to operate.[35]

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[32]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vols 1 and 2 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/1 & 2).

[33]Maria Edgeworth, *The Absentee* (W.J. McCormack and Kim Walker eds), Oxford, 1988, pp131-32.

[34]NAI, PEP, Correspondence, William Fitzwilliam to Lord Fitzwilliam, 29 January 1756 (Acc. No. 97/46/1/2/7/71).

[35]According to William Fitzwilliam, it was realised that it would have been possible to circumvent this anti-Catholic preamble: 'As you might have appointed a Protestant to be your Agent & the old agent might have been employed & acted under him as a clerk.', NAI, PEP, Correspondence, William Fitzwilliam to Lord Fitzwilliam, 6 May 1756 (Acc. No. 97/46/1/2/7/81).

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Physical Protection of Estate Lands

The surviving correspondence of these eighteenth and early nineteenth century agents can be used to identify the principal issues and concerns of the estate at that time which, in turn, were of significance in terms of the later nineteenth century development. The single most important issue can be described as the physical protection and consolidation of the estate lands. Before the estate could be developed coherently and productively, the lands had to be physically stable and secure. Thus the battle waged throughout the eighteenth century to protect the estate lands is of profound significance in terms of the nineteenth century development.

The tendency to flood had serious consequences for the estate. Not only was there the damage visited upon the land, buildings and people, but there was also the significant and frequent outlay required to remedy the damage, and to try and prevent it from happening again in the future. An example of the havoc wreaked upon the estate by flooding can be seen in a letter from Mathew in September 1739,

> Donybroke Bridge... was Carry'd of in a Cracke, and the place where it Stoode, left Smacke Smoothe... the Sea Broke In to Arthurs Fields, and payd a Meloncholy vissite to Lees Concern also, Ruined theire Green Bricks, which lay Bleaching for the Kilns...[36]

The above letter alludes to the danger threatened by both river and sea, but it seems that Mathew regarded the danger from the Dodder more seriously, referring to it as 'a most Dangerous neighbour'.[37] Surveys had been carried out from the very beginning of the eighteenth century with the aim of improving the drainage of the river. For example, a survey carried out by James Cullen in 1706 proposed moving the watercourse east and constructing a stronger coastline more protective to encroachment by the sea.[38] A more sophisticated proposal was produced in 1731 by Edward Cullen; again dealing with the stretch of the Dodder from Ballsbridge to the sea.[39] This was also unexecuted.

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[36]NAI, PEP, Correspondence, Richard Mathew to Lord Fitzwilliam, 12 September 1739 (Acc. No. 97/46/1/2/4/10).
[37]NAI, PEP, Correspondence, Richard Mathew to Lord Fitzwilliam, 24 June 1742 (Acc. No. 97/46/1/2/4/29).
[38]NAI, PEP, Maps, Ja. Cullen, 'A Mapp & Survey of RingsEnd and Ireishtowne, Aprill ye 23th 1706' (Acc. No. 2011/2/1/6).
[39]NAI, PEP, Maps, Edw. Cullen, '[River Dodder] Surveyed for The Right Honble The Lord Vist Fitzwilliams the River Dodder from Balls Bridge to Rings End Bridge together with ye Swany water the

Despite these surveys and proposals, it seems that steps to remedy the damage caused by flooding were carried out on a more *ad hoc* basis in response to each crisis. Throughout the century applications were continually made for presentments from the Grand Jury to fund repairs and rebuildings to bridges and roads as a result of the frequent inundations. For example, in response to the flood of 1743 mentioned above, Mathew described how he 'droppd £1300 Loades of Stones in the Breach'.[40]

Flooding of the lands adjacent to the river recurred continually and at times catastrophically throughout the rest of the century. In 1754 'the Paper-mill at Ballsbridge, together with Mr. Grant's improvements, and a large quantity of stamped linens, were born away by the current'.[41] In August 1782 it rained 'for fourteen hours with a violence that was truly alarming', demolishing Ringsend bridge which had been erected in 1729.[42] Severe flooding recurred once again in 1787; the damage to Ringsend was described by Ferrar in 1796: 'It resembled a town which had experienced all the calamities of war, that had been sacked by an enemy'.[43]

All of these episodes of flooding undoubtedly would have had serious repercussions for the lands affected: the demolition of houses, the destruction of industrial premises and farmlands and the loss of livestock. However, in terms of the development of the estate, the consequent physical 'instability' of the lands adjacent to the river for development was probably the most serious repercussion of the flooding. While the extant correspondence does not furnish precise information on any long-term substantial solution to the problem, oblique evidence can be found in some letters of attempts to prevent flooding and reclaim land. In a letter to Fitzwilliam in 1749 following 'Raines In abundance' Mathew wrote 'The Grounde lately our Object, that Cost in filling so much Money being Still in the nature of a Bason, became a Recevoire...'.[44] It is possible to surmise from other sources that there were probably renewed attempts in the late eighteenth century to tackle the problem on a comprehensive scale.

In 1780 Samuel Sproule drew up a 'Plan of present & intended course of the Dodder', which seems to have been a response to at least two episodes of serious

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Marsh & part of Strand Situated in the Parish of ye Donybrook & County of Dublin, Feb 24th 1731/2' (Acc. No. 2011/2/1/8).

[40]NAI, PEP, Correspondence, Richard Mathew to Lord Fitzwilliam, 30 July 1743 (Acc. No. 97/46/1/2/5/4).

[41]*Universal Advertiser*, 18th June 1754.

[42]Rev. Beaver H Blacker, *Brief Sketches of the Parishes of Booterstown and Donnybrook, in the County of Dublin; with An Appendix, containing Notes and Annals* (Dublin, 1860/61), p.81.

[43]Ibid.

[44]NAI, PEP, Correspondence, Richard Mathew to Lord Fitzwilliam, 24 January 1749 (Acc. No. 97/46/1/2/5/58).

flooding in the 1770s.[45] While this scheme was not executed, it is likely that work of some substance was carried out by the early 1790s. This seems to be supported by reference to the Roe estate map of 1794 (**1.7**). Maybe this work was carried out *in tandem* with the erection of a new bridge over the Dodder at Ballsbridge in 1791. The lower section of the river was defined further by the creation of the Dodder Canal c.1802, which enabled the surrounding land to be reclaimed.

The other cause of serious flooding on the estate was the sea. Much of the eighteenth-century coastline had been artificially created in the sixteenth, and as such was not completely physically stable. Once again, measures to secure the land were taken throughout the eighteenth century. Mathew wrote to Fitzwilliam in 1747 to inform him that he had 'taken the Advantage of this Fine Weather to Secure the Great Wall and Roade between Ringsend and Irishtown, In the Frugalist Manner'.[46] It is clear from the surviving correspondence that the situation was still in need of improvement in the late 1760s.

In 1767 a detailed letter was sent to Lord Fitzwilliam which painted a fairly grim picture of the coastal lands of the estate. It describes in the 'scope of land' between Irishtown and Blackrock 'such ruin & destruction as greatly amaz'd me' and mentions a 'great Breach' at Scald Hill,[47] thus implying vast encroachment by the sea. The writer had no doubt as to the cause of this breach: 'any Person of the least knowledge must know, that the cause of the Gulfe at Scald hill is owing to the diging & taking away the sand between it & the sea, where the banks are all in holes, & sunk in deep pits'.[48] He continued the letter by stating the sharp decline in the value of the land in that area as a result of its inundation. He claimed that when the land was flooded its rental fell from £48 (which is what it was let for forty years previously) to £7 - its value at the time of his writing.[49] Furthermore, he claimed that if the land was in the condition it was forty years before, it would be worth £80. Thus the implied loss to the revenue of the estate was severe. The author seems to insinuate corruption, either in the administration of, or in work carried out for, the estate, although it is not possible to ascertain whether he had a personal agenda. It seems that the strand ramparts erected to protect the estate were shoddily constructed and disintegrating. This, in combination with the illegal excavation

[45]'In 1771 a flood filled the arches of Ball's Bridge and overflowed the road and in 1777 a flood arose within one foot of the top of the arches' According to the same plan the area of flood in 1771 was 507 feet and the area of flood in 1777 was 437 feet. NAI, PEP, Maps, Samuel Sproule, 'A plan of the present, and Intended course of The River Dodder' (Acc. No. 2011/2/1/11).

[46]NAI, PEP, Correspondence, Richard Mathew to Lord Fitzwilliam, 30 July 1747 (Acc. No. 97/46/1/2/5/45). Is it likely that frugal is used in the sense of 'economical' rather than 'mean'.

[47]Scald Hill was near what is now known as Sandymount.

[48]NAI, PEP, Correspondence, F. Hamilton to Lord Fitzwilliam, 19 May 1767 (Acc. No. 97/46/1/2/6/74).

[49]It is not clear whether this figure was per annum or per acre - presumably it is per acre.

of sand from the beach mentioned in the above letter, created lands deeply vulnerable to flooding by the sea.

To compound this precarious situation, the land just behind the coast was further destabilised by its use as brickfields - the 'man-made' threat to the estate land. The apparent absurdity of this practice in this situation was not lost on some contemporaries. The same letter of 1767 describes the situation along the shore: 'I saw the Sea gaining on the Banks, the only defence and preservation of near 200 acres of land occasion'd as the Gulfe at Scald hill, by diging & taking away the bank, some for bricks & some for sand, & in some places, not above 5 or 6 feet wide to defend the whole brickfields, & was last winter quite broke through...'. The damage caused by the brickfields was already evident earlier in the century. Other letters were addressed directly to Lord Fitzwilliam informing him of the damage caused to the estate by the brickfields and also insinuating corruption on the part of the administration, the agent at the time being Richard Mathew. As early as 1743, Robert Cornwell (whose letter we have already met at the beginning of the chapter) wrote to Fitzwilliam to make clear the damage being inflicted upon the estate:

> ... of late the managers here through carelessness, bribery & corruption have suffered that great Bullwork and Defence... to be not only impaired, but to be almost entirely ruined - What by nature & what by digging clay for bricks (which was a Scandalous proffitt to destroy so fine an estate) is now become much lower than the Sea And when that bank which is Its only defence is at an end, which is every day stealing away a dislocation of all them fine lands must follow. I remember to have heard the late Lord say when last in Ireland, that if he was to begin the world again, he never would suffer a brick to be made on that part of his estate.[50]

Similar sentiments were expressed in the other letter quoted at the very beginning of this chapter. The writer, who elaborated so eloquently the potential of the estate for development, was blunt as to the damage visited upon the estate by the brickfields, describing it as 'selling the Inheritance of a fine Estate by annual trifles'. His analysis of the financial as well as physical impact of brickmaking is cogent and is worth repeating in full:

> if there had not been bricks made there for some years past; the lands wou'd be apply'd to the Common use of hay and grass, and at this day, instead of being torn, mangled and destroy'd, wou'd be all enclosed parks well sheltered, and well

[50]NAI, PEP, Correspondence, Robert Cornwell to Lord Fitzwilliam, 23 December 1743 (Acc. No. 97/46/1/2/6/2).

> dung'd, as all the adjacent lands are; and by a moderate Computation worth 50 shill an acre; which wou'd arise to 500 pounds p. annm. soe that by this fair and reasonable calculation, your Lordship loses £180 p. annum., besides destroying and disfiguring the ground, whereby it gives people an odium and distaste to all the lands about them for a dead standing water soe near the sea, has a very bad aspect, and the vapours ascending, together with the smoake of the brick kilns make it both unwholsome and disagreeable, to Improveing people; which is a far greater loss to your Lordship, than the Immediate destruction of the land in its selfe.[51]

These words and his conclusions must have made an impression with the landlord for a letter of 1752 makes it clear that Lord Fitzwilliam had prohibited new ground to be broken up for brickmaking.[52]

However, this was much objected to by other tenants. A letter of 1765 from Jonathan Wilson, a builder-developer on Merrion Square, protested violently to the stopping of brickmaking at Merrion: 'it must be the grandest & greatest Square in Europe, & wth. the advantages of a Quarry, & bricks on your Lddps estate, which was to be had at an easy rate, I Influenced my friends to believe they could build cheaper, & to more advantage, than any other part of Dublin'. Wilson had no doubt about the impact of the closing of the brickfields, 'I fear the Spirit for building in that part will be quite damp'd, as I find a Stop is put to brickmaking at Merrion... if yr Lddp does not give leave to have bricks made at Merrion or elsewhere on the Estate, we must all be Sufferers'. Interestingly, in his letter he also claimed that bricks could be made without damage to the estate: 'there is a place call'd the Marsh near Beggars bush wch I am told good bricks may be made of by a person of Judgement & without doing any manner of damage'. In fact Wilson even seems to imply that the flooding of the land as a result of the brickfields would be to the benefit of the estate; 'the floods would substitute better arable ground in the stead of that taken for bricks'.[53]

Wilson's sentiments were actually reflected by William Fitzwilliam, the landlord's brother who supervised the Dublin estate. He also was in favour of the brickfields continuing in operation. He claimed in a letter to his brother in 1758 that his policy against the manufacture of brick on the estate had already lost him £500, where the

[51]NAI, PEP, Correspondence, Michael Cullen to Lord Fitzwilliam, 8 June 1745 (Acc. No. 97/46/1/2/6/8).
[52]NAI, PEP, Correspondence, William Fitzwilliam to Lord Fitzwilliam, 4 November 1752 (Acc. No. 97/46/1/2/7/5).
[53]NAI, PEP, Correspondence, Jonathan Wilson to Lord Fitzwilliam, 26 January 1765 (Acc. No. 97/46/1/2/6/71).

damage which would have been done to the land would merely have amounted to £5.[54] The agent, Elizabeth Fagan, was also in favour of the continuation of brickmaking on the estate. She wrote to Fitzwilliam several times between 1764 and 1766 in support of the continuation of brickmaking on the estate and detailing the negative impact on the building development of the estate which would occur as a result of the closure of the brickfields.

The controversy raged for many years, with radically opposing opinions: to some, the presence of the brickfields prevented development, whereas to others, development could not take place without their existence. In the meantime, the brickfields seem to have continued in operation in some form, albeit reduced, for several years. However it seems certain that by the 1790s the manufacture of brick was no longer a significant operation on the estate and that the lands which had been involved had been successfully drained and reclaimed.[55]

The dispute relating to the operation of brickfields has wider implications for the development of the estate. It is evident that a divergence of opinion, and even of policy, was set up between the landlord versus the agents and speculators: the concerns of the stability of the land vying with the income from building speculation. This is extremely important in the context of the nineteenth century development of the estate as it shows the two main factors of concern involved in the later development: the preservation of the land versus financial return. It also served to establish an ownership and administrative environment which was notoriously protective of the land throughout the development of the estate in the nineteenth century.

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Early Building and Infrastructural Development

As early as 1740 the potential of specific areas in the estate for building development was emerging. For example in a letter to Fitzwilliam of 1740, the agent, Mathew identified possible improvement in Booterstown: 'If the North east Avenue was Openned to the SE... The Handsomesst Village In Irelande might be Formed there'.[56] Later, in 1760, it was regarded that Ballsbridge, closer to the city, would 'become a

[54]NAI, PEP, Correspondence, William Fitzwilliam to Lord Fitzwilliam, 10 May 1758 (Acc. No. 97/46/1/2/7/109).
[55]Although a few leases continued to be granted for brickmaking until at least 1802. Fitzwilliam to Henry Farrell, 18 September 1802. NAI, PEP, Deeds (Acc. No. 97/46/2/583).
[56]NAI, PEP, Correspondence, Richard Mathew to Lord Fitzwilliam, 14 June 1740 (Acc. No. 97/46/1/2/4/16).

Town in a short time', if only the proprietor of the gun powder mills could be persuaded to close his business because people feared living near it.[57] The bleaching and printing of linen and cotton were regarded as a preferable industry, and not one which people feared living near.

The potential of Irishtown was noted somewhat earlier. In 1747 Mathew wrote to inform Fitzwilliam that 'The People of Dublin have taken the Whim of Bathing in the Sea, and Irishtown is Crowded with Lodgers, and mostly People of some Account, and by the manny Vissits payd there, the People or Tennants will be Enriched, I have a Project for the Encouragement of the Place'.[58] In his very next letter to Fitzwilliam he elaborated on the improvement already apparent and how the inhabitants had 'dressd up theire Little Houses' and how he believed 'this Place will rise (If Encouraged) and In some measure make Amends for the Ruines Att Ringsend'.[59] Mathew was so enthusiastic about the prospects for developing this part of the estate that he stated his intention in the same letter of putting the whole sandbank south east of Ringsend on a building lease, a piece of ground which he reckoned would contain about three hundred by one hundred and fifty feet.[60]

Of course, prestige development closer to the city was also envisaged. The plans for Merrion Square, as have already been seen, dated from Barker's plans of 1762. Fitzwilliam Street emerged later, and from it developed the scheme of Fitzwilliam Square. It is clear from these examples that there was a definite awareness and desire in the eighteenth century to develop on a grand scale and to encourage building which would, in turn, promote further development.

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Two major infrastructural features of immense significance were established in the late eighteenth century: the Circular Road and the Grand Canal. Both of these projects were huge undertakings affecting the whole city, far beyond the boundary of the estate. Their significance in terms of the development of the Pembroke estate is not so much an impact on building development in the estate, as defining the landscape in which the building development would later take place.

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[57]NAI, PEP, Correspondence, Bryan Fagan to Lord Fitzwilliam, 18 September 1760 (Acc. No. 97/46/1/2/8/33).
[58]NAI, PEP, Correspondence, Richard Mathew to Lord Fitzwilliam, 30 July 1747 (Acc. No. 97/46/1/2/5/45).
[59]NAI, PEP, Correspondence, Richard Mathew to Lord Fitzwilliam, 27 August 1747 (Acc. No. 97/46/1/2/5/46).
[60]Ibid.

Considering the impact which it had on the estate there is surprisingly little reference to the development of the Circular Road in the surviving correspondence, although this is partly explained by the cessation of the early collection of estate correspondence in 1770. The earliest mention is in January 1764 when Elizabeth Fagan wrote to Lord Fitzwilliam to inform him that she had received a note from William Fitzwilliam that there was a Bill being brought into the House of Commons to make a 'back Avenue round the Town of Dublin'.[61] Fagan reported that William Fitzwilliam understood that the road would come through his Lordship's ground from the Quarry to Donnybrook road and hence might affect his plans for building in that area. However, even though the letter reports that a leaseholder of the estate - Henry Monck - was opposed to the new road, there is no extant correspondence to suggest any protest from the estate.

The commissioners for establishing the Circular Road were established by an act of 1763, but this act only gave jurisdiction west of the Donnybrook Road, thus not including the Fitzwilliam estate.[62] A further act in 1775-76, by which time the land of the Fitzwilliam estate had been incorporated, stated that no toll was to be paid 'upon any part of the present road made by Lord Viscount Fitzwilliam'.[63] Clearly, this implies that building of the road had already taken place, to some extent, in the estate and under some financial contribution of the landlord. However, according to Patrick Roe's map of 1774, the road had not proceeded eastwards to the estate by that date. It is shown nearly completed by the time of John Roe's map of 1794 (**1.7**). In terms of the building development of the estate, the most significant aspect of the Circular Road is that the act prevented any house along the line of the road to be built less than twenty-five feet from it. While this affected the estate directly - the Circular Road, in the form of Haddington Road, was an extensive building line along the estate - it might also be regarded in broader terms that herein lies the origin of the suburban garden in the estate.

The *Freeman's Journal* of 1 September 1790 reported that the new cut of the Grand Canal, the other major city-wide infrastructural project, was already carried to the Rathmines Road, but commented, with some frustration, on the disappointing rate of progress. The ground required from the estate was taken, in fee, from Lord Fitzwilliam,

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[61] This date is after William Fitzwilliam's last surviving correspondence, implying that he retained an interest in the estate even after it seems that he had finished officially working for it. NAI, PEP, Correspondence, Elizabeth Fagan to Lord Fitzwilliam, 14 January 1764 (Acc. No. 97/46/1/2/8/51).

[62] 3 George III Cap. 36, *An act for making more convenient the approaches to the city of Dublin by making a new turnpike road on the South Side, the west side, and the north side of the said city, to commence at the road leading to Donnybrook, and to terminate at Cavendish Street* (1763).

[63] 15 & 16 George III Cap. 128, *An act to explain and amend an act in the third and fourth years of the reign of his present Majesty, entitled...* (1775-76), II.

conveyance dated 16 April 1791.[64] The Canal eventually reached its eastern extent, and the Grand Canal Docks were officially opened by the Lord Lieutenant with great ceremony on 23 April 1796,[65] although the line would have been in existence considerably before this date. As with the Circular Road, the absence of estate correspondence after 1770 leaves a lacuna in the story of the negotiation (or not) for the chosen route and for the amount of ground required by the Canal Company. However, the correspondence which does survive, from 1796 onwards, indicates that after the completion of the line, there was a considerable amount of communciation between the two parties disputing the ownership and maintenance of adjoining ground, the landing of goods, and the responsibility for various aspects of safety. Ultimately, though, in terms of the development of the estate, the most significant aspect of the construction of the Grand Canal is that it became a boundary of sorts, effectively creating what would become an urban - suburban divide. Like the Circular Road, the Grand Canal was completed before coherent building development commenced in its immediate vicinity. It therefore did not affect development in progress, but established a new topography within which development would later take place.

The final major infrastructural works to impact upon the estate in the eighteenth century were more local developments, carried out under the Wide Streets Commissioners: the widening and straightening of the two ancient routes out of the city through the estate, Baggot Street and Leeson Street.[66] While the improvement of the line of Baggot Street was important and necessary in general terms to encourage building development, the alterations to Leeson Street had a more specific impact on the evolution of the estate. The line of Leeson Street originally wound its way southwards in a meandering route out of the city from Saint Stephen's Green; it followed the boundary of the estate, along what is now called Sussex Terrace and Sussex Road and thence the Donnybrook Road. In 1790/91 the line of the present-day Leeson Street Upper was created southwards from the site of the Canal and west of the ancient route. Shortly thereafter the present-day Eustace Bridge was erected to cross the Canal, and the new line continued northwards towards Stephen's Green to straighten the southern extent of Leeson Street Lower. The impact of this on the estate within the Canal can be seen in a survey plan of the estate of 1789 (**1.8**).[67] In terms of the development of the nineteenth

[64]NAI, PEP, Estate, Copy correspondence relating to Grand Canal Company (1791) 1828-1867 [n.d.] (Acc. No. 1011/4/11).

[65]Commemorated in an oil painting by William Ashford, *Opening of the Ringsend Docks, 23rd April 1796, with Lord Camden conferring Knighthood on Sir John Macartney*, 1796.

[66]City Archives, WSC Maps, Baggot Street (Acc. No. WSC/Maps/355/1;2); Leeson Street (Acc. No. WSC/Maps/352;352A).

[67]NAI, PEP, Maps, Patrick and John Roe, 'A Map of that part of the Estate of the Rt Honble Richard Lord Visct Fitzwilliam Within the Circular Road Containing in the whole 128.0.37 A.R.P., 1789 (Acc. No. 2011/2/1/15).

century estate, though, what is significant here is that the creation of the new line of Leeson Street Upper, outside the canal, effectively made the old route - which was part of the estate - redundant. In other words, the estate lost potential premier building ground along a major thoroughfare; the axis moved, turning the previous arterial route of Sussex Road into a backwater.

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In conclusion, it can be seen that several aspects of the Fitzwilliam estate pre-1816 were very significant in terms of the building development of the Pembroke estate, post-1816. In terms of the physical stability of the estate, the constant battle against flooding (from the sea and the River Dodder) would become a continual theme after 1816. Also, there were some major infrastructural alterations during the late eighteenth century, such as the construction of the Circular Road and the Grand Canal, which would define the topography of the estate within which building development would take place. Similarly, in terms of administration the years pre-1816 were of profound importance: the appointment in 1751 of Bryan Fagan, a local Catholic brewer, effectively established a dynasty of agents which would last for almost one hundred years. The agency of Barbara Verschoyle was idiosyncratic and of immense importance and will be examined in more detail in the following chapters. Nevertheless, the administration of all the Fagans - husband, wife, and daughter - evinces a characteristic devotion and loyalty, which would be continued with the agency of Cornelius Sullivan, progeny of Barbara Verschoyle, until 1849.

Chapter 2

Introduction to the Estate: Building Context

It is the intention of this chapter to introduce the subject of the building process of the estate. Although the subject of this thesis is building development on the estate post-1816, it is of interest to consider such development pre-1816 for several reasons. Firstly, the post-1816 development did not occur in a vacuum; it emerged from a tradition of building speculation which was established in the middle years of the eighteenth century. Secondly, the physical lines of development which were established in the eighteenth century had an impact on the nineteenth century estate. Most importantly, the purpose of this chapter is not to describe the building development of the estate before 1816, but to examine it in order to extract themes and characteristics which are significant for the nineteenth century estate.

Building Development in London: A Comparison

Firstly, before considering the developments on the estate it should be of use to give a brief introduction into the general character of Georgian building development as typified by London, and to consider how this was reflected in the Fitzwilliam estate. From the mid seventeenth century, London was one of the most important and rapidly expanding capitals in Europe, transforming itself from an essentially medieval town to a 'modern metropolis of brick and stone'.[1] It experienced phenomenal growth which was disproportionate to other parts of Britain and the continent. While estimates vary, broadly speaking, the city grew from a population of about 120,000 in 1550 to between 490,000 and 641,000 in 1700.[2] Similarly, a century later Dublin experienced astonishing growth which, although not on the same scale as London, was little equalled throughout Europe: from 60,000 in 1700, the city's population trebled over the following one hundred years to 180,000 in 1800.[3]

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[1] Elizabeth McKellar, *The birth of modern London* (Manchester, 1999), p 12.
[2] Ibid., p.13.
[3] Louis M. Cullen, 'The Growth of Dublin 1600-1900: Character and Heritage' in Aalen, F.H.A., and Kevin Whelan (eds.), *Dublin City and County: From Prehistosry to Present* (Dublin, 1992), p.251.

C. W. Chalklin has identifed that differences in the type of land available for development had an impact on the nature of the buildings erected.[4] In other words, higher better-drained land had more potential for prestigious development than low-lying marshy land. This is a theme which will resonate throughout the development of the Fitzwilliam estate. Chalkin identified another factor to control building development as the nature of the land-ownership, and how it determined supply of land available for building. Elizabeth McKellar describes how there was a great deal of mobility in the ownership of land following the Restoration, and that most of the land in London at the time of its expansion was held either by the Crown or by private owners with considerable freedom of action. This fluidity in the land market in turn helped establish a climate in which development could take place.[5] This contrasts sharply with the situation in the Fitzwilliam estate where the land was tightly controlled and freehold leases were never granted, thus leading to a very different process of development.

John Summerson identified three clear principles involved in the development of Georgian London: the aristocratic lead; the principle of a complete unit of development comprising square, secondary streets, market and perhaps church; and the principle of the speculative builder.[6] Summerson founded these principles on his analyses of the two earliest major building speculations in London: the fourth Earl of Southampton's Bloomsbury Square and the first Earl of St Albans' Saint James's Square. Although these two squares, dating from the 1660s and 1670s respectively, significantly pre-dated the Georgian era, Summerson saw them as the proto-type of speculative building development for the following century and a half.

In explanation of the first principle - the aristocratic lead - Summerson described the prime developer of the times as being 'the noble landlord with a greedy purse'.[7] The development process operated whereby the land was let off on leases to speculative builders who acted as middlemen and arranged the building of the houses. Thus there was a distinction between the landlord who owned the freehold and the builders who had a leasehold interest. Landlords deliberately set out to maximise the return on their land through careful and planned control of the building that took place upon it, and not to release the freehold title. The process of development of the Fitzwilliam estate did more-or-less adhere to this principle established by Summerson: although the landlord was absentee, the leases were granted by him to builder-developers without ever releasing the freehold title.

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[4]C.W. Chalklin, *The Provincial Towns of Georgian England; A Study of the Building Process 1740-1820* (London, 1974), p.70.
[5]McKellar (1999), pp.16-17.
[6]John Summerson, *Georgian London* (rev. edn, Harmondsworth, 1991), p.42.
[7]Ibid., p.39.

Summerson's second principle - that of a complete unit of development - is not really reflected in the development of the Fitzwilliam estate. While development was certainly planned and controlled, there was not the same pattern as established by Summerson wherein there was a coherent complete unit of development which included market facilities as well as smaller less expensive streets - a 'little town' which, as Summerson described, 'had to have a life of its own'.[8] In fact such a development was positively prohibited by the Fitzwilliam estate; standard clauses in all the building leases banned markets, shops or workshops and there was little sense of attempting to incorporate more modest housing amongst the grand developments. While it might seem surprising that the Fitzwilliam estate could develop without such ancillary facilities perhaps they were not needed in the same way as they would have been in comparable London developments. Perhaps the smaller scale of Dublin compared to London, as well as the fact that Dublin as a city had a single nucleus rather than the plurality of centres forming London, meant that provisions could still be obtained from the relatively proximate old city centre and did not need to be supplied from within the new development. While the Fitzwilliam estate did provide civic services (albeit not until the nineteenth century) in the form of St Stephen's church in Mount Street Upper, behind Merrion Square, and also of course in the substantial amenities of Merrion and, later, Fitzwilliam Squares, they are not inherently significant enough to the overall composition of the development to form Summerson's principle of a 'little town'.

The third principle - that of a speculative builder operating as a middle man and building the houses - is utterly reflected in developments on the Fitzwilliam estate. Summerson describes the speculative builder as 'the mainspring of London's expansion for three hundred years [who] has always been a person of the most various characteristics'.[9] While the timescale defined by Summerson is not appropriate either to Dublin or the Fitzwilliam estate, the importance of the speculative builder to the development of both is paramount. Summerson elaborated on the diversity of types who involved themselves in building speculation: 'Sometimes he has been a lord, sometimes little more than a labourer; sometimes a substantial capitalist, sometimes a craftsman, with only his skill and time to adventure; sometimes an architect, sometimes a bricklayer or carpenter; sometimes a lawyer, a mechanic, a schoolmaster, a quack, an actor - indeed, almost any class, trade or profession.'[10] And so it seems to have been also for the Fitzwilliam estate. One slight difference between Summerson's categorisation and the situation in Dublin might be that it was not quite so possible for lower-income classes to

[8]Ibid., p.41.
[9]Ibid., p.38.
[10]Ibid.

participate in development as seems to have been the case in London. On the research carried out so far, no evidence has been found to imply the participation of the likes of mechanics or schoolmasters in the early speculative building of the Fitzwilliam estate, but it is not possible to say that it never occurred. However, lawyers, carpenters, quacks and actors there were certainly. Indeed, a letter of 1760 from William Fitzwilliam to his brother tells that a house had been sold to 'Barry the Player, He is building Wings to it, & has planted a good many Trees'.[11] Thus although not speculation in the strict sense of building from nothing, 'Barry the Player' was certainly adventuring in property.

Summerson identified two different types of speculator: those who speculated in land plus houses, and those who speculated only in houses.[12] He further classified the distinction by making the observation that the former included financiers whereas the latter were principally building craftsmen. This distinction also seems to correspond with the situation in the Fitzwilliam estate - in both the types of speculation and the professions of those involved respectively. Summerson described how the bigger speculator would acquire a piece of land (in the case of the Fitzwilliam estate this was never freehold - the longest building lease granted being one hundred and fifty years) divide it into plots and then either build on these plots at his own expense or let them to smaller speculators on building lease.[13] To take the example of Merrion Square, many of the leases were granted to those from the well-placed in society: the 'gentlemen', the clergy and the professions - law and medicine. As building development progressed into other streets Summerson's other type of speculator - he who speculated only in houses - emerged. Summerson described this speculator as one who would 'confine himself to taking a building lease of one or more plots on somebody else's land, build a house and sell the lease with the house'. And so it seems to have been for much of the Fitzwilliam estate, although it is not possible to ascertain precisely the extent to which the leases were sold on after the houses were built. There is evidence in the estate correspondence, particularly after 1796, of carpenters, brick-makers and the like taking this sort of lease, that is plots of ground for two or three houses, building (or directly managing the building) and then selling the house with the lease. Thus the speculative builder, or 'builder-developer' is profoundly associated - in two distinct forms - with the building development in the Fitzwilliam estate, and we will see these patterns, established in the eighteenth century, reappear later, in the nineteenth-century development of the Pembroke estate.

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[11] NAI, PEP, Correspondence, William Fitzwilliam to Lord Fitzwilliam, 29 January, 1760 (Acc. No. 97/46/1/2/7/127).
[12] Summerson (1991), p.42.
[13] Ibid.

The Agency of Barbara Verschoyle

To form a more comprehensive understanding of the nature of the building development of the estate before 1816, and from that gain an insight into the origins of post-1816 development, it is necessary to turn to the administration of Barbara Verschoyle. While there is no doubt about the devotion and care of William Fitzwilliam and the Fagans in their administration of the estate, it is not until the agency of Barbara Verschoyle that it is possible to garner an impression of an administration which is operating to a structured procedure. During the course of Verschoyle's correspondence it is possible to track various innovations in her policy and method of administration which are in direct reaction to various crises and events. Thus there is a distinct sense of a learning process in her agency: establishing through experience an expedient system of administration which would continue through the nineteenth century. That is why it is important at this point to examine some aspects of her administration of the building process.

The management of the estate chiefly involved the collecting of rents and the negotiating of new leases with Verschoyle acting as mediator between tenants or prospective tenants and the landlord. Because the landlord was absentee, the procedure for negotiating, allocating and drawing up new leases was a protracted affair. Once a proposal had been approved by Fitzwilliam, the lease was drawn up by Verschoyle. It was then sent to Fitzwilliam, who would sign it.[14] They were then returned to Ireland to be signed by the various tenants. It seems that the procedure followed by Verschoyle was devised by Fitzwilliam himself: in one letter she wrote to him 'having had the Honr. of being yr. Lordships Pupil (for it was you instructed me in this Business)'.[15]

It is clear from the surviving correspondence that Verschoyle made improvements to this system as required. An early refinement was the introduction of a practice whereby leases were to be signed by tenants *before* being sent to England for signature by Fitzwilliam. Verschoyle regarded this as an important change: in a letter to Fitzwilliam in 1798 she states 'I am more than ever determined in my Opinion that it is better to hold the Tenant to their Bargain when made by getting them to sign their leases before I send

[14]Witnessed by a Mr Hone, 'a young Lawyer & friend of Mr Verschoyles'. NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 1, Barbara Verschoyle to Lord Fitzwilliam, 20 March 1797 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/1). In the same letter Verschoyle writes to Fitzwilliam 'I think I have heard you speak of Mr Hone the famous painter who is his uncle'.

[15]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 1, Verschoyle to Fitzwilliam, 2 April 1797 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/1).

them to your Lordship'.[16] It was a more significant measure than it might first appear. The process of sending the leases to England could take many weeks, and this frequently caused complaint from the prospective tenants because they would not commence building until the leases were returned signed by Fitzwilliam. There were several instances where tenants claimed for indulgence (relief) of their rent because they had been so delayed beyond the agreed date of commencement of their lease. In fact, Verschoyle makes clear her opinion that if the leases had not been signed before being sent to Fitzwilliam, many of them would have been reneged upon as a result of the delay on the bargain. However this was not possible under the system she introduced; they were bound to the lease before it went to London.

The most significant innovation by Verschoyle, in terms of the building development of the estate was introduced as a direct result of a flaw in earlier building leases. Back in 1791 and 1792 there had been a boom in the granting of building leases but as that decade progressed there was not a commensurate increase in building. In fact the ensuing years were marked by a terrible stagnation in the building and letting of houses which seems to have been caused by an economic slump. By 1796 the situation was so discouraging that Verschoyle was compelled to report the circumstances to Fitzwilliam.[17] She reported that little had been done in Warrington Place or Fitzwilliam Square. In Baggot Street although a good many houses were built, not all of them were let and, despite the fact that a good deal of money had been laid out on others in vaults, sewers and range walls, the tenants were getting no return, and in the whole street only one lessee had paid any rent. In Mount Street only two tenants had built since 1791 and though they had done a great deal, only some of their houses were let. Finally, in Leeson Street although there had been a good deal of money laid out by the building tenants, the whole of their ground had not been built and as a result they had paid no rent.

It is clear from the above report that these problems - of accruing rent arrears and building stagnation - had arisen because earlier building leases had a clause in them which allowed for three years rent free before the full rent had to be paid. Verschoyle realised that this was a misguided clause which was having serious repercussions on the rental of the estate; instead of encouraging building, it allowed tenants to hold onto their plot, do nothing to it, and pay no rent without fear of censure. In order that these problems would not happen in the future she devised a new system and interestingly, it seems that she introduced the new measure into building leases without waiting for the approval of her

[16]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 1, Verschoyle to Fitzwilliam, 8 May 1798 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/1).
[17]This is the first letter extant in the first volume of letter books. The first few pages are missing hence it cannot be dated, but the next letter in the volume is dated 30 December 1796. NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 1, (Acc. No. 97/46/3/1).

employer. She wrote to Fitzwilliam on 15 October 1797 about a new tenant who wished to build on Fitzwilliam Square, 'I have... got him to agree to Commence rent next march & not to Get any time rent free untill after the first House is Built... then he is to Get 3 years rent free.' She explained her reasons for introducing this new clause: 'by this method, which I hope you will approve & in future adopt, the Landlord is secured his Rent before he gives the Indulgence... [because] if a Man is bound to pay rent from the time he takes it, He will Naturaly [sic] try to do something with it'.

This was a radical new clause which was included thereafter in leases in an effort both to encourage building and prevent further rent arrears occurring in the future. Another change was also introduced into building leases from this time on which also followed these aims. While there had always been clauses in the leases regarding the general appearance of the buildings, stipulating a good quality house of the best materials, later leases were more stringent by including clauses which specified what was to be done and by when. Hence new leases stipulated that the builder was to enclose the demised premises with a stone or brick wall within (generally) the first six months; turn the vaults to the front of the lot within (generally) the first twelve months or else pay a substantial fine which increased over time.

Only a year later, on the occasion of a prospective building tenant asking to delay his signing of a building lease because of his financial difficulties, Verschoyle wrote to Fitzwilliam explaining her satisfaction with her innovation: 'it was one of the wisest things I ever thought off not to Give any time rent free until we have a House or Houses built - if this lease had been as the former ones, Mr Cuddy probably would have signed it & at the end of the time allowed rent free we should have nothing done on the Ground'.[18]

When the economic climate further deteriorated in 1799 and many building tenants were fleeing the country, the repercussions of the flaw in the early building leases were still being felt. Verschoyle wrote to Fitzwilliam 'Experience is the best Guide, had I thought of that [the new clause] when we were leting Ground in the yr 1792 we should certainly have had more Ground Built & I should not Have the Mortification of seeing so Great an Insolvent arrear as we shall have on the Building Ground many of the tenants having run away that never paid a 6d nor never will'.[19]

Further to the repercussions mentioned above, the issue of granting so many building leases in 1791 and 1792 affords an interesting insight into the dynamic of the working relationship between Verschoyle and Fitzwilliam. In a letter to Fitzwilliam in

[18]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 1, Verschoyle to Fitzwilliam, 9 March 1798 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/1).
[19]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 1, Verschoyle to Fitzwilliam, 6 August 1799 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/1).

April 1798 Verschoyle admits she was misguided to have allowed so much land to be let for building at that time, 'I assure you they were thought Rich Men when they took that Ground from your Lordship... though I remember it was much against yr Judgement yr Lordship let so much ground for Building in the year 1792 - I thought you were wrong, but it has proved to me that I was so'.[20] Thus it seems clear that Fitzwilliam had been reluctant to grant so many building leases at the time and, moreover, that Verschoyle, as agent in Ireland, had effectively overruled his opinion. To what extent this effected a change in the working relationship between landlord and agent it is impossible to say, but if nothing else, the learning process involved certainly seems to have cultivated a more cautious approach, particularly by Verschoyle, to the granting of building leases.

There were other aspects of Verschoyle's agency which, though not strictly policy, demonstrate her astute pragmatism in administrating the estate. She promoted the indulgence (relief) of rent for tenants who had fulfilled the building covenants in their leases. She was in favour of this as she felt it encouraged the completion of building, whereas suing for the rent did not. She elaborated why it was better not to proceed by law with ejectment of lessees who were in arrears; in times of severe recession she favoured giving further rent relief to certain tenants if she regarded them as men of potential - it would be good to have them obliged to the estate when times mended. It can be seen that the building development undertaken by Verschoyle during her agency was severely affected by the political and economic situation of the time. In fact much of her agency was actually spent managing an *absence* of building and it can be seen that several significant and distinctive policies were established as a result of this, which were still incorporated in the nineteenth century. What emerges resoundingly from her management of the various problems is an overwhelming sense of pragmatism and caution in negotiating the best course available for the benefit of the estate.

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Building Development before 1816

Having introduced some aspects of the administration of the building process, it is now appropriate to turn to the building development of the eighteenth century estate. Firstly, it is useful to place the Fitzwilliam estate in its Dublin context. As has already been established elsewhere, significant residential development in Dublin was precluded from westwards growth, by the Phoenix Park on the north side of the city, and the long-

[20]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 1, Verschoyle to Fitzwilliam, 25 April 1798 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/1).

established commercial / industrial quarters to the south. Fashionable residential development was restricted to the eastern sector of the city. This meant, chiefly, the twin domains of the Gardiner and the Fitzwilliam estates.

The Gardiner and the Fitzwilliam estates were the first large tracts of land previously unbuilt upon to be coherently developed in Dublin in the 18th century. They make an interesting comparison. They both comprised vast swathes of land to the east of the city which were set out across the radiating lines of old routes out of Dublin, the Gardiner estate on the north of the river, the Fitzwilliam estate on the south. The Fitzwilliam estate was the long-established property of an absentee landlord, while the Gardiner estate was not a natural inheritance, but a series of properties acquired by the resident Luke Gardiner during the 1710s to 1730s. It was an estate bought up in segments, rather than a birth-right owned for centuries. Building commenced earlier in the Gardiner estate, to the north of the river, with the laying-out in the 1740s of Luke Gardiner's Mall as a strategic line established to encourage significant development far to the east of the old medieval core of the city. Coherent development did not commence in the Fitzwilliam estate until the 1750s. However, this estate was closer to the established city, it commenced just to the east of Saint Stephen's Green which, as has been pointed out, was always fashionable.[21] Neither of these two estates really significantly capitalised on their early beginnings: the Gardiner estate did not become a main centre of residential development until the 1790s; the Fitzwilliam estate did not fully establish a successful momentum until the nineteenth century.

The dynamic between the building of Kildare House and the initial development of the Fitzwilliam estate, in the form of Merrion Square, is a curious one. The infamous remark by Kildare, that society would follow him wherever he went,[22] is interesting to consider in the terms that Kildare had no authority to dictate how the surroundings of his great 'country house in town' would subsequently develop. The development potential of the ground belonging to the Fitzwilliam estate adjacent to Kildare House was appreciated by the agent as early as 1749; he realised it was an ideal opportunity to capitalise on the certain future fashionableness of the area.[23] In such, there can be seen a contorted echo of Summerson's 'aristocratic lead': the centrepiece development is that of another aristocrat, and the subsequent financial benefits seem to be promoted by the agent resident in Dublin.

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[21]Cullen (1992), p.255.
[22]Maurice Craig, *Dublin 1660-1860* (repr. Dublin, 1969), p.133.
[23]NAI, PEP, Correspondence, Mathew to Fitzwilliam, 1 July 1749 (Acc. No. 97/46/1/2/5/66).

Whatever the determination of the initial development, building was under way by 1751. A letter to Fitzwilliam from Bryan Fagan in August 1751 describes that he has just set the remainder of the ground to the line 'designed' for Lord Kildare 'to men of fortune, and Improving Tenants'.[24] It is clear from the same letter that while this initial development was planned as 'Merrion Street', further contiguous streets were envisaged for Fagan continues, 'I cou'd wish the ground was laid out for the new Streets, If they were, I am sure they would [proceed], for I have been applyed to by severall for Lotts'. The enthusiasm for taking up building leases was such that in September 1752 William Fitzwilliam was able to write to his brother, 'What a fine rise yr Estate will have. Tis the luckiest thing in the World for you that I am here to catch at and conclude bargains while People are in the Mind, & not give them time to cool or reflect. I think the present building madness can never hold'.[25] It was not until 1759 that there was specific allusion to the development of a square. In April 1759 William Fitzwilliam wrote to his brother, 'I have some hopes... of setting of some lots of Ground to begin the Square at Faulkners Garden'.[26] And so the north range of Merrion Square was conceived.

Despite initial enthusiasm the square was not to be completed for many years. While a survey plan by Patrick and John Roe of 1789 (**2.1**) implies all the ground around the square had been let for building by that time, an act 'For inclosing and improving Merrion-Square' gives an interesting insight into the form of the square only two years later, in 1791.[27] Most of the south and east ranges were as yet unbuilt. The act concerns chiefly the centre of the square which it describes as 'a very great nuisance to the inhabitants surrounding it' and that it will continue to be so 'unless a proper enclosure round the same be made and supported'.[28] The necessity for the creation of this act implies that the estate did not take responsibility and also that the estate did not make clear in the building leases with whom the responsibilty lay for the square. The act struck a rate and named commissioners to supervise the 'making, finishing, and completing a good and suffficient inclosure ... and for improving and ornamenting the inside of the said square'.

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[24]NAI, PEP, Correspondence, Bryan Fagan to Lord Fitzwilliam, 22 August 1751 (Acc. No. 97/46/1/2/8/2).
[25]NAI, PEP, Correspondence, William Fitzwilliam to Lord Fitzwilliam, 28 September 1752 (Acc. No. 97/46/1/2/7/3).
[26]NAI, PEP, Correspondence, William Fitzwilliam to Lord Fitzwilliam, 24 April 1759 (Acc. No. 97/46/1/2/7/118).
[27]NAI, PEP, Maps, 'A Map of that part of the Estate of the Rt Honble Richard Lord Visct Fitzwilliam Within the Circular Road Containing in the whole 128.0.37 A.R.P. Surveyed in 1789 by Pat and John Roe' (Acc. No. 2011/2/1/15); 31 George III Cap.45, *An Act for inclosing and improving Merrion-Square, in the City of Dublin.* (1791).
[28]31 George III Cap.45, p.787.

It is not possible to be definitive about the origination of the scheme for a square, however an undated plan by Jonathan Barker (**2.2**) is useful to examine. Entitled 'A Plan of Merrion Square With the Intended New Streets Being Part of the Estate of the Right Honble Lord Viscount Fitzwilliam', it is undated but can probably be put sometime between 1759 and 1762.[29] The outline of the plan broadly echoes the actual development: the proportion of the square with the north and south sides much longer than the east and west, and most notably the immense stretch of 'Intended New Street' half a mile in length which was to become Fitzwilliam street. The scale of that street certainly indicates a vision which would have been astounding to contemporaries, and it is interesting to see it envisaged at such an early stage in the development of the estate. However, it is in the differences that more interest lies. It is very interesting to see, quite definitely, that the square was seen as an end in itself; in other words, it was not envisaged as forming part of a major radial route leaving the city. Passage along the north and south sides was to be blocked off by the range of buildings erected along the new thoroughfare heading south. There is no inkling of either Mount Street, upper or lower. There does not seem to be any intention of planning building development beyond that austere monolithic boundary of the range of buildings fronting the 'intended new street'. It thus proposed a very different scheme to that as eventually built.

It is not posible to attribute the plan of the square, as built, to one single name. It has been stated that Fitzwilliam 'lured' John Ensor, an architect, away from building on the north side of Dublin and got him to plan Merrion Square.[30] While Ensor certainly speculated on the north side of the square, there does not seem to be any surviving evidence to attribute to him a plan or scheme from which the entire development was planned. Neither, in truth, does it seem likely that Fitzwilliam himself determined the idea of a square; it is far more likely that the idea originated with his brother, William, or possibly the agent, Mathew - both of whom were keen to develop the estate. Barker's plan afforded the vision; William Fitzwilliam was most likely the man responsible for determining the frontages of leases, the numbers granted and where and, hence, the eventual size of the square. In terms of the allocation of ground (**2.1**), the very earliest leases, along the west side of the square, are of such a varied frontage that it seems possible that they were at the request of the lessee. From about half way along the north side of the square a change in the pattern of the size of the plots can be discerned; there appears to be a greater regularity in the manner of allocation - implying that the frontages were determined by the agent. Overall, then, it seems most likely that early building development, initiated in the eighteenth century, was not a coherent grand project

[29]NAI, PEP, Surveys, Jonathan Barker, 'A Plan of Merrion Square With the Intended New Streets Being Part of the Estate of the Right Honble Lord Viscount Fitzwilliam' (Acc. No. 2011/3/1).
[30]Craig (1969), p.190.

conceived by the landlord, but one which emerged on a more *ad hoc* basis, largely determined by the agent's response to speculation as it evolved.

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One factor which emerges as a constant feature of this early phase of development of Merrion Square is the proximity of building materials - both stone and brick - and the impact of their availability on the progress of development. This was realised by Bryan Fagan as early as 1751 when he wrote to Fitzwilliam, 'the Quarry and Brick Clay are great temptations for Building'.[31] In September 1752 as more building leases were granted, William Fitzwilliam was clear on the necessity of the local supply of brick for the success of the building development. He wrote to his brother of an inducement to encourage more building, 'you will lower the fines on the Brickmakers; on Condition That the whole stock of bricks made by them shall be delivered on your buildings & nowhere else...'. He stressed the urgency of the situation, 'as this is now the season for turning up the Clay' and pointed out that 'the greatest difficulty the builders lie under is to get Stock bricks'.[32]

The controversy regarding the damage caused to the estate by the brickfields already alluded to in Chapter 1 was, therefore, of deep significance to the progress of building on the estate. It has already been established that both William Fitzwilliam and the Irish agent were in favour of the continuation of the brickfields because they were a fundamental requirement for the extension of building. Elizabeth Fagan warned Lord Fitzwilliam in 1764, 'the Builders are in an Outcry on hearing that your Lordship won't permit Bricks to be made next season on your Estate, which I fear will give some Damp to that great work [Merrion Square] as [bricks] are not to be had in other places.'[33] However Lord Fitzwilliam, concerned about the damage effected upon his estate by the manufacture of brick, was determined to close down as many of the brickfields as he could. A huge amount of correspondence survives which details the great dismay of the building speculators regarding this policy, and making a direct link between the unavailability of brick with the inability to complete building.

The issue of brick continued to be a cause for concern amongst those who had already taken leases for building on the square. However, it is not possible to gauge the

[31]NAI, PEP, Correspondence, Bryan Fagan to Lord Fitzwilliam, 22 August 1751 (Acc. No. 97/46/1/2/8/2) The quarry mentioned can be seen on Barker's plan of Merrion Square.
[32]NAI, PEP, Correspondence, William Fitzwilliam to Lord Fitzwilliam, 28 September 1752 (Acc. No. 97/46/1/2/7/3).
[33]NAI, PEP, Correspondence, Elizabeth Fagan to Lord Fitzwilliam, 27 November 1764 (Acc. No. 97/46/1/2/8/56).

extent to which this issue actually was a reason for the delayed completion of the square. Interestingly, in the later development of the Fitzwilliam and Pembroke estate, there is never the same significance accorded the availability (or not) of brick and stone in the context of building speculation.

There was still sufficient confidence about the progress of Merrion Square that in the mid-1760s thoughts were turning to the granting of building leases for new streets. In 1766 Fagan wrote for the attention of Fitzwilliam 'When his Lordship was last here, he had a New Street Marked out on the Map, to go from Donybrook Road, to BallsBridge Road, and to be called Neville Street - The Depth for the Buildings to be 100 feet, and the Term for the leases to be only 60 years.' The letter continues, raising an issue which would become significant in the building development of the estate: 'There were three Men with me this Week, who wou'd take about 200 feet of the above Ground to build on, but will not agree for a Shorter term than 99 years; and say, that if My Lord wou'd [give] 50 feet more to the Depth, it wou'd make the Buildings more Compleat, and Set a great deal better'.[34]

The length of lease was a major consideration for those intending to embark on building speculation. It is interesting that while the very earliest leases of Merrion Square from 1752 were of ninety nine years, Fitzwilliam evidently directed that the leases for the new street be of only sixty years - very short in terms of the outlay involved. In her next letter Fagan was unequivocal regarding the potential of sixty year leases, 'Your Lordship's Plan for the intended street between BallsBridge [Road] and Donybrook Road [i.e. Fitzwilliam Street] is very well liked - but My Lord I fear it wont go on as soon as we expected, the Persons who were inclined to lay out their Money in building there, won't do it on a shorter term than a 99 years Lease, those who have treated with me about it, have declined it on that account.'[35] The potential building speculators were clearly firm in their resolve, and Fitzwilliam must have eventually capitulated on the matter, for there is no evidence of building leases of sixty years being granted.

Of course, Merrion Square was not the only building development initiated in the eighteenth century. Fitzwilliam Square appears on the Roes' plan of 1789 (**1.8**); the leases were granted from 1791. As with Merrion Square, there was great initial enthusiasm, with the building lots being 'rapidly taken'.[36] Such was the apparent

[34]NAI, PEP, Correspondence, Elizabeth Fagan to Lady Fitzwilliam, 2 October 1766 (Acc. No. 97/46/1/2/8/72).
[35]NAI, PEP, Correspondence, Elizabeth Fagan to Lord Fitzwilliam, 8 November 1766 (Acc. No. 97/46/1/2/8/74).
[36]Dublin Evening Post, 18 June 1791; Mary Bryan, *Fitzwilliam Square, Dublin*, M.U.B.C., U.C.D. (1995).

enthusiasm for speculation on the estate in general that only a year later it was being reported that Lord Fitzwilliam had 'set all the ground undisposed of from the Circular Road to Merrion, at the rate of 6 shillings per foot on building leases of sixty-one years'. The writer continued excitedly, 'From this circumstance, unless something unexpected should take place, we may look for a continuation of the metropolis to the Black-rock.'[37] However, as with Merrion Square, the progress of development on Fitzwilliam Square would become severely stagnated, firstly by the Rebellion and then general economic decline. Neither square was finished until the mid-1820s. Similarly, the interlinking streets, such as Herbert Street, Mount Streets, Upper and Lower, although leased slightly later, suffered the same difficulties in the early nineteenth century. The entire of the estate within the Grand Canal was not completed until well into the 1840s.

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Despite the attention focused on building development within the Grand Canal, building development did occur outside of it - both in the western and eastern districts of the estate. Perhaps unsurprisingly, given the attention on development inside the canal (and the related problems), building outside the city seems to have been effectively unpromoted and to a certain extent unmonitered. Probably the earliest coherent scheme to be built was Haddington Terrace (**2.3**) on Haddington Road (originally known as Cottage Terrace on the Circular Road). It was built under a single lease granted in 1801 to David Courtney, who had already taken building ground in Fitzwilliam Street and Grand Canal Street in the 1790s.[38] In their simplicity, elegance, uniformity and extent they are a very successful early scheme, which must have been influential. This must be one of the earliest examples of raising the entrance floor over a basement, reached by a tall flight of steps. It is interesting that one of the most extensive terraces to be built at this time was built outside the Grand Canal, with none of the fuss accorded building development inside the canal. There were two other houses built along Haddington Road by 1816: numbers 71 and 73 (**2.4**), which were built under lease granted to a Reverend John Gibson in 1803. While they too are raised over a basement, they are of a more traditional character than Haddington Terrace.

Two slightly earlier terraced developments can be found in Sandymount and Irishtown. Tritonville (**2.5**), at the very south end of Irishtown village, was originally an eighteenth-century detached house to which a terrace of four houses was added.

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[37] *Freeman's Journal*, 22-24 November 1792. The report of the leases being for sixty-one years must be a misapprehension or a mistake.

[38] NAI, PEP, Deeds, Lord Fitzwilliam to David Courtney, 18 July 1801 (Acc. No. 97/46/2/Expired Leases Book). He also took 296 feet in Fitzwilliam Street in 1791, and 130 and 80 feet in Grand Canal Street in 1792.

When built, it would have been much closer to the sea - hence the name.[39] A terrace of houses at the east end of Sandymount Avenue (**2.6**) is another old scheme, possibly dating from the eighteenth century.[40] It is interesting that both these eastern schemes, so far from the more extensive building developments of the western estate, are distinctly suburban and relate directly to the street. However it should be remembered that Tritonville was built on the outskirts of a long-established and populous settlement: in effect, perhaps, a mini-suburb. The terrace at the end of Sandymount Avenue is more unusual, being in a more isolated and rural location. It might be significant that it was erected near the large complex of brickfields.

From these four schemes, it is interesting that in midst of the severe problems faced by the agent trying to sustain and encourage stagnated building development in the estate inside the Grand Canal, there were successful, sophisticated schemes being erected in the outskirts, with no apparent encouragement or promotion on behalf of the administration.

[39]The original house was apparently a coastguard station.

[40]It possibly appears on Roe (1794), but is definitely on a map surveyed by John Roe, of 1803. NAI, PEP, Maps, John Roe, 'Map of Part of the estate of the Rt Hon Richard Lord Viscount Fitzwilliam lying between the Circular Road and the Black-rock, 1803 (Acc. No. 97/46/4/12). It appears on John Taylor's *Map of the Environs of Dublin* (1816) as 'Roseville'.

Chapter 3

The Pembroke Estate 1816-1827
New Foundations

The publication of the comprehensive study of Dublin and its environs, the *History of the City of Dublin*, by J. Warburton, Reverend. J. Whitelaw, and Robert Walsh, in 1818, coincides neatly with the inception of the Pembroke estate. Apart from the authors' attractive description of the rural outskirts, with a 'delightful variety of villas, woods and pastures', the overall tenor of their account of contemporary Dublin is grim. They describe the approach to the city by river as a journey to 'excite disappointment and disgust'. This route passed 'the wretched village of Ringsend, consisting of a few ruinous houses, with its salt-works involved in clouds of black smoke' and beyond the north and south walls extended 'marshy swamps once covered by the sea, and as yet unoccupied by buildings'. The description of parts of the city is even less edifying, for example, the account of Saint Stephen's Green which 'in its present neglected state [has] little else but its magnitude to recommend it... of that kind of architectural beauty, which arises from symmetry and regularity here there are no traces...'.[1]

Hence, it is in this context that the authors' description of the Pembroke estate is so interesting. What it tells us about the development of the estate (that part adjacent to the city) is tantalising. While describing the recently completed Mountjoy Square as very elegant and spacious, with fine buildings, it reserves its highest praise for Merrion Square. It describes it as a 'noble square' environed on three sides by lofty houses which are all built in the 'modern style', and 'though not perfectly uniform... nearly so, in their form, elevation and decorations, as not only not to hurt the eye, but, in the opinion of some, to please it by this small variety'. The authors proceed to admire the homogeneity of the houses (particularly compared to the irregularity of Saint Stephen's Green), that they do not deviate from the same 'right' line and are all eighty feet from the interior square, 'a distance which bears a due proportion to their own elevation'. They continue their account, enthusing about the passageway of the north side which 'on summer evenings [is] the resort of all that is elegant and fashionable in this vicinity'. The north side really does seem to have stood out due to the superiority of its architecture: 'here the basement [i.e. ground floor] story is generally of mountain granite', and the authors

[1] Warburton, J., Revd J. Whitelaw, Robert Walsh, *History of the City of Dublin*, 2 vols (London, 1818), pp.441, 459.

wrote admiringly of the 'effect produced by fronts of hewn stone, embellished with the graces of Greek and Roman architecture'.

The authors ended their account of the square by summing up its broader potential in terms of sophisticated residential development, and concluded:

> In short, when we consider its seven spacious approaches, formed by so many modern streets, its magnificent extent, its elegance, neatness, and convenience, its remoteness from the hurry and bustle of business, the salubrity of the air... we may rate it among the finest squares, not only in the British empire, but in Europe.[2]

Thus the impression of developments on the Pembroke estate near the city in 1818, as represented by Merrion Square, seemed to be favourable.

However, this was not in fact the reality. The descriptive account given in the book actually dates from several years before the date of publication, and hence reflects the optimistic vision for the development of the estate at an earlier time.[3] This vision was not to be realised by the date of publication, in 1818. Hence the omission of Fitzwilliam Square which it describes as 'in embrio', an appropriate description for the very early years of the century. Nevertheless, it is an interesting - and still valid - account, for it conveys both the optimistic salubrious vision of the future development of the estate held in the early 1800s, as well as the premier status of the Pembroke estate among contemporary residential developments in the city.

On the death of Lord Fitzwilliam in 1816, when the estate was left to George Augustus, eleventh Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, the circumstances of building development were, in fact, in a sorry state. While it has already been seen in Chapter 1 that the estate inherited by Lord Pembroke in 1816 was one much improved from the mid-eighteenth century, its great potential in terms of building development had not been realised. Developments like Merrion and Fitzwilliam Squares had been initiated long since, but many of the holdings were neither making progress nor bringing in rent. These difficult times were to continue for much of the rest of the years of George Augustus as landlord, to such an extent that the inception of the Pembroke estate marked a change in name only. Development of the estate between the years 1816 and 1827 was

[2] Warburton, Whitelaw, Walsh (1818), pp.463-65

[3] Circa 1805-06. From a conversation with Dr David Dickson of Department of History, Trinity College, Dublin, February 2001.

frustrated by many problems, and showed little progress or innovation from the preceding years.

While these years - between 1816 and 1827 - cannot be seen as ones of significance in terms of comprehensive building development they were busy in administrative matters, and can be characterised as forming an era during which the Fitzwilliam estate became the Pembroke estate. This had implications beyond the change in name of the landlord. Initially it brought complications in terms of the powers of the new landlords, but it also introduced more subtle changes in the character of the estate and its administration. Therefore it is the aim of this chapter to examine both the administration of the estate and how it evolved with the new landlord, as well as the issue of building development and the factors which thwarted it.

Administration in the New Estate: Early Problems

One of the very first problems encountered by the eleventh Earl of Pembroke was intrinsic to the actual inheritance. In the words of Fitzwilliam's will, the estate was left to 'the use of' George Augustus and thence to Sidney Herbert, George Augustus's second son, who was at the time only a young boy. Thereafter it was to be left to Sidney's first son 'lawfully begotten' and the heirs male of such first son for 'life'.[4] This was a major - and fundamental - hindrance to the inheritance. The problem was simply that the title of the estate was only ever held for life, and could never be held in fee simple - as it had been by Fitzwilliam himself. The implication of this was immense: the landlords were not in possession of full powers to deal with the land - including the right to convey the fee simple. In other words, it gave the landlords authority over their estate in terms of the income derived from it, but not in terms of its capital; thus they could grant leases and collect rent from those leases, but they could not sell the land. This would have been seen as an enormous inconvenience by the inheritors, as it was a huge impediment to the development of the estate, as well as curtailing a potential source of income.[5] It is interesting to speculate that this might have been a very deliberate scheme by Fitzwilliam in order to secure the integrity and entirety of the estate after his demise.

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[4]NAI, PEP, Deeds, Copy of will of Richard Fitzwilliam Viscount Fitzwilliam, 1816 (Acc. No. 1011.3.2 Bundle 2). The will was dated 18 August 1815, and was proved 2 July 1816. The terms of the will specifically excluded from the inheritance George Augustus's first born son, by his first marriage - Robert Henry, later 12th Earl of Pembroke, who died in 1862 without issue.

[5]It was such a widespread and problematic issue in the nineteenth century, that eventually it became necessary to pass into law the Settled Land Act of 1882. Conversation with Dr Gerard Hogan, School of Law, Trinity College, Dublin, March 2001.

Another inconvenience imposed by Fitzwilliam was a more specific issue which affected the routine administration of the estate more immediately. This was a covenant in his will which expressly prohibited the granting of reversionary leases. A reversionary lease is a lease which is granted when the existing lease is nearing its expiration and the lessee wishes to continue their interest in the holding: effectively, it is a renewal of the lease shortly before the expiration of the current one. A reversionary lease usually incurred a fine, as well as an increase of rent, to compensate the landlord for any increase in land values since the signature of the original lease. This was a further curtailment of the freedom and power of the new landlords. Fitzwilliam must have been aware of the potential damage to the estate by this covenant in his will, however, it remains a matter of speculation why he chose to include it.

From the surviving correspondence the first explicit recognition of this as a potential problem of significance occurred in May 1817. The awareness of the necessity of the reversionary leases was apparent: Verschoyle wrote to the Herbert's legal agent how some of the tenants of Merrion Square had been applying to make an addition to the term of their leases. This, she reported, 'might be of great advantage to his Lordship's property' because 'where Lord F. made such renewals, there were large sums of money laid out in repairing and improving the houses'.[6] She sent the matter for the legal opinion of the attorney general to determine the powers of the estate,[7] however, it seems that the terms of the will were specific in preventing the granting of such leases. Ultimately, it took many years for the situation to be resolved and required the passing of two acts in 1833 and 1842.[8]

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Barbara Verschoyle, Fitzwilliam's loyal and devoted *factotum*, remained as agent for the duration of this period. However, during these years of her agency it is possible to observe not only a subtle change in her role but also a distinct shift in her relationship with her employer. Fundamentally, there was a major change in the parameters of her working life. Most significantly for an agent who had had such a close and deeply personal relationship - and correspondence - with Fitzwilliam, there was no such

[6]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 1, Barbara Verschoyle to Messrs H. H. Oddie, 5 May 1817 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/1).

[7]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 1, Barbara Verschoyle to Messrs H. H. Oddie, 24 May 1817 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/1).

[8]3 & 4 William IV Cap. 26, *An Act to grant further Power to lease certain Parts of the devised Estates of the Right Honourable Richard late Viscount Fitzwilliam deceased, situate in the City of Dublin and the Neighbourhood thereof*, 9 July 1833; and 5 & 6 Victoria Reginae Cap. 23, *An Act for granting further Power to lease Parts of the Estates devised by the Will of Richard late Viscount Fitzwilliam, deceased, situate in the City of Dublin and the Neighbourhood thereof, and for authorizing the Sale of certain Fee Farms and other Rents, also devised by that will*, 16 July 1842.

connection with Lord Pembroke.[9] She now had to communicate with the landlord through his legal agents, Messrs H. H. Oddie, in London.[10] This distancing of the landlord from the Irish administration of the estate affected Verschoyle, and therefore her role as agent, in two distinct ways.

Firstly, it seems that the near-removal of direct contact between landlord and agent had the consequence of lessening the power and independence which Verschoyle had exercised in her administration under Lord Fitzwilliam. It imposed a rigidity on the proceedings, somewhat binding her with the red tape of legal bureaucracy. The surviving correspondence implies that all matters now had to be channelled through, and approved by, Messrs Oddie, whereas previously Verschoyle had on occasion acted first and then informed Fitzwilliam of her actions later.

The second impact on her role is more oblique: the distancing of the landlord in personal terms. Verschoyle's correspondence with Fitzwilliam had resounded with confidence and certainty; in her letters to him there was a sureness and directness borne of a long-standing acquaintance and respect.[11] Her letters evince an agent-landlord relationship which was a complex mixture of familiarity, respect, confidence, deference, and fierce devotion. This relationship was inseparable from her *modus operandi*. Hence, when it was removed with the accession of Lord Pembroke she no longer felt the confidence and independence which was so evident in her working relationship with Fitzwilliam. The evidence for this is hard to define, but from her earliest letters to Messrs Oddie in London, there is already a sense of defensiveness and a slight feeling of her having to justify her actions and methods of administration.[12]

The impact on Verschoyle's agency as a consequence of these two factors is subtle, but discernible nonetheless. It has already been noted in Chapter 2 that there had been a significant decline in the frequency and content of the correspondence to Fitzwilliam shortly after the act of Union. However, during these years there is, not so

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[9]Her grief at the death of Fitzwilliam was deeply felt. In her first letter to Messrs Oddie - sixteen days after Fitzwilliam's death - she referred to him as her 'valued friend' whose death she lamented 'with sincere sorrow'. NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 1, Verschoyle [to Messrs H. H. Oddie], 20 February 1816 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/1).

[10]There was direct correspondence between Verschoyle and Lord Pembroke on a very few occasions, on very particular estate issues - usually legal concerns.

[11]By 1816 Verschoyle had been agent for at least twenty years.

[12]It is interesting to note that in the letter referred to in footnote 9, Verschoyle writes to Oddie of the new landlord, Lord Pembroke, 'I now look look upon him as the representative of my ever to be lamented friend [Fitzwilliam]... I shall both from duty and inclination do everything in my power to meet his Lordship's wishes, well knowing that in doing so I pay a tribute to the memory of him that can never be forgotten by me.' A letter to Messrs Oddie, justifying her action on a particular matter, is quite indignant and defensive. NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 1, Verschoyle to Messrs H. H. Oddie, 19 March 1817 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/1).

much a sense of a diminution in her efficiency and responsibility, but a feeling that the element of personal devotion in her administration has dissipated; some of the estate correspondence was taken over by Verschoyle's husband, Richard.[13]

The letter book for these years yields an insight into some of the matters which occupied the administration. One of these, which also demonstrates the difficult nature of Verschoyle's evolving role, was the issue of rent arrears. The worsening state of the economy towards the end of the teens of the century, and particularly the post-war collapse of agricultural prices after 1815[14] elicited a commensurate increase in the rental arrears. Much of the estate was farmland - of various types and intensity - and was, therefore, particularly affected by the slump in agriculture. The flexibility with which Verschoyle operated under Fitzwilliam can be seen in her first letter to Oddie of February 1816 where she describes to him her procedure for collecting rents:

> It is the custom to pay one half-years rent within the other, but I did not strictly enforce that - as his Lordship used to leave a balance of his rents in my hands untill I passed my accounts - it enabled me to indulge such tenants as I found were industrious - & I never distressed them to pay exactly at the time I might - when I knew there was full security for the rent - this kindness towards them I found answered better both for landlord and tenant & I acted to do so with the approbation of my good Lord.[15]

In the same letter she was clearly pleased to declare, 'I am happy to say, the arrears are but small for such a property - considering the situation of landed properties in these counties - & very little insolvent'. Although this last statement was probably coloured with the optimism of an agent keen to be positive to a new landlord, the situation was to change in the space of only a year.

In her letter accompanying her accounts of March the following year, the decline in the situation was all too apparent: Verschoyle warned to expect an insolvent arrear. It is also apparent in the same letter that Pembroke was not satisfied with the previous flexible method of Verschoyle - which had been to the satisfaction of Fitzwilliam. Evidently Verschoyle was instructed by Oddie that no tenant could be returned insolvent

[13]Indeed, much of the correspondence contained in the letter book at this time concerns his own business interests, relating to the wool and glue trade and addressed to many connections in the north of England, Bordeaux and New York.

[14]R. F. Foster (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ireland* (Oxford, 1989), p.163.

[15]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 1, Barbara Verschoyle [to Messrs H. H. Oddie], 20 February 1816 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/1).

in the yearly accounts without the approbation of Lord Pembroke.[16] This elicited a response from Verschoyle in several letters, of implicit defensiveness of her established method. Nevertheless she had to comply with Pembroke's instructions, hence lessening her independence of administration.

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Building in the New Estate: Early Problems

The changing nature of the administration of the estate during these years has been characterised above; it is now appropriate to examine the building development. It has already been established that these were poor years in terms of comprehensive speculative building development, nevertheless, it is important to investigate why this was so, and to characterise what development did occur.

Firstly, it is important to establish the built nature of the estate when Lord Pembroke inherited it in 1816, and to set it in its wider Dublin context. It is possible to do this with the useful contemporary map of Dublin and its environs, surveyed by John Taylor and published in 1816 (**3.1**).[17] It can be seen clearly from the map that the boundary between the city and the country was in many parts very abrupt and well within the new line of the Circular Road - north and south. Interestingly, it can be seen also that the developments of the Gardiner and Pembroke estates, on the north and south side of the city, respectively, are by far the furthest-extended from the centre of the city at this time. Elsewhere, the densely-built area ceases from the west side of Leeson Street in the south, and (roughly) west of Dorset Street in the north. Beyond the Grand Canal, in the neighbouring southern suburbs of Ranelagh, Rathmines, Harold's Cross and Rathgar, there existed a steady scattering of linear building development along the major radial routes. Otherwise there is evidence of future routes emerging, such as the New Road to Rathgar, which diverges away from the Rathmines Road. Generally, though, this area is unbuilt countryside, with plantations and nurseries interspersed with the occasional ancient ruin, quarry or lime kiln, with the major individual developments being the Horse Barracks just south of the canal at Portobello and the Incurables' Hospital north of Donnybrook.

[16]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 1, Barbara Verschoyle to Messrs H. H. Oddie, 19 March 1817 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/1).
[17]*John Taylor's Map of the Environs of Dublin, 1816* (repr. Phoenix Maps, Dublin, 1989).

In terms of the Pembroke estate within the Grand Canal, it is possible to see that by 1816, although it was not completed, the prospected development had largely been determined. Thus, according to the map, while Merrion Square was completed, Fitzwilliam Square was not, but the lines of development which would conclude it and the adjoining streets were broadly in place.[18] Obviously it is not possible to assume complete verisimilitude between the map and the actual development, but its account generally tallies with evidence from the agent's letter book. For the purpose of this thesis, however, the part of the estate of greater interest to examine is that outside the canal. As with the outlying districts to the west, those of the Pembroke estate were largely unbuilt countryside, with ancient ruins, demesnes, and nurseries. The lower-lying lands to the east were still interrupted by marshland and a sizeable lake. What is most noticeable is the concentration of different industries along the course of the River Dodder. Thus from Donnybrook, downstream, there was a hat factory, three print works, a distillery and a glass works. The industrial character along the River Dodder would remain for many years.

In terms of the building development of the estate, the most striking feature is the breaking-out beyond the confines of the canal of building development along Upper Baggot street. This is the only place south of the city where coherent building development has taken place by 1816 - i.e. involving the allocation of substantial and regular lots and the provision of a stable lane. The evolution of this road will be discussed in further detail later in this chapter, however it is important, at this point, to note how dramatically it proceeds, almost in isolation, as a street of coherent building development beyond the Canal. According to Taylor's map, building has only progressed on the north side of the road, about eight houses beyond Eastmoreland Place. Nevertheless in the context of it developing through fields and plantations, its progress is striking. Also discernible is the commencement of building along Haddington Road, already referred to in the previous chapter.

Another interesting feature to observe is one which is indicative of the status of the estate at this time being on the cusp of extensive further development. This is the continuation of Lower Mount Street the whole way to the Canal, the existence of a bridge over the Canal, but no marking-out of the continuation of the thoroughfare beyond the bridge as Northumberland Road. Thus, the evolution of the second major arterial route from the city through the Pembroke estate is closely imminent. The only other development on the map of interest at this time is the cluster of houses forming Sandymount village. The village is clearly well-established by this time, but still confined

[18]It is important to note that certain minor, intervening streets within the development inside the Canal would eventually be completed to a different plan.

to a nucleus around the green. It is possible to see clearly from Taylor's map that building had taken place on the north side of the village green and along the short roads leading to the sea. In a letter of 1817 Barbara Verschoyle described Sandymount to Messrs Oddie as 'a pretty village near Irishtown'. However, it sounds as if it was in need of some improvement: 'the inhabitants have subscribed about 100 Gns to employ labourers to improve the centre of it which was very low and swampy in winter almost covered with water & gave many an Idea that the situation was unwholesome...'.[19]

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Having set the physical scene of the estate, we shall now return to the issue of building development. The stagnant nature of building speculation during these years was not unique to the Pembroke estate, but a phenomenon widespread throughout the city of Dublin. It exercised the minds of many of those involved in the various building trades. Dr Edward McParland in his doctoral thesis refers to tracts produced by bricklayers, plasterers and stonemasons in the very early years of the 1830s lamenting the decline of the building trade in the city in the previous decades.[20] This decline corresponds with that experienced in the Pembroke estate. In fact, it is interesting to note that the situation seems to have been even worse in the wider context of Dublin than much of the estate. Returning to Warburton, Whitelaw and Walsh, an appendix of various data relating to the capital yields further information. While the text of the book has been identified as being of an earlier date than that of publication, the information held in the surveys of the appendix is accepted as being both contemporaneous and accurate. In the appendix one of the categories surveyed is of houses building in the various parishes around the city in 1816. The parish of Saint Peter's, which included most parts of the Pembroke estate near the city, considerably exceeded any other in this regard; in it, sixty-nine houses were in the process of being erected at the time of the survey - the next highest parish was that of Saint George's with forty-nine houses. Although it cannot be claimed that there is a direct correlation between the boundary of the parish of Saint Peter's with that of the Pembroke estate, there is enough of an overlap to allow a general conclusion to be drawn that in a city suffering a decline in building development, the most active district is largely to be found in the Pembroke estate.

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[19]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 1, Barbara Verschoyle to Messrs H. H. Oddie, 14 January 1817 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/1).

[20]Edward McParland, *The public works of architects in Ireland during the neo-classical period*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge 1975, pp.187-90. For example, tracts such as *Strictures on the Metropolis*, (Dublin 1805), 2, RIA, Haliday 885/4; *An Address of theBricklayers & Plasterers to the Tradesmen of the City of Dublin*, (Dublin 1833), 23, RIA, Haliday Pamphlet 1567/15.

More can be learned about the nature of building development and the factors which hindered it by further reference to estate correspondence of the time. All in all, there was not much to relieve the wretched accounts. The times were bad indeed, and all sectors were affected. When reporting the closure of a calico printing factory near Ballsbridge in February 1817, Verschoyle referred in general to the state of manufactories in the district; 'so many very extensive ones have been obliged to reduce the number of people they employed, that for some time I fear we have no chance...'. In the same letter she admits, 'I did hope Lord P's estate was so situated as not to suffer... yet I find it will share in the general calamity'.[21]

As has already been mentioned, agriculture was also affected. Reporting a large rental arrear in January 1821 Verschoyle commented, 'Never was anything like the distress of the farmers in this country, though there was a plentifull harvest last year, but the prices are so very low and the difficulty of getting money so great, that there is a very slow bad sale for everything.'[22] Things continued to deteriorate. In May the same year, Verschoyle wrote to Oddie of the impossibility of getting tenants for small farms out of lease because 'the description of tenants that used to take the ground near Dublin are all broke'.[23]

The associated problems of this recession in terms of the development of the estate can be divided loosely into two categories: the impact on the rent roll and the depreciation of the land value. The problem of the annual rent arrears has already been mentioned in this chapter, as an issue of difference between the Dublin and London authorities. Unsurprisingly, it also had a huge and direct impact on the daily administration of the estate. The immense problems of rent collection were apparent from the very beginning of this period and continued to form a grim recital for its duration. A letter from Verschoyle to Oddie fairly early in the period sets the tone: 'Since the year of the Rebellion in this country, I never found such difficulty in getting in the rents.'[24] In fact, as Verschoyle explained in the same letter, the problem was so comprehensive that '...the gentlemen who have houses in this neighbourhood declare they are not able to pay, from not receiving the rents due to themselves.' This was to continue nearly without respite.

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[21]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 1, Barbara Verschoyle to Messrs H. H. Oddie, 19 February 1817 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/1).
[22]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 2, Barbara Verschoyle to Messrs H. H. Oddie, 12 January 1821 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/2).
[23]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 2, Barbara Verschoyle to Messrs H. H. Oddie, 5 May 1821 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/2).
[24]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 1, Barbara Verschoyle to Messrs H. H. Oddie, 7 April 1817 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/1).

In April 1820 Verschoyle reported to Oddie that 'the rents even from our best tenants are paid very slowly'.[25]

The correspondence to London was so often filled with reports of the difficulty of getting in the rents, that in 1822 it seems that Verschoyle felt it necessary to put the situation of the Pembroke estate in the wider context of the rest of the country. Once again having to return insolvent arrears from the previous year (and admitting that there was 'not the most distant hope of ever receiving one shilling of them') she nevertheless added, 'while I am thus complaining of Ld P's losses, 3/4ths of the landlords in Ireland would say they would consider themselves well |treated| had they |merely| twice as much |arrears| returned to them'.[26] Securely resident in London, this was probably of little consolation to the landlord.

The other major problem was the considerable drop in the value of the land. The decline seems to have been rapid, and was, from the very beginning of the period, an issue of major concern in the correspondence. In a letter of March 1821 Verschoyle quantified the extent of the fall: in 1812-13 she used to let 'little parks near Dublin' for £16 - £18 per annum; in 1818 she was obliged to let them for £12.[27] Thus there was a decline of up to thirty-three per cent in five years. Another letter of November the same year corroborates the scale of these figures, and in it Verschoyle admits, 'I was in hopes Ld P's property being so near the capital would have escaped'.[28] The value of houses within the capital was also severely affected. The rapidity with which this seems to have happened can be seen in a letter from Verschoyle to Oddie in March 1817 when she describes 'one of the houses opposite us in Merrion Sq was sold last week for £2,000 subject only to £9 p yr rent, 2 years ago that house would have sold for £3,000 & |with| £100 per yr rent - is not this a melancholy fall?'.[29]

The repercussions of these two factors were manifold and varied. Existing tenants who had taken ground three or four years before Fitzwilliam's death for 'any price I |Verschoyle| pleased to ask' begged to be released from their bargain, or at least

[25]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 2, Barbara Verschoyle to Messrs H. H. Oddie, 18 April 1820 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/2).
[26]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 2, Barbara Verschoyle to Messrs H. H. Oddie, 11 February 1822 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/2).
[27]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 2, Barbara Verschoyle to Messrs H. H. Oddie, 19 March 1821 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/2).
[28]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 2, Barbara Verschoyle to Messrs H. H. Oddie, 26 November 1821 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/2).
[29]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 1, Barbara Verschoyle to Messrs H. H. Oddie, 19 March 1817 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/1).

be granted a reduction in rent.[30] There was no interest in taking up new ground which had gone out of lease; Verschoyle wrote frequently of the enormous difficulty in getting good and solvent tenants. If she managed to get new tenants it was for a much reduced rent and only by the year. This caused further problems: letting ground at a lower rent rendered those who already had leases very dissatisfied and short term leases were disfavoured because it was found that yearly tenants took as much as they could out of the ground and did nothing to improve it.[31] Nevertheless, as the letters make clear, desperate times required desperate measures.

In this context it is hardly surprising that the estate revenue, as well as development, was also stagnated for these years. The nadir seems to have been in 1822 when, after the failure of the previous harvest, it appears that the estate had to make an allowance of rent to some farmers. In March, when Verschoyle was due to return the accounts to London, there was such a delay in receiving payment for some outstanding bills that she was forced to advance money herself. Her usual stoic optimism failing, her fears seemed to turn to the possibility of serious unrest: she wrote to Oddie, 'Ireland is in a v. disturbed state... I have seen the rebellion, I hope I may never see a second'.[32]

Despite the circumstances described above there was some building during these years. Between 1816 and 1823 there are only a very few proposals for building recorded in the correspondence. They were all for Fitzwilliam Square and, not surprisingly, met with enthusiasm from Verschoyle who was keen to recommend them to Lord Pembroke because, 'it is so long since we had any offers for building ground, I really am delighted to see a chance of that pretty square being finished'.[33] A letter of May 1819 gives further details. In it Verschoyle explains her enthusiasm for the proposal, despite a reduction in rent; it also conveys the haphazard nature of building development in the square.

> I do not wonder at your thinking 13s/ p foot a low rent, I think so too, but could not prevail on them to give a higher & as I understand that they are wealthy men, I was very glad to get them... there are no houses built on that side of the square, the whole of the first is built except one lot & the sewer & vaults are built on the two others and the ground excavated, on the latter there is nothing done, that makes a difference in the value, the most part of the square was let at 10/6 p. foot,

[30]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 2, Barbara Verschoyle to Messrs H. H. Oddie, 19 March 1821 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/2).
[31]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 2, Barbara Verschoyle to Messrs H. H. Oddie, 11 February 1822 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/2).
[32]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 2, Barbara Verschoyle to Messrs H. H. Oddie, 11 March 1822 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/2).
[33]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 1, Barbara Verschoyle to Messrs H. H. Oddie, 17 April 1819 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/1).

> we got 13/- & 15/- in some time after & for some lots £1- for others £1.2.9, but I have so long been trying to let this ground at a higher rent that I despaired succeeding...[34]

Another factor which led Verschoyle to encourage the acceptance of the proposal was the fact that the estate had been paying 'for years' a tax of five shillings per foot for the part of the square which had not yet been let for building. This was to defray the expense of putting up the iron railing to enclose the centre plot. Once the ground was let that payment became incumbent on the lessees. She also had hopes that 'if the builders that have taken this go on with spirit, I shall be able to let the remainr. at a higher rent'.[35] Unfortunately for Verschoyle, that hope was to prove too optimistic: the process of completing Fitzwilliam Square was a more protracted matter.

The first tenuous signs of an improvement appear in 1823. That is certainly not to imply that there was a vast increase in the number of proposals received after that date; there was, however, a greater frequency in applications and for sites other than Fitzwilliam Square. Nevertheless, attention was still focused within the canal. In other words, development for the rest of this period was still largely only a continuation of the eighteenth-century pattern - working towards the logical conclusion of a scheme which had been initiated in the 1760s. The one exception to this has already been mentioned - the development of Baggot Street. However, before examining that, it is important first to consider some aspects of development - infrastructural and otherwise - separate to residential building.

Early Projects on the Estate

Of no significant impact on the development of the estate, but interesting to note for different tangential reasons, are the building of two churches and the barracks in Beggars Bush. It is interesting to turn to them very briefly to make some observations on the approach of the estate to building development. Firstly is the fact that, on the basis of the surviving documentation, there seems to have been no input on behalf of the estate into the architectural style of the churches. It does not seem to have been a factor in any of the discussions. In fact, in relation to the church in Booterstown, what was of interest to the administration was the amount of land that the church building committee had applied for on which to build. Verschoyle reported to Oddie that the committee had

[34]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 1, Barbara Verschoyle to Messrs H. H. Oddie, 1 May 1819 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/1).
[35]Ibid.

agreed with the present tenant for 'a much higher quantity of it than is necessary for building the church on'.[36] She recommended to Oddie that no more ground than what was actually required for the building should be granted: 'Ground there is very valuable, even in these bad times, & if they were to have any to spare, I think the chance is they might let it for building & say it was necessary to do so, to keep up or perhaps make a fund to pay the Curate...'.[37] Consequently, she suggested that Lord Pembroke not agree to the grant until the plans of the church were laid before him. That is the only time reference is made to plans of the church.

Similarly, there is no debate in the correspondence about the appearance or style of the barracks to be built in Beggars Bush. Instead, one of the major concerns of the administration centred on the potential consequential damage to the neighbourhood. The initial negotiations for the barracks - back in 1815 - focused on this issue: Richard Verschoyle wrote to a representative of the Barrack office, 'a depot placed on that part of it will greatly injure [Lord Fitzwilliam's] property'.[38] For some reason it took ten years for the bargain to be settled; during that time, the amount initially proposed by the estate as the acreage rent fell from £50 to £16 per acre. The site required was large - over six acres - and Verschoyle had hoped to have it valued at a foot rent in respect of the two street frontages it occupied.[39] Ultimately, she was not able to sustain such a valuation as, she admitted in a letter to Oddie, land values had fallen so much. Nevertheless, it was agreed in the lease that the Ordnance was to spend at least £20,000 on the building. However, in relation to this study, what is most interesting is the siting of the barracks. Although the prospect of a barracks there was not welcomed, it seems that it was regarded as preferable to elsewhere in the estate. Hence there was at this stage a concept of areas within the estate of greater and lesser prestige. This can also be seen much earlier, in relation to the siting of Sir Patrick Dun's hospital. It seems that back in 1801 the promoters of the hospital practically forced the estate to agree to siting the hospital in Grand Canal Street: it had been put to Verschoyle that if it was not allowed to be built there, it would probably be sited at the upper end of Fitzwilliam Street - where Mr Hatch's representatives had offered ground.[40] As Verschoyle noted to Fitzwilliam at the time, it 'would be the ruin of that street'. Not surprisingly, it was built on Grand Canal Street. Thus it can be seen that, albeit reluctantly, there was an acceptance of locating less

[36]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 1, Barbara Verschoyle to Messrs H.H. Oddie, 9 April 1819 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/1).
[37]Ibid.
[38]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 1, Richard Verschoyle to John Hughes, Barrack Office, [8 July 1815] (Acc. No. 97/46/3/1).
[39]In other words, valuing the ground along the two roads in terms of building plots.
[40]Just outside the boundary of the Fitzwilliam estate. NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 1, Barbara Verschoyle to Lord Fitzwilliam, 5 April 1801 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/1).

desirable projects towards the east end of the estate, away from the potential salubrity of the higher ground to the west.

A full discussion of the development of the railway, and its subsequent impact on the estate, belongs to the next chapter as it did not develop until the 1830s. Nevertheless, it is important for two reasons to note here its initial emergence. Firstly, it engendered a deepening of the tremendous distrust and suspicion of all bodies and institutions outside of the estate. It seems that the estate had been caught off-guard by the introduction of the railway bill to Parliament; it had received no formal notice of it. Moreover, Verschoyle was outraged to discover that the petitioners had stated that Lord Pembroke had assented to the bill, which he most certainly had not. Unsurprisingly, she regarded the projectors as 'very cunning, & had they less of that we might have some dependence on them'.[41] She implored Oddie frequently to watch Parliament closely for any movement on the issue. Secondly, and more importantly, it was instantly recognised as being an issue with immense potential impact on the estate. Although having doubts about its future success, regarding it as 'one of those bubble schemes that never will be carried into effect', it is clear from the surviving correspondence that Verschoyle was very worried about it. She submitted in 1825 a third alternative, the 'least injurious' to the estate, to the company's two proposed routes; but she was still of the opinion that even it would be 'very bad' in its impact on the estate.[42]

Interestingly, it is about the same time that the estate received a serious proposal for a canal to run between Kingstown and Dublin.[43] Described as a 'Ship Canal from the Grand Canal Docks to the Royal Harbour at Kingstown', the scheme was drawn up by John Killaly, who was engineer to the Directors General of Inland Navigation.[44] The line ran from the south-east corner of the Grand Canal Docks, inland down to the distillery at Beggars Bush, then it progressed (inland) in a straight line to Merrion, whence it proceeded off-shore to Kingstown. This waterway would have been of immense significance if constructed: it would have joined Kingstown to the Grand Canal - and hence the whole inland waterways network. It was not the only such proposal; another one was submitted to the estate by a Mr Cubitt (quite possibly one of the famous London family) in the early 1830s. The proposal does not survive, but a report on it by

[41]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 2, Barbara Verschoyle to Messrs H.H. Oddie, 9 April 1825 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/2).
[42]Ibid.
[43]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 2, Barbara Verschoyle to Messrs H. H. Oddie, 17 November 1826 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/2).
[44]NAI, PEP, Maps, 'Design for a Ship Canal from the Grand Canal Docks to the Royal Harbour at Kingstown', by John Killaly, 1825 (Acc. No. 2011/2/4 (4)). R.C. Cox and M.H. Gould, *Civil Engineering Heritage Ireland* (London, 1998), p.64.

Arthur Neville, dated 1834, is still extant.[45] Its route was more straightforward; it was to run parallel to the 'storm bank' of the shore at a distance of 150 feet until it reached Ringsend. Unfortunately for Ringsend, a communication with the Grand Canal Docks was to divide it in two, reducing the northern end of the town to the state of an island. Apart from that, Neville's survey seemed quite favourable to the proposal. In fact, he concluded, 'if the proposed work be carried out into effect it can be no injury to the estate... but may render it a service...'.[46] Both proposals came to nothing. Nevertheless, it is interesting to mention them here because they represent a path of development which might have been followed which would have changed the course of the estate significantly. More importantly, however, it is Verschoyle's reaction to them which is interesting. Responding to the two proposals of the earlier ship canal and the railway, she was astute in her analysis of the circumstance of the estate. She wrote to Oddie,

> My opinion is that anything that would remove the sea at a distance from its present boundary would be injurious to Lord P's property - in as much as the Many Villas that are built in this neighbourhood derive greater beauty &c by being so near the sea & the ground near them is more in demand, as the number of Houses increase.'[47]

Other changes in the infrastructure during this period relate to the roads. To this aim it is interesting to examine a manuscript map of the estate of 1826, by John Roe (**3.2**), to see what progress was made during this period.[48] Since Taylor's map of 1816 there have been some distinct changes, but the map has to be examined with some caution. For example, the 'new passage' which continues Upper Mount Street beyond the canal never came to pass. Similarly, the line of Northumberland Road is an addition to the map, *post* -1826; there is no concurrent evidence elsewhere in the estate archives to suggest the existence of it in 1826.

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[45]NAI, PEP, Maps, Arthur Neville, 'Report on the Ship Canal', 24 February 1834 (Acc. No. 2011/2/4/30).

[46]Ibid.

[47]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 2, Barbara Verschoyle to Messrs H. H. Oddie, 17 November 1826 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/2). Verschoyle's letter reflects the fashion and enthusiasm for such coastal schemes at the time, particularly along the coast towards Kingstown, for example at Monkstown. Noted architects drew up plans for such developments, for example George Papworth, who exhibited plans for 'New Brighton' at the Royal Hibernian Academy in 1826. Ann Stewart (comp.), *Royal Hibernian Academy of Arts Index of Exhibitors 1826-1979*, 3 vols (Dublin, 1986), vol.3, p.59.

[48]NAI, PEP, Maps, 'Part of the Estate of the Rt Hon. the Earl of Pembroke & Montgomery', Surveyed by John Roe, revised by A Neville Jun., 1826, (Acc. No. 97/46/4/17).

The Emergence of Pembroke Road

The most truly striking aspect of the map is the pronounced progress of development along Upper Baggot Street into Pembroke Road. Indeed, even though it is really the only street along which there was substantial building development during this time, it reflects the general theme of this period. It can be seen to represent the metamorphosis of the Fitzwilliam estate into the Pembroke estate. As one follows the route of the city along Baggot Street, over the canal, and out to Pembroke Road, the progress is concurrent with the evolution of the old eighteenth-century estate into the new era of the nineteenth century.

Baggot Street had existed as a route out of the city for centuries and its initial building development had occurred way back in the eighteenth century, most of its early building leases dating from 1791-92.[49] Its early form, though, was irregular. It was not until 1790 that proposals were submitted to the Wide Streets Commissioners to straighten and improve the line of the street, and make it a standard width of eighty-four feet wide.[50] They were passed by the Commissioners in January 1791. However, another plan was then submitted in April that year which increased the width of the street to one hundred feet.[51] It was passed by the commissioners in April that same year.

The initial development of Baggot Street beyond the canal seems to have occurred after 1795. This is demonstrated by another map, also in the estate archives, which seems to be a proposal to the Wide Streets Commissioners for the improvement of that part of the street.[52] It appears to be a continuation of the standardisation of the width of the street to one hundred feet. Signed and dated by John Swan, Chairman of the Wide Streets Commissioners, 8 May 1795, it is inscribed with a resolution that the south side of Baggot Street, east of Macartney Bridge, be continued not less than one hundred feet in width from the buildings already erected on the north side. However, it is the line of building on the north side of the road, east of Eastmoreland Place, which marks the emergence of the development of the Pembroke estate.

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[49]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 1, p.1, Barbara Verschoyle to Lord Fitzwilliam, [nd] (Acc. No. 97/46/3/1). This concurs generally with two maps in the estate archives by Roe, 1789, which show much of Baggot Street to the canal allocated in lots for building, NAI, PEP, Maps, 'A Map of that Part of the Estate of The Rt Honble Richard Lord Visct Fitzwilliam Within the Circular Road Containing 128.0.37 A.R.P. Surveyed in 1789 by Pat and John Roe, (Acc. No. 2011/2/1/14 & 15).

[50]City Archives, Dublin, 'A Plan of Baggot Street as intended by Lord Fitzwilliam to be laid before The Commissioners for making Wide and Convenient Streets for their Approbation', John Roe, Dublin, 1790 (Acc. No. WSC/Maps/355/1).

[51]City Archives, Dublin, 'A Plan of Baggot Street and Fitzwilliam Street', John Roe, April, 1791 (Acc. No. WSC/Maps/355/2). As built, the road (Baggot Street Lower) seems to be on average eighty-five feet wide.

[52]NAI, PEP, Maps, 'A Map of Baggot St, as approved by the Commrs for making wide & convenient streets in the city of Dublin', 8 May 1795 (Acc. No. 2011/2/1/20)

There is, unfortunately, neither a comprehensive nor coherent collection of building leases with which to accurately analyse the progress of building. Nevertheless, it is possible to extract some themes about the nature of the development. In addition to the map of 1826 already mentioned, another map, of 1822, is very useful: 'A Map of Part of the Estate of The Rt Honble The Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery Situate in the County of the City of Dublin', by John Roe (**3.3**).[53] Part of this map is a detailed annotation of the assignment of building plots along the north side of Baggot Street Upper and most of Pembroke Road - and shows that a laneway for access to the mews was intended in the middle of the building line. The map of 1826 contains similar (but not as detailed) information, and continues to the easternmost end of the road. The later map also shows some plots building on the south side of the road, but the development of that side of the road will be discussed in a later chapter.

Caution must be exercised when determining from these maps the development of the road. While the maps are dated 1822 and 1826, many of the plots outlined actually post-date the map itself. In other words, subsequent developments were filled in on an existing map. Hence, the pattern of development only emerges when the maps are studied in conjunction with the surviving leases.

From an estate map of 1803 it can be seen that beyond Eastmoreland Place, on the north side of the road, was entirely unbuilt upon at this time.[54] The allocation of leases for this line of building seems to have started from about 1810 (see appendix 2): for example to Philip Edward Bayly, for numbers 8 to 12.[55] The leases seem to have been allocated in order from north to south: those for numbers 14 and 16 date from 1812, and those for numbers 18 to 26 (now demolished) date from 1810 to 1817.[56] The next leases which can be given approximate dates are those for numbers 42 and 44. These are recorded in the 1826 map and accompanying survey - to a Mr Kehoe and a Mr Smith respectively - thus they can be given a date some time before 1826. There are no further definite leases before 1827 extant, although it is likely that there is a coherence in the

[53]NAI, PEP, Maps (Acc. No. 2011/2/1/28).

[54]NAI, PEP, Maps, John Roe, 'Map of Part of the estate of the Rt Hon Richard Lord Viscount Fitzwilliam lying between the Circular Road and the Black-rock, 1803 (Acc. No. 97/46/4/12).

[55]It has only been possible to trace the leases for two out of the three houses. The earliest is from 1810. NAI, PEP, Deeds, 'The Rt Honble Richard Lord Visct Fitzwilliam To Mr Philip Edward Bayly', 11 May 1810 (Acc. No. 97/46/2/82i); 'Fitzwilliam to Philip Edward Bayly', 11 May 1812 (Acc. No. 97/46/2/Expired Leases Book, p.6).

[56]NAI, PEP, Deeds, 'The Rt Honble Richard Lord Visct Fitzwilliam To James Annesley', 18 May 1812 (Acc. No. 97/46/2/12); 'Fitzwilliam to Daniel Dunn', 18 May 1812 (Acc. No. 97/46/2/459); 'Fitzwilliam to Fearon', 11 May 1810 (Acc. No. 97/46/2/587); 'Fitzwilliam to Fearon', 27 May 1817 (Acc. No. 97/46/2/591). See appendix 2 to relate the leases to the respective houses.

allocation of numbers 34 to 56, as they are all assigned either to Kehoe or Smith.[57] Thus, it is possible to conclude that numbers 2 to 56 are all broadly part of the development of the estate for this period. The next wave of allocation of building leases seems to have occurred from 1830 onwards. However, although they may be considerably later in date, the rest of the houses of the north range of Pembroke Road are very much the same character as those those pre-1827.

The line of Pembroke Road was the earliest coherent allocation of individual lots for building, outside the canal. Confidence in the prospects for this new line in speculative terms can perhaps be measured by the significant number of builder-developers who took ground for five or more houses. Nevertheless, several of the builder-developers (particularly in the second phase of building) were extremely slow in fulfilling their building covenants. Two of the biggest speculators were the biggest culprits: Thomas Bradley, who took ground for nine houses, and Joseph Leland who took ground for six houses.

Curiously, the agent, Cornelius Sullivan, was really quite tolerant of their tardiness - in fact in some letters he is distinctly apologetic for bothering them, making it clear that he is only applying to them to fulfill their building covenants because he has received many complaints from other lessees and occupiers. One such complaint was made by a Sir William Brady of number 9, Pembroke Road who considered himself and his fellow residents as sustaining great injury and annoyance because of the nuisance of vacant building lots adjoining their houses. Sullivan was obliged to inform Bradley of these complaints and urge him to commence building, but he tempered his appeal by writing 'It is really painful for me to be so often obliged to address you on this subject, but from the frequent applications made to me I cannot avoid it'.[58] Indeed, Sullivan's conciliatory tone towards Bradley was even stronger a few weeks later when he wrote, somewhat wryly, 'I am in hopes that your friends on Pembroke Road may leave you [Bradley] in quiet for a little time'.[59] A surprising comment from an agent to a lax building tenant.

While the agent's policy might seem to evince a curious balance of priorities, his mildness possibly was due to two reasons. Both Bradley and Leland had many building leases in various parts of the estate - inside the Grand Canal and out. If Sullivan was to enforce the building covenants in all the leases, and if he ejected them, he would be left

[57]Except for number fifty-two, which is assigned to a J. Twycross.
[58]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 5, Cornelius Sullivan to Thomas Bradley, 28 June 1834 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/5).
[59]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 5, Sullivan to Bradley, 17 July 1834 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/5).

with many vacant building lots, with little chance of getting new tenants. Similarly, it would be foolish to eject large-scale speculators during difficult times because it would be wiser to keep them as tenants in the hopes that when times improved they might take more building ground.

With Thomas Bradley we are introduced to one of the most significant builder-developers on the estate. A timber merchant of Golden Lane, he speculated in many other parts of the estate, such as Mount Street Upper and Warrington Place inside the Grand Canal, as well as Haddington Road and Northumberland Road outside the canal.[60] In fact, he seems to be unique in being the only builder-developer along the north side of Pembroke Road who speculated again in building on the estate. He also speculated elsewhere around Dublin, such as in Rathmines,[61] and it is most likely that he is the same Thomas Bradley who erected Longford Terrace in Monkstown (to a design attributed to George Papworth) from 1842.[62] It seems that he acquired the interest of a considerable number of building lessees after they failed to fulfill their building covenants; this seems to have happened along much of the north side of Haddington Road.[63] It is not possible to establish whether this was done through the offices of the estate, or whether Bradley negotiated the purchase of the interest independently. Bradley built extensively on the Pembroke estate in the 1830s and 1840s. He is possibly the same Thomas Bradley whose will was announced in *The Times*, in July 1862, leaving property to his wife sworn at 160,000*l*. .[64]

In terms of their architectural style and planning, it is clear that all the houses along the north side of Pembroke Road (**3.4**) are still completely in the Georgian idiom, as established in Merrion Square. However, there are some subtle variations and evolutions of features which demonstrate the emergence of a new style. The two most striking differences between these houses and those of Lower Baggot Street are firstly, the setting back of the front plane of the house further from the pavement, and secondly, the raising of the entrance over a basement storey which has been raised nearly to pavement level. The setting back of the houses, which was stipulated in the building leases, must surely be an early manifestation of the striving for the ideals of suburbia: the removal of the dwelling from the pollution and noise of the city location. In London, this

[60]A letter to Bradley in 1852 lists a substantial number of holdings around the estate on which there is rent due. NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 9, Major Fairfield to Thomas Bradley, 12 April 1852 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/9).

[61]Registry of Deeds, Names Index Book (1833-39).

[62]Peter Pearson, *Between the Mountains and the Sea* (Dublin, 1998), p.190.

[63]Bradley was not allocated the original building leases; according to Griffith (1849) he is the immediate lessor for most of the houses on the north side of the road, west of Northumberland Road. These houses appear on OS maps as 'Bradley's Buildings'.

[64]*The Times*, 3 July 1862, p.12, col.6, under heading 'Irish news'.

manner of providing 'street gardens' (generally the width of the elevation, and the same depth) in front of rows of terraced houses had become quite popular by the late eighteenth century.[65] However, it should be noted that these houses were erected only around the corner from Haddington Road which, as part of the Circular Road, carried stipulations for building fronts to be set back at least twenty-five feet from the road.[66]

The raising of the entrance floor might also be an example of what would become a characteristc feature of suburbia: setting the house up, and back, from the bustle of the street. The raising of the basement nearly to pavement level might have also been a means of economising on behalf of the builder, lessening the cost of excavating foundations. It was perfectly allowable in terms of the building covenants in the leases which did not state that the basement had to be lower than ground level.

A distinct idiosyncrasy in the style of the first four houses (**3.5**) is that they are only two-storey over basement, whereas the rest of the road is uniformly three-storey over basement. In this, they are similar to Haddington Terrace on Haddington Road (**2.3**) (discussed in the previous chapter), which is of a slightly earlier date. The differences might seem minor to the modern eye, but when compared to the tall elevations flanking Lower Baggot Street which opened almost directly onto the street, the first four houses along Pembroke Road - two-storey over raised-basement and set back from the pavement - must have been strikingly different to contemporary eyes. The lease for number 10, is probably typical of those for the other two storey houses in that it merely requires the houses to be 'not less than two storeys over basement'.[67] The next lease along the street, extant, is for number 14. Interestingly, it also states that the house must not be less than two storeys; in fact it was erected as three-storey over basement. In later leases, the clause was altered to state the house must not be less than three storeys over basement. There is no definite reason why this alteration was made in the leases. Possibly it was a recognition that builders were more likely to build three storeys - in hopes of a better financial return - and rather than end up with a hotch-potch of heights, it was to encourage a homogeneity.[68]

Having introduced the emergence of building along Pembroke Road (the only line of coherent development to emerge outside the canal in the 1810s and 20s), it is possible

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[65]Todd Longstaffe-Gowan, *The London Town Garden 1740-1840* (New Haven & London, 2001), pp.61-62.

[66]3 George III, cap. 36, xxiii.

[67]NAI, PEP, Deeds, 'The Rt Honble Richard Lord Visct Fitzwilliam To Mr Philip Edward Bayly', 11 May 1810 (Acc. No. 97/46/2/82i).

[68]All the houses were required to be terraced; the leases stipulated that 'the entire' of the plot was to be built on.

to see the protracted nature of its progress partly due to an economic slump and the impact of a small number of inactive speculators. These will become recurrent themes during the story of the development of the estate. Nevertheless, it can be seen that the pattern of the north range of Pembroke Road was well established by the end of this period. Although they would not be completed until the late 1830s, the later houses really vary little from those erected by leases pre-dating 1827. Consequently, the northern range of Pembroke Road can be seen as a true product of the architectural development of the estate between 1816 and 1827.

Chapter 4

The Estate of Sidney Herbert 1827-1861
Administration and Planning

The year 1827 was of great consequence for the development of the estate for two reasons: it saw the accession of a new landlord, Sidney Herbert, and a new agent, Cornelius Sullivan. Their time together (over twenty-two years) not only instigated a new phase of building growth, but also saw the full realisation of the Pembroke estate: that is, an estate of the nineteenth century, of distinct and separate character to the eighteenth-century Fitzwilliam estate.

The impetus for the change of agent seems to have been the death of Richard Verschoyle on 27 August 1827.[1] Three days after he died, Barbara Verschoyle wrote an emotional letter to George Augustus Herbert indicating that she wished to resign her position as agent. It was, according to the letter, her husband's last request that she retire. In the same letter, Verschoyle took the opportunity to request that Cornelius Sullivan be appointed in her place. The precise relationship between Verschoyle and Sullivan is not clear, but it was certainly a close one. A letter from Verschoyle to her husband, many years before, identified 'my poor dear little Con. Sullivan' as her 'adopted child' ever since the death of her mother, whereas another letter described him as her 'dearest Nephew'.[2] Sullivan had assisted Verschoyle in the administration of the estate since about 1824, and she had looked to him as her successor, taking 'every opportunity of giving him information on the subject of your business'. She assured Herbert that she would give him every assistance and that all would 'go on as regular'.[3] For whatever reasons, it seems that Herbert was less keen on the idea. Another letter from Verschoyle the following day, clearly replying to one received from the landlord, further outlined the suitability of Sullivan. As well as his knowledge in business, his honour and integrity were 'unquestioned'; also, he would continue to live with Verschoyle, and so the whole administration could continue under her own eye. There

[1] NAI, PEP, Public Record Office of Ireland, Copy of Will of Richard Verschoyle, dated 15 July 1826, proved 18 September 1827 (Acc. No. 999/545).
[2] NAI, PEP, Copies of testamentary papers, 'Wills of Barbara Verschoyle', Barbara Verschoyle to Richard Verschoyle, 1 September 1796; 19 April 1809, (Acc. No. 1011.6.4).
[3] NAI, PEP, Correspondence (misc), Barbara Verschoyle to George Augustus Herbert, 30 August 1827, (Acc. No. 97/46/1/3/6). It is possible that Sullivan might have worked for the estate from even earlier: a letter in 1821 refers to a Mr Sullivan doing work for Verschoyle on behalf of the estate. NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 2, Barbara Verschoyle to Bentley, 23 May 1821 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/2).

could be no doubt as to the strength of Verschoyle's feelings on the matter when she wrote 'the thoughts of the management of this property going into other hands wou'd almost break my heart & I entreat you my dearest Lord not to think of giving it to a stranger'.[4] She concluded the letter by making it clear that if Sullivan was not to be appointed her successor, she would continue in the role herself, 'with a heart fully gratefull for all your kind attention and unlimited confidence'.

Curiously, it seems that the matter must have remained unresolved, for Verschoyle continued to record correspondence in the letter books, albeit infrequently, for some time. It seems that Sullivan only succeeded Verschoyle after the death of George Augustus Herbert on 27 October 1827.[5] In his first letter to H.H. Oddie in London, accepting his appointment, Sullivan displays a striking similarity of manner to Verschoyle: 'I cannot express myself in terms sufficiently grateful - but by unremitting attention to the interest of the property committed to my care I shall endeavour to prove myself not undeserving of the confidence placed in me.'[6] With these words Sullivan set out his fervent commitment to the administration of the estate for the next twenty years.

At the time of his inheritance, Sidney Herbert was only barely seventeen years old and still at Harrow school.[7] Although he was the second son, a specific clause in the will of Lord Fitzwilliam left him the estate after the death of his father George Augustus. His elder half-brother, Robert Henry, the twelfth Earl of Pembroke, seems to have led a life of semi-disgrace on the Continent.[8] Sidney Herbert in fact never succeeded to the earldom, pre-deceasing Robert Henry by a year. He was created first Baron Herbert of Lea in 1860, a year before he died.

New Landlord and Agent

The relationship between Sidney Herbert and Cornelius Sullivan is interesting to examine. There is no letter addressed directly to Herbert from Sullivan until October

[4]NAI, PEP, Correspondence (misc), Barbara Verschoyle to George Augustus Herbert, 31 August 1827 (Acc. No. 97/46/1/3/7).

[5]The content of Sullivan's first letter to H.H. Oddie seems to imply a connection between the landlord's death and the appointment of Sullivan. Sullivan thanks Oddie for his letter of 30 October (three days after Herbert's death) communicating his appointment as agent. NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 2, Cornelius Sullivan to H.H. Oddie, 5 November 1827 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/2).

[6]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 2, Sullivan to Oddie, 5 November 1827 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/2).

[7]He was born 16 September 1810.

[8]He made 'an early and romantic marriage with a Sicilian lady, and the results of this ill-starred connection had led Lord Herbert to live wholly abroad', Lord Stanmore, *Sidney Herbert, A Memoir*, 2 vols (London, 1906), vol.1, p.8.

1830, when Herbert would have just recently turned twenty.[9] Before that time Sullivan corresponded about estate matters with Herbert's mother, the Countess of Pembroke, and the family's legal agents in London, Messrs H. H. Oddie, Foster and Lumley. During that time, Sullivan made strong and clear statements as to how he perceived the estate should proceed. A long-term view of careful improvement was a frequent theme: as early as February 1829, Sullivan wrote to H. H. Oddie in London, 'The grand object on this Estate is to insure a judicious expedition of money in Building which is the true way of making it Valuable both to present & future Proprietors'.[10] He also warned of the dangers of exploiting the estate:

> I... come to a point which on an Estate of this description I consider of the greatest consequence - namely that a feeling should not go abroad of injustice to the tenantry by taking the utmost advantage of their expenditure in improvement and in not giving them a preference of any kind.[11]

From the very beginning of his agency, it is possible to see strong echoes in Sullivan's style of administration with that of Verschoyle. That subtle mixture of confidence and diffidence, the stressing of his constant devotion to the role and, to a certain extent, the seeking of the approval of the landlord. This combination of traits can partly be seen in Sullivan's reporting of a disagreement over a valuation, between himself and a surveyor, Mr Sherrard - who had been employed by the estate, somewhat against Sullivan's wishes. In his letter to Oddie, Sullivan held his ground firmly:

> It is quite impossible that Mr Sherrard a total stranger to the property and Tenantry, can have that knowledge of its various bearings which the person who is continually over-looking it must have - I have on a former occasion stated the fact, that almost every week alterations take place in the Value, by the neighbouring improvements this can only be known to the person continually on the watch.

However, he then concluded the letter by declaring,

> The letting of Building ground and the expenditure thereon - Since I was appointed agent to the Estate - will I trust best prove the anxiety I have evinced.

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[9]Although the first letter to Herbert extant (11 October 1830) refers to a letter previously sent to him by Sullivan on the 7 inst. NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 3, Sullivan to Sidney Herbert, 11 October 1830 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/3).

[10]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 2, Sullivan to Oddie, 5 February 1829 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/2).

[11]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 2, Sullivan to Oddie, 11 July 1829 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/2).

> Such is not only my duty - but my utmost ambition, as I feel a tie to the property and the proprietor of it stronger than I can express.

It was a great concern to Sullivan that Herbert should visit Ireland and survey his property as soon as possible. However, he feared and suspected that this would not happen for some time. It seems as if there were plans mooted for a visit in August 1829 - much to Sullivan's relief: he had been apprehensive that 'so desirable an Event might not have taken place until about the time of Mr H coming of age'. As well as wishing to prove his ability and dedication, Sullivan drew attention to the great importance of a visit, 'I also look to its being attended with very great benefit to the property, as local knowledge will enable them [Sidney Herbert and his mother] to judge of the improvements which can be made, with kindness and propriety'.[12]

In fact, Sullivan's initial fears were realised: Herbert did not visit Ireland until nearly three years later. The agent continued to write of the importance of a visit, and wrote quite severely to Herbert in August 1831 of the benefit a visit would serve, at a time of growing unrest:

> In present circumstance of this country it requires more than ordinary exertions to relieve the wants of increasing poverty and by employment keeping the minds of the lower order diverted from mischievous feeling too rapidly spreading amongst them - and had you benefit of local knowledge much could be done in furtherance of both, which cannot be undertaken until that desirable object is attained.[13]

It was not until spring 1832 that plans for a visit re-surfaced. Sullivan was very pleased. Unsurprisingly, he was keen that the best possible impression should be given; he hoped for a visit in May, 'when we shall begin to look in beauty and we want every assistance to give a favourable impression of poor Ireland to an Englishman'.[14] In the end, Herbert eventually visited his Irish estate for the first time in late April 1832.

In a letter sent to his mother, Herbert outlined the extensive tour of his property which took around six days. His judgement was quite reserved in his appraisal of the estate, but it is clear that the trip was a matter of business and not pleasure. Indeed he gives a rather ambivalent compliment to the estate residence, Mount Merrion, 'The view is something more lovely than I know anywhere as a sea view. With a different house in

[12]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 2, Sullivan to Oddie, 8 August 1829 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/2).
[13]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 3, Sullivan to Herbert, 11 August 1831 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/3).
[14]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 3, Sullivan to Herbert, 2 April 1832 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/3).

a different situation, it would be one of the most beautiful things in Ireland'.[15] As well as touring the property, he met the great and the good. In the same letter he described a dinner at the Beefsteak Club, 'which comprises a hundred and fifty of the principal people here - all Tories, or nearly so. They drank my health, and I had to make a speech, in which I lied like a pig'.[16] Rather than interpret these sentiments as evincing a carelessness towards his Irish estate, it is probably fairer to see them as evidence of immaturity - Herbert was, after all, only twenty-one years old.[17]

The visit reassured Sullivan nonetheless; he was gratified that, following the visit, both Herbert and Oddie expressed satisfaction at the management of the estate. And, once again, he took the opportunity to reassure them, 'it will be my constant endeavour to improve the property committed to my care'.[18] Indeed, it seems clear from the subsequent correspondence that, whether or not landlord and agent had met each other before the visit, there was a stronger, more personal bond in their relationship following Herbert's trip to Ireland. What also emerges as a feature throughout Sullivan's agency is his seeming independence in the entire administration of the estate. It becomes apparent that Sullivan acted with considerable freedom: not only in recommending to Herbert whether a charitable request should be granted or not, but in terms of the development of the estate as well.

The New Administration

In terms of his administration, Sullivan quickly established a formidable schedule. One of the very earliest projects embarked upon was to commission a new survey of the estate: to set before the family, trustees and legal agents a precise description and valuation of the entire ground held by Sidney Herbert. This had not been done since Jonathan Barker's survey of 1762 - nearly seventy years before; any surveys carried out in the intervening years had been based on Barker's. There was apparently some disagreement over the surveyors to be employed; the family and trustees directed that the firm of Sherrard, Brassington and Gale be commissioned for the project, even though Sullivan strongly favoured Arthur Neville, 'who has been surveyor on the Estate and

[15]Stanmore (1906), p.15.
[16]Ibid.
[17]Later in his career as a politician, Herbert argued strongly for the increase of the grant to Maynooth College. He spoke of 'the duty of the state to see that the teachers of the people, whom we had made their leaders by depriving the people of Ireland of their natural defenders and protectors, should receive a training which would qualify them for the task'. Stanmore (1906), p.42.
[18]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 3, Sullivan to Herbert, 2 May 1832 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/3).

perfectly acquainted with every part of it'.[19] Sherrard, Brassington and Gale secured the commission and the survey was completed in 1830.[20]

There were two specific reasons for carrying out the survey - both of which looked to the future. Firstly, it marked a clear intention to instigate a building programme, because the survey allowed a valuation to be established for existing and projected roads. Sullivan would then fix the foot rent as much over the valuation as possible. The survey was of immense significance in determining the valuation of building ground for the next twenty years, at least. Unfortunately, the surviving survey volume does not seem to include the official valuations. It has only been possible to establish them partially from the letter books. (The valuation and foot rent were sometimes noted in summaries contained in the letters which accompanied the dispatches of leases for signature.) Any information on the official valuation, and consequent foot rent, which it has been possible to determine has been gathered together and is presented in a table (**4.1**). From the information available, it can be seen that the streets which were deemed the most valuable for building development were Baggot Street Lower (at ten to twelve shillings per foot), and Fitzwilliam Place (at ten shillings per foot). These were then let for between fifteen shillings, and seventeen shillings sixpence per foot - a premium of fifty percent over the valuation. In general, streets outside the canal were less expensive than those inside; thus, Donnybrook Road was valued at only two shillings sixpence per foot, and allocated for building between four shillings and five shillings sixpence per foot. Baggot Street Upper / Pembroke Road provided the most prestigious building ground outside the canal: it was valued between five and six shillings per foot, and generally allocated for eight shillings per foot. Interestingly, however, building ground along both banks of the canal - inside or outside - was valued the same.[21]

The other specific reason for carrying out the survey was to prepare for the reversionary lease act. The process of introducing the act was a major preoccupation of Sullivan during the early years of his agency. The act allowed for the provision of the renewal of leases shortly before they were due to expire; the lessee paid a fine, and agreed an increased rent and thus secured a continuation of the current lease. The estate had been precluded from granting these renewals by Fitzwilliam's will. In preparation for the

[19]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 2, Sullivan to Oddie, 2 February 1829 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/2).

[20]Only part of the survey survives today: NAI, PEP, Surveys/Valuations, Sherrard, Brassington and Gale, 'Reference to the Survey of the Estate of the Honorable Sidney Herbert in the City and County of Dublin and County of Wicklow Ireland', 1830 (Acc. No. 2011/2/3/2). Unfortunately, the information in the volume is, to a large extent, rendered useless without the accompanying maps. One of the maps - for Ringsend and Irishtown - seems to survive in a different part of the collection: NAI, PEP, Maps (Acc. No. 2011/2/1).

[21]While there were variations, over time, in the foot rents charged for building ground, there does not seem to be a discernible overall pattern in the change. This suggests that variations were due to particular individual agreements or very specific times.

renewal of leases (upon the passing of the act), the survey and valuation of the estate allowed new rents to be established. The reversionary lease issue was initially more significant in terms of houses already erected; in the 1830s the estate administration began to fear the impact of the lessees not being secured a continued interest in their property. (In effect, if a lessee only had possession for another fifteen years, or so, they had little incentive to maintain their property.) In the matter of reversionary leases, Sullivan compared the endeavour of the Pembroke estate to that of the Marquis of Westminster on the Grosvenor estate in London: 'the course pursued by them was similar to what We are adopting for Mr Herbert'.[22]

The Reversionary Lease Act was eventually passed in July 1833.[23] The granting of reversionary leases commenced shortly after. Initially, it seems that not all lessees were happy about the terms offered to them. In a letter redolent of his aunt Barbara Verschoyle, Sullivan wrote in great frustration to one of the dissatisfied tenants:

> I was equally anxious to obtain this Act for the proprietor of the Estate and for the Tenantry, the best Interest of the former being secured by consulting the prosperity of the latter. In return I might have expected a testimonial of their gratitude, or at all events a signification of their approbation, but as the case now stands instead of a mark of either - the only record likely to remain will be on my Tomb, stating that I died of a broken Heart from the unkindness of those persons I labored most to serve so much for this world.[24]

The agency of Cornelius Sullivan marked a formalisation of the administration process. It is possible to see a greater routine efficiency than had hitherto been the case. Thus, as has already been described in the introduction, the period of his administration is the most fully recorded in the letter books and is, therefore, the most fruitful to research. The summary lease information, recorded in the letters which accompanied each batch of leases when they were sent to London for signature, is uniquely valuable in helping to establish the story of the building development of the estate for these years. It is the only (nearly) comprehensive source of building lease information to survive; it only exists for the period of Sullivan's agency (1827-1849). This information has been extracted from

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[22]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 4, Sullivan to R.H. Lumley esq., 6 December 1833 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/4).

[23]3 & 4 William IV Cap. 26, *An Act to grant further Power to lease certain Parts of the devised Estates of the Right Honourable Richard late Viscount Fitzwilliam deceased, situate in the City of Dublin and the Neighbourhood thereof*, 9 July 1833. A further act, extending the powers of the first, was passed in 1842: 5 & 6 Victoria Reginae Cap. 23, *An Act for granting further Power to lease Parts of the Estates devised by the Will of Richard late Viscount Fitzwilliam, deceased, situate in the City of Dublin and the Neighbourhood thereof, and for authorizing the Sale of certain Fee Farms and other Rents, also devised by that will*, 16 July 1842.

[24]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 4, Sullivan to Robert Burrowes, 7 March 1834 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/3).

the letter books and is presented in a table (appendix 1). Along with the Griffith Valuation, it is the chief source for analysing the progress of building development for these years; this is the subject of the following two chapters.

From the summary lease information gathered from the letter books, it is possible to trace an evolution in Sullivan's administration and leasing procedure. For example, in February 1837, it can be seen that Sullivan introduced a further alteration in the rate of payment of rent due on building leases.[25] Instead of granting an initial period free of rent, an immediate rent of half the permanent rate was to be paid for the first three years. Thus Sullivan, like Verschoyle in 1797 (as referred to in Chapter 2), seems again to be abolishing a term free of rent.[26] As with Verschoyle, the intention, specifically stated, was to make the persons taking the ground more anxious to fulfill their building covenants. Possibly of greater significance, however, is that it seems an element of discretion and flexibility emerged in the allocation of building leases; in other words, terms became more varied. Hence, in 1841 leases granted for ground on the south side of Pembroke Road imply the first year was free of rent, with the following three years at half rent, with the full rent due thereafter.

Despite the greater efficiency and formality of procedure evident in the agency of Cornelius Sullivan, there is still a sense of personal devotion to the role, as was evinced by his aunt, Barbara Verschoyle. A letter of 1838 conveys something of the esteem with which the agent regarded the landlord and the estate; thanking Herbert effusively for apparent praise, Sullivan assures him that no exertion shall be wanting on his part to increase improvement and prosperity of the estate. The letter concludes: 'any exertion on my part would be of little avail were I not so liberally supported by your enlightened mind in clearly seeing that the best Interest of a Landlord is ensured by promoting the Happiness and independence of His Tenantry'.[27] With Sullivan's death in 1849, the sense of an almost dynastic vocation on the part of the agent would disappear forever.

The agency of Major Charles George Fairfield (1849-1853) was distinguished chiefly by its brevity. While his term of office commenced promisingly with the writing of an extensive report outlining various improvements which needed to be made around the estate, little else distinguishes Fairfield's agency.[28] In fact, much of the

[25]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 6, Sullivan to Messrs Oddie, Foster and Lumley, 1 February 1837 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/6).

[26]This, in turn, implies that the very old system of allowing a period free of rent had been reverted to in the interim.

[27]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 6, Sullivan to Herbert, 7 May 1838 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/6).

[28]NAI, PEP, Miscellaneous, Charles George Fairfield, 'Report on the Estate of the Rt Honble Sidney Herbert M.P. in the City of Dublin and its vicinity', 6 February 1850 (Acc. No. 97/46/5).

correspondence recorded in the letter books during his term of office is signed by a Francis Norman.[29] There is also an implication from correspondence subsequent to his agency that Fairfield's system of administration left problems for the following agent, John Edward Vernon.[30] Fairfield seems to have been a colourful character, getting himself involved in a 'delicate affair' for insulting the wife of a Mr Henry McDermott, barrsiter-at-law.[31] Born near Walton-on-Thames and baptised at Shepperton in England,[32] there is nothing to indicate why he was appointed agent to the Pembroke estate in Dublin. A member of the Conservative Club in London, he had, according to the notice of his death in October 1853, formerly served in the Royal Engineers, and was one of the acting committee of the Great Exhibition.[33]

Soon after Fairfield's death John Edward Vernon (1816-1887) was appointed as agent.[34] Although he acted as agent to other estates, there is nothing specific to indicate why Vernon was chosen for the position of agent to the Pembroke estate.[35] However, the appointment was most fortuitous for the development of the estate. Vernon would quickly introduce tight controls on all aspects of building development which would be profoundly significant in determining the architectural character of the Pembroke estate from the 1860s onwards. The impact of his administration will be dealt with in more detail in a later chapter. Vernon superintended the development of the estate, for nearly thirty-five years, until his death in 1887 when he was succeeded by his son Fane, who continued as agent until 1923. Once again, as with the Fagan-Verschoyle-Sullivan lineage, the administration of the estate would become associated with the careful control of one family for a long time - in this case, seventy years.

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[29]Possibly Francis Norman, solicitor, 16 Granby Row.

[30]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 8, John Edward Vernon to Sidney Herbert, 13 May 1854 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/8).

[31]The affair was settled by a 'hostile rencontre' near Lucan; the gentlemen discharged their pistols into the air, and the matter was settled. *The Times*, 28 October 1852, p.5, col.e; 1 November 1852, p.5, col.a.

[32]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 9, Francis Norman to Messrs Nicholl and Smyth, 2 November 1853 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/9).

[33]*The Times*, 19 October 1853, p.9, col.b.

[34]His first letter is dated 29 November 1853.

[35]John Edward Vernon was the only son of the Revd John Fane Vernon of Aubone, Co. Cavan. He was director of Bank of Ireland 1867-85; governor 1877-79 and was one of the three original Land Commissioners, 1881 to his death in 1887; British Biographical Archive. He seems have had no connection with John Edward Venables Vernon of Clontarf Castle who held extensive lands in Clontarf and was so extensively involved in the development of that district. The latter Vernon died in 1890; *Illustrated London News*, 10 May 1890.

Development and Improvement: More Problems

The prospect for the development and improvement of the estate seemed positive in the early years of Sullivan's administration. His early annual reports were encouraging on the building front, and positive for the future rental of the estate. In February 1829 he wrote that 'I am most happy to say that our side of the town is at present the fashion - if I may use the expression - for building and every effort must be used to keep up the Spirit'.[36] As a result, lettings he was making were 'much above Valuation' and would show an increase in future rentals of over £400 per annum, and guarantee an expenditure of at least £30,000 in building.[37] However, Sullivan seems to have been acutely aware of the danger of complacency for he wrote, 'This estate is so peculiarly situated that the value of the building ground depends so much on the taste of the day and passing events that those circumstances must be the pride of the person under whose charge it is.'[38]

As the political situation deteriorated, although Sullivan still perservered with optimism, there was no doubt of the increasing threat to the building development on the estate. In December 1830 he wrote to Sidney Herbert, 'We are fortunately tranquil in Ireland notwithstanding the efforts of O'Connell's despicable party to disturb the peace, by strong anti-Union meetings'. He continued, 'I am happy to say that the evil spirit abroad has not caused check to building on your Estate, which might have been apprehended'.[39] Sullivan also feared the impact of the loss of 'our most respected Viceroy', Northumberland, 'whose prudent and impartial administration of the Laws has been attended with great advantage'.[40] The fear of the poorer tenantry falling into the hands of O'Connell's 'Demagogues', required the creation of labour - such as repairing roads not under the control of the Grand Jury. As Sullivan pointed out, 'in such a crisis like the present we must go beyond the usual course, and find means of employment, out of the ordinary path'.[41] Nevertheless, despite all these disadvantages, Sullivan was able to point out in the same letter, 'while considerable reductions are obliged to be made in the Rental of most Irish and, I might say English Estates, [the Pembroke estate], instead of sharing in the general fate, produces an increase'.

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[36]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 2, Sullivan to Oddie, 7 February 1829 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/2).
[37]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 2, Sullivan to the Countess of Pembroke, 12 February 1829 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/2).
[38]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 2, Sullivan to Oddie, 12 February 1829 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/2).
[39]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 3, Sullivan to Herbert, 3 December 1830 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/3).
[40]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 3, Sullivan to the Countess of Pembroke, 3 December 1830 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/3).
[41]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 3, Sullivan to the Countess of Pembroke, 29 January 1831 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/3).

The estate finally suffered its first direct blow from the general political and economic situation in early February 1831. Sullivan wrote to Oddie of 'the bad effects' of O'Connell's 'horrid agitation';

> A person who had engaged ground from me (and for which most of the leases were made out) for building ten houses on Pembroke and Northumberland Road, Refuses to hold them, actually afraid to embark... in any speculation in the present frightful state of the country.[42]

There were more reports of the same happening again only a few days later.[43] In June, the situation had deteriorated even further, Sullivan reported of the 'Melancholy state of affairs' and the 'almost complete bar to speculation - there is a sad falling off in all the building operations'.[44] Towards the end of 1831, the prospect was still gloomy. Although the rental was still increasing it was mainly for non-building leases. Sullivan reiterated his forecast of June and declared that the letting of ground in the current year would not equal the two preceeding years - a considerable slump. Nevertheless, Sullivan was still optimistic when he wrote an account of the estate to Sidney Herbert in April 1832,

> Your City of Dublin Estate is, taking into consideration the distressed state of the country, rapidly improving - and every possible encouragement should be given to builders to ensure a continuance of that prosperity. 150 Houses have been built or are in progress since I had the honor of being appointed agent to your Estate.[45]

The nadir seems to have been around 1833; in a letter to Sidney Herbert in February, Sullivan wrote that 'all our efforts are paralised by want of internal tranquility... all operations are at a stand. I am however in hopes that a better prospect begins to dawn for Ireland'.[46] Despite Sullivan's reports to the landlord, his guardians and agents in London, it can be seen from appendix 1 that a considerable amount of ground had been allocated for building from 1830 onwards. Thus, there was certainly an appetite for building speculation. However, what was more significant was the rate of building on those leases; and as has already been seen, for example, there was a considerable degree of failure to fulfill building covenants along the north side of Pembroke Road. A letter of April 1834 yields some interesting statistics about the rate of

[42]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 3, Sullivan to Oddie, 10 February 1831 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/3).
[43]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 3, Sullivan to Herbert, 14 February 1831 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/3).
[44]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 3, Sullivan to Oddie, 8 June 1831 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/3).
[45]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 3, Sullivan to Herbert, 21 April 1832 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/3).
[46]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 4, Sullivan to Sidney Herbert, 13 February 1833 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/4).

building on the estate since 1800.[47] From this it can be seen that some 358 houses had been built since 1800. Of these, 213 were built since 1826, with very little done between 1801 and 1812. Thus it can be seen that while building development might have fallen short of expectations, it was not actually stagnant. While most of these houses were built within the Grand Canal (fifty-one in Fitzwilliam Square; thirty-one in Fitzwilliam Place; fifty-four on Upper Mount Street and twenty-nine on Lower Mount Street), the signs were hopeful for building development outside the canal also, with twenty-two houses built on Percy Place (which had only been leased from 1831),[48] seventeen on the Circular Road, and six on Leeson Street Upper.

Sullivan's missives to England gradually seem to become more cautiously optimistic. In August 1834 he wrote to Sidney Herbert that reversions had been granted at increased rents of £226.5.11, plus fines of £3,502.8.3, with more in progress of arrangement; he concluded that 'the state of your property is such as with confidence to look forward to a Rental of beyond £20,000 in 1836.[49] Another wave of optimism occurred in the summer of 1836 with the estate reported as being in a 'progressive state of prosperity and increase';[50] this was quantified only a month later, 'improvement is going on steadily and more animation in the way of Building within the last two months than for a year before'.[51] Thus it can be seen that, political and economic ebbs and flows notwithstanding, the appetite for building speculation on the estate had been established by the end of the 1830s.[52]

A snapshot of the estate's later finances can be found in a unique document in the estate archives, which itemises, in summary, two half years' rent returns for 1846 and 1847.[53] The returns have been averaged and presented in a table (**4.2**). As this information is in isolation, it is not possible to place it in a broader context, nevertheless it can be used as an indication of the comparative rental of roads in the estate. It can be seen that the total rental for a half year for roads inside the canal was £5,216, and for roads outside the canal, £700. The returns for roads inside the canal, therefore, far exceeded those outside (although it should be noted that Pembroke Road is probably included under the heading of Baggot Street). The total rental for Ringsend and Irishtown, and the lands of Baggotrath, Donnybrook, and further afield was £6,103. Considering that this account is over a decade after coherent allocation of building ground outside the Grand

[47]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 4, Sullivan to A.R. Blake, 19 April 1834 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/4).
[48]See appendix 1.
[49]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 5, Sullivan to Herbert, 18 August 1834 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/5).
[50]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 6, Sullivan to R.W. Lumley, 6 June 1836 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/6).
[51]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 6, Sullivan to Herbert, 2 July 1836 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/6).
[52]There was a slight slump in the rate of allocation of ground in 1838 and 1839. See appendix 1.
[53]NAI, PEP, Statement of Accounts (Acc. No. 2011/5/1.i).

Canal had commenced, the rental for roads there seems surprisingly low. However, the convoluted and protracted evolution of that development is a matter for the following chapter.

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Infrastructural Issues: Problems with the Railway

There were some significant infrastructural issues to emerge during the early years of this period. One of the most significant impacts on the estate at this time was, of course, the development of the Dublin to Kingstown Railway. Plans had been initially proposed during the agency of Barbara Verschoyle, in 1825; but to her great relief, they came to nothing. Respite from the threat of the railway was brief, however. The first intimation of its return was an advertisement in a Dublin newspaper, in November 1830, which Sullivan immediately sent to Sidney Herbert who was studying in Oxford.[54] Sullivan's fears of the potential damage to the estate by the construction of a railway were as strong as those of Verschoyle a few years before. In his letter to Herbert, Sullivan urged the young landlord to 'be on the alert in London' to 'guard against any advantage in the progress of the Bill through Parliament'. The route the railway would take was still unknown at this stage - making opposition to its progress difficult.

Although opposed to such development at all, even at an early stage in the process Sullivan had already identified which route was the lesser of two evils. He reckoned that the coastal route might 'in some points be attended with advantages to counteract injuries in others', whereas he had little doubt that if the inland route was chosen, 'we will have to oppose them strenuously'.[55] This was despite the fact that the coastal part of the estate had several villas which derived their value from their proximity to the sea and 'the advantage of sea bathing', which would undoubtedly be reduced if they were cut off by the railway line. Sullivan was still outwardly opposed to the projected railway, as he stated clearly in a letter of 11 February 1831 to Alexander Nimmo, the engineer drawing up the scheme.

The issue of the railway was not just one of the impact on the landscape and geography of the estate. Sullivan was also aware of the very major damage to potential building speculation. Geographically located as it was, the Pembroke estate was perfectly

[54]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 3, Sullivan to Herbert, 6 November 1830 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/3).
[55]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 3, Sullivan to the Countess of Pembroke, 3 December 1830 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/3).

positioned to absorb and dominate the suburban development of the land to the south east of the city. However, the advent of the railway would threaten this domination. As Sullivan put it in a letter to H. H. Oddie:

> I consider the undertaking injurious to [the] property, as it will approximate the more distant country to the Capital, by the facility of intervention - if the public can be conveyed a distance of 5 miles in a short time and half the expense which they now pay for 2 or 3, they will naturally give a preference, consequently the intermediate places, along the Coast of Booterstown and Williamstown may become neglected...[56]

In fact, Sullivan regarded this aspect as the most serious threat of the railway to the estate; 'the very great injury I apprehend to all that portion of [Herbert's] estate is by bringing the Neighbourhood of Kingstown more into Notice and by that facility afforded of getting there on a Railway induce people to pass over his Estate and frequent the more distant country'.[57] Sullivan counterpointed the material damage to the Pembroke estate with the contrasting estates of Kingstown, where 'the Royal harbour has brought this place (formerly a poor fishing town on a Rocky hill) much into Notice - The property there belongs to Lord Longford and De Vesci - and it is to a certain extent a Rival to us - the influence to their advantage will no doubt be increased if the railway is established'. He then concluded, in no uncertain terms, 'and on this general principal [sic] I ground my objection on part of Mr Herbert'.[58]

In the early days of uncertainty, Sullivan was not the only party petitioning against the railway; beyond Blackrock, both Lord Cloncurry and Sir Harcourt Lees, who had substantial residences on the coast, petitioned against the measure.[59] However, their objections seem to have been circumvented by the railway company agreeing to put tunnels under their grounds; this left Sullivan alone in his stand. The Bill was eventually passed by both Houses and received the Royal Assent on 6 September 1831.[60]

Without explicit documentary references, it is not really possible to establish with certainty the actual impact of the railway on building development on the Pembroke estate. Beyond the gloomy predictions which abounded in the correspondence during the negotiations over the route, there is no clear evidence to show a definite negative effect on

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[56]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 3, Sullivan to Oddie, 26 February 1831 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/3).
[57]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 3, Sullivan to Oddie, 22 March 1831 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/3).
[58]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 3, Sullivan to Messrs Oddie & Forster, 22 March 1831 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/3).
[59]Ibid.
[60]Kevin Murray, 'Dublin's First Railway', in *Dublin Historical Record*, vol.1, no.1 (March 1938), p.20.

building speculation.[61] In fact, from the surviving sources, the major impact of the railway seem to have been rather more mundane, such as the railway gates at Sidney Parade and Merrion remaining closed against road traffic and, more significantly, consequent flooding over the eastern estate, due to interference with the natural drainage channels of the area. The problems caused by the latter were quite serious and involved lengthy and acrimonious correspondence between Sullivan and the company. This subject will be examined in further detail in Chapter 6 in connection with the development of the eastern estate. The estate, north of Merrion Gates, was served by two stations. The first to be opened was Sidney Parade *circa* 1834;[62] the second was Lansdowne Road, which was not opened until considerably later, *circa* 1871.[63]

There were some other major infrastructural issues carried out during this period: one of the most significant being the construction of the coast wall and road. However, these will be examined in further detail in Chapter 6 in terms of the development of the eastern estate.

The coherent allocation of ground for building commenced from the early 1830s. The topographical context in which this development took place can be established to some degree by referring to the first Ordnance Survey map of 1837 (**4.3**). Clearly this map shows the earliest building having already taken place, however it still conveys something of the character of the landscape before more concentrated development took place. Thus it can be seen that the line of the Grand Canal was a clear boundary between urban and rural - with the exception of the line of building emerging along the north side of Baggot Street Upper, and the Circular Road. The most significant difference between this map and Taylor's of 1816 (**3.1**) is, of course, the existence of the railway, which was opened in 1834. The district is still dominated by fields and plantations, with scattered demesne houses and a considerable amount of industry following the River Dodder. Interestingly, in the context of emerging building speculation, there are some large gravel and sand pits in the neighbourhood of Donnybrook.

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[61] Although the presence of the railway line must have been responsible for the absence of building between Park Avenue and the Merrion Road. These lands would remain unbuilt for the duration of the period. Many of them are still used for sports grounds to this day.

[62] NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 5, Sullivan to John Barton Esq., Mary St, 18 August 1834 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/5).

[63] Griffith Cancelled Book 4, p.46a.

Grand Plans for Building Development

It is clear from two remarkable schemes which still survive that there were ambitious plans for building development at a very early stage. The first scheme (untitled) (**4.4**) is dated 1832, and the second, a 'Survey of that part of the Dublin Estate of the Hon Sidney Herbert as laid out and designed for streets and squares' (**4.5**), is dated 1835.[64] Both were drawn up by Arthur Neville, City Surveyor.[65] They envisaged the potential development of that part of the estate, outside the canal, defined by the road to Ballsbridge to the north, the road to Donnybrook to the south-west, and the estate boundary with the 'Forty Acres' of Donnybrook to the south-east (**4.6**) (roads marked red in the map). It is likely that the impetus for these schemes came more from Sullivan than Sidney Herbert; nevertheless, Herbert clearly was happy for Sullivan to produce plans for the expansion of building development on the estate. Thus, even if these plans were directed by Sullivan they must be considered a product of his partnership with Sidney Herbert. Together, the two plans give a valuable insight into the vision for the estate at the very beginning of the 'partnership' of Cornelius Sullivan and Sidney Herbert.

Only a few days before Herbert travelled to Ireland for the first time in April 1832, Sullivan wrote to him with a comprehensive description of the estate, and announced that he had prepared 'a plan for laying out the space between Up. Baggot St and Donnybrook Road, which I trust will meet your approbation'. The timing of the first plan must have been deliberately coincidental with Herbert's visit, because it was not otherwise an opportune time to propose development on such a grand scale: as Sullivan himself declared, 'I cannot flatter myself with a hope of any extensive progress therein untill a total change takes place in the present unfortunate situation of the country'.[66] The plan was, therefore, surely drawn up to demonstrate to Herbert - on his first visit to his Irish estate - the enormous potential held within his land.

At this time, this part of the estate was, apart from the northern boundary of Upper Baggot Street / Pembroke Road, nearly entirely unbuilt pastoral land. Roe's map of 1826 (**4.7**) confirms this. In fact, Roe's map seems to be an accurate reflection of this part of the estate as it was in 1832. The buildings shown on the south side of Pembroke road actually post-date the 1826 map; they were built according to a later plan, also by Neville, of 1830. This plan was specifically for the south side of the line of

[64]NAI, PEP, Maps, (Acc. Nos. 97/46/4/24; 97/46/4/25).
[65]Neville seems to have drawn up many plans for various building developments on the estate, and was the surveyor who marked out the allocations of ground for building, however, although he was regularly used, he does not seem to have been a full-time employee of the estate.
[66]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 3, Sullivan to Herbert, 21 April 1832 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/3).

Upper Baggot Street / Pembroke Road, and will be discussed in the next chapter.[67] The three pairs of semi-detached villas are also shown on Neville's 1832 plan and could only have been very recently erected by that time.[68] Nothing else shown on the 1832 plan was built by that time: the ten or so houses shown along the Donnybrook Road post-date the original scheme by a few years.

One of the most striking aspects of both plans is how the building development they propose is so profoundly different to what was ultimately realised. The most obvious difference is the grid-like development, with the pattern of roads formed around landscaped residential squares. Even though such a pattern of development is so very different to how it appears today, it cannot be surprising that the form of the square should be used - this was, after all, the estate of Merrion and Fitzwilliam Squares, the latter which had only recently been completed. In a broader Dublin context, there were also examples of suburban residential squares, such as the nearby Mountpleasant Square, which was only in the process of completion at the time.[69] Squares were still a feature of development in London. However, by the 1820s and 30s they tended to be smaller in scale and combined with crescents, circuses, slender rectangles and avenues in livelier schemes of greater variety, which also allowed for a greater number of houses. Examples of this sort of development include, Belgrave Square and its environs (**4.8**) on the Grosvenor estate, begun around 1825, and Bayswater, developed in the 1830s and 40s (**4.9**).

The plan of 1832 (**4.4**) is formed around a single asymmetric square, 900 x 500 feet. The centre of the square is landscaped to form a *rus in urbe* very similar to the idea of Merrion Square, with elliptical paths set among carefully planted shrubs or trees. Indeed, planting is a carefully noted feature of the plan. The landscaping and arrangement of the avenues to the front of the houses shown on the map, along Baggot Street Upper and Pembroke Road, are almost as they appear today.[70] So also is the densely planted angle between Donnybrook Road and the line which would become Wellington Place. In fact, the creation of 'plantations' in plots of land, left-over after the

[67]NAI, PEP, Maps, Arthur Neville, 'Plan for Improvement of that Part of the Estate of the Hon Sidney Herbert in Pembroke Road and Upper Baggot St', 1830 (Acc. No. 97/46/4/19).

[68]The leases for them were granted from September 1830. The adjacent designated plots were leased at the same time.

[69]The exact date of completion is not known, but Susan Roundtree states that the square was certainly complete and occupied by 1834. Susan Roundtree, *Mountpleasant Square*, Master of Urban & Building Conservation thesis, UCD (1991), p.10. In planning terms, however, Mountpleasant Square is quite different in the way it is set back off the main road, essentially as a cul-de-sac: very different to the idea of Merrion and Fitzwilliam Squares which are much more open to through-traffic.

[70]This is because they were executed to the scheme of 1830 for Pembroke Road (already mentioned) which was incorporated into this plan.

allocation of building ground, was an important aspect of the development of the estate predicted by this early plan.

The pattern of the roads is essentially a grid, generated by the central square, formed within the lines of Upper Baggot Street / Pembroke Road, the Donnybrook Road (both shown in red on map (**4.6**)); and finally, a new route to connect the Donnybrook Road with the Blackrock Road, as far south nearly as Ballsbridge village. This last is, in fact, the line which would become Wellington Place and Clyde Road, and the plan of 1832 seems to be the origination of this axis; Wellington Place was opened for building in 1835. Within these boundary roads, there are essentially only two cross axes, which each run along a flank of the square: crudely, a west - east route which connects the Circular Road to the Blackrock Road, and a north - south route which runs from Pembroke Road to the Donnybrook Road (via the newly-created Wellington Place). There is also another access to the square which leads off the south-west corner to the Donnybrook Road. The square is, therefore, not as 'tucked away' from traffic as the earlier cul-de-sac style of Mountpleasant Square (**4.6**) (Mount Pleasant Square shown towards bottom-left of map).

The roads around the square are proposed to be eighty feet wide, otherwise they are either sixty or seventy feet. All the routes around and leading to the square are laid out with regular building plots, all twenty-five feet in width. Elsewhere, the precise nature of the individual building lots has not yet been determined. There are also two additional terraces proposed: one to the east of Pembroke Road, south of the Botanic Gardens, and one to the west of the houses already built along Baggot Street Upper. Altogether, the scheme proposes many houses, with potential for even more in the undefined building lots.

It is undoubtedly an impressive scheme, with its wide streets and a continuous building front to rival that of Fitzwilliam Street. However, it is not altogether successful. The scale of the square is too large, and the geometry of the grid plan established around it does not fit comfortably within the area to be developed. There is an awkward resolution to the scheme at the eastern end. Within the confines of Upper Baggot Street and the Donnybrook Road, the strict imposition of regularity leaves unrealistic proportions to some of the resulting building plots. Although all are twenty-five feet in width (an acceptable width for a standard terraced house), the depth of some of the plots is disproportionate to that width. This can be seen particularly in the building plots which back on to the stable lane behind Upper Baggot Street. It is not clear what would have been intended for the remainder of the plots in green, although their proportion might suggest that they could be built in a manner similar to the south side of Pembroke Road.

By the time the second plan was drawn up in 1835 (**4.5**), some more building had taken place along the south of Pembroke Road, with a few houses also recently built along the Donnybrook Road. Nevertheless, the land planned for development between the boundary routes was still largely uninterfered with. The main difference between the second plan and the earlier one is the inclusion of two smaller residential squares: a western one of 680 x 500 feet and an eastern, 605 x 500 feet. The depth of the squares at 500 feet is the same as the 1832 plan. Together, the squares, plus an intermediary line of back-to-back terrace, are circumscribed by an avenue. The scaling-down of the squares, allows a greater amount of the available land to be used more efficiently, and in a more comprehensive grid-like pattern, than the 1832 plan. Like the earlier plan, the plot widths are all twenty-five feet in width, however, the roads throughout are designed to be eighty feet wide.

In terms of the management of through traffic, there are two major differences from the earlier plan. Firstly, there is now no major axis running from west to east. The scheme is still accessed from the Circular Road to the north west, but that route does not continue in a straight line towards Ballsbridge, instead a ninety degree turn to the north opens out onto the east end of Pembroke Road. Secondly, there are now two routes which bisect the area from north to south. In other words, this is the creation of a proto-type Waterloo Road in addition to a proto-type Wellington Road.[71] This later plan is probably more successful in that it fits a greater number of houses into the area, and makes more efficient use of the available land. This indeed might be the principle behind the re-drafting of the scheme from the 1832 plan, which left the management of some areas unresolved.

A striking element of both schemes is the marked contrast between the houses planned (and already built) on the northern boundary of Upper Baggot Street and Pembroke Road, and those planned around the proposed squares. Set back from the road in wide, lushly landscaped plots, the semi-detached suburban villas are very different in character to the comparatively narrow terraced houses around the squares, which were intended to open nearly directly onto the street.[72] Such a distinct contrast between the two types of development in such close proximity seems curious and unusual.

[71] This road is slightly further east than the similarly-placed one in the 1832 plan which did not continue to Upper Baggot Street.

[72] A note on the bottom of the 1835 plan states that 'the streets are designed to be eighty feet wide from the fronts of the houses, and the areas are included in the measurements'.

Even though neither of these plans was carried out, it is interesting to observe the possible suggestion of various later routes in the unexecuted schemes. For example, both schemes predict the existence of Wellington Road. A proto-type Waterloo Road appears in the second plan, but not the first. Wellington Place appears in both plans, but its continuation into Clyde Road only appears in the first, not the second. While neither predict Raglan Road (i.e. a third parallel route), the idea of Elgin road (i.e. a transverse route) can perhaps be seen in the 1832 plan which hints at a major axis heading west from Ballsbridge.

Also, it is interesting to perhaps see in both schemes a possible explanation for a rather curious feature of the area as it appears today. Both plans enivsage a major access route to the whole area from the north-west, from the Circular Road - that is, Burlington Road. However, the planned major thoroughfare did not materialise, and so, what began as a grand entrance to a major scheme, became instead a dead-end at Waterloo Road.[73] The decision to continue Burlington Road south to the Donnybrook Road, while logical in terms of opening up new building ground, is not successful in terms of the overall plan of the area: it detaches that part of the estate from the rest of the scheme.

Neither of these plans can really be related to any of the contemporary London developments. The square of the 1832 plan is too large and too dominant over the whole area. The second plan is closer to the manner of London developments in that it incorporates two smaller squares. However, it is still too focused on the squares being the heart of the development, rather than following the practice, as in London, of creating vistas through different uses of terraces, incorporating squares, but with other forms such as crescents and avenues. In fact, the 1832 plan is remarkably coincident with a local Dublin development of sixty years earlier - Merrion Square. In terms of its scale, proportionate shape, and even in the arrangement of some of the roads leading into it, the 1832 plan suggests the eighteenth century square. Moreover, while the comparison has already been made of the idea of the *rus in urbe* of the proposed square, the similarity of the landscaping in the 1832 plan with the actual planting of Merrion Square, as depicted in the Ordnance Survey map of 1837 (**4.3**), is striking. When the second plan was drawn up in 1835 it was, essentially, only an evolution of the 1832 one - the inclusion of two squares and smaller building lots allowed for a greater number of houses. Thus it seems that the visionary plans of 1832 and 1835 were actually based on a local precedent of the previous century.

[73]Curiously, looking at a map of the area as it was built, it is possible to see a moving towards the 1832 idea in the routes of Burlington and Elgin Roads.

Even though these plans were never fulfilled, it is important that the seriousness of them should not be dismissed; they were not mere flights of fancy. That they were of serious intent can be seen in a letter to Arthur Neville in September 1834 where Sullivan writes about the building taking place on the Donnybrook Road and of the consequent necessity of opening up 'the road or passage intended as an entrance to the contemplated square'.[74] Also, the way in which newly erected houses were incorporated between the first and second versions as they were built, shows that there was a real aim of incorporating the plan into the built 'reality'.

Two questions remain, then: why were neither of the schemes fulfilled, and when were they abandoned? The economic depression of the mid-thirties must have lessened enthusiasm for embarking on such schemes. In that context, these plans were probaby deemed too ambitious; instead, the option to develop along a less strictly-defined plan was more pragmatic. With Sullivan's nearly daily correspondence to various builder-developers to request them to fulfill their long overdue building covenants on their holdings along Pembroke Road, this grand scheme must have seemed too risky. For if building was not completed on such a plan, it would be a spectacular failure. Better instead, a less complex plan, where building could take place at any rate, and new ground be opened up as it was needed. There is no explicit reference as to when these schemes were abandoned. However, with the granting of building ground for a continuous line of development along Wellington Road, commencing from September 1843, such grand plans had, by then, evidently been discarded.

[74]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 5, Sullivan to Arthur Neville, 26 September 1834 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/5).

Chapter 5

The Estate of Sidney Herbert 1827-1861
Building in the Western Estate I

It was the ambition of Cornelius Sullivan from an early stage 'to secure a handsome terminus' to the approach to the city from Donnybrook (**5.1**).[1] Fitzwilliam Place (the continuation of Fitzwilliam Street to Leeson Street) had opened in 1828, and left the ground along the Grand Canal between Leeson Street and Baggot Street Bridges ready for development. A plan of improvements by Sullivan was drawn up by Arthur Neville in 1830 (**5.2**) and submitted for approval to the Wide Streets Commissioners, which it received 26 March 1830.[2] It was a vastly impressive scheme which envisaged the completion of building on vacant ground mainly within the canal. The incorporation of the crescent puts it closer to contemporary London developments than the 1832 and 1835 plans discussed in the previous chapter. In truth, however, the available land was really not extensive enough for such a scheme; the creation of ambitious vistas led to some curious building plots, for example those at the east end of Sidney Crescent. The plan reflects the short-lived optimism of the time for building development. The economic recession of the early 1830s took its toll on this grand scheme and development in this sector was not completed until well into the 1840s.

The only ranges of building shown on the plan outside the canal were Percy Place and Northumberland Road. The intention of forming Northumberland Road, by continuing the line of Lower Mount Street over the canal, crossing the Circular Road and coming out on the Black Rock Road at the College Botanic Gardens, had been signalled the previous year in a letter to H. H. Oddie.[3] However, the 1830 plan seems to be the first time the formation of Percy Place was considered.

[1] NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 6, Cornelius Sullivan to Sidney Herbert, 10 August 1836 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/6).
[2] NAI, PEP, Maps, 'A Map of the Designed Improvements of Cornelius Sullivan Esq. On the Estate of the Honorable Sidney Herbert Adjoining the City of Dublin By Arthur Neville City Surveyor 1830', (Acc. No. 97/46/4/18).
[3] NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 2, Sullivan to H. H. Oddie, 16 May 1829 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/2).

The Completion of Development inside the Canal

Sullivan's attentions were focused on the creation of Sidney Crescent, the grand development on the northern bank of the Grand Canal. Unfortunately though, his plans for building there would be thwarted by various factors for over a decade. There were protracted and difficult negotiations with the Grand Canal Company, who claimed the right to part of the ground there, and with a Mr Synge, who owned a significant parcel of land at the corner of Fitzwilliam Place, just outside the Pembroke estate (**5.1**) (Synge's ground marked in red).[4] It was not until February 1841 that Sullivan eventually secured from Synge a lease to Sidney Herbert, of 999 years, for this small piece of ground.

By this time, it appears that the idea for the crescent had long since been abandoned.[5] Nevertheless, Sullivan still regarded the development - now called Wilton Place (**5.1**) (**5.3**) - as the most important and prestigious of the entire estate. There was lengthy correspondence with Herbert about the plans, which were despatched to the landlord for his opinion, and about the name: was it to be Wilton or Lansdowne,[6] Parade or Terrace? There were complicated arrangements for diverting a supply of water from the canal to an ornate fountain in the enclosed garden.[7] Sullivan saw this development as the one which would raise the profile of the estate against that of its neighbours and rivals. He wrote to Herbert of its importance in these specific terms:

> it is most desirable to get this building ground into operation as we have competitors to contend with, you are aware of Lord Clonmells preparations near Harcourt Street,[8] and also Mr Synge's near Stephen's Green,[9] the former is not so much to be feared as there is not much money to go on with improving but Mr Synge's Square is all enclosed with Railing and all streets formed; added to this you will see by the enclosed plan a very extensive arrangement making close to your Estate at Leeson Street...[10]

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[4]The pocket of ground was formed by the re-alignment of Leeson Street at the end of the eighteenth century. It was originally on the west side of the old Donnybrook Road, part of the Milltown estate.
[5]No exact reference can be found for when the idea of a crescent was abandoned. However, the last explicit reference to a crescent occurs 4 July 1832. Various difficulties with the ground throughout the 1830s probably cut back the scale of the venture.
[6]After the Earl of Shelbourne, fourth Marquis of Lansdowne, who was engaged to Sidney Herbert's sister, Lady Georgina.
[7]This was carried out by Messrs J. & R. Mallett of Ryder's Row.
[8]Waterloo Square, which is marked out, but unbuilt, on OS 1843, just to the north of the Circular Road and to the south of the Coburg Gardens (which are south of Saint Stephen's Green). See map (**6.2**).
[9]It is not clear in the letter book whether it is Synge or Symes. It is not clear where the development 'near Stephen's Green' is.
[10]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 7, Sullivan to Herbert, 30 April 1842 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/7).

Sullivan was certainly not focused solely on the building of Wilton Place. He referred also to the necessity, in general, of opening 'new lines for building', and of the need to be competitive and productive, by converting acreable land to foot rents, at a low rate of rent.[11] Nevertheless, it is clear that he regarded Wilton Place as the most significant development for premier speculation and the best means of distracting attention from rival properties. So great was his attention to it that he devised a scheme unique in the story of the estate's development in order to secure its success. In 1842 he established a loan fund, which advanced £2,000 to a George Farrell, a 'very improving Tenant on [the] estate both in town and Country',[12] for him to build the first two houses, 'to set the thing in motion'.[13] The estate retained the leases until the finished houses came to be sold; the houses were worth 'one half more than the advance', and the builder was 'well satisfied to pay 5 per cent' until the money was paid off by the sale of the houses.[14] Farrell built another two houses under the same scheme, which was heavily promoted by Sullivan in his correspondence with Herbert. This is the only time any such financial inducement was offered by the estate in order to encourage building development. Ironically, Wilton Place must be regarded, in terms of the building development of the estate, as a failure. No more than six houses were ever built, leaving the remaining ground idle and wasted.[15]

Percy Place

Returning to the estate outside the canal, the earliest building development which was carried out as a coherent scheme was Percy Place (**5.1**).[16] It was also the first line of building which involved the creation of a new road. The development process of Percy Place was not only very early, but it can also be viewed as one of the most efficient and successful of these years. While its formation was envisioned in the plan of 1830, it was not completed entirely according to the original scheme. The management of the ranges of building changed completely from the 1830 plan. Originally it was planned that Northumberland Road was to be the major line of building, with Percy Place commencing behind it. Thus, the line of Northumberland Road was to have a continuous

[11]Ibid.
[12]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 6, Sullivan to Herbert, 18 May 1837 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/6).
[13]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 7, Sullivan to Herbert, 17 November 1842 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/7).
[14]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 7, Sullivan to Herbert, 28 December 1843 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/7).
[15]Number 1 became the Pembroke estate office in 1850.
[16]Named after Hugh Percy, third Duke of Northumberland, regarded as 'a nonentity of little talent', who succeeded the Marquis of Anglesey as viceroy in 1829. His term ended in 1830. Joseph Robins, *Champagne and Silver Buckles, The Viceregal Court at Dublin Castle 1700-1922* (Dublin, 2001), p.114. Sullivan seemed to hold him in higher esteem; lamenting Percy's departure, Sullivan described how his 'prudent and impartial administration of the Laws has been attended with great advantage'. NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 3, Sullivan to the Countess of Pembroke, 3 December 1830 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/3).

building frontage. Hence, the line of Percy Place, as originally planned, would not have continued up to Northumberland Road and would have been much shorter.

It is not clear why Neville's scheme was changed. However, reference to the letter books makes clear that there were two distinct phases of granting leases - 1831 and 1834 - and that the earlier phase of building (the block between the stable lane to the rere of Northumberland Road and Huband Bridge) was completed quickly. The prospects for building development along Northumberland Road were - for reasons which will be examined later - much less promising.[17] Therefore, it is possible that the success and efficiency of building along Percy Place was deemed a better prospect to pursue than that along Northumberland Road. Whatever the reason, the extension of building along Percy Place to Northumberland Road is certainly scenographically more successful than the arrangement of houses according to Neville's plan would have been. It better exploits both the vista leaving the city along Lower Mount Street, and the potential of the canal-side scenery.[18]

Neville's plan was approved in March 1830, and according to the letter books the earliest leases granted for Percy Place were in May 1830.[19] Although no details survive for these earliest leases, this date corresponds with a detailed plan of the building lots, also by Neville, of 11 May 1830.[20] The plan outlined sixteen building lots to the west of the stable lane, all twenty-two feet wide, and allowed space for a seventeenth lot, smaller in size, at the westernmost end.[21] The next record of lease signing is in January 1831, and the granting of leases for this first phase continued for a few months. Building must have proceeded quickly, for a letter of 24 December 1831 ascertains that 'Percy Place [is] now nearly all built'.[22]

The same letter, to the Grand Canal Company, states Sullivan's intention of enclosing the strip of ground between the houses and the canal for two reasons: to protect the inhabitants (being outside the canal, there was no street lighting) and to ornament a line 'which will in a very short time, be a great leading passage from Dublin to

[17]The earliest date of lease for Northumberland road is March 1833.

[18]In a letter in 1833, Sullivan stated his intention of continuing the terrace scheme adopted at Percy Place further east to the Grand Canal Docks. NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 4, Sullivan to Thos Sherrard (Acc. No. 97/46/3/4).

[19]Mentioned in passing, NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 3, Sullivan to Oddie, 28 July 1831 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/3).

[20]NAI, PEP, Maps, A. Neville, 'Building ground opposite Warrington Place', 11 May 1830 (Acc. No. 2011.2.4).

[21]The houses were directed by the Wide Streets Commissioners to be 102 feet from the bank of the canal.

[22]This is slightly contradicted by a letter in February 1833 calling Thomas Nugent's attention to his unbuilt ground. As this is the only such letter it is probably safe to conclude that Nugent completed building fairly shortly thereafter. NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 4, Sullivan to Thomas Nugent, 2 February 1833 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/4).

Kingstown [i.e. Northumberland Road]'.[23] The main aim of the estate was to request the Canal Company to stop landing goods on the banks of the canal near the housing developments, pointing out that 'an abundance of space' for this purpose still remained elsewhere. Correspondence with the Canal Company was finely balanced. Sullivan had to tread a careful line, as he also required their assistance to supply him with 'filling stuff' to build up the levels of ground around the canal to allow for building.[24] This was a procedure that was necessary for most building developments adjacent to the canal, which were on low-lying ground.

The arrangements for the enclosure were finalised in September 1832.[25] The cost for the line between the stable lane and Huband Bridge was allocated accordingly between the four building lessees who were each charged ten shillings per foot of their building frontage. The most interesting aspect of this account, however, is the inclusion of 220 feet of 'unbuilt ground'. This is the ground which in Neville's 1830 plan was to form the side flank of the houses along Northumberland Road. Perhaps this is another possible reason why Sullivan chose to continue building along Percy Place up to Northumberland Road. By so doing, builder-developers could be made liable for the cost of enclosing the ground along the canal for the rest of the stretch up to Northumberland Road, otherwise the estate itself would have had to foot the bill, until that ground was successfully let.[26] The leases for the second line of building, from the stable lane to Northumberland Road, seem to have been allocated in the summer of 1834.[27]

It is interesting to compare the blocks of houses built on either side of the stable lane. While both are terraced schemes, they are quite different in character. The terrace to the west of the stable lane (**5.4**) (with the exception of numbers 49 and 51) is almost uniform in character, even though it was built by four builder-developers (see appendix 2.i). This possibly suggests some kind of partnership or arrangement between the different builder-developers involved. One of the builder-developers, John Henderson (for numbers 41 and 43) was a carpenter and builder of Townsend Street; perhaps he was the contractor for all the houses. This degree of uniformity among houses with different builder-developers is unusual. Much more common is the terrace to the east (**5.5**) where

[23]The enclosure was to run parallel to the line of building, effectively to fence off the canal. NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 3, Sullivan to the Hon. J. Pomeroy, Grand Canal Company, 24 December 1831 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/3).

[24]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 3, Sullivan to Pomeroy, 6 Dec 1831 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/3). Filling stuff to build up land for building was also got from the Ballast Board.

[25]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 3, Sullivan to Henry Richardson, 1 Sept 1832 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/3).

[26]This corresponds with the timing of the first leases for ground to the east of the stable lane. They were despatched to London for signature, 4 December 1832.

[27]There is not a full record in the letter book of the leases for this block, however, the last documented batch was despatched in August 1834.

the houses have clear variation in character in accordance with their respective different builder-developers.[28]

Mespil Parade

It is interesting to compare Percy Place with another early terraced development on the estate. Similarly fronting onto the Grand Canal, Mespil Parade, on the Circular Road **(5.1)** **(5.6)**, is a 'set-piece' development which contrasts with the development of Percy Place for a number of reasons. The line of Mespil Parade is an unusual one in the general pattern of the estate's development. It is quite remarkable both in its expansive scale and absolute uniformity but also, more particularly, in its use of distinct and unusual ornament. Before examining further these aspects of its architecture, it is interesting to analyse the genesis of its development - which is, in the context of the Pembroke estate, another unusual feature of this terrace.

For nearly every building development in the western part of the estate, a lease specifically for building was granted by the landlord. These building leases were usually for ninety-nine or one hundred and fifty years, and contained various strict covenants to ensure quality and general stylistic specifications. However, Mespil Parade seems to have been built without any such building lease from Sidney Herbert. This makes it similar to the way building appears to have developed along the eastern, coastal margin of the estate, where it seems that landholders were able to build on their holdings without possessing or acquiring leases specifically for building.[29] From current research it is not possible to determine precisely the reasons for these differences. However, it does seem that the eastern holdings were larger, held for longer and usually on older leases, from Lord Fitzwilliam. So, maybe it was that these longer, older leases held fewer restrictions, and that the absence of any mention of building in them, neither precluded nor demanded it.

Thus, there were two distinctly different *milieux* of building development on the estate: the western region where it took place under building leases from the landlord, and the eastern region, where it took place without the specifics of building leases. There seems to have been a difference in attitude of the administration towards the different parts of the estate - i.e. tighter controls over building in the more prestigious west end,

[28]Unfortunately, as can be seen in appendix 2.i, the issue of the identity of the respective builder-developers is a complicated one, and not possible to settle on the basis of the surviving documentation. It is possible that Bartholomew Delaney was the builder-developer of numbers 1 to 9, and that something happened during the building process to confuse the situation.

[29]Until the 1850s when building leases were introduced in the eastern estate.

and a more *laissez-faire* approach to building in the east. These differences in the nature of the building process within the estate in turn raise the issue of a potential impact on the buildings themselves: an issue which should emerge with greater clarity when dealing with the development of the eastern part of the estate, later in the thesis.

The land on which Mespil Parade was built was part of the holding of Alderman Samuel Warren, of Mespil House, an Overseer for the Grand Jury. However, according to Roe's Survey of 1826 (and, indeed, of 1794) the ground was at that time leased to the Hon. Robert Hellen. Thus it seems that Warren's acquisition of the ground was comparatively recent.[30] This corresponds with a letter from Sullivan to Warren of 17 May 1834 wherein Sullivan describes the terms under which the lease would be extended.[31] Although the lease being offered is not a building lease, Sullivan makes explicit reference to Warren of the great potential of this ground for building development: 'You must be aware of the very great benefit certain to arise from your being enabled to grant building leases of ground which from the rapid improvements in the neighbourhood will shortly form part of the City.' Indeed, the implication is clear that it is for Warren, himself, to grant any building leases. This would have been unusual; at all other times in the western estate, building leases were only granted by the estate itself. Sullivan then proceeds to estimate that a building front of eight hundred feet could be let at, or even above, four shillings per foot, and assures Warren that 'I am satisfied that everything in that quarter will become more valuable every year'.

Strangely, Warren did not take up Sullivan's offer of the reversionary lease (which would have extended his possession of the ground), but went ahead and built the terrace anyway. Many years later, in June 1846, Warren eventually took a reversionary lease to extend his interest in the ground.[32] It seems that Sullivan had continually urged him to do this in the intervening years, but that Warren had 'treated the subject carelessly', regarding that the lease he held was long enough.[33] It is not possible to give a precise date for the houses, but the Ordnance Survey map of 1837 clearly shows that the terrace was completed by that date.

The question of who was the designer or builder remains. While the terrace is attractive by virtue of its absolute regularity and architectural detail (both unusual for their time) there is a slight awkwardness in the management of the window and door on the principal floor - an awkwardness which is emphasised when the terrace is viewed as a

[30]On Taylor's map of 1816, there seems to have been a barracks on the site.
[31]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 5, Sullivan to Alderman Warren, Mespil, 17 May 1834 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/5).
[32]Registry of Deeds, 1846-19-77.
[33]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 7, Sullivan to Rob. Wright, 11 November 1846 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/7).

whole. The window on this floor is wider than is usual, presumably a device to allow for better lighting but which gives a proportion not quite satisfactory to the eye. In addition to this, the small narrow front door is swamped by the stucco pediment surmounting the adjacent window case. Whether this points to Alderman Warren as a possible gentleman architect is too far to extrapolate, however such weaknesses of the design could support this notion. Nevertheless, such stylistic criticisms aside, this terrace was a venture of high quality which seems to have been erected in a short space of time and without any fuss; all which must have pleased Cornelius Sullivan greatly.

Unfortunately, however, as examples of speculative building, Mespil Parade and Percy Place were unusual in the context of the overall pattern of development of the Pembroke estate. Their characteristics of efficient and quick completion as well as being contained, 'set-piece', developments, were atypical. More typical of the early thirties was the gradual - at times haphazard - and frequently problematic continuation of existing residential development along pre-existing routes, such as Pembroke and Haddington Roads.

Grand Building Development: South side of Pembroke Road

As has already been shown in Chapter 3, the progress of building development along the north side of Pembroke Road was slow and troublesome. The first leases had been granted from 1812, but the long continuous terrace was not finally completed until the late 1830s. The first plan for the development of the south side of Pembroke Road was drawn up by Arthur Neville in 1830 (**5.7**).[34] Together with his contemporary ambitious plan for improvement in the vicinity of the Grand Canal (of which Percy Place was a part), these are the earliest schemes for building development under the partnership of Sidney Herbert and Cornelius Sullivan - only two years after Herbert's accession. They are similar in that they both deal with development of areas which were already partially built - making them very different in intent to the slightly later schemes of 1832 and 1835 already discussed, which envisaged large-scale development of completely unbuilt land.

Neville's plan of 1830 is interesting to examine for a number of reasons. Most importantly, this is the first time the future Wellington Road is shown incorporated in the planning of the estate, even though the line is unnamed, and there is nothing to indicate it was to continue to the Donnybrook Road. Through measuring the plots shown in the

[34]NAI, PEP, Maps, Arthur Neville, 'Plan for Improvement of that Part of the Estate of the Hon Sidney Herbert in Pembroke Road and Upper Baggot St', 1830 (Acc. No. 97/46/4/19).

plan along Baggot Street Upper, it is possible to position the line of the road; it corresponds exactly with its location today. Thus, it can be seen that even though this road was not opened until the next decade, it was envisaged as early as 1830. As has already been shown in the previous chapter, Wellington Road was also incorporated in the two grand plans of 1832 and 1835. Thus it can be seen that once the road was established - even only in plan form - it was never removed. Therefore it can be regarded truly as being a core part of the plans for development of this part of the estate from 1830 onwards.

The most interesting feature of this plan, however, is the inclusion of a scheme for the elevation and plan of six houses (i.e. three semi-detached units) (**5.8**). They are two-storey over basement, each individual house comprising two bays, with entrance porch to the side reached by a flight of steps. The principal floor is over a half-raised basement. The houses are surmounted by a hipped roof with generous eaves and elegantly spaced brackets. They are joined by a screen wall, with an access to the rear in each. The middle semi-detached unit shows the option of an extra storey where the hipped roof is hidden behind a parapet. These houses are not particularly innovative but are a conservative design, simple and elegant, and - most importantly - well suited to large-scale reproduction by individual builders. They are, in fact, the first example of semi-detached houses (as opposed to terraced) on the estate. However, they still bear a close resemblance to the terraced form. Indeed, if the entire range to the south of Pembroke Road had been completed according to this design, there would certainly have been a visual allusion to a terraced development.

The floor plans of the houses are simple and clear (**5.9**), allowed to a large degree by the arrangement of the porch and hall projecting out from the side. The entrance hall leads into an office or waiting room of equal width, behind which is a store room. It then continues at a right angle, transversing the house and leading to the stairs to the first floor, separating a substantial drawing room to the front from a similarly sized parlour to the rear. The hall is lit by a window in the gable wall of the house. The first floor is similarly arranged (but does not include the width of the hall on the principal floor), with four rooms - two to the front and two to the rear - connected by a transverse hall, again lit by a window in the gable wall. All the bedrooms are of similar dimensions; each is lit by a single window. These plans are efficient in their use of space and symmetry, gaining much by the device of the porched access to the side, and the management of the stairs, and the separation of the two reception rooms, is quite unusual. There is no evidence that these plans were used in any of the houses built.

The scheme also includes projected gardens of the houses, which are minutely detailed, although it is not possible to ascertain to what extent they were idealistic or suggestive. The most striking feature of the gardens is their length, and hence the distance of the houses from the road. In the context of the houses erected thus far, and particularly in the context of the houses erected on the opposite side of the road, the distance the houses were intended to be set back is staggering. A letter from Sullivan to Hitchcock in January 1831 implies that the distance of the houses from the road was compulsory: the agent wrote, 'I have instructed the Tenants [adjacent to Hitchcock] to building at 100 feet from the footway'.[35] This further setting-back from the thoroughfare - along with the introduction of the semi-detached house - marks the introduction of one of the classic key features of suburban development.

It is also interesting to note the shared front gardens of each semi-detached pair of houses, with the avenues curved around a central round lawn. There are two different ways shown of managing the avenues. One is by a shared single gate (such as the pair of houses of Thomas McEnry), but the more popular mode seems to be separate gates, leading onto the shared lawn. However, Neville's grand plan of 1832 (**5.10**) shows the managment of the gates to McEnry's houses as being by two separate gates implying that this plan of 1830 was merely a suggestion of the potential variations available, and also implying that, for whatever reason, the use of a single gate for a pair of houses did not become a popular device. Unfortunately, the front gardens have been too interfered with to determine to what extent they were made according to the plan.

As has already been mentioned, the earliest leases for this stretch of the road were granted from September 1830. These were: to a Mr Philip Jones eighty-six feet for two houses; the same each to Richard Turner and a Mr Thomas McEnry; to Arthur Neville seventy-three feet for two houses; and to a Mr Robert Hitchcock ninety feet to build two houses.[36] These earliest houses erected on the south side of Pembroke Road / Baggot Street Upper are, almost all, straightforward to allocate to their building developer, because all but one of the respective names of these holdings appear on Neville's 1830 and 1832 plans. However, this is exceptional; the process of allocating building lessees to their respective houses is generally much more complicated.

It is possible to determine from Arthur Neville's grand scheme of 1832 that Neville, McEnry and Hitchcock had all completed houses on their holdings by this time - numbers 19 to 21; 23 to 25; and 45 to 47, respectively (see appendix 2.i). The only pair of these

[35]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 3, Sullivan to Robert Hitchcock, 15 January 1831 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/3).
[36]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 3, Sullivan to Oddie, 3 March 1831; Sullivan to Oddie, 21 May 1831 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/3).

houses to survive (uninterfered with) is numbers 19 and 21 (**5.11**), for which the builder-developer was Arthur Neville himself. Coincidentally, it is revealing to return to Neville's plan for Pembroke Road of 1830 and the vignette for the model houses. Although not exactly the same, it is certainly possible to trace a direct connection between the houses as built and the architectural prospect for the three-storey over basement house. The main elements - the proportions, the half-raised basement, the raised porched entrance to the side - are all derived from Neville's scheme. In fact, as built, the houses are more refined - chiefly through the addition of stucco: the cornice treatment of the parapet, the parallel coursing of the principal floor and the quoins. These alterations add a sublety and distinction to the elevation. However, it should be noted that he does not seem to have followed his own interior plan - there is no landing window in the gable walls.

The speed with which these houses were completed, and the lack of correspondence from the agent in connection with them, must have increased Sullivan's early optimism for the prospects of the development of the estate. However, it was at this point that his good fortune was to come to an end.

Allocated at the same time as the leases to McEnry, Hitchcock and Neville were the leases to Philip Jones and Richard Turner. The building development on these leases was to be troublesome. Jones, a carpenter and builder of Mabbot Street,[37] never even enclosed his ground and it seems that he was ejected from the holding and it re-leased.[38] The story of Richard Turner's involvement was more protracted and problematic. The first sign of trouble was similar entreatments to enclose his ground as had been made to Jones; Turner did not eventually commence building until 1834.

It became apparent from an early stage that the houses Turner was building were of a vastly greater scale than the two already erected close by (numbers 45 and 47), on the holding of Robert Hitchcock (**5.12**). This was to the great dismay and anger of Hitchcock, a barrister and Magistrate of Police,[39] who commenced a strong and unrelenting correspondence with Sullivan, and eventually with Sidney Herbert, to protest at the injustice of this, and calling for the leases to be cancelled or the penalty invoked for

[37] *Dublin Directory*, 1834.

[38] There is no reference which precisely locates where this holding was, however correspondence recorded in the letter books implies Jones's holding was adjacent to Turner. After several letters calling his attention to his lack of action in relation to his building ground, no more correspondence to Jones is recorded after a letter from Sullivan, of 9 April 1832, calling on him 'for the last time' to enclose his ground. It is possible that a holding leased to George Davey (mentioned in a letter to Messrs Oddie & Co. 10 May 1834), which was also adjacent to Turner and of the same size as that originally leased to Jones, was originally Jones's holding. This is the site of the present numbers 49 and 51.

[39] *Dublin Directory*, 1834.

breach of covenant. Hitchcock was not well-disposed towards his near neighbour: Turner's delay in commencing building on his holding had indirectly led to the flooding of Hitchcock's house with sewage backwater.[40] It is hardly surprising, then, that Hitchcock pursued this case relentlessly.[41] He referred to the fact that Turner was breaking the terms of the lease and therefore demanded that he be subject to the penalty clauses contained therein.

This case reveals some interesting aspects of the planning and development of the estate at this time. Firstly, Sullivan alludes to a 'plan' in which it seems that Sullivan and Herbert decided on the character of the houses to be built along this stretch of road - probably the plan of 1830 already referred to. Unfortunately, it has not been possible, so far, to trace an original building lease for one of these houses to see precisely the terms laid out in it - i.e. did it specifically state how many storeys the houses were to comprise. Sullivan, reluctant to be drawn by Hitchcock, admitted that this breach of lease did leave Turner open to the possibility of penalty, but refused to say it would be invoked - he claimed it was not in his remit, rather it was a matter only for Sidney Herbert. He was bluntly dismissive of Hitchcock's claim of complaints by residents of houses on the north side of the road that the new houses were blocking their view: 'those persons could not suppose that a large portion of Mr Herbert's Estate was to remain comparatively unprofitable from a mistaken idea, on their part, that the view of the Country was not to be interrupted'.[42]

Sullivan's response to Hitchcock was that penalties were usually invoked for a breach of covenant where certain stipulations had not been reached - not where they had been 'exceeded'. This was valid, nevertheless he does seem to have gone out of his way to be accommodating towards Turner. This is hardly surprising considering the importance of the builder-developer he was dealing with: Turner had only recently opened in 1834 the huge Hammersmith Iron Works (**5.13**) beside the Trinity College Botanic Gardens at the southern end of Pembroke Road. Turner also carried out a considerable amount of contract work on the estate. Sullivan would have been reluctant to aggravate a potential builder-developer of this order. In fact, Sullivan frequently reminded Hitchcock that in his opinion, Turner was doing Hitchcock a favour, because he was raising the value of the neighbourhood. Indeed, he went further, and asserted that he reckoned that

[40]According to Sullivan, the absence of building on the ground had led it to be used for grazing cattle, and this apparently caused a stoppage in the sewer. NAI, PEP Letter Books, vol. 4, Sullivan to Robert Hitchcock, 23 September 1833; Sullivan to Richard Turner, 23 September 1833 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/4).
[41]There is frequent communication from Sullivan to Hitchcock throughout 1834. NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vols 4 and 5 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/4;5).
[42]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 5, Sullivan to Hitchcock, 23 July 1834 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/5).

the venture was at a greater risk to Turner than Hitchcock. Sullivan was proved correct in this prediction; Turner was declared bankrupt in February 1841.[43]

Hitchcock had found that his houses - which he had built apparently according to the building lease restrictions - were deficient in bedrooms; it must have been infuriating for him that that was the very same reason Turner put forward as his justification for building the extra storey. It is interesting to see that both men deemed the ordinary house type to be insufficient in size. This perception proved to be false, however, when it was later acknowledged that it was the very scale of the Turner's houses which discouraged people from renting. In 1841 Sullivan wrote to Turner:

> I most truly regret that the sanguine expectations you formed as to building on Pembroke Road was not attended with the contemplated result. I apprehend that the disappointment was firstly occasioned by too lavish an expenditure in erecting a class of house too expensive for the situation and which in result is rather injurious than beneficial to the estate from a difficulty in meeting with an elgible class of tenantry.[44]

Turner apparently remained involved in building while his affairs were in Chancery, indeed it seems that Sullivan did what he could to promote his business.[45] In 1849, a George Davey, who was builder-developer of numbers 49 and 51 Pembroke Road, went bankrupt. Davey apparently had spent 'upwards of £25,000' building on the estate, in what seem to have been joint ventures with Turner: in the Hammersmith works and in houses on Upper Baggot and Fitzwilliam Streets, as well as Pembroke Road. Even though all the houses were in fashionable neighbourhoods (the ones in Pembroke Road, 'the means of making it a very handsome approach, and indeed the only handsome approach, to the City'), there had been such a serious depreciation in house property in the city in the previous few years, that they returned a very low rate of interest for the money spent. Thus on the £13,000 Davey laid out in the two houses in Pembroke Place he did not even receive four percent in return.[46]

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[43]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 7, Sullivan to Turner, 20 February 1841 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/7).

[44]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 7, Sullivan to Turner, 5 June 1841 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/7).

[45]Sullivan wrote to Sidney Herbert in August 1843 to ask for his help: 'Mr Turner... has prepared and takes with him to London a very ingenious model for conservatories which he intends submitting to the Royal Botanic Society. I fear that the Irishman may not be able to compete with the English artists but it will be desirable to assist him so far as you can'. NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 7, Sullivan to Herbert, 7 August 1843 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/7).

[46]Presumably the return on the investment since the lease was acquired in 1834 (see appendix 1). Information about Davey in this paragraph from two letters, June 1849. NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 8, Captain Shedden (for Sullivan) to Herbert, 22 June 1849; 25 June 1849 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/8).

Unsurprisingly, this was catastrophic for the building of the south side of Pembroke Road - the first flagship development of the estate outside the canal. The remainder of the ground originally allocated to Turner was re-leased in 1840 and built by a Walter Peter. These houses (numbers 57 and 59), and the neighbouring number 61 were built, a storey lower, but almost to the same height established by Turner (**5.14**). Much of the rest of the road was eventually built in terraces by a John Fleming who took building leases from 1838 and generally built his houses within two to three years. A grocer and vintner, he was an ideal builder-developer for the estate; he built steadily - a total of fifteen houses between 1838 and *circa* 1850 (see appendix 2.i). His houses, for example numbers 31 to 35 (**5.15**), are almost exactly the same as the semi-detached scheme, numbers 19 and 21 (**5.11**), built by Neville *circa* 1832, but adapted to a terraced form.

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Haddington and Northumberland Roads

Like Pembroke Road, Haddington Road and Grand Canal Street (**5.1**) (outside the Canal) are examples of building development which took place along an existing route. While Grand Canal Street was the older existing (it was known in the eighteenth century as the Artichoke Road), Haddington Road was the earlier to undergo coherent building development. Where Grand Canal Street was an ancient radial route out of the city, Haddington Road was a planned road - a peripheral route to skirt the city.[47] They make an interesting comparison to the development of Pembroke Road; neither of them display anything like the vision or grand planning of the former. Ground was allocated on Haddington Road at an average of five shillings per foot, on Grand Canal Street at an average of four shillings per foot, while ground was allocated on Pembroke Road at an average foot rent of eight shillings per foot.

As has already been seen in Chapter 3, successful and coherent building development had taken place on Haddington Road before 1816, however, there was then an absence of speculation until the early 1830s. The earliest building seems to have been Cranmer Place (**5.16**), a terrace of eight two-storey over basement houses on the north side of the road, to the east of the junction with Northumberland Road. Like Percy Place, this terrace is unusual in that it is uniform in character, despite having up to four different

[47]The Circular Road. It was named Haddington Road, *circa* 1838, after the Earl of Haddington, Lord Lieutenant, 1834-35. C.T. McCready, *Dublin Street Names, Dated and Explained* (repr. Dublin, 1987), p.47.

builder-developers (see appendix 2.i). It is possible that the entire terrace was erected by one of the builder-developers, John Henderson, a carpenter and builder of Townsend Street. Henderson has already been met as a builder-developer on Percy Place (see appendix 2.i) and the houses in both developments bear similarities. Of the rest of the ground allocated for building in the 1830s, a considerable number of the leases were unfulfilled. It seems that Thomas Bradley, the timber merchant whom we have already met (in Chapter 3) as a builder-developer along the north side of Pembroke Road, acquired the interest of many of these and built what became known as 'Bradley's buildings' (**5.17**), seventeen terraced houses along the north side of the road, to the west of the junction with Northumberland Road.[48] Half the houses were built by 1837, the remainder were completed by 1843.

The houses on the south side of the road were built later (with the obvious exception of those built by 1816). De Grey Terrace[49] (**5.18**) was built under leases dating between 1841 and 1842. It is a more typical terrace than Cranmer Place, in that the difference in builder-developers is reflected in respective differences in the character of the houses. In De Grey Terrace this can be seen most clearly in differences in parapet and basement heights. The last terrace to be built on the south side of the road is certainly the finest. Home Terrace[50] (**5.19**) was built under lease of 1844 to a Patrick J. Sullivan, a builder of Baggot Street. Although it is a compact terrace, it is finished to a high standard, with parallel-coursed stucco work on the entrance level, grand doorcases (with lights to the side of the door), and mouldings around the windows.

As has already been described, Northumberland Road was opened for building *circa* 1830, and was intended for terraced development. It was different, therefore, to the roads described thus far, which involved building along existing routes. For reasons which will be examined in a later chapter, the progress of this road was severely delayed, and building along it during this period only took place at the north end, on the west side of the road (**5.20**). Even this comparatively short terrace of ten houses was very slow to be built - numbers 13 to 15, and 21 to 25 were not actually built until the early 1860s (see appendix 2.i). The houses are very similar (two bay, three storey over raised basement) to those built under nearly-contemporary lease on the north side of Pembroke Road; it is interesting, therefore, to see the terrace as the part realisation of the original plan for the road. It would be many years before the remainder of Northumberland Road was completed.

[48]Possibly in financial partnership with an E. Howe Esq, a solicitor from Dalkey (see appendix 2.i).
[49]After Earl de Grey, Lord Lieutenant from September 1841 to July 1844. Robins (2001), p.118.
[50]Sometimes referred to as Horne Terrace.

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Laying out Leeson Street Upper and Wellington Place

The large tract of land contained within the boundary of Upper Baggot Street and the Donnybrook Road (**5.21**), for which such grand plans had been conceived in the 1830s, would remain as pastoral farmland until well into the 1840s. As has already been mentioned, the depressed economic conditions of the time must have militated against such extensive and ambitious development as was envisioned in the plans. Indeed, the sequence in which this area eventually emerged can possibly be seen as a reflection of a residual caution felt by the administration towards building development after the troubled times of the thirties.

The focus of the 1832 plan was a central square around which a network of roads was arranged; possible lines of building along the southern boundary (the Donnybrook Road), which was also the boundary of the estate, did not form a significant part of the scheme (**5.22**). The progression of building in reality, however, was the reverse: the earliest line to be built upon was along that southern boundary[51] - the pre-existing Donnybrook Road (later known as Upper Leeson Street) and its later continuation into Wellington Place. In other words, it is as if the development of Donnybrook Road and its continuation into Wellington Place was a means of testing the waters of building speculation. This is borne out by the sequence in which building leases were granted (**5.23**). The earliest leases to be granted were for building ground closer to town, at the western end of the Donnybrook Road, commencing from Platanus. The subsequent leases continued to be allocated from west to east, in a nearly exact chronological progression. Although the story of the emergence of Leeson Street Upper and Wellington Place is convoluted it is important to dissect, because it had a direct and significant impact on the development of the large tract of land behind it.

The earliest leases to be granted were to one person: three moderately substantial ones, dating from March 1832, of 100 feet each, which ran east from the ground marked in green on the Ordnance Survey map of 1837 (**5.21**). A further three lots, also of 100 feet each, were granted individually within the following year. As happened with other building projects of this time elsewhere on the estate, the early stages of the development along Donnybrook Road were marred by the lack of building by an individual building lessee. Moreover, on the Donnybrook Road these delays and disruptions to building had

[51] While building took place earlier along Upper Baggot Street and Pembroke Road, it was planned before the 1832 and 1835 plans.

a further consequence of significantly altering the development from that originally intended.

The culprit was the first builder-developer to take a lease: John Bennett, owner of an iron foundry in Church Street.[52] While the lessees of the adjoining lots (who took their leases up to a year after Bennett) built houses on their holdings with little delay,[53] Bennett's holding was still not even enclosed after four years. An impact on the development of Donnybrook Road was claimed by Sullivan after only a year, when he wrote to Bennett 'some persons have applied to me for adjoining lots but declined taking any until they see a prospect of those near town [Bennett's] being built on'.[54] Sullivan exhorted Bennett even to enclose the lots to give 'a disposition to an early erection of houses',[55] he also pleaded for Bennett to commence building 'in justice to persons holding adjoining ground now in progress'.[56] Even Sullivan's later threats of repossession did not stir Bennett; in June 1834 he was incensed to observe Bennetts holding being planted out for cabbages;[57] the following year the ground was advertised for tilling.[58] A final ultimatum in June 1835 seems to have produced results sufficiently satisfactory to Sullivan, for correspondence about the matter ceases thereafter.

Unfortunately, however, Bennett did not build according to Sullivan's intentions. Instead of building one house on each holding as Sullivan had envisaged, he erected a terrace of four 'small houses' - three on the first lot and one on the second - and left the third lot entirely unbuilt (**5.23**). A direct repercussion of this emerged in 1842 when, owing the estate £860,[59] Bennett came to be ejected from the third holding. A difficulty arose on a legal technicality in connection with the insurance clauses incumbent upon the leases; Bennett's title was called into question because he built more than one house on a single holding while the stipulation as to his insurance was confined to one.[60]

What is of interest here is to try and gauge Sullivan's intentions for the nature of building on the vacant lots - in other words, was the ground intended to be for terraced or detached houses? The leases to Bennett required him to build *one* house on each holding,

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[52]*Dublin Directory*, 1834.
[53]Although there is no precise date for their completion, the absence of any correspondence from Sullivan leads to the conclusion that the houses were completed without exceeding the time allowed in the lease.
[54]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 4, Sullivan to John Bennett, 2 February 1833 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/4).
[55]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 4, Sullivan to Bennett, 2 July 1833 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/4).
[56]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 4, Sullivan to Bennett, 5 September 1833 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/4).
[57]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 5, Sullivan to Bennett, 16 June 1834 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/5).
[58]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 5, Sullivan to Bennett, 3 March 1835 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/5).
[59]This includes rent owed on Platanus, a house with land adjacent to the building lots.
[60]The information in this paragraph comes from two letters: NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 7, Sullivan to Messrs Oddie Foster & Lumley, 30 June 1842; Sullivan to RW Lumley, 26 March 1845 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/7).

however it was later acknowledged by Sullivan that Bennett 'although not bound to build more than one house was not restricted from building more'. Another lease along the same line, for 100 feet, granted in 1833 to a William Stannus (an ironmonger of Great Britain Street), was 'for one or more houses' - a terrace of four was built (**5.23**). In 1834 a lease for forty feet was granted to a Maria Daly 'to build one house'; two were built, to the irritation of Sullivan,[61] but no apparent censure ensued. Generally, however, there is not enough information about the lease covenants to draw any firm conclusions: there are not enough surviving leases in the estate collection and the information recorded in the letterbooks is not always helpful, being neither comprehensive nor consistent.

The answer, therefore, is not clear. It seems that at this stage Sullivan had no overall plan for the form building was to take along the line of Donnybrook Road. In truth, he was probably more interested in just opening up building ground and getting it built, leaving the style of the houses to the builder-developer, to wit, there is no correspondence from Sullivan to Bennett, extant, complaining of the nature of those houses that were built. Indeed, it is likely that Sullivan would have been satisfied with a continuous terrace of houses across the entire of Bennett's three lots.

While it seems that Sullivan may not have had defined intentions about the nature of the houses to be built, it can be seen from the earliest grants of land that the form of Neville's 1832 grand plan, in terms of the scale of the lots along Donnybrook Road, was adhered to (**5.22**) (**5.23**). Thus, the first six grants of land coincide precisely with the boundaries shown in the 1832 plan (i.e. those to Bennett, Power, Reid, and Stannus). However, one change was that the plans for what would become Waterloo Road were changed, so that by the end of 1833 it was laid out ninety-eight feet to the east of its 1832 position.

There were only three more allocations of ground for building along this stretch of Donnybrook Road in the 1830s. They were to the east of the junction with the inchoate Waterloo Road. The first two of these leases were allocated in 1834. One of them, was the lease to Maria Daly, already mentioned, for only forty feet; it was to build one house and she built two. This is the first time a building lot of less than one hundred feet was allocated along this line, quite possibly an indication of the deteriorating economic situation of the time. It is also the first time that the plots allocated do not correspond with the framework of lots as drawn up in the 1832 plan.

[61] NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 5, Sullivan to John Coffey esq., 10 October 1834 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/5).

Neville's 1835 plan (**5.24**) shows a different arrangement of building lots along this line, one with which these two allocations of ground coincide. As has already been described earlier in this chapter, the 1835 plan sited the northern route (which would become Waterloo Road) further to the east than in the 1832 plan. Thus, as it was built, Waterloo Road, corresponds with the 1835 plan, both in its siting and also in its full continuation north to Pembroke Road.[62] The 1835 plan retained the idea of squares, and a letter to Neville in September 1834 shows that it was still Sullivan's full intention to open a square for building development at that time.[63]

One important change in thinking concerned the management of the building lines at the junction of Donnybrook Road and Waterloo Road. In 1832 (**5.22**) the plan was to continue the line of building along Donnybrook Road, leaving the south-west end of Waterloo Road to terminate in the back gardens of Donnybrook Road. In the 1835 plan (**5.24**) the arrangement of the roads had been changed so that the building line of Waterloo Road continued, uninterrupted, to Donnybrook Road. In other words, the garden and gable of the end house on Waterloo Road would have occupied a section of Donnybrook Road. In fact, when this parcel of ground was eventually leased for building in 1844, to a Daniel Clarke, an 'Italian Grocer' of Dame Street,[64] the 1835 plan was abandoned also. Clarke built a terrace which fronted onto the Donnybrook Road. It is possible that the delay in leasing the ground was a result of indecision over the management of Waterloo Road; to this end it is interesting to note that Clarke's lease was sent to London for signature in the same parcel as the first ones to be granted on Waterloo Road.[65]

So far, the ground allocated for building along this line was along the existing route of Donnybrook Road. The third and final allocation of ground for building here in the 1830s marks the point at which the new line of road (Wellington Place) was formed, running from the line of Donnybrook Road to Ballsbridge (**5.21**) (marked in red). The first reference to the new road (envisaged as early as 1832) appears in a letter sent in

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[62]There is a slight difference between Waterloo Road as built and as planned in the 1835 scheme. Waterloo Road was built sixty feet wide; according to the 1835 scheme it was to be eighty feet. The difference in width is probably accounted for by the additional plot for building on Wellington Place, just to the east of the junction, granted in 1846. Thus the western boundary of Waterloo Road as built probably coincides with that on the 1835 plan. The corner plot on Wellington Place will be further discussed later in this chapter.

[63]'...the persons who have lately built on the Donnybrook Road have called on me to open the stable lane in rere, and for this purpose it will be necessary to open the road or passage as intended as an entrance to the contemplated square', NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 5, Sullivan to Arthur Neville, 26 September 1834 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/5).

[64]*Shaw's Dublin Directory*, 1850.

[65]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 7, Sullivan to Messrs Oddie and Lumley, 22 May 1844 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/7). Perhaps it was decided to have each side of both roads the same length, thus leaving the south-west end of Waterloo Road for building fronting on to the Donnybrook Road.

March 1835 to a Richard Booth, who had taken a lease of ground on Donnybrook Road the previous year.[66] The letter refers to the necessity of alterations to the front of Booth's holding, 'consequent upon the plan of arrangement which I am about making': the 'new road'.[67] Although it had been envisioned in the 1832 and 1835 plans, this was the first time explicit reference was made to the definite and imminent construction of this new line of road. The lease was granted a few months later, in October 1835: eighty four feet to a Stephen Malyn 'for building in Wellington Place (a new road I am now forming between Donnybrook Road and Ballsbridge)'.[68]

This was the very first time that Wellington Place was named as such. Unfortunately, the new road did not proceed any further; it was to be seven years before another lease was granted on the line. During this time, the lack of speculation was compounded by a faltering in confidence among the leaseholders and even the agent himself. An example of this can be found in correspondence to William Stannus in September 1840. From Sullivan's letter it is clear that Stannus had complained that the ground rent had been rated too high in relation to other lettings in the neighbourhood and 'particularly in comparison with ground in Rathmines and Rathgar'. In his reply Sullivan denied the former charge and rather sniffily dismissed the second, 'as to the other places and persons who hold ground they are of course best judges of what is best for themselves'. However, he conceded, 'I regret much that the Improvement of the Donnybrook road has not kept pace with my expectations', but he was optimistic about it soon becoming active once again.[69]

It was still another year and a half before grants of ground began to be made again. However, once recommenced, the remaining eighteen lots which completed Wellington Place were allocated within eighteen months. Another sign of a renewed optimism is that the scale of speculation had increased also, one of the lessees took ground for four houses, another for six. In March 1842, Sullivan was able to write to a potential builder-developer, 'there are persons applying to rent any land I have to spare'.[70] However, the most significant indication of the improved times is that of the eighteen leases granted for building between March 1842 and August 1843, thirteen were shown as built on the Ordnance Survey 1843 (**5.25**).[71]

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[66]The lease was allocated to a William Booth; they might be brothers, or there might be a mistake in the first name.

[67]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 5, Sullivan to Richard Booth, 27 March 1835 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/5). It is likely that the angle of the new road caused it to impinge on Booth's ground.

[68]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 6, Sullivan to Messrs Oddie, Foster & Lumley, 5 October 1835 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/6).

[69]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 6, Sullivan to Stannus, 21 Sept 1840 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/6).

[70]NAI, PEP, Letter books, vol. 7, Sullivan to L. Keegan, 16 March 1842 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/7).

[71]It is probable that some of the houses were not actually completed, but sufficiently progressed to be shown.

Although the allocation of lots along the line of Wellington Place had been completed by 1843, there were still two gaps in the line of Upper Leeson Street. The first was a testament to the residual impact of Bennett's failure to complete building on the three lots of ground leased to him in 1832. In fact, the ground leased to Bennett was the only part of this whole building line which would deviate radically from the essence of the original 1832 plan. With Bennett holding on to his unbuilt plots he kept a considerable tract of land intended for development out of action.[72] It was not until he was eventually ejected in 1845 that it became available for building. In May of that year, part of it was allocated in two separate building leases.[73] The remainder was used to form a new thoroughfare - Burlington Road - which connected north to the newly opened Waterloo Road to the east, and Mespil Road to the west. The second gap in the building line was that problematic lot of ground already described, to the west of the junction with the future Waterloo Road, which was eventually leased to Daniel Clarke in 1844 (**5.23**).

Having examined the sequence of the allocation of leases, and the factors which determined their location, it is now of interest to look at the houses themselves.[74] First, however, it is useful to consider the ambience of the road and the scenography of the planning.

Something of the character of the line of Donnybrook Road can be seen in the 1837 Ordnance Survey map (**5.21**). Approaching from the city it must have been quite idyllic: dominated by the extensive, lushly planted, properties of Mespil House and Platanus. The route would have been a backwater, having been bypassed by the new line of Leeson Street created, along with the new Eustace Bridge, *circa* 1791. Approaching from the village of Donnybrook, the line of building must have made a great impact as it slowly rose up to close the vista (**5.26**). It is interesting to note that the frontages of the houses immediately to the west of Waterloo Road are aligned with Wellington Place: hence all would effectively face towards the road as it swept in towards the city. On Wellington Place, the single plane of building seems to have been important, and although there are not enough surviving leases to establish the case for certain, it is probable that the continuation of a constant elevation line was determined by the later leases. It is perhaps also possible to relate this building line to the originally-proposed squares behind.

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[72]The 1835 plan for the area shows his four houses built and, significantly, the rest of his land as forming part of a different development - possibly implying the intention to eject him from his holding.

[73]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 7, Sullivan to Messrs Oddie and Lumley, 3 May 1845 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/7).

[74]It is important to note the unusual numbering of the houses: Leeson Street Upper runs in a continuous sequence, westwards from the junction with Waterloo Road, starting with number 76; Wellington Place is more straightforward, running eastwards from Waterloo Road, odds only.

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Leeson Street Upper and Wellington Place: The Houses

The granting of building leases along Leeson Street Upper and Wellington Place can be divided into four phases (**5.26**). Of the first phase of leases to be granted, the most interesting houses to be built - even if they were the most problematic to Sullivan - were those by Bennett: numbers 99 to 102 (**5.27**). It is tempting to view the houses as only part of a grander, unfinished scheme; two features support this possibility. Firstly, the juxtaposition of two houses, two storey over basement, with two houses, three storey over basement, looks unusual as a complete scheme. However, if the line of three storey over basement houses was continued to give a total of six such houses, that line could then be elegantly terminated with another pair of two storey over basement houses at the opposite end. Such a scheme would have been possible on Bennett's total holding of three hundred feet. This, of course, is conjecture. However the second feature strengthens the possibility that Bennett intended to continue his line to some extent: the gable wall at the south-east end of the terrace is not only completely unadorned, it is also blind - the absence of any windows possibly indicating its intention as a party, rather than terminating, wall.[75]

The houses, although rendered, are very much in the typical Georgian idiom of the time. Their considerably greater remove from the thoroughfare (which would have increased as the terrace extended), as well as their slightly lower proportion, indicate a distinct shift towards the more relaxed, picturesque, sub-urban principles of planning of the mid-nineteenth century. In fact, although terraced, they reflect much of the character of the contemporary semi-detached schemes being built along the south side of Pembroke Road.

The rest of the houses erected on building leases during this earliest phase (numbers 86 to 92) (**5.26**), although perfectly respectable, are not quite so intriguing. Forming a continuous (but not contemporaneous) terrace, they are lower than Bennett's, being two storey over low basement, and are either two or three bay. Despite this variety in bays, and the fact that they were built by different builder-developers (see appendix 2.i), there is a strong coherence in their elevations: they are all of the same honey brown brick, and have broadly the same parapet and basement lines (**5.28**). They are less formal than

[75] The gable wall of the end two-storey over basement house, however, is fully fenestrated, and even incorporates blind windows for a symmetrical composition.

Bennett's, and show a break away from the grandeur and scale of earlier houses - for example along Pembroke Road - which Bennett's houses, to some extent, echoed.

As it has been shown elsewhere on the estate, the pattern emerges that the differences in the features of the houses generally correspond exactly with the different builder-developers. Nevertheless, a subtler pattern to identify is differences in houses built by the same builder-developer: for example, in the houses 86 to 89 (**5.29**), known as 'Durravilla', built on the ground leased to William Stannus in 1833. The houses can be divided into two pairs of two and are almost identical. However, looking closer, it is possible to see a break in the roofline and that the pairs of doorcases are distinctly different. While these differences are certainly not sufficient to suggest a different builder, they could possibly imply that the houses were built in two different phases. Coincidentally, the 1832 plan supports this (**5.22**); amendments added to the map show just two houses built on half of Stannus's holding, the other half still vacant. Thus it is possible to determine that 88 and 89 were built before 86 and 87.

The houses built on ground allocated in the second phase of leasing mark the beginning of what would become Wellington Place; it was then continued in the third phase, which was the continuation and completion of the line (**5.26**). Two distinctly different stylistic phases of development are immediately evident (**5.30**). The first five houses, numbers 1, 3, 5, 7 and 9, are clearly closer in style to the general themes found in Upper Leeson Street, just discussed. They are modest, two-bay, two-storey over basement (with the exception of number 9 which is a detached one-storey over basement villa), of assorted heights; they are either rendered or honey brown brick. The houses which follow on, however, are very different, and obviously redolent of another era. Still two-storey over basement, they are much more substantial in scale, and have a higher parapet level; they are also raised over a higher basement. It seems that the increased optimism of the times which led to their building, could be reflected in their greater height. They are red brick, and the other major difference is their almost completely unified parapet level.

The form of the first five houses is intriguing, and rewards investigation (**5.31**) (**5.32**). With the exception of number 1, the houses were built on two plots which were allocated in 1834. Numbers 3 and 5 were built on one lot of forty feet granted to Maria Daly. As has already been pointed out, she was supposed to build one house, at least eighty feet from the road; instead she built two, which were set back between sixty and

eighty feet from the thoroughfare.[76] These houses, despite their apparent contravention of Sullivan's intentions, seem to have established the building line for the rest of the road.

The next two houses, numbers 7 and 9, were built on ground allocated to a William Booth. They are curious in their complete disparity, not only to their preceding neighbours, but between themselves. The detached villa (number 9) was built first - it too appears as an addition to Neville's plan.[77] It is a very early example of a one storey over basement house; this was usually forbidden by building leases which incorporated specified covenants. It was clearly built on a lease which did not define terms. The bow windows in the villa are an unusual feature for a house in the Pembroke estate at this time: they were also generally prohibited by covenant in the building leases.[78] This can be seen as evidence that building along this line was not subjected to such specific building regulations as elsewhere in the estate. Number 7 was built after number 9, (it too appears as an addition to the 1832 plan, but only in outline), but it is not possible to establish how much later. Although terraced in form, there is no attempt to unify number 7 with Daly's adjoining houses; the parapet level, the size and scale of the windows, and the basement level, are all distinctly different. Nevertheless, there is nothing in the letter books which suggests any difficulty on behalf of the estate with the houses as built.

The most significant house in this curious terrace, however, is number 1. The other three houses were all completed by 1837, but the corner lot of ground on which number 1 was built was not allocated until October 1846.[79] The lease for this house was granted just as most of the leases for houses on the adjacent Waterloo Road had been allocated; the leases for all the houses on the east side of that road (i.e. the side of number 1 Wellington Place) had been agreed by February 1846.[80] This timing strongly implies that the building of a house here was a very deliberate measure, taken for the improvement of the scenography and planning of the estate: in other words, it was to be an appropriate punctuation point to mark a significant junction. This might perhaps explain the extra ornament accorded the elevation: the generous bracketed window case, and the broken-base pediment over the door, both features rare around the estate at this time. The continuation of the moulded cornice around the gable wall is another feature by which the house addresses its management of the corner site. As well as marking the

[76]The houses are not parallel to the line of the road.
[77]It appears as an outline in the 1832 plan, but in such a way that implies it has not yet been completed.
[78]Again, there is not enough evidence available (in the form of surviving leases) to examine the nature of the covenants. It is likely that these early houses along Wellington Place (and probably Leeson Street Upper) were not built on leases with detailed building covenants.
[79]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 7, Sullivan to Messrs Oddie and Lumley, 6 October 1846 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/7).
[80]The latest-known lease to be allocated on the east side of Waterloo Road was dispatched to London for signature in February 1846. NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 7, Sullivan to Messrs Oddie and Lumley, 27 February 1846 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/7).

corner, number 1 also serves to unite numbers 3, 5, and 7 into a coherent unit. It mirrors its opposite number, at the other end of the block, in the heights of the parapet and basement, the hipped roof and placing of the door; however, the size of the windows (although possibly a reflection of the later date) is much closer to its immediate neighbour, number 3.

Returning to leases allocated during the second phase of grants, the last one was from March 1835, on which numbers 11 to 15 were erected (**5.26**) (**5.33**). As has already been noted, this lease was the first time the line was named as 'Wellington Place'. These three houses, together known as 'Mount Sidney', mark a significant turning point in the development of this line, but their evolution is somewhat contradictory: although they were built on a lease granted during the earlier phase of 1835, stylistically they belong with the houses erected on leases granted from 1842 onwards. They are shown on the 1837 Ordnance Survey (**5.21**), as is the continuation of the new line of Wellington Place, nevertheless, it is unlikely that they were finished by this time.

The disparity with their western neighbours is so marked that it implies a delay greater than two years between the allocation of their lease in 1835 and their completion. Also, the late 1830s have already been shown to be a time of recession, with little building activity, so it would have been unusual for such ambitious houses to be erected at this time. A letter of 1842 might support the possibility that the houses were still unbuilt at this stage,[81] and their presence on the 1837 Ordnance Survey might be explained by the mere commencement of their foundations; however, it might never be possible to establish with certainty when these houses were completed.[82] Nevertheless, the real point of significance is that these houses (no matter when their date) mark the introduction of a more coherent and sophisticated building development which would radically change this whole sector of the estate during the 1840s.

The houses are an ambitious and innovatory scheme. Substantial and grand, they are significant in their introduction of what might be described a 'triple semi-detached' house. The combination of three houses in such a coherent and unified scheme would become quite popular much later in the development of the estate,[83] but, at this time, these houses are unique in their use of the form. Like the bow windows of number 9, the

[81]A letter in March 1842 from Sullivan to a Joshua Parsons Esq. (a woollen draper in Castle Street) states that Parsons now holds the interest in Malyn's ground. It merely refers to 'ground' and makes no mention of houses on the plot. NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 7, Sullivan to Joshua Parsons Esq., 24 March 1842 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/7).

[82]Information from the *Dublin Directory* of the time is confusing.

[83]For example, numbers 31-35 Pembroke Road, *circa* 1841, a unit of three houses in the traditional terrace style; in a semi-detached villa style on Raglan Road c.1860; later examples, such as, numbers 54-58 Northumberland Road, 1888, introduce asymmetrical elements.

projecting porch of the central house is unusual, and generally was not allowed according to building leases on the estate.

As has already been mentioned, the rest of the houses built on Wellington Place were commenced during a new wave of lease allocations which occurred from March 1842 (**5.26**). There followed a course of grants of building leases, which would later continue in the formation of Wellington Road. The increased optimism of the time is reflected in the return of allocations in which three or more houses were built by an individual developer - i.e. a return to the bigger speculations of the first phase. Interestingly, however, the leasing arrangement is subtly different. Instead of the earlier lease allocations where, for example, one hundred feet would be granted to a builder-developer, as one lot, on which to build four houses, it now occurred that the allocations were broken down into one lease for each house (see appendix 2.i).

The fifteen houses (numbers 17 to 45)[84] form a nearly continuous terrace - interrupted only once by a detached house, number 31. They are all two bay, two-storey over basement - with the exception of numbers 25 and 31, which are three bay. The parapet line is nearly entirely constant, apart from the detached house - number 31 - and the disjunctive number 39. As before, on other roads already discussed, the individual features and characteristics of the houses correspond with the respective builder-developers.

With such similar basic forms, it is striking how different the houses can be. The first four houses (numbers 17 to 23), the earliest to be granted, are the most successful and gracious (**5.34**). They were built under four leases granted to a Mr David Simpson, *circa* March 1842.[85] The proportion of the windows to the façade is more successful than that, for example, of numbers 41 to 45 (**5.35**), where the windows are slightly 'lost' in the wider elevation, possibly emphasised by the aligning of the entrance floor windows with those above.[86] Also, the generous parapet moulding of the first four houses adds a dignity and elegance not found in numbers 41 to 45. Another aspect of numbers 17 to 23 is the introduction of a feature which would be repeated in Waterloo and Wellington Road - the sharing of a gate and front garden between two houses. This had occurred already in Pembroke Road between two houses which were part of a semi-detached unit,[87] but this was the first time it was incorporated into a terrace.

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[84]Numbers 47 to 51 have been demolished.

[85]The leases were sent for signature 12 March 1842. The leases officially commenced from September 1841. NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 7, Sullivan to Messrs Oddie Foster and Lumley, 12 March 1842 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/7).

[86]Of course, it has to be remembered that this is only half the original scheme of six houses.

[87]Numbers 23 and 25, Thomas McEnry's houses (now demolished).

The finest and most extensive coherent scheme on this entire stretch of Upper Leeson Street and Wellington Place was the last to be built - Waterloo Terrace on Upper Leeson Street (**5.36**). Built on the ground allocated during the fourth phase of leasing (**5.26**), it was the lot which was allocated to Daniel Clarke (the Italian grocer already referred to), after the line of Waterloo Road had been decided upon. The single lease of 245 feet was allocated circa May 1844.[88] Examining Griffith Map 1 it is possible to see that by 1847 the first three houses (running west from the junction with Waterloo Road) were built and occupied; the rest of the holding was still 'building ground'. Griffith Map 2 then shows that the remainder of the houses were completed by 1852.

The terrace is divided into two distinct parts: an exceptionally elegant unit of four houses next to Waterloo Road, and then a continuous terrace of six houses. The first terrace is of four houses (numbers 76 to 79) (**5.37**) which are two bay, three-storey over low basement, the second scheme is of six houses (numbers 80 to 85) (**5.38**) which are two bay and two-storeys over a raised basement. The significant location - i.e. the junction with a premier new road - is evident in the overall quality of the entire terrace, but particularly in the four-house scheme adjacent to Waterloo Road.

There is a real sense of architectural planning about the scheme of four houses (**5.37**). The two end houses project slightly, a feature which is particularly effective given the context, wherein the terrace is most commonly viewed from a raking angle. The entrance level is finished with parallel-coursed stucco, and demarcated by a moulded string course. The two upper storeys are of the older-fashioned honey-brown brick, with fine, crisply-moulded frames around the windows. The doors of the two central houses are paired between pilaster mouldings and surmounted by a patterned frieze. The entrances of the two outer houses are set to the side, and it is in the careful attention paid to the entrance of the house adjacent to Waterloo Road that the management of the corner site is so successful. The door is set in a porch, recessed behind a pair of Ionic columns and surmounted by a balustrade. The side of the porch is also carefully treated, with a pair of niches, framed by pilasters supporting a blind frieze. It addresses the corner in a much more sophisticated way (for example, in terms of fenestration and composition) than number 1 Wellington Place (**5.30**), its opposite number on the other side of Waterloo Road, which has a blind gable wall.

The terrace of six paired houses, does not demonstrate the same degree of sophistication as the scheme adjacent to Waterloo Road, however they are still fine,

[88]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 7, Sullivan to Messrs Oddie, Foster and Lumley, 22 May 1844 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/7).

elegantly proportioned houses. They are not as disjunctive with their neighbours as they might appear at first glance. There are subtle references: the plane of the elevation of numbers 80 to 85 is exactly half way between the recessed and projecting blocks of numbers 76 to 79. Also, although they are two storey over basement, compared to the three storey over basement of the scheme next Waterloo Road, the difference in the scale of the floors and, particularly, the basement levels leads to a more unified height between the two. This sense of coherence is furthered by the strong line of the frieze-cornice parapet moulding on both schemes which, although not a constant height, still forms a unifying element. The management of fenestration is sophisticated; tall slender windows throughout, and a subtle rhythm established successfully on the entrance floor. The teardrop fanlights are an early example of the style. All in all, this long terrace of two distinct themes demonstrates many features which imply the involvement of an architect behind the builder-developer, Clarke.[89]

The concurrence of the line of the old Donnybrook Road with the boundary of the estate has already been noted. It is of interest to contextualise the building developments described above by comparing them to the houses outside the estate, just the other side of Upper Leeson Street (**5.1**). The Ordnance Survey maps show that a similar amount of development had occurred on the south side of Upper Leeson Street by each date - 1837 and 1845 (**5.21**) (**5.25**); the line had been completed by the time of the 1875 Ordnance Survey (**5.1**). The houses to the west of the Appian Way (**5.39**), which date from the late 1830s and 1840s, are reminiscent of those on the north side of Pembroke Road, which are more or less contemporaneous. An interesting feature is the incorporation of stable lane access in the middle of the building line - indeed, 'through' the elevation of the house (to the right of the picture). This does not occur in the Pembroke estate.[90]

The houses to the east of the Appian Way (**5.40**) are very different in style to those of the Pembroke estate, directly across the road. Known as Leeson Terrace, it is a long continuous terrace which was built in two phases. The earlier phase was that closer to the city (to the right in the photograph) and dates from 1837-43; some similarities can be seen with the much earlier Haddington Terrace on Haddington Road (**2.3**), but the proportion of the windows on the entrance level is very different. The later phase of the terrace,

[89]Frederick O'Dwyer states that the terrace of four houses, nos 76-79, is attributable to John Skipton Mulvany. Certainly, the handling and details of the paired doorcases in Trafalgar Terrace, Monkstown (1844-55), also probably by Mulvany, is similar. Frederick O'Dwyer, 'The Architecture of John Skipton Mulvany (1813-1870)', *Irish Architectural Studies*, vol 3, (2000), pp.10-75, pp.20, 43.

[90]A stable lane access was originally planned to cut into the north side of Pembroke Road, but was abandoned as the road was building. A stable lane access cuts into the line of Percy Place (along the Grand Canal), but it is probably a result of the need for access to the stable lane at the rere of Northumberland Road, which runs at a right angle to Percy Place. This sort of stable lane, 'through' the house, did occur, however, in an earlier and more urban context, in Lower Baggot Street, inside the Grand Canal.

which post-dates the 1843 Ordnance Survey, is unlike anything to be found in the Pembroke estate. The differences are merely a matter of the treatment of windows or features like the hood mouldings and gable, in other words, the mark of an individual architect or builder; however, it is probably safe to say that the architect or builder in question did not build on the Pembroke estate.

Chapter 6

The Estate of Sidney Herbert 1827-1861
Building in the Western Estate II

The sequence of building development in the period 1827-1861 can be categorised into different phases. The first pattern to emerge is development which took place as a continuation of an established building line, along an existing route - for example, Pembroke Road. Secondly, is the commencement of building along an existing route or line - for example, Mespil Parade and Haddington Road along the Circular Road, or Percy Place along the Grand Canal. The third type of building development is that which took place along a new line of road which had been built as the logical extension of an existing route; in other words, although it is a new line of road it is derived from an existing one - for example, Northumberland Road. As can be seen from their origins as analysed in the paragraphs above, the line of Leeson Street Upper conforms to the second pattern, and Wellington Place to the third. With the emergence of Wellington and Waterloo Roads (**6.1**), however, a fourth pattern is established. It is possible to see for the first time the laying out of building along a completely new line, across wholly undeveloped land.

Before investigating the evolution of Wellington and Waterloo Roads, it is useful to establish briefly a character of the topography of the estate in 1843, when it was on the cusp of such a major phase of development (**6.2**). The estate was still dominated by fields and market gardens. Some further building development is shown along Haddington Road, the south side of Pembroke Road, and Wellington Place, reflecting what has been described in the previous pages. There is evidence of some increase in industrial activity along the banks of the Dodder, and there is also an increase in gravel pits. In terms of number of houses and population, according to the *Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland*, there were fifty-nine houses in Ballsbridge in 1841, and a population of 484.[1]

Even before the major twin developments of Waterloo and Wellington Roads got underway, the estate seems to have evinced a grand and handsome character. William

[1] *Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland*, 3 vols (Dublin, 1843-45), vol. 1, p.150. The population of Donnybrook, in the barony of Dublin was 1,029, with 146 houses.

Makepeace Thackeray, in his *Irish Sketch Book* of 1842, was impressed with the view which met him on his entrance to the city from Kingstown:

> There is no bustle and throng of carriages, as in London; but you pass by numerous rows of neat houses, fronted with gardens, and adorned with all sorts of gay-looking creepers... Hence you come upon several old-fashioned, well-built, airy, stately streets, and through Ftizwilliam Square, a noble place, the garden of which is full of flowers and foliage. The leaves are green, and not black as in similar places in London; the red-brick houses tall and handsome.[2]

Essentially, though, little radical development had occurred in Baggotrath since the early 1830s and the creation of Northumberland Road.[3] This was to change in the space of a very few years from 1843; indeed, the 1843 map shows the first signs of the impending development. The immense and rapid impact of the twin lines of Wellington and Waterloo Roads can be gauged by comparing the Ordnance Survey maps of 1837 and 1843 **(6.3)** **(6.4)**. The 1837 map shows a vast expanse of unbuilt fields contained within the boundaries of Pembroke and Donnybrook Roads, with a scattering of houses emerging along the new line of Wellington Place, which peters out as it reaches the Swan water course. The map of 1843 documents the immense change which occurred in under six years: the unbuilt fields are now bisected by a wide straight thoroughfare - the new Wellington Road - laid out ready for building development. Indeed, four houses (marked in red) are shown as already built on the western side of the grand new road.

Laying out Wellington and Waterloo Roads

It has already been shown that the idea of a route linking Donnybrook Road with Pembroke Road originated with Neville's plan of 1832 **(4.4)**. Provision for the opening of the future Wellington Road was allowed for in this scheme: it shows the ground on either side of the inchoate thoroughfare, at its northern end, already allocated to a Thomas Read. The two lots were granted to Read in September 1832, thus defining a possible opening of the new road at the northern end.[4] The 1835 plan **(4.5)**, as has already been seen, shows the creation of what would become Waterloo Road (i.e., extending the line

[2] William Makepeace Thackeray, *The Irish Sketch Book 1842* (repr. Belfast, 1985), p.9.
[3] Which itself had not been a success in terms of building development.
[4] NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 3, Sullivan to Messrs Oddie, Foster & Lumley, 3 September 1832 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/3).

to Baggot Street Upper). It can therefore be established that the idea of the parallel lines of Wellington and Waterloo Roads followed the 1835 plan.

Even though the two roads followed the lines as set out in the 1835 plan, it was still eight years before work on them commenced. A letter of May 1840 hints at some of the problems. Apparently responding to complaints from inhabitants of the neighbourhood, Sullivan explains that the delay in the contemplated passage from Pembroke to the Donnybrook Road is due to circumstances beyond his control: 'The ground at either side of the passage being let to a person who became a Bankrupt'.[5] Sullivan continues that the bankrupt building lessee has recently been evicted and that he expects to make arrangements about the ground in a few weeks. In a tantalising phrase, Sullivan describes the 'original plan' as 'altered', thereby implying possible changes to the line of the future Wellington Road.[6] Nevertheless, despite Sullivan's hopes of starting the work in a 'few weeks', it was still another three years before work commenced.

The last allocation of ground along Wellington Place was six leases to Captain William Stanley in August 1843. Within a few weeks, Sullivan wrote to a tenant who was in short-term possession of some ground to the rear of Pembroke Road, informing him that the surveyors, Messrs Brassington and Gale, would be marking out the land required for the new line of Wellington Road.[7] By this time, Sullivan had already let 100 feet of ground on the new road to a Mr Maxwell Simpson (who lived around the corner, in Durra Villa, Upper Leeson Street) and was requesting him to build his boundary wall.[8] The mood, at last, was for building development. By 13 January 1844, Sullivan had let the entire of the west side of the road, and was setting about granting leases for the east side.[9]

In a letter to Sidney Herbert on 17 January, Sullivan wrote with 'much pleasure' that in the last three days he had let ground on Wellington Road for forty-two houses - in other words, the whole of the east side. In Sullivan's opinion, the importance of this to the estate, in general terms, was two-fold. Firstly was that it answered the need of

[5]Evidence of Reed's financial difficulties is to be found elsewhere in the correspondence: in a letter accompanying the annual accounts in June 1838, Sullivan states that Reed, an 'extensive builder on the estate' is bankrupt, and has been added to the list of insolvent arrears. NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 6, Sullivan to Messrs Oddie Foster and Lumley, 4 June 1838 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/6).

[6]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 6, Sullivan to Thomas Wilson, Upper Baggot Street, 25 May 1840 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/6).

[7]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 7, Sullivan to M. J. Keegan, Clarendon Street, 28 September 1843 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/7).

[8]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 7, Sullivan to Maxwell Simpson, Esq., Durra Villa, Upper Leeson Street, 20 September 1843 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/7).

[9]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 7, Sullivan to Thomas Duffy, Pembroke Road, 13 January 1844 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/7).

generating employment. Even though there was clearly a new optimism emerging (and with it a commensurate enthusiasm for building development), there was still great hardship at this time. Previous letters from Herbert had been concerned with the need of giving additional employment to tenants in need, which would also improve the estate.[10] Sullivan agreed with this policy, and responded by pointing out the benefit of opening new sites for building, 'which will be ultimately advantageous to the estate'. He cited the successful take-up of ground on Wellington Road as an example of such improvement.[11] The second point of significance for Sullivan about the enthusiasm for taking ground on Wellington Road was that he saw it as evidence of an improved general confidence in building speculation. He wrote to Herbert that the letting of ground for forty-two houses in three days showed that 'the alarm as to O'Connell is not so great as is imagined by many, particularly in England'.[12]

Progress continued at such a pace that by March, Sullivan wrote to Herbert to tell him that Wellington Road had 'turned out favourably, with the entire line now let for building'. Sullivan then concluded the letter: 'I am therefore preparing to open a parallel line on [the] same locality which we will give the appellation of Waterloo Road, which I trust may prove equally successful as that of its illustrious Hero'.[13]

The speed with which the ground was allocated along Wellington Road was not just a result of enthusiasm on the part of builder-developers. It was also a consequence of the nature of the leasing: the entire of the building ground, along both sides of the road (some 2,200 feet), was taken up by eleven leases - to just five lessees **(6.5)** **(6.6)**. It was, therefore, a departure from the pattern of just one house per building lease used on Wellington Place; the smaller scale of letting was returned to, once again, in Waterloo Road **(6.7)** **(6.8)**. This difference in the pattern of allocation of leases on each road would prove hugely influential on their respective later development. While most of Wellington Road was allocated in four lots (between 432 and 520 feet wide), Waterloo Road was largely granted in much smaller units, generally in pairs, of between twenty-two and thirty feet. Thus, on Waterloo Road, a total of twenty-eight lessees were allocated ground in sixty-four separate leases. Although divided up into so many lots, ground was still taken up quickly, with nineteen leases granted to run from March 1844

[10]From the content of Sullivan's letters in response; for example, NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 7, Sullivan to Herbert, 28 December 1843 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/7).
[11]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 7 Sullivan to Herbert, 17 January 1844 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/7).
[12]Ibid.
[13]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 7, Sullivan to Herbert, 13 March 1844 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/7). There does not seem to be any direct connection between Wellington and Herbert. An article in *The Times*, 2 January 1854 (p.9, col.e) describes a wager between Wellington and a Mr Whaley, who held a race, on foot, from the five-mile-stone on the Donnybrook Road to the corner of the Circular Road in Leeson Street. Wellington won the race.

and thirty-six from March 1845. With much of the building ground allocated by this time, the rate of granting then declined sharply, and the remainder (at the northern end of the west side) was not finally taken for several years.[14] Nevertheless, Sullivan remained optimistic; he was very aware of the financial significance of the lettings in terms of the development of the estate. In June 1845, he wrote to Herbert, in a report accompanying the annual accounts, that

> nearly the entire of both [Wellington and Waterloo Roads] are let and upwards of 50 houses nearly finished, while others are in progress. I think you will be gratified in seeing the alteration in that locality and although the expense of opening such roads is [very] large it converts acreable rent of £9 per acre into from £50 upwards for building, with a security of rent without fear of loss.[15]

On Wellington Road, all of the original leases, on the east and west side of the road, were set at four shillings three pence per foot, with the exception of the lease for ninety-six feet granted to Simpson (the very first lease to be granted on the road), which was set at four shillings per foot. Waterloo Road was generally let at five shillings per foot on the west side, and five shillings sixpence per foot on the east side. This difference is probably due to the difference in depth of the plots on either side of the road: the plots on the west side of the road were 250 feet, while on the east they were 300 to 330 feet.[16] The contractor for opening both roads was a William Taylor of Leeson Street.[17]

The process used to trace the builder-developer, as well as the respective summary lease information, of each house has already been introduced. For later building developments, such as Wellington and Waterloo Roads, it is also possible to establish more accurately the approximate completion date of each house. As with Leeson Street Upper and Wellington Place, this information is presented in the form of appendices at the end of this study. The method by which this data was established is described in further detail as an introduction to the appendices. The explanation of this process is not just a mere recitation; it is itself important to describe because it is through the anomalies which emerge, in the correlation of the various sources, that it is possible to determine the

[14]The leases of numbers 9 and 11 date from September 1848. No lease information can be traced for numbers 1 to 7, however, from the Griffith Valuation it can be determined that they were not built until 1855 and 1859. Therefore it can probably be deduced that their leases are of a similarly late date.
[15]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 7, Sullivan to Herbert, 28 June 1845 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/7).
[16]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 7, Sullivan to Messrs Burrowes and Shelton, 17 July 1844 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/7).
[17]The estimate for opening Wellington Road, agreed by Sullivan, was £174.15.6. NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 7, Sullivan to William Taylor, 6 March 1844 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/7).

original leasing pattern of each road, and thus uncover some of the 'hidden' aspects of the building development as originally planned.

All leases granted along Wellington Road were agreed between September 1843 and March 1844, and commenced from September 1843; however, some were not despatched to London for signature by Herbert until as late as July 1844. The first to be granted was to a Mr Maxwell Simpson, a Bachelor of Medicine;[18] of ninety-six feet, it was to build four houses in the middle of the building line on the western side. Sullivan then retained two more lots for Simpson next to his existing holding.[19] According to another source, one of these lots was held by a Mr David Simpson,[20] who had already built on Wellington Place, numbers 17 to 23. Therefore it is likely that the two Simpsons were related, and were possibly jointly involved in the speculation. Another four individual leases, again of twenty-four feet, were granted to the south of the Simpsons' holdings: to a William Moyers, a builder of South Richmond Street.[21]

The rest of the road was divided into just four lots: two on the west side (of 432 and 434 feet), to a Mr Joseph Boyce, and two on the east side (520 feet each), one to Boyce, and the other to William Murray, architect. These were radical and innovatory lettings. Previously, the largest lots to be allocated in a single letting had been those in 1832 for 100 feet along the Donnybrook Road. They had been problematic, however, and allocations of this scale had not been repeated in the intervening years. The recent grant of ninety-six feet made to Maxwell Simpson on Wellington Road seems to have specified the building of four houses on it.[22] The single grants of over 400 feet, which only specify the building of 'two or more houses',[23] are remarkable, and no lettings of this scale were ever made again.

The first lots to be granted seem to have been built quickly: David Simpson was living at '1 Wellington Road, Upper Baggot Street' in November 1844.[24] The rest of

[18] *Dublin Pictorial Guide.*
[19] NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 7, Sullivan to Maxwell Simpson, 8 January 1844 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/7).
[20] According to 'Maps of Part of the Estate of the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery', NAI, PEP, Maps (Acc. No. 2011/2/6).
[21] *The Post Office Dublin Directory and Calendar*, 1848.
[22] According to the memorandum which accompanied it when it was sent to London for Sidney Herbert's signature. NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 7, Sullivan to Messrs Oddie Foster and Lumley, 13 January 1844 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/7). No copy of the full terms of the lease survives in the estate archives.
[23] Two of the leases to Boyce on Wellington Road are extant. Both specify only that he build 'two or more' houses. NAI, PEP, Deeds, the Hon Sidney Herbert to Joseph Boyce; 432 feet of ground on west side of Wellington Road, from 29 September 1843; 520 feet of ground on east side of Wellington Road, from 29 September 1843, (Acc. Nos. 97/46/2/149, 150). No copy of the lease to Murray survives in the estate archives, but there is no reason to consider that the terms would have been different to those to Boyce.
[24] NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 7, Sullivan to David Simpson, 9 November 1844 (Acc.No.97/46/3/7).

Simpsons' holdings, as well as those of Moyers, seem to have been built with little delay.[25] These, and Boyce's holding of 434 feet at the south end of the western side, were entirely built by 1847.[26] Nevertheless, the perils of leasing immense tracts of ground to just two people must have become apparent soon after. Building progress ceased entirely for nearly eight years, leaving the road with twenty-six houses on the west side, and just two on the east (at the southern end of Murray's holding). Boyce's unbuilt leases (along with two smaller unbuilt holdings in Waterloo Road) were surrendered in 1850 and 1852;[27] Murray's were not surrendered until some time after 1855.[28] The next record of any building activity occurs in 1855, when numbers 44 and 46 are described as 'in progress'.[29] With numbers 28 to 42 built by 1856, it is likely that coherent and comprehensive building had commenced again by 1854 or 1855.[30] Thus, Wellington Road was not ultimately completed until 1863 - twenty years after the leases were granted.

Sullivan must have thought his allocations of ground were guaranteed to be successful. William Murray was a prolific architect; appointed to the Board of Works in 1827, he also took over the practice of his cousin, Francis Johnston, on his death in 1829.[31] Nothing was done on Murray's holding for nearly three years; a letter from Sullivan in August 1846 reminded him of the covenant in his lease binding him to build two or more houses within two years (from September 1843).[32] Early the following year, in 1847, Murray set about building on his ground; Sullivan wrote to him in March confirming that Mr Gale (the surveyor) would mark out the boundary at the stable lane 'whenever Mr Phayre was ready'.[33] Two houses were completed within a fairly short space of time: numbers 24 and 26, which were finished by December 1847.[34] Nothing further was done on Murray's holding until it was eventually re-leased some time in the

[25]No reference to any problems exists in the letter books.
[26]It appears entirely built on Griffith Map 1, and all houses are occupied in Griffith (1849) (which corresponds with the 1847 map).
[27]NAI, PEP, Deeds, Joseph Boyce Esq to the Right Hon Sidney Herbert, Surrender of premises in Waterloo and Wellington Roads, 9 November 1850 (Acc. no. 97/46/2/151i); Surrender of a plot of ground on Wellington Road, 5 January 1852 (Acc. no. 97/46/2/149i).
[28]At the beginning of the first Griffith Valuation Cancelled Book (i.e. in 1855) William Murray is still the occupier of four acres of building ground to the north of numbers 24 and 26, Griffith Cancelled Book 1, p.263.
[29]Griffith Cancelled Book 1.
[30]Some of the ground had been re-leased as early as July 1852, for example to Terence O'Brien (for numbers 28 to 34). Registry of Deeds, 1852-28-57, 58, 59, 60).
[31]Biographical information on Murray from Jacqueline O'Brien, with Desmond Guiness, *Dublin A Grand Tour* (London, 1994), p.248.
[32]NAI, PEP, letter book, vol.7, Sullivan to William Murray, 68 Lower Gardiner Street, 1 August 1846
[33]This implies that Mr Phayre was Murray's contractor. This corresponds with John Phayre, Builder, 63 William Street (*The Post Office Dublin Directory and Calendar*, 1848). NAI, PEP, letter book, vol.7, Sullivan to Murray, 6 March 1847.
[34]Griffith Map 1.

1850s.[35] Murray was possibly stalling the agent by initially building just two houses (the minimum required by the lease); a further delay in building on the ground possibly ensued with Murray's death in 1849.

Joseph Boyce seems to have been a most eminent and successful man. A merchant, he was also, variously, a Deputy Lieutenant, a Justice of the Peace, a Sheriff of the city and county of Dublin, and Russian Counsel.[36] He was an alderman, and was credited with later abolishing the Donnybrook Fair, during his mayoralty, in 1855.[37] He was clearly a man of wealth: on Wellington Road alone, he leased nearly 1,400 feet of ground, at an annual rent of four shillings and three pence per foot, and on Waterloo Road he leased another two lots of 120 feet each at five shillings per foot. He built promptly on the whole of one of his holdings on Wellington Road (numbers 53 - 83); all sixteen houses were built by December 1847.[38] But then, nothing more. The circumstances of his lack of building are mysterious. There is no record of Boyce becoming bankrupt, or anything else which might explain the absence of building. There is none of the usual correspondence despatched by the agent to delaying builder-developers (including William Murray), reminding lessees of the covenants in their leases. Even though he had built quickly on one of his extensive building lots, it seems strange, nonetheless, that he received no requests from the agent to build on his remaining holdings.

The leases were eventually surrendered in 1850 and 1852. The terms of the surrender seem to have been remarkably benign; Herbert granted Boyce 'an acquittance or discharge for all rent and arrears of rent due out of the premises',[39] with no apparent penalty or fine incumbent upon Boyce.[40] In 1863, nearly twenty years after he was allocated the ground on Wellington Road (so much of which was never built), he was appointed one of the first Pembroke Township Comissioners. This appointment seems remarkable not only because he had not, ultimately, been such a big builder-developer (which most of the commissioners were), but also, that he was still in favour despite the scale of his failure in building speculation on the estate.

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[35]Have no precise reference. However, the houses built on the remainder of Murray's ground were finished by 1859. Murray died in 1849

[36]*Dublin Directory*, 1868. He was born in Kilcason, Ferns Co. Wexford in 1795; he died in 1875. Frederic Boase, Modern English Biography, 3 vols (Truro, 1892-1901).

[37]Rev. Beaver H Blacker, *Brief Sketches of the Parishes of Booterstown and Donnybrook, in the County of Dublin; with An Appendix, containing Notes and Annals* (Dublin, 1860), p.98.

[38]Griffith Map 1.

[39]NAI, PEP, Deeds, Joseph Boyce to Rt Hon. Sidney Herbert, Surrender of premises..., 9 November 1850. (Acc. no. 97/46/2/151i).

[40]The indenture even seems to imply that Herbert pay Boyce 'a consideration' of five shillings.

The impact of Boyce and Murray's inaction upon their building leases represented not just a delay in the completion of building on the road, or the destruction of a potential unity of design. There was a far greater impact on the general planning of the whole area, which involved a radical evolution of the original plan. It has already been shown that the whole of the east side of Wellington Road was divided into two large leases of 520 feet (**6.6**). However, what has not already been shown is that to the south of Boyce's holding seventy feet of ground was designated for an intended road.[41] Thus, to relate this original lease allocation to the line of Wellington Road as it exists today: there would have been a continuation of houses across where Elgin Road now is, and there would have been a road, seventy feet wide, leading from Wellington Road on the site of present-day number 70, and part of 68. This establishes a very different street pattern to anything previously envisaged; there was nothing like this on either Neville's plans of 1832 or 1835.

There is no definite reason why this road was abandoned. However, when the ground was freed up and re-allocated for building sometime in the 1850s, the market was much more optimistic in terms of building speculation. It is possible, therefore, that it was decided to make a much bolder statement (confident that the ground would be taken up for building) and open up Elgin Road for further speculation.[42] But that is part of the building development which will be discussed later in the chapter.

The allocation of leases on Waterloo Road (**6.7**) (**6.8**) followed on immediately after Wellington Road. Both sides of the road were allocated simultaneously, with ground in the middle of the building line granted first; most of the leases officially commenced between March 1844 or March 1845. It can be seen that the east side is more given over to leases which commence from March 1844, whereas the west side is largely leases which commence from March 1845. The differences in the patterns of allocation have already been referred to: the smaller size of the leases, and the greater number of the lessees. These differences in leasing must have been a significant factor in the greater success - in terms of the speed and efficiency of development - of Waterloo Road.

In all, there were sixty-four leases granted in the original phase. Nearly all the leases were for one house each; forty-five were between twenty-two and twenty-six feet

[41] It is clearly shown on the sketch map in Boyce's lease. NAI, PEP, Deeds, Sidney Herbert to Jos. Boyce, Lease... SE side of Wellington Road.. from 29 September 1843 (Acc. no. 97/46/2/150). In the course of researching this, it has been discovered that there is a mistake in the 1875 OS which means that the two lots of 520 feet each and intended road do not fit on the east side of the road according to that map. However, measurements of every plot from the current OS 1:1000 confirm that the road does allow for this arrangement. The OS 1910 also confirms this, the inacurracy of the 1875 map having been rectified.

[42] The siting of Elgin road was probably determined *in tandem* with the siting of Raglan Road.

wide, and eleven between thirty-two and forty-three feet. Of the eight multiple-house leases (i.e. leases which were for more than one house), four were between forty-six and fifty-three feet and were specifically for the purpose of building two houses. The remaining four multiple-house leases were much larger - between eighty-eight and 145 feet - and do not seem to have specified the number of houses to be built upon them.[43] Two of them were granted to Alderman Boyce (on opposite sides of the road, nearly exactly opposite each other). With the exception of just two,[44] all lessees took at least two contiguous building leases; it was not strange for builder-developers to take more than two lots together. Some lessees also took more than one batch of leases: such as Edward Walsh, who took two groups of three building leases, and Joseph Gabbett, who took one group of six leases, and one of two. The great variety in the size of the allocations, and the apparent lack of any logic to their sequence of scale, implies that they were determined upon by the lessee. Hence, the eventual character of the roads was to a large extent dependent upon the builder-developers - not the agent.

There were just five builder-developers in the original phase of lease allocation on Wellington Road; there were twenty-eight on Waterloo Road. The early speculators on Wellington Road included an alderman, an architect, a doctor, and a builder. In other words, they were at the upper end of the professional scale, or else in the building trade. On Waterloo Road, there was a much greater variety in the occupation of the building lessees. Some were, again, at the upper end of the professional scale - Joseph Gabbett, a barrister who had already built considerably in Mount Street Crescent, Robert McVittie, Registrar to Sir Patrick Dun's Hospital and accountant of Steevens' Hospital,[45] a John Oliver Curran, and Alderman Boyce. There were also those involved in the building trade, for example Thomas Carroll, a builder from Mount Street Lower. There were a considerable number of builder-developers who were involved in regular, non-building, trade, such as William Stannus, the ironmonger from Great Britain Street who built on Leeson Street Upper, and Samuel Reddy, a grocer and dairy man from Donnybrook (see appendices 2.i and 3.i).

Waterloo Road was, in terms of efficient development, a much more successful letting than Wellington Road. By the first Griffith map of 1847, fifty-three out of the final eighty-six houses were built and occupied,[46] and a further eighteen were finished by

[43]The only lease to be found specifies the building of 'one or more' houses. NAI, PEP, Deeds, Sidney Herbert to Joseph Boyce, 120 feet on the SE side of Waterloo Road, from 25 Mar 1844 (Acc. No. 97/46/2/151). Memorials of the leases can be found in the Registry of Deeds, but they do not record any of the details of the building terms. Registry of Deeds , 1844-10-23, 24, 25, 26, 46.
[44]William Whitmore, number 56, and James Henderson, number 58.
[45]*Dublin Directory*, 1845.
[46]Griffith (1849), pp.41-42.

1852. Of the original leases which were surrendered, it is interesting that, in comparison with Wellington Road, they were re-allocated very quickly, thus keeping the building momentum going. For example, part of the ground which was initially granted to Patrick Bacon from March 1845, was re-granted *circa* April 1848.[47] Finally, it can be seen that, reflecting what happened on Wellington Road, the larger leases were the less successful ones. Thus, out of the four largest leases - between eighty-eight and 145 feet - three were subsequently surrendered and re-allocated. Only three of the regular leases - between twenty-one and twenty-two feet - were surrendered, unbuilt.

It is useful to examine briefly the building leases under which these houses were built. As has already been mentioned, there is not a comprehensive collection of building leases extant,[48] nevertheless, it is still possible to infer some observations and characteristics about the respective leases for each road. The leases for Wellington Road which survive in the estate archives are those granted to Boyce. It is interesting to observe the apparent lack of detail contained within the covenants; they state merely that he is to build 'two or more good and substantial dwelling houses of the best materials... not less than two stories high above the cellars'.[49] A few copies of original leases for Waterloo Road survive in the estate archives, and although they are far from being a comprehensive selection, these few leases indicate some differences to those for Wellington Road. The leases for Waterloo Road are generally for much less ground, and stipulate more precisely the number of houses (usually one) to be built on each them. The distance of the building line from the road was specified in the covenants: fifty feet on the west side, sixty on the east. The building line of the elevations was to be constant; it was controlled and ensured by the surveyors, Brassington and Gale, who marked out the boundaries of each plot. The leases for Wellington Road, extant, have no such covenants.[50] Unfortunately, there is no information extant about the later phase of leases granted in either Waterloo or Wellington Road, because no summary record was made of them.

[47]To Robert B. McVittie and Edward Smith; the leases commenced from September 1847. NAI, PEP, letter books, vol.8, Sullivan to R.W. Lumley, 22 April 1848. .

[48]There is not a comprehensive collection in the Registry of Deeds and, more importantly, the details of the building covenants are rarely recorded.

[49]NAI, PEP, Deeds, Sidney Herbert to Joseph Boyce, 10 May 1844 (Acc. No. 97/46/2/149).

[50]Although, it is likely that the building line was still determined by the surveyors.

Wellington and Waterloo Roads: The Houses

Chronologically, it can be seen that there are broadly four different phases of building (**6.9**): houses completed by 1847 (coloured brown), by 1852 (coloured red), by 1857 (coloured orange), and by 1862 (coloured yellow).[51] The east side of Waterloo Road is the earliest line overall; the west side of Wellington Road has the next biggest block of early building (numbers 33 to 83 all built by 1847), but the west side of Waterloo Road should be viewed as the older line generally, and the east side of Wellington Road is, by far, the latest line to be completed (the last houses were not completed until *circa* 1863).[52]

A detailed examination of all of the elevations of the houses can be found in appendix 4 however, it is useful here to make some general observations about the character of the houses in general. An initial examination shows that the elevations of the terraces on both roads clearly reflect the nature of their respective lease allocation. In other words, Wellington Road presents a much more coherent general view (**6.10**) (**6.11**). With the exception of numbers 41 to 51 and 24 to 26, all are two-storey over basement, with a generally consistent parapet level. There is a greater number of three bay houses, all on the east side - perhaps reflecting the later date of building. The west side is entirely of red brick, while the east side is predominantly of brown brick. The overall coherence of Wellington Road is strange in that it reflects the original pattern of the large lease allocations, even though, as has already been shown, these were not the leases under which the houses were built. This will be examined further, later in the chapter.

Waterloo Road displays a wide variety in the character of the elevations which directly reflects the disparate scale and allocation of ground to the respective builder-developers (**6.12**) (**6.13**). While most are two bay, there is an even mix of two- and three-storey over basement forms, with a marked variety in parapet level, even amongst houses with the same number of stories. There is also some variety in brick colour, but brown is the predominant shade. The red-brick houses have been cited as good examples of mid-nineteenth century brick tinting.[53]

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[51] These date-spans have been determined by the dates of surveying in the Griffith Valuation Cancelled Books. Numbers 2 to 14 Wellington Road slightly exceed this timeframe: they were not described as 'built' until the end of Cancelled Book 1 - i.e. *circa* 1863 (even though they were 'in progress' in 1859).

[52] It is important to note that the OS 1875 map used for this date plan (**6.9**) is misleading for the north end of the east side of Wellington Road. For numbers 2 to 14 and 16 to 22, the size of some of the houses and their plot boundaries are incorrectly recorded on the map. They have been numbered in accordance with their respective mews buildings.

[53] Where the local grey stock bricks have been coloured to give a red appearance, Susan Roundtree, *A History of Clay Brick as a Building Material in Ireland*, M.Litt., T.C.D. (1999), p.53.

The two earliest blocks of houses to be built on Wellington Road, numbers 33 to 39 (**6.14**) and 41 to 51 (**6.15**), are good examples of the basic two-storey over basement and three-storey over basement schemes, respectively. There is a similarity between the two schemes and, although leased to several different builder-developers, it is possible that the houses were all built by one contractor, William Moyers, of Richmond Street south.[54] The nature of the allocation of individual building lots in pairs - on Waterloo Road in particular - had an impact on the houses erected, and the pairing of the houses can be seen clearly along the line of building (**6.12**) (**6.13**). In the most extreme form, this pairing of building lots led to the construction of what was effectively a semi-detached unit, such as numbers 21 and 23 Waterloo Road (**6.16**).

The two finest compositions are both to be found on Wellington Road. The first is Heytesbury Terrace[55] (**6.17**), which was completed by 1847. It was built on one of the large allocations of ground to Joseph Boyce; it was the only one of his holdings on Wellington and Waterloo Road on which he fulfilled the covenant to build. It is the longest single-scheme terraced development ever to have been built on the estate. It is longer than the earlier Mespil Parade (**5.6**) (examined in Chapter 5), with which it can be usefully compared.

Heytesbury Terrace displays a sophistication in the management of the terraced form; all the elements have been refined to produce a scheme in which the individual houses are subsumed into a single form. There is a continuous roof line, with a strongly defined parapet, compared to the very visible irregularly-placed valleys in Mespil Parade. The spacing of the windows, which are the same size for entrance and upper floor, is well handled and serves to unify the scheme, as do the better-proportioned doorcases, compared to the rather choppy rhythm of Mespil Parade. The windows in both terraces have moulded surrounds; in Heytesbury Terrace, they are modulated and elegant, whereas in Mespil Parade they are over-dominant and overwhelm the elevation of the whole terrace. The general vista of the scheme, the simplicity of the elements and their arrangement, is much more succesful in the later terrace. All but two of the houses are two bay, two-storey over basement; the last two houses at the southern end of the block are in fact three bay, but the overall coherence and adaptability of the design is so successful, this is barely perceptible to the general vista. Their entrances show an inventive scheme where the houses in each pair share gate pillars but have separate pathways.

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[54]This is explained in appendix 4.

[55]After Baron Heytesbury, viceroy from July 1844 to July 1846. Sidney Herbert married Heytesbury's niece, Elizabeth A'Court, in August 1846.

The sophistication of these houses suggests the involvement of an architect in the design, and indeed, possible drawings for this scheme survive in the Irish Architectural Archive (**6.18**).[56] They are by William Murray, the same Murray (already mentioned) who himself took a lease for 520 feet on the opposite side of the road. They are only the second scheme of architectural drawings, thus far, to survive.[57] Although designed with the option with a third, attic, storey over the basement, this was not incorporated into Heytesbury Terrace. The plan describes a comfortable and well laid out interior, which had fireplaces in all bedrooms (this required chimney flues to start at the first floor), and a bathroom on the first bedchamber storey.[58] It is interesting to note that the front parlour was considerably smaller than the dining parlour to the rear of the house. There was also an architectural drawing of the elevation of this scheme unfortunately, however, this seems to have disappeared.[59] A reference in a letter of June 1844, suggests John Phayre, a builder of 52 William Street, was contractor for Boyce's houses.[60]

The second terrace to be examined on Wellington Road is the later Eglinton Terrace,[61] which comprises numbers 64 to 70 (**6.19**). These houses were built on leases granted, *circa* 1853,[62] to a Gilbert Cockburn Junior, of a prolific family firm of builders, Messrs Cockburn and Sons, of Brunswick Street. This is perhaps evident in their design, which displays a greater sophistication to the similar three bay, two-storey over basement scheme of the nearby numbers 44 to 50.[63] The houses on Eglinton Terrace have a slightly lower basement level and the stone stringcourse moulding gives a greater sense of order and elegance. And, although still firmly in the tradition of the

[56]Irish Architectural Archive, Murray Collection of Drawings, See Bernadette Goslin, *Murray Collection of Architectural Drawings*, M.A., University College Dublin (1990), p.243, cat. nos 813-815.

[57]The other drawings being Arthur Neville's 1830 plans for villas on the south side of Pembroke Road (**5.9**). They were much less detailed than these plans by Murray.

[58]According to Muthesius, it seems that bathrooms were slowly introduced in the best London houses from the 1820s and 1830s onwards. Stefan Muthesius, *The English Terraced House* (New Haven and London, 1982), p.62.

[59]As of February 2003. A prospect of the elevation would be useful to confirm that these drawings are indeed for Heytesbury Terrace. There is an aspect of the plans discussed here which casts a little doubt on them being for this terrace. A note on the plan illustrated here states that the houses next to the projected scheme (i.e. to the left) are 'in progress of being built'; but Heytesbury Terrace is at the end of the building line, thus there were no further building lots beside it. However, the note on the plan possibly refers to the two three-bay houses at the end of Heytesbury Terrace. Otherwise, there is a possibility that these drawings were intended for building on Boyce's holding at the north end of Wellington Road, where he failed to build. This would tie in with the reference to Mr Simpson's houses adjoining (i.e. which might refer to numbers 33 to 39 Wellington Road).

[60]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 7, Sullivan to John Phayre, 8 June 1844 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/146).

[61]After Archibald William Montgomerie, 13th Earl of Eglington, Lord Lieutenant February 1852 to January 1853.

[62]A copy of one lease, for number 64, survives in the National Archives; it is dated 20 October 1853. It is likely that leases for the rest of the houses were granted around the same time. NAI, PEP, Deeds, Rt. Hon. Sidney Herbert to Gilbert Cockburn Junior, Lease of piece of ground on East side of Wellington Road... NAI, PEP, Deeds, (Acc. No. 97/46/2/346)

[63]See appendix 4.

Georgian terraced house, their distinctive and innovatory Venetian Gothic doorcases are portents of the new Victorian era.

Messrs Cockburn were closely associated with the architects Deane and Woodward, and were the contractors for several of their important Dublin public commissions, such as the Museum Building, Trinity College (1853-57), the Kildare Street Club (1858-61), alterations to the Old Library, Trinity College (1859-61), as well as many private house contracts, such as number 28 Fitzwilliam Place (1854) which was in the Pembroke estate, but inside the Grand Canal.[64] Cockburn's Wellington Road houses were built by May 1859;[65] thus it can be seen that the period of their construction coincided with the Deane and Woodward projects. It is interesting to compare Cockburn's Eglinton Terrace with Deane and Woodward's number 28 Fitzwilliam Place. Both schemes are rooted in the Georgian Dublin terraced-house tradition and both schemes display the burgeoning influence of the Gothic Revival. In Cockburn's houses this influence is restricted to the flamboyant doorcases. Number 28 Fitzwilliam Place, however, although undeniably Georgian in the ordering of its windows, is much more fundamentally imbued with a Gothic sensibility: namely, the polychromatic brickwork, pointed relieving-arches over the windows, the ornamental brickwork and dog-toothed granite coping of the cornice, and the 'unashamedly Gothic' doorcase.[66] Terraced houses with this degree of Gothic detailing would not appear elsewhere in the Pembroke estate until the next decade: in Elgin Road (**6.1**) with, coincidentally, Messrs Cockburn as the builders.

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Analysis of Wellington and Waterloo Roads: Economic Conditions at the Time of Development

Wellington and Waterloo Roads were by far the most comprehensive and significant co-ordinated building developments of their time. There was, of course, contemporaneous building along Haddington and Pembroke Roads, amongst others, but it was essentially the continuation of development which had been established in the previous decade, if not earlier. Wellington and Waterloo Roads marked the striking out of the estate into unbuilt territory. They established the template for, and formed the backbone of, the most significant building development of the western estate in this

[64]Frederick O'Dwyer, *The Architecture of Deane and Woodward* (Cork, 1997), pp. 138, 329, 354, 414.
[65]Griffith Valuation Cancelled Book 2.
[66]With a Caen stone architrave and trimmed with a billet-moulding. O'Dwyer (1997), pp. 415-16.

period, for which there had been such grand plans, and which was recognised at the time as being essential for the general improvement of the estate. The coherent and extensive nature of the scheme, the speedy allocation of the ground, and the number of builder-developers involved, make the two roads an ideal exemplar through which to analyse the process of building speculation and development in the middle of the nineteenth century.

There is little doubt that the evolution of building development was difficult and protracted. The building of Wellington and Waterloo Roads is detailed in appendix 4, but it is of use to characterise it here in general terms, to see the overall pattern (**6.9**). The allocation of most of the building leases took place, approximately, between September 1843 and March 1845.[67] The broad rate of building can be best illustrated in a histogram (**6.20**). By 1847, more than half of the west side of Wellington Road was built, but only two houses on the east; most of the east side of Waterloo Road was built, and about half of the west. The next phase of building occurred solely on the west side of Waterloo Road: a further eighteen houses, which were built by 1852. Following a lull of about three years, Waterloo Road was completed by 1856; however, Wellington Road was not finished until 1863, following a rapid surge between 1856-60, during which forty-five houses (out of a total of seventy-seven) were completed.

The long delay in eventually completing the building along the two roads was, to a large extent, the direct result of the impact of two men - Joseph Boyce and William Murray. The problem was not just their failure to build, but also that they had kept a substantial amount of ground (nearly three-quarters of the total building ground on Wellington Road alone) out of action for almost ten years. Thus, building development was more or less stagnated until the early 1850s. As has already been pointed out, when the leases were eventually surrendered in 1850-52, once re-allocated, building proceeded steadily.

While Boyce and Murray were the direct culprits, the absence of building must be set in the context of the general economic difficulties of the time. The situation was showing signs of deterioration from the end of 1845. Sullivan wrote to Herbert in November 1845 that he was preparing to open new lines for building 'in order to meet what I know to be your benevolent wishes in order to give employment'.[68] However, it probably would have soon become apparent that this was not a recession which could be built out of. Correspondence from Cornelius Sullivan throughout the latter years of the

[67]As has already been described, it is rarely possible to determine the date when the leases were agreed for. The only dates possible to establish from Sullivan's memoranda are the dates at which the leases commenced, and the dates they were despatched to London for signature by the landlord.
[68]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 7, Sullivan to Herbert, 27 November 1845 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/7).

forties constantly refers to terrible suffering and hardship throughout the country. In October 1847, he described in a letter to Sidney Herbert how 'the state of this unfortunate country is getting more alarming daily'. In the same letter he contended that 'All our attention must be directed to giving employment to the people', but reassured Herbert that 'your prosperity will not feel alteration'.[69] In November, the impact was clear: Sullivan wrote to the landlord that there was 'almost a total stop to all building operations'.[70]

The poverty and growing unrest were a cause of dual concern for the agent. While writing of the necessity of creating work to alleviate the distress of the poor (he employed forty men in famine relief work in Mount Merrion alone),[71] Sullivan was also acutely aware of the growing political instability of the country, and the impact it was having on building development. In March 1848 he reported to Sidney Herbert that the 'constant state of agitation... is a bar to all improvement', with the consequence that there was 'nothing doing in the way of building'.[72] Overall, the climate was one of uncertainty; in April 1848 Sullivan described Dublin as a 'garrison town' and how, amid the growing unrest, a meeting had been held in Sandymount to express loyalty to the lord lieutenant.[73] In August, a few months later, while the attempt at rebellion was 'apparently at an end', Sullivan feared for the harvest and the prospect of the potato blight continuing. The bleakness continued; a year later, Sullivan was still reporting to Herbert that in the present state of the country, nothing was to be seen in the way of improvement.[74] With Sullivan's death in August 1849, the detailed correspondence ceases, and with it the detailed insight into the affairs of the estate.

There are only limited financial records extant in the estate archives;[75] they are brief summaries of the annual (or half-annual) accounts for twelve years - 1848 - 60 (omitting 1849). They can be used to gauge the overall rental, rate of return and arrears, and therefore partially continue an economic analysis of the time. The essential statistics for the years 1849 to 1859 have been extracted and reconfigured in a table (**6.21**). The nadir seems to have been reached in 1849, by which time the accumulation of rental arrears had reached an enormous scale: £15,393 on a half year's return, with a further £5,333 struck off. This made the arrears greater than the rent due. A note written on the same half-year account (ending Michaelmas 1849 and returned in July 1850), states 'The Arrears are enormous, and many are, I fear, and have been for years irrecoverable. In

[69]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 8, Sullivan to Herbert, 9 October 1847 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/8).
[70]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 8, Sullivan to Herbert, 6 November 1847 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/8)
[71]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 8, Sullivan to Herbert, 23 December 1847 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/8).
[72]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 8, Sullivan to Herbert, 20 March 1848 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/8).
[73]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 8, Sullivan to Robert Lovely, 12 April 1848; Sullivan to Herbert, 17 April 1848 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/8).
[74]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 8, Sullivan to Herbert, 2 April 1849 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/8).
[75]NAI, PEP, Statements of Accounts [1848- 60] (Acc. No. 2011/5/1).

such cases I submit it would be better as soon as practicable to obtain possession of the property and re-let it'.[76] This corresponds with the developments on Wellington and Waterloo Roads as already described, where a sizeable amount of the unbuilt ground was surrendered in November 1850.

The situation seems to have improved markedly by the following year's return. Although it had been necessary to strike off a substantial sum (£3,411) as unrecoverable, the arrears had declined significantly; down to £11,758 for a whole year, a net reduction of over fifty per cent. They remained of this order for the following two years, but there was then a massive increase for 1853. It is not possible to explain this surge, although the significant increase in the rent received in the two years following (1854 and 1855) suggests it might be connected with the death of the agent, Major Fairfield, in October 1853. In other words, rent was not paid during the *interregnum*, but was then collected retrospectively in the two years after. From 1854, it is possible to see a substantial improvement in the annual accounts. The arrears decrease radically: down to £8,630 in 1854, and then a sharp decrease the following year to just under £3,000, then stabilising around the £1,000 mark. The amount of insolvent arrears needed to be struck off was reduced by a similar proportion over the years.

There was also an improvement in the rental of the estate, starting from the account of Michaelmas 1854. While it was more gradual than that in relation to the arrears, it was steady nonetheless. It coincides with the re-leasing of ground for building on Wellington and Waterloo Roads, subsequent to the surrender of the leases allocated in the 1840s. It also coincides with the opening of new roads for building, such as Raglan Road, from 1856. In the ten years following 1849 the rental of the estate increased by nearly £2,500. Even though that was an increase of only ten per cent, in the context of the previous decade, and the drastically reduced arrears, it indicates that the finances and prospects of the estate had been vastly improved. This is also echoed in the strong increase in the remittances despatched to the landlord each year: from £12,000 in 1851, to £19,000 in 1859.

The difficulties involved in building development during the second half of the 1840s were manifest in the wage scales of skilled workers in the building trade - bricklayers, carpenters, plasterers, plumbers, masons, and slaters. While the lowest point had been reached by building workers in 1824-26, Fergus D'Arcy has pointed out

[76]NAI, PEP, Statements of Accounts, Substance of Mr Fairfield's Account... due Michaelmas 1849 (Acc. No. 2011/5/1 ii).

that from the mid-1840s there is evidence of rates well below the norm.[77] This might seem to favour the builder-developer who employed contractors, however he was subsequently caught by the slump in the property market. The scale of the decline in values of property can be gauged by comparing the 'net annual value' of property, as given in the Griffith Valuation, between 1847/49 and 1855.[78]. The best comparison to be made is by using Waterloo Road - as it is the most comprehensively-built of the roads by this time. The overall decline in values was, on average, twenty-three per cent, although some fell by as much as twenty-eight per cent. Of course, as the later date of the comparison comes after the first signs of recovery, these figures might mask a steeper depreciation in the interim. Curiously, there does not seem to be any correlation between the scale of the depreciation and the size of the house. Despite this depreciation in the value of the houses, it is interesting to note that when the surrendered lots were re-allocated for building, there does not seem to have been a reduction in the foot rent charged. Indeed, leases granted in 1847 and 1848 on the west side of Waterloo Road actually show an increase of six pence per foot.[79] In the context of these years, this seems to indicate great faith, confidence or nerve on behalf of the agent.

It can be seen that, in the context of the severe economic and political difficulites of the time, Wellington Road and Waterloo Road certainly reflect the bigger picture of the time in the problematic nature of their development. Indeed, the respective difference in their evolution possibly further reflects the context. In other words, Waterloo Road, which was allocated in much smaller blocks (mostly two houses per leessee) was developed earlier and more coherently, the investment required was less, and the risk was smaller to both builder-developer and estate. Wellington Road, however, was dominated by four sizeable holdings, making it more vulnerable to risk and recession, and was catastrophically affected. It is interesting to note that of the original builder-developers who surrendered their leases, all but one out of seven had built successfully on other building leases on either of the two roads. Thus, their failure to build was probably due less to naivety or inexperience, but, more likely, over-investment, coupled with the economic slump.

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[77]Fergus D'Arcy, 'Wages of Skilled Workers in the Dublin Building Industry, 1667-1918', *Saothar*, vol.15 (1990), pp.21-37, pp.30-31.

[78]That is, Griffith (1849) and Cancelled Book 1 (i.e. 1855). As has already been explained, the map which accompanies Griffith (1849) is dated December 1847, and it is therefore not possible to ascertain whether the information contained in it dates from 1847 or 1849.

[79]Although it should be acknowledged, that not enough later rents are known to make a proper comparison.

Analysis of Wellington and Waterloo Roads: The Builder-Developers

Having considered the chronological evolution of the roads and how it related to the political and economical context of the time, it is now of use to turn to the speculative building process and the builder-developers involved. It must be remembered that the building leases which were allocated in the early 1840s were not necessarily the leases under which the houses were built **(6.5) (6.6) (6.7) (6.8)**. Of the sixty-four building leases originally granted on Waterloo Road, thirteen had to be surrendered and re-allocated; this introduced eleven new names as builder-developers. Of the eleven leases originally granted on Wellington Road, three were surrendered (two of 520 feet and one of 434 feet) and re-allocated; this introduced fifteen new names. There was a wide variety in the profession of the builder-developers involved in the building process of the two roads. However, as it has only been possible to find biographical information on around half of the fifty or so builder-developers, it is not possible to offer a complete analysis of their class or profession. Nevertheless, it is still possible to make some general observations. For as full a record of the professions of the various builder-developers that it has been possible to make, please see appendix 3.i at the end of the thesis.

Of the twenty-two builder-developers that it has been possible to find biographical information on, only four appear in the Directories as architects: William Murray on Wellington Road; L.J. Stedman, Thomas Anthony, and William Geraty on Waterloo Road. There is a greater number who are listed as builders: William Moyers, Gilbert Cockburn, William Mackie, and Terence O'Brien on Wellington Road, and James Henderson on Waterloo Road. There are few more who might be indirectly connected with the building trade, such as Edward Walsh (a turner), Benjamin Bradford (a plumber and brass founder), and William Stannus (an ironmonger). Of the rest of the builder-developers for whom it has been possible to find a profession, they vary widely. There were members of the political classes, such as Alderman Boyce; there were the upper professional classes, such as the medical, Maxwell Simpson and Arthur Jacob, and the legal, Joseph Gabbett and W. B. Drury, barristers, and Edward Smith, solicitor. There were also dairy owners, such as Agnes Kelly and Samuel Reddy, who was also a grocer. Then there were the intriguing, such as Thomas Carroll, a 'writing master', who was builder-developer for four houses on the west side of Waterloo Road.

While being wary of trying to establish too much from such a relatively small sample, it does seem that, compared to earlier building developments (such as Pembroke Road, Percy Place and Haddington Road), Waterloo Road tended to involve more builder-developers, speculating on a smaller scale, who were from a broader strata of

society - some of whom had no apparent connection with the building trade. It also seems to emerge that Wellington Road, when it was re-let for building in the 1850s, seemed to mark a return to a greater number of builder-developers who were involved in the building trade, and who speculated on a larger scale. This corresponds with the improved optimism in building speculation from the middle of the 1850s.

Of the fifty or so builder-developers involved in the building of the two roads, eight were women, with a greater number being involved in the second phase than the first. It is generally not easy to find out much information on women from the Directories, but it is possible to establish that Agnes Kelly was a dairy owner, and Sarah Franks was gentry. However, we have to settle for 'spinster' as an identity for Mary Anne Walsh - a most tantalising figure - who was builder-developer for ten houses on Waterloo Road.[80] There were a great number of builder-developers who do not appear in the *Directories* at all. So, what can be made of the rather disappointing number of builder-developers for whom it has not been possible to trace any information? Possibly, it implies the involvement of people who were not resident in the geographical jurisdiction of the *Directory*.[81]

In analysing the builder-developers involved in these two roads it is interesting to try and gauge the nature of their speculaton. The Griffith Valuation (1849) provides the name of the occupier and 'immediate lessor' (i.e. the person from whom the occupier derives their lease) for every house. If this information is cross-referenced with the builder-developer for each house (which has been derived from correlating Sullivan's lease information in the letterbooks, the Estate-Township Map Folio, and the Griffith Valuation itself), it is possible to establish the continuation, or not, of involvement of the builder-developer in the interest of the house. Waterloo Road is the most productive road to examine for this purpose. This is because it was the road most recently (and most fully) built by the time of Griffith (1849), therefore making the information as accurate as possible.

Of the twenty-five builder-developers who had built on Waterloo Road by 1849, only five had become the occupier of the house built on their holding.[82] However, of the fifty-three *houses* built by the time of Griffith (1849), forty retained their original building leaseholder as 'immediate lessor'. In other words, the builder-developer retained a legal interest in the house built on their ground, and let it directly to the

[80]See appendix 4: numbers 1-3, 25-33, and 81-85 Waterloo Road.
[81]The geographical coverage of the various *Directories* is not always consistent.
[82]John Oliver Curran, number 2; Thomas Carroll, number 17; Joseph Smith, number 52; William Smith, number 60; George Ricky, number 62. It should be noted that a few more builder-developers became occupiers of houses which were built by 1852.

occupiers. That leaves eight houses for which the building leaseholder was neither occupier nor lessor to the occupier. However, it is only possible to establish two houses for which their building leaseholder entirely disposed of their legal interest to another investor.[83] For the remaining six, the picture is not clear.[84] Although the names of the builder-developers do not appear as immediate lessor in Griffith (1849), it is not possible to determine that they disposed of their legal interest in the houses altogether; they might have retained their lease but sub-let it. Thus, at least forty-five (and maybe even fifty-one) out of the fifty-three houses built by the time of Griffith (1849) retained either a direct or indirect legal connection with their original builder-developer.

The final aspect of the development of these two roads to examine is the buildings themselves. The essential form of the four lines of building, which emerged in such a haphazard way over a period of nearly twenty years, changed little: i.e. a terraced house of two or three storeys, raised over a basement, and set back a considerable distance from the road. In this, the twin developments of Waterloo and Wellington Road reflect, absolutely, the essential character of the houses built throughout the period of this chapter.[85] In fact, this period - 1827-1861 - can be defined, architecturally, as being that of the terraced house. This is a subject which will be returned to, for a more detailed analysis, after introducing the final road to be developed between 1827 and 1861.

Raglan Road

With the rate of building development improving noticeably from the middle of the 1850s, as can be seen from the progress of Waterloo and Wellington Roads, it is clear that the agent felt that it was an appropriate time to recommence opening new ground for building. And so, Raglan Road (**6.1**), a third line, parallel to Wellington and Waterloo Roads, was opened in 1856. Although it was parallel to Wellington Road, it was connected to it by another new axis - which would become Elgin Road (**6.1**). Thus, even though building ground was allocated only on Raglan Road, it seems fairly clear that the intention to open a further line for building had been established by this time. It should be remembered that this corresponds with the relatively recent appointment of the new agent - John Edward Vernon - towards the end of 1853. It seems as if the twin

[83]Griffith (1849) lists a John Dickenson as Occupier of the two houses (implying they are only recently built) but with Sidney Herbert as his Immediate Lessor. Thus the original building lessee, W.B. Drury, is no longer involved.

[84]The houses are: numbers 20, 22, 24, ground originally leased to Ethelfleda Stedman; numbers 61, 63, ground originally leased to L.J. Stedman; and number 74, ground originally leased to Benjamin Bradford.

[85]With the notable exception of the semi-detached villas along the south side of Pembroke Road.

factors of a new agent and a growing optimism for building development, introduced a new phase of expansion.

The choice of the name Raglan, for the third line of building to accompany Waterloo and Wellington Roads, marks one of the closest bonds in the British army in the nineteenth century. Lord Fitzroy Somerset was twenty years younger than the Duke of Wellington; he became his Military Secretary at the age of twenty, a position he retained for more than forty years until Wellington's death in 1852. He formed a great friendship with the Duke, and married one of his nieces in 1814. It was while at Wellington's side as his principal A.D.C. at the battle of Waterloo, that Lord Fitzroy lost his right arm. He was created first Lord Raglan in October 1852.[86]

However, the choice of Raglan's name is curious in the immediate context of the disastrous Crimean War at which he was Commander-in-Chief of the British army. The British government, anxious to shift the blame for their own negligence in the chaos and carnage of the war, made Raglan the scapegoat. What makes the choice of his name even more curious is that it was Sidney Herbert who, as Secretary-at-War, clearly implied that the whole responsibility for the calamity lay with the 'collection of regiments which called itself the British Army and not with the Government'.[87] Raglan died in the Crimea in July 1855. The earliest explicit reference to his name being used for the road is a year later, when the first building leases for a 'new road, called Raglan Road' were granted in August 1856.[88] The earliest plan (**6.22**) for the intended road is from March 1855, but it is interesting to note that, at that time, the new thoroughfare was intended to be called 'Reginald Road'.[89] Whether this was simply a mistake by the surveyor it is not possible to be certain. Nevertheless, the choice of Raglan's name for the new road (whether it was in 1855 or 1856) is, in the context both of such a calamitous military campaign and the position of the landlord as Secretary-at-War, quite surprising.

The two earliest leases were granted in August 1856 to a Thomas Dockrell, a glass merchant of Upper Stephen Street.[90] Situated on the west side of Raglan road, they were for twenty-five and sixty-eight feet and were adjacent to the new route which linked to Wellington Road. Dockrell built the first three houses of Regina Terrace on them; these would become the present-day numbers 13, 15 and 17 Raglan Road. The ground

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[86]Christopher Hibbert, *The Destruction of Lord Raglan, A Tragedy of the Crimean War 1854-55* (Harmondsworth, 1985), pp.1-6.
[87]Hibbert (1985), p.251.
[88]Registry of Deeds, 1856-28-121; 122.
[89]NAI, PEP, Maps, William Carter, 'Plans of Proposed Roads between Wellington Road and Pembroke Road', 1855 (Acc. No. 2011/2/3/14).
[90]Registry of Deeds, 1856-28-121; 122.

continued to be granted, and the houses to be built, in a chronological order, south to north, from the junction with Elgin Road to Pembroke Road (see appendix 2i). The first seven houses were completed relatively quickly, by 1863/64; however, the last two houses (present-day numbers 1 and 3, closest to Pembroke Road) were not completed until *circa* 1870. The allocations of ground for this first terrace seem to have been somewhat piecemeal; nine houses were built under leases to six separate builder-developers. However, the other two terraces, to the south of the junction with Elgin Road (Fitzroy and Somerset Places - after Lord Raglan), were let quite differently. There were just two names involved in the building of Somerset Place (the terrace to the south of the junction with Elgin Road), a Colonel Andrew M. Davoren for numbers 19 to 23,[91] and a Dr Robert Newland for numbers 25 to 35. There was only one builder-developer for the whole of Fitzroy Place (the terrace at the southernmost end of the road), a John Dempsey.

The three terraces, nine houses in each, form one of the most coherent lines of development of an entire road (on one side) thus far on the estate. All the houses are two-bay, three storey over basement, the same height and very similar width. Nevertheless, as occurred elsewhere, all the houses share slightly different features and characteristics in accordance with their respective builder-developers. These are most apparent in Regina Terrace, where there is most variety amongst the houses (**6.23**), the differences principally in the doorcases and parapet mouldings.[92] There is also a barely perceptible shift in the arrangement of the windows. Numbers 11 to 17 align those on the upper floors with the entrance level; numbers 3 to 9 (which are later) do not.[93] The two earliest houses, numbers 15 and 17, built by Dockrell, are the finest. Number 17 (**6.24**), the end house, exploits its corner site effectively. The door is porched to the side[94] but also recessed back from the front plane of the house. What is innovatory here is the gable wall itself has been opened out with windows, in front of the porch, on all floors. The two houses both incorporate a roll-moulding over the front door; it is possible to see another allusion to the new Gothic style, although not as pronounced as that of the (only very slightly) earlier numbers 64 to 70 Wellington Road (**6.19**) just around the corner.

The two other terraces are significantly grander and more unified set-piece schemes, with a greater uniformity in the houses. Their grandeur and scale is seen to best effect in number 19 (**6.25**), the end house just south of the junction with Elgin Road. The corner

[91] These numbers refer to Raglan Road. All the terraces were numbered independently, numbers 1 to 9. This thesis refers to their present-day numbers throughout.
[92] The oriel window in number 13 is a later alteration.
[93] Number 1 places the entrance in a porch to the side, making it possible to have two windows on the entrance floor.
[94] There appear to have been some alterations to the porch itself some time later.

site is magnificently exploited. Once again, the door is placed in a porch to the side, but it has been returned (almost) to the front plane of the elevation; this allows for the gable wall to project in a full height block to the rear, which terminates both the porch and the end of the terrace. The entire gable is fully treated with a brick finish, with granite alternating quoins defining the corners, and a strongly defined parapet moulding which continues the whole way around. The porch is also elegantly handled: the doorcase has a fully projecting entablature supported by freestanding columns, which are framed by engaged pilasters which support their own frieze-cornice. In the side elevation of the porch, the pilasters frame slender round-headed windows, a progression of the niches in the end house on Waterloo Terrace on Leeson Street Upper. Overall, it is a monumental composition. Unsurprisingly, it can be seen from *Thom's Directory* of 1865, that the builder-developer, Colonel Andrew Davoren, became the occupier of this house.

The coherence of the houses is striking, and is most likely a consequence of new policy on the part of the new agent John Edward Vernon. It is at this time that first explict instructions are recorded in the letter books. It is clear from correspondence sent by William Carter,[95] on Vernon's behalf, that these two later terraces on Raglan Road were under strict control. Instructions were issued to John Dempsey the builder-developer, detailing precisely the manner in which the end house of the block was to be finished in as similar way as possible to the end house of the next block, 'otherwise the uniformity of the building range would be destroyed'.[96] The precision of the instructions and the rigour with which they were enforced were innovatory in terms of building development on the estate and would become a key characteristic of Vernon's administration.

While Somerset (**6.26**) and Fitzroy Places (**6.27**) are almost identical, there are very slight differences between them; for example (excepting the end houses) the windows of the upper floors of Somerset Place are not aligned with those of the entrance level, while in Fitzroy Place, they are. A quirky anomaly can be found in numbers 49 to 51 Fitzroy Place, where the fanlights of the doors are surmounted by a slender Gothic roll-moulding, like that already been seen on Numbers 15 and 17. There is no obvious reason why in particular these two doorcases received this decoration; they are not distinct from the rest of the houses in the terrace either in terms of date or builder-developer. The most interesting difference between the two terraces is in terms of the treatment of the windows. The windows in Fitzroy Place are two-over-two pane sashes, while those in

[95]William Carter, C.E., seems to have become a full-time employee of the estate during Vernon's agency, taking charge of all surveying and lease allocation matters.
[96]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 14, William Carter to John Dempsey, 19 February 1862 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/14).

Somerset Place are a grander one-over-one, which signify a more expensive and up-to-the-minute style. It is interesting to see that the more economical, smaller panes of glass are still used in the basement (**6.26**).

In comparison with the building, even in the later phase, which had taken place on Wellington Road, these three substantial and grand terraces on Raglan Road must surely reflect, in their architecture and scale, as well as in the nature of their lease allocation, a hugely increased optimism in building development at the very end of the 1850s.[97] The completion of Raglan Road essentially brings the story of building development in the west end of the estate, from 1827 to 1861, to a close. However, by the very fact of the scale, speed and coherence of its building process, this road is atypical to the general pattern of development of the period of this chapter. In one aspect of its form, though, it brings to a culmination what has been the essential characteristic, generally, of building development during these years: the terraced house. The other side of Raglan Road is different, and will be dealt with in Chapter 8.

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Building in the Western Estate 1827-1861: The Terraced House

Before analysing the character of the terraced house as it occurred in the Pembroke estate during this period, it is essential to establish its place in the broader context of contemporary surburan development elsewhere. In London, contemporary suburban development was in the form both of terraces and semi-detached villas. There is a wide variety in the planning and architectural style of both, and it is not intended to try to compare and contrast all types. However, it is of interest to try and establish the broader characteristics - principally in terms of the general planning - and set the developments in Dublin in context.

The terrace has been established as an inherently 'metropolitan affair'.[98] Mostly, the houses opened directly onto the pavement, the front set back from the street only by the width of the area, as can be seen, for example, in Eaton Place in Belgravia (c.1830-40), by Thomas Cubitt, and Belgrave Square (c.1830) (**6.28**). This was essentially the form of terraced development in the Pembroke estate, within the canal (which was still

[97]Although it is interesting to note that the rent (only available for the first allocation to Dockrell) was 4s 6d per foot, lower than the average for the original allocations on Waterloo and Wellington Roads, nearly twenty years earlier.
[98]Muthesius (1982), p.148.

being completed up to the 1840s). However, it was very different to the terraces to be found around the Pembroke estate, outside the canal, where the line of building was set back at least twenty-five feet (for example the north side of Pembroke Road), and even up to 100 feet (such as the west side of Wellington Road).

A major aspect of the planning of the terrace was determined by the different means of addressing the landscape. This led to two principal types of planning. Firstly, the terraces could be ranged around a crescent or a square, which allowed the house to address its own *rus in urbe* either to the front or the rear, but still have its entrance open directly on to the street. This was a feature of the planning to be found in Belgravia in the 1820s-40s (**4.8**), and Bayswater in the 1830s-40s (**4.9**). It was also found in later developments such as in the Ladbroke estate, North Kensington, of the 1840s-50s. Here, for example, the backs of the houses of Kensington Park Gardens open on to Ladbroke Square, a 'hidden square', and the largest in London.[99] This incorporation of common green spaces did not occur in the Pembroke estate outside the canal, although it is clearly what was intended in Sullivan's failed grand plans for Wilton Place, and, of course, the failed plans of 1832 and 1835. Instead, the terraced houses in the Pembroke estate were set in their own individual gardens, frequently both front and back.

The other means of the terrace addressing the landscape was to range a monumental single line of houses across a grand vista. Surviving examples of this type in London are rare; but Nash's grand set pieces which were laid out for the Crown around Regent's Park from 1820 would have been the most significant. Instead, the most typical examples of this type of terrace are to be found in the great Victorian resort towns, such as Brighton: for example Adelaide Crescent begun *circa* 1830 by Decimus Burton. Despite the proximity of the coast, grand monumental stucco terraces like these (as shall be seen in the following chapter) did not occur in the Pembroke estate either. They did, however, further down the coast, at Monkstown: for example, Longford Terrace of 1842, erected by Thomas Bradley,[100] a name already familiar from building development in the Pembroke estate.

So, strictly terraced development in the Pembroke estate does not seem to have followed the general characteristics which applied elsewhere. The terraces were ranged neither around squares or crescents nor looking over a grand vista, but set well back from the line of the road, frequently in a landscaped front garden. In this, the closer contemporary to the terraced developments of the Pembroke estate, in terms of their setting, are the villa suburbs of London: for example, in St John's Wood on the Eyre

[99]Muthesius (1982), p.78.
[100]Peter Pearson, *Between the Mountains and the Sea* (Dublin, 1998), p.190.

estate, from 1800 to the 1840s; in the Chalcot estate, owned by Eton College, from the early 1840s; and even the slightly later developments on the Ladbroke estate in Kensington of the 1840s onwards. Here, the houses, although semi-detached (and so quite different to the Pembroke estate terraces of this time), are set back from the tree-lined road in their own garden - and it is this which echoes the developments of the Pembroke estate. In truth, in this fundamental aspect of their planning, the terraced houses of the Pembroke estate are quintessentially in the manner of the Georgian outer-suburban terraced developments, which emerged along axial routes from London, such as Kennington Road (**6.29**) and Camberwell Grove (**6.30**), both of the 1770s. Here, long lines of terraced houses, many of which did not have an overriding architectural coherence, were set back quite a distance from the road. These are the suburban developments which those of the Pembroke estate between 1827 and 1861 most closely resemble.

In terms of the architectural character of the individual houses, there is little to unite those of the Pembroke estate with any contemporary developments in London. The undulating stucco façades are quite different to the 'flat' brick façades of the Pembroke estate (projections such as bay windows were forbidden in the leases), where the houses line up higgledy-piggledy - frequently in pairs of different character; they are similar in style, but have little overall coherence. Stucco was rarely used, and only as decoration: either to demarcate the basement and entrance floor, or in pediments or window surrounds; for example Waterloo Terrace (**5.37**), which, as has already been explained, is atypical of terraces on the estate. Contemporary terraces in London tended to be much higher, but over a lower basement (**6.28**); here, in the Pembroke estate, they were never more than three storeys high, but the basement was nearly always raised.

Essentially, the terraces of the Pembroke estate outside the canal were a straightforward development of the Merrion Square type, of around eighty years earlier. It became suburbanised. The houses were set back from the road, the old 'area' disappeared and gardens emerged. The entrance was raised over a basement and reached by a grand flight of steps. The number of storeys was reduced, although to some extent this was obviously counter-balanced by the raising of the basement. However, houses of two-storey over raised basement became popular, and were built between houses of three-storey over raised basement, without compunction. Most crucially, the *piece de resistance* of so many Georgian terraced houses - the *piano nobile* - changed fundamentally. The entrance level and the *piano nobile* - i.e. the principal floor - now coincided, although the new principal floor was never of the same grandeur or scale as

that of the earlier houses.[101] Despite the alteration of the *piano nobile*, the fundamental layout of the interior remained the same as the Georgian terraced houses. The idea of procession into the house from the entrance, leading straight up the stairs, remained.

Although these evolutions can be explained generally as 'suburbanisation', it is important to see if there were any other factors involved in some of these stylistic characteristics. For example, as we shall see, the occupiers of the class of houses such as Merrion Square - the nobility and gentry - had declined greatly in number. The terraced houses of the Pembroke estate were largely built for the upper and professional classes; this might have something to do with the disappearance of the *piano nobile* . It was an extravagance for a different generation, from a previous age. The setting back of the houses from the road is something which should be set in the context of the close proximity of these roads (and indeed, in Haddington Road, the concomitance of the two) to the Circular Road. It was required under the Circular Road Act of 1763 that all houses which were built along it were to be set back twenty-five feet from the road.[102] None of the houses of the Pembroke estate are closer than this distance to the road. As Haddington Road and the Circular Road overlapped, Cornelius Sullivan would have been well aware of this covenant. Maybe he incorporated it into his own planning as a consequence. Although it was not always specified in the leases, Sullivan did control the distance of the building line from the road. The lease always made clear that the houses to be built had to run in the line marked on the accompanying survey map, and the estate surveyor marked out the ground. The raising of the house over the basement is harder to explain. It might be some sort of a consequence of the covenant that occurred in all the building leases which stipulated that the houses had to be 'not less than two storeys over the cellars'. In an indirect way, the leases thus seemed to require the building of a basement. However, raising the basement allowed for building taller houses for less money than if the basement had been below ground level. So, maybe it was more efficient, financially, as it allowed for cheaper excavation.

And now, to the houses themselves. Generally, they were always two bay, and were usually between twenty-four and twenty-six feet wide; they were never less than twenty-two feet. Some elevations had three bays, while only increasing their width by a few feet, for example numbers 30 to 40 Waterloo Road (**6.31**). This was done more successfully from the middle of the 1850s when combined with just two storeys instead of three. It can be seen in later houses of Waterloo and Wellington Roads: for example,

[101] In a very few houses, such as 21 and 23 Waterloo Road, and 41 to 51 Wellington Road, there is possibly the minutest suggestion that the windows of the floor above the entrance floor are slightly bigger in scale. However, it seems to be a barely perceptible conceit.
[102] 3 George III, cap. 36, xxiii.

numbers 78 to 82 Waterloo Road (**6.32**) and numbers 44 to 50 Wellington Road (**6.33**). The façade, as has already been noted, was nearly always of brick, over a rendered basement. They were rarely stucco; substantial terraced stucco houses only occurred in the coastal districts further removed from the city, such as in the deVesci and Longford estates. Once again, this might have been a matter of habit; the format of leases on the Pembroke estate had changed little since the eighteenth century.

The roof was usually double-pile and frequently partly hidden behind a parapet, particularly on the three-storey over basement houses. Single-pile roofs were used, but not frequently. They stand out quite distinctly when put in a terrace; for example numbers 27 to 31 Wellington Road (**6.34**). They were incorporated more successfully in some other later schemes, such as numbers 16 to 22 Wellington Road (**6.35**), where the proportions of the different elements of the façade have been adjusted, to balance the raised roof.

The placing of the windows in relation to each other is a theme which needs to be noted, even if it is not possible to explain. In a two bay elevation, the issue of how to manage the fenestration of the entrance floor had always been a problem. Some of the very earliest houses on the north side of Pembroke Road (**6.36i**) illustrate different ways of addressing the issue. Thus, in numbers 10 and 12 two narrower windows were used, while in number 14, a single, wider window was used. Eventually, the general pattern to be established was to displace the window of the entrance floor, so it more or less occupied the middle point of the wall between the door and the house next door (**6.36ii**). The degree to which the windows were displaced varied. However, whenever it was possible to put the entrance to the side, and thus leave the whole width of the elevation on the entrance floor available, the windows were aligned with those of the floors above. This can be seen, for example, in number 17 Percy Place (**6.37i**).

It is possible that, with the introduction of the two-storey over basement house, this displacement of the windows had a greater impact on the façade. In other words, as can be seen in Percy Place (**6.37ii**), from a raking view, the displacement resulted in a disjunction between the two storeys. This had not occurred in the three-storey over basement houses because the rhythm established by the windows could be sustained by the two storeys over the entrance floor. It is impossible to draw any conclusions, but maybe the introduction of the aligned window was connected with the introduction of the two-storey over basement house, because it certainly coincided with it chronologically. Nevertheless, the majority of houses, by far, adhered to the practice of displacing the window on the entrance floor. A noteable exception is the elegant Heytesbury Terrace on

Wellington Road (**6.17**). Two storeys over basement, the alignment of the windows over such a long extension is most effective.

As so many of the houses were built in pairs by individual builder-developers (i.e. they only took two lots), it is interesting to see the impact this had, if any, on the streetscape. In more modest houses, each pair tended to be built with the doors to the outer 'edge' of the joined pair, thus allowing a single chimney, shared by the houses, to be placed in the middle. This meant that the transverse valley in the roof was at the junction between the different lots, which was also preferable in terms of construction. The main impact of this was that it resulted in the doors of different developers being adjacent; this can be seen quite clearly in numbers 52 to 60 Waterloo Road (**6.38**). Where it occurred that builder-developers paired the doors of their two houses, such as numbers 77 to 79 Waterloo Road (**6.39**), it did allow for a more unified composition. It also meant that the different styles of doorcases were separated, because those of each developer were paired. There are, however, no absolute definitive 'rules' which adhere throughout. Nevertheless, the management of construction as described above, did occur extensively, and resulted in the creation of greater variety in the streetscapes.

Having considered the houses, and who they were built by, it should now be considered, briefly, who the houses were built for - in other words, who were the occupiers. There are, unfortunately, two problems in addressing this issue. Firstly is that there is no detailed census information surviving for this part of Dublin for the nineteenth century. The only means of finding out the occupiers is by using the Dublin Directories, which are not as reliable a source, and which frequently include no information about the occupiers. From the Directories, it is possible to see the second problem emerge. There was a considerable degree of fluidity in the occupation of the houses, and thus it is difficult to establish a coherent character for the roads over any degree of time. The turnover of occupier can be seen clearly by checking Waterloo Road from Griffith (1849), and then following its progress in 1851 and 1865 *Thom's* Directories. Of the fifty-three houses which were built by the time of Griffith (1849), only twenty-seven had the same occupier by the time of *Thom's Directory* of 1851. Comparing then the occupiers with *Thom's Directory* of 1865, only seven houses still had the same occupier.

A sample of different roads at different times has been taken from Directories of 1851 and 1865. Haddington Road and Pembroke Road (parts of which are included in the Directories as Baggot Street Upper and Pembroke Place) are a useful pair to contrast. Both are earlier developments than those of Wellington and Waterloo Roads; and both are developments along long-established routes The difference in character between them is

apparent immediately. Haddington Road has occupiers from many trades: builders, carpenters, dressmakers, grocers, dairys, housepainters and bootmakers; it also has some occupiers who are clearly connected with the Beggars Bush Barracks at the east end. It also has occupiers of a more genteel nature, such as a few professors - of music and English - and a marine and landscape painter. The occupiers of Pembroke Road are instantly recognisable as being from the wealthy upper and professional classes. Here we have occupiers who have addresses elsewhere, in Kildare, and Westmeath and Wicklow. There are merchants, who are also shipowners; secretaries to the South East Railway Company. There are clearly a considerable number who are also involved in higher aspects of administration, such as Solicitor to the Ordnance, Deputy Commissary-General. And again, like Haddington Road, there are solicitors, and some from the army, but probably from a higher level and who are probably retired, rather than working out of the Barracks.

With Wellington Road still largely unbuilt by the time of the 1851 *Thom's Directory*, it is not possible to establish a coherent picture for that time. A greater portion of Waterloo Road was built and occupied and so has been examined for that year. Unfortunately there is not a great amount of information forthcoming about the occupiers. There are many esquires, and a considerable number of women (although it is not possible to establish if they were all spinsters or widows). There were medics and solicitors, and gentleman academics who also had rooms in Trinity College. The only other named professions are a civil engineer and the coroner of the city of Dublin. A little more detail emerges with the 1865 Directory. And, once again, a cross-section of the upper professional and administrative classes emerges as occupiers, including a Justice of the Peace, a newspaper proprietor, and a deputy-assistant quartermaster general. There is, still, a considerable number of women listed as the occupiers, and, like Pembroke Road in 1851, there are quite a number of occupiers who have second addresses in the country. A similar picture emerges with Wellington Road, but there does seem, for some reason, to be a greater number of gentleman academics and clergy. Finally, to Raglan Road. It is interesting to see that the grander scale of the houses is to some extent reflected in the occupiers. There can be seen something of a return to the nature of occupation of Pembroke Road, and names emerge from the very higher ranks of administration. These include a Deputy Commissary General, a Chief Poor Law Commissioner, as well as a couple of colonels, in addition to the usual amount of women, solicitors and esquires.

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Building in the Western Estate 1827-1861: Conclusion

The overall character of this period, 1827-1861, is reflected in the evolution of that part of the western estate for which the 1832 and 1835 plans were created. The initial optimism of the early 1830s regarding building development, seen in the surge of allocation of leases for building between 1831 and 1834 (see appendix 1), was frustrated, and the plans were abandoned. The second attempt to develop was initiated from 1842, with the letting of Wellington Place and its subsequent continuation into Wellington Road. This introduced a hugely simplified and less ambitious scheme for building development. Even so, it also was unsuccessful, to such an extent, that the completion of just two roads - Wellington and Waterloo - which should have been completed towards the end of the 1840s, was not eventually completed until 1860. The evolution of the subsequent building development makes it clear that the opening of further roads for building was not embarked upon until the lines of Wellington and Waterloo were certain of completion. Thus, the potential expansion of the housing stock was stagnated for over ten years. In fact, it can be seen that an entire part of the estate which was envisaged for development from the beginning of the 1830s was not, ultimately, completed until well into the 1860s.

Nevertheless, by the time of Sidney Herbert's death in August 1861, the western estate had undergone an immense transformation over the previous thirty or so years - the stagnation which had occurred in the building development notwithstanding. Perhaps the ultimate manifestation of the suburbanisation of this area was the abolition of the Donnybrook Fair in 1855. In the eighteenth century, this whole district of the Pembroke estate was largely rural in character: village settlements surrounded by large fields with crops, grazing, market-gardening and brickfields, with some manufacturing industries taking place along the banks of the River Dodder. There was a greater social heterogeneity which allowed something like the Donnybrook Fair to flourish. Fergus D'Arcy has observed that the decline and exodus of the Irish aristocracy from Dublin and the simultaneous rise of the Dublin middle class put paid to that interaction. He points out that in the first half of the nineteenth century there was a serious loss of working class employment in the general area between Donnybrook and Ringsend-Irishtown.[103] The linen and printed textile mills of the Ballsbridge district collapsed in the 1820s and 1830s; for example, Duffy's calico works at Ballsbridge, eventually went out of business in the 1840s, causing considerable unemployment in the district.[104]

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[103]Fergus D'Arcy, 'The Decline and Fall of Donnybrook Fair: Moral Reform and Social Control in Nineteenth Century Dublin', *Saothar*, 13 (1988), pp.7-21, pp. 16-17.
[104]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol.8, Sullivan to Honoria Clarke, 20 October 1847 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/8).

The conversion of this part of the estate into middle class residential suburbs changed the character of the district entirely. The good citizens of Wellington and Waterloo Roads did not want the 'wild and reckless gathering of a multitude, devoted to all manner of unrighteousness'[105] disturbing the peace of their suburban idyll (**6.40**). Attempts had been made before to suppress the fair which had failed. However, a Catholic curate of Donnybrook, who was appointed in 1853, was instrumental in successfully organising public opinion against the fair. A committee (which included the agent of the Pembroke estate) was formed to raise the fee which was required as compensation by the holders of the patent of the fair; a subscription list was opened. To this, Sidney Herbert donated £100; other interests in the area contributed similar and smaller sums. A Mrs Catherine Warren, who was the widow of Alderman Warren (who built Mespil Parade back in the 1830s), contributed £1,000 to the fund.[106]

The campaign was a success. The deed surrendering the patent for holding the fair was signed in September 1855 by the Lord Mayor, Alderman Joseph Boyce. So the peace and tranquility of the newly suburban Pembroke estate was ensured. Ironically enough, this was done by a man whose vast, failed, speculation meant that much of Wellington Road in 1855 had yet to be built, some twelve years after the building leases had been granted.

[105]Most Rev. Dr Donnelly, Bishope of Canea, quoted in Laurence O'Dea, 'The Fair of Donnybrook', *Dublin Historical Record* , vol. xv, no. 1 (October, 1958), pp.11-20, p.16.
[106]O'Dea (1958), p.17.

Chapter 7

The Estate of Sidney Herbert 1827-1861
Building in the Eastern Estate

'A pretty village about a mile from Dublin... capable of great improvement' is how Cornelius Sullivan described Sandymount **(7.1)** **(7.2)** **(7.3)** in 1829.[1] A 'great improvement' is certainly what was needed at that time, for Sandymount and its northern neighbours, Ringsend and Irishtown, were in fact little changed since the early 1800s. Ringsend and Irishtown were long-established settlements - Ringsend from the sixteenth century, Irishtown from the fifteenth - and thus had a distinct character of their own. Sandymount, however, was more recent. In Jonathan Barker's 'Map of Baggat-Rath and all its Subdenominations' of 1762 **(7.4)**, the nucleus which would develop into the village comprised just 'the Conniveing house & Garden joyng to ye sea'.[2] Further settlement had occurred by the time of John Roe's map of 1794 **(7.5)**, which shows around ten houses, mainly along what would become known as Newgrove Avenue, which runs inland from the coast to meet two other lanes (which would become Seafort and Sandymount Avenues) at the village green. One of these was the house built for William Ashford to designs by James Gandon.[3]

Another survey map by John Roe in 1803 **(7.6)** shows that a considerable degree of change had occurred in the intervening years.[4] By this time the village was well established around the central green, with some settlement also occurring along the arterial routes. Several significant infrastructural changes had occurred since the earlier survey. In 1794, there were really only two ways to the village: along the sea shore, and a lane from the Blackrock Road along what would later become known as Sandymount Avenue. By 1803 a road had been opened north from the green towards Irishtown. Named on the survey as 'Road to Sandymount', it would later become Sandymount Road. Serpentine Avenue possibly existed as some sort of a pathway westwards out of

[1] NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 2, Cornelius Sullivan to H.H. Oddie, 11 July 1829 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/2).
[2] In John Rocque's 'Map of the County of Dublin' of 1760 the lands to the south of the Conniveing House were called 'Brickfield Town'. Thus, Brickfield Town was not an antecedent of Sandymount village, but the wider, southern, district.
[3] The house on plot number 28 on Roe's map.
[4] NAI, PEP, Maps, John Roe, 'Map of Part of the estate of the Rt Hon Richard Lord Viscount Fitzwilliam lying between the Circular Road and the Black-rock', 1803 (Acc. No. 97/46/4/12).

the village in 1794,[5] but by 1803 it was a well established route with at least eight houses along its south side.

In terms of the eastern district of the estate as a whole, the most significant infrastructural change to have occurred since the 1794 survey was the creation of the Dodder Canal. Roe's map of 1794 clearly shows the meandering course of the river below Ballsbridge; much of the area west of the Dodder was mud flats and therefore not only unsuitable for development, but also a risk to the stability of the wider area. However, the 1803 map shows the huge change which had been wrought upon the landscape since the earlier survey. The river had been channelled into a canal just downstream of the distillery, and a bridge erected over it as part of another new route, which effectively continued the Circular Road to the coast. In fact, it seems that this new route (which would become Bath Avenue and Londonbridge Road) was originally intended as a road to the Pidgeon House (**7.7**).[6] However, this eastern extension, which would have involved considerable reclamation of new ground offshore, did not materialise. Nevertheless, the creation of the Dodder Canal, which was carried out by William Vavasour circa 1802,[7] created some sixty-five acres of 'new' ground, and protected against encroachment by the sea at the northern end of this part of the estate.

Following what was evidently a period of immense change between 1794 and 1803, there seems to have been comparatively little over the next few years. Thus, Taylor's map of 1816, and even Roe's survey of 1826 (**7.8**), show only a small increase in settlement, for example, along Sandymount Road towards Irishtown. A typical example of the early building around Sandymount village can be seen in some houses on Newgrove Avenue of c.1810 (**7.9**). There were also the terraced schemes of the late 1790s / early 1800s, such as Tritonville and at the east end of Sandymount Lane, already referred to in Chapter 2. It should be noted that 'Pleasant View', a substantial, fine terrace of houses (which survives today), shown on Taylor's map (**3.1**) just off Sandymount Lane, was actually outside the boundary of the estate at that time. Sydney Parade still had not been opened (that part of the eastern estate was still substantially lakeland) and the future Park Avenue was still only a cul-de-sac leading off Sandymount Lane.

[5] There is a faint suggestion of a laneway in Roe's map of 1794 (**7.5**).

[6] NAI, PEP, Maps, John Roe, 'Map of that part of the City of Dublin situate on the South Side of the River Liffey together with the line of Circular Road from the first lock of the Grand Canal to Ringsend', 1793 (Acc. No. 97/46/4/11).

[7] A letter from Vavasour, dated 17 December 1802, survives. It details the work involved in constructing the canal and refutes that it was responsible for the subsequent collapse of the Ringsend Bridge, further downstream. NAI, Official Papers (Acc. No. OP 143/26). Roe's survey of 1794 identifies Vavasour as the tenant of the mud bank.

Before analysing the evolution and nature of the building development which occurred in the eastern estate between 1827 and 1861, it is necessary to establish the context from which it emerged. The most defining feature of this part of the estate was its proximity to the sea. The constant threat posed to the stability of the hinterland has already been referred to in Chapter 1. It became apparent to Cornelius Sullivan, very early in his agency, that to allow for improvement of the whole area, proper measures had to be taken to protect the coastline from the sea.

The Physical Protection of the Eastern Estate

In 1830, Cornelius Sullivan wrote to the surveyor Thomas Sherrard, of Blessington Street, requesting he make an inspection of the coast and report what could be done for its best protection. He described how for some years the sea had been making gradual encroachments along the shore from Irishtown to Old Merrion, where the beach was the only protection to all the adjoining property. This caused Sullivan 'no small degree of uneasiness' because, as he described to Brassington, 'were the sea to make any effectual breach into the low lands along the Dodder, the injury to the estate might be immense'.[8] Sullivan reckoned that a 'protecting wall' should be erected along the coast. He saw the dual benefit in the construction of such a wall: not only would it secure the property, but it would also enable the opening of a new road along the shore, which would be 'attended with great benefit to the estate'.[9]

In April 1832, Sullivan wrote cogently to Sidney Herbert of the danger to the property and the very great need of a 'Barrier Wall'. Possibly derived from Sherrard's report mentioned above (which seems not to survive), Sullivan wrote that 'the Harbour of Kingstown, particularly since the Western Pier was built, has thrown a powerful sea on that part of the coast'. He continued, 'although large sums have been frequently expended in forming ramparts of heavy stone, still the increasing force of the sea has made rapid inroads on the Beach'.[10] The construction of the wall commenced during 1834, and even before substantial work had been carried out, Sullivan wrote to Herbert in August to inform him that he had lately been making lettings of ground which had been unproductive for some years. He was confident that the new road would 'induce the renewal of leases in the neighbourhood', and would 'very soon compensate for the money laid out'.[11]

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[8]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 3, Sullivan to Thomas Sherrard, 21 June 1830 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/3).
[9]Ibid.
[10]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 3, Sullivan to Sidney Herbert, 21 April 1832 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/3).
[11]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 5, Sullivan to Herbert, 18 August 1834 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/5).

It was a project of the grandest scale. The line from Sandymount to Merrion was about one and a half miles, and the road was made forty feet wide the whole way along. In many parts the embankment was seven feet thick.[12] A large portion of the wall and passage had been completed by June 1837, with the remainder in progress. Already, Sullivan could see the great enhancement it was to the value of the estate: he wrote to Herbert that it had 'already been the reason of new Houses being erected'.[13] The road was finished in November the same year and the agent was clearly delighted when he wrote to the Grand Jury requesting they appoint an overseer to keep it in order; he described how the new line would 'afford the citizens of Dublin a Healthy and beautiful promenade'.[14]

The expenditure was substantial and was paid for, in full, by Sidney Herbert. Over the course of some ten years, between 1834 and 1844, the cost of the construction (and frequent repairs due to storm damage) of the wall was over £3,000.[15] Several builders were involved in the project, but much of the work was carried out by George Farrell, whom we have already met in connection with building on Wilton Place in the 1840s. Also involved were a William and John Askins, both builders, of Sandymount, who were possibly brothers.[16] These two names would become involved in building development in the eastern estate.

Although breached from time to time, the coast wall provided stability for this part of the estate and allowed confidence in building speculation to develop. However, the estate was still, at times, vulnerable to flooding by the River Dodder. Even after the formation of the Dodder Canal in the early years of the century, the river was not fully stable, and reports of the river breaking its banks recur during the correspondence.

There was long-running disagreement between Sullivan, on behalf of the estate, and the Kingstown Railway Company in connection with the impact of the railway on the drainage of the area. The railway had opened in 1834, and there had been issues of contention ever since. Sullivan was pre-disposed against the Railway Company from the start for a number of reasons: it had affected his own property interests in the vicinity of

[12]In the same letter Sullivan informed Herbert that he feared it would be 'quite useless attempting to plant it so near the sea and exposed to the Easterly winds'. NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 6, Sullivan to Herbert, 24 June 1837 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/6).
[13]Ibid.
[14]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 6, Sullivan to Foreman and Gentlemen of City Grand Jury, 4 November 1837 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/6).
[15]NAI, PEP, Deeds, Accounts and map relating to the sea wall at Irishtown, 10 June 1909 (Acc. No. 1011/3/11viii). Much of the stone came from William Dargan's quarry at Donnybrook.
[16]IAAHA, ASK001; ASK002.

Sydney Parade; also, it was serving to bring into prominence outer districts at the expense of the Pembroke estate. The estate does not seem to have been served by a station until quite a bit later in the century. As Sullivan wrote in 1839, 'the neighbourhood of Kingstown is improving rapidly in consequence of the Railway which has been equally injurious to Mr Herbert as beneficial to [Lord De Vesci, in Kingstown]'.[17] Nevertheless, despite his prejudices, it seems that there was indeed a case against the Railway Company. A Mr Cubitt, 'the government Engineer',[18] was called over from London by the Railway Company to make a report on the whole problem. Although from London, it is not clear from the correspondence (which always refers to him as 'Mr') which Cubitt this was. However, it is possibly Lewis, who was a successful railway architect in England in the 1840s. Described by Sullivan as 'a most honorable person who will enter into the subject with perfect candor acting equally for your interest though employed by the Directors',[19] Cubitt found in favour of the estate that the construction of the railway had impaired the existing drainage of the area and led to flooding, and recommended improvements to be made by them. The issue rumbled on acrimoniously for a number of years,[20] but was eventually settled during the 1840s.

In 1850, the then agent, Charles Fairfield, wrote, in an extensive report on the estate in general, of the damage caused by the Dodder flooding near Haig's old distillery.[21] He attributed the breach to the recently constructed bridge, New Bridge (**7.10**), which joined Haig's Avenue (the continuation of Lansdowne Road) with the newly formed Herbert Road (**7.1**).[22] He reckoned that the bridge had caused an obstruction to the flow of the river. The inundation was severe; Herbert Road was very nearly destroyed.[23] At the same time, blocked culverts and an overflowing tide caused flooding from the lake south of Sydney Parade; the newly built Saint John's Church 'stood in a Lake'.[24] It is not clear what (if any) major structural alterations were made following this episode, however the bridge seems to have remained untouched. It is likely that the situation was remedied to a great extent by the cleaning and proper maintenance of the existing sluice gates and culverts. Whatever was carried out, flooding of this extent does not seem to have occurred again.

[17]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 6, Sullivan to R. W. Lumley, 17 August 1839 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/6).
[18]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 6, Sullivan to Sidney Herbert, 2 April 1840 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/6).
[19]Ibid.
[20]Sullivan wrote in frustration to Sidney Herbert, 'nothing as yet is arranged with the railway company, it is almost impossible to make any hand of those Quakers who are the principal persons concerned'. NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 6, Sullivan to Herbert, 28 July 1840 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/6).
[21]The distillery was demolished c.1846. It was situated just south east of the sharp left-hand turn of the river, at the beginning of the Dodder Canal. It can be seen in the OS 1843 map.
[22]Herbert Road was initially named Newbridge Road.
[23]The erection of a temporary bulwark saved it.
[24]NAI, PEP, Miscellaneous, 'Report on the Estate of the Rt Honble Sidney Herbert M.P. in the City of Dublin and its vicinity', 6 February 1850 (Acc. No. 97/46/5).

Landholding in the Eastern Estate

The second major defining feature of this part of the estate, which is crucial to an analysis of its building development, is a different manner of landholding and lease allocation. The landholdings in the east seem to have been quite different to the west; it can be seen from Roe's 1826 survey that much of this part of the coastal estate was held in very large allocations, dominated by a small number of lessees.[25] Many of these had held their ground since the eighteenth century. Some of these holdings seem to have been broken up and re-allocated after the passing of the reversionary lease act in 1833 (referred to in Chapter 4), allowing speculators acquire land which they could then develop. These new speculators included a William O'Hara, as well as William and John H. Askins, whom we have already met as builders of the sea wall. Oftentimes the new reversionary leaseholders themselves built on their holding, although it also occurred that they subsequently re-leased the ground on for building. An exception was a large portion of ground, some seventy-five statute acres inland from Irishtown; it was not re-allocated by reversionary lease, but retained by William Vavasour, the existing lessee. Indeed, the estate seems to have had little authority over Vavasour.[26] Held under two leases, one of them, at least, was for a term of 150 years, having commenced in 1803. This was an unusually long term for this part of the estate at that time.

A major difference between the east and west is that building leases were almost never granted in the eastern estate until the 1850s,[27] while it was nearly impossible for building to take place without them in the west.[28] This had a fundamental impact both on the process and progress of building development. While the estate opened some roads for building (for example, the northern half of Tritonville Road, Strand Road and Herbert Road), others were opened by private, individual venture (for example, the southern half of Tritonville Road). It also meant that the estate played no part in designating or organising lines of building or allocations of building plots. This was all left to the developers who had acquired the reversionary leases. This led to some difficulties amongst these private speculators trying to arrange building development. Most

[25]These included a William Vavasour, Richard Verschoyle, Arthur Buckton, Laurence Fitzpatrick, Cranfield and Rogers, among a few others.
[26]In fact, it led to difficulties in the 1870s, because the lease contained no covenants 'restricting the tenant from building what he pleases or doing what he likes with the premises'. NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 19, J. E. Vernon, 'Minute for the consideration of the Earl of Pembroke', 16 October 1875 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/19).
[27]Some were granted in Irishtown and Ringsend villages, i.e., existing areas of established settlement.
[28]With the possible exception of the very early houses along Leeson Street Upper, Wellington Place, and Haddington Road.

significantly, they did not have the authority, which the estate had in the western half, of acquiring land to provide for the allocation of building lots. In other words, the irregular nature of the boundaries of the lots (even after the granting of reversionary leases) often did not allow for the comprehensive allocation of regular plots for building along any particular building line. There is evidence that this could be a considerable problem encountered by potential developers.

William O'Hara, an architect and engineer, supervised several major works on behalf of the estate; he also acquired a considerable amount of ground by reversionary lease and would become a significant builder in the area. An early attempt at a large-scale development seems to have been a casualty of this landholding difficulty. Correspondence to O'Hara from Sullivan in 1841 refers to O'Hara's desire to become a tenant to ground at the rear of Belvedere House, on the Strand Road.[29] However, despite Sullivan's attempts to mediate, agreement could not be reached with other parties, who held neighbouring fields, to allow O'Hara an entrance to the ground. And so, O'Hara found it impossible to embark on his scheme. It is interesting to relate this to an undated and untitled sketch plan in another collection of estate papers in the National Archives.[30] It seems to be a plan for a residential square behind Belvedere House, with a villa occupying the central green. It might be O'Hara's intended scheme which never materialised.

William O'Hara had more plans frustrated by similar problems of landholding. A scheme he proposed for opening a road from Strand Road into Park Avenue,[31] also ran into difficulties, despite similar attempts by Sullivan to mediate between the different landholders. The administration's policy of not assisting financially in the opening of new roads in this part of the estate was also a factor. A letter from O'Hara clearly must have been critical, for Sullivan's response was somewhat indignant:

> I feel much regret at the disapprobation you express as to my management of a portion of this estate in the locality of Sandymount by a want of liberality of expenditure for benefit of the Tenantry and that my attention is too much directed to an outlay of money where the landlord is likely to derive immediate benefit by letting ground for building streets &c.[32]

[29]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 7, Sullivan to William O'Hara, 25 February 1841 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/7).
[30]NAI, PEP, Maps, [untitled and undated] (Acc. No. 2011/2/4/8).
[31]Possibly St John's Road.
[32]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 7, Sullivan to Willam O'Hara, 9 September 1843 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/7).

Sullivan's response is interesting because although he counters O'Hara's charges by drawing his attention to the amount of money spent by the estate on general improvements, he does not refute O'Hara's apparent suggestion - that more money, attention and encouragement were given to building development in the western estate.

The absence of building leases meant that building could take place without those specific covenants which, to a certain extent, controlled the character of the houses in the western estate. Indeed, the earliest reversionary leases of ground usually just contained general covenants which required the leaseholder to make repairs and improvements to any existing houses on the holding; with a requirement that a minimum amount (between fifty to one hundred pounds, or so) be spent on these improvements.[33] However, it is interesting to observe that fairly quickly the potential building frontage of each parcel of ground being re-allocated was factored into the terms of the reversionary lease offered by the estate. Thus, in 1837, Sullivan was offering a 'field in front to Tritonville road, also to the sea and passage to the baths, containing 3.3.30 statute measure, presenting three building fronts of about 800 feet'.[34] Nevertheless, building covenants still seem to have remained excluded as requirements of the leases; the suggested building potential only being used to determine a value on each piece of ground.

Reflecting what happened in the western estate, controls became more stringent from 1853, with the agency of John Edward Vernon. He appears to have introduced specific building covenants into the reversionary leases, effectively creating building leases. Thus, in 1858, the terms of such a lease offered to a Francis Salmon required that he should 'expend in permanent buildings, the character and detail whereof are to be agreed upon, a sum not less than £350.'[35] As shall be seen later in the chapter, this change in the policy of granting leases would have a significant impact on the character and rate of building development in the eastern estate.

A final impact of the different method of landholding and lease allocation in the eastern estate is a simple one. In the previous chapters the term 'builder-developer' was mostly used to describe those speculators who acquired a building lease from the estate. In other words, it was not necessarily the person who erected the house, but the one who made the initial speculation, and in whose name the building lease was granted. Clearly, the term builder-developer can not carry the same implication or meaning in the eastern

[33]For example: NAI, PEP, Deeds, 30 April 1836, Sidney Herbert to Mr William Askins, Lease of 1.3.29 ARP statute, part of Baggotrath situate at Sandymount, from 25 March 1836 (Acc. No. 97/46/2/17); NAI, PEP, Deeds, 23 May 1836, Sidney Herbert to Mr John Askins, Lease of 5.0.24 ARP statute, part of BaggottRath in Sandymount, from 25 March 1836 (Acc. No. 97/46/2/18)

[34]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 6, Sullivan to C.C. King, 2 December 1837 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/6).

[35]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 12, John Edward Vernon to Francis Salmon, 21 December 1858 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/12).

estate - because building leases were rarely granted. Thus the information about the building of houses in the east, and the people involved in that progress, is derived solely from the Griffith Valuation, without any means of cross-referencing with building lease information. As has already been pointed out, the investors who took the reversionary leases often acquired large lots of ground, and frequently sub-let much of it on, to be built on by other interests. The names derived from the Griffith Valuation (i.e. names connected with the house while it was 'in progress' or 'building') are frequently not names who acquired reversionary leases. Thus, the term 'builder-developer', when used in connection with the eastern estate, comes to mean a person who either carried out or organised the actual building of the house - not necessarily a leaseholder of the estate.

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Early Development: Sandymount and Irishtown

Along with the construction of the sea wall, one of the earliest projects embarked upon by Sullivan, with the aim of improving the whole area, was the enclosing and planting of Sandymount village green. He secured a donation of £300 for the work from the landlord in 1832, and the keys of the newly enclosed and landscaped green were handed over to the local citizens in a ceremony in February 1833. There was, according to Sullivan in a letter to Sidney Herbert, a 'deep sense of gratitude felt by your tenantry in that Neighbourhood for this and the many other acts of kindness they have experienced from you'.[36] Poor Sullivan was grievously disappointed to find in July, later the same year, that the green had become overgrown and neglected. He wrote to E. A. Gibbon of the 'Sandymount Committee' in August that 'where so many respectable individuals are concerned and permit this neglect, it must operate as a check to other improvements'.[37] The matter was evidently attended to thereafter as nothing more is recorded on the matter.

Some of the earliest building around the village after 1827 was along the south side of Claremont Road (then named Serpentine Avenue). It is interesting to observe the mixed character of the houses, which were erected in a piecemeal fashion between 1826 and 1837.[38] Numbers 1 and 3 were probably rebuilt some time later in the nineteenth century. However, the character of number 5 (**7.11**), a three bay, two-storey house can certainly be dated, stylistically, to the early 1830s, if not earlier. It is followed by number 9 (**7.12**), a curious two storey 'corner' house, with the entrance front at a right angle to

[36]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 4, Sullivan to Herbert, 5 February 1833 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/4).
[37]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 4, Sullivan to E. A. Gibbon, 28 August 1833 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/4).
[38]None appear on Roe, 1826, but are present on the OS 1837.

the road. Finally there is number 11 (**7.13**), a three bay cottage; and numbers 13 to 15 (**7.14**), which are two three-bay, two-storey houses. For all of these houses, not only is there no attempt to co-ordinate their elevations, but there is no effort to align their street frontages either.

These houses were all built on ground which was held by Richard Cranfield in 1826.[39] However, it is not possible to establish who was involved in building them. One of the earliest schemes of houses for which it is possible to find a name as builder-developer, and an approximate date, is numbers 31 and 33 Seafort Avenue (**7.15**). They were built by a Captain W. L. Otway, *circa* 1832, on a holding from which the previous tenant had been ejected. In fact, they were built under a proto-reversionary lease, in that Sullivan incorporated general clauses of the sort which would later become commonplace after the Reversionary Lease Act: for example, that Otway was to spend at least £300 in permanent improvements to be made within one year.[40] Four bay, one-storey over raised basement, with an elegant management of steps to the raised entrance, the houses are considerably grander than the terraced cottages more commonly found.[41] They are, perhaps, the earliest example of the one-storey over raised basement scheme which would become popular in the eastern estate, later in the century.

The two lots of houses mentioned above were built on existing roads which radiated from the village green. The first major road to be opened, with the intention of building development, was Tritonville Road (**7.1**), which was opened southwards from Irishtown church to the junction with Newbridge Avenue (which was then just a lane to Haig's distillery) and Sandymount Road. From Roe's survey of 1826, it seems that the new road was opened along a route which already partially existed, along which at the southern end, on the east side, a terrace had been built in the early nineteenth century.[42] The southern half of the road (from that junction to Serpentine Avenue) was not opened until the 1840s.

The cost for constructing the road was shared jointly between Sidney Herbert and John J. Verschoyle[43] who had a large holding in the vicinity. It was opened in April 1832, and Sullivan wrote to Herbert that he expected it would increase the prosperity of

[39]Roe, 1826.

[40]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 3, Sullivan to W. L. Otway Esq., 6 December 1831 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/3).

[41]The steps were a cause of concern to the agent who found that they encroached upon the road. It is not possible to determine whether the steps as they appear today were altered. NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 4, Sullivan to Captain W. L. Otway, 5 July 1833 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/4).

[42]Already referred to in Chapter 2.

[43]Probably a nephew of Richard Verschoyle, Barbara Verschoyle's husband.

the Irishtown area.[44] It seems that Sullivan intended speculation of a high calibre: the road is unusually wide for this part of the estate.[45] A few months later, he was offering ground to William Askins, for building 'both in front to the road as also to the sea'.[46] Askins declined, but Sullivan secured another developer in the space of a week. The Revd R. H. Wall, the rector of Saint Matthew's Irishtown, acquired the ground and built on it a terrace of four two-bay cottages, numbers 2 to 8 (**7.16**),[47] adjacent to his church. He does not seem to have built on the seaward side of the plot.

As has already been described, to have such specific information from the estate correspondence that gives the builder-developer and date of the houses is very rare. Far more common for this part of the estate, and this time, is the building development along the rest of this stretch of the road (see appendix 2ii). For this, it is possible only to garner information from the Griffith Valuation. The next scheme to be built was numbers 1 to 13, Tritonville Terrace (**7.17**), probably by a Samuel Mathews, possibly a solicitor and attorney of Lower Dominick Street. Built by 1837, it is a nearly continuous, uniform terrace of seven houses; they are somewhat different in character to most schemes of the time. The single pile roof, with no parapet hiding the junction with the wall, and the upper floor windows tucked directly under the eaves, form a composition which is, perhaps, less 'metropolitan' than most of the rest of the houses on the road.

There were two other substantial blocks of development on this side of the road (**7.18**): Christina Terrace, numbers 23 to 27, and Tritonville, numbers 31 to 49.[48] These are later, being built between 1843 and 1847. Christina Terrace was probably built by a Thomas Fallon, who owned a furniture and warerooms in Henry Street. Two bay, and two storey over raised-basement, they could have been built on any road in the western estate. The houses of Tritonville, however, are quite different. One storey over basement, they are that distinct hybrid (already seen in Seafort Avenue) which is clearly drawn from the terraced development described in the previous chapter, but adapted to suit the less formal, coastal location. Although overall quite unified, the terrace was, in fact, built with the involvement of three different names: an Andrew Ellard, a musical instrument maker of Sackville Street Lower; a Lawrence Nolan, surgeon of Suffolk

[44]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 3, Sullivan to Herbert, 21 April 1832 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/3).
[45]Possibly partly due to the existing route it overlaid. Roads of this width did not occur again in the eastern estate. In fact, Sullivan was quite audacious: at the same time as he opened this road, which led from Irishtown towards Sandymount, he was writing to Sidney Herbert of the misery and poverty in Ringsend, just the other side of Irishtown. In the summer 1832, the cholera epidemic was spreading rapidly through Irishtown as well as Ringsend.
[46]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 3, Sullivan to William Askins, 26 September 1832 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/3).
[47]Number 2 is now demolished.
[48]The gap between the two schemes was originally intended for a road; it is not known when the idea was abandoned. Griffith Maps 1 and 2.

Street; and a John Hogan, carpenter and builder of Winetavern Street. In the Griffith Valuation, it was recorded that number 39, a three-bay house cost 'about £340 to build and finish', and that number 41, a two-bay house, cost 'about £260 to build and finish'.[49] Finally, it should be noted that, with the exception of the earliest houses, numbers 2 to 8, all the houses are considerably set back from the line of the road.

The west side of Tritonville Road was, in the context of the times, a relatively successful development, built in just two phases. The first phase, of seven houses, built by 1837; the second phase, of seventeen houses, nearly entirely built in the space of four years - between 1843 and 1847. It actually seems to indicate a more successful rate of building development than contemporary development in the western estate. Ground does not seem to have been available for building to the same extent, on the opposite side of the road. A terrace of four houses was built next to number 8, *circa* 1862. The rest of the east side was not built until the twentieth century.

The Reversionary Lease Act was passed in 1833. However, a valuation first had to be made of all the ground potentially available for such renewal, before any new lease could be granted. The earliest reversionary lease to be granted for this part of the estate was from September 1834. Thus, the opening out of the vast swathe of ground south of Sandymount village was occurring *in tandem* with the construction of the sea wall and, therefore, the new Strand Road. Coincidentally, two of the three main contractors of the wall - John H. and William Askins - were also significant investors in reversionary leases along, and behind, the coastal strip.

Strand Road

Echoing the construction of the sea wall, house building proceeded along the new Strand Road broadly chronologically, from north to south. Unfortunately, it is not possible to date any house before 1843 because the 1837 OS map (which is the only source available for dating houses before 1840) does not cover the coastal area. We have to wait until the second OS survey, of 1843, before it is possible to trace the rate of building. The very earliest (surviving) houses to be built were, probably, numbers 11 and 13 (**7.19**). These houses are possibly shown on Roe's map of 1826 (**7.8**) (on plot number 89). They are distinctly different to any other houses built on the road.[50] The rest of the surviving houses were almost certainly all built from the later 1830s onwards.

[49]Griffith Cancelled Book 1.

[50]They are also set considerably further back from the road than any of the other houses, possibly supporting the suggestion that they are earlier - i.e. before the sea wall was built.

It is important to note that the roofs of most of the houses along the Strand Road have been completely altered.

The houses along the road are diverse in character, despite their relatively cohesive timescale (see appendix 2ii). There is a considerable number of cottages, terraced or detached, two or three bay, one storey or one-storey over basement: for example, number 17 (re-roofed) (**7.20**) and numbers 95 and 97 (**7.21**). There has been a certain amount of alteration to many of these houses, particularly in relation to the roof. It is probable that many of the roofs were originally double-pile behind a parapet moulding, and were altered to a single-pitched roof, with a dormer storey, in the late nineteeth or early twentieth century. An exceptionally coherent example of this type is a terrace of three, numbers 23, 25 and 27 (**7.22**), which were built by a Robert O'Hara, a carpenter and builder of Townsend Street. Their brick-faced elevation is unusual among all the other houses on the road, which are generally rendered, possibly because of their very close proximity to the sea.

The rest of the houses are generally in terraces - mostly two bay, two-storey over raised basement. They are not terraced in a continuous line along the strand, but more usually in self-contained units, either in a uniform line of up to six houses, or as smaller 'set-pieces'. The earliest examples are the most interesting. The northernmost terrace, Tenchfield (**7.23**), at the junction with Newgrove Avenue (**7.1**) (which leads to Sandymount Green) was probably one of the very first to be built. It was built by William O'Hara, whom we have already met as the builder whose two (later) schemes for building development, further south along the strand, were both frustrated. The terrace addresses both roads; in fact, the northernmost house actually fronts onto Newgrove Avenue, and is numbered as such. It is an elegant scheme, which works very well scenographically, terminating the vista to the north from the Strand Road.[51] Each house is one full storey over basement, and two bays, with the end houses each entered to the side. There is a subtle tension in the composition; four houses are incorporated into what is essentially a tripartite block. Two of the houses are paired in a central projection; pavilions at each end comprise one of the two bays of the outer houses. It has some fine architectural detailing, and pilasters (paired and single) have been used to demarcate different elements. This can be seen, in particular, in the house which fronts onto Newgrove Avenue (**7.24**). It was originally built as a boys' school.

Around the corner, on Newgrove Avenue, is another terrace (more or less contemporary) by O'Hara (**7.25**). Once again, a two bay, one-storey over basement

[51] Number 5, the house at the south (left) end of the terrace, has recently undergone pastiche intervention, which has destroyed the original coherence of the scheme.

scheme, it is a more modest design than Tenchfield on the Strand Road. A terrace of four houses, the block is divided into two pairs of two. Again, the scheme is elegantly composed: each pair of houses is demarcated by paired pilasters; the paired doors are framed by a projecting entablature also supported by paired pilasters. Each pair of houses shares a gateway, but with each house having a separate front path. O'Hara's final scheme was Winton, numbers 51, 53 and 55 Strand Road (**7.26**). Although it has suffered much alteration, it is still possible to see that it was originally a most elegant design which incorporated the same themes, of projection and recession and the definition of elements by pilasters, as his other houses. These three schemes not only bear testament to the involvement of an architect (most likely William O'Hara himself), but they are also of an idiosyncratic character, not only unlike any design found in the western estate, but distinctive in the context of the eastern estate also.

The rest of the terraces along Strand Road, are more uniform schemes, all two bay, two-storey over basement; the major differences found in elements such as the doors and mouldings. Three separate examples by different builders, almost all built between 1843 and 1847, demonstrate the essential similarity of form, but with different features: Belvedere Terrace, numbers 29 to 41 (**7.27**),[52] built by an Edward Bourne; Charlemont Parade, numbers 57 to 63 (**7.28**), built by a Thomas Arkins, a merchant tailor of Ormonde Quay; and numbers 77 to 81 (**7.29**), built by a William Gibbon, a barrister of Brunswick Street who lived nearby, in Sandymount Avenue.[53] Although their rendered façades make them different to terraced houses generally found in the western estate, these terraces are still, essentially, metropolitan in appearance. The terrace adjacent to numbers 77 to 81, however, is slightly different.

Blakeney Terrace (numbers 83 to 89) (**7.30**) was built by John H. Askins, the local builder who was involved in the construction of the sea wall, as well as other works around the estate, and who acquired a considerable amount of land through reversionary leases. The houses in the terrace are different to those listed above. Still two bay, two-storey over basement, their elevation is lower, and the upper windows smaller. Even though they have a continuous parapet moulding, they are more compact and cottage-like in their elevation. They are finely built, however: number 89 (at the far left end) has the only surviving unusual fanlight, and number 87 beside it has the only surviving upper floor windows with their unusual margin panes and split sashes. These were Askins' only houses along the Strand Road, but he would subsequently become a prolific builder elsewhere in the eastern estate.

[52]Numbers 29, 31 and 41 were built *circa* 1860; the rest of the houses were built between 1843-47.
[53]*Dublin Almanac and General Register of Ireland*, 1845.

Most houses along Strand Road were built between 1843 and 1847, though numbers 109 to 131 (at the junction with Saint John's Road (**7.1**)) were built around ten years later. They were built on ground originally granted in a reversionary lease to William Askins. However, it seems that Askins died before he either built on it himself, or sub-let it.[54] Also, a considerable amount of drainage had to be carried out before the land could be used for building; all this ground was where the original brickfields had been - the excavations for clay had left a large lake, described on Roe's survey of 1794 as 'brick holes'.[55] Whatever the reason for their later date, what is important about these houses is that there is a distinct, if slight, difference between them and their earlier neighbours. They are set further back from the road; they are grander and of a larger scale, for example, Luneberg (**7.31**); and they are more uniform with fewer idiosyncracies, for example, Tower Terrace (**7.32**).[56] These differences must be due to the influence of John Edward Vernon and his much tighter control of house building from the early 1850s (even under reversionary lease), compared to the rather more *laissez-faire* attitude of Cornelius Sullivan of the 1830s and 40s.

William O'Hara and Tritonville Road

Overall, it can be seen that the rate of building from the late 1830s to the early 1840s had been very good - possibly better than on the western estate. It has already been described how William O'Hara, who had built such fine houses along the strand, made attempts to develop other housing schemes, which had been frustrated. Finally, in the mid-1840s, it seems that O'Hara was able to embark on his first building development of a large scale - the opening of a road to continue the existing Tritonville Road to Serpentine Avenue, a potential building line of over 3,000 feet. It surely must have seemed the ideal time for such a development. There would have been great building activity carrying on along the strand as well as the west side of Tritonville Road (much of both these lines was built between 1843 and 1847).

Indeed, building development was also emerging along Sandymount Road (**7.1**) just down from Tritonville Road. A terrace of four houses (Madley Terrace, numbers 16 to 22 (**7.33**)), was built between 1843 and 1847 by a James Nedley,[57] who had just recently built four cottages along the Strand Road (numbers 91 to 97) (**7.21**). The difference between Nedley's two schemes is striking. The houses along Sandymount

[54]Letter in 1857 to Mrs Askins calling for payment of arrears on William Askins holdings. NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 10, John Edward Vernon to Mrs Askins, 10 March 1857 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/10).
[55]To the north of the line of St John's Road.
[56]Current choices of paint colour, notwithstanding.
[57]It is possible he was a grocer and coal factor in Sandymount village. See appendix 3ii.

Road could have been built on Waterloo Road; the houses along the strand could really only have been built there. Whether this difference is due to increasing optimism or geographical situation is, of course, not possible to say. Nevertheless, Nedley's houses along Sandymount Road certainly indicate a confidence in building speculation.

William O'Hara's new line, Tritonville Road (continuing the road of the same name), is possibly unique in the development of the estate in that it was opened up and arranged for building entirely by an individual speculator.[58] The story of the evolution of the road is convoluted and would reward a detailed study of its own. However, in the context of this study, what is of most importance here is to analyse how its character was uniquely shaped by the particular circumstances of its development.

A plan dated 1844 by William O'Hara for his new road survives in the estate papers.[59] It seems clear from Sullivan's letters that it had been a difficult and protracted process to get to this stage. Like O'Hara's proposal for the ground behind Belvedere House and for the road joining Park Avenue to the Strand (probably the line of the later Saint John's Road), the plans for the continuation of Tritonville Road were protracted and complicated by difficult negotiations with neighbouring or existing landholders. Despite much correspondence and many attempted arrangements, O'Hara's three projects ('the new line of road from New Grove to the Strand near Belvedere [House], and Martello Tower to Cottage Park Avenue, and from Serpentine Avenue to that of Sandymount'[60]) were still not commenced by October 1846.

There seems to be no further correspondence extant about O'Hara's intentions and requests. Nevertheless, he must have proceeded with the road himself shortly thereafter, because it is shown opened, with some houses built, by the time of Griffith Map 1, in December 1847. O'Hara had acquired reversionary leases for a significant amount of ground during the 1840s, for the purpose of opening the road, however with his speculation in land elsewhere around the eastern estate, it is difficult to determine exactly how much ground he held around the line of the new road.[61] His plan of 1844 (**7.34**)

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[58]It seems as if St John's Road was originally commenced by O'Hara, but it does not seem to have been completed by him. Not enough is known about the circumstances of the building development of Bath Avenue, on ground held from the Pembroke estate by William Vavasour; however, it is different in that the ground was already held by Vavasour since the eighteenth century (i.e. he had not acquired it piecemeal for the specific purpose of building).

[59]Wm O'Hara C.E., 'Plan of proposed new road between Tritonville and Serpentine Avenue', 1844. NAI, PEP, Maps (Acc. No. 2011/2/3/5).

[60]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, Sullivan to William O'Hara, 17 October 1846 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/7)

[61]The references to reversionary leases for signature in the letter books make no detailed description of where the various lots of ground are situated. It is not possible to determine the total acreage of ground he took from the estate as not all his allocations are specified. From the allocations which were specified, it can be established that he took at least twenty-five acres, anyway.

(which is orientated with the north to the bottom of the page) implies some land was held by others, although no boundaries are shown. Griffith Map 3 (**7.35**) (which is undated) shows quite clearly the complicated arrangement of plots.[62] From cross-referencing O'Hara's own plan with Griffith (1849) it is possible to establish that O'Hara held the central plot which straddles both sides of the road. An Archibald Leeson held the ground at the northern end, on the west side of the road; on the east side, Revd Richard Wall held the ground furthest north, with William Askins holding the ground adjoining it to the south. It is not known exactly what happened to the ground at the very south of the line (which seems to have been held by a Mr Kenny in O'Hara's plan of 1844).

This unique nature of the landholding was influential on the building development of the road in two ways. Firstly, it occasionally left individual building plots with very strange shapes to the rear, because they had to conform with the established boundaries. Secondly, and more importantly in terms of the development of the road as a whole, it meant that O'Hara did not have a continuous building line along his new road. In other words, although O'Hara opened the line of road, he could not compel those who already held ground which now fronted it to build. Thus it can be seen in the OS 1875 (**7.1**) that there were still a considerable number of gaps in the building line by that time. A number of these were not built on until the twentieth century.

Another feature of the road, which is possibly due to the 'private' nature of its development, is that it is noticeably narrower than most others opened on the estate. The generous width of the thoroughfares opened in the western estate was a distinct characteristic of Pembroke planning. It was a feature also of the earliest new road opened in the eastern estate, the northern Tritonville Road. However, at only twenty feet wide (approximately) the newer southern line is almost half the width of its northern namesake; the difference between them can be seen clearly on the OS 1875 (**7.1**). Possibly it was a deliberate measure by O'Hara either to maximise the area of the potential building plots, or to minimise construction costs of the road, or maybe to deal with other landowners for a minimum amount of their land.[63] With the exception of Park Avenue, it is possibly the narrowest road on the estate.[64]

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[62]Unfortunately it is not possible to establish who held the various plots because the numbering in the map does not correspond with either Griffith (1849) or any of the Cancelled Books.

[63]A letter from Sullivan in 1843 (evidently responding to a plea from O'Hara for financial assistance in opening the road) stated that in his opinion 'I consider it much more, if not entirely, for private venture than as a public advantage to the Estate'. Nevertheless, he stated the possibility of contributing 'to a proportionate part of the Expence'. NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 7, Sullivan to O'Hara, 19 August 1843 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/7). The final agreement between the two parties is not clear, although a letter of 1845 implies that Sullivan contributed £100 on behalf of the estate. NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 7, Sullivan to O'Hara, 7 June 1845 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/7).

[64]The narrowness of Park Avenue might possibly be explained by the fact that it existed as a country lane for a considerable amount of time before it was fully built on. In other words, it was not opened

It is clear from Griffith (1849) that O'Hara sub-let for building a considerable portion of his ground along the new road, although a greater amount remained in his possession.[65] It is not possible to assume that he himself intended to build on the ground he still held; of the ten houses built by the time of Griffith (1849), O'Hara does not seem to have been involved in the building of any of them. It is more probable that he intended to sub-let the ground for building to other speculators. The considerable amount of ground remaining in O'Hara's possession was probably a significant factor in his ultimate fate. As has already been seen in the previous chapter, the impact of the severe economic difficulties began to affect building development from 1847. O'Hara had acquired a large amount of land in the eastern estate; his financial outlay must have been significant. The consequence of such a considerable amount of potential building ground remaining in his hands, at a time of a slump in building and general recession, must have been catastrophic.

Following several letters requesting O'Hara to settle his rent arrears, the situation had deteriorated to such an extent in August 1848 that Sullivan wrote to Sidney Herbert to inform him of O'Hara's imminent bankruptcy.[66] There seems to have been more than O'Hara's unfortunate speculation involved in his economic demise. From Sullivan's correspondence to Herbert explaining the situation, it seems that O'Hara had held 'a lucrative situation under the Paving Board' from which he derived £400 a year but, due to 'disrespectful and impudent conduct' to the commissioners, he had been dismissed. Sullivan described to the landlord how O'Hara had made 'much exertion for improvement by building several houses which were injudiciously done'; this led to his 'embarrassments'. He had 'got largely into debt in arrears of rent' and became insolvent. However, Sullivan reckoned that the sale of his properties would clear his debt, and he proceeded to ask Herbert's assistance in getting O'Hara, who was now living in London, 'some appointment as an engineer'.[67]

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specifically for the purpose of building. Also, when it was initially built on, the houses were set well back from the road in their own substantial grounds - i.e. it was never intended for terraced development (which would imply a wider thoroughfare).

[65]The area is not given for all of the plots; but of the plots measured, O'Hara sub-let 1.2.12 A.R.P., and held 2.1.11 A.R.P. The plots which were not measured were those on which the ten houses had been built by sub-lessees.

[66]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 8, Sullivan to Herbert, 5 August 1848 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/8).

[67]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 8, Sullivan to Herbert, 3 March 1849 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/8). He was one of two supervisors of works on the Paving Board between c.1839-47. A William O'Hara was involved with the Shannon Commissioners, and seems to have been a protegée of Matthew Barrington in Limerick, but it is not known if it was the same man. (IAAIIA).

Herbert agreed to help O'Hara, but his assistance was apparently in the form of undertaking to pay him £120 for his passage to Australia.[68] From further correspondence, it seems that there was disagreement between O'Hara and Sullivan; O'Hara claimed payment was due to him for 'professional services' on the estate, however Sullivan claimed that O'Hara still owed rent on a nine acre field. Sadly, the story has to remain unfinished. Nothing more is heard of O'Hara after April 1849. Having contributed so much to the development of the eastern estate - fine terraces on Strand Road, and the opening of a significant new road, with a substantial building line - he disappears entirely from the story of the development of the eastern estate.

By the time of Griffith (1849), ten houses had been built on Tritonville Road (see appendix 2ii).[69] In addition to the ground remaining in O'Hara's possession, there were two other substantial holdings allocated for building: three roods to a Blaney Mitchell, coal merchant, Brunswick Street, and two roods to a Thomas Kirby. From the Griffith Valuation, neither appear as builders on these parcels of ground;[70] it is likely that they sub-let at least some of their ground in parcels to builders. Much of their ground was not built until considerably later.[71]

There are, very broadly, two types of house built on the road during these years. Their essential characteristic seems to be a reflection, not of the date they were built, but of the date of the lease they were built under. The earliest houses to be built were simple two bay, two storey schemes, built in pairs, for example, numbers 93 and 95 (**7.36**).[72] The significant feature here is that, generally, they were not built over a basement. It has already been stated how early building along the Strand Road does not seem to have been under the control of the estate - i.e. the lessee of the ground could build as they chose. Nevertheless, it is interesting that most houses along that line were built over a basement.[73] However, in Tritonville Road, which was built under the same lease arrangements as Strand Road, houses generally were only two storeys high. The two storeys could be arranged like numbers 84 to 92 (**7.37**), and comprise one storey over a raised basement. Two other houses show a curious compromise; numbers 102 and 104

[68]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 8, Sullivan to Herbert, 28 March 1849 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/8).

[69]The story is a little complicated in that it seems that two of the houses built by 1847 (around numbers 107 and 109) were demolished and new houses erected. Thus, only eight houses appear in the appendix as being built by 1847.

[70]Kirby had already built two houses, numbers 108 and 110, by the time of Griffith (1849), however he does not appear to have built any further houses.

[71]Mitchell's ground comprised present-day numbers 111 to 131; Kirby's comprised present-day numbers 112-120. See appendix 2ii.

[72]There is only one scheme of houses which are three bay: a terrace of three, numbers 55 to 59 (*circa* 1852-55). They were built by a Richard Leeson, on the ground held by Archibald Leeson independently of, and before, William O'Hara.

[73]Perhaps the low-lying ground, behind the newly-building sea wall, allowed for the construction of basements relatively economically.

(**7.38**) have the appearance of being raised over a basement from the outside, but inside it is little more than a half-height underfloor space.[74]

The second type of house to be built on Tritonville Road is that found in the three substantial terraced schemes at the northern end of the road: Baggotrath (numbers 56 and 58) (**7.39**); Malakoff Terrace (numbers 60 to 68) (**7.40**); and Whiteville Terrace (numbers 79 to 85) (**7.41**). According to the Griffith Valuation, each scheme was built by a single name: Whiteville Terrace by a Clarke,[75] Malakoff Terrace by a John Dempsey, and Baggotrath by a Thomas Pile. Thomas Pile was a coal merchant of Ringsend; nothing can be traced about John Dempsey, but he is probably the same as the John Dempsey who built the entire of Fitzroy Place (**6.27**) on Raglan Road in 1861-63. Following the completion of Malakoff Terrace, the agent, Vernon, wrote to Dempsey, in June 1857, offering him the adjacent ground to the north to build more houses. Dempsey declined the offer of more ground on Tritonville Road because he had 'as many buildings on [his] hands' as he could attend to at the time.[76] This could correspond with him being preoccupied with building in Raglan Road.[77]

These houses are very different in character to those already built on Tritonville Road. They could have been built on Waterloo or Wellington Road; indeed, Whiteville Terrace bears a striking resemblance to numbers 25 to 33 Waterloo Road which were erected about six years previously.[78] It is possible that there was a very particular reason for this. When the road was originally opened, the ground on which Baggotrath and Malakoff Terrace were later built was in the possession of the Revd Dr Wall, thus it was out of control both of O'Hara and the estate. The houses were not built until the late 1850s. By this time Wall's lease must have been surrendered back to the estate, and the houses built under a new lease, because it seems that the agent was able to exert control over the character and style of the houses to be built. Evidence to support this can be found in the letter offering further ground to Dempsey. The agent specified that these houses had to be built 'of a class similar to those you have already built'.[79] The agent

[74]It is interesting to note when the adjoining number 106 was built a few years later, its parapet level was the same, as was its upper-floor windows, but it did not incorporate the half-height basement.
[75]No further details are given in the Cancelled Book, but an Edward S. Clarke, M.D. was living in the terrace in 1865.
[76]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 11, John Edward Vernon to Captain Bartlett, 30 June 1857 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/11).
[77]There is another link with Raglan Road. The connection with Raglan Road (where John Dempsey was probably also building) and the Crimean War has been established in the previous chapter. Malakoff was the site of a terrible battle in June 1855; there were huge losses in the French and British armies. However, the French eventually managed to seize it, with great losses, in September the same year; it was of strategic importance in relation to Sebastopol. Christopher Hibbert, *The Destruction of Lord Raglan* (Harmondsworth, 1985), pp.285-300.
[78]See appendix 4, illustration (**A27**).
[79]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 11, Vernon to John Dempsey, 27 June 1857 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/11).

was John Edward Vernon, who, as has already been described, introduced stricter controls over building both in the western and eastern estates. Baggotrath, the houses built under Pile (who took the ground after it was refused by Dempsey), follow the elevation of Malakoff Terrace; however, partly as a result of this, they are not an altogether successful scheme. The elevation is tacked-on to what is essentially a substantial semi-detached house; the return to the side, behind the entrance porch, results in a slightly confused, overblown scheme. However, in terms of the specifications of the agent, it was exactly what he required.

Although there is no surviving evidence to prove it, it seems likely that this was also the process behind the similar character of Whiteville Terrace, across the road. These were the only schemes of this scale and character on the road. There is, of course, an exception that 'proves' this hypothesis. Numbers 126 to 136[80] (**7.42**) is a scheme of two bay, two-storey over basement houses which dates from 1852 (and therefore before the controlling agency of Vernon). However, they are not quite of the same scale as the three schemes described above. It is always possible that it was the personal choice of the builder to erect these houses over a basement. Perhaps it was a reflection of a growing optimism following the terrible years of the late 1840s. However, it is also important to note that most of the rest of the houses built during the 1850s and later, were built without basements, for example, numbers 139 and 141 (**7.43**), which are *circa* 1870. They are essentially the same template as the two bay, two storey houses of the 1840s. It is possible they were built on leases which were originally granted to O'Hara in the 1840s, and so had not fallen into control of the estate.[81] The various reasons behind the different characters of the houses will almost certainly never be established.

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Other Building Development: 1840s and 1850s

Strand Road and Tritonville Road (north and south) were the major axes of building development in the eastern estate during these years. Other new roads were also opened, or existing ones extended and improved, but none of them was either as physically extensive or as comprehensively built (during this period) as those discussed above. Herbert Road and Newbridge Avenue (**7.1**) were opened following the closure

[80] The original number 138 has been demolished.

[81] It is important to mention that no reference to any of the names who emerge as builders from the Griffith Valuation appears in the letter books. If they had acquired a new lease from the estate (rather than building on an existing lease granted in the 1840s), it is likely their names would appear at some point.

of Haig's Distillery *circa* 1845. Herbert Road was an entirely new line formed as the continuation of Haig's Avenue (now Lansdowne Road), allowed by the construction of a new stone bridge, over the Dodder. It was recently opened in 1850; it was the new road nearly destroyed by the flooding which the then agent, Charles Fairfield, believed was caused by the new bridge. Probably as a consequence of the danger of flooding, building development did not really commence along this road until the early 1860s.

Newbridge Avenue was originally known as Distillery Lane, being the laneway to Haig's distillery. It was opened as a proper road sometime before 1848, under the supervision of a John Byrne.[82] A terraced scheme of five houses, River View (**7.44**) was built at the south east end between 1852 and 1855. According to the Griffith Valuation they were built by Richard Leeson, whom we have already come across as builder of a terrace of three houses at the north-west end of Tritonville Road. In fact, these two schemes, which are exactly contemporary, were built on the one holding. River View is a modest but elegant scheme of two bay, one-storey over basement cottages. The houses on Tritonville Road are the grander scheme, being two-storey and three-bay; perhaps this is an indication of the comparative status of the respective roads.

Saint John's Road (**7.1**) seems to have been originally planned by William O'Hara but, in addition to O'Hara's difficulties already described, there seem to have been problems in constructing it (the low-lying ground caused difficulties with drainage). It does not seem to have been opened until some time between 1847 and 1851, presumably in conjunction with the erection of Saint John's Church which closes the western vista in such a dramatic way. Victoria Terrace (**7.45**), a scheme of eight houses on the south side of the road, at the eastern end, was partly built by the time of Griffith Map 2 (1852). It is a fine, substantial 'set-piece' design; the houses are two bay, two-storey over raised basement, the entrances of the end houses porched to the side. Despite its coherence, it was actually built over a period of about nine years, and by several speculators.[83] It is unusual to have such an extensive and grand uniform scheme in this part of the estate before the agency of John E. Vernon, who, as has already been described, introduced stricter building controls. Nevertheless, little is known of the policy of the agent who preceded Vernon (Major Fairfield); maybe he did determine the

[82]There are two John Byrnes listed in the *Post Office Dublin Directory* (1848) as carpenters and builders. The John Byrne who opened the road was dead by 1848. NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 8, Sullivan to James Coghlan, 19 April 1848 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/8).

[83]Five middle houses (numbers 8 to 16) were built by 1852: numbers 8 to 12 by a John Butler, numbers 14 and 16 by a Samuel Butler. Numbers 4 and 6, the houses at the eastern end, were built by 1861, by a William Graham; number 16, the house at the western end, was built also by 1861, by a Francis Salmon. This last is probably the house referred to in the *Dublin Builder*, 1 February 1860, 'Tenders are in preparation for a house at Victoria Terrace, Sandymount for Francis Salmon, Esq., Mr Sloane, C.E., architect', p.203. The house was in progress two months later, Mr Joseph Pennefather, contractor (*Dublin Builder*, 1 April 1860, p.239).

character (and unity) of the scheme, but there is no surviving evidence. With the exception of three fine detached one-storey over raised basement villas, built next to Victoria Terrace *circa* 1862, the rest of Saint John's Road (which survives) was built after 1880.

Another fine and even more substantial terrace was built off Sandymount Road, around eight years after Victoria Terrace. Leahy's Terrace (**7.46**) (1859-61[84]), a uniform terrace of ten houses, is by far the most extensive 'set-piece' scheme in the eastern estate. It was built by a Patrick Leahy, a ladies' saddle, harness and whip manufacturer of Great Brunswick Street.[85] It was almost certainly built under the control of the agent John Edward Vernon. It is likely that Leahy acquired a reversionary lease for the ground, which was held in 1847 by Richard Cranfield as part of his baths complex.[86] While nothing exists in the letter books in connection with the building of the terrace, a letter to Leahy in 1860, refers to the ground as being leased to him from the estate. The letter also grants Leahy permission to build one detached house or villa next to his terrace, but requiring it 'to be of suitable character and elevation'.[87] The terrace was certainly commenced consequent upon the building of the adjacent church of Saint Mary, Star of the Sea (1851-53) (**7.47**), an early work of the church architect, J. J. McCarthy. The simple triple-gabled A. W. N. Pugin-influenced church is framed perfectly by Leahy's terrace, which runs exactly parallel to the line of the nave. However, there is nothing to suggest the involvement of McCarthy in the design of the houses, although it is interesting to note that the parish priest of the church was a Revd Thomas Leahy - possibly a relation of Patrick.[88]

The final road to be opened during this period is one of a very different character to those discussed above. Park Avenue (**7.1**) had existed as a southwards spur off the east end of Sandymount Lane (**7.8**). This line was extended, and a proper road constructed, to meet Sydney Parade. The building of the road involved considerable work to fill in a lake left over from the brickfields. The road had been recently opened in 1838;[89] it can be seen on the OS 1837 (**7.2**). The earliest building took place along the northern (older) end (see appendix 2i). This phase of building was dominated by John H. Askins, who had acquired a substantial amount of ground in the vicinity. It is possible that Askins also constructed the road for the estate. Its original name, Cottage Park Avenue, conveys the character of the earliest building along the road. Quite

[84]Except for the last house at the east end which was completed August 1864.
[85]*Dublin Directory*, 1861.
[86]Griffith (1849).
[87]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 13, Vernon to Patrick Leahy, 30 October 1860 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/13).
[88]Griffith Cancelled Book 1.
[89]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 6, Sullivan to Herbert, 6 September 1838 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/6).

different to the largely terraced (or linear) building development found thus far in the eastern estate, these early houses were generally detached (although there were a few semi-detached schemes), and set well back from the road, in quite extensive grounds. Examples of these houses include numbers 13 (**7.48**) and 21 (**7.49**), both built by Askins. It is interesting to see in number 13 the same split sash windows, with margin glazing bars, as were already seen in Askins' Blakeney Terrace on Strand Road. Park Avenue was more comprehensively built post-1861, and a distinct change shall be seen in the character of the later houses.

The 'rural' nature of Park Avenue during this period (i.e. between 1827 and 1861) is similar to that found in Sydney Parade. As has already been described, Sydney Parade was also waterlogged and low-lying, and flooded by lakes which survived the old brickfields. Two identical early houses, Pembroke and Herbert Lodges (**7.50**), backed onto the large lake south of Sydney Parade. These are identical detached houses, built in the mid-1830s by a Robert Lovely, the proprietor of a 'slate, lath, tile, firebrick, block & c. yard and stores' in Poolbeg Street.[90] They are fine, three bay, two storey houses, with Classical proportions and details, such as pediments, bracketted cornices and porches. Sydney Parade retained this 'rural' aspect for many years; it was not affected by the second wave of building development which so altered Park Avenue, post 1861.[91]

Cornelius Sullivan was long aware of the potential of the line of Park Avenue, and had aspirations for its future development. As early as 1838, on the receipt of a memorial from the inhabitants of Old Merrion proposing a church to be built there, Sullivan recommended instead to Sidney Herbert a site along the new road from Sandymount to Sydney Parade - i.e., Park Avenue.[92] The process of deciding the site was immensely protracted, with various parties wanting the church on their own holdings. Sullivan was always in favour of building a new church, and frequently wrote to Sidney Herbert to assure him of the necessity and importance of such. The agent always supported the Park Avenue site. It should not be forgotten that he himself held a considerable amount of ground in the vicinity of nearby Sydney Parade. The church politics involved seem to have been even more convoluted. By December 1845, Sullivan was still unable to proceed with building the church because agreement could not be reached with the Archdeacon on the appointment of the curate.[93] The situation had deteriorated by April 1846, when there seems to have been direct contradiction between the Archbishop and the

[90] *Dublin Directory*, 1838.
[91] With the exception of a pair of semi-detached houses which were built in the late 1860s, to close the vista at the end of Park Avenue.
[92] NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 6, Sullivan to Herbert, 6 September 1838 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/6).
[93] NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 7, Sullivan to the Archdeacon of Dublin, 10 December 1845 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/7).

people of Sandymount on the matter.[94] There were also problems in raising the finance. The Ecclesiastical Board would not grant any money towards building a new church - it had insufficient funds to maintain those already erected.[95]

The impasse seems to have been broken by early 1847, from which time the preparations for building commenced in earnest. The design was by Benjamin Ferrey, of London who had studied under A. W. N. Pugin; the contractor was George Farrell, under the superintendence of Frederick Darley.[96] Work on the site commenced in September 1847,[97] while the foundation stone of the Church of Saint John (**7.51**) was laid in May 1848, some ten years after the memorial for the new church was first proposed.[98] The church is Norman in style, constructed of granite rubble with dressings of Caen stone. It is actually a little-altered version of the church recently built for Sidney Herbert on his estate in England by Thomas Henry Wyatt. The Caen stone was shipped over in substantial amounts from a Mr John Rogerson of Pimlico, London. The church was consecrated in 1850; the cost, which was in the region of £5,000, was paid for entirely by the landlord.[99] It is a magnificent building and its island site in the middle of the road a very dramatic and scenographic composition. Unfortunately, it must have remained in isolated splendour for a number of years; there was almost no further building activity along Park Avenue until *circa* 1862.

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All the lines of important building development described so far were either newly opened or considerably improved after 1827. There were two other lines of building in the eastern estate, both of which had already been opened by 1827; they are the main axes to the north and west: Bath Avenue and Shelbourne Road (**7.1**), respectively.[100] The latter, the old road to Beggars Bush (originally known as Artichoke Road), was an ancient line; it can be seen clearly on Barker's map of 1762 (**7.4**). It was built in a straightforward way, a gradual piecemeal terraced line of generally two bay, either two storey or one-storey over basement. Building only occurred on the eastern side; the Beggarsbush barracks occupied the ground on the west side.

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[94]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 7, Sullivan to Herbert, 25 April 1846 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/7).
[95]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 7, Sullivan to Herbert, 13 September 1844 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/7).
[96]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 7, Sullivan to Herbert, 9 September 1847; Sullivan to Benjamin Ferrey, Charing Cross, London, 11 September 1847 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/7).
[97]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 7, Sullivan to Herbert, 22 September 1847 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/7).
[98]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 8, Sullivan to Herbert, 27 May 1848 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/8).
[99]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 8, Sullivan to Col Henry Hall, 30 December 1847 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/8).
[100]After the Earl of Shelbourne, one of the titles of the Marquis of Lansdowne. Sidney Herbert's sister, Lady Georgina, was engaged to Lord Shelbourne. She died in February 1841.

Bath Avenue is more unusual. In fact, its development is unique in terms of the estate. As has already been described, it was opened at the end of the eighteenth century, intended as a direct route to the Pidgeon House. All this part of the estate - some seventy-five statute acres - were held under a very long lease from *circa* 1803, by William and Richard Vavasour. The Pembroke estate effectively had no control over this ground. In 1838-39, the agent tried to encourage the brothers to improve London bridge (the bridge joining Bath Avenue with London Bridge Road), 'to render the approach from the city to Sandymount and neighbourhood more convenient'. The agent's efforts were to no avail; it was a toll bridge, with the brothers deriving the fines, but despite Sullivan's claims that their property would increase in value by £1,000 a year if they improved and opened the bridge to the public, they did nothing.[101] The building development of this whole area suffered as a result.

Bath Avenue was effectively the continuation of the Circular Road, and it is interesting to see that it reflects something of the character of Haddington Road, also part of the Circular Road. Both incorporate early individual houses, such as numbers 33 and 35 Bath Avenue (**7.52**); and both incorporate terraced three-bay houses, such as numbers 19 and 21 (**7.53**), which are unusual elsewhere in the western estate.[102] However, the houses on Bath Avenue tend not to include basements, while those on Haddington Road do.

It is nearly impossible to investigate the nature of the building development of the land held by the Vavasours. Because it was out of the control of the Pembroke estate, there is effectively nothing about the development of this area in the estate archives. While the evolution, and possible names involved, can be traced post-1847 from the Griffith Valuation, the planning, policy or conditions of development imposed by the Vavasours remain unknown. In this context it is interesting that in this part of the estate emerged two schemes totally unlike anything elsewhere in the estate. Vavasour and Havelock Squares (**7.54**) (**7.55**) are two small schemes tucked away behind Bath Avenue, between it and the line of the railway. Neither of them appear on the OS 1843, but Vavasour Square is shown nearly completed by the time of Griffith Map 1, only four years later. It seems likely that Havelock Square was affected by the recession, it was not completed until *circa* 1866.

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[101]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 6, Sullivan to Revd Richard Vavasour, 20 October 1838; Sullivan to Revd Joshua Verschoyle, 24 October 1838; Sullivan to William O'Hara, 10 July 1839 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/6). The old wooden London bridge was eventually replaced by a stone bridge in 1856. Similarly, the old wooden drawbridge at Ringsend was replaced the following year, in 1857.

[102]With the exception of along the line of Leeson Street Upper and Wellington Place, the earlier developments.

None of the names involved in the building of the two squares seem to have been involved in building elsewhere in the estate. Vavasour Square was mostly built by two speculators, a William Phillips and a John Shaw, who both held the ground from Revd Vavasour. The names involved in the building of Havelock Square are more numerous. The nature of their development is reflected in the character of the two schemes. Vavasour Square (**7.54**) is more coherent; the houses are uniform and also larger, being three-bay, one storey over basement. In Havelock Square (**7.55**) the houses are less regular, reflecting the protracted evolution of the scheme; they are also smaller, nearly all of them being just two-bay, one storey over basement. The near perfect uniformity of Vavasour Square, and the attempt towards it in Havelock Square, implies that there was a degree of control or vision guiding the planning of these two schemes. However, it was nothing to do with the Pembroke estate.

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Building in the Eastern Estate 1827-1861: Conclusion

The policy of the Pembroke administration towards building development in the eastern estate between 1827 and 1861 varied somewhat between the different agents. As has been shown, Cornelius Sullivan did not grant building leases, but reversionary leases. Nor could he prescribe what was to be built on each allocation of ground; instead, he figured the potential frontage available, and used this to determine the rent. This potential frontage always seems to have been based on terraced development. Indeed, as with the western estate, the building development in the eastern estate during Sullivan's agency was mostly terraced houses.

This seems to have been disapproved of by the succeeding agent, Major Fairfield. In his 1850 report on the estate, he criticised Sullivan's determination of value of plot according to potential, and hence the encouragement of, terraced houses. According to Fairfield, not only did it discourage building, because it was setting the value of the ground too high (and losing potential speculators as a consequence), it was destroying the aspect of this part of the estate. Fairfield wrote in his report what he felt would be the consequence of Sullivan's tendency to encourage terraced housing in the neighbourhood of Sandymount:

> I think it hardly fair after taking a full rent for these Villaresque sites, to allow them to be deprived of all approach to rusticity, by allowing rows of small houses

> to be built. A favoured locality loses its charm, and is abandoned for a better field, and property there becomes quickly deteriorated.[103]

However, Fairfield's agency was short-lived. His successor, John Edward Vernon, returned to the policy of Cornelius Sullivan. Indeed, more so. He introduced what were effectively building leases, with specific, prescriptive building covenants incorporated in the reversionary leases. And it can be seen that the houses built under his control were certainly more substantial and metropolitan in character.

Nevertheless, the character of the houses built along the coastal margin during this period remains distinct. The building speculations were on a smaller scale than was the case in comparable coastal situations like Monkstown and Dun Laoghaire. The extensive building lots held in these latter developments did not occur in the Pembroke estate, possibly partly because of the nature of landholding and the reversionary lease system. Again, like the building development which occured in parts of the western estate, such as Waterloo Road, there was a considerable number of smaller speculations. While some investors did acquire considerable amounts of ground, it seems that they still preferred building in comparatively small schemes, and possibly sub-letting parts of their holding. These factors lead to developments on a much more modest scale, but with a far greater variety and liveliness, than those further south along the coast: for example, Longford Terrace in Monkstown. For development behind the coastal strip, the character of the houses was surprisingly similar to that found in the western estate, considering the lack of building restrictions up until the 1850s. Only the 'rural' developments of Park Avenue and Sydney Parade have a character absolutely different to the western estate.

By 1861 a tremendous change had occurred in the eastern estate since 1827, in terms not just of building development, but of infrastructure and topography also. The rate of opening of new roads - and the successful completion of building along them - was impressive. In fact, during this period, building development was probably more successful and efficient in the eastern estate than the west. The radically-changed nature of Sandymount in just over thirty years contrasts sharply with its northern neighbours, Irishtown and Ringsend. These two long-established villages changed little during this period: they remained poor and densely settled, and retained a strongly industrial character, with their docks, rope-walks, glass, lime and salt works. Sandymount, however, from a wild, exposed coastal hinterland vulnerable to flooding, had created an identity of respectable and genteel seclusion.

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[103]NAI, PEP, Miscellaneous, Charles George Fairfield, 'Report on the Estate of the Rt Honble Sidney Herbert M.P. in the City of Dublin and its vicinity', 6 February 1850 (Acc. No. 97/46/5).

Chapter 8

The Estate 1861-1880
Suburban Splendour

The 'lamentable intelligence' of the death of Sidney Herbert reached John Edward Vernon on 3 August 1861, the day after the landlord died.[1] Immediately, the estate office was closed until further notice. It re-opened after ten days; Vernon remained as agent: business, apparently, as usual. In truth, in terms of policy and management, little changed following the death of Sidney Herbert. In fact, Vernon's continued agency was more significant than the change of the landlord. The heir to the estate, George Robert Charles, was only eleven when his father died; the agent reported to the boy's guardians, as well as to the executors of Fitzwilliam's will.[2] However, it is likely that Vernon had a considerable degree of autonomy in his administration; after all, he had already been agent for nearly eight years, and there seems to have been no doubt over his continuation in the post. By this time, he clearly held the full trust of the family to act in the best interest of the Dublin estate. This situation would prevail until July 1871, when George Robert Charles, as the thirteenth Earl of Pembroke, reached his majority.[3]

The death of Sidney Herbert was not in itself a catalyst for change. Certainly, the estate was on the cusp of a substantial increase in building development, however, the foundations for this actually originated in the late 1850s. Indeed, it could be argued that much of the 'formation' of the estate had taken place by 1861. The estate had been largely secured from flooding by the Dodder; its coastal boundaries had been stabilised; it had survived the division and upheaval of the railway. The network of roads, which would contain much of the building development for the next twenty years, had been mostly established or defined **(8.1)** **(8.2)**. The gradual, but determined, resurgence of interest in building speculation towards the end of the 1850s has already been described in Chapter 6. By 1861 the momentum had been established. It is important also to set the increase in building in the Pembroke estate in its context. It was not an isolated increase: from the early 1860s there was substantial expansion in building speculation

[1] NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 13, John Edward Vernon to John H. Askins, 3 August 1861 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/13). Herbert had been ill for some time.
[2] The nature of Fitzwilliam's legacy meant that when the estate was left to a minor, authority was shared by the executors of his will as well as the legal guardians of the minor.
[3] George Robert Charles became the thirteenth Earl of Pembroke in 1862, on the death his uncle, the twelfth Earl, Robert Henry (who was Sidney Herbert's half brother).

throughout the southern suburbs.[4] A notice in the *Dublin Builder* of 1 January 1861 describes building ground to be let on several new roads 'from Upper Leeson Street to Mount Pleasant Square, Upper Charlemont Street, and the neighbourhood of Leeson Park'.[5] Two years later, building-sites around Bushfield Avenue in Donnybrook were being promoted: 'the great demand for moderate-priced houses in this locality ensures to Capitalists an immediate and profitable return'.[6] The new-found confidence in building speculation cannot be regarded as unique to the Pembroke estate.

Expansion of the Estate

There were two major acquisitions of ground by the Pembroke estate (**I.i**) just before 1861, the first of any significance for at least a century. The first was a portion of Lord Milltown's estate along the Donnybrook Road which was purchased in 1856, through the Encumbered Estates' Court, for £2,024.[7] This holding was later supplemented *circa* 1869 by the purchase of the neighbouring 'Palmerston Fields' from a Mr Hone, for the sum of £1,750, described by Vernon as being 'of great importance' to the estate.[8] The second major acquisition was in March 1860; it was the purchase of some 166 statute acres of part of the lands of Simmonscourt from a George H. Lindsay, also through the Encumbered Estates' Court. The price was £7,222 sterling.[9] These two parcels of land, the first in Donnybrook, the second in Simmonscourt, effectively 'filled in' the void at the centre of the existing horseshoe-shaped boundary. The estate now controlled a vast, nearly continuous, swathe of land from the Donnybrook Road eastwards to the coast, as far south as Merrion.

Both of these acquisitions were significant in terms of building development - but mostly after 1880. The Milltown holding and the Palmerston Fields included the east side of Morehampton Road. At the turn of the century, a substantial portion of them were given over to first-class housing and a public park - both known as Herbert Park. The

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[4]Comprehensive development in the northern suburbs was later. There had been attempts to improve and develop Clontarf in the 1860s but suburban expansion there remained slow. While the 1860s were a decade of record growth in the southern suburbs, Clontarf's population actually declined. The creation of the Clontarf Township in 1869 was a further attempt to encourage development in the district. Mary E. Daly, *Dublin The Deposed Capital, A Social and Economic History 1860-1914* (Cork, 1984), p.166. The development of Drumcondra did not commence until the late 1870s.

[5]*Dublin Builder*, 1 January 1861, p.304.

[6]*Dublin Builder*, 15 August 1863, p.142.

[7]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 9, Vernon to Sidney Herbert, 1 December 1855; Vernon to R.F. Burnett, 25 January 1856 (Acc. No. 97/46/3.9). Statements of Accounts, Substance of Mr Vernon's account for 1 year, due Michaelmas 1855 (Acc. No. 2011/5/1 ix).

[8]NAI, PEP, Statements of Accounts, John Edward Vernon, Report for the year ended 25 March 1869 (Acc. No. 2011/5/2).

[9]Registry of Deeds, 1860-8-268-212.

lands of Simmonscourt, being further removed from the city, were not developed to the same extent. Nevertheless, a long terrace of houses, Brookfield Terrace, was built along Anglesey Road (**8.2**) (which ran south from Ballsbridge) from the 1860s. More significantly, the lands of Simmonscourt provided a substantial sweep of ground which allowed for the opening of Ailesbury Road (**8.2**), also from the 1860s. Later (post-1880) building development was along the existing line of Merrion Road (the road to Blackrock), and the newly-opened Shrewsbury Road.

New Plans for Development

The opening years of the 1860s correspond with a distinct stylistic shift in the character of houses built. However, it is coincident with, rather than a consequence of, the death of Sidney Herbert. Houses which originate from before 1860 can generally be categorised as terraced, while those after are mostly semi-detached. Clearly it is not possible (or even useful) to try and establish a precise 'cut-off' date at which the character of the houses changed. This is because the completion date of a house is not necessarily directly connected to its origination. In other words, the terraces on Raglan Road (discussed in Chapter 6) would have been defined, more or less, as a scheme in the 1850s. This is the date the very earliest leases were granted; from this time, the entire line of building on the west side of the road would have been determined as terraced development. However, some of the houses were not completed until 1863-64 (two were not even completed until 1870). Thus, while this line of building dates from post 1860, strictly, its origins were earlier.

An untitled and undated plan (probably mid-1850s) (**8.3**) which survives in the National Archives sheds some light on the origin of the later development of this sector of the estate, which lies south of Pembroke Road, and from Wellington Road eastwards.[10] The plan is a composite; it shows the houses completed by that time, the plots in progress of building, and the intended line of new roads with the proposed lines of building. By comparing the houses shown as completed on the plan with their respective dates (as derived from the Griffith Valuation), it is possible to establish a likely date for the scheme as *circa* 1856-57. It shows the line of Raglan Road, which is named, and Elgin and Clyde Roads, which are not. Raglan Road was the first to be laid out and allocated for building, from *circa* 1856. The line of Elgin Road was established as an access to Raglan Road from Wellington Road; it was made possible by the re-allocation of ground on the latter road from *circa* 1855. Almost certainly, these two roads were planned at the

[10]NAI, PEP, Maps, untitled [note on back 'New roads and building sites near Ballsbridge'], n.d. (Acc. No. 97/46/4/34). It does not include Waterloo Road, presumably because it was more or less completed.

same time, although it is likely that plots along Elgin Road were not allocated until Raglan Road was fully granted. The possibility of a route along the line of Clyde Road had been established as early as the 1832 plan, discussed in Chapter 4, but this undated scheme (*circa* 1856-57) is the first time it was defined with proposed lines of building.

The scheme shows the outline of the houses proposed along the respective roads. Along Raglan Road can be seen the three terraces of nine houses, along Elgin Road are two terraces, also of nine houses each, and along Clyde Road are ranged thirteen pairs of semi-detached houses. These were mostly built as shown in the scheme. There are, however, some slight differences between the houses as proposed and as actually built. They occur mainly in the treatment of the triangle which is formed by the intersections of Raglan, Elgin, and Clyde Roads. In the plan, each angle of the triangle contains a detached villa, and along each of the two shorter sides is one pair of semi-detached houses, while along the hypotenuse are two pairs of semi-detached houses. As built, the north side of the triangle had a terrace of three houses, instead of a semi-detached unit, and the church of Saint Bartholomew's was incorporated into the easternmost angle instead of the planned villa. However, these are only very minor differences. Essentially, the character of the triangle, built with detached or semi-detached houses - not terraced - remains the same as the plan. Thus it can be seen that this plan is, more or less, the origin for the character of the houses built on these roads; it is, therefore, almost certainly the origin of the idea to incorporate semi-detached houses.

The scheme is quite sophisticated in its management of detached, semi-detached, and terraced houses. Its manner of ranging terraces along just one side of Raglan and Elgin Roads, facing detached or semi-detached villas on the other side of the road, creates a distinctly more sub-urban character than occurs along Waterloo and Wellington Roads. It is also the most effective use of the available ground; if terraces had been ranged along the east side of Raglan Road they would have intruded on the building line of Elgin Road. Detached villas are incorporated as the best means of exploiting the awkward plots which result from the layout of the roads - hence they are placed at the junctions of Elgin and Raglan Roads with Clyde Road.[11] The inclusion of only detached or semi-detached houses in the central triangle is also the best use of available ground because terraces would be too congested. Combined with the villas at the southern ends of Wellington and Raglan Roads, the villas on the south side of the triangle create a distinct continuity of a more 'rural' character along the north side of Clyde Road. The line of Clyde Road is therefore even further sub-urbanised: there are no terraces at all. The detached houses of

[11] The semi-detached houses (now demolished) on the site of the American Embassy seem to have been a very interesting arrangement to solve the problems of an awkward site. They were joined 'back-to-back', thus allowing one house to front Pembroke Road and the other to front Elgin Road.

the north side face across to semi-detached houses on the south. The range of houses along the south side of Clyde Road backed onto the Swan Water culvert, which was the original boundary of the estate. The semi-detached houses blend with the fields of the Forty Acres to their rear much more successfully than would have terraced houses.

It can be seen quite clearly, therefore, that semi-detached houses were suggested by this scheme from *circa* 1856-57. However, they were, in the main, not built until the 1860s, thus conforming to the broad characterisation, already stated, of building development post-1860 as being dominated by the semi-detached house. Before examining the emergence of the semi-detached house in more detail, we turn first to the last terraced schemes in this area, which were built (post-1860) on Elgin Road.

Late Terraced Development: Elgin Road

Elgin Road was named, *circa* 1862, after James Bruce (1811-63), 8th Earl of Elgin, Governor-General of India, 1861.[12] There are four terraces along the road but it is dominated by the two blocks of nine houses each (numbers 2 to 18 and numbers 20 to 36) on the north side of the road (**8.4**). It is difficult to establish the precise date of any lease along Elgin Road,[13] but it is likely that the ground for these two terraces was the first to be allocated. In their fundamental form, scale and arrangement they are broadly similar to the terraces along the west side of Raglan Road, although they are very different in character. The terraced houses on Raglan Road (which have already been examined in Chapter 6) were built under leases dating from 1856 with most of the houses being completed between 1860 and 1862. It is likely, therefore, that the leases for the houses on Elgin Road were granted from the very late 1850s or the very early 1860s.

The two substantial terraces (totalling eighteen houses) were built by just three different builder-developers - all of whom had recently built on Wellington Road: Thomas and Gilbert Cockburn, Michael Kennedy, and Patrick Cranny (see appendix 2i).[14] They were built in two distinct phases: twelve were built by 1863, and the rest between 1867-

[12]C. T. McCready, *Dublin Street Names, Dated and Explained* (repr. Dublin, 1987), p.34. McCready dates the name of the road to 1863, however a reference in the *Dublin Builder*, 15 March 1862, p.69, indicates that the road had been named by that time. No earlier date for the name of the road can be found in the Valuation Office.

[13]No leases for Elgin Road survive in any of the estate collections in the National Archives. It has not been possible to find sufficient information in the Registry of Deeds.

[14]It should be pointed out that the Estate-Township Map Folio attributes numbers 6 to 18 to a variety of names, as do later Griffith Cancelled Books. This suggests that as soon as the houses were completed, the leases under which they were built were assigned to individual investors, who thus became the leaseholders.

68.[15] The Cockburns, as has already been described, were a prolific firm of builders. Michael Kennedy is listed in the *Directories* as a builder and carpenter of Marlborough Street, while Patrick Cranny was a boot and shoe manufacturer, by appointment to the Lord Lieutenant, whose residence was Muckross Park in Donnybrook. It is possible that the houses were erected under a joint contract by the Cockburns and Kennedy, with Cranny financially involved in the speculation. Considering the involvement of three builder-developers and a building span of at least five years, the near-perfect uniformity of character of the houses might seem surprising. However, it is undoubtedly testament to the controlling influence of the agent, already witnessed in the terraces on Raglan Road.

The difference in the character of these two terraces to those examined thus far is immediately evident. While clearly still based on the Georgian terraced house in terms of their fundamental form (particularly the scale and arrangement of the terraces on Raglan Road), in terms of decorative detail, the two terraces have completely abandoned the traditional Georgian idiom. They are thoroughly imbued with the new spirit of the Venetian Gothic Revival (**8.5**) (**8.6**). The use of polychromy in the diaper brickwork patterns over the windows and the different forms of string courses (in bands of colour, or crisp dentil mouldings) give a variety and a lively horizontality to the elevation. The entrances, too, allude to the Venetian Gothic: they are flanked by colonettes with foliated capitals, and are surmounted by pointed relieving arches of banded brickwork (numbers 2 to 16 (**8.5**)), or round-headed chunky roll-mouldings over a banded brick frieze (numbers 18 to 36 (**8.6**)). These surely display the influence of John Ruskin's *The Stones of Venice* (1851-53). It is interesting to recall the involvement of the builders Thomas and Gilbert Cockburn in the development of these houses. They were the contractors on Deane and Woodward's Museum Building in Trinity College - a building admired by Ruskin himself. The Cockburns had already built four houses on Wellington Road (numbers 64 to 70), which (as was described in Chapter 6) alluded to the Venetian Gothic in the doorcases. However, in the two terraces on Elgin Road, the engagement with Ruskinian principles was more sophisticated.

The houses are richly ornamented and finished to a high specification. They also incorporate some innovations. The segmental-headed single-pane sash windows on all floors (except those of the basement which have glazing bars) are expensive features, both in terms of the expanse of glass and the shape of the window frames. The windows of the entrance floor which are set back from the plane of the elevation in a brick 'frame'

[15]Both terraces seem to have been built concurrently, in a west to east direction.

give a sense of depth to the elevation not usually found in Georgian terraces. The entrances, in a porch recessed behind the front plane of the house, are also innovatory.

In contrast, the other two terraces on Elgin Road are unremarkable. They were both built on the south side of the road. The earlier one, comprising numbers 1, 3 and 5 (**8.7**), occupies most of the north side of the triangle (**8.3**). Developed by a Captain Robert E. Seton, the houses were built to designs by the architect William Francis Caldbeck, between 1862 and 1863.[16] The terrace is an interesting hybrid, appropriate to its *quasi* rustic situation. In the symmetry of its composition and in its proportions it alludes to the character of a semi-detached house, like the 'triple semi-detached' scheme of numbers 11 to 15 Wellington Place (discussed in Chapter 5). Once again, the focus of the block is the central house, particularly the entrance, which here is an ornamental composition incorporating classical motifs with a Venetian roll moulding around the very narrow door.[17] The simple doorcases at either end of the terrace are in the traditional Georgian style. The final terrace on Elgin Road, numbers 9 to 23 (**8.8**), was built by 1864 by a Robert Stanley as builder-developer. The eight houses are uniformly built in a simple, two bay, two-storey over basement style. They correspond with a terrace of nine houses in the untitled scheme of *circa* 1856-57 (**8.3**). It seems likely, therefore, that this terrace was stipulated by the estate: it acts as an appropriate scenographic punctuation, defining what was effectively the entrance to this whole sector of the estate from Ballsbridge.[18]

While effective in town planning terms, and though well-built, the terraces on the south side of Elgin Road bear none of the contemporary allusions of the two on the north. For all their inventiveness and sophistication, though, the two terraces on the north side of Elgin Road (which were not completed until 1868) were practically the last to be built on the estate. While they were possibly the earliest houses in Dublin to embrace the Venetian Gothic Revival, their actual form - the terraced house - became unfashionable. The 1860s, onwards, became the era of the semi-detached house. This was not the case elsewhere in the Dublin suburbs; terraced development continued in as many numbers as semi-detached. There does not seem to be the same clear division in character as occurs in the Pembroke estate. Thus for example in prestige developments such as Leeson Park

[16]They were built by Thomas Conolly, contractor, Rathmines. *Dublin Builder*, 15 March 1862, p.69. According to the *Dublin Builder*, they were in progress in 1862; according to the Griffith Valuation, they were completed by 1863.

[17]The bay windows, probably original, also focus attention on the central house. This is one of the earliest uses of them in the 1860s; they would become quite a popular feature thereafter. Earlier leases, for example for houses along Pembroke, Wellington and Waterloo Roads, prohibited projecting windows of any sort. These leases were all derived from eighteenth century leases, for Merrion Square etc. The introduction of bay windows was almost certainly allowed as a consequence of Vernon's agency.

[18]It was originally intended to continue terraced development around the corner towards Ballsbridge, however this ground eventually became instead the access to Herbert Park.

and Palmerston Road of the 1860s onwards, there occurs both semi-detached and terraced housing. This, once again, implies the singular controlling influence of John Vernon, the agent.

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The Semi-Detached House: Burlington, Lansdowne and Raglan Roads

Although it came to characterise the building development of the 1860s and 1870s, the semi-detached house had earlier origins. The very earliest use of its form on the estate was along the south side of Pembroke Road from the late 1830s (**5.11**) (**5.14**). Semi-detached houses occur much earlier elsewhere in Dublin, such as mid-eighteenth century examples in Drumcondra. However, these houses were all at least three-storey over basement, with some even being four-storey over basement. While there is no denying their form is semi-detached, there is a subtle difference between these and later semi-detached houses: in the earlier schemes there is a greater emphasis on height rather than width, even the most modestly-scaled houses, numbers 45 and 47 (**5.12**), have a greater sense of verticality than horizontality.

The next examples of semi-detached houses of any significance were in Burlington Road, from the mid-1850s. The line of Burlington Road (**5.1**) was opened at the same time as Waterloo Road - *circa* 1845. The earliest building along the road was on the very north-west end of the line, a terrace of four houses (now demolished) which actually faced onto Mespil Parade, their side flank occupying ground along Burlington Road. There then seems to have been an absence of any building along the road until the mid-1850s, at which time a great deal of building activity commenced. The houses were either detached or semi-detached, and so were very different in character to the adjoining Waterloo Road, which by this time was very nearly completed. It is interesting to note that while Burlington Road did not comprise part of the undated scheme, referred to above, of *circa* 1856-57, the houses erected along it are very much in keeping with the new vision suggested by that plan - i.e. the inclusion of villas and semi-detached houses. Indeed, as with some of the awkward plots which had to be accommodated by the plan of *circa* 1856-57, Burlington Road, being curved and Y-shaped, would not easily have incorporated terraced development.

Unfortunately, many of the houses have since been demolished so it is difficult to get a sense of the character of the road from what survives today. However, some of the semi-detached houses, to the south of Burlington Place (the access to Waterloo Road),

are still standing. Numbers 16 and 18 are a typical scheme (**8.9**). Built under lease granted to a Samuel Kelly, they were erected between 1856 and 1859.[19] They are distinctly different in character from the semi-detached houses on Pembroke Road: the great sense of verticality has disappeared. In fact, it can be seen that these semi-detached houses were actually little different to many of the near-contemporary terraced houses. The two bay, two-storey over raised basement scheme, the scale and proportions, and in particular, the roof hidden behind a parapet, are all reminiscent of some of the lower terraced schemes along Waterloo and Wellington Road.[20] Thus it is clear that while these houses are semi-detached, in that they are a pair of houses joined by a party wall, an idiosyncratic form has not yet been established distinct from the terraced house. It is not until the building of Lansdowne, Clyde and Northumberland Roads that a distinctive character is composed for semi-detached houses. There was not actually much of a time difference between the building of the last semi-detached houses along Burlington Road and the first along Lansdowne Road, however, there was a substantial difference in the character of the houses erected.

Lansdowne Road (**8.2**) was first envisaged back in 1833, when the agent, Cornelius Sullivan, wrote of his thoughts of opening a road with a front for building 'looking into the Botanic Garden'.[21] At that time there seems to have been some sort of a lane which ran west from the old Beggars Bush Road (i.e. the present-day Shelbourne Road), along the northern boundary of the Botanic Gardens. However, it petered out and did not run as far west as the line of Pembroke Road.[22] Nothing more seems to have been done until Sullivan secured possession (in the mid-1840s) of the problematic Haig's distillery. The distillery was sited on the southern bank of the Dodder, at the east end of Haig's Avenue (previously known as Watery and then Haig's Lane) which ran eastwards from the old Beggars Bush Road from the north-east corner of the Botanic Gardens. It seems clear that the closure of the distillery opened the potential of that part of the estate for building development. Thus Sullivan was able to revisit and extend his 1833 plans of opening a road along the north boundary of the Botanic Gardens. The agent's new plan was to 'put a bridge across the river and open a line of communication along the Botanic Garden wall from Baggot Street to Sandymount'.[23] In other words, this was to become the line of Lansdowne Road and its continuation, over the Dodder, into Herbert Road.

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[19]Possibly the same Samuel Kelly who built numbers 5 to 11 Waterloo Road, around the corner, between 1852 and 1859.

[20]Even the porched entrance to the side was a common feature of end-of-terrace houses.

[21]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 4, Cornelius Sullivan to Robert Haig, 14 May 1833 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/4).

[22]From the OS 1837 and Roe 1826.

[23]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 7, Sullivan to Revd R. Vavasour, 23 February 1844 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/7).

Lansdowne Road was named after the Earl of Shelbourne, fourth Marquis of Lansdowne (cr. 1784, d.1866), who was engaged to Sidney Herbert's sister, Lady Georgina (d. 28 February 1841). It was opened between 1844 and 1847, but was not named until some time later.[24] Building on the line did not commence until the late 1850s, and ground seems to have been allocated in a west - east direction. The earliest houses to be built were numbers 6 to 12 (all now demolished) and numbers 18 to 24, a terrace of four houses built by a Patrick Sullivan, possibly the same Patrick Sullivan, builder, of Upper Baggot Street, who was builder-developer for numbers 55 to 63 Haddington Road.[25] Numbers 18 to 24 Lansdowne Road (**8.10**) form a very interesting crossover scheme. A terrace of four houses, each two bay, three-storey over raised basement, they are impressive in scale and undoubtedly in the Georgian terraced tradition. Nevertheless, there are present very definite allusions and characteristics which reflect the emerging influence of the semi-detached house. Thus, the two most significant features are the hipped roof, and the projecting eaves in place of a parapet; these temper the sense of verticality. There is an overall coherence to the scheme, yet there is also an interesting interplay of the different forms. The houses are grouped into two groups of two by the incorporation of vertical bands of quoins, yet the paired entrances of the central houses (which seem to share a frieze-cornice) gives a tripartite sense to the composition. The paired brackets supporting the eaves demarcate the centre point between the windows, and unify the entire scheme. Completed some time before 1859, the houses were estimated to cost 'about £1,000 each'.[26]

In the context of the rest of the houses along this stretch of Lansdowne Road, however, the terrace of numbers 18 to 24 seems somewhat unusual. All the other houses were semi-detached, quite possibly deemed appropriate by their rustic situation, looking across to the Botanic Gardens. One of Vernon's few letters concerning Lansdowne Road gives an interesting insight into the precision and uniformity of his vision: 'I have been informed that in the plans of Miss Telford's houses about to be erected on Lansdowne Road, a roof with a parapit [sic] has been substituted for the Cantilever roof agreed upon'. The agent directed that the terms of the memorial of agreement could not be altered and that Miss Telford's houses were to be 'similar to the houses erected by Mr Patterson in the same building range'.[27] This implies that the houses were directed to be two bay, two-storey over basement (i.e., the same as Patterson's). It is clear, though, that Vernon had made a very clear and specific direction that the roofs of the new houses

[24]It is shown opened on Griffith Map 1 (i.e. 1847), but unnamed and with no building having taken place.
[25]They were built by 1847, but there is a similarity between them in the doorcases.
[26]Griffith Cancelled Book 1.
[27]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 12, Vernon to Charles Grubb Esq., 13 August 1859 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/12). None of these memorials seem to survive.

were to project with an eaves. This created a very different character for the new houses; in the houses erected up to this point, the roofs had almost always been hidden behind a parapet.

Mr Patterson's and Miss Telford's houses were numbers 14 and 16, and 26 and 28 (**8.11**), respectively (see appendix 2i). They were all built by 1860. Reflecting Vernon's directions, the houses are indeed nearly identical, the only difference being in the style of roll moulding around the doorcases. More significant, however, is that these houses introduce what would essentially become one of the templates for semi-detached houses over the next two decades. This was a two bay, two-storey over raised-basement house, with the entrance in a full-height return, slightly recessed, to the side, and a cantilevered hipped roof. The other main template shall be met with later: a three bay, two-storey over raised-basement house, with the entrance in the outer bay; there was frequently (but not always) a full height return towards the rear of the side elevation. This scheme usually had a hipped roof.

Telford's and Patterson's houses are the earliest surviving semi-detached houses along Lansdowne Road, and are the first of three variations on the same template. These earliest houses have a gable front over the door on the entrance return. It is the sort of scheme which probably would have looked better in plan. As built, though, the arrangement leads to an awkward disjunction (particularly with the bracketed eaves) when viewed obliquely. The second variation can be found in numbers 30 to 40 (**8.12**). These six houses all had George Carolin as builder-developer, and were built by 1860-62. A noted Dublin builder, Carolin was most likely the contractor for the houses. Essentially, they have the same elevation as the first two pairs. There are just two main differences from the previous houses: instead of surmounting the return to the side with a gable front, there is a horizontal 'parapet' of blonde brick; and instead of brackets under the eaves, there is another band of blonde brick. The elimination of the gable front to the entrance return certainly simplifies the composition, and makes the houses more coherent. The final pair of houses, numbers 42 and 44 (**8.13**), which was built by 1867, is probably the most successful of these schemes.[28] As with the other two, the roof is hipped, but here there is a secondary hipped roof over the entrance return. This immediately creates a much bolder composition, as do the bigger windows over the entrances and the paired brackets under the eaves. The builder-developer for this final pair of houses was a W. H. McKenzie esq. He was also builder-developer five years later for two more houses on Lansdowne Road, the far side of Shelbourne Road.[29]

[28]Although number 44 has an insensitive extension added to the side.
[29]He had also been builder developer, earlier, for numbers 6 and 8 Lansdowne Road (now demolished).

Interestingly, his later houses are completely different. This stretch of Lansdowne Road will be returned to later in the chapter.[30]

It is interesting to speculate on the degree of detail stipulated and enforced by Vernon. In the context of the houses described above, it is most likely that the restrictions were in terms of specifying the number of bays and storeys and position of entrances, and possibly a cantilevered roof. The stylistic treatment of these different elements was probably under the control of the builder-developer or contractor.

The next two major roads which were dominated by semi-detached houses were Clyde and Northumberland Roads. Before analysing these developments, however, we will turn briefly to the two pairs of semi-detached houses to be built along the east side of Raglan Road. Numbers 2 and 4, 'Rajawalla' (**8.14**), were built by 1861, by a Henry Smith as builder-developer; numbers 10 and 12 (**8.15**) were built by 1862, by a George Smith as builder-developer. Numbers 2 and 4 are clearly the same template (two bay, two-storey over raised basement, hipped roof, and entrance in a full height return to the side) as the houses along Lansdowne Road, described above. In fact, they are strikingly close to Patterson's and Telford's houses (**8.11**). There is a definite hint of the exotic about the pair, and the composition is more successful than the Lansdowne Road houses. Here the gable-headed return to the side is much more effectively handled: the gable has a steeper profile and the band of contrasting brickwork (instead of brackets), emphasised by a line of dentils underneath, gives a stronger definition to the side structure. The depth of the eaves is emphasised also by a band of contrasting brick; they balance the façade more successfully than the Lansdowne Road houses. Curiously, the doorcases are more old-fashioned; the windows are most likely new.

Numbers 10 and 12 (**8.15**) are possibly the earliest examples of the second template of semi-detached house already described. They are three bay, two-storey over raised basement, with doors to the outer edge of the elevation, a hipped roof, and a full height return towards the rear of the side elevation. Their proportion is obviously wider and lower; there was, consequently, potential danger for this type of house to be a bit austere. However, that danger is relieved here by spectacular doorcases - again with a definite hint of the exotic - and a delicate, but crisply-executed, band of dentils beneath the eaves. These houses were finished to a higher specification than numbers 2 and 4. The brick facing was continued fully around the return to the side: this was probably stipulated by Vernon, as it became the practice for most other houses of this type around this part of the estate. Also, the windows have fewer glazing bars - although there is a

[30]The line of Lansdowne Road beyond Shelbourne Road was not opened until later.

subtle hierarchy in their usage. Thus, the most important windows (i.e. those on the entrance level) have single pane sashes, while the windows of the upper floor and the basement are two over two. Though atypical in their distinctive, idiosyncratic characteristics, these two pairs of houses are good early examples of the two templates of semi-detached houses which would become popular in the next two decades.

The Semi-Detached House: Clyde, Northumberland and Saint Mary's Roads

Northumberland and Clyde Roads were possibly the two most significant roads which had yet to be built in the mid-1860s. Northumberland Road was probably the only eighteenth century radial route southwards out of the city which was still nearly entirely unbuilt. Clyde Road was the southern boundary of that core sector of ground on which building development had been taking place over the previous twenty years. The great significance of both roads was undoubtedly realised at the time.

Clyde Road (**8.2**) was the earlier of the two to be completed; opened some time between 1847 and 1852, it was nearly entirely built by 1870.[31] It was named, *circa* 1864,[32] after Sir Colin Campbell (1792-1863), who was created Lord Clyde in 1858, the year he 'relieved' Lucknow.[33] It was built more or less as it had been envisaged in the undated plan of *circa* 1856-57 (**8.3**). It only really had a building line along the south side which was almost entirely laid out in semi-detached houses. The main departure from the undated plan is the single detached house on the south side of the road. Clyde House, number 15 (**8.16**), is a fine, substantial detached house which was built by 1866, by a John Findlater as builder-developer.[34] It cost 'about £3,000' to finish,[35] The very first houses to be built were the adjoining semi-detached pair, numbers 13 and 14 (**8.17**). Built by 1864, they are in the style of the first template, which was originally identified in Lansdowne Road - i.e. two bay, two-storey over the basement, and entrance to the side in a full-height block. They are well-proportioned houses; the hipped roof over the entrance block is well-handled. However, they are somewhat pared down: the only slight relief in the elevation are the paired windows over the doors.

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[31]The road was not shown on the original draft of Griffith Map 1, but it appears on the original version of Griffith Map 2 (i.e. 1852). Numbers 18 to 21 were not built until the late 1880s; numbers 16 and 17 were not completed until 1876.

[32]It was named by the time of the Estate-Township Map Folio, which is a reprint of a survey by the Ordnance of 1865.

[33]McCready (repr. 1987), p.23. It can be seen, therefore, that just as Raglan Road was connected with the Crimea, Elgin and Clyde Roads were connected with India.

[34]The famous grocer, wine and spirit merchant of Sackville Street.

[35]Griffith Cancelled Book 4.

This difficulty with these schemes of houses - the two bay, door set in a side return, and the three bay, door in the main elevation - is the potential austerity. This can be seen in the two schemes at the east end of the road: numbers 1 and 2 (**8.18**), and numbers 3 and 4 (**8.19**). Even the hood mouldings over the doors, set between colonettes, in the latter pair are not really sufficient to transform the entire elevation.[36] It can be seen, therefore, that although two distinct templates had been established as potential three-dimensional forms for the semi-detached house, a distinctive and successful architectural and decorative character had not. This is strange, when the two sophisticated terraces on Elgin Road (**8.4**) are recollected. In fact, it is not until 1868, five years after the first houses on those terraces were completed, that semi-detached houses actually caught up with the standard of decoration of the Elgin Road terraces.

The character of the semi-detached houses in Clyde Road changed profoundly in 1868, with the completion of the first of this new wave of houses to be built - numbers 5 to 8. The houses were completed rapidly thereafter: numbers 22 to 25 by 1869, numbers 9 and 10 by 1870, and finally, numbers 16 and 17 by 1876.[37] Illustrated are numbers 5 and 6 (**8.20**) and numbers 9 and 10 (**8.21**). It is immediately apparent that in surface treatment, these new semi-detached schemes are little-disguised versions of the two terraces on Elgin Road. Take away the hipped roof and projecting eaves supported by brackets, and the houses are left with the three lower storeys of the Elgin Road scheme. Interestingly, the builder-developers are connected: Michael Kennedy and Patrick Cranny who had built in Elgin Road were also involved in the Clyde Road houses: numbers 9 and 10, and numbers 22 to 25, respectively (see appendix 3i). There is an additional name involved in the Clyde Road houses also: the prolific Dublin builder, George Moyers was builder-developer for numbers 5 to 8 - the earliest houses to be completed. All the houses are the three bay scheme with the door in the front elevation. They are utterly successful. The tendency of the wide, low elevations to dullness is completely alleviated by the varied stringcourses, lively polychromy, and Venetian Gothic doorcases. Also, the carefully arranged brackets are a very effective means of managing and defining the junction between roof and elevation. Curiously, there is not a consistent use of the various decorative features: i.e., it is not possible to assign one particular motif to a respective builder-developer. This possibly implies some sort of a joint venture between all three builder-developers.

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[36]A reference in the *Dublin Builder* connects the design of numbers 3 and 4 to a Mr Armstrong, architect, and to George Moyers as contractor. *Dublin Builder*, 15 August 1866, p.209.

[37]It should be noted that on Clyde Road, the street numbers run consecutively. Thus this batch of houses comprised six pairs, or twelve houses.

It can be seen, therefore, that it is only really half-way through the building development of Clyde Road, that a distinctive and successful decorative style is established for the semi-detached house, more than ten years after the semi-detached house was first built, on this scale, in Burlington Road. More remarkably, it was five years before it was thought to adapt the sophisticated, Venetian Gothic, Elgin Road scheme to the semi-detached house form. This was possibly a consequence of Vernon's controls and restrictions on house building.

The success established in Clyde Road in composing architecturally distinctive semi-detached house schemes was continued and further developed in the extension of Lansdowne Road, beyond Shelbourne Road. The line of Lansdowne Road along the Botanic Gardens, up to the junction with Shelbourne Road, had been efficiently and successfully built - it was nearly complete by 1862.[38] Its continuation eastwards towards the Dodder - Haig's Lane - was still only a winding laneway leading to Herbert Road in Sandymount (the old site of Haig's distillery). In 1867, the lane was cleared, widened, divided into lots for building and re-named Lansdowne Road.[39] Houses were built from 1872, onwards (see appendix 2i). Like the western end of Lansdowne Road, the line was built efficiently - it was more or less completed by 1878.

In these later houses, a more mature confidence and innovation in design can be found. The compositions leave behind the Venetian Gothic Revivalism of the Elgin Road terraces, and experiment with different forms and decorative features. Thus, numbers 50 and 52 (**8.22**) of 1873, by W. H. McKenzie (who was also builder-developer for numbers 42 and 44 Lansdowne Road (**8.13**)) are in a much more robust form, with decoration restricted to raised-brick trims and restrained polychromy. Interestingly, they still conform to one of the two templates established earlier in the chapter - the three bay, two-storey over raised basement, and a return at the rear of the side elevation. A major innovation, however, is possibly one of the earliest uses of bay windows which are incorporated into the elevation in the basement and the entrance level (i.e., they are not a timber construction projecting out from the façade). A remarkably similar scheme can be found on the south side of Charleston Road just near Ranelagh. Dating from 1878, numbers 54 and 56 (**8.23**), developed by a James Nevin, have the air of houses much later. Here polychromy has been eschewed, and stylised classical motifs have been introduced in the brick pilasters and pediments of the doorcases. Finally, numbers 58 to 62 (**8.24**), also of 1878, developed by a Thomas Pemberton, revisit the idea of the 'triple semi-detached' scheme, but with a twist of asymmetry. Once again, polychromy

[38]With the exception of numbers 42 and 44, which were not completed until 1867.
[39]City Archives, Pembroke Township Minutes, vol. 1, p.389, no.95, 27 May 1867.

is incorporated, and there is a liveliness of decorative motifs, including some classical allusions in the doorcase.

The unifying theme of these three schemes is their very individualism and experimentation, yet still clearly within the confines of Vernon's approval. The houses all rise to a similar height, are built the same distance from the road, and they all continue their (same-hued) brick facing around their side elevations. Thus, despite their very different characters, when viewed together from a distance, there is a real sense of coherence to the streetscape. This is undoubtedly due to the guiding authority and control of the agent.

The final major radial route of the estate to be built was Northumberland Road (**8.2**). It had been opened, originally, *circa* 1829, with the earliest building plots allocated from 1833. However, the rate of progress of building along the road was slow. The only building to take place was at the very north-west end - the terrace of houses which runs from behind Percy Place to the Circular Road. This building line was not completed until 1862.[40] The difficulties seem largely to have been due to an inadequate sewer system. Throughout the 1830s there was correspondence relating to the problems caused by sewers - or, rather, lack of them. There was no main sewer along Northumberland Road, and problems caused by this could only have been made worse by the inadequate sewer system which existed for Haddington Road, also.[41] Consequently, 'various matters of an offensive nature' were deposited 'at the entrance of the Northumberland Road' - i.e. to the east of the road, immediately on crossing the bridge from Lower Mount Street.[42] It seems that Cornelius Sullivan (the agent previous to Fairfield) had insisted that the matter should be remedied by the Grand Jury, however, that body refused to pay for the necessary work, and so the 'intolerable nuisance' had rumbled on. By 1850 the situation was still unresolved; Fairfield had no doubt that 'to this circumstance may be ascribed the fact of the ground in this neighbourhood having been left unbuilt upon'. The whole vicinity, he wrote, was 'falling into decay and disrepute'.[43]

The need for improvement, therefore, was paramount. In his 1850 report, Fairfield wrote of his plans to sink a sewer eight feet below the road, being satisfied that

[40]In fact, houses were never erected on what was originally intended as numbers 1, 3, and 5.
[41]The line of Northumberland Road, dating from the early 1830s, was not originally constructed with a sewer. An open sewer ran along the rear of the houses along Haddington Road; from time to time it seems to have blocked and overflowed in various places.
[42]NAI, PEP, Miscellaneous, Charles George Fairfield, 'Report on the Estate of the Rt Honble Sidney Herbert M.P. in the City of Dublin and its vicinity', 6 February 1850 (Acc. No. 97/46/5).
[43]Ibid.

the remaining ground would never be taken for building purposes until proper sewerage was provided. He was confident that builder-developers would willingly pay a percentage on the outlay, by means of an additional rent. It is not clear exactly when the situation was resolved, nor the financial arrangement. However, the matter must have been largely settled by *circa* 1853, at which time the plans for the new Saint Stephen's School (which would be erected on the site of the dump) were being commenced. The school was completed in 1861, and it is likely that the fine Deane and Woodward composition was significant in encouraging building development along the rest of the road.[44] Interestingly, there having been no building since *circa* 1843, the remaining five houses of the terrace on the north west end of the road were completed, in the space of a year, by 1862 (see appendix 2i).

Northumberland Road (as far as the Circular Road, anyway) was originally planned for terraced houses.[45] Following the hiccup in its building development of nearly thirty years, it subsequently became possibly the most interesting and varied line of (mostly) semi-detached housing in the Pembroke estate. The west side was built from an earlier date, but was still not completed by 1880 (see appendix 2i). The first houses to be built south of the junction with Haddington Road were numbers 27 and 29 (now demolished), and 31 and 33 (**8.25**). The builder-developer for both pairs was a Thomas Brunker or a Patrick O'Toole.[46] They were all built by 1865 and their character is a reflection of this earlier date. While they clearly bear some similarity to the early semi-detached houses on the western half of Lansdowne Road, they are actually quite unusual in being just two bays wide, with the entrance incorporated in the main elevation (i.e., not set to the side in a porch). The single-storey over basement return to the side is also unusual in semi-detached houses.

The rest of the west side of Northumberland Road is dominated by two variations on the Clyde Road adaptation of the Elgin Road terrace. The first variation can be seen in numbers 35 to 45 (**8.26**) which were all built by *circa* 1877. They have a variety of builder-developers (see appendix 2i), a Mrs R. Johnston, a John Mooney and someone named Meredith. They are restrained in their use of polychromy and stringcourses - the most significant feature of the elevation being the timber oriel window which is

[44]Although it should be pointed out that there were complaints about the nuisance caused by the open sewer to the rear of the houses on De Grey Terrace, Haddington Road, as late as 1859. NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 12, Vernon to William O'Callaghan, 2 April 1859 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/12).

[45]See Chapter 5 (**5.2**). NAI, PEP, Maps, 'A Map of the Designed Improvements of Cornelius Sullivan Esq. On the Estate of the Honorable Sidney Herbert Adjoining the City of Dublin By Arthur Neville City Surveyor 1830', (Acc. No. 97/46/4/18).

[46]The name Thomas Brunker appears from the Griffith Valuation; Patrick O'Toole is from the Estate-Township Map Folio. The possible implication is that Brunker was involved in the building process, and then O'Toole acquired the building leases from him, or the estate, after the houses were completed. However, it is not possible to ascertain exactly what the process was.

cantilevered out from the principal floor. The second variation is numbers 51 to 57 (**8.27**), all built by 1880-81, with an Edward Kennedy as builder-developer. While these have no oriel windows, their façade is ornamented with a greater amount of polychromy and more elaborate stringcourses. It should be remembered, though, that it was almost thirteen years since this basic scheme had first appeared in Clyde Road (**8.20**) (**8.21**). The similarity to the houses in Clyde Road suggests the possibility of George Moyers as contractor. It is also possible that Edward Kennedy (of numbers 51 to 57) forges a connection with Michael Kennedy, the builder who was also involved in the Clyde Road (and Elgin Road) houses.

The east side of Northumberland Road was built between *circa* 1865 and 1888. There is a wider variety in character and greater architectural invention compared to the western side. There is also variety in the architectural form: the line marks the return of the terraced house. The earliest houses are easily found. Numbers 26 and 28 (**8.28**) and 30 and 32, are built on either side of the junction with Haddington Road. They are straightforward examples of the second template of the semi-detached house, as first identified in numbers 10 and 12 Raglan Road (i.e., three bay, with the entrance in the outer bay of the elevation). There is an innovation in the pairing of the windows of the principal floor. Numbers 26 and 28 (as well as their near-identical neighbours, numbers 22 and 24) all had a James Farrell as builder-developer, numbers 30 and 32, a Thomas Walker.

The earliest terrace to be built on the road was numbers 34 to 44 (**8.29**). Built by 1872, there is a great similarity in the form of the houses to the neighbouring semi-detached scheme as described above. The windows of the entrance floor are paired but here their proportions have been elongated, which sets up a subtle rhythm over the course of a terrace. Although terraced, the scheme still alludes to some of the standard characteristics of the semi-detached house, such as the hipped roof and the full-height return to the side at either end. The decoration of the houses is restrained, and focuses on the arched entrance to the porches, with colonettes, foliated capitals and alternating voussoirs. While the builder-developer for the whole terrace was named Watson, a letter of 1871 possibly connects the design of the terrace with an E. G. Finnerty, architect, of Westland Row.[47]

The two most exuberant terraces on the road are the latest: numbers 46 to 52 (**8.30**), built by 1880, with a Joseph Meade as builder-developer, and numbers 54 to 58, which were built by 1888, also by Meade. Meade was a member of a prolific family

[47]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 18, William Carter to E. G. Finnerty, 10 July 1871 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/18).

of Dublin builders,[48] who, as we shall see, had already been considerably involved in building speculation in Ailesbury Road. As a scheme, numbers 46 to 52 mark the evolution of the Venetian Gothic Revival into High Victorian Gothic, and certainly imply the hand of an architect or, at least, an accomplished builder. The scheme is actually arranged with perfect symmetry and, despite their eclecticism and variety, the houses retain a coherence and clarity of composition. The hipped roof with the raised gable breaking the front elevation, the bay windows of the central houses, and the entrances of the end houses in a full-height return recessed to the side, all imbue the composition with a rhythm which echoes that of semi-detached houses.

Returning to the semi-detached houses along the same side of the road, it is possible also to see innovation in the character of these houses. The earliest are at the very south end of the road, numbers 76 to 86 (**8.31**). They were built between *circa* 1870 and 1875, all with a William Perrin as builder-developer. Three bays wide, they are a newly-spare design: the roofs are pitched, double-pile, with gable ends, and there is no return to the side elevation. Also, it is interesting to note that none of them carry the brick facing around the side elevation - the houses are pared down almost to the minimum. Numbers 76 and 78 (to the left of the picture) are built slightly later, and display innovation in the central pairing of the entrances, which has not really occurred in semi-detached houses thus far; they are also the earliest houses to incorporate the timber oriel windows. Numbers 64 and 66 (**8.32**) were built by 1878, also with William Perrin as builder-developer. There are differences in character to his earlier houses, such as the Venetian Gothic porches and, most particularly, the bay windows which rise the full height of the elevation - one of the earliest examples in the estate of this feature. However, there are similarities also, such as in the gable ended roof and, especially, a very subtle recession of the two bays of the centrally-paired entrances, an unusual inflection, which also occurs in numbers 76 and 78.

Having examined a selection of houses on the east side of Northumberland Road, it is possible to see a much greater invention in the composition of the various schemes. This had also occurred in the eastern extension of Lansdowne Road, but here there is an even greater variety and inventiveness, such as in the re-introduction of the terraced house. It is an impressive testament to the agent, Vernon, that in the medley of styles which proliferate, there is actually a coherent sense to the streetscape, largely because of the consistency in height, distance from the road, and shade of brick (**8.33**).

[48]Michael Meade and Son, builders, and proprietors of the sawing, planing, and moulding mills, and merchants, 153 to 159 Brunswick Street Great. Thom's *Directory*, 1876.

The final road to undergo comprehensive building development during this period, in the western sector of the estate, was Saint Mary's Road (**8.2**). Running between Northumberland Road and Baggot Street Upper, south of Haddington Road, it is different to other roads examined thus far in this chapter, in that it is an 'infill' development. In this, the road reflects the nature of the future development of the estate, post-1880. The road itself was envisaged from the late 1860s; a letter of 1869 from John Vernon to the Baroness Herbert of Lea (Sidney Herbert's widow) indicates the intention to open the road dates from that time.[49] From Vernon's letter it is clear that the opening of the road was delayed 'by the unreasonable demand' of a person who owned some old buildings there, the removal of which was 'absolutely essential to our proposed work'.[50] The agent was adamant, and rather than yield to the demands of the tenant, he was happy to let the ground remain for grazing. The road was opened by the 1875 OS (**8.2**), with the first four houses at the west end of the south side built by that time. The road was leased with an unusual degree of uniformity, in that it was almost entirely allocated for building amongst just three builder-developers (see appendix 2i): a Patrick Sullivan for numbers 1 to 29, and 2 to 6 (eighteen houses); a James Shegog for numbers 33 to 39, Hamilton Terrace (four houses); and a Mrs Sparrow for numbers 8 to 18, Plevna Terrace (six houses).

The coherent nature of the allocation of ground is immediately evident in the uniformity of the houses, particularly on the south side of the road. The houses are on a much more modest scale than has been seen heretofore; significantly, they are not built over a basement. Sullivan's houses are carefully arranged; the scheme is three terraces of three houses, framed by a semi-detached scheme at either end of the line. Taken as a whole, this arrangement forms an elegant and understated scheme; it has the unified regularity of a terrace, but also the individual liveliness of semi-detached houses. Thus in the 'triple' schemes, as can be seen in numbers 15 to 19 (**8.34**), the middle houses are subtly enlivened by bay windows, while all the other windows have recessed brick relieving 'frames'. These houses are remarkably similar to some schemes at the southern end of Palmerston Road in Rathgar, which would probably have been building at a similar date. The builder-developer on the Saint Mary's Road houses, Patrick Sullivan, is possibly the same as was builder-developer for numbers 18 to 24 Lansdowne Road (**8.10**); although the schemes are quite different in character, they both demonstrate a careful and assured management of individual elements within an overall scheme. The other terrace on the south side of the road, numbers 33 to 39, Hamilton Terrace (**8.35**),

[49]NAI, PEP, Statements of Accounts, John Edward Vernon, Report for the year ended 25 March 1869 (Acc. No. 2011/5/2).

[50]Possibly these were the Eastmoreland Buildings which stood in the middle of Eastmoreland Place, just north of Pembroke Road.

is of a more modest character, but is well-proportioned, and respectable, nonetheless. It is interesting to note that like the later semi-detached houses on Northumberland Road, all these houses on the south side of Saint Mary's Road have been pared right back in key elements, such as the double-pile gable ended roof, and the side elevations which have not been faced with brick.

The final terrace on Saint Mary's Road is Plevna Terrace, numbers 8 to 18 (**8.36**), on the north side of the road. The builder-developer was a Mrs Sparrow who was also builder-developer for numbers 68 to 74 Northumberland Road, just around the corner. There is little similarity between her two schemes, which are only a year apart. The houses in Saint Mary's Road are notable for introducing a style of terrace which would become popular in the estate post-1880, particularly in the eastern district, but even more so beyond the boundary of the estate. They would become a very popular template of late nineteenth-century suburban building, from Rathmines, Ranelagh and Rathgar to Drumcondra and elsewhere. Again without a basement, a chief characteristic is the full-height bay windows (along with their contemporaries, numbers 64 and 66 Northumberland Road (**8.32**), they are the earliest examples), which create a distinctive undulating vista from a distant view. Another characteristic which is introduced in this terrace is the simplification of the entrance, the door recessed behind an unadorned archway. This scheme, along with the others on Saint Mary's Road, can be seen as introducing houses of a new scale and character, which would become more common around the estate, post-1880.

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Detached houses and villas comprise some of the grandest and most inventive buildings in the estate between 1861 and 1880, however they are, unsurprisingly, not the most numerous. They are found chiefly around the central triangle between Raglan, Elgin and Clyde Roads - making the best use of the awkward-shaped plots. The earliest villas are two on the east side of Raglan Road, on either side of the junction with Elgin Road. The most interesting is Raglan Villa, number 6 (**8.37**), which was built by 1864, by a Lady Hagan as builder-developer. It is a magnificent composition for the corner site, and clearly involves the hand of an architect. There is another exceptionally extravagant detached house on the east side of Raglan Road, 'Elleville' (**8.38i**) (**8.38ii**), which is at the very south end of the road. This house has a slightly confusing history, which is probably to be explained by two different phases of building. According to both the Griffith Valuation and the Estate-Township Map Folio, it was built by 1864, by a builder-developer John F. Connell. However, there are references in the *Irish Builder* in October 1873 which refer to it currently being built for a Mr Darcy, to

designs by James Rawson Carroll, architect.[51] It is an ornate design, but has a structural logic of a core house, with different elements, such as a turret or a campanile, at each corner.[52] However, the most elegant detached houses of this era, are not the most elaborate or complicated. Numbers 38 and 40 Elgin Road (**8.39**), are closely related to the terraces to which they are adjacent. Here additional elements have been added, such as the break-front gable, the bay window, and the lavishly carved arch over the entrance. They date from *circa* 1870, and were developed by Patrick Cranny, who had been so involved in the neighbouring terraces.

In truth, in terms of the overall development of the estate, these houses can only ever be exceptional to the main narrative. They occur rarely: most often at junctions of roads. However, the fact that these corner sites were used to showcase grand and ambitious schemes which work as scenographic punctuation marks, rather than just be given over to plantations, conveys something of the aspiration and vision of the agent in designing the estate. For Vernon, in particular, letting ground for speculation was not just about building for profit.

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The Eastern Estate

As was the case in the western sector of the estate, building development in the eastern estate between 1861 and 1880 took place almost entirely on roads which had already been established. Thus, the main building development during these years took place on Herbert Road and Park Avenue. Herbert Road (**8.2**) had been opened *circa* 1850, but building does not seem to have taken place till later (see appendix 2ii).[53] The building of the road seems to have been entirely carried out by John H. Askins, whom we have already met in the previous chapter in connection with building the sea wall, and early building on Park Avenue.

The north side was built first; it comprises three pairs of semi-detached houses and one detached - i.e., a total of seven houses. The earliest date that can be established from the Griffith Valuation for them is 1860, however they probably date from earlier.

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[51] *Irish Builder*, 15 October 1873, p.281. It should be acknowledged that it appears in plan in the Estate-Township Map Folio much as it appears today.

[52] It is very difficult to see the entrance front because of a high wall; it is only possible to photograph the rear, which faces onto Clyde Road.

[53] Possibly to do with the problems of flooding as outlined in the previous chapter.

(A semi-detached scheme on Park Avenue (numbers 1 and 3),[54] also by John Askins, is exactly the same as the semi-detached houses on Herbert Road; the Park Avenue houses can be dated between 1847-52.) The houses are quite old-fashioned, and certainly reflect the 'rural' character of much of the building development in the eastern estate, behind the coast road, before 1861. Numbers 12 and 14 (**8.40**) are a typical example (number 12 is shown here); the hipped roof is hidden behind a parapet, and there is no basement.

The four pairs of semi-detached houses on the opposite side of the road could hardly be more different, for example numbers 15 and 17 (**8.41**) shown here. They are utterly metropolitan, and could have been erected anywhere in the western estate, although the shade of their brick would have been out of date there, by this time. They are unaltered versions of the first type of semi-detached house, as originally seen in Lansdowne Road; they are two bay, two-storey over raised basement, with the entrance in a full-height return, slightly recessed to the side, and a hipped roof. Remarkably, they seem to have been built by John H. Askins also. It seems as if Askins was in a partnership with a Thomas Pile (see appendices 2ii, 3ii), whom we have already met as builder-developer on Tritonville Road. The houses, which are all identical, must all have been erected by the one contractor: surely Askins himself. The difference between the two schemes is so pronounced that it possibly suggests the involvement of the agent in somehow controlling the houses on the south side of the road.

The other major line of building development in the eastern estate during these years was Park Avenue (**8.2**). A considerable amount of 'cottage' type building had taken place before 1850, there was then a lull of about ten years during which no building development seems to have taken place at all (see appendix 2ii). From 1860 onwards there was a huge surge, to such an extent that it suggests that some specific factor had delayed building in the intervening years. However, it is not possible to establish what. As can be seen from the appendix, it has not been possible to determine a comprehensive provenance for all the houses and their respective builder-developers. Nevertheless, some broad characteristics of building development during these years can be established.

There was a variety of relatively modest houses erected in the early years post-1861: for example, a semi-detached scheme, numbers 35 and 37 (**8.42**), and a terraced scheme, numbers 48 to 54 (**8.43**), dating between 1862-64. Both were two bay and two storey, and neither had a basement. Both had builder-developers who were involved in the building trade: a William Leahy, builder, for the former, and a George Askins,

[54]Today renamed as numbers 1 and 3 Gilford Road.

architect (and possibly nephew of John H. Askins), for the latter.[55] There were also semi-detached one storey villas: numbers 40 and 42 (**8.44**) and numbers 44 and 46 (**8.45**), both dating from 1864. Again, both had developers involved in the building trade: George Askins (again) for numbers 40 and 42, and Fox, possibly a builder of Pitt Street, for numbers 44 and 46. The schemes are similar, although the latter pair shows some refinements, such as in the use of polychromy. Again, neither had a basement.[56] All these houses are well built, but modest, schemes.

Just a year later, in 1865, a very different type of house was to emerge. Six pairs of substantial semi-detached houses were built, nearly entirely within the year; numbers 45 and 47 (**8.46**) are an example. Two bay, two storey, with an entrance in a little porch to the side, and a hipped roof, they can possibly be related to some of the schemes in the western estate, although, significantly, these houses are without a basement. There is a considerable grandness and monumentality about them, nonetheless. This is possibly due to the eaves being raised higher over the upper floor, and the roof being cantilevered further out, which is emphasised by the paired brackets. Several builder-developers were involved in the houses, but mostly a Dr Denham (see appendix 2ii). The author of the scheme is not known for definite, perhaps it was James H. Owens, who was builder-developer for numbers 49 and 51.[57] These houses can be seen as ushering in a new phase in the building development of Park Avenue wherein the houses were more substantial, more coherent, and more suburban. This can be seen in the next houses to be built along the west side of the road, *circa* 1875: numbers 61 to 67.[58] Shown here are numbers 61 and 63 (**8.47**).

This tendency to build more substantial and more suburban houses emerged in other parts of the eastern estate also, mainly as 'infill' schemes (i.e., on ground left over between existing developments). Thus it was on Shelbourne Road (**8.2**), which had been largely laid out for terraces the 1840s and 50s, where a few semi-detached schemes emerge in the mid-1870s. Brooklawn, numbers 1 to 7 Shelbourne Road (**8.48**), is a typical example. It is a scheme of two pairs of semi-detached houses along the west side of the road, just north of the junction with Lansdowne Road. It is not possible to establish with certainty the builder-developers involved, however it seems most likely that the houses were developed by a Robert Barrett and George Carolin, possibly suggesting

[55]There are two other names involved in this terrace also, a Whelan, and a Dowling. Both were possibly involved in the building trade. See appendix 2ii.

[56]Numbers 40 and 42 are raised, but there is no basement storey inside the house.

[57]Possibly one of the dynasty of architects. The IAAIIA has been consulted, but nothing on a James H. Owens emerged. John H. Askins, the builder, was builder-developer for numbers 31 and 33, however this pair were considerably later than the rest, possibly implying that Askins was only copying houses which had already been erected.

[58]It has not been possible, thus far, to establish the builder-developer for these houses.

Carolin as the architect of the schemes.[59] In fact, the houses are only little-changed versions of the semi-detached schemes in Park Avenue (**8.46**), just discussed. The main differences between the schemes being the brick 'frame' around the windows in the later houses, and the different emphasis in the arrangement of the porch and door.

Another example of this later, semi-detached 'infill' suburban development occurred along the north side of Claremont Road (**8.2**) (**8.49**), which leads into Sandymount Green. A long line of semi-detached houses, they would have altered the aspect of the road fundamentally from a winding country lane to a suburban road. The houses seem to have been planned from the early 1870s by an M. Gibbon,[60] but were not actually built until the late 1870s onwards.[61] They are a direct evolution from the Park Avenue and Shelbourne Road schemes described above, but they are more substantial and robust in design: chiefly through raising the side return to full height, which effectively makes the house three bays.

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Ailesbury Road

The final building development to take place during this period was in an entirely new sector of the estate, much further removed from the city than had heretofore taken place. The first intimation was in January 1863, when Vernon wrote to the proprietor of a nursery nearby that it was 'probable that a new line of road from Donnybrook to Merrion will shortly be made'.[62] A few weeks later the plans were further in train, and the route of the new road further defined: it was to run from the Blackrock Road to Donnybrook, 'to connect the Donnybrook district with Sidney Parade Station'.[63] A spur of road already existed at the west end of the proposed new line, but there seems to have been some problems trying to secure the most direct route, requiring negotiations with the neighbouring landholders. The new line of road must have opened and building commenced shortly thereafter; the first houses were built by 1867.

[59]Other names possibly involved are an F. Cotter for numbers 1 and 3; and an F. Connolly for numbers 5 and 7. Griffith Cancelled Books 4 and 5.
[60]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 18, William Carter to M. Gibbon Esq. & Co., 16 December 1872 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/18).
[61]Gibbon cannot definitely be connected to the houses as built.
[62]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 14, Vernon to J. Riddick esq., 29 January 1863 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/14).
[63]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 14, Vernon to R. Leeson, 7 March 1863 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/14).

Ailesbury Road (**8.2**) was named after the Marquis of Ailesbury who, along with the Earl of Clanwilliam, was a trustee of the will of Viscount Fitzwilliam; authority over the estate had reverted to the trustees of Fitzwilliam's will, while George Robert Charles was still a minor.[64] The road was an undertaking of an enormous scale, cutting through green fields and market-gardens and opening up over a mile of potential building frontage. There had already been some small-scale building development in that district: Seaview Terrace (**8.50**), a scheme of three semi-detached houses, built by the architect John Semple in the early 1840s, to the south of the west end of the new line of road. However, it was very much a private, self-contained venture, on ground close to Semple's own residence.

Two separate speculative schemes were completed on the new road before 1880, both on the south side, just west of the junction with Merrion Road. The first scheme was five pairs of semi-detached houses, numbers 1 to 19, all built by Michael Meade,[65] the prolific Dublin builder who laid out some £30,000 on building on the estate.[66], and father of Joseph (whom we have already met as builder in Northumberland Road in the late 1870s and 80s). The first four houses, numbers 1 and 3 (**8.51**) and 5 and 7 were built by 1867, the remaining six were completed by 1871. They are an elegant and understated design: three bay and two storey over basement, with the entrance in a porch to the side. The gable ended roofs and the regularity of the façades, hint somewhat more towards the idea of terraced houses, compared to the greater sense of variety and individuality of contemporary semi-detached houses already discussed. The decorative elements here are restricted to the distinctive window surrounds, which complement the regularity of the fenestration.

The second scheme is a terrace of four houses, numbers 21 to 27 (**8.52**), which was built between 1871-72 by 'McCurdy'.[67] This was possibly John McCurdy, the noted Dublin architect, who designed the Shelbourne Hotel and various large houses around Dublin. The houses are an interesting, but not altogether successful, combination of the terraced form with semi-detached allusions. The typical elements of the High-Victorian house, the projection and recession of different elements, the use of polychromy, and even the hipped roof, lose their impact and coherence over the full extent of the terrace.

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[64]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 14, Vernon to Mr Alley, 28 August 1861 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/14). The boy's own legal guardians seem to have been, his mother, Elizabeth, Baroness of Herbert; Thomas Viscount de Vesci of Abbeyleix; and Charles Henry Wyndham A'Court Repington, London. NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 16, p.203 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/16).

[65]Griffith Valuation, Cancelled Book 4.

[66]Municipal Boundaries Commission (1880), para. 5056.

[67]Griffith Valuation, Cancelled Book 4.

The scale of the houses described above, and the size of the plots allocated, indicate the grandeur - as well as the greater availability of land - of this new road. Hence, it is not surprising that perhaps two of the grandest detached villas were built here also. Saint Michael's (**8.53**), built by 1865, by Michael Meade for his own residence,[68] is on a typical villa site - ie a corner. The current French Embassy (**8.54**), built *circa* 1870 to designs by Alfred Gresham Jones[69] is quite different: it is a villa, but one which is not on a typical villa site. Clearly, these houses are exceptional, but they indicate nonetheless the creation of an enclave of grand, sophisticated building development, well removed from the main zone of the west end of the estate, the erstwhile location of premier development. Ailesbury Road can, perhaps, be thus regarded as a sub-suburb. Houses of this scale continued to be built in this district post 1880, along the Merrion Road, and culminated, most notably, with the opening of Shrewsbury Road at the turn of the century.

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The Estate 1861-80: Conclusion

Building development throughout the Pembroke estate between 1861 and 1880 was clearly very different to that of previous years. The improvement in the rate of building, which had begun from the mid-1850s, increased steadily. The rate of building in Raglan, Elgin and Clyde Roads (**8.55**) was vastly improved from that experienced in the earlier developments of Wellington and Waterloo Road. Thus, most of Raglan Road was built within five years, Elgin Road within ten, and Clyde Road largely built within five. More significantly, the three roads were nearly entirely built within the decade of the 1860s. Lansdowne, Northumberland and Saint Mary's Road exhibit different growth profiles (**8.56**). Hence it can be seen that Lansdowne Road was built mainly in two waves, one of only five years, the other ten; this reflects the construction of the road in two distinct phases. Northumberland Road was not as rapidly successful as any of the other roads, nevertheless, its progress was steady, and rapid in the decade of the 1870s. Saint Mary's Road is the most striking, the entire road, comprising twenty-nine houses, was built between 1875 and 1880. It can be seen as an example of the benefit of letting ground for building to just a few builder-developers, when it is successful. With the

[68]It is interesting to see similar distinctive framing bands around the windows as in Meade's semi-detached houses (**8.50**).

[69]Reynolds, Maoilíosa, *The work of Alfred Gresham Jones*, M.U.B.C., U.C.D. (1996).

exception of Northumberland Road, these six roads were all almost entirely built by 1880.

It is also possible to see a change in the nature of building speculation. Where previously the builder-developers had significant numbers of middle-class individuals investing in building, from 1860 onwards it is possible to see a much greater involvement on the part of those involved in the building trade, leading to a dominance of building firms with speculations generally on a larger scale - hence the similarity with some schemes outside the estate. The major change in building development in this period is almost certainly the impact of the influence of the agent, John Edward Vernon. This could be seen emerging towards the end of the 1850s in developments such as Raglan Road. His strict controls and insistence of approving all schemes before they were commenced were of profound significance. Indeed, despite their variety and individuality, these semi-detached developments are so carefully controlled in terms of height, elevation, distance from road, and even colour of brick, that they give a more unified impression than many of the earlier lines of terraced development.

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The focus of this study has been domestic architecture. This is partly a reflection of the fact that little civic architecture was commissioned before the 1860s. Despite all the grand plans for building in the 1830s and the emergence of coherent residential building development between 1840 and 1860, there were no developments of civic significance, i.e. churches, schools etc., in the western estate. In fact, pre-1861 the only such projects had been church building in the eastern estate. This changed significantly post-1860, chiefly with the building of three prestigious projects which all spoke of the growing confidence, power, and sense of identity of the estate. The period 1861 to 1880 is bookended by two very significant commissions: the Saint Stephens Schools (**8.57**), which opened c.1861 and the Pembroke Town Hall (**8.58**) of 1880. Along with Saint Bartholomew's Church of Clyde Road (from 1864) (**8.59**) (**8.60**), these civic projects were of the grandest scale. While the story of their individual development is not part of this study, what is significant is their very commission, and who the commissions went to - Deane and Woodward, Thomas Henry Wyatt, and Edward Henry Carson, all prolific architects of the time. Previously there had not been a great deal of involvement by well-known architects in the building development of the estate, now there were three distinguished names.

Edward Henry Carson, the architect of the Town Hall, coincidentally happened to be the Chairman of the Pembroke Township Commissioners at the time of the

commission. Like the individual buildings mentioned in the previous paragraph, there has been little scope to introduce the subject of the establishment of the Pembroke Township in this study. Founded in 1863, its chief importance in terms of the building development of the Pembroke estate is two-fold. Firstly, it is interesting that most of the commissioners were involved in building development around the estate - this was particularly the case when the Township was first set up. Of the first fifteen commissioners, we have already met at least nine as builder-developers around the estate: Francis Salmon, Sandymount; Joseph Boyce; Edward Wright, Donnybrook; John H. Askins, Sandymount; Patrick Leahy, Sandymount; Robert Stanley, Mespil, Patrick Sullivan, Upper Baggot Street, John Dempsey, Upper Rathgar Road, and James R. Atkin, Sandymount. Of these, many were either architects or involved in the building trade. The second major aspect of the establishment of the Pembroke Township in terms of the building development of the estate is that it helped create a more efficient infrastructure, which in turn confirmed a greater stability for building speculation.

There was a marked increase in building development on the Pembroke estate in the 1860s and 1870s. There was also a keen sense of awareness of the scale and significance of this development, and of its inherent individual identity, even as it was taking place. The Reverend Beaver H. Blacker, a local resident, vividly conveys this awareness in his description of the locality of Saint Bartholomew's Church of 1874:[70]

> A few years ago green fields, and not houses, surrounded the site. Now dwellings, constructed according to the most approved designs, stand around, and in fact, in no other neighbourhood, not excepting Rathmines and Rathgar, have so many improvements been effected within so short a period.

[70]Revd Beaver H. Blacker, *Brief Sketches of the Parishes of Booterstown and Donnybrook, in the County of Dublin* (2nd ed., Dublin, 1874), p.311.

Conclusion

The finishing date of this study is non-specific in that it does not reflect a particular event, such as the death of a landlord or agent. Nevertheless, it can be seen that 1880 more or less marks the point by which the essential character of building development in the Pembroke estate had been established. It reflects the two major criteria under which the development of the estate has been studied: the pattern of building development and the style of architecture.

A comparison between the 1839 and the 1875 OS maps yields a striking contrast. The map of 1875 displays the huge change wrought upon the estate in the intervening years since the original survey. A large tract of the estate has evolved from one of fields and hedgerows to one of roads and houses. However, the next OS map (of 1912) shows there was little radical change after 1875. In fact, much of the land which had lain unbuilt in 1875, remained unbuilt well into the twentieth century and was used for sports grounds or recreational purposes. The most obvious example is Herbert Park, but there are also a number of football and cricket grounds, particularly in the eastern estate in the vicinity of the railway line.

Prestigious building development did emerge after 1880 along Merrion and Shrewsbury Roads, however these roads are geographically peripheral to the core development of the estate. After 1880 there is no longer the sense of geographical coherence which was so striking in building development before that date. The geographical area envisaged for comprehensive building development in the grand plans of 1832 and 1835 had been established by 1880. There were only two major new roads to be developed after 1880 - ones which actually cut through undeveloped land: Shrewsbury Road and Herbert Park, both dating from the early 1900s. However, both of these were well-removed from the geographical heart of the estate.

The most significant building development to occur within the core area after 1880 was the attractive but modest 'infill' scheme of Pembroke cottages, between Northumberland and Saint Mary's Roads. There was a considerable amount of building development in the eastern estate after 1880, but this was also mainly comprised of 'infill' schemes. In other words, these were much smaller schemes, incorporated within the major axes of development which had all been established before 1880.

The finishing date of 1880 also reflects the architectural character of the building development. In her book *The Edwardian House*,[1] Helen Long considers houses of post 1880 as belonging less to the Victorian era (to which they belong chronologically) and more to the Edwardian era, which did not actually commence until 1901. She describes how the heyday of the Victorian era was between 1840 and 1880, and that by the 1880s and 1890s, the Victorian era was losing its distinctive character. This reflects the situation in the Pembroke estate, where many of the building developments which took place after 1880 do not have the same character as those before. This can be seen, in particular, in the substantial, detached and semi-detached houses of Herbert Park which are so distinctly different both in architectural style and aspect to the Victorian terraced and semi-detached houses of the roads laid out before 1880. It also reflects the character of post-1880 building around Sandymount, where the houses are almost entirely in the Edwardian manner.

What houses, then, are omitted from the scope of this study? Interestingly, many of them are stylistically atypical of those built before 1880. The compact infill developments post-1880, such as those already mentioned around Sandymount, are very different to any infill developments in the estate before 1880, such as St Mary's Road. The houses on Shrewsbury Road and Herbert Park - the only new roads to be opened after 1880 - are also atypical in their scale and prestige. Indeed, Shrewsbury Road is exceptional and must be considered one of the most unusual, sumptious ensembles of substantial domestic architecture in Dublin.

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Although it had taken somewhat longer than the ten years envisaged by Mr Cullen in 1745,[2] the Pembroke estate in 1880 had undergone enormous change since it was inherited by the Herbert family in 1816. The course of building development and improvement around the estate between 1816 and 1880 had not been without great difficulties. The ebb and flow of the economy had affected building speculation directly: the depressed post-war years up until the mid-1820s, the collapse of confidence in the early 1830s, the depression at the end of that decade, a short spurt in the mid-1840s cut brutally short by 1847. Problems with building development were compounded by the nature of lease allocation, as well as the capriciousness of some individual speculators. The completion of the pivotal Waterloo and Wellington Roads took nearly twenty years from the allocation of the earliest leases; Northumberland Road took an astonishing fifty

[1] Helen C. Long, *The Edwardian House: The middle-class home in Britain 1880-1914* (Manchester, 1993).

[2] See Chapter 1, Cullen to Fitzwilliam, 8 June 1745 (footnote 2).

years. However, from the late 1850s onwards fortunes changed, and the estate developed steadily, with the strongest growth in the 1860s. Statistics submitted by the secretary to the Pembroke Township to the Municipal Boundaries Commission in 1879, evince the rate of growth between 1863 and 1878:[3]

	Valuation	Population	Houses
1863	£58,752	13,200	2,200
1868	£65,321	14,880	2,480
1873	£76,575	21,975	3,031
1878	£85,124	23,367	3,223

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The first phase of planning of the Pembroke estate, while ambitious, was not sophisticated. The plans of 1832 and 1835 were somewhat retrograde - based on late Georgian building development - and not best suited to the available ground. The earliest roads to be opened - Wellington and Waterloo - evolved from these plans but essentially were founded on the premise of linking the two major radial routes out of the city. The line of Raglan Road was the logical next step. The placing and opening of Elgin Road, however, was insightful and successful. Its bisection of Raglan Road, and its diagonal partnership with Clyde Road, create a lively and varied series of vistas as well as forming a central triangle which gives a real sense of a nucleus to the entire district. The date of its opening suggests the involvement of John Edward Vernon; the vision corresponds also with this agent's careful control of the character and form of houses built during his agency. However, the two plans of the 1830s are probably responsible for one of the most distinctive characteristics of the estate, the long, wide, straight avenues.

The building development of the estate can be divided clearly into two phases, which each have a distinct stylistic characteristic: the terraced house, and the semi-detached house. The continuation of the terraced form from the eighteenth century was possibly a matter of habit and simplicity, while the introduction of the semi-detached house must have been as much due to the influence of John Edward Vernon, as well as fashion. Another clear division which emerges is the marked difference between the east and west of the estate, both in terms of attitude and policy of the administration, and in the consequent architectural character of the houses erected. However it is interesting to

[3]Seven ninths of the Township were held by the landlord of the estate. Municipal Boundaries Commission, evidence (1880), para. 4648. Statistics: Municipal Boundaries Commission, evidence (1880), paras. 4870-4872; 4884-4891.

see, under the influence of Vernon, the suburbanisation of the east as distinct to its previous maritime and semi-rural character.

The role of the agents was of great importance, and some distinct characteristics can be seen to emerge from their respective administrations. Barbara Verschoyle (agent c.1790-1827) and Cornelius Sullivan (agent 1827-1849) were related, and a great similarity can be seen in their devotion and attention to the administration of the estate. However, it is also possible to see similarities in the building development which emerged during their agencies. While Sullivan envisioned grand schemes for development, he retained the rather traditional terraced form, universal during Verschoyle's agency.[4] Also, it can be seen that both he and Verschoyle were not overly influential on the character of the houses erected. Indeed, Sullivan seems to have been dominated by some builder-developers, such as Richard Turner and Thomas Bradley. It is interesting that with scarcely any reference to drawings or the architectural character of houses during Sullivan's agency, one of the few references of this kind which survives relates to an influential occupier objecting to - and effectively preventing - the building of houses insufficiently grand next to him on Pembroke Road. This is practically the only time during Sullivan's agency that there is reference in the letter books either to the existence of architectural drawings or to the censure and control of proposed houses. However this was not done by the agent, but an influential resident.[5] It should be remembered, though, that both Verschoyle and Sullivan had to manage the estate during times of great economic difficulty; effectively, they were more concerned with securing a rent than exerting a stylistic character on the building development.

Even Major Fairfield (agent 1849-1853) seems to have had an impact - even if it is due to an absence of control. While little is known of his agency, it is tempting to regard one of the only schemes to be built on the western estate without a basement as being due to his lack of supervision.[6] There can be little doubt that the greatest figure of authority and control was John Edward Vernon (agent 1853-1887). He introduced regularity in terraced developments, for example on Raglan Road, and he almost certainly introduced the semi-detached house. By far the most significant innovation in terms of the architectural character of the estate, was his introduction of approval for building being dependent on the submission of detailed architectural drawings, and the insistence on their strict observance. What was significant was that he did not insist on regularity; houses built during his administration evince a wide variety of styles and influences, but

[4]With the notable exception of the houses planned along the south side of Pembroke Road.
[5]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 7, Sullivan to Leicester Viney Smith, various dates October-November 1844 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/7).
[6]Fort View, Haddington Road; it was built some time before 1855.

they all adhere to broader subtle controls, such as height and width of facade, distance from the line of road, type of brick, etc. For this reason his agency was of great importance in establishing much of the distinct character of the Pembroke estate from the 1860s onwards.

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In comparison with other suburban parts of Dublin, the closest 'rivals' would be the neighbouring suburbs to the west of the Pembroke estate. Other suburban areas of Dublin are not strictly comparable: for example, Drumcondra, which is really a suburb of the later nineteenth century; and Clontarf, which is really more akin to the coastal developments of Monkstown. While terraced and semi-detached building development occurred elsewhere in suburban Dublin up to 1880, it was generally not on avenues of such scale as occurred on the Pembroke estate and generally comprised piecemeal developments on fragmented holdings. What is so distinctive about the Pembroke estate is not only the width and length of the avenues, but the extent of the wider area over which the roads emerged. Other issues were significant too, such as the planting of trees, which was undertaken by the estate, and was a key characteristic of suburbanisation.

The steady building and expansion of the estate in the 1860s and 1870s did not continue. In terms of population, the Pembroke estate was at its zenith around 1880. After that date the demand for housing changed, but also new roads opened up in the vicinity of Rathgar, Ranelagh and Rathmines. Where previously roads in these districts were narrower and winding, from the mid-1860s more substantial large-scale building developments began to emerge, for example, Palmerston Road and Park. With the emergence of building in Cowper Road from the mid-1870s, Temple Villas in the 1880s, and the Cowper Garden estate in the early twentieth century, a new premier residential district was established.

However, in 1880 the drift away from the Pembroke estate had not yet occurred. Between 1816 and 1880 the population of the district had nearly doubled, the number of houses had increased by nearly fifty percent. Despite the formidable delays visited upon the grand plans of the 1830s, by 1880 the character and scale of building development in the Pembroke estate was distinct and impressive. It was, in the contemporary words of the Reverend Beaver H. Blacker, 'a very improving suburb of Dublin'.[7]

[7] Revd Beaver H. Blacker, *Brief sketches of the parishes of Booterstown and Donnybrook, in the County of Dublin* (2nd ed., Dublin, 1874), p.311.

List of Appendices

1 Ground allocated for building during the agency of Cornelius Sullivan 1827 - 49

2 List of builder-developers and dates of houses (in alphabetical order)

i Western estate:

Clyde Road
Elgin Road
Haddington Road
Lansdowne Road
Leeson Street Upper
Northumberland Road
Pembroke Road
Percy Place
Raglan Road
Saint Mary's Road
Wellington Place
Wellington Road
Waterloo Road

ii Eastern estate:

Herbert Road
Park Avenue
Strand Road
Tritonville Road

3 Builder-developers of the roads selected above: professions and trades, and where they built.

i Western estate

ii Eastern estate

4 The houses of Wellington and Waterloo Roads

Appendix 1

Building leases allocated between 1827-1849.

In the absence of any surviving index or official list of building leases allocated by the estate, the following appendix is an attempt to provide a record of such information, for the years 1827 to 1849. The appendix is based on the summary details recorded by the agent Cornelius Sullivan when he despatched leases to England for signature by the landlord. This information was sent in a letter accompanying each parcel of leases. While it is the most comprehensive lease information available, it can not be regarded as absolutely complete.

The information has been divided into three categories: leases for building ground inside the canal, outside the canal, and (only a very few) in the eastern estate.

While this appendix is based on information taken from the agent's correspondence, sometimes further statistics have been deduced from the details provided: for example, where the total frontage and the total rent is stated, the author has computed the rent per foot.

Note:

- The heading date is the date of the letter in which the information was recorded.
- 'Date of lease' is the date the lease commenced from, not when it was agreed or signed. The official commencement date of the lease was usually recorded in the letter books, the date of agreement or signing hardly ever.
- 'Leases' refers to the number and size (usually frontage) of leases allocated. The depth of leases was usually not noted in the letter books. Building leases were generally for one hundred and fifty years, unless otherwise stated.
- 'Hses' refers to the number of houses stated to be built on the holdings.
- 'Rent' is usually per foot, but sometimes is given as a total amount.
- 'Valuation' refers to the official valuation of each road as determined by the survey of the estate by Sherrard Brassington and Gale of 1830.

DATE	LOCATION	LESSEE	LEASES	HSES	RENT	VAL.
29 JANUARY 1828						
-	Mount&Baggot Sts	Kehoe & Byrne	1 x -	-	£80 total	-
13 JULY 1829						
Outside Canal						
-	Baggot St Up.	William Hodgins	1 x 48'	2	8s per ft	-
5 JULY 1830						
Inside Canal						
25.3.1830	Fitzwilliam Pl.	Arthur Neville	2 x 25'	2	15s per ft	(10s)
25.3.1830	Mount St Up.	Thomas Watson	1 x -	-	8s per ft	(5s)
29.9.1829	Mount St Up.	Richard Williamson	1 x 22'	1	8s per ft	(5s)
25.3.1830	Mount St Up.	Thomas Bradley	2 [total 45']	-	8s per ft	(5s)
3 DECEMBER 1830						
Inside Canal						
-	Pembroke St	Richard Turner	1x 64' angle	-	12s 6d per ft	(8s)
Outside Canal						
-	Pembroke Rd	John Barton	2 x 22'	2	8s per ft	(5s-6s)
-	Pembroke Rd	Thomas Bradley	4 x 23'	4	8s per ft	(5s-6s)
-	Pembroke Rd	Joseph Leland	6 x 24'	6	8s per ft	(5s-6s)
-	Pembroke Rd	William Andrews	1 x 24'	1	8s per ft	(5s-6s)
10 JANUARY 1831						
Inside Canal						
-	Fitzwilliam Pl.	-	14 x -	-	-	-
-	Herbert Pl.	-	10 x -	-	-	-
-	Mount St Up.	-	15 x -	-	-	-
Outside Canal						
-	Circular Rd	-	1 x -	-	-	-
-	Percy Pl.	-	5 x -	-	-	-
3 MARCH 1831						
Inside Canal						
29.9.1830	Baggot St	John Sikes	2 x 25'	2	15s per ft	(10s-12s)
Outside Canal						
29.9.1830	Baggot St Up.	Philip Jones	1 x 86'	2	8s per ft	(5s-6s)

DATE	LOCATION	LESSEE	LEASES	HSES	RENT	VAL.
29.9.1830	Baggot St Up.	Richard Turner	1 x 86'	2	8s per ft	(5s-6s)
29.9.1830	Baggot St Up.	Arthur Neville	1 x 73'	2	8s per ft	(5s-6s)
29.9.1830	Baggot St Up.	Robert Hitchcock	2 x [45']	2	8s per ft	(5s-6s)
29.9.1830	Pembroke Rd	Martin Brady	2 x 24'	2	8s per ft	(5s-6s)
21 MAY 1831						
Outside Canal						
-	Baggot St Up.	Thomas Bradley	1 x 24'	1	8s per ft	(5s-6s)
-	Baggot St Up.	Thomas McEnry	1 x 43'	1	8s per ft	(5s-6s)
-	Baggot St Up.	Thomas McEnry	1 x 43'	1	8s per ft	(5s-6s)
28 JULY 1831						
Outside Canal						
-	Baggot St Up.	Denis Hayes	1 x 44'	2	8s per ft	(5s-6s)
-	Baggot St Up.	Joseph Taylor	1 x 22'	1	8s per ft	(5s-6s)
-	Circular Rd	Thomas Fleming	2 [total 69']	-	5s per ft	(3s 6d)
-	Percy Pl.	Thomas Nugent	4 x 22'	4	4s per ft[1]	(3s-3s6d)
-	Percy Pl.	John Sullivan	1 x 44'	2	4s per ft	(3s-3s6d)
-	Percy Pl.	John Henderson	1 x 44'	2	6s per ft	-
-	Percy Pl.	Luke Ashmore	1 x 39'angle	-	6s per ft	-
17 SEPTEMBER 1831						
Outside Canal						
25.3.1831	Pembroke Rd	Thomas Bradley	2 x 24'	2	8s per ft	(5s-6s)
25.3.1831	Pembroke Rd	Thomas Bradley	1 x 23'	1	8s per ft	(5s-6s)
25.3.1831	Percy Pl.	Thomas Nugent	2 x 22'	2	5s per ft	(3s-3s6d)
31 MARCH 1832						
Inside Canal						
-	Herbert St	George Farrell	6 x 23'	6	8s per ft	(6s-8s)
-	Warrington Pl.	Thomas Bradley	7 x 21.5'	7	6s per ft	(3s-3s6d)
Eastern Estate						
-	Ringsend	Joseph Clements	1 x 17'	1	2s per ft	-

[1]Both Nugent and Sullivan were allocated leases 30 May 1830 in Percy Place for which Sullivan charged 8 shillings per foot. This was rated too high, therefore to get an average rent of 6 shillings per foot, Sullivan made these later lettings at 4 shillings per foot.

DATE	LOCATION	LESSEE	LEASES	HSES	RENT	VAL.
18 APRIL 1832						
Inside Canal						
-	Warrington Pl.	Benjamin McGanley	1 x 23'	1	7s per ft	(3s-3s6d)
4 JUNE 1832						
Outside Canal						
-	Donnybrook Rd	John Bennett	3 x 100'	-	4s per ft	(2s 6d)
16 JULY 1832						
Inside Canal						
25.3.1832	Herbert Pl.	William Young	1 x 23'	1	6s per ft	(3s-3s6d)
25.3.1832	Herbert Pl.	William Young	1 x 23'	1	6s per ft	(3s-3s6d)
Outside Canal						
25.3.1832	Circular Rd	Peter Delahunt	1 x 23'	1	5s per ft	(3s-3s6d)
25.3.1832	Circular Rd	Peter Delahunt	1 x 23'	1	5s per ft	(3s-3s6d)
3 SEPTEMBER 1832						
Outside Canal						
25.3.1832	Baggot St Up.	Thomas Reed	1 x 43'	1	8s per ft	-
25.3.1832	Baggot St Up.	Thomas Reed	1 x 43'	1	8s per ft	-
25.3.1832	Circular Rd	Revd Charles Finn	1 x 80'	-[1]	5s per ft	-
4 DECEMBER 1832						
Outside Canal						
29.9.1832	Circular Rd	James Henderson	1 x 44'	2	5s per ft	-
-	Percy Pl.	John Phayre	2 x 22'	2	5s per ft	-
31 MAY 1833						
Inside Canal						
25.3.1833	Fitzwilliam Pl.	D. Taylor	1 x 25'	1	15s per ft	-
25.3.1833	Fitzwilliam Pl.	Tottenham Alley	1 x 25'	1	15s per ft	-
29 JULY 1833						
Outside Canal						
25.3.1833	Donnybrook Rd	William Stannus	1 x 100'	1[2]	5s per ft	-

[1] For building a Catholic chapel.
[2] Allocations to Stannus and Reid on Donnybrook Road stipulated building 'one or more' houses.

DATE	LOCATION	LESSEE	LEASES	HSES	RENT	VAL.
25.3.1833	Donnybrook Rd	Jolly W. Reid	1 x 100'	1	4s 6d per ft	-
25.3.1833	Northumberland Rd	Llewellan Nash	1 x 23'	1	8s per ft	-
17 OCTOBER 1833						
Inside Canal						
25.3.1833	Leeson St (rere)	Warren, Boyd, Porter	1 x 71'	-[1]	2s 1d per ft	-
29.9.1833	Mount St Lr	Henry Kingsmill	1 x 45'	2	8s per ft	-
Outside Canal						
n/d	Baggot St Up.	Nathaniel Callwell	1 x 25'	1	6s per ft	-
25.3.1833	Northumberland Rd	John Gibson	1 x 23'	1	8s per ft	-
25.3.1833	Northumberland Rd	John Gibson	1 x 23'	1	8s per ft	-
Eastern Estate						
-	Ballsbridge	John Byrne	1 x 86'	-	6s per ft[2]	-
31 NOVEMBER 1833						
Outside Canal						
29.9.1833	Circular Rd	George Davis	1 x 22'	1	5s per ft	-
29.9.1833	Circular Rd	Robert Knaggs	1 x 44'	2	5s 5d per ft	-
29.9.1833	Circular Rd	John Henderson	1 x 44'	2	5s per ft	-
29.9.1833	Donnybrook Rd	Edward Power	1 x 100'	-	4s per ft	-
29.9.1833	Grand Canal St	Edward Burke	1 x 99'	-	5s per ft	-
29 MARCH 1834						
Inside Canal						
-	Warrington Pl.	Robert Nicholson	4 x 24'	4	6s per ft	(3s-3s6d)
10 MAY 1834						
Outside Canal						
-	Pembroke Rd	George Davey	1 x 86'	-	8s per ft	-
2 JUNE 1834						
Outside Canal						
25.3.1834	Percy Pl.	John Phayre	1 x 30'	1	3s 8d per ft	-
25.3.1834	Percy Pl.	John Phayre	1 x 22'	1	5s per ft	-

[1]For building a school.
[2]Lease for ninety-nine years.

DATE	LOCATION	LESSEE	LEASES	HSES	RENT	VAL.
26 JULY 1834						
Inside Canal						
25.3.1834	Leeson St	Thomas Dockerell	1 x 25'	1	10s per ft	-
Outside Canal						
25.3.1834	Circular Rd	James Philip Thomas	1 x 46'	2	4s 9d per ft	-
25.3.1834	Circular Rd	James Philip Thomas	8 x 23'	8	4s 9d per ft	-
25.3.1834	Donnybrook Rd	Maria Daly	1 x 40'	1	5s 6d per ft	-
19 AUGUST 1834						
Inside Canal						
25.3.1834	Leeson St	Joseph Taylor	1 x 26'	1	10s per ft	-
Outside Canal						
25.3.1834	Percy Pl.	Thomas Chandler	1 x -	-	£7.10 total	-
15 DECEMBER 1834						
Inside Canal						
29.9.1834	Herbert Pl.	William Young	4 x 23'	4	6s per ft	-
Outside Canal						
29.9.1834	Beggars Bush Rd	Richard Turner	1 x -	-	£22.10.0 total	-
29.9.1834	Circular Rd	James Knaggs	1 x 22'	1	5s per ft	-
29.9.1834	Pembroke Rd	Richard Turner	1 x 68'	2	10s 1d per ft	-
25.3.1834	Pembroke Rd	Richard Turner	1 x 193'	-	6s 6d per ft	-
29.9.1834	Pembroke Rd	Revd Geo. A. Hamilton	1 x -	2	£34.8.0 total	-
29.9.1834	Pembroke Rd	James Malone	1 x -	1	£13 total[1]	-
29.9.1834	Pembroke Rd	James Malone	1 x -	-	£16 total[2]	-
28 FEBRUARY 1835						
Inside Canal						
29.9.1834	Fitzwilliam Pl.	William Hogan	3 x 25'	3	17s 6d per ft	-
29.9.1834	Mount St Lr.	Henry Kingsmill	1 x 30'	1	8s per ft	-
6 JUNE 1835						
Inside Canal						
-	Herbert St	Alderman Abbott	5 x 23'	5	-	-

[1] Lease for ninety-nine years.
[2] Lease for ninety-nine years.

DATE	LOCATION	LESSEE	LEASES	HSES	RENT	VAL.
5 OCTOBER 1835						
Inside Canal						
25.3.1835	Herbert Pl.	John Fleming[1]	2 x 23'	2	9s 11d per ft	-
Outside Canal						
25.3.1835	Baggot St Up.	Montefore John Hay	1 x 40'	-	8s per ft	-
25.3.1835	Wellington Pl.	Stephen Malyn	1 x 84'	-	6s per ft	-
28 MAY 1836						
Inside Canal						
25.3.1836	Leeson St	Thomas Dockrill	1 x 25'	1	10s per ft	-
25.3.1836	Leeson St	James Pomorett	1 x 25'	1	10s per ft	-
Outside Canal						
25.3.1836	Circular Rd	Thomas Chandler	1 x 31'	1	3s 9d per ft	-
25.3.1836	Circular Rd	Thomas Chandler	1 x 23'	1	5s per ft	-
25.3.1836	Pembroke Rd	Henry Charles	1 x 34'	1	6s 9d per ft	-
25.3.1836	Pembroke Rd	Henry Charles	4 x 21'	4	-	-
-	Pembroke Rd	Thomas Bradley	1 x -	-	£10 total[2]	-
25.3.1836	Northumberland Rd	Thomas Chandler	1 x 57'	-	4s per ft	-
25.3.1836	Northumberland Rd	Thomas Chandler	1 x 23'	1	8s per ft	-
Eastern Estate						
29.9.1835	Ballsbridge	Philip Keegan	1 x -	-	£15.10 total[3]	-
25.3.1836	Irishtown	George Carr	1 x -	-	£3.10 total[4]	-
2 JULY 1836						
Inside Canal						
-	Fitzwilliam Pl.	James Pomorett	2 x 25'	2	-	-
-	Mount St Crescent	Joseph Gabbett	3 x 23'	3	5s per ft	-
Outside Canal						
25.3.1836	Northumberland Rd	Thomas Chandler	1 x 23'	1	8s per ft	-
1 FEBRUARY 1837						
Inside Canal						
-	Fitzwilliam Pl.	-	1 x - -		-	-
-	Leeson St	Ferguson Henley	1 x 24.5	1	-	-

[1]Formerly held by Kehoe, deceased, at a rent of 5s per foot.
[2]Was formerly intended to be a stable lane along Pembroke Road, now to be built over. Lease for 145 years.
[3]Lease for sixty-one years.
[4]Lease for sixty-one years.

DATE	LOCATION	LESSEE	LEASES	HSES	RENT	VAL.
-	Mount St Crescent	Joseph Gabbett	5 x 23'	5	-	-
-	Mount St Crescent	Daniel Litton	1 x 23'	1	-	-
-	Mount St Crescent	Daniel Hutton [sic]	1 x 23'	1	-	-
29 APRIL 1837						
Inside Canal						
-	Herbert St	Robert O'Hara	2 x 23'	2	-	-
Eastern Estate						
25.3.1837	Ballsbridge[nr river]	John Byran	-	-	£18 total[1]	-
4 JUNE 1838						
Outside Canal						
25.3.1838	Northumberland Rd	Thomas Chandler	1 x 23'	1	8s per ft	-
25.3.1838	Pembroke Rd	John Fleming	2 x 32'	2	7s 6d per ft	-
1 AUGUST 1838						
Outside Canal						
25.3.1838	Pembroke Rd	Thomas Bradley	1 x 24'	1	8s per ft	-
30 JANUARY 1839						
Inside Canal						
-	Herbert St	Robert O'Hara	2 x - 2	-	-	
2 APRIL 1839						
Inside Canal						
29.9.1838	Herbert St	-	2 x -	2	-	-
31 MAY 1839						
Outside Canal						
25.3.1839	Baggot St	Peter Hanlon	1 x 37'	-	13s 9d per ft	-
25.3.1839	Haddington Rd	Thomas Bradley	2 x 23'	2	4s 9d per ft	-
25.3.1839	Haddington Rd	Jerome Daly	2 x 23'	2	5s per ft	-
4 APRIL 1840						
Outside Canal						
29.9.1840	Circular Rd	Thomas Bradley	4 x -	4	£5.9.3 total	-

[1] Lease for ninety-nine years.

DATE	LOCATION	LESSEE	LEASES	HSES	RENT	VAL.
23 DECEMBER 1840						
Outside Canal						
25.3.1840	Grand Canal St	Robert McVittie	1 x ground	-	£5.10 total	-
25.3.1840	Pembroke Rd	Walter Peter[1]	2 x 43'	2	8s per ft	-
24 MARCH 1841						
Inside Canal						
-	Mount St Lr	-	-	-	-	-
Outside Canal						
29.9.1840	Pembroke Rd	William Harvie	1 x 117'	1	7s 4d per ft	-
15 MAY 1841						
Inside Canal						
-	Fitzwilliam Pl.[2]	Mr Mahon	3 x -	-	-	-
Eastern Estate						
-	Booterstown	Thomas Bradley	1 small	-	-	-
3 JUNE 1841						
Outside Canal						
25.3.1841	Haddington Road	John Chillaks [?]	2 x 23'	2	5s per ft	-
25 OCTOBER 1841						
Outside Canal						
29.9.1841	Pembroke Rd	Jno. Fleming	1 x 25	1	7s 5d per ft	-
29.9.1841	Pembroke Rd	Jno. Fleming	1 x 35'	1	7s 5d per ft	-
29.9.1841	Pembroke Rd	Jno. Fleming	1 x 35	1	9s 4d per ft	-
17 JANUARY 1842						
Outside Canal						
29.9.1841	Haddington Rd	John Webb Bradshaw	2 x 23'	2	4s 9d per ft	-
12 MARCH 1842						
Inside Canal						
29.9.1841	Wellington Pl.	David Simpson	4 x 22'	4	6s per ft	-

[1]Ground formerly held by Richard Turner, bankrupt.
[2]Ground recently taken by Sidney Herbert from Mr Synge on lease of 999 years.

DATE	LOCATION	LESSEE	LEASES	HSES	RENT	VAL.
30 APRIL 1842						
Outside Canal						
29.9.1842	Haddington Rd	John Webb Bradshaw	2 x 21'	2	5s per ft	-
29.9.1842	Haddington Rd	Michael Webster	2 x 22'	2	5s per ft	-
29.9.1842	Wellington Pl.	William Smith	1 x 34'	1	6s per ft	-
30 JUNE 1842						
Outside Canal						
25.3.1842	Haddington Road	Michael Webster	2 x 24'	2	5s per ft	-
-	Wellington Pl.	H.G. Rawlins	1 x 24'	1	6s per ft	-
-	Wellington Pl.	H.G. Rawlins	1 x 24'	1	5s 5d per ft	-
13 AUGUST 1842						
Outside Canal						
25.3.1842	Haddington Rd	Robert Farrell	3 x 23'	3	5s per ft	-
25.3.1842	Haddington Rd	John Webb Bradshaw	2 x 21'	2	5s 3d per ft	-
4 JANUARY 1843						
InsideCanal						
29.9.1842	Wellington Pl.	Henry Vereker	1 x 54'	-	5s 6d per ft	-
Outside Canal						
29.9.1842	Haddington Rd	Philip Keegan	2 x 23'	2	5s per ft	-
Eastern Estate						
-	Irishtown	James Brady	-	-	-	-
-	Irishtown	Austin Simpson	-	-	-	-
-	Ringsend	Austin Ward	-	-	-	-
5 JUNE 1843						
Outside Canal						
25.3.1843	Wellington Pl.	Edward Dodd	3 x 22'	3	5s 6d per ft	-
25.3.1843	Wellington Pl.	Edward De Danilicke	1 x 24'	1	5s 6d per ft	-
23 AUGUST 1843						
Inside Canal						
25.3.1843	Fitzwilliam Pl.	James Henderson	1 x 25'	1	-	-
25.3.1843	Fitzwilliam Pl.	William Tuthill	1 x 26'	1	-	-

DATE	LOCATION	LESSEE	LEASES	HSES	RENT	VAL.
Outside Canal						
25.3.1843	Grand Canal St	Thomas Crothers	1 x 182'	-	2s 11d per ft	-
25.3.1843	Grand Canal St	Charles Crothers	1 x 41'	-	4s per ft	-
25.3.1843	Pembroke Rd	Leicester D. Smith	1 x 59'	1	6s 11d per ft	-
25.3.1843	Wellington Pl.	William E. Stanley	6 x 24'	6	5s per ft	-
2 SEPTEMBER 1843						
Outside Canal						
25.3.1843	Pembroke Rd	Thomas Tisdall	2 x 40'	-	7s 6d per ft	-
25.3.1843	Pembroke Rd	Thomas Tisdall	1 x 25'	1	8s per ft	-
13 JANUARY 1844						
Outside Canal						
29.9.1843	Wellington Rd	Maxwell Simpson	1 x 96'	4	4s per ft	-
2 MARCH 1844						
Inside Canal						
-	Fitzwilliam Pl.	-	1 x -	1	-	-
Outside Canal						
29.9.1843	Wellington Rd	David Simpson	1 x 24'	1	4s 3d per ft	-
29.9.1843	Wellington Rd	Maxwell Simpson	1 x 24'	1	4s 3d per ft	-
29.9.1843	Wellington Rd	William Myers [sic]	4 x 24'	4	4s 3d per ft	-
Eastern Estate						
29.9.1843	Irishtown Rd	Austin Ward	1 x 120'	-	3s per ft[1]	-
29.9.1843	Irishtown Rd	J Duignan Lacy	1 x 110'	-	2s 9d per ft[2]	-
27 APRIL 1844						
Outside Canal						
29.9.1843	Pembroke Rd	John Fleming	2 x 58'6"	-	7s 4d per ft	-
Eastern Estate						
29.9.1843	Ringsend	Austin Ward	1 x 48'6"	-	3s per ft[3]	-
22 MAY 1844						
Outside Canal						
25.3.1844	Donnybrook Rd	Daniel Clarke	1 x 245'	-	5s per ft	-

[1] Lease for seventy-one years.
[2] Lease for seventy-one years.
[3] Lease for seventy-one years.

DATE	LOCATION	LESSEE	LEASES	HSES	RENT	VAL.
25.3.1844	Waterloo Rd	Joseph Smith	2 x 24'	2	5s 6d per ft	-
25.3.1844	Waterloo Rd	Joseph Boyce	2 x 120'	-	5s per ft	-
29.9.1843	Wellington Rd	Joseph Boyce	1 x 432'	-	4s 3d per ft	-
29.9.1843	Wellington Rd	Joseph Boyce	1 x 434'	-	4s 3d per ft	-
29.9.1843	Wellington Rd	Joseph Boyce	1 x 520'	-	4s 3d per ft	-
3 JULY 1844						
Outside Canal						
25.3.1844	Waterloo Rd	Joseph Gabbett	4 x 25'9"	4	5s 7d per ft	-
25.3.1844	Waterloo Rd	Joseph Gabbett	2 x 26'6.5"	2	5s 5d per ft	-
25.3.1844	Waterloo Rd	Robert Wilson	2 x 38'	2	5s 6d per ft	-
25.3.1844	Waterloo Rd	Daniel Litton	2 x 26'	2	5s 6d per ft	-
25.3.1844	Waterloo Rd	Matthew Richard Gabbett	2 x 26'	2	5s 6d per ft	-
29.9.1843	Wellington Rd	William Murray	1 x 520'	-	4s 3d per ft	-
31 AUGUST 1844						
Inside Canal						
25.3.1844	Wilton Terrace	George Farrell	2 x 24'	2	12s 6d per ft	-
Outside Canal						
25.3.1844	Haddington Rd	Patt Sullivan	1 x -	-	£12.10.6 total	-
25.3.1844	Haddington Rd	Revd Chas Finn	1 x 15'[1]	-	5s per ft	-
25.3.1844	Waterloo Rd	Ethelfleda Stedman	2 x 25'	2	5s 6d per ft	-
25.3.1844	Waterloo Rd	Ethelfleda Stedman	1 x 25'	1	5s 6d per ft	-
Eastern Estate						
25.3.1844	Irishtown	Charles Duignan	1 x -	-	£31.19.6[2] total	-
4 JANUARY 1845						
Inside Canal						
-	Wilton Terrace	Henry McManus	1 x -	1	-	-
Outside Canal						
29.9.1844	Waterloo Rd	William Whitmore	1 x 24'	1	5s 6d per ft	-
29.9.1844	Waterloo Rd	James Henderson	1 x 23'	1	5s 6d per ft	-
29.9.1844	Waterloo Rd	Philip Keegan	1 x 48'	2	5s 6d per ft	-

[1] Adjoining Chapel. Lease is for 138 years (to make it conterminus with the lease for the chapel of 1832)
[2] Lease for seventy-one years.

DATE	LOCATION	LESSEE	LEASES	HSES	RENT	VAL.
24 FEBRUARY 1845						
Outside Canal						
29.9.1844	Waterloo Rd	Arthur Jacob, Eliza & Jas Kinghorn	1 x 46'	2	4s 10d per ft	-
17 APRIL 1845						
Outside Canal						
25.3.1845	Grand Canal St	Michael Hagan	1 x 63'	-	5s per ft	-
25.3.1845	Grand Canal St	John Hagan	1 x 45'	-	4s 8d per ft	-
25.3.1845	Grand Canal St	Edward Lanyron	1 x 45'	-	4s 8d per ft	-
3 MAY 1845						
Inside Canal						
29.9.1844	Leeson St	James Henderson	1 x 24'	1	9s 2d per ft	-
Outside Canal						
29.9.1844	Donnybrook Rd	John Hughes	1 x 44'	-	5s per ft	-
29.9.1844	Donnybrook Rd	Dawson Deane Heather	1 x 50'	-	4s 5d per ft	-
31 MAY 1845						
Outside Canal						
25.3.1845	Waterloo Rd	Edward Walsh	3 x 23'	3	5s 1d per ft	-
25.3.1845	Waterloo Rd	William Barker Drury	2 x 23'	2	5s 6d per ft	-
25.3.1845	Waterloo Rd	Edward Smith	2 x 24'	2	5s per ft	-
12 JULY 1845						
Outside Canal						
25.3.1845	Waterloo Rd	Samuel Reddy	4 x 24'	4	5s per ft	-
25.3.1845	Waterloo Rd	Patrick Bacon	1 x 88'	-	5s per ft	-
25.3.1845	Waterloo Rd	L. J. Stedman	2 x 22'	2	5s per ft	-
9 AUGUST 1845						
Outside Canal						
25.3.1845	Waterloo Rd	Frederick Clarke	2 x 22'	2	5s per ft	-
25.3.1845	Waterloo Rd	Joseph Smith	2 x 24'	2	5s per ft	-
25.3.1845	Waterloo Rd	Joseph Gabbett	2 x 32'	2	5s per ft	-
25.3.1845	Waterloo Rd	David Simpson	2 x 24'	2	5s per ft	-
25.3.1845	Waterloo Rd	Robert Wilson	2 x 32'	2	5s 1d per ft	-

DATE	LOCATION	LESSEE	LEASES	HSES	RENT	VAL.
30 AUGUST 1845						
Inside Canal						
25.3.1845	Baggot St	Francis McOwen	1 x -	-	£30 total	-
Outside Canal						
25.3.1845	Waterloo Rd	Benjamin Bradford	2 x 23'	2	5s 6d per ft	-
25.3.1845	Waterloo Rd	William Stannus	2 x 22'	2	5s per ft	-
25.3.1845	Waterloo Rd	William Stannus	1 x 21'	1	5s per ft	-
Eastern Estate						
25.3.1845	Irishtown	Josh O'Reilly	1 x 167'	-	3s per ft[1]	-
6 SEPTEMBER 1845						
Outside Canal						
25.3.1845	Waterloo Rd	Edward Walsh	3 x 43'	-	5s 1d per ft	-
25.3.1845	Waterloo Rd	Agnes Kelly	2 x 32'	2	4s 10d per ft	-
25.3.1845	Waterloo Rd	Thomas Carroll	1 x 46'	-	5s per ft	-
25.3.1845	Waterloo Rd	Thomas Carroll	1 x 53'	-	5s per ft	-
27 FEBRUARY 1846						
Outside Canal						
29.9.1845	Waterloo Rd	John Oliver Curran	1 x -	-	£38.5 total[2]	-
Eastern Estate						
25.3.1845	Irishtown	Charles Duignan	1 x -	-	£31.19 total[3]	-
4 APRIL 1846						
Eastern Estate						
29.9.1845	Irishtown	Thomas Byrne	1 x 21'	-	-[4]	-
-	Sandymount	William Du Bidal	1 x 21'	-	-[5]	-
6 OCTOBER 1846						
Outside Canal						
29.9.1846	Burlington Rd	James Thomas	1 x 20'	-	3s per ft	-
29.9.1846	Burlington Rd	David Thomas	1 x 20'	-	3s per ft	-

[1]Lease for eighty-one years.
[2]Size of plot not stated in letter book reference, but according to OS 1:1000 it is 145 feet; therefore the rent can be calculated at 5s 3d per foot.
[3]Lease for eighty-one years.
[4]Lease for seventy-one years.
[5]Lease for sixty-one years.

DATE	LOCATION	LESSEE	LEASES	HSES	RENT	VAL.
25.3.1846	Circular Rd	Messrs Wright & Stanley	2 x -	-	£5.5.0 total	-
25.3.1846	Circular Rd	Messrs Wright & Stanley	1 x -	-	£5.7.0 total	-
25.3.1846	Circular Rd	Messrs Wright & Stanley	1 x -	-	£7.15.0	-
25.3.1846	Donnybrook Rd	David Simpson	1 x angle	-	£3.5.0 total	-
25.3.1846	Pembroke Rd	James Malone	1 x 63'	-	7s per ft	-
3 FEBRUARY 1847						
Outside Canal						
29.9.1846	Burlington Rd	Messrs Wright & Stanley	1 x 248'	-	3s 9d per ft	-
29.9.1846	Waterloo Rd	Thomas Steel	1 x 65'	-	5s per ft	-
7 AUGUST 1847						
Outside Canal						
25.3.1846	Burlington Rd	Messrs Wright & Stanley	1 x -	-	£5.5.0 total	-
Eastern Estate						
25.3.1848	Pidgeon Hse Wall	P. Graham	1 x 60'	-	3s per ft[1]	-
22 APRIL 1848						
Outside Canal						
29.9.1847	Waterloo Rd	R.B. McVittie	1 x -	-	£10.9.0	-
29.9.1847	Waterloo Rd	Edward Smith	1 x -	-	£6.17.6	-
5 DECEMBER 1848						
Outside Canal						
Nov 1848	Burlington Rd	Robert Stanley	1 x -	-	£9.10.0	-
29.9.1848	Burlington Rd	Samuel O'Kelly	2 x 23'	-	5s 6d per ft	-

[1] Lease for ninety-nine years

Appendix 2

Builder-Developers and Dates of Houses.

Gathering together different sources such as the estate letter books, the Estate Township Map Folio, the Griffith Valuation (1849) and the subsequent Cancelled Books and maps, as well as Ordnance Survey maps, an attempt has been made to establish an approximate date for houses along the major roads in the estate, and the name of the builder-developer involved in the building process.

Numbers:
As throughout the thesis, the numbers referred to are present-day street-numbers. Street numbers bracketed together indicate houses built under a single building lease.

Builder-developer:
Name of person involved in the building process. Where known, this is the building lessee, but as has been explained already, there is a lack in lease information and frequently this is not always possible to establish. Where the names of the builder-developers have been derived without lease information (ie from the Griffith Valuation), the names are marked by an asterisk. This is to indicate that the name is not necessarily the name of the person who took the building lease.

Date of lease:
It has been decided, for the purpose of this appendix, to date the leases by their official commencement date and not the date of their signature by the lessee. This is because the official commencement date is the information given in the letter book references, and as so few copies of full leases are available, this is the most comprehensive and consistent way of dating possible. Until the end of Sullivan's agency, leases only commenced from September or March.

Plot width:
Plot widths are those as stated in the summary lease information in the letter books. Where summary lease information is not available, the plot widths have been calculated according to OS 1:1000 town plans; these measurements are shown in square brackets, [ ]. Generally, plot widths correspond with the width of the elevation of each house.

However, if a house is detached, or at the end of a line, it might not occupy the whole of the plot. In these appendices, it is always the width of the plot which is referred to.

Rent per foot:

For sake of consistency, rentals (which are generally given in terms of each total holding) have been converted to the rate per foot, to the nearest penny.

Built by:

This is the earliest date by which the building is known to have been built. In other words, it is not a definite statement of when the building was finished. Established by using the Griffith Valuation and, before it commenced in 1849, OS maps. Dating of buildings is less specific and accurate before the Griffith Valuation .

CLYDE ROAD - SOUTH SIDE (E-W)

NO.	BUILDER - DEVELOPER	DATE OF LEASE	PLOT WIDTH	RENT PER FOOT	BUILT BY
1	*Robert Stanley				1869
2	*Robert Stanley				1869
3	*Arthur Robinson				1867
4	*Arthur Robinson				1867
5	*George Moyers				1868
6	*George Moyers				1868
7	*George Moyers				1868
8	*George Moyers				1868
9	*Michael Kennedy				1870
10	*Michael Kennedy				1870
11	*Michael Kennedy				1867
12	*Michael Kennedy				1867
13	*James Price				1864
14	*James Price				1864
15	*John Findlater[1]				1865
16	*George Moyers				1876
17	*George Moyers				1876
18	*R. F. Lidwill				1887
19	*R. F. Lidwill				1887
20	*Charles G. Stannel				1885
21	*Charles G. Stannel				1885
22	*Patrick Cranny				1869
23	*Patrick Cranny				1869
24	*Patrick Cranny				1869
25	*Patrick Cranny				1869
26	*Patrick Murphy				1870
27	*Patrick Murphy				1870
	LANE				
28	*George Carolin				1870

CLYDE ROAD - NORTH SIDE (W-E)

NO.	BUILDER - DEVELOPER	DATE OF LEASE	PLOT WIDTH	RENT PER FOOT	BUILT BY
29	*Gilbert Cockburn	(Aberdeen House, demolished)			1861
30	*John Dempsey	(Raglan House, altered)			1861
31	-	(Demolished)			c.1870
32	Saint Bartholomew's Rectory				1872
	Saint Bartholomew's Church				1868

[1]Number 15, Clyde House, cost 'about £3,000' to finish (Griffith Cancelled Book 4).

ELGIN ROAD - SOUTH SIDE (W-E)

NO.	BUILDER - DEVELOPER	DATE OF LEASE	PLOT WIDTH	RENT PER FOOT	BUILT BY
1}					1863
3}	Capt. Robert E. Seton				1863
5}					1863
[7]	St Bartholomew's Church				1868
9	*Robert Stanley				1864
11	*Robert Stanley				1864
13	*Robert Stanley				1864
15	*Robert Stanley				1864
17	*Robert Stanley				1864
19	*Robert Stanley				1864
21	*Robert Stanley				1864
23	*Robert Stanley				1864

ELGIN ROAD - NORTH SIDE (W-E)

NO.	BUILDER - DEVELOPER	DATE OF LEASE	PLOT WIDTH	RENT PER FOOT	BUILT BY
2	*Thomas & Gilbert Cockburn				1863
4	*Thomas & Gilbert Cockburn				1863
6	*Thomas & Gilbert Cockburn[1]				1863
8	*Thomas & Gilbert Cockburn				1863
10	*Thomas & Gilbert Cockburn				1863
12	*Michael Kennedy				1868
14	*Michael Kennedy				1868
16	*Michael Kennedy				1868
18	*Michael Kennedy				1868
20	*Michael Kennedy				1863
22	*Michael Kennedy				1863
24	*Michael Kennedy				1863
26	*Patrick Cranny				1863
28	*Patrick Cranny				1863
30	*Patrick Cranny				1863
32	*Patrick Cranny				1863
34	*Patrick Cranny				1867
36	*Patrick Cranny				1867
38	*Patrick Cranny				c.1870
40	*Patrick Cranny				c.1870
42	*Robert Schuster [demolished]				1864

[1] The names for numbers 6 to 18 are different in the Estate-Township Map Folio (and also in the subsequent Griffith Cancelled Book). It is likely that as soon as the houses were completed, the leases under which the houses were built were assigned to individual investors, who became the leaseholders.

HADDINGTON ROAD - SOUTH SIDE (W-E)

NO.	BUILDER - DEVELOPER	DATE OF LEASE	PLOT WIDTH	RENT PER FOOT	BUILT BY
1 - 19	(Demolished)				
	EASTMORELAND LANE				
21	*George Braddle	-	[22']	-	1837
Haddington Terrace					
23-49	David Courtney	18.7.1801	0.2.4 ARP	£20 total	1816[1]
51	*Rainsford	-	[19']	-	1837
	LANE				
53	*Patrick J. Sullivan	-	[17']	-	1852
Home Terrace					
55}					1847
57}					1847
59}	Patrick J. Sullivan	25.3.1844	[105']	2s 5d[2]	1847
61}					1847
63}					1847
Chapel					
65	*T. Coyle	-	[22']	-	1837
67	*T. Coyle	-	[22']	-	1837
69	*Mrs Frances Walsh	-	[38']	-	1837
71}	Revd J. Gibson	3.9.1803	[32'][3]	3s 8d	1816
73}			[32']		1816
75	*Anthony St Ledger	-	[23']	-	c.1855
77	*Anthony St Ledger	-	[23']	-	c.1855
79-81	(Demolished)				
	LANE				
De Grey Terrace					
83	John Webb Bradshaw	29.9.1841	23'	4s 9d	1843
85	John Webb Bradshaw	29.9.1841	23'	4s 9d	1843
87	John Webb Bradshaw	25.3.1842[4]	21'	5s 3d	1843
89	John Webb Bradshaw	25.3.1842	21'	5s 3d	1843
91	John Webb Bradshaw	29.9.1842	21'	5s	1847
93	John Webb Bradshaw	29.9.1842	21'	5s	1847
95	Michael Webster	29.9.1842	22'	5s	1847
97	Michael Webster	29.9.1842	22'	5s	1847
99	Michael Webster	25.3.1842	24'	5s	1847
101	Michael Webster	25.3.1842	24'	5s	1847
103	Philip Keegan	29.9.1842	23'	5s	1847
105	Philip Keegan	29.9.1842	23'	5s	1847
107	Robert Farrell	25.3.1842	23'	5s	1847
109	Robert Farrell	25.3.1842	23'	5s	1847
111	Robert Farrell	25.3.1842	23'	5s	1847

[1] Appears on Taylor's map of 1816.

[2] The lower price per foot can be accounted for by the wedge shaped plot.

[3] Gibson's lease was for 218 feet (at a rent of £40 per annum) and ran up to the stable lane after number 81. Numbers 75 to 81 were, therefore, built on a reallocation of ground from the original lease.

[4] For numbers 87 to 93, it is not possible to determine exactly which of these leases were allocated for which houses. They have been listed, in their date order, as if they were allocated from west to east (reflecting the direction of building which has been determined by map work).

HADDINGTON ROAD - NORTH SIDE (W-E)

NO.	BUILDER - DEVELOPER	DATE OF LEASE	PLOT WIDTH	RENT PER FOOT	BUILT BY
Webster Place					
2-38	(Demolished)				
40	Thomas Bradley	29.9.1840	23'	4s 9d	1843
42	Thomas Bradley	29.9.1840	23'	4s 9d	1843
44	Thomas Bradley	29.9.1840	23'	4s 9d	1843
46	Thomas Bradley	29.9.1840	23'	4s 9d	1843
48	Thomas Bradley	25.3.1839	23'	4s 9d	1843
50	Thomas Bradley	25.3.1839	23'	4s 9d	1843
52	*[E. Howe Esq]	-	[24']	-	1843
54	*[E. Howe Esq]	-	[22']	-	1843
56	*[Thomas Bradley]	-	[22']	-	1837
58	*[Thomas Bradley]	-	[22']	-	1837
60	*[E. Howe Esq]	-	[22']	-	1837
62	*[E. Howe Esq]	-	[22']	-	1837
64	*[E. Howe Esq]	-	[23']	-	1837
	LANE				
66	*[Thomas Bradley]	-	[21']	-	1837
68	*[Thomas Bradley]	-	[21']	-	1837
70	*[Thomas Bradley]	-	[22']	-	1837
72	*[Thomas Bradley]	-	[22']	-	1837
	INTERSECTION WITH NORTHUMBERLAND ROAD				
Cranmer Place					
74	*[James Henderson]	-	[22']	-	1837
76	*[James Henderson]	-	[22']	-	1837
78}	Robert Knaggs	29.9.1833	44'	5s 5d	1837
80}					1837
82	George Davis	29.9.1833	22'	5s	1837
84}	John Henderson	29.9.1833	44'	5s	1837
86}					1837
88	James Knaggs	29.9.1834	22'	5s	1837
Fort View					
90	*Daniel Scully[1]				c.1855
92	*Daniel Scully				c.1855
94	*Daniel Scully				c.1855
96	*Daniel Scully				c.1855

Note: Asterisked names in square brackets are the names of the immediate lessors in Griffith (1849). They are in square brackets because, with the time elapsed since the houses were built, it is not possible to infer definitely that these names were involved in the building process. It is not possible to allocate the remaining leases, listed below, to their respective houses; the names below do not appear in Griffith (1849) and so can not be cross-referenced. Several of the leases probably comprise numbers 52 - 72 and numbers 90 to 96.

Unidentified leases:	25.3.1832	Peter Delahunt	2 x 23'	5s per ft
	25.3.1834	James Philip Thomas	1 x 46'	4s 9d per ft
	25.3.1834	James Philip Thomas	8 x 23'	4s 9d per ft
	25.3.1836	Thos Chandler	1 x 23'	5s per ft
	25.3.1836	Thos Chandler	1 x 31'	3s 9d per ft
	25.3.1839	Jerome Daly	2 x 23'	5s per ft
	25.3.1841	John Chillaks [?]	2 x 23'	5s per ft
	25.3.1846	Mssrs Wright & Stanley	4 x -	-

[1] A Joseph Walker was the occupier of these houses when they were described as 'building ground'. Griffith Cancelled Book 1.

LANSDOWNE ROAD - NORTH SIDE (W-E)

NO.	BUILDER - DEVELOPER	DATE OF LEASE	PLOT WIDTH	RENT PER FOOT	BUILT BY
2	*Revd Mr Higginbotham				1860
4	*Revd Mr Higginbotham				1860
6	*W. H. McKenzie				1859
8	*W. H. McKenzie				1859
10	*John Webster				1859
12	*John Webster				1859
14	*John L. Patterson				1860
16	*John L. Patterson				1860
18	*Patrick Sullivan[1]				1859
20	*Patrick Sullivan				1859
22	*Patrick Sullivan				1859
24	*Patrick Sullivan				1859
26	*Miss Telford				1860
28	*Miss Telford				1860
30	*George Carolin				1860
32	*George Carolin				1860
34	*George Carolin				1862
36	*George Carolin				1862
38	*George Carolin				1862
40	*George Carolin				1862
42	*W. H. McKenzie				1867
44	*W. H. McKenzie				1867
	INTERSECTION SHELBOURNE ROAD				
46	*Samuel Bolton				1872
48	*Samuel Bolton				1872
50	*W. H. McKenzie				1873
52	*W. H. McKenzie				1873
54	*James Nevin				1878
56	*James Nevin				1878
58	*Thomas Pemberton				1878
60	*Thomas Pemberton				1878
62	*Thomas Pemberton				1878
Irish Champion Athletic Club[2]					1875

LANSDOWNE ROAD - SOUTH SIDE (W-E)

NO.	BUILDER - DEVELOPER	DATE OF LEASE	PLOT WIDTH	RENT PER FOOT	BUILT BY
	INTERSECTION SHELBOURNE ROAD				
49	*Thomas Wardrop				1873
51	*Thomas Wardrop				1873
53	*Thomas Wardrop				1874
55	*Thomas Wardrop				1874
57	*Brearton				1878
59	*Brearton				1878
61	-				post 1880

[1] Note in margin of Griffith Cancelled Book 1 says that the four houses, numbers 18 to 24, 'will cost about £1,000 each'.
[2] The stand 'cost £300' (Griffith Cancelled Book vol. 4, p.46a).

LEESON STREET UPPER (E-W)

NO.	BUILDER - DEVELOPER	DATE OF LEASE	PLOT WIDTH	RENT PER FOOT	BUILT BY
	JUNCTION WATERLOO ROAD				
76}					1847
77}					1847
78}					1847
79}					1852
80}	Daniel Clarke	25.3.1844	245'	5s -	1852
81}					1852
82}					1852
83}					1852
84}					1852
85}					1852
86}					1839
87}	William Stannus	25.3.1833	100'	5s -	1839
88}					1839
89}					1839
90}	Jolly W. Reid	25.3.1833	100'	4s 6d	1839
91}					1839
92}	Edward Power	29.9.1833	100'	4s -	1839
93}[1]					1847
94}					1847
95}//	Revd Dawson Heather	29.9.1844	50'	4s 5d	1847
96}//					1847
97}//	John Hughes	29.9.1844	44'	5s	1847
98}//					1847
99	John Bennett	25.3.1832	[part 100']	4s -	1843
100}					1843
101}	John Bennett	25.3.1832	100'	4s -	1839
102}					1839

// Numbers 95-98 were originally leased to John Bennett from March 1832, part of one of his leases for 100 feet each at 4/- per foot.

[1] According to Griffith (1849), numbers 93 and 94 were at that time unfinished and vacant, respectively, and the immediate lessor was a Frederick Clarke. This implies Clarke was the builder of these houses. However, it is not possible to know if Edward Power still retained his interest in the lease, ahead of Clarke. Clarke was a carpenter and builder of Richmond Place and Summer Hill. *Post Office Directory*, 1848.

NORTHUMBERLAND ROAD - WEST SIDE (N-S)

NO.	BUILDER - DEVELOPER	DATE OF LEASE	PLOT WIDTH	RENT PER FOOT	BUILT BY
1}					
3}	Houses never built				
5}					
7	Llewellan Nash	25.3.1833	23'	8s	1837
9	John Gibson	25.3.1833	23'	8s	1837
11	John Gibson	25.3.1833	23'	8s	1837
13	*George Farrell				1862
15	*George Farrell				1862
17	*Thomas Bradley				1843
19	*Thomas Bradley				1843
21	*Thomas Bradley				1862
23	*Thomas Bradley				1862
25	*Thomas Bradley				1862
	INTERSECTION HADDINGTON ROAD				
27	*Thomas Brunker[1]				c.1865
29	*Thomas Brunker				c.1865
31	*Thomas Brunker				c.1865
33	*Thomas Brunker				c.1865
35	*Mrs R. Johnston				c.1877
37	*Mrs R. Johnston				c.1877
39	*John Mooney				c.1877
41	*-- Meredith				c.1877
43	*-- Meredith				c.1877
45	*-- Meredith[2]				c.1877
	INTERSECTION SAINT MARY'S ROAD				
47	*J.R. Courtney				c.1877
49	*J.R. Courtney				c.1877
51	*Edward Kennedy				1880
53	*Edward Kennedy				1880
55	*Edward Kennedy				1881
57	*Edward Kennedy				1881
59}					post 1880
61}	Building ground				post 1880
63}					post 1880
65}					post 1880
67	*E. Coulter				1882
69	*E. Coulter				1882

Unidentified leases:

25.3.1836	Northumberland Rd	Thomas Chandler	1 x 57' -	4s per ft	-
25.3.1836	Northumberland Rd	Thomas Chandler	1 x 23' 1	8s per ft	-
25.3.1836	Northumberland Rd	Thomas Chandler	1 x 23' 1	8s per ft	-
25.3.1838	Northumberland Rd	Thomas Chandler	1 x 23' 1	8s per ft	-

[1] Numbers 27 to 33 are named in Estate-Township Map Folio as Patrick O'Toole.
[2] In Griffith Cancelled Book 5 (i.e. after this date), the name changes to John Mooney. It is likely that there was a joint venture between Mooney and Meredith.

NORTHUMBERLAND ROAD - EAST SIDE (N-S)

NO.	BUILDER - DEVELOPER	DATE OF LEASE	PLOT WIDTH	RENT PER FOOT	BUILT BY
2 - 8	Saint Stephen's Schools				1861
10	*Davis				1878
12	*Davis				1878
14	*Frederick Kennedy				1879
16	*Frederick Kennedy				1879
18	*Dr Nugent				1878
20	*Davis				1878
22	*James Farrell				1876
24	*James Farrell				1876
26	*James Farrell				c.1865
28	*James Farrell				c.1865
	INTERSECTION HADDINGTON ROAD				
30	*Thomas Walker				c.1865
32	*Thomas Walker				c.1865
34	*Watson				1872
36	*Watson				1872
38	*Watson				1872
40	*Watson				1872
42	*Watson				1872
44	*Watson				1872
46	*Joseph Meade				1880
48	*Joseph Meade				1880
50	*Joseph Meade				1880
52	*Joseph Meade				1880
54	*Joseph Meade				1888
56	*Joseph Meade				1888
58	*Joseph Meade				1888
60	*Arthur McHugh				1879
62	*Arthur McHugh				1879
64	*William Perrin				1878
66	*William Perrin				1878
68	*Mrs Sparrow				1877
70	*Mrs Sparrow				1877
72	*Mrs Sparrow				1877
74	*Mrs Sparrow				1877
76	*William Perrin				c.1874
78	*William Perrin				c.1874
80	*William Perrin				1870
82	*William Perrin				1870
84	*William Perrin				1870
86	*William Perrin				1870

PEMBROKE ROAD - NORTH SIDE (W-E)

NO.	BUILDER - DEVELOPER	DATE OF LEASE	PLOT WIDTH	RENT PER FOOT	BUILT BY
2	*Benjamin Burges				1816[1]
4	*Benjamin Burges				1816
6	*Benjamin Burges				1816
8	*Philip E Bayly				1816
10	Philip E Bayly	25.3.1810	21' 6"	8s	1816
12	Philip E Bayly	25.3.1812	21' 6"	8s	1816
14	James Annesley	25.3.1812	21' 6"	8s	1816
16	Daniel Dunn	25.3.1812	21' 6"	8s	1816
[18 - 32 demolished]					
18	Daniel Fearon	[11.5.1810][2]	20'	8s	1822
20	*Daniel Fearon				1822
22	*Daniel Fearon				1822
24	*Daniel Fearon				1822
26	*Daniel Fearon				1822
28	Daniel Fearon	[27.5.1817]	20'	8s	1822
30	*George Cowell				1822
32	*George Cowell				1822
34	*Dennis Kehoe				1822
36	*Dennis Kehoe				1822
38	*William Smyth				1822
40	*William Smyth				1822
42	*Dennis Kehoe				1822
44	*William Smyth				1822
46	*Dennis Kehoe				1822
48	*Dennis Kehoe				1822
50	*Dennis Kehoe				1837
52	*John Twycross				1837
54	*Dennis Kehoe				1837
56	*Dennis Kehoe				1837
58	*Crofton Fitzgerald				1837
60	*Crofton Fitzgerald				1837
62	*T.W. Barlowe	[1829][3]			1837
64	*T.W. Barlowe	[1829]			1837
66	*T.W. Barlowe	[1829]			1837
68	*A. Carpenter				1837
70	*Walter Peter				1837
72	*Walter Peter				1837
74	*Walter Peter				1837
76	*Walter Peter				1837
78	*Walter Peter				1837
80	*Walter Peter				1837
82	*Walter Peter				1837
84	*Robert Morrison				1837
86	Thomas Bradley[4]	25.3.1831	24'	8s	1837
88	Thomas Bradley	25.3.1831	24'	8s	1837
90	Thomas Bradley[5]	[1836]		£10 total	1837
92	Thomas Bradley	25.3.1831	23'	8s	1837

[1]Numbers 2 to 16 appear on Taylor's map of 1816.

[2]It is not possible to match the two leases for Fearon to their respective houses. They have been allocated here as if granted chronologically, west to east.

[3]Mentioned in passing in letter. NAI, PEP, Letter books vol. 4, Sullivan to Barlowe, 5 September 1833 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/4).

[4]Numbers 86 and 88 originally leased to a William Hodgins (n.d.).

[5]Was formerly intended to be a stable lane along Pembroke Road, now to be built over. Lease for 145 years.

PEMBROKE ROAD - NORTH SIDE (continued)

NO.	BUILDER - DEVELOPER	DATE OF LEASE	PLOT WIDTH	RENT PER FOOT	BUILT BY
94	John Barton	-	22'	8s	1837
96	John Barton	-	22'	8s	1837
98	Joseph Leland	-	24'	8s	1837
100	Joseph Leland	-	24'	8s	1837
102	Joseph Leland	-	24'	8s	1837
104	Joseph Leland	-	24'	8s	1837
106	Thomas Bradley	-	23'	8s	1837
108	Thomas Bradley	-	23'	8s	1837
110	Thomas Bradley	-	23'	8s	1837
112	Thomas Bradley	-	23'	8s	1837
114	Thomas Bradley[1]	-	24'	8s	1837
116	Joseph Leland	-	24'	8s	1837
118	Joseph Leland	-	24'	8s	1837
120	Martin Brady	29.9.1830	24'	8s	1837
122	Martin Brady	29.9.1830	24'	8s	1837

[1] Originally allocated to William Andrews from 29 September 1830; declared void 1837. NAI, PEP, leases (Acc. No. 97/46/2/14).

PEMBROKE ROAD - SOUTH SIDE (W-E)

NO.	BUILDER - DEVELOPER	DATE OF LEASE	PLOT WIDTH	RENT PER FOOT	BUILT BY
1	*John Fleming				1852
3	*John Fleming				1852
5	*John Fleming				1852
7	*John Fleming				1852
9	*John Fleming				1852
11	*John Fleming				1852
13	Thomas Tisdall	25.3.1843	40'	7s 6d	1843
15	Thomas Tisdall	25.3.1843	25'	8s	1843
17	Thomas Tisdall	25.3.1843	40'	7s 6d	1843
19}	Arthur Neville	29.9.1830	73'	8s	1832[1]
21}					1832
23	Thomas McEnry	-	43'	8s	1832[2]
25	Thomas McEnry	-	43'	8s	1832
27	John Fleming	25.3.1838	32'	7s 6d	1837[3]
29	John Fleming	25.3.1838	32'	7s 6d	1837
31	John Fleming	29.9.1841	35'	7s 5d	1843
33	John Fleming	29.9.1841	25'	7s 5d	1843
35	John Fleming	29.9.1841	35'	9s 4d	1843
	INTERSECTION WITH WELLINGTON ROAD				
37	John Fleming[4]	29.9.1843	58' 6"	7s 4d	1847
39					1847
41}	John Fleming	29.9.1843	58' 6"	7s 4d	1847
43}					1847
45}	Robert Hitchcock	29.9.1830	90'	8s	1832[5]
47}					1832
49}	George Davey	-	86'	8s	1837
51}					1837
53}	Richard Turner	29.9.1830	86'	8s	1837
55}					1837
57	Walter Peter[6]	25.3.1840	43'	8s	1843
59	Walter Peter	25.3.1840	43'	8s	1843
61	Leicester D. Smith	25.3.1843	59'	6s 11d	1847
	INTERSECTION WITH RAGLAN ROAD				

[1]Numbers 19 and 21 appear on Neville's 1832 plan for the estate.
[2]Numbers 23 and 25 also appear on Neville's 1832 plan.
[3]Numbers 27 and 29 appear on OS 1837, although the leases were not granted until 1838. It is possible that work commenced on building the houses before the leases were signed. It is also possible that although they appear on the map, the houses were not yet completed by 1837.
[4]Numbers 37 to 43 were built on ground originally leased to William Harvie from September 1840.
[5]Numbers 45 and 47 appear on Neville's 1832 plan for the estate.
[6]Numbers 57 and 59 were built on ground originally leased to Richard Turner from September 1834.

PEMBROKE ROAD - SOUTH SIDE (continued)

NO.	BUILDER - DEVELOPER	DATE OF LEASE	PLOT WIDTH	RENT PER FOOT	BUILT BY
63}					1859
65}					1859
67}	Alexander C.D.L. Edie	[1856]	303'	4s[1]	1859
69}					1859
71}					1859
73}					1859
75	Alexander C.D.L. Edie				1855
77	Alexander C.D.L. Edie				1855
79}	Rev. G.A. Hamilton	29.9.1834	86'	8s	1837
81}					1837

[1]This has been calculated from the total rent of £60.

PERCY PLACE (E-W)

NO.	BUILDER - DEVELOPER	DATE OF LEASE	PLOT WIDTH	RENT PER FOOT	BUILT BY
1	Thomas Chandler	25.3.1834	[30']	5s	1837[1]
3	Bartholomew Delaney[2]	25.3.1833	[22']	-	1837
5	Bartholomew Delaney	25.3.1833	[22']	-	1837
7	Bartholomew Delaney	25.3.1833	[22']	-	1837
9	*Nathaniel Gore	-	[22']	-	1837
11	John Phayre	-	22'	5s	1837
13	John Phayre	-	22'	5s	1837
15	John Phayre	25.3.1834	22'	5s	1837
17	John Phayre	25.3.1834	30'	3s 8d	1837
	LANE				
19	Thomas Nugent	25.3.1831	22'	5s	1837
21	Thomas Nugent	25.3.1831	22'	5s	1837
23	Thomas Nugent	-[3]	22'	4s	1837
25	Thomas Nugent	-	22'	4s	1837
27	Thomas Nugent	-	22'	4s	1837
29	Thomas Nugent	-	22'	4s	1837
31}	John Sullivan	-	44'	4s	1837
33}	John Sullivan				1837
35	Thomas Nugent[4]	-	-	-	1837
37	Thomas Nugent	-	-	-	1837
39	Thomas Nugent	-	-	-	1837
41}	John Henderson	-	44'	6s	1837
43}	John Henderson				1837
45	*R. N. McDermott[5]	-	-	-	1837
47	*R. N. McDermott	-	-	-	1837
49}	Luke Ashmore[6]	-	39' angle	6s	1837
51}					1837

[1]It should be noted that, by all accounts, the line of Percy Place was built relatively quickly. Thus, the date by which the houses were completed is likely to be considerably earlier than 1837. However, that is the date of the earliest map available (OS 1837) after the date of their lease allocation in the early 1830s.
[2]There is confusion between information from Griffith (1849) and leases registered in the Registry of Deeds. Five leases were originally granted to Delaney in March 1833 (Registry of Deeds, 1833-9-217, 218, 219, 220, 221). It is possible that he only built on four (probably numbers 3 to 9) and the ground for number 1 was surrendered and reallocated to Chandler in 1834. Confusingly, however, although there is a lease extant for Chandler for number 1, it is listed in Griffith (1849) as having Delany as the immediate lessor.
[3]The dates of lease for numbers 23 to 29, 31 to 33, 41 to 43, and 49 to 51 were not given in the letter book reference. However they were all despatched to London for signature 28 July 1831. They probably commenced 25 March 1831 (like numbers 19 and 21).
[4]Nugent's leases for numbers 35 to 39 were possibly three of the five despatched to London for signature 10 January 1831, for which no details were recorded.
[5]Name from Griffith (1849). Numbers 45 and 47 were possibly the two other leases out of the five sent to London in January 1831. See previous footnote.
[6]The ground for 49 and 51 was originally allocated to Luke Ashmore in 1831. Bradley's name appears in Griffith (1849). However it is not possible to determine whether Bradley acquired his legal interest before or after building them for Ashmore. In terms of the character of the houses, there is little to doubt that they were constructed by Bradley.

RAGLAN ROAD - WEST SIDE (N-S)

NO.	BUILDER - DEVELOPER	DATE OF LEASE	PLOT WIDTH	RENT PER FOOT	BUILT BY
	Regina Terrace				
1[1]	*W.G. Sloane	-	[48']	-	c. 1870
3	*James Sloane	-	[29']	-	c. 1870
5	*L.S. Montgomery	-	[26']	-	1864
7	*John Bourke	-	[26']	-	1863
9	*John Bourke	-	[24']	-	1863
11	*Patrick & Lucy Mulville		[24']	-	1861
13	Thomas Dockrell	25.3.1856	25'	4s 6d	1861
15}	Thomas Dockrell	25.3.1856	68'	4s 6d	c.1857-60
17}					c.1857-60
	INTERSECTION WITH ELGIN ROAD				
	Somerset Place				
19	*A.M. Davoren	-	[56']	-	1862
21	*A.M. Davoren	-	[26']	-	1862
23	*A.M. Davoren	-	[26']	-	1862
25	*Dr Robert Newland	-	[26']	-	1861
27	*Dr Robert Newland	-	[26']	-	1861
29	*Dr Robert Newland	-	[26']	-	1861
31	*Dr Robert Newland	-	[26']	-	1861
33	*Dr Robert Newland	-	[26']	-	1862
35	*Dr Robert Newland	-	[26']	-	1862
	Fitzroy Place				
37	*John Dempsey	-	[41']	-	1863
39	*John Dempsey	-	[26']	-	1863
41	*John Dempsey	-	[26']	-	1862
43	*John Dempsey	-	[26']	-	1861
45	*John Dempsey	-	[26']	-	1861
47	*John Dempsey	-	[26']	-	1861
49	*John Dempsey	-	[26']	-	1861
51	*John Dempsey	-	[26']	-	1861
53	*John Dempsey	-	[50' angle]	-	1861

[1] Originally, numbers for Regina Terrace ran in the opposite direction - i.e. north, from junction with Elgin Road.

RAGLAN ROAD - EAST SIDE (N-S)

NO.	BUILDER - DEVELOPER	DATE OF LEASE	PLOT WIDTH	RENT PER FOOT	BUILT BY
2	*Henry Smith}[1]	'Rajawalla'	-	-	1861
4	*Henry Smith}		-	-	1861
6	*Lady Hagan	-	-	-	1864
	INTERSECTION ELGIN ROAD				
8	*George Smith[2]	('Elgin House')	-	-	1864
10	*George Smith[3]	-	-	-	1862
12	*George Smith	-	-	-	1862
14	*John F. Connell[4]	('Elleville')	-	-	1864

[1]In October 1864, 'these two houses to be sold for £1820' (Griffith Cancelled Book 2).
[2]Contract for building the house was £2,200 (Griffith Cancelled Book 2).
[3]Numbers 10 and 12, 'built by contract for £1,200' (Griffith Cancelled Book 2).
[4]'Mr Connell built at the cost of £3,000' (Griffith Cancelled Book 2). It seems that Elleville was extensively re-built in the 1870s, but it is not known to what extent.

SAINT MARY'S ROAD - SOUTH SIDE (W-E)

NO.	BUILDER - DEVELOPER	DATE OF LEASE	PLOT WIDTH	RENT PER FOOT	BUILT BY
1	*Patrick Sullivan				1876
3	*Patrick Sullivan				1876
5	*Patrick Sullivan				1876
7	*Patrick Sullivan				1876
9	*Patrick Sullivan				1878
11	*Patrick Sullivan				1878
13	*Patrick Sullivan				1878
Marino Terrace					
15	*Patrick Sullivan				1879
17	*Patrick Sullivan				1879
19	*Patrick Sullivan				1879
21	*Patrick Sullivan				1879
23	*Patrick Sullivan				1879
25	*Patrick Sullivan				1879
27	*Reps Patrick Sullivan				1880
29	*Reps Patrick Sullivan				1880
31	*James R Atkin				1879
Hamilton Terrace					
33	*James Shegog				1878
35	*James Shegog				1878
37	*James Shegog				1878
39	*James Shegog				1878

SAINT MARY'S ROAD - NORTH SIDE (W-E)

NO.	BUILDER - DEVELOPER	DATE OF LEASE	PLOT WIDTH	RENT PER FOOT	BUILT BY
2	*Patrick Sullivan				1877
4	*Patrick Sullivan				1877
6	*Patrick Sullivan				1877
Plevna Terrace					
8	*Mrs Sparrow				1878
10	*Mrs Sparrow				1878
12	*Mrs Sparrow				1878
14	*Mrs Sparrow				1878
16	*Mrs Sparrow				1878
18	*Mrs Sparrow				1878

WATERLOO ROAD - WEST SIDE (N-S)

NO.	BUILDER - DEVELOPER	DATE OF LEASE	PLOT WIDTH	RENT PER FOOT	BUILT BY
1	*Mary Anne Walsh	-	[72']	-	1855
3	*Mary Anne Walsh	-	[24']	-	1855
5	*Samuel Kelly	-	[26']	-	1859
7	*Samuel Kelly	-	[23']	-	1859
9	Samuel Kelly	29.9.1848	23'	5s 6d	1852
11	Samuel Kelly	29.9.1848	23'	5s 6d	1852
13}	Thomas Carroll	25.3.1845	46'	5s -	1852
15}					1852
17}	Thomas Carroll	25.3.1845	53'	5s -	1847
19}					1847
	INTERSECTION WITH BURLINGTON ROAD				
21	Agnes Kelly	25.3.1845	32'	4s 10d	1847
23	Agnes Kelly	25.3.1845	32'	4s 10d	1847
25}	Mary Anne Walsh	25.3.1851	43' 3"	4s	1852
27}					1852
29	Mary Anne Walsh	25.3.1851	21' 8"	-	1852
31}	Mary Anne Walsh	25.3.1851	43' 3"	4s	1852
33}					1852
35	*Thomas Anthony	-	[23']	-	1852
37	*Thomas Anthony	-	[22']	-	1852
39	Robert McVittie	29.9.1847	38'	5s 6d	1852
41	Edward Smith	29.9.1847	[24']	5s 9d[1]	1852
43	Brett Smith	1851	[25']	4s 5d	1852
45	Brett Smith	1851	[24']	4s 7d	1852
47	*Sarah Franks	-	[26']	-	1856
49	*Sarah Franks	-	[24']	-	1856
51	*Sarah Franks	-	[25']	-	1856
53}	Arthur Jacob,	29.9.1844	46'	4s 10d	1847
55}	Eliza & James Kinghorn				1847
57	Edward Smith	25.3.1845	24'	5s -	1847
59	Edward Smith	25.3.1845	24'	5s -	1847
61	L. J. Stedman	25.3.1845	22'	5s -	1847
63	L. J. Stedman	25.3.1845	22'	5s -	1847
65	Samuel Reddy	25.3.1845	24'	5s -	1847
67	Samuel Reddy	25.3.1845	24'	5s -	1847
69	Samuel Reddy	25.3.1845	24'	5s -	1847
71	Samuel Reddy	25.3.1845	24'	5s -	1847
73	Joseph Smith	25.3.1845	24'	5s -	1847
75	Joseph Smith	25.3.1845	24'	5s -	1847
77	David Simpson	25.3.1845	24'	5s -	1847
79	David Simpson	25.3.1845	24'	5s -	1847
81	*Mary Anne Walsh	-	[22']	-	1852
83	*Mary Anne Walsh	-	[22']	-	1852
85	*Mary Anne Walsh	-	[21']	-	1852
87	William Stannus	25.3.1845	22'	5s -	1847
89	William Stannus	25.3.1845	22'	5s -	1847

[1] The foot rents for numbers 41 - 45 are based on the plot sizes as determined by the OS 1:1000; the total rents were specified in the letter book references.

WATERLOO ROAD - EAST SIDE (N-S)

NO.	BUILDER - DEVELOPER	DATE OF LEASE	PLOT WIDTH	RENT PER FOOT	BUILT BY
2}					1847
4}	John Oliver Curran	29.9.1845	[145']	5s 3d[1]	1847
6}					1847
8 }	Philip Keegan	29.9.1844	48'	5s 6d	1847
10}					1847
12	Mathew Richard Gabbett	25.3.1844	26'	5s 6d	1847
14	Mathew Richard Gabbett	25.3.1844	26'	5s 6d	1847
16	Daniel Litton	25.3.1844	26'	5s 6d	1847
18	Daniel Litton	25.3.1844	26'	5s 6d	1847
20	Ethelfleda Stedman	25.3.1844	25'	5s 6d	1847
22	Ethelfleda Stedman	25.3.1844	25'	5s 6d	1847
24	Ethelfleda Stedman	25.3.1844	25'	5s 6d	1847
26	Rob. Wilson	25.3.1844	38'	5s 6d	1847
28	Rob. Wilson	25.3.1844	38'	5s 6d	1847
30	Joseph Gabbett	25.3.1844	26'6 1/2"	5s 5d	1847
32	Joseph Gabbett	25.3.1844	25'9"	5s 7d	1847
34	Joseph Gabbett	25.3.1844	25'9"	5s 7d	1847
36	Joseph Gabbett	25.3.1844	25'9"	5s 7d	1847
38	Joseph Gabbett	25.3.1844	25'9"	5s 7d	1847
40	Joseph Gabbett	25.3.1844	26'6 1/2"	5s 5d	1847
42	*Miss Hozier	-	[25']	-	June 1856
44	*Miss Hozier	-	[23']	-	June 1856
46	*Kennedy	-	[23']	-	Oct 1856
48	*Kennedy	-	[25']	-	Oct 1856
50	*Joseph Smith	-	[24']	-	Oct 1856
52	Joseph Smith	25.3.1844	24'	5s 6d	1847
54	Joseph Smith	25.3.1844	24'	5s 6d	1847
56	William Whitmore	29.9.1844	24'	5s 6d	1847
58	James Henderson	29.9.1844	23'	5s 6d	1847
60	*William Smith	-	[25']	-	1847
62	*George F Ricky	-	[23']	-	1847
64	W. B. Drury	25.3.1845	23'	5s 6d	1847
66	W. B. Drury	25.3.1845	23'	5s 6d	1847
68	Edward Walsh	25.3.1845	23'	5s 6d	1847
70	Edward Walsh	25.3.1845	23'	5s 6d	1847
72	Edward Walsh	25.3.1845	23'	5s 6d	1847
74	Benjamin Bradford	25.3.1845	23'	5s 6d	1847
76	Benjamin Bradford	25.3.1845	23'	5s 6d	1847
78	William Geraty	-	[26']	-	Sept 1855
80	William Geraty	-	[27']	-	Sept 1855
82	William Geraty	-	[26']	-	Sept 1855

[1]The size of the plot was not stated in the letter book reference, but the rent was given as £38.5.0. The foot rent has been calculated taking the size of the plot to be 145' (established from OS 1:1000).

WELLINGTON PLACE (W-E)

NO.	BUILDER - DEVELOPER	DATE OF LEASE	PLOT WIDTH	RENT PER FOOT	BUILT BY
1	David Simpson	25.3.1846	n/a	[£3.5.0 total]	1847
3}	Maria Daly	25.3.1834	40'	5s 6d	1839
5}					1839
7}	William Booth	25.3.1834	n/a	[£22 total]	1839
9}					1839
11}					1839
13}	Stephen Malyn	25.3.1835	84'	6s -	1839
15}					1839
17	David Simpson	29.9.1841	22'	6s -	1843
19	David Simpson	29.9.1841	22'	6s -	1843
21	David Simpson	29.9.1841	22'	6s -	1843
23	David Simpson	29.9.1841	22'	6s -	1843
25	William Smith	29.9.1841	34'	6s -	1843
27	Frederick Clarke[1]	25.3.1842	24'	6s -	1847
29	Frederick Clarke	25.3.1842	24'	6s -	1847
31	Henry Vereker	29.9.1842	54'	5s 6d	1843
33	Edward Dodd	25.3.1843	22'	5s 6d	1843
35	Edward Dodd	25.3.1843	22'	5s 6d	1843
37	Edward Dodd	25.3.1843	22'	5s 6d	1843
39	Adolphe de Danilicke	25.3.1843	24'	5s 6d	1843
41	Capt. W. E. Stanley	25.3.1843	24'	5s -	1843
43	Capt. W. E. Stanley	25.3.1843	24'	5s -	1843
45	Capt. W. E. Stanley	25.3.1843	24'	5s -	1843
(Following houses demolished)					
47	Capt. W. E. Stanley	25.3.1843	24'	5s -	1847
49	Capt. W. E. Stanley	25.3.1843	24'	5s -	1847
51	Capt. W. E. Stanley	25.3.1843	24'	5s -	1847

[1] The leases for these two houses were originally granted to a H.G. Rawlins in June 1842. However, in January 1844 Rawlins assigned his holdings to a Mr Clarke of Richmond Place. This is the same as Frederick Clarke who was probably involved in the building of 93 and 94 Leeson Street Upper. It is likely that the houses were built by Clarke.

WELLINGTON ROAD - WEST SIDE (N-S)

NO.	BUILDER - DEVELOPER	DATE OF LEASE	PLOT WIDTH	RENT PER FOOT	BUILT BY
1	*Bernard Smith	-	[60']	-	1860
3	*Bernard Smith	-	[26']	-	1860
5	*Bernard Smith	-	[26']	-	1860
7	*D. W. Ryan	-	[26']	-	1860
9	*Michael Kennedy	-	[26']	-	1860
11	*Michael Kennedy	-	[26']	-	1859
13	*Michael Kennedy	-	[26']	-	1859
15	*D. W. Ryan	-	[23']	-	1859
17	*D. W. Ryan	-	[23']	-	1859
19	*Patrick Cranny	-	[23']	-	1859
21	*Patrick Cranny	-	[23']	-	1859
23	*Patrick Cranny	-	[23']	-	1859
25	*Patrick Cranny	-	[23']	-	1859
27	*Robert B. McVittie	-	[26']	-	1859
29	*Robert B. McVittie	-	[26']	-	1859
31	*Robert B. McVittie	-	[26']	-	1859
33}					1847
35}	Maxwell Simpson	29.9.1843	96'	4s -	1847
37}					1847
39}					1847
41	Maxwell Simpson	29.9.1843	24'	4s 3d	1847
43	David Simpson	29.9.1843	24'	4s 3d	1847
45	William Moyers	29.9.1843	24'	4s 3d	1847
47	William Moyers	29.9.1843	24'	4s 3d	1847
49	William Moyers	29.9.1843	24'	4s 3d	1847
51	William Moyers	29.9.1843	24'	4s 3d	1847
53}					1847
55}					1847
57}					1847
59}					1847
61}					1847
63}					1847
65}					1847
67}	Joseph Boyce	29.9.1843	434'	4s 3d	1847
69}					1847
71}					1847
73}					1847
75}					1847
77}					1847
79}					1847
81}					1847
83}					1847

WELLINGTON ROAD - EAST SIDE (N-S)

NO.	BUILDER - DEVELOPER	DATE OF LEASE	PLOT WIDTH	RENT PER FOOT	BUILT BY
2	*Jacob Gregory	-	[75']	-	1863[1]
4	*Jacob Gregory	-	[30']	-	1863
6	*Arthur Dillon	-	[30']	-	1863
8	*Adelaide Nolan	-	[30']	-	1863
10	*Jacob Gregory	-	[30']	-	c.1856
12	*Jacob Gregory	-	[30']	-	c.1856
14	*Jacob Gregory	-	[42']	-	c.1856
	INTERSECTION WITH ELGIN ROAD				
16	*William Mackie[2]	-	[45']	-	1859
18	*William Mackie	-	[30']	-	1859
20	*Robert Sands[3]	-	[30']	-	1859
22	*Robert Sands	-	[38']	-	1859
24}	W. G. Murray[4]	29.9.1843	[24']	[4s 3d][5]	1847
26}			[24']		1847
28	Terence O'Brien	25.3.1852	23'	-	1856
30	Terence O'Brien	25.3.1852	23'	-	1856
32	Terence O'Brien	25.3.1852	23'	-	1856
34	Terence O'Brien	25.3.1852	23'	-	1856
36	*Henry Webster	-	[26']	-	1856
38	*Henry Webster	-	[26']	-	1856
40	*Henry Webster	-	[26']	-	1856
42	*Henry Webster	-	[26']	-	1856
44	*Robert Sands	-	[26']	-	1859[6]
46	*Josh. Atwood	-	[26']	-	1859
48	*Sands & Atwood[7]	-	[28']	-	1859
50	*Sands & Atwood	-	[28']	-	1859
52	*Capt. William Stanley	-	[24']	-	1859[8]
54	*Capt. William Stanley	-	[24']	-	1859
56	*Capt. William Stanley	-	[24']	-	1859
58	*Capt. William Stanley	-	[24']	-	1859
60	*Capt. William Stanley	-	[24']	-	1859
62	*Capt. William Stanley	-	[24']	-	1859
64	Gilbert Cockburn	29.9.1853	27'	-	1859[9]
66	*Gilbert Cockburn	-	[27']	-	1859
68	*Gilbert Cockburn	-	[27']	-	1859
70	*Gilbert Cockburn	-	[50']	-	1859

[1] Houses 2- 14 are all described in Griffith Cancelled Book 1 as being 'in progress' in May 1859, and are noted as 'built' by the end of the book - i.e. 1863.
[2] Name for numbers 16 and 18 in Griffith Cancelled Book 1 is Alexander Mackie.
[3] Name for numbers 20 and 22 in Griffith Cancelled Book 1 is Saunders.
[4] Houses 24 and 26 were the only houses built by Murray on part of his holding of 520'. The rest of the houses built on the remainder of his original holding were erected after his lease was surrendered and the ground re-allocated.
[5] The foot rent given is that based on the original lease of 520 feet for a rent of £111.
[6] Houses 44 and 46 are described in cancelled book as being 'in progress' in 1855 and 'occupied' in 1859.
[7] Name in Estate-Township Map Folio is William Mackie.
[8] Houses 52 - 62 were 'in progress' in June 1856; they were built and occupied by May 1859.
[9] A transcript of one of the leases survives in the National Archives. It is dated 20 October 1853; it is therefore inferred that its date of commencement was 29 September 1853. NAI, PEP, Leases (Acc. No. 97/46/2/346).

HERBERT ROAD - NORTH SIDE (W-E)

NO.	BUILDER - DEVELOPER	DATE OF LEASE	PLOT WIDTH	RENT PER FOOT	BUILT BY
2	*John H. Askins				c1860[1]
4	*John H. Askins				c1860
6	*John H. Askins				c1860
8	*John H. Askins				c1860
10	*John H. Askins				c1860
12	*John H. Askins				c1860
14	*John H. Askins				c1860

HERBERT ROAD - SOUTH SIDE (W-E)

NO.	BUILDER - DEVELOPER	DATE OF LEASE	PLOT WIDTH	RENT PER FOOT	BUILT BY
1	*John Brereton				1863
3	*Thomas Pile				1862
5	*Thomas Pile				1862
7	*Thomas Pile				1866
9	*Thomas Pile				1866
11	*John H. Askins				1864
13	*John H. Askins				1864
15	*John H. Askins[2]				1862
17	*John H. Askins				1862

[1] These could be earlier, it is not clear from the Griffith Valuation.
[2] According to Griffith Cancelled Book 3, the occupier of number 15 was a William Moyers. Although this was probably the architect who was involved in the development of houses on Wellington Road, there is nothing to connect him with the design of these houses.

PARK AVENUE - WEST SIDE (N-S)

NO.	BUILDER - DEVELOPER	DATE OF LEASE	PLOT WIDTH	RENT PER FOOT	BUILT BY
1	*John H. Askins				1847-52
3	*John H. Askins				1847-52
5	*John H. Askins				1837
7	*John H. Askins				1837
9	*John H. Askins				1837
11	*John H. Askins	(Altered*?)			1837
13	*John H. Askins	('Ellerslie'[1])			1843
15	*Hugh Reilly	('Bloomfield', demolished)			1843
17	*Hugh Reilly	('Rosevale')			1843
19	*Hugh Reilly	('Anne Villa', demolished)			1843
21	*John H. Askins				1837
23	*G. M. Walthew				1843
25					post 1880
27					post 1880
29	*Joseph Smith/Wm Flood? ('Flood Ville', demolished)				1837
31	*John H. Askins				c.1869
33	*John H. Askins				c.1869
35	*William Leahy	('Elsinore')			1862
37	*William Leahy	('St Patrick's')			1862
39	*Thomas O'Gorman	('Rathgorman')			1865
41	*Dr Denham				1865
43	*Dr Denham				1865
45	*Dr Denham				1865
47	*Dr Denham				1865
49	*James H. Owens				1865
51	*James H. Owens				1865
53	*Dr Denham				1865
55	*Dr Denham				1865
57	-				c.1867
59	-				c.1867
61	-				c.1875
63	-				c.1875
65	-				c.1875
67	-				c.1875

[1]Now called 'The Orchard'.

PARK AVENUE - EAST SIDE (N-S)

NO.	BUILDER - DEVELOPER	DATE OF LEASE	PLOT WIDTH	RENT PER FOOT	BUILT BY
26	*Francis Salmon	(Demolished)			1837
28	*Francis Salmon	(Demolished)			1837
30	*William Askins	(Altered)			1837
30a	-				post 1880
30b	-				post 1880
30A	-				c.1875
32	-				c.1875
34	-				c.1875
36	-				c.1865
38	-				c.1865
38A					c.1875
40}	*George Askins				1864
42}	*George Askins				1864
44}	*Fox [sic]				1864
46}	*Fox [sic]				1864
48	*Whelan [sic]				1864
50	*Dowling [sic]				1864
52	*Dowling [sic]				1864
54	*George Askins				1864
56	-				-
58	-				-

STRAND ROAD (N-S)

NO.	BUILDER - DEVELOPER	DATE OF LEASE	PLOT WIDTH	RENT PER FOOT	BUILT BY
Tenchfield					
1	*William O'Hara				1843
3	*William O'Hara				1843
5	*William O'Hara				1843
7 - 9	[Demolished]				
11	*Francis Salmon				1843
13	*Francis Salmon				1843
15	*Francis Salmon				1843
Sidney Terrace					
17	*W. C. Rothery				1843
19	Demolished - now LEA ROAD				
21	*Francis Salmon				1843
23	*Robert O'Hara				1843
25	*Robert O'Hara				1843
27	*Robert O'Hara				1843
Belvedere Terrace					
29	*Edward Bourne				c.1860
31	*Edward Bourne				c.1860
33	*Edward Bourne				1843-47
35	*Edward Bourne				1843-47
37	*Edward Bourne				1843-47
39	*Edward Bourne				1843-47
41	*Edward Bourne				c.1860
43	*Edward Bourne ('Belvedere')				1843
Belvedere Cottages					
45	*William Reade				1847-52
47	*William Reade				1847-52
49	*William Reade				1847-52
	GILFORD AVENUE INTERSECTS				
Winton					
51	*William O'Hara				1843-47
53	*William O'Hara				1843-47
55	*William O'Hara				1843-47
Charlemont Parade					
57	*Thomas Arkins				1843-47
59	*Thomas Arkins				1843-47
61	*Thomas Arkins				1843-47
63	*Thomas Arkins				1843-47
65	*Thomas Gahan ('Victoria Cottage', demolished)				1843
67	*Robert O'Hara ('Albert Cottage', demolished)				1843-47
69	*Robert O'Hara ('Maida Cottage')				1843-47
71	*Robert O'Hara ('Eaton Cottage')				1843-47
73	*Robert O'Hara ('Eaton Hall')				1843-47
[75]	GILFORD ROAD INTERSECTS ('Building ground' in Griffith (1849))				

STRAND ROAD (continued)

NO.	BUILDER - DEVELOPER	DATE OF LEASE	PLOT WIDTH	RENT PER FOOT	BUILT BY
77	*William Gibbon				1843-47
79	*William Gibbon				1843-47
81	*William Gibbon				1843-47
Blakeney Terrace					
83	*John H. Askins				1843-47
85	*John H. Askins				1843-47
87	*John H. Askins				1843-47
89	*John H. Askins				1843
91	*James Nedley				1843
93	*James Nedley				1843
95	*James Nedley				1843-47
97	*James Nedley				1843-47
99	*William Askins [& 100, two houses later made out of original one]				1843-47
101	*Thomas Cornwall				1843-47
103	*Thomas Cornwall				1843-47
105	*Thomas Irvine				1843-47
107	*Thomas Irvine				1847-52
109	*Joseph Hyser [?]				c.1860
111	*Joseph Hyser [?]				c.1860
Luneberg					
113	*Theodore Cronhelm				c.1860
115	*Theodore Cronhelm				c.1860
117	*Theodore Cronhelm[1]				c.1861
119	*Theodore Cronhelm				c.1861
121	*Theodore Cronhelm				c.1861
123	(Demolished)				
Tower Terrace					
125	*James Butler				c.1852
127	*James Butler				c.1852
129	*James Butler				c.1852
131	*James Butler				c.1852
	SAINT JOHN'S ROAD INTERSECTS				
Martello Terrace					
133	*John Doyle				1843-47
135	*John Doyle				1843-47
137	*Mrs Frances Hodgens				1843-47
139	*Mrs Frances Hodgens				1843-47
141	*John Doyle				1843-47
143	*John Doyle				1843-47

***Note:**
Building continues to Merrion Gates, but not as comprehensively, and has not been included here.

[1] These holdings possibly sub-let by Cronhelm, and houses developed by a William Holling[?]. (Griffith Cancelled Book 3)

TRITONVILLE ROAD (NORTH) - WEST SIDE (N-S)

NO.	BUILDER - DEVELOPER	DATE OF LEASE	PLOT WIDTH	RENT PER FOOT	BUILT BY
Tritonville Terrace					
1	*Samuel Mathews				1837
3	*Samuel Mathews				1837
5	*Samuel Mathews				1837
7	*Samuel Mathews				1837
9	*Samuel Mathews				1837
11	*Samuel Mathews				1837
13	*Samuel Mathews				1837
15	*Joseph Byrne				1843-47
17	*Joseph Byrne				1843-47
19	*Joseph Byrne	(Demolished)			1843-47
21	*Rev. R. Vavasour	(Demolished)			1843
Christina Terrace					
23	*Thomas Fallon				1843-47
25	*Thomas Fallon				1843-47
27	*Thomas Fallon				1843-47
29	INTENDED ROAD				
Tritonville					
31	*Andrew Ellard				1843-47
33	*Andrew Ellard				1843-47
35	*Andrew Ellard				1843-47
37	*Lawrence Nolan				c.1852
39	*Lawrence Nolan[1]				1843-47
41	*John Hogan[2]				1843-47
43	*John Hogan				1843-47
45	*John Hogan				1843-47
47	*John Hogan				1843-47
49	*John Hogan				1843-47

[1] Number 39 cost 'about £340 to build and finish' (Griffith Cancelled Book 1)
[2] Number 41 cost 'about £260 to build and finish' (Griffith Cancelled Book 1)

TRITONVILLE ROAD (NORTH) - EAST SIDE (N-S)

NO.	BUILDER - DEVELOPER	DATE OF LEASE	PLOT WIDTH	RENT PER FOOT	BUILT BY
2	*Rev. Richd H. Wall	(Demolished)			1837
4	*Rev. Richd H. Wall				1837
6	*Rev. Richd H. Wall				1837
8	*Rev. Richd H. Wall				1837
10	*Frederick Flood				c.1862
12	*Frederick Flood				c.1862
14	*Frederick Flood				c.1862
16	*Frederick Flood				c.1862
18 - 42	(Twentieth Century houses)				
Tritonville					
44	*Rev. Dr Cranfield and Wm. Cooley Esq.				1803[1]
46	*Rev. Dr Cranfield and Wm. Cooley Esq.				1803
48	*Rev. Dr Cranfield and Wm. Cooley Esq.				1803
50	*Rev. Dr Cranfield and Wm. Cooley Esq.				1803
52	*Rev. Dr Cranfield and Wm. Cooley Esq.				1803

[1] This terrace appears on a map of Dublin Harbour and Pigeon House (1803), sent to Colonel Twiss. Michael Swift, *Historical Maps of Ireland* (London, 1999), p.86.

TRITONVILLE ROAD (SOUTH) - WEST SIDE (N-S)

NO.	BUILDER - DEVELOPER	DATE OF LEASE	PLOT WIDTH	RENT PER FOOT	BUILT BY
51	*Archibald Leeson	(Demolished)			1837
53	*Archibald Leeson	(Demolished)			1837
55	*Richard Leeson				1852
57	*Richard Leeson				1855
59	*Richard Leeson				1855
61 - 77	(Twentieth Century houses)				
Whiteville Terrace					
79	*Clarke[1] [sic]				1859
81	*Clarke [sic]				1858
83	*Clarke [sic]				1858
85	*Clarke [sic]				1858
Union Terrace					
87	*John H. Askins				1854
89	*James O'Keeffe				1852
91	*James O'Keeffe				1852
93	*James O'Keeffe				1847
95	*James O'Keeffe				1847
97-113[2]	-				c.1870
115-119[3]					post 1880
Carlisle Terrace					
121	*Patrick Doolan				c.1857
123	*Patrick Doolan				1856
125	*Patrick Doolan				1856
127	*Patrick Doolan				1856
129	*Patrick Doolan				1856
131	*Patrick Doolan				1856
	HERBERT ROAD INTERSECTS				
133	*William Young				1860
135	*William Young				1860
137	-				c.1870
139	-				c.1870
141	-				c.1870
143	-				c.1870
145	-				c.1870
147	-				c.1870
149	-				c.1870

[1] According to *Dublin Directory*, 1865, an Edward S. Clarke, M.D., is living in Whiteville Terrace. It is possibly the same Clarke.

[2] There is considerable confusion over numbers 107 - 113. Two houses seem to have been built on part of this ground before 1847. However they were subsequently built over, but it is not possible to establish precisely when this occurred. The information contained in the Griffith Valuation Cancelled Books is very confused. Names of possible builder-developers include: Andrew Baggot, Thomas Bartlett, and James Mathers.

[3] There are only two houses for these three numbers.

TRITONVILLE ROAD (SOUTH) - EAST SIDE (N-S)

NO.	BUILDER - DEVELOPER	DATE OF LEASE	PLOT WIDTH	RENT PER FOOT	BUILT BY
54	Presbyterian Rectory				c.1864
Baggotrath					
56	*Thomas Pile				1859
58	*Thomas Pile				1859
Malakoff Terrace					
60	*John Dempsey				1857
62	*John Dempsey				1857
64	*John Dempsey				1857
66	*John Dempsey				1857
68	*John Dempsey				1857
70-72	(Twentieth Century houses)				
74	*Captain Thomas Bartlett				1847
76	*Captain Thomas Bartlett				1847
78	*Captain Thomas Bartlett				1852
80-82	(Twentieth Century houses)				
84	*Thomas Gray				1852
86	*Sandy [sic]				1862
88	*Sandy [sic]				1862
90	*O'Connor [sic]				1852
92	*O'Connor [sic]				1852
94	*Henry Digges				1852
96	*Henry Digges				1852
98	*William Graham				1852
100	*William Graham				1852
102	*-- Murphy [sic]				1847
104	*John Davis				1847
106	*John Davis				1852
108	*Thomas Kirby				1847
110	*Thomas Kirby				1847
112-118	(Twentieth Century houses)				
120	-				1863
122	-				c.1868
124	-				c.1868
126	*William Young				1852
128	*William Young				1852
130	*Bentley & Son				1860
132	*Bentley & Son				1860
134	*Ashford [sic]				1860
136	*Ashford [sic]				1860
138	-				c.1870
140	-				c.1870
142	-				c.1870
144	-				c.1870

Appendix 3

Builder-Developers on the Estate: Professions, Trades and Speculations

An attempt has been made to establish some biographical information on the people who have emerged as builder-developers on the estate. This has been done by checking the various trade and post office directories.

A list has been made of any other speculations which might have been made by the builder-developer around the estate. Only builder-developers who speculated in two or more houses have been included and, like the previous appendix, only a sample of roads has been included. Therefore this list does not include information on builder-developers whey they built in other parts of the estate. Dates refer to the completion of the houses.

The streets and roads which have been included are (with their abbreviations):

3i Western Estate:

Clyde Road	Clyde Rd
Elgin Road	Elgin Rd
Haddington Road	Hadd Rd
Lansdowne Road	Lnsdn Rd
Leeson Street Upper	Lsn St Up
Northumberland Road	Nblnd Rd
Pembroke Road	Pbke Rd
Percy Place	Prcy Pl
Raglan Road	Rgln Rd
Saint Mary's Road	StM Rd
Waterloo Road	Wat Rd
Wellington Place	Well Pl
Wellington Road	Well Rd

3ii Eastern Estate:

Herbert Road	Hbt Rd
Tritonville Road	Tvl Rd
Park Avenue	Pk Ave
Strand Road	Std Rd

Name	Profession	Address	Where built
1800s			
Courtney, David	Inspector of Barracks	Baggot Court	Hadd Rd, nos. 23 - 49
Gibson, Rev. John			Hadd Rd, nos. 71, 73

Name	Profession	Address	Where built
1810s			
Annesley, James	Carpenters' measurer	Fade St	Pbke Rd, no. 14
Bayly, Philip Edward			Pbke Rd, nos. 8, 10, 12
Burges, Benjamin			Pbke Rd, nos. 2, 4, 6
Cowell, George	Land surveyor	Mabbot St	Pbke Rd, nos. 30, 32
Dunn, Daniel	Builder	Charlotte St	Pbke Rd, no. 16
Fearon, Daniel			Pbke Rd, nos. 18 - 28

Name	Profession	Address	Where built
1820s			
Fitzgerald, Crofton			Pbke Rd, nos. 58, 60
Kehoe, Dennis			Pbke Rd, nos. 34, 36, 42, 46, 48, 50, 54, 56
Smyth, William			Pbke Rd, nos. 38, 40, 44
Twycross, John			Pbke Rd, no. 52

Name	Profession	Address	Where built
1830s			
Ashmore, Luke	Glove manufacturer	Summer St N.	Prcy Pl., nos. 49, 51
Barton, John			Pbke Rd, nos. 94, 96
Barlowe, T.W.	Attorney	Clare St	Pbke Rd, nos. 62, 64, 66
Bennett, John	Iron foundry	Church St	Lsn St Up. nos. 99 - 102
Booth, William			Well Pl. nos. 7, 9
Bradley, Thomas	Timber Merchant	Golden Lane	Pbke Rd, nos. 86 - 92
			106 - 114
			Hadd Rd, nos. 52 - 72[1]
Brady, Martin	Builder	Camden St	Pbke Rd, nos. 120, 122
Coyle, T.			Hadd Rd, nos. 65, 67
Daly, Maria			Well Pl. nos. 3, 5
Davey, George	Accoucheur & M.D.	Baggot St Upper	Pbke Rd, nos. 49, 51
Delaney, Bart.			Prcy Pl., nos. 3, 5, 7
Fleming, John	Grocer & Vintner	Baggot St Upper	Pbke Rd, nos. 27, 29
Gibson, John	Architect & blder	Baggot St	Nblnd Rd, nos. 9, 11
Hamilton, Rev. George A.			Pbke Rd, nos. 79, 81
Henderson, James			Hadd Rd, nos. 74, 76[2]
Henderson, John	Carpenter & Builder	Townsend St	Hadd Rd, nos. 84, 86
			Prcy Pl., nos. 41, 43
Hitchcock, Robert	Barrister & Magistrate of Police	Carysfort Ave	Pbke Rd, nos. 45, 47
Knaggs, James			Hadd Rd, no. 88
Knaggs, Robert	Trunk Maker	Fishamble St	Hadd Rd, nos. 78, 80
Leland, Joseph			Pbke Rd, nos. 98 - 104
			116, 118
Malyn, Stephen			Well Pl. nos. 11, 13, 15
McDermott, R.N.			Prcy Pl., nos. 45, 47
McEnry, Thomas			Pbke Rd, nos. 23, 25
Neville, Arthur	Land Surveyor	York St	Pbke Rd, nos. 19, 21
Nugent, Thomas	Barrister	Herbert St	Prcy Pl., nos. 19 - 29
			35, 37, 39
Peter, Walter			Pbke Rd, nos. 70 - 82
Phayre, John	Carpenter & Builder	William St	Prcy Pl., nos. 11 - 17

[1] Although not possible to prove, it is very likely that Bradley was the builder-developer (with an E. Howe esq.) of these houses. Their names are derived from Griffith (1849), over ten years after the houses were completed. He was almost certainly the contractor for them.

[2] As with footnote above, it is not possible to make a definite connection between Henderson and the houses, as Henderson's name is derived from Griffith (1849) which is over ten years after the houses were finished.

Power, Edward			Lsn St Up. no. 92
Reid, Joly W.			Lsn St Up. nos. 90, 91
Stannus, William	Ironmonger	Great Britain St	Lsn St Up. nos. 86 - 89
Sullivan, John			Prcy Pl., nos. 31, 33
Turner, Richard			Pbke Rd, nos. 53, 55

Name	Profession	Address	Where built
1840s			
Boyce, Joseph	Alderman		Well Rd, nos. 53 - 83
Bradford, Benjamin			Wat Rd, nos. 74, 76
Bradley, Thomas	Timber merchant	Golden Lane	Hadd Rd, nos. 40 - 50
			Nblnd Rd, nos. 17, 19
Bradshaw, John Webb			Hadd Rd, nos. 83 - 93
Carroll, Thomas			Wat Rd, nos. 13 - 19
Clarke, Daniel	Italian Grocer		Lsn St Up. nos. 76 - 85
Clarke, Frederick	Carpenter & builder	Richmond Pl & Summer Hill	Well Pl. nos. 27, 29
Curran, John Oliver	M.D.	Garville Rd	Wat Rd, nos. 2, 4, 6
Dodd, Edward			Well Pl. nos. 33, 35, 37
Drury, W.B.			Wat Rd, nos. 64, 66
Farrell, Robert			Hadd Rd, nos. 107, 111
Fleming, John	Grocer & Vintner	Baggot St Upper	Pbke Rd, nos. 1 - 11, 31 - 43
Gabbett, Joseph	Barrister	Mount St Lr	Wat Rd, nos. 30 - 40
Gabbett, Mathew R			Wat Rd, nos. 12, 14
Heather, Revd Dawson			Lsn St Up. nos. 95, 96
Hughes, John			Lsn St Up. nos. 97, 98
Jacob, Arthur			Wat Rd, nos. 53, 55
Keegan, Philip			Hadd Rd, nos. 103, 105
			Wat Rd, nos. 8, 10
Kelly, Agnes			Wat Rd, nos. 21, 23
Kinghorn, Eliza & James			Wat Rd, nos. 53, 55
Litton, Daniel			Wat Rd, nos. 16, 18
Moyers, William	Carpenter & builder	Rathfarnham	Well Rd, nos. 45 - 51
Murray, William G	Architect		Well Rd, nos. 24, 26
Peter, Walter			Pbke Rd, nos. 57, 59
Reddy, Samuel	Dairyman & grocer	Duke St & Donnybrook	Wat Rd, nos. 65 - 71
Simpson, Maxwell			Well Rd, nos. 33 - 41
Simpson, David			Wat Rd, nos. 77, 79
			Well Pl., nos. 1, 17 - 23
			Well Rd, no. 43
Smith, Joseph			Wat Rd, nos. 73, 75, 50, 52, 54
Smith, Leicester D.			Pbke Rd, no. 61
Stanley, Capt. William			Well Pl. nos. 41 - 51
Stannus, William			Wat Rd, nos. 87, 89

Stedman, Ethelfleda			Wat Rd, nos.20, 22, 24
Stedman, L. J.	Architect	Haddington Terrace	Wat Rd, nos. 61, 63
Sullivan, Patrick J.			Hadd Rd, nos. 55 - 63
Tisdall, Thomas			Pbke Rd, nos. 13, 15, 17
Walsh, Edward	Turner	Gt Brunswick St	Wat Rd, nos.68, 70, 72
Webster, Michael	Flag brick marble merchant	Haddington Terrace	Hadd Rd, nos. 95 - 101
Wilson, Robert			Wat Rd, nos. 26, 28

Name	Profession	Address	Where built
1850s			
Anthony, Thomas	Architect & builder	Talbot Street	Wat Rd, nos. 35, 37
Atwood, Josh.			Well Rd, nos. 46, 48, 50
Carolin, George			Lnsdn Rd, nos. 30, 32
Cockburn, Gilbert	& Sons, Builders	Brunswick St	Well Rd, nos. 64 - 70
Cranny, Patrick	Esq., Boot & shoe mfr	Muckross Park	Well Rd, nos. 19 - 25
Dockrell, Thomas			Rgln Rd, nos. 13, 15, 17
Edie, Alexander C.D.L.			Pbke Rd, nos. 63 - 77
Franks, Lady Sarah			Wat Rd, nos. 47, 49, 51
Geraty, William	Architect & builder	Townsend St	Wat Rd, nos. 78, 80, 82
Gregory, Jacob			Well Rd, nos. 10, 12, 14
Higginbotham, Revd Mr			Lnsdn Rd, nos. 2, 4
Hozier, Misses			Wat Rd, nos. 42, 44
Kelly, Samuel			Wat Rd, nos. 5 - 11
Kennedy			Wat Rd, nos. 46, 48
Kennedy, Michael	Builder & carpenter	Marlborough St	Well Rd, nos. 9, 11, 13
Mackie, William	Esq.		Well Rd, nos.16, 18
McKenzie, W. H.			Lnsdn Rd, nos. 6, 8
McVittie, Robert B.	Registrar Sir Patrick Dun's Hospital	Waterloo Rd	Wat Rd, no. 39
			Well Rd, nos. 27, 29, 31
O'Brien, Terence			Well Rd, nos. 28 - 34
Patterson, John L.			Lnsdn Rd, nos. 14, 16
Ryan, D.W.	[poss] Builder	Hanover St E	Well Rd, nos. 7, 15, 17
Saint Ledger, Anthony			Hadd Rd, nos. 75, 77
Sands, Robert			Well Rd, nos. 20, 22, 44, 48, 50
Scully, Daniel			Hadd Rd, nos. 90 - 96
Smith, Edward	Esq.	Waterloo Rd	Wat Rd, no. 41, 57, 59
Smith, Bernard			Well Rd, nos.1, 3, 5
Smith, Brett	Esq.	Waterloo Rd	Wat Rd, nos. 43, 45
Stanley, Capt. William			Well Rd, nos. 52 - 60
Sullivan, Patrick			Lnsdn Rd, nos. 18, 20, 22, 24
Telford, Miss			Lnsdn Rd, nos. 26, 28
Walsh, Mary Anne		Wellington Pl.	Wat Rd, nos. 1, 3, 25 - 33, 81, 83, 85
Webster [sic]			Lnsdn Rd, nos. 10, 12
Webster, Henry	Merchant	Baggot St/ Sandymount	Well Rd, nos. 36 - 42

Name	Profession	Address	Where built
1860s			
Bourke, John			Rgln Rd, nos. 7, 9
Bradley, Thomas	Timber merchant	Golden Lane	Nblnd Rd, nos. 21, 23, 25
Brunker, Thomas	Jeweller[1]	111 Grafton St	Nblnd Rd, nos.27 - 33
Carolin, George	Builder & contractor	17 Talbot St	Clyde Rd, no. 28
			Lnsdn Rd, nos. 34, 36, 38, 40
Cockburn, Thos & Gilbert	Builders	179 Gt Brunswick St	Elgin Rd, nos. 2 - 10
Cranny, Patrick	Boot & shoe manfr[2]	73 & 74 Georges St Sth	Clyde Rd, nos. 22, 23, 24, 25
			Elgin Rd, nos. 26 - 40
Davoren, Col. Andrew M.		9 Somerset Place[3]	Rgln Rd, nos. 19, 21, 23
Dempsey, John			Rgln Rd, nos. 37 - 53
Farrell, George	Builder	12 Wentworth Pl	Nblnd Rd, nos. 13, 15
Findlater, John	Grocer, wine & spirit mcht	Sackville St	Clyde Rd, no. 15
Gregory, Jacob	Esq.	59 Grafton St	Well Rd, nos. 2, 4
Kennedy, Michael	Builder	12 Marlborough St	Clyde Rd, nos. 9, 10, 11, 12
			Elgin Rd, nos. 12 - 24
McKenzie, W. H.	Esq.	Victoria Tce, Sandymount	Lnsdn Rd, nos. 42, 44
Moyers, George	Architect & contractor	47-51 Richmond St	Clyde Rd, nos. 5, 6, 7, 8
Murphy, Patrick	Architect & builder [poss	89 Amiens St	Clyde Rd, nos. 26, 27
Newland, Dr Robert	Surgeon & apothecary	59 Richmond St Sth	Rgln Rd, nos. 25 - 35
Price, James			Clyde Rd, nos. 13, 14
Robinson, Arthur	Iron mrcht & gen. agent	12 Eden Quay[4]	Clyde Rd, nos. 3, 4
Seton, Captain W. E.			Elgin Rd, nos. 1, 3, 5
Sloane, W.G. / James			Rgln Rd, nos. 1, 3
Smith, George			Rgln Rd, nos. 8, 10, 12
Smith, Henry			Rgln Rd, nos. 2, 4
Stanley, Robert			Clyde Rd, nos. 1, 2
			Elgin Rd, nos. 9 - 23

[1] Also, Masonic ornament manufacturer, and Paris clock warerooms.
[2] By appointment to the Lord Lieutenant. Residence, Muckross Park, Donnybrook.
[3] He became occupier of one of his own houses.
[4] Residence in 1868 *Directory*, Clyde Road

Name	Profession	Address	Where built
1870s			
Bolton, Samuel	Builder & contractor	Rathmines Sawmills	Lnsdn Rd, nos. 46, 48
Brearton [sic]			Lnsdn Rd, nos. 57, 59
Courtney, J. R.	Merchant	38-40 Bridgefoot St[1]	Nblnd Rd, nos. 47, 49
Davis [sic]			Nblnd Rd, nos. 10, 12, 20
Farrell, James	Builder	28 Northumberland Rd	Nblnd Rd, nos. 22, 24, 26, 28
Johnston, Mrs R.			Nblnd Rd, nos. 35, 37
Kennedy, Edward	Builder	12 Marlborough St	Nblnd Rd, nos. 51 - 57
Kennedy, Frederick	Solicitor	4 Ormond Quay	Nblnd Rd, nos. 14, 16
McHugh, Arthur		100 Tritonville Rd	Nblnd Rd, nos. 60, 62
McKenzie, W. H.	Esq.		Lnsdn Rd, nos. 50, 52
Meade, Joseph	Builder	153-159 Brunswick St[2]	Nblnd Rd, nos. 46, 48, 50, 52
Meredith, --			Nblnd Rd, nos. 41, 43, 45
Mooney, John			Nblnd Rd, no. 39
Moyers, George	Architect & contractor	47-51 Richmond st	Clyde Rd, nos. 16, 17
Nevin, James			Lnsdn Rd, nos. 54, 56
Pemberton, Thomas			Lnsdn Rd, nos. 58, 60, 62
Perrin, William			Nblnd Rd, nos. 64, 66
			76 - 86 (maybe 1860s)
Shegog, James			StM Rd, nos. 31 - 39
Sparrow, Mrs			Nblnd Rd, nos. 68, 70, 72, 74
			StM Rd, nos. 8 - 18
Sullivan, Patrick			StM Rd, nos. 1 - 29, 2, 4, 6
Walker, Thomas			Nblnd Rd, nos. 30, 32
Wardrop, Thomas			Lnsdn Rd, nos. 49, 51, 53, 55
Watson [sic]			Nblnd Rd, nos. 34 - 44

[1]Residence, 44 Haddington Road.
[2]Michael Meade and Son, builders, and proprietors of the sawing, planing and moulding mills, and merchants.

Name	Profession	Address	Where built
1880s			
Coulter, E.			Nblnd Rd, nos. 67, 69
Lidwill, R. F.			Clyde Rd, nos. 18, 19
Meade, Joseph			Nblnd Rd, nos. 54, 56, 58
Stannell, Charles G.			Clyde Rd, nos. 20, 21

Name	Profession	Address	Where built
1800s			
Cooley, William			Tvl Rd, nos. 44 - 52
Cranfield, Rev. Dr			Tvl Rd, nos. 44 - 52

Name	Profession	Address	Where built
1830s			
Askins, John H.	Builder & deputy postmaster	Sandymount	Pk Ave, nos. 5 - 11, 21
Leeson, Archibald			Tvl Rd, nos. 51, 53
Mathews, Samuel[1]	Solicitor & attorney	Lr Dominick St	Tvl Rd, nos. 1 - 13
Smith, Joseph			Pk Ave, no. 29
Wall, Rev. Richd H.	Rector	St Matthew's Irishtown	Tvl Rd, nos. 2, 4, 6, 8

[1]There is also a Samuel Mathews, tailor and draper, Exchange Street, listed in the *Dublin Directory*.

Name	Profession	Address	Where built
1840s			
Arkins, Thomas	Merchant tailor	Ormond Quay Upr	Std Rd, nos. 57 - 63
Askins, John H.			Pk Ave, nos. 13
			Std Rd, nos. 83 - 89
Askins, William	Builder	Sandymount	Std Rd, nos. 99
Bartlett, Captain Thomas	Ship owner	Newgrove Ave	Tvl Rd, nos. 74, 76, 78
Bourne, Edward			Std Rd, nos. 33 - 39, 43
Byrne, Joseph	Surveyor	Camden St	Tvl Rd, nos. 15, 17, 19
Cornwall, Thomas		125 Townsend St	Std Rd, nos. 101, 103
Davis, John			Tvl Rd, nos. 104
Doyle, John	Carpenter & builder	Camden St Lr	Std Rd, nos. 133, 135, 141, 143
Ellard, Andrew	Musical instrument maker	Sackville St Lr	Tvl Rd, nos. 31, 33, 35
Fallon, Thomas	Furniture & warerooms	Henry St	Tvl Rd, nos. 23, 25, 27
Gahan, Thomas	Solicitor	Earl St	Std Rd, no. 65
Gibbon, William	LL.D., Barrister	198 Brunswick St[1]	Std Rd, nos. 77, 79, 81
Hodgens, Mrs Frances			Std Rd, nos. 137, 139
Hogan, John	Carpenter & builder	Winetavern St	Tvl Rd, nos. 41 - 49
Irvine, Thomas		New Bride St	Std Rd, nos. 105, 107
Kirby, Thomas			Tvl Rd, nos. 106 - 110
Murphy [sic]			Tvl Rd, nos. 102
Nedley, James[2]			Std Rd, nos. 91 - 97
Nolan, Lawrence	Surgeon	Suffolk St	Tvl Rd, nos. 37, 39
O'Hara, Robert	Carpenter & builder	Townsend St	Std Rd, nos. 23, 25, 27 67 - 73
O'Hara, William	Architect & engineer	Percy Place	Std Rd, nos. 1, 3, 5 51, 53, 55
O'Keeffe, James			Tvl Rd, nos. 93, 95
Reade, William	Solicitor	Dame St & Kingstown	Std Rd, nos. 45 - 49
Reilly, Hugh	Grocer	Sandymount	Pk Ave, nos. 15, 17, 19
Rothery, W. C.	Importer & mnfr of hosiery	D'Olier St	Std Rd, nos. 17, 19
Salmon, Francis	Collector of public money	Sandymount	Pk Ave, nos. 26, 28
			Std Rd, nos. 11 - 15, 21
Vavasour, Rev. R.			Tvl Rd, no. 21

[1]Residence, Sandymount Avenue.
[2]There is no James Nedley in the *Dublin Directories*, but a John Nedley, grocer & coal factor, lives in Sandymount. Although the lease was allocated to a James Nedley, one letter was sent to James Nedley about the same matter. Thus they might be the same man, or related.

Walthew, G. M.	Hatter[1]	Park Ave	Pk Ave, no. 23

[1] Hatter to the Lord Lieutenant, and cap manufacturer to Her Majesty's Coast Guard in Ireland, College Green.

Name	Profession	Address	Where built
1850s			
Askins, John H.			Pk Ave, nos. 1, 3
			Tvl Rd, no. 87
Askins, William	Builder	Sandymount Rd	Std Rd, nos. 109 - 131
Ashford [sic]			Tvl Rd, nos. 134, 136
Bentley & Son			Tvl Rd, nos. 130, 132
Bourne, Edward			Std Rd, nos. 29, 31, 41
Butler, James	Builder	Sandymount Strand[1]	Std Rd, nos. 125 - 131
Clarke [sic][2]			Tvl Rd, nos. 79 - 85
Cronhelm, Theodore	Solicitor	74 Dame St	Std Rd, nos. 113 - 121
Dempsey, John			Tvl Rd, nos. 60 - 68
Digges, Henry	Cabinetmaker &c	Gardiner St Lr	Tvl Rd, nos. 94, 96
Doolan, Patrick[3]			Tvl Rd, nos. 121 - 131
Graham, William[4]	Foundry & ironworks	Smithfield	Tvl Rd, nos. 98, 100
Gray, Thomas	Poor Law Office	Custom House	Tvl Rd, no. 84
Hyser, Joseph			Std Rd, nos. 109, 111
Leeson, Richard	Esq.	Newholland, Sandymount	Tvl Rd, nos. 55, 57, 59
O'Connor [sic][5]			Tvl Rd, nos. 90, 92
O'Keeffe, James[6]	Literary teacher	Arran Quay	Tvl Rd, nos. 87, 89, 91
Pile, Thomas	Coal merchant	Ringsend	Tvl Rd, nos. 56, 58
Young, William	Esq.	Serpentine Ave	Hbt Rd, no. 19
			Tvl Rd, nos. 133, 135
			126, 128

[1] He lived in Tower Lodge, now demolished, beside his development.
[2] In 1865 *Dublin Directory*, there is an Edward S. Clarke, M.D., living in Whiteville Terrace
[3] There is no Patrick Doolan in the *Dublin Directories*, but there is a Patrick Dolan, grocer and spirit dealer, Thomas Street.
[4] There are several William Grahams in the *Dublin Directory*. This is the most likely one.
[5] Possibly a Patrick O'Connor, engineer. *Dublin Directory*, 1865.
[6] This is the only James O'Keeffe which can be found in the *Directories*.

Name	Profession	Address	Where built
1860s			
Askins, George	Architect	Park Ave, Sandymount	Pk Ave, nos. 40, 42, 54
Askins, John H.			Hbt Rd, nos. 2 - 14
			11, 13, 15, 17
			Pk Ave, nos. 31, 33
Brereton, John			Hbt Rd, no. 1
Denham, Dr			Pk Ave, nos. 41 - 47
			53, 55
Dowling [sic][1]			Pk Ave, nos. 50, 52
Flood, Frederick			Std Rd, nos. 10 - 16
Fox [sic][2]			Pk Ave, nos. 44, 46
Leahy, William	Builder	Harmony Row	Pk Ave, nos. 35, 37
O'Gorman, Thomas	Inspector of Loan Funds	Park Ave, Sandymount	Pk Ave, no. 39
Owens, James H.			Pk Ave, nos. 49, 51
Pile, Thomas			Hbt Rd, nos. 3, 5, 7, 9
Sandy [sic]			Tvl Rd, nos. 86, 88
Whelan [sic][3]			Pk Ave, nos. 48

[1] There is a James Dowling, builder, Rathmines, listed in the *Dublin Directory*, 1865.
[2] There is a Thomas Fox, builder, Pitt Street, listed in the *Dublin Directory*, 1865.
[3] There are James and Patrick Whelan, builders, High Street, listed in the *Dublin Directory*, 1865.

Appendix 4

The Houses of Wellington and Waterloo Roads

As has been explained in Chapter 6, the building development of Wellington and Waterloo Roads is unique in that these are the only two roads which it is possible to examine with a full overlap of the two major sources: the detailed record of Cornelius Sullivan's agency (which records the allocation of building ground), which ceased in 1849, and the Griffith Valuation (which can trace the evolution of building development) which commenced in 1847. For Wellington and Waterloo Roads, the story of their development can be analysed in great detail, far more so than any other road on the estate. It is productive therefore to trace the development of these two roads, in order to examine patterns within their building evolution, the types of houses which emerge, the connection between the houses and their builder-developers, and hence the possible nature of the builder-developers' involvement. The analysis and conclusions of this examination are presented in the main body of the text (in Chapter 6).

The houses on these two roads will be studied in order of their chronology, based on the phases described in Chapter 6: houses completed by 1847, by 1852, by 1857, and by 1862.

The illustrations are to be found at the end of Volume 2; numbers prefixed by 'A'.

HOUSES BUILT BY 1847

Built by 1847: 33-39 Wellington Road

The earliest houses to be completed were numbers 33 to 39 Wellington Road (**A1**), which were built under the single lease to Maxwell Simpson - the first lease to be allocated on the road. They are the only houses to appear on Wellington Road on the 1845 Ordnance Survey map (on which Waterloo Road does not appear at all). It is likely that Simpson was related to David Simpson, who was builder-developer for numbers 17 to 23 Wellington Place (**5.34**). There are similarities between the houses, but those on Wellington Road are a more refined scheme. The basement level is lower which affords the appearance of a taller proportion to the two stories above; as does the closer proximity of the windows of the upper floor to the parapet. Other subtle refinements are the more generously proportioned parapet moulding, the slightly taller windows, and the higher arch of the fanlights.

Built by 1847: 41-51 Wellington Road

The refinements described above are echoed in the adjoining six houses, numbers 41 to 51. However, these have different builder-developers. Numbers 41 and 43 (**A2**) are paired together by a hipped roof and are built under lease to Maxwell and David Simpson, respectively. The next four houses are built under leases to William Moyers, a builder, of 30 Richmond Street, South. The six houses are constant in their proportions, height, style and materials. A distinct feature of them all is the attenuation of the windows. Those on the floor above the entrance level are the tallest; those on the top floor, although lower in height, are still notably tall, giving an overall slender elegance to the elevations.

There is, however, an exception in the doorcases to the general constancy of the houses. Five of the six houses share a late Georgian style doorcase, with flanking windows, and scrolled brackets instead of columns. By this time, with the exception of these houses (and numbers 53 to 83 on the same road), these doorcases with side windows are an unusual feature, not much seen around the estate by this time.[1] The exception is number 43, which has a more regular Georgian style doorcase, slightly smaller in scale, and flanked by Ionic columns. The house was built under lease to David Simpson; it is the only one in the line with him as building lessee. It is not possible to ascertain why the doorcase is different - perhaps it was a personal request by the future occupier / purchaser. It is also interesting to note the shared gate and front garden of two

[1] An ornate example can be seen in Home Terrace, numbers 55 to 63 Haddington Rd (**5.19**), c.1847.

of Moyers' houses - numbers 49 and 51. With the overall similarities between them, however, it is possible that numbers 33 to 51, together known as Brougham Place,[2] were all built by the same contractor, almost certainly William Moyers.[3]

Built by 1847: 53-83 Wellington Road

The adjoining terrace (**A3**), numbers 53 to 83, is the only one of Joseph Boyce's five large holdings on which he built. As with the preceding houses, they were all built by 1847, but it is not possible to ascertain their date of completion with further accuracy. Known as Heytesbury Terrace,[4] it is the longest single-scheme terraced development ever to have been built on the estate. It is displays a sophistication in the management of the terraced form; all the elements have been refined to produce a scheme in which the individual houses are subsumed into a single form. The spacing of the windows, which are the same size for entrance and upper floor, is well handled and serves to unify the scheme, as do the well-proportioned doorcases. All but two of the houses are two bay, two-storey over basement; the last two houses at the southern end of the block are in fact three bay, but the overall coherence and adaptability of the design is so successful, this is barely perceptible to the general vista. Their entrances show an inventive scheme where the houses in each pair share gate pillars but have separate pathways. The scheme is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6.

Built by 1847: 24 & 26 Wellington Road

The final two houses built on Wellington Road by 1847 are numbers 24 and 26 on the east side of the road (**A4**). These were the only two houses built under the lease of 520 feet granted to William Murray in 1843 (**6.6**). It has already been established that they were built between March and December 1847,[5] and only after Sullivan wrote to Murray to request his attention to the clauses in his building lease. It is likely that they were built later than the houses across the road just discussed because no such requests seem to have been necessary to either of the Simpsons, Moyers or Boyce about their holdings. The two houses serve as a useful counterpoint to display the refinements of their three-storey over basement opposing neighbours, numbers 41 to 51. In numbers 24 and 26, the houses have a more sombre appearance: they are in a duller, brown brick, and the top-

[2] According to OS 1875 and the *Dublin Pictorial Guide*. Griffith Maps 1 and 2 mistakenly name them as Brighton Place.

[3] By extension, the connection with Simpson and the similar architectural characteristics link Moyers to numbers 17 to 23 Wellington Place.

[4] After Baron Heytesbury, viceroy from July 1844 to July 1846. Sidney Herbert married Heytesbury's niece, Elizabeth A'Court, in August 1846.

[5] The ground was marked out for building by the surveyors in March. NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 7, Sullivan to William Murray 6 March 1847. (Acc. No. 97/46/3/7). The two houses are shown as built on Griffith Map 1, i.e., by December 1847.

floor windows have the squarer proportions of the more traditional Georgian terraced house. They have the, by now, customary Ionic column doorcase, but the fanlight is squatter, leaving an impression of heaviness about the façade.[6]

As they were built on William Murray's holding, there is a possibility that Murray himself was connected with the design of the two houses, but they do not correspond with his drawings for Joseph Boyce, already discussed.[7] John Phayre was almost certainly the contractor; the connection between him and numbers 24 and 26 has already been established.[8] It should also be noted that a George Phayre, architect, operated from the same address as John Phayre, builder and carpenter.[9] This possibly connects him with the design of the houses. Number 26 (the house to the right of the pair) corresponds with the southern boundary of Murray's lot of ground; therefore it is possible that it was originally intended that these houses would be the last two in a line of twenty or twenty-one commencing from the north end of the road (**6.6**).

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There was a far greater number of houses built by 1847 on Waterloo Road. On the east side, all but eight out of the total of forty-one houses were built by this date; on the west side the rate was not quite as efficient: twenty out of the total of forty-five houses were built by 1847, but a further eighteen were built in the next five years, leaving only seven houses un-built by 1852. Considering that most of the leases commenced between March 1844 or March 1845, it was certainly a more successful rate of building development than Wellington Road. Of the houses which were built by 1847, it can be seen that the majority on the east side were built under lease dating from March or September 1844, whereas those on the west side were all built on leases dating from March 1845 - i.e. a year later.[10] This possibly implies that the east side is slightly earlier than the west - although this can not be regarded as certain. Nevertheless, overall, the east side is more entirely built by 1847 than the west, therefore we turn to it first (**6.13**).

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[6]It is not just that the fanlight is lower, rather it is that the upper profile of the curve is no longer a true arc, i.e., as if the top of the curve has been flattened, and the outer edges pushed in. Fanlights of this profile can be found elsewhere around the estate, but not in great numbers and to no coherent chronology. The earliest examples are probably numbers 34 to 40 Pembroke Road; others include, 83 and 85 Haddington Road, 80 to 85 Leeson Street Upper (**5.38**).

[7]A significant difference being the different location of the entrances; the drawings are paired, those on Murray's own houses are at opposite sides of the elevations.

[8]In Chapter 6, in connection with the commencement of building on this plot.

[9]Number 63 William Street. According to *The Post Office Dublin Directory and Calendar for 1848.*

[10]See appendix 2i.

A striking feature of the houses on this side of Waterloo Road is the demarcation which occurs between numbers 44 and 46: all houses to the north are three-storey over basement, whereas all houses to the south are two-storey over basement. There is nothing extant to suggest a specific reason for the difference in the number of stories. With the exception of numbers 42 to 50, and 78 to 82, all the houses were built by 1847, and the surviving leases do not display variations in their requirements - the usual lease stipulation merely that all houses were to be 'not less than two stories high over the cellars'.

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Built by 1847: 2-10 Waterloo Road

The first five houses on Waterloo Road - numbers 2 to 10 - are the standard Georgian three-storey over basement type, well-established by this time (**A5**) (shown here are numbers 4 to 10). Built by two separate builder-developers,[11] the houses display slight differences which reflect this; for example, numbers 2, 4, and 6 are linked by a parapet moulding, while in numbers 8 and 10 the parapet is unadorned. Number 2 was originally a three-bay house, with the door to the left side;[12] this allows for the windows of the entrance floor to be aligned with those above - which they are not in numbers 4 to 10. These four houses can be regarded as two lots of two; they have paired entrances, and shared gateways. Although built by two different builder-developers, overall, the two pairs of houses are similar (except for the doorcases), possibly implying the same contractor built both.

Built by 1847: 12-18 Waterloo Road

The next four houses, numbers 12 to 18 (**A6**) are unusual in that they depart from the usual pattern of houses bearing different characteristics according to their respective builder-developers. Thus, this is a distinctive scheme of four identical houses, built by two separate builder-developers: two building leases were granted to a Mathew Richard Gabbett, on which were built numbers 12 and 14, and two building leases were granted to a Daniel Litton, on which were built numbers 16 and 18. It is likely, therefore, that Gabbett and Litton were in partnership in the speculation.[13] Litton had already built on Mount Street Crescent, inside the canal, with another Gabbett - Joseph. As with the previous four houses, these can be seen as two groups of two, with the entrances paired,

[11] Numbers 2 to 6 were built on a single lease to a John Oliver Curran, and numbers 8 to 10 on a single lease, of forty-eight feet, to Philip Keegan, who had already built two houses on Haddington Road. See appendices 2i and 3i.

[12] Griffith and OS maps. Possibly it was a two-bay house with a porched entrance to the side.

[13] It can be seen from Griffith (1849) that neither men became the occupiers of any of the houses.

but not the gates. The houses are unusual in the use of limestone, parallel coursed, on the entrance floor - it would have been considerably more expensive and was not a stipulation of the building leases. The entire scheme of four houses is demarcated by a band of quoins.

Built by 1847: 20-24 Waterloo Road

Numbers 20 to 24 (**A7**) were built on ground allocated in three leases to a Miss Ethelfleda Stedman.[14] They are among the most ornate houses on the road. They are an interesting hybrid; although they are structurally a single scheme, they are of two distinct characters. Numbers 20 and 22 are paired together, with shared steps and adjacent entrances with identical doorcases.[15] Their façades are both rendered entirely, while number 24 is rendered only on the entrance floor;[16] all three houses are united by parallel-coursed stucco on the entrance floor. The windows of the two upper floors of numbers 20 and 22 have an architrave moulding,[17] with those of the principal floor bearing a full classical surround; all the windows in number 24 are unadorned.

The Griffith Valuation (1849) yields useful information about the building of this scheme of three houses. Stedman, who acquired the building leases from the estate, appears neither as occupier nor immediate lessor for any of the houses.[18] For numbers 20 and 22 the immediate lessor is listed as John Phayre, carpenter and builder, whom we have already met in connection with numbers 24 and 26 Wellington Road and Percy Place. The immediate lessor for number 24 is a Mr Garrett Wall, a carpenter and builder of 29 Abbey Street Upper.[19] This information affords an insight into the possible speculation process. Firstly, it can be established that Stedman either sub-let or sold on her interest in the building leases, before or after the houses were built. Moreover, the significant point here is that the (likely) building contractors - Phayre and Wall - acquired a legal interest in the houses they built.[20] Whether Stedman was in partnership with Phayre and Wall, or whether she recruited them (or they, her) is of course not possible to

[14]Possibly connected to a Michael Stedman, builder, and Leopold J. Stedman, architect, of number 11 Haddington Terrace; these Stedmans shall be met with later in the chapter.
[15]The doorcases of numbers 20 and 22 are a striking scheme; a quite narrow door, set in a wide architrave, is surmounted by a generous frieze-cornice supported by consoles. It is an elegant and inventive counter-balancing of proportions. The doorcase of number 24, however, is a rather weedily proportioned ionic column scheme.
[16]Although, the rendering is possibly a later addition.
[17]Again, almost certainly a later addition.
[18]There is no doubt that Stedman was the original building lessee - the information is correlated with 2011/2/6.
[19]*The Post Office Dublin Directory and Calendar for 1848.*
[20]By the very fact that they are identified by the Griffith Valuation as lessor to the respective occupiers.

establish. However, it is possible that when she agreed with the estate for the leases, the arrangement was already established.[21]

Built by 1847: 26-28 Waterloo Road

The next allocation of ground along the road was two lots to a Mr Robert Wilson, on which were built numbers 26 and 28 (**A8**). Once again, the houses evince a distinct character reflecting the difference in builder-developer. They seem to emerge as a semi-detached unit from the terrace (even though they are joined with their neighbours), because of the porched entrance to the side. This adds to their sense of scale (already clear from the fact that they are taller than other houses on this side of the road), as does the attenuation of the windows.

Built by 1847: 30-40 Waterloo Road

The largest tranche of ground to be allocated on the road (although granted in individual leases) was to Joseph Gabbett on which he built a scheme of six identical houses, numbers 30 to 40 (**A9**). Gabbett, a barrister of 17 Mount Street Lower,[22] had already engaged in building-development on the estate, having taken leases of ground on Mount Street Crescent in the mid-1830s.[23] Although perfectly respectable, and compliant with the building covenants, the elevations of the houses, known as Waterloo Place, are not altogether successful. The houses are three bay - possibly the earliest example in a terraced scheme. However, this, in combination with the proportion of the openings and the grid-like impact of them being vertically aligned, results in a sense of over-domination of window.[24] This can be seen, in particular, if the houses are compared with their preceding neighbours (numbers 26 and 28), just discussed.

The six houses are very much a self-contained scheme. This is emphasised by the innovatory and distinctive arrangement of a communal lawn in front of the houses, with a shared gateway at either end of the line. This is unusual, and does not occur - to this extent - elsewhere in the estate. The houses are set within a frame (like numbers 12 to 18) of alternately laid quoins; the entrances are paired with shared front steps. A curious feature to be noted is that despite the arrangement of windows in the floors over ground level, there is only a single window at basement level.

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[21] At the stage of lease allocation, it seems clear that the three adjacent leases to Stedman were distinctly grouped as two and one. NAI, PEP,Letter Books, vol. 7, Sullivan to Messrs Oddie Foster and Lumley, 31 August 1844. (Acc. No. 97/46/3/7).

[22] *Dublin Pictorial Guide*.

[23] See appendix 1.

[24] This is also partly due to the (not original) plate glass windows.

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There was, at this point, a break in the line of building along Waterloo Road; numbers 42 to 50 were not completed until 1856. The ground was originally allocated to Joseph Boyce and seems to have remained unbuilt until it was re-leased, sometime after he surrendered it in November 1850. The following thirteen houses - numbers 52 to 76 - were all built by 1847, with numbers 78 to 82 not completed until 1855. Numbers 52 to 76 are very different in character to the houses (numbers 2 to 40) outlined in the paragraphs above. They are smaller in scale: in height (they are all just two-storey over basement), and in width (they are generally narrower by two or three feet). It can be seen that, overall, the leases for these houses commenced slightly later; most of numbers 2 to 40 from March 1844, most of numbers 52 to 82 from September 1844 or March 1845. But, as has already been discussed, that might not necessarily have had a bearing on when the ground was agreed for, and therefore, when the houses commenced building.

The respective characteristics of the houses in relation to their different builder-developers are much less strikingly obvious in these houses (numbers 52 to 76), than numbers 2 to 40. They are all quite similar two-bay, two-storey over basement type houses; there is a general coherence in the height of the façades, with no distinct breaks in the building line. The major disparities between the houses relate to fairly slight differences in roofline, storey levels, size of windows and fanlights. Broadly, the block of numbers 52 to 76 can be divided into two types. The first three pairs of houses (52 to 62) are spanned separately by hipped roofs, this gives an implication of 'joined' semi-detached houses (emphasised by the placing of the doors to the outer edge); the remainder of the houses (64 to 76) are spanned by a continuous ridge.

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Built by 1847: 52-58 Waterloo Road

The first two pairs of these houses on Waterloo Road (numbers 52 to 58) (**A10**) each have distinct and unusual fanlights, particularly numbers 52 and 54. In fact, these four houses all share a subtle sense of refinement compared to the rest, for example, in the greater attention to the doorcases, and also in the parapet moulding. Numbers 52 and 54 were built under lease allocated to a Mr Joseph Smith, number 56 to a Mr William Whitmore, and number 58 to a James Henderson. No information can be found about Smith,[25] although in Griffith Valuation (1849) he is listed as the occupier of number 52.

[25] *Dublin Pictorial Guide.*

Nothing can be found about Whitmore either, but James Henderson was a carpenter and builder,[26] of 32 Richmond Street South, and is possibly connected to a John Henderson who built already in the estate, in Percy Place and Haddington Road (see appendix 3i).[27]

The single allocation of one lease each to Whitmore and Henderson is unusual,[28] but possibly suggests the existence of some sort of partnership between the two men during the building process. This is supported by the discovery that, by the time the two houses were built and occupied, Henderson was the immediate lessor of both, with Whitmore the occupier of number 56 (the house which he was originally allocated the lease for).[29] Given his involvement in the building trade, it is probable that Henderson was the actual contractor for the two houses. Indeed, despite the differences in scale and fanlights, there is a similarity between these two houses and their previous neighbours, which suggests that Henderson may have been involved in building numbers 52 and 54 also.[30]

Built by 1847: 64-76 Waterloo Road

Numbers 64 to 76 (**A11**) were built on leases allocated to three different builder-developers: numbers 64 and 66 to a W. B. Drury; 68, 70 and 72 to an Edward Walsh; 74 and 76 to a Benjamin Bradford. The elevations of the seven houses are very similar: all are two-bay, two-storey over basement, front doors to the left (except for number 64); the same fanlights, positioning of chimney stacks, proportions of windows, and united by a continuously ridged roof. The only differences are very slight variations in degrees of window alignments, which do not necessarily correspond with the respective different builder-developers. It is interesting, therefore, to see from the Griffith Valuation map 1 (**A12**) that the houses evince clear differences in terms of plan, which correspond to each builder-developer. Hence, in numbers 64 and 66 the return is paired (corresponding with the paired entrances); in numbers 68, 70 and 72, the return for each is to the left of the plan; in numbers 74 and 76, the returns are longer, and on the outer sides of the paired lots. Thus, although the houses were probably erected by the same contractor (because

[26] *The Post Office Directory and Calendar for 1848.*

[27] There are overlaps in references in the estate archives and the Griffith Valuation which suggest that a John Henderson and a James Henderson might either be the same or closely related (i.e. James inherited interests from John).

[28] As has already been pointed out, leases were nearly always allocated in pairs, at least.

[29] Griffith Valuation (1849). Maybe after Whitmore took the building lease, he passed it on to Henderson to build the two together; maybe mortgaging the building lease to Henderson was part of the process of paying for the building of the house.

[30] This is further corroborated by Griffith Map 1 (**A12**) which shows all four houses with the same, quite distinct, returns at the rear - as do numbers 60 and 62.

of their great consistency in terms of elevation), the respective builder-developers had an impact in terms of the ground plan of their houses.

Of the three builder-developers involved, Drury was a barrister of 14 Hatch Street, Walsh was a turner of 14 Brunswick Street Great,[31] and Bradford was a plumber and brass founder of 41 Cuffe Street.[32] There is a possibility, therefore, that Bradford was somehow involved in the actual building process of the seven houses. According to Griffith (1849), numbers 64 and 66 were, by that time, both occupied by a John Dickenson, with their lessor being identified as Sidney Herbert - not Drury. Therefore, Drury clearly had disposed of his interest in the lease quickly, selling it on to Dickenson. Dickenson is identified in Shaw's *Dublin Pictorial Guide* of 1850 as a solicitor of 66 St Stephen's Green, South.[33] The following three houses, numbers 78 to 82, were not completed until 1855, ten years after the ground was allocated, and so will be returned to later in this appendix.

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In contrast to the east side, the west side of Waterloo Road was built less coherently, chronologically, with twenty houses built by 1847 and a further eighteen by 1852 (compared to thirty-three built by 1847 on the east side) (**6.9**). The west side is also less coherent structurally (**6.12**). Like the east side, there is a mixture of two- and three-storey over basement houses, but where on the east side they are divided evenly (three-storey over basement to the north end of the road, and two-storey over basement to the south), on the west side the variety is more dispersed. However, it is interesting to note that the houses built by 1847 actually do correspond to the pattern found on the east side of the road: numbers 17 to 23 (to the north end of the road) are three-storey over basement, and numbers 53 to 79 (to the south end) are two-storey over basement.[34]

It is clear from the allocation of leases (**6.7**) that the junction with a new road, and hence the subsequent formation of Burlington Road, was envisaged from the outset. It is interesting to observe that the houses on either side of this planned new road were among the first phase of completed buildings. Hence, there was no danger here of a planned new road failing to materialise - as happened on Wellington Road. Indeed, the

[31] *Dublin Directory*, 1848.
[32] *Dublin Pictorial Guide*. He was also, according to the *Dublin Directory*, 1848, a hydraulic engine manufacturer.
[33] He is listed in the *Dublin Pictorial Guide* as Dickinson.
[34] Numbers 87 and 89 were built by 1847, and although they are three storey they have no basement, therefore they are coherent in height with their two-storey over basement neighbours.

construction and management of the junction caused considerable problems. The depths of the sewers were miscalculated by the engineers constructing the two roads, and this seems to have left a disparity in the levels of the roads, which required some expensive alterations, to the annoyance of Sullivan.[35]

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Built by 1847: 5-19 Waterloo Road

The block of eight houses, numbers 5 to 19, to the north of the junction with Burlington Road **(6.9)** **(6.12)**, is a unified scheme of substantial, three-storey over raised basement, houses in a light mellow brick. Numbers 5 to 11 (**A13**) were all built under lease to a Samuel Kelly; numbers 13 to 19 (**A14**) were built under lease to a Thomas Carroll.[36] The houses can be regarded as comprising four pairs, with the entrances to the outer edge of each pair. Despite their architectural coherence, the building of these houses was actually very protracted. While Carroll's two houses adjacent to the junction with Burlington Road were completed by November 1846,[37] it was more than ten years before numbers 5 and 7, Kelly's houses at the other end of the block, were finished and occupied - still following the template of the houses as built by 1846.

The impact of the two different builder-developers involved can be seen in some very slight variations between the houses. For example, in Kelly's houses (numbers 5 to 11) the windows of the entrance floor are not aligned with those above; in Carroll's houses (numbers 13 to 19), they are. Similarly, the difference in the builder-developers can be seen in comparing the adjacent entrances of numbers 11 and 13, which mark the break between Kelly's and Carroll's houses. The doorcases are exactly the same but the fanlights are quite different, both in the profile of the opening and in the pattern of the teardrop style glazing bars. Numbers 5 to 11 are united by a parapet with a particular moulding profile, numbers 13 to 19 are spanned by a much simpler one. A boundary wall between numbers 11 and 13 divides the holdings of Kelly and Carroll. Despite these differences between the houses of the respective builder-developers, the possibility must remain that they were all erected by the same contractor since, overall, the houses are so similar.

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[35]NAI, PEP, letter books, vol.7, Sullivan to Thomas Carroll, 27 June 1846 and 17 November 1846; Sullivan to R. Stanley, Mespil, 18 November 1846. (Acc. No. 97/46/3/7).

[36]There are several Thomas Carrolls listed in Dublin Directory, 1848; the most likely one is listed as a writing master, Waterloo Road.

[37]From the correspondence with Thomas Carroll (the builder-developer of these two houses) mentioned in the previous footnote. He was in occupation of number 19 by November 1846; it is likely that number 17, which was built under the same lease, was also built by this time.

Number 19, the house adjacent to the junction with Burlington Road, is an early example of what became a characteristic treatment of houses on corner sites (**A15**). The entrance is displaced to the side in a porch, with windows in the side wall. The windows have narrow margin panes; these are quite an early example for Dublin. Although this management of the end house shows that it is addressing the corner, particularly in terms of the massing of forms and the incorporation of windows, it does not have the same degree of sophisticated detail as the contemporary terrace at the corner of Leeson Street Upper and the south end of Waterloo Road (**5.37**). For example, the parapet moulding and the cornice band over the door are not continued around the gable wall.

Built by 1847: 21 & 23 Waterloo Road

Numbers 21[38] and 23 (**A16**), the houses to the south of the junction with Burlington Road, were also built by 1847, on two leases of ground allocated to a Miss Agnes Kelly. The only Agnes Kelly in the *Dublin Pictorial Guide* of 1850 is a dairy owner of 32 Constitution Hill. The houses seem to have been built as a speculation by Kelly, because in Griffith (1849) she is listed as the lessor of both houses, but not an occupier. Like numbers 5 to 19, just discussed, they are substantial, two bay, three-storey over basement, houses; they are also built in the same distinctive mellow gold brick. They bear a greater comparison, however, with their nearly exactly opposite neighbours, numbers 26 and 28, across the road (**A8**). Both schemes are really more semi-detached than inherently terraced in form, mainly due to the paired nature of the houses, and the one-storey porched entrance to the side. Numbers 21 and 23 are the more successful; the proportion and scale of these houses are better managed. They are slightly smaller in scale. The parapet moulding is more defined, here it is akin to a frieze-cornice which balances the terminating quoins more elegantly; it is also carried around the parapet of the porch. The side porches are more compact and this gives a stronger emphasis to the proportion of the doorcase. Finally, while the windows on the entrance and first-floor level of numbers 26 and 28 are the same height, in numbers 21 and 23 the first-floor windows are distinctly taller than those of the entrance floor below. This is a more sophisticated management of the elevation and conveys the idea of a *piano nobile.* Overall, it is an elegant scheme which displays some refinements of Wilson's houses across the road, which were built under lease dated a year earlier than these. There is not enough information extant, however, to establish an architect, or even a builder, for numbers 21 and 23.

[38] Called 'Apsley House' according to Griffith Maps.

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The next houses along this side of Waterloo Road which were built by 1847 are numbers 53 to 79 and 87 to 89. They are all two bay, two-storey over basement houses. The first six houses, numbers 53 to 63, are built as three pairs. This reflects the nature of the allocation of building ground: i.e., numbers 53 and 55 were built under one lease to a partnership of three, while numbers 57 and 59, and numbers 61 and 63, were built under leases to two separate builder-developers (see appendix 2i).

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Built by 1847: 53 & 55 Waterloo Road

For the first pair of houses, numbers 53 and 55, of the three names on the building lease, information can be found on only one, Arthur Jacob, who was possibly a surgeon.[39] The other two names are probably a husband and wife. The second pair of houses, numbers 57 and 59, were built under lease to an Edward Smith, probably a solicitor, of Rutland Square and Lower Ormond Quay.[40] Each pair of houses has distinct characteristics. Numbers 53 and 55 (**A17**) are smaller in scale than is usual; this is emphasised by the three-storey over basement houses beside them which were built around nine years later. The doors are paired and have quite unusual shallow elipse fanlights; the wider proportion of the windows on the entrance floor is also unusual.

Built by 1847: 57 & 59 Waterloo Road

Numbers 57 and 59 are larger (**A18**), with the entrances at the outer edges of the elevation and are spanned by a hipped roof. The returns of these houses are curious (**A12**); on the outer side of the houses (responding to the outer-placed doors), there is a distinctively narrow link between them and the main body of the house. Another unusual feature is the Wyatt style windows in the basement level. It has not been possible to establish a contractor or architect for either these pairs of houses.

Built by 1847: 61 & 63 Waterloo Road

Numbers 61 and 63 (**A19**), the third 'pair' of houses, are restrained and modestly scaled, with paired doors, shared steps and a single gateway, a feature already found in numbers 17 to 23 Wellington Place, and 49 and 51 Wellington Road. While their elevations are merely polite, these two houses yield an insight into the building process.

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[39] There are two Arthur Jacobs listed in the *Dublin Directory*, 1848: one, an esquire, in Haddington Terrace, one, a surgeon, in Ely Place. They might be the same person.

[40] There are other Edward Smiths listed in the *Dublin Pictorial Guide*.

The houses were built under building lease granted to a Mr L. J. Stedman, an architect, of number 11 Haddington Terrace.[41] However, the Griffith Valuation (1849) makes no reference to Stedman either as occupier or lessor. Instead, the lessor of number 61 is a Samuel Reddy, and number 63, a John Phayre. Reddy, a grocer of Donnybrook,[42] was the builder-developer of the neighbouring four houses, numbers 65 to 71. John Phayre has already been met, as probable contractor for numbers 20 and 22 on the opposite side of Waterloo Road - for which the building leases had been taken by a Miss Ethelfleda Stedman. Thus it seems that two the Stedmans (almost certainly related) took building leases on either side of Waterloo Road, and either sub-let or sold them on to John Phayre, builder, who thus acquired a legal interest in the houses.

Built by 1847: 65-71 Waterloo Road

There is no obvious connection between the character of numbers 61 and 63 on the one hand, and numbers 65 to 71 (**A20**), nevertheless the pairing of Reddy with Phayre for numbers 61 and 63 raises the possibility of Phayre being involved in the building of the latter houses. These four houses can be regarded as two groups of two, with paired doors and shared front steps. They are quite different in proportion to their neighbours, just discussed; they are lower and wider, and the entrance floor windows are not aligned with those above, which possibly also 'widens' the elevation. The returns at the rear are unusual (**A12**); paired (responding to the doors), they are extensive and elaborate. There are fine details in the elevation; a strong parapet moulding, well-proportioned doorcases, and those quite distinctive fanlights which have already been discussed. In fact, a previous example of this type of fanlight was in numbers 24 and 26 Wellington Road (**A4**), which have been attributed to John Phayre as builder. Thus two connections have been established between these four houses and John Phayre; there must be a strong possibility that he was the builder.

Built by 1847: 73-79 Waterloo Road

The next four houses were built in two lots of two: numbers 73 and 75 (**A21**) were granted to Joseph Smith, numbers 77 and 79 (**A22**) to David Simpson. These two builder-developers have already been met with; Smith for numbers 52 and 54 Waterloo Road (**A10**) and Simpson for numbers 17 to 23 Wellington Place (**5.34**). The houses here repeat some themes established in connection with those already discussed. While numbers 73 and 75 Waterloo Road are of a different proportion to Smith's other houses, they repeat the placing of the doors to the outer edge of the elevation and they have the

[41] According to Pettigrew and Oulton's 1842 *Dublin Directory*, a Leopold J. Stedman, architect, and Michael Stedman, builder, operated out of number 11 Haddington Terrace.
[42] *Dublin Directory*, 1848. There is also a Samuel Reddy listed as a dairy man of 19 Duke Street.

same profile in the parapet moulding. Most significantly, however, they also repeat the very distinctive and unusual fanlight shape - but with different style glazing bars. Numbers 77 and 79 bear certain distinct resemblances with those houses built by Simpson on Wellington Place *circa* 1843. These are, chiefly, the paired doors with shared steps, the generously proportioned parapet moulding, and, most significantly, the shared gateway (with exactly the same gateposts). However, unsurprisingly given the passage of time, there are refinements: the windows are more attenuated, and the proportion of the doorcase and fanlight is quite different. Another difference is that the windows of the entrance level are aligned with those on the floor above, compared to the houses on Wellington Place where they are not. These similarities of character suggest the possibility of James Henderson as contractor of numbers 73 and 75 (he was the probable contractor of numbers 52 and 54 across the road for Joseph Smith), and William Moyers as contractor for numbers 77 and 79 (he has already been linked with David Simpson in the building of houses on Wellington Road). However, it must be stressed that there is no explicit evidence to support these attributions.

Built by 1847: 87 & 89 Waterloo Road

The last two houses on the west side of Waterloo Road to have been built by 1847 are numbers 87 and 89 (**A23**). They are an elegant scheme, in which the two houses are very much part of a single unit. They are unique in comparison with all other houses on the road in that they are without a basement. This is not necessarily a contravention of the lease covenants which usually specify building a house 'not less than two storeys high above the cellars'; i.e. the lease assumes the presence of cellars but does not demand them and seems to be more concerned with the total height of the elevation rather than the incorporation of a basement.[43] It is interesting to observe that while they are quite narrow in plan, they have substantial 'double' returns at the rear. Built under two leases allocated to William Stannus (the ironmonger who was builder-developer for Durravilla (**5.29**), four houses in Leeson Street Upper, *circa* 1832), they do not bear any resemblance to his earlier houses. Instead, they reflect a great deal of the architectural character of the fine terrace of four houses just around the corner, on Leeson Street Upper (particularly the two central houses) (**5.37**). It has not been possible to establish their building history, so it is not possible either to attribute them to the same architect or contractor as the terrace on Leeson Street Upper.

[43] It should be noted that it has not been possible to trace the leases for these specific houses.

HOUSES BUILT BY 1852

All but two of the remaining houses on the west side of Waterloo Road were built by 1852, making them part of the second phase of building (**6.9**). All of them (except numbers 9 to 15 which have already been discussed) were built on ground which was re-leased after the original allocation was surrendered (**6.7**). Some of these re-leases occurred very shortly after the first lease had been granted, for example, numbers 39 and 41 were originally part of a lease which commenced from March 1845; they were subsequently re-leased and built under a lease which commenced just over two years later, in September 1847. They were the quickest re-allocation of ground; some others were re-leased during 1851. However, generally lease information does not exist for the re-allocations of ground, because after Sullivan's death in 1849, the chief source of lease information - memoranda in the letter books - ceases. Thus, it is at this point that the names of the lessees and the details of the leases become harder to find. Some of the leases were registered, and thus can be traced in the Registry of Deeds - but, as has already been explained this is not a comprehensive source and, frequently, the information recorded is not useful. Mostly, the names of the builder-developers have been established by cross-referencing the Estate-Township Map Folio with information from the Griffith Valuation.

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Built by 1852: 39 Waterloo Road

Numbers 39, and 41 to 51 are the most traditional of these houses of the second phase of building. Number 39 (**A24**), built under lease granted to a Robert McVittie, the Registrar of Sir Patrick Dun's Hospital,[44] is, nevertheless, an unusual variation of an established theme. It should be noted that it became McVittie's own residence. The most immediate deviation from tradition is the fact that it appears as a solitary detached house. Although it was possibly linked to the adjoining houses on either side by a wall at basement level, it certainly has the appearance of a detached house from the entrance level, upwards. The house seems to have confused opinion; it appears on maps both as a detached and attached house.[45] Nevertheless, despite its rarity of form, there is no correspondence extant to hint at any dissent from the agent about it. It should also be noted that leases extant, although they might assume it, do not actually expressly require

[44] *Dublin Directory*, 1853, he was also involved in Dr Steevens' hospital.

[45] Griffith map 1847 and OS 1875 have it as attached to its neighbours; however Griffith map 1852 and Griffith map (n.d.) show it as a detached house.

houses to be built in a continuous line. The house is not actually completely successful in its elevation, but it should be noted that the top storey is probably a later addition; the scheme works better if viewed as a two-storey over basement house. It has probably the first example of double windows in the basement.

Built by 1852: 41-51 Waterloo Road

The next house, number 41, was built under lease to Edward Smith which also commenced from September 1847. It is the first of a block of six almost identical houses, of which numbers 43 and 45 were built under lease to a Brett Smith, and numbers 47 to 51 a Lady Sarah Franks. An Edward Smith has already been met as builder-developer for numbers 57 and 59, just eight doors up, to which these houses bear no obvious resemblance. There is no Sarah Franks listed in the *Dublin Pictorial Guide*. The houses built on leases allocated to the two Smiths (**A25**) (who were probably related) were built by 1852, while those built on leases granted to Franks (**A26**) were finished by 1856. Although the houses are so similar in their general character, they display (in the same way as numbers 5 to 19 (**A13**) (**A14**) on the same road) slight differences which correspond to their respective builder-developers. Thus while all houses are two bay, three storey over basement, with the windows of the entrance level slightly displaced from those above, the doorcases are different for each respective builder-developer. The doors for the Smiths' houses are all to the right of the elevation, while in the houses built for Franks they are to the left for numbers 49 and 51, but to the right of number 47.[46] It is not possible to trace any definite name as either an architect or contractor for any of the houses. The question remains, therefore, whether the six houses were all erected by the one builder, with the small differences in doorcases reflecting personal preferences of the builder-developers; or were the houses built by different builders, building to a scheme agreed between the various builder-developers.

Built by 1852: 25-33 Waterloo Road

There were three other blocks of houses on the west side of Waterloo Road built between 1847 and 1852: numbers 25 to 33, 35 to 37, and 81 to 85. Numbers 25 to 33 (**A27**) were built on ground which had originally been allocated to Robert Wilson and Joseph Gabbett (**6.7**), who had already built numbers 26 to 28 and 30 to 40, respectively, on adjacent lots on the opposite side of the road. They were built under three leases granted in September 1851 to a Miss Mary Anne Walsh, a spinster, of Wellington Place.[47] The houses are different to the general style established on Waterloo Road by this time; they

[46] This might be to align the doors with the party walls at either end of Franks' holding (with the door in the middle house placed arbitrarily).

[47] The leases commenced from 25 March 1851. Registry of Deeds, 1852-8-294; 1852-9-51; 1852-9-52.

are two bay, two-storey over basement, but differ slightly from other two-storey houses already built by this time. In red brick, they are raised over a higher basement, and have a substantial parapet moulding. They are spanned by a single-pile roof which is visible above the parapet. This establishes a different proportion to the elevation, as do the windows which are slightly taller in proportion and incorporate plate glass.[48]

Built by 1852: 35 & 37 Waterloo Road

The neighbouring pair of houses, numbers 35 and 37 (**A28**), was built on a re-lease of ground which had originally been allocated to Patrick Bacon (**6.7**); the rest of his holding had been re-allocated in 1847 to R. B. McVittie and Edward Smith who had built numbers 39 and 41, respectively. As with the previous houses, numbers 25 to 33, there is no record of the lease or leases under which the houses were built. However, from the same sources as before, it is possible to identify the builder-developer for them as a Mr Thomas Anthony. Anthony is listed in *The Post Office Dublin Directory and Calendar for 1848* as an architect, of 21 Talbot Street. The houses are somewhat different from their neighbours discussed in the previous paragraph. Their scale is smaller, although it can be seen from the Griffith map that they have substantial returns at the rear (**A12**). The basement level is lower, making the houses seem more compact, even though they are not any narrower than their neighbours. There is no parapet moulding, and the roofline is much less obvious, returning to the more usual double-pile structure. Nevertheless, there are similarities: the proportion of the windows, the use of plate glass, the reduction of glazing bars, and the red brick. The paired doorcases are different: ornate scrolls support a quite substantial frieze-cornice. The general similarities are not sufficient, however, to establish a definite connection between the architect of numbers 35 and 37 (probably Thomas Anthony himself) to numbers 25 to 33.

Built by 1852: 81-85 Waterloo Road

The final scheme of houses to be built on the west side of Waterloo Road by 1852 is numbers 81 to 85 (**A29**). They were built on ground which was originally leased to Frederick Clarke (two lots) and William Stannus (one lot) (**6.7**) who had both already built on the estate: Clarke, numbers 93 and 94 Leeson Street Upper, and Stannus, numbers 86 to 89 Leeson Street Upper, as well as the adjacent 87 and 89 Waterloo Road. The houses were eventually erected, with Mary Anne Walsh, again, as builder-developer. The houses have some similarities with numbers 25 to 33 (**A27**), also held by Walsh, just discussed. The pared-down classicism of the doorcases, the disposition of the

[48]According to the memorials in the Registry of Deeds, the signature of Walsh's leases was witnessed by a John Semple of Merrion Lodge. Could this be a tantalising connection betweeen the prolific architect and the design of the houses?

windows and the strongly defined parapet moulding are similar features - if not quite exactly the same. However, the brick is of a brown hue. Number 85 was originally a separate allocation (**6.7**); this possibly explains its different character to numbers 81 and 83.

Mary Anne Walsh was clearly greatly involved in building speculation in this second phase of building on Waterloo Road: she was responsible for developing ten out of the twenty-one houses built on re-allocated ground on the west side of the road (**6.7**).[49] It has been possible only to trace her as a 'spinster' who lived in Wellington Place, yet her considerable involvement in building development on Waterloo Road would suggest a personality more interesting than that might imply. What was her connection with the estate and the world of building speculation? There was another Walsh engaged in building development on the road - Edward, who built numbers 68 to 72. However it seems unlikely that she was connected to this Walsh: the period of her building activity would have overlapped with his ejectment from ground he held across the road, originally leased to him in 1845. The most intriguing possibility is that connection with John Semple, already mentioned, who witnessed her signature for the leases for numbers 25 to 33.

[49]Although, strictly speaking, it has not been possible to find an original lease for the ground on which numbers 1 to 7 were built. It was probably not leased at all in the first phase.

HOUSES BUILT BY 1857

Built by 1857: 1 & 3 Waterloo Road

Mary Anne Walsh also built another two houses, numbers 1 and 3 (**A30**), at the north end of Waterloo Road, on ground which had not been granted in the first phase of allocation. These houses were built slightly later than those described in the above paragraphs, not being completed until 1855.[50] Although there are slight differences between the two houses, they are very much a unified scheme: they are the same brick and are united by a generous parapet moulding This was a key site on the road. The houses are asymmetric; the first was originally three bay (the pavilion extension to the side was added later), two-storey over basement, while the second is two bay. Number 1 is distinguished by a band of alternating quoins (probably later), which is repeated at the outer corner of the pavilion; these decorative features were probably to unify the entire scheme after the additional building. It is interesting to note the similarity of the overall proportions, scale and features of number 3 with another scheme of Walsh's on the same road - numbers 25 to 33 (**A27**), which were built by 1852. According to the Griffith Valuation, Mary Anne Walsh, herself, was the occupier of number 1 Waterloo Road for a number of years after it was completed. It seems that she must have over-invested in building speculation because in January 1855 seven of her ten properties in Waterloo Road were sold in the Incumbered Estates Court.[51] These houses mark the completion of the west side of Waterloo Road.

Built by 1857: 78-82 Waterloo Road

It was another year before the east side was finished, with the building of two schemes, numbers 42 to 50 and numbers 78 to 82. The first of these to be built was numbers 78 to 82 (**A31i**). They were built on ground which was originally allocated in 1845, in three leases of forty-three feet each (**6.8**), to Edward Walsh (just mentioned), who built numbers 68 to 72 a few doors up. The precise story of their building process is unclear. In June 1849, following several notices of warning to Walsh about the unfinished state of his houses, Cornelius Sullivan instructed the legal agent of the estate to evict him from his

[50] They were not commenced until some time after 1852. A letter of October 1852 to Samuel Kelly makes it clear that Kelly had been offered, and had recently declined, the ground next to his holding (numbers 5 to 11 Waterloo Road). Thus, Walsh could not have been allocated the ground until after this time. NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 8, Fairfield to Kelly, 21 October 1852 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/8).)

[51] She seems to have already sold on the other three (numbers 81, 83 and 85) by this time. Of those sold in the Incumbered Estates Court, number 1 was sold for £860; number 3 for £505; numbers 25 to 33 for between £480 to £540. Griffith Cancelled Book 1. The leases for numbers 25 to 33 had already been mortgaged, in April 1852, to William Morton Woodrooffe of Leeson Street and Abel Richard Woodrooffe, of Abbey Street, general merchant and flour factors. Registry of Deeds, 1852-8-295.

premises.[52] The Griffith Valuation described the holding as 'building ground' in 1850, and the houses as built and occupied by September 1855.[53] Unfortunately, it is not immediately clear who the builder-developer was. The Estate-Township Map Folio cites a William Geraty; the Griffith Valuation also has this name - as immediate lessor for the houses in 1860.[54] It is possible that Walsh was evicted from his holding some time in 1850,[55] and that Geraty then took over the development of the houses.[56] The original grant to Walsh - three plots forty-three feet wide - was unusual; it was probably intended to build two terraced houses on each plot.[57] The ground was re-leased differently; as built, the three houses are approximately twenty-six feet wide each, with a plantation of about forty-eight feet adjacent to the end house.

Geraty is listed in the *Dublin Pictorial Guide* as an architect of 3 Fownes's Street. It is possible that these houses were to his plans. The only red brick houses on the east side of the road, they are elegantly designed, and have certain stylistic inflections which bear testament to the involvement of an architect, and introduce a new style of terraced house. They are three bay, two-storey over basement. This gives a different proportion and scale to the other houses on the road,[58] and creates a successful rhythm of window to wall. The stone parapet moulding has been refined back, but there is a stone string-course set in the brick, above which there is an elegant roundel frieze. Numbers 78 and 80 are paired within a band of stone quoins. The last house, number 82 (**A31ii**), is slightly different, and was possibly built at a slightly different time. There is a break in the parapet level; a more ornate frieze has been incorporated in brick, which evokes a band of triglyphs. The doorcase is radically different, which could be a later alteration. It has neither columns nor scrolls; instead it is astylar, a chunky square block frame, with a rectangular fanlight. The house is the last in the terrace, and attention is duly paid to the gable wall: the frieze continues around the corner, and the sligtly projecting chimney flues are marked by a band of brick quoins.

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[52]NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol.8, Sullivan to Japeth Alley, 11 June, 1849 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/8).
[53]Griffith Cancelled Book 1, p.256.
[54]Griffith Cancelled Book 2.
[55]The death of Sullivan in August 1849 results in a drop in efficiency of correspondence etc, so information after that time is not as precise.
[56]With no building leases to Geraty extant, it is not certain that he was the building lessee, however, his citation for these houses in the Estate-Township Map Folio makes it likely that he was.
[57]Through cross-referencing *Thom's Irish Almanac and Official Directory* for 1851 with Griffith (1849) it is possible to connect these building plots to numbers '39 to 44' (i.e. 6 houses) in the *Directory*, which are described as 'new houses building'.
[58]Thus far on this road, if houses were three bay it followed that they were three-storey over basement.

Built by 1857: 42-50 Waterloo Road

The final block to be completed on Waterloo Road was numbers 42 to 50 (**6.9**). These five houses were built on ground originally allocated to Joseph Boyce in 1844 which was surrendered, unbuilt, in November 1850 (**6.8**). The houses seem to have been built in two schemes, and although no leases for the reallocation of ground survive, the builder-developers were two Misses Hozier for numbers 42 and 44,[59] and a Michael Kennedy and Joseph Smith, possibly in some form of partnership, for numbers 46 to 50. Numbers 42 and 44 are unremarkable and, although slightly larger in scale, show no real difference from houses built around ten years earlier. The Griffith Valuation Cancelled Book 1 shows that before 1855 a Miss Hozier was occupier of the adjoining number 40, and that by June 1856 she had moved next door, to become the occupier of number 42, for which she was also the probable builder-developer.[60] Numbers 46 to 50 (**A32**), in contrast, display some clear characteristics of the later phase of building. In the proportion and scale of their elevation (above the basement only), and the windows in particular, they bear a distinct resemblance to numbers 25 to 33 (**A27**) built across the road by Mary Anne Walsh a few years earlier. It is interesting to note that, reflecting Miss Hozier of numbers 42 and 44 above, the name assigned as builder-developer of number 50 is Joseph Smith, who was the occupier (and had been the builder-developer) of number 52, next door.

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These last five houses (numbers 42 to 50) thus mark the completion of building on Waterloo Road. From the opening of the road in March 1844, it had taken twelve years to build the eighty-six houses on the road. While that might seem a long time, it was still yet another four years before Wellington Road (which had been opened before Waterloo Road) was completed. Indeed, Wellington Road lagged so far behind, that in 1856 (when Waterloo Road was finished) there were only ten out of the final thirty-five houses built on the east side, and twenty-six out of the final forty-two built on the west side. Referring to appendix 2i, it can be seen that there was a complete hiatus in building after 1847, with no further houses completed until 1856 - a gap of over nine years. Once begun, the final phase of building on Wellington Road was, in itself, comparably efficient and comprehensive; following an apparent delay of three years after 1856, most of the

[59]Number 42 was a Miss Christiana Hozier, and number 44 a Miss Charlotte Hozier. Registry of Deeds, 1857-29-273; 1857-30-205.

[60]There is nothing to suggest that she was involved in the building development of numbers 30 to 40, however there are some features of numbers 42 and 44 which echo the earlier houses - for example the alternating band of stone quoins.

rest of the houses (thirty-four out of forty-one) were built between *circa* 1859 and 1860.[61]

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Built by 1857: 28-34 Wellington Road

The next phase of building on Wellington Road were those houses which were completed by 1856. It comprised two schemes, both of which were on the east side: numbers 28 to 34 and numbers 36 to 42, built on part of Joseph Boyce's holding of 520 feet, which had been surrendered in November 1850 (**6.6**). Numbers 28 to 34 (**A33**) were built by a Terence O'Brien, a builder of Bath Avenue, Sandymount, under leases from 25 March 1852.[62] These houses bear comparison with the earlier numbers 25 to 33 Waterloo Road (**A27**), in the proportion of their façade, below the parapet. They are comparatively tall for a two-storey over basement house (this can be seen clearly at the junction with the neighbouring number 26, a three-storey over basement house). There is a similar emphasis on the parapet moulding, further emphasised in the Wellington Road houses by the addition of a stringcourse below. However, it is useful to note the contrasts; for example, the windows on the Wellington Road houses are closer and utilise the earlier traditional style of multiple glazing bars, compared to the houses on Waterloo Road, which had progressed to plate glass, 'two-over-two' lights. Although not in the windows, plate glass is used in the fanlights; they are an interesting design, which incorporates an elegant margin band. Another unusual detail of these four houses, is the relieving arch around the basement windows.

Built by 1857: 36-42 Wellington Road

The adjoining houses - numbers 36 to 42 (**A34**) were developed by a Henry Webster. They have a combination of similarities and differences to their northern neighbours. The parapet moulding is a continuation of numbers 28 to 34, although the stringcourse below is gone; the doorcases are the same, but not the fanlights. The proportions of the elevations are different: Webster's houses are twenty-six feet wide, making them (like the recently-built numbers 78 to 82 Waterloo Road (**A31**)) another early example of wider two-storey over basement houses. The width is emphasised further by raising the basement but retaining the parapet level. This difference between Webster's and O'Brien's elevations can be seen clearly by comparing the space between the windows of

[61] While the Griffith Valuation provides a date of 1859, of course the houses could have been completed a year or so before that date. It has already been noted that numbers 2 to 14, although in progress in 1859, were not completed until *circa* 1863.

[62] Registry of Deeds, 1852-28-57, 58, 59, 60.

the upper floor. Thus it can be seen that, overall, the similarities are surface and decorative, the differences are more structural and fundamental.[63] This possibly implies that both schemes were built by the same builder, but to different specifications according to the respective builder-developers.

[63]The placing of chimneys at the paired doors in numbers 36 to 42, but not 28 to 34, implies the inclusion of fireplaces in all the upper floors. This would imply they were slightly grander houses.

HOUSES BUILT BY 1862

According to the Griffith Valuation numbers 44 to 70 Wellington Road were in progress from as early as 1855,[64] but were not recorded as completed until 1859; they are, therefore, part of the fourth phase of building (**6.9**). The fourteen houses were built in three schemes, of four houses (numbers 44 to 50), six houses (numbers 52 to 62), and four houses (numbers 64 to 70); they were possibly allocated chronologically, from north to south.[65]

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Built by 1862: 44-50 Wellington Road

Numbers 44 to 50 (**A35**) were developed, probably, by a Robert Sands[66] and a Josh Atwood.[67] The houses mark the introduction to Wellington Road of the three bay, two-storey over basement house, which had already appeared on Waterloo Road (numbers 78 to 82 (**A31**)), *circa* 1855. This elevation scheme would become the basic pattern (with the exception of numbers 52 to 62) for all the remaining houses on the east side of Wellington Road. The houses are polite, but elegant and successful. The scale and proportion of their elevation combines effectively with the three-bay system; the proportion and the placing of the windows are well judged. Although both schemes are three bay, two-storey over basement, the Wellington Road houses are quite different from numbers 78 to 82 Waterloo Road: they are raised over a higher basement, and have differently spaced and proportioned windows. The three-bay system allows for the easy alignment of windows on the entrance level with those above, which is continued here with twin windows in the basement.[68] The doorcases and fanlights are of the traditional, established style; there is a well-defined frieze-cornice parapet moulding.

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[64]According to Griffith Valuation Cancelled Book 1, numbers 44 and 46 were in progress in 1855, and numbers 52 to 62 were in progress in June 1856. A copy of the building lease for number 64, dated 20 October 1853, is NAI, PEP, Deeds (Acc. No. 97/46/2/346).

[65]The lease for number 64 shows the ground for number 62 has already been allocated, while the ground for number 66 is still held by the estate.

[66]Or, possibly, Saunders. There is confusion between the Griffith Valuation and the Estate-Township Map Folio references.

[67]According to Griffith Valuation Cancelled Book 1, numbers 48 and 50 were developed by 'Saunders and Atwood', but according to the Estate-Township Map Folio, number 48 was developed by a William Mackie, and number 50 an Eliza Dickson. As both sources agree that numbers 44 and 46 were developed by a Sands [or Saunders] and Atwood, respectively, the similarity between all four houses implies Sands and Atwood were involved in numbers 48 and 50.

[68]It does not represent a change in the plan of the principal floor inside the house. In other words, the reception room is lit by two windows.

Built by 1862: 52-62 Wellington Road

The next six houses, numbers 52 to 62 (**A36**), known as Derby Terrace, were developed by a Captain William Stanley, who has already been met as builder-developer of numbers 41 to 51 Wellington Place (**5.35**). They return to the traditional two bay, two-storey over basement scheme, and it is interesting to note that they are little different from Stanley's Wellington Place houses, which were built over fifteen years earlier. Both schemes have smaller proportioned windows, with a greater ratio of wall to elevation than is usual; both also have a squatter doorcase and fanlight than is usual. However, it is interesting to note that where, in Wellington Place, the windows of the entrance floor were aligned with those above in the houses, in Wellington Road they are displaced. As with the Wellington Place houses, age and alteration have not been kind to these houses: it is no coincidence that the most succesful house (number 62) is that with original window glazing bars and fanlight.

Built by 1862: 64-70 Wellington Road

Eglinton Terrace,[69] the final four houses in this block, numbers 64 to 70 (**A37**), return to the three bay, two-storey over basement scheme of numbers 44 to 50 (**A35**), just described. They were built on leases granted, *circa* 1853,[70] to a Gilbert Cockburn Junior, of a prolific family firm of builders, Messrs Cockburn and Sons, of Brunswick Street. This is perhaps evident in their design, which displays a greater sophistication and some subtle refinements of numbers 44 to 50, which are essentially to the same template. The slightly lower basement level and the stone stringcourse moulding give a greater sense of propriety and elegance. And, although still firmly in the tradition of the Georgian terraced house, their distinctive and innovatory Venetian Gothic doorcases are portents of the new Victorian era. These houses are discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

Built by 1862: 16-22 Wellington Road

The final two schemes to be built on the east side of Wellington Road were at the northern end, on either side of the intersection with Elgin Road. Both are essentially the same three bay, two-storey over basement house type, already seen in numbers 44 to 50, although these later-built houses are more substantial in scale.[71] The first of the blocks to

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[69]After Archibald William Montgomerie, 13th Earl of Eglington, Lord Lieutenant February 1852 to January 1853.

[70]A copy of one lease, for number 64, survives in the National Archives; it is dated 20 October 1853. It is likely that leases for the rest of the houses were granted around the same time. NAI, PEP, Deeds, Rt. Hon. Sidney Herbert to Gilbert Cockburn Junior, Lease of piece of ground on East side of Wellington Road... NAI, PEP, Deeds, (Acc. No. 97/46/2/346)

[71]The later houses are each between two and three feet wider in elevation than numbers 44 to 50. It is difficult to compare the heights of the different elevations, but the later houses do seem to be higher.

be completed was numbers 16 to 22 (**A38**), to the south of the junction with Elgin Road (**6.9**). From the Griffith Valuation, it appears that these houses were developed by a William Mackie and a Robert Sands (or Saunders) (see appendix 2i), who were probably involved in some sort of partnership. Sands has already been met with on Wellington Road; he was involved with Josh Atwood in the development of numbers 44 to 50. The broad similarity between these two schemes has already been referred to, however, a closer comparison with numbers 44 to 50 (**A35**) shows that the fanlights and doorcases are exactly the same in both, as are the parapet mouldings, and the proportion and placing of the windows.[72] William Mackie, the other developer involved in numbers 16 to 22, was a builder, of 141 Baggot Street Lower.[73] Thus it is likely that Mackie himself was the contractor involved in the construction of these houses. It is interesting to recall that Mackie was also connected with the development of number 48;[74] this, in addition to the strong similarity between the two schemes, raises the possibility that Mackie was also the building contractor for numbers 44 to 50.

There are, however, some features peculiar to the design of numbers 16 to 22 Wellington Road. There is a balustraded projection at basement level at either end of the block of four houses. This serves to unify the scheme by visually defining the outer boundaries - as does the vertical band of quoins, and the continuation of the parapet moulding around the side. However, it might also partly have been borne of necessity. The neighbouring house, number 24, had been built for at least twelve years, and with its blank gable wall, might have been deemed difficult to build against with a new gable wall and chimney. It was easier to abut the existing house only at basement level. The houses are also distinct in their placement of the entrances (**6.11**): the two outer houses place the doors to the outer edge (like numbers 44 to 50), but the doors of the two central houses are not paired, as before, but placed to their own 'outer' edges. This is the only time this arrangment occurs on these two roads, and it does seem to give a further sense of definition to the block as a unit. The single-pile roof is also distinctive. It has appeared already on these two roads,[75] here it seems to have had implications for the management of the chimney stacks, which are here ranged in a long single line which bisects the ridge of the roof.

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[72]Although glazing bar patterns are different.
[73]*Dublin Pictorial Guide*.
[74]See appendix 2i.
[75]Numbers 25-33 Waterloo road and numbers 28 to 34 Wellington road.

Built by 1862: 2-14 Wellington Road[76]

The final block of nine houses on the east side of Wellington Road, numbers 2 to 14 (**A39**), was built in at least two phases: numbers 10, 12, 14 by *circa* 1856, numbers 2 to 8 by *circa* 1863.[77] Although some other names were involved (see appendix 2.i), it seems that they were developed mostly by a Jacob Gregory. Their broad similarities with numbers 44 to 50 and numbers 16 to 22 have already been referred to, although their doorcases, no longer using the Ionic order, are different.[78] It is interesting to note that the scheme is not quite as successful when spanning nine houses, particularly when compared with the coherent, focused block of numbers 16 to 22, just discussed. Although all the houses look the same from the front, the returns at the rear are quite different in the three built by the earlier date.

Built by 1862: 1-31 Wellington Road

The last remaining houses to be built on the west side of Wellington Road are numbers 1 to 31 at the northern end. They were built on ground, originally allocated to Alderman Boyce in 1843, which had remained unbuilt and was eventually surrendered in January 1852 (**6.5**). There seems to have been a slight delay in recommencing building development because the sixteen houses were not completed for around seven years. There appear to have been five different builder-developers involved in the sixteen houses. They were: a Bernard Smith for numbers 1, 3, and 5; a D.W. Ryan for numbers 7, 15 and 17; a Michael Kennedy for numbers 9, 11 and 13; a Patrick Cranny for numbers 19 to 25; and Robert B. McVittie (who we have already met as builder-developer of number 39 Waterloo Road) for numbers 27, 29 and 31.

There is, nevertheless, a marked degree of similarity between the elevations, particularly numbers 1 to 25; see, for example, numbers 13, 15, and 17 (**A40**). These thirteen houses are all two bay, two-storey over basement, of the same-hued red brick and surmounted by an apparently continuous parapet moulding. The most distinct difference between the houses is the slightly different roofline of numbers 9 to 13. In general, there are only the slightest variations in the proportion of windows, style of doorcase, or treatment of the basement render - all which reflect their different respective builder-developers. The other subtle differences are in the placing of doors and windows. Thus, the builder of numbers 19 to 25 divided the houses into two pairs with

[76]Even though some individual houses were completed before 1857 and others after 1863, the terrace has been included in this date phase to reflect the date by which the block, as a whole, was largely completed.
[77]As has already been pointed out, no date was noted in the Griffith Valuation Cancelled Book 1 for when these houses were described as 'built'. However as they are the last entry in the book which terminates in 1863, it has been taken that they must have been built by this date.
[78]None of the fanlights seem to be original.

the entrances of each pair adjoining (**6.10**), while the rest of the houses (excluding number 1)[79] can be divided into four pairs with the entrances to the outer edge of each.[80] In terms of the arrangement of windows, numbers 15 and 17 are distinct for aligning those on the entrance floor with those above; all the rest displace them.[81]

Numbers 27 to 31 are essentially to the same template, however they happen to incorporate all possible differences in their features compared to the immediately adjacent houses (shown here is numbers 25 to 29 (**A41**)). Hence, they have a different doorcase, show a break in the parapet moulding and have a very different roofline (highly pitched, single pile, with deep, narrow chimney stacks, as seen across the road in numbers 16 to 22 (**A38**)). Also, the windows of the upper floors are aligned with those on the entrance floor; they are not in numbers 19 to 25 adjoining.

The strong similarity between all the houses, in particular numbers 1 to 25, suggests that there was possibly some sort of collaboration involved in the construction of them. The very uniform timescale (all sixteen houses were built within two years) could support this. Thus the houses might have been built in one scheme, with the same contractors working on all of them, but altering features and details to the taste of the respective builder-developers. It is possible that some of the builder-developers were involved in some various aspects of the building trade. It is interesting to note that a only few years later, two of the builder-developers from here, Patrick Cranny and Michael Kennedy, a builder and carpenter, were builder-developers together on Elgin Road.

[79]Number 1, as the end house, displaces its entrance to a porch at the side.
[80]This possibly implies a connection between the two developers of one of the 'pairs' (numbers 7 and 9) - a D.W. Ryan and a Michael Kennedy, respectively. See appendix 2i.
[81]Number 1 also aligns its windows, but is different: with its entrance displaced to the side, it has two windows (aligned with those above) on the entrance floor.

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