D U B L I N 1600-1800

A STUDY IN URBAN MORPHOGENESIS



LEABHARLANN COLÁISTE NA TRÍONÓIDE, BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH | TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY DUBLIN
Ollscoil Átha Cliath | The University of Dublin

Terms and Conditions of Use of Digitised Theses from Trinity College Library Dublin

Copyright statement

All material supplied by Trinity College Library is protected by copyright (under the Copyright and Related Rights Act, 2000 as amended) and other relevant Intellectual Property Rights. By accessing and using a Digitised Thesis from Trinity College Library you acknowledge that all Intellectual Property Rights in any Works supplied are the sole and exclusive property of the copyright and/or other IPR holder. Specific copyright holders may not be explicitly identified. Use of materials from other sources within a thesis should not be construed as a claim over them.

A non-exclusive, non-transferable licence is hereby granted to those using or reproducing, in whole or in part, the material for valid purposes, providing the copyright owners are acknowledged using the normal conventions. Where specific permission to use material is required, this is identified and such permission must be sought from the copyright holder or agency cited.

Liability statement

By using a Digitised Thesis, I accept that Trinity College Dublin bears no legal responsibility for the accuracy, legality or comprehensiveness of materials contained within the thesis, and that Trinity College Dublin accepts no liability for indirect, consequential, or incidental, damages or losses arising from use of the thesis for whatever reason. Information located in a thesis may be subject to specific use constraints, details of which may not be explicitly described. It is the responsibility of potential and actual users to be aware of such constraints and to abide by them. By making use of material from a digitised thesis, you accept these copyright and disclaimer provisions. Where it is brought to the attention of Trinity College Library that there may be a breach of copyright or other restraint, it is the policy to withdraw or take down access to a thesis while the issue is being resolved.

Access Agreement

By using a Digitised Thesis from Trinity College Library you are bound by the following Terms & Conditions. Please read them carefully.

I have read and I understand the following statement: All material supplied via a Digitised Thesis from Trinity College Library is protected by copyright and other intellectual property rights, and duplication or sale of all or part of any of a thesis is not permitted, except that material may be duplicated by you for your research use or for educational purposes in electronic or print form providing the copyright owners are acknowledged using the normal conventions. You must obtain permission for any other use. Electronic or print copies may not be offered, whether for sale or otherwise to anyone. This copy has been supplied on the understanding that it is copyright material and that no quotation from the thesis may be published without proper acknowledgement.

~~ULTED UNTIL AFTER DECEMBER 13th 197~~

Ph.D. awarded
13th December 1972

THE LIBRARY,
TRINITY COLLEGE,
COLLEGE STREET,
DUBLIN 2,
IRELAND

———

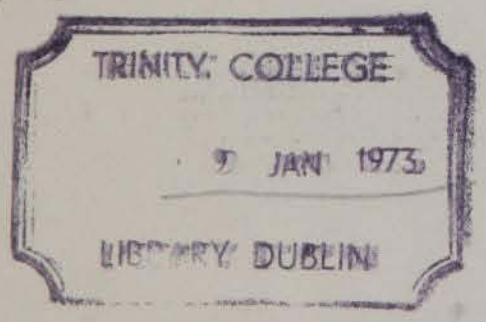
THIS THESIS MAY BE READ ONLY

IN THE LIBRARY



711

THESIS
354 A



'The twilight of cities as mankind has known them for millenia is spreading over all countries and it is our task, at once inspiring and terrifying, to begin a new chapter in the history of human settlement. This task demands understanding of and insight into the development and destiny of cities; and they cannot be gained without knowledge of what cities have been in the past ......'

-E.A. Gutkind, International History of City Development: Urban Development in Central Europe, Introduction, page 6.

Foreword

Although literature on Dublin is voluminous and varied surprisingly little has been written about the areal extension of the city through time. To those who have accepted without question the dictum that 'geography is about maps and history about chaps' the content of this study in historical geography will probably be surprising. For this the writer makes no apology. Analysis of urban morphogenesis traces a causal chain in the process of city building and series of events can be as relevant as localisation. The process cannot be explained without reference to the chaps who built the city and to the political, economic and social background of their times, for how can the making of a city be explained without reference to its makers? Although analysis and compilation of maps have been the starting point, the enquiry has ranged from them into many fields, and indeed it could have ranged even further for the city is microcosm, mirroring most aspects of human life and endeavour. As its history unfolds the city continues to present more problems. Each stage of the research posed fresh queries, each solution opened new vistas, and many questions are still unanswered for research-horizons continue to broaden and recede.

Researchers invariably become indebted to many people and in this the writer is no exception. First, I should like to record my gratitude to the City Manager, Mr. M. Macken, for permission to explore the Corporation archives which are the keystone of research into Dublin's past: only a fragment of the material has been used by the writer and much work remains for other researchers. Various members of the Corporation staff have co-operated with me from time to time in my search for documents: in particular, I am grateful to Mr. D. O'Flanagan, formerly of the Muniment Room, City Hall, to Miss Kent, his successor, and to their assistants. Mr. E.J. Bourke, formerly City Engineer, permitted me to work in his department where I have been assisted by Mr. H. Batt, Chief Draughtsman, and by Mr. C. Sweeney, Development Surveyor, Main Drainage Section. Miss M. O'Byrne, City Librarian, and Mr. J. Culliton, Architectural Assistant, Dangerous Buildings Section, have also co-operated. Miss M.C.Griffith,

formerly Deputy Keeper, Public Record Office of Ireland, and Mr. B. Mac Giolla Coille, Keeper of State Papers, have both facilitated research on Corporation documents which are deposited in the Public Record Office and on other related material. Dr. P. Henchey, Director, permitted me to work on unsorted Dublin documents in the National Library of Ireland. The Director of the Ordnance Survey authorised reproduction of Ordnance Survey maps which were out of print as a working base for the project; the Board of Works, the Land Commission, and the Forestry Section of the Department of Lands have each assisted in the reproduction of the base-maps. Services provided by the staffs of Trinity College Library, of the National Library of Ireland, and of the Royal Irish Academy have been much appreciated. Some of the research was done while I was resident outside Dublin and this was facilitated by the Irish Central Library for Students, the Municipal Library, and the Library of the Institute of Public Administration.

I have also had access to private archives which contain a wealth of relevant documentation. The Right Hon. Anthony, Earl of Meath, welcomed me to his estate office at Kilruddery, Bray, Co. Wicklow, and gave me free access to the estate records. Mr. P. Cassidy, Estate Manager, provided similar facilities in the Pembroke Estate Office, the Rev. C.R.J. Bradley and Mr. V. Jackson in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Canon R.H. Dowse in St. Peter's Parish, Church of Ireland, and Mrs. O. Goodbody in the Historical Library, Friends' Meeting House, Eustace Street.

Dr. J. H. Andrews, my supervisor during the past two years, has mingled criticism and advice with encouragement: all three have been much appreciated, especially during the final stages of the work. Two historians, Dr. J.G. Simms and Dr. M. MacCurtain, read and commented on an early draft of the text: to each of them I am grateful for constructive criticism. Mr. Marcus o h-Eochaidhe, while Chief Archaeologist with the Board of Works, discussed the archaeological implications of some of my conclusions: the evidence suggested some surprising correlations and such discussion was an invaluable aid to one who has not had a formal archaeological training. I am grateful to Professor J.P. Haughton who facilitated completing

the project.

Fair-drawing of figures compiled and plotted by the writer was done by Mr. H. Batt and Mr. L. Collins, City Engineer's Department: however, the writer claims responsibility for the uneven boulders and other surface deposits in Fig. 2. The typing was initially undertaken by Mrs. E. Kirkpatrick, continued by Mrs. F. McGrane and completed by the writer. Plates nos. IV, V, VI, VII, XI, XII, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XXII, XXIII, XXXII, XXXIII, XXXIV, and XXXVI were supplied by the National Library of Ireland; plates nos. XXIV, XXV, XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII, XXIX, XXX, XXXI, and XXXV by Mr. C. O'Daly, photographer, and the remainder of the plates and the figures were reproduced by Mr. James Bambury, photographer.

CONTENTS

Foreword iii

List of Illustrations xii

List of Abbreviations xiv

Chapter 1 INTRODUCTION page 1

Scope of the Work 1
Method of Presentation 7
The Evidence 8
Corporation Records 8
Records of the Wide Streets Commissioners 10
Maps 11
Deeds 16
Memorials of deeds 17
Statistics 19
Statutes 21
Directories 22
Newspapers 23
Contemporary writings 23
Illustrations 23
Histories of Dublin 23
Physical evidence 26
Conclusion 26

Chapter II THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT 31

Chapter III THE HISTORIC HERITAGE c. 1600 44

Fortifications 44
The street-plan 50
Housing 52
Public Buildings 55
Markets 57
Places of Recreation 58
Common Pasture 58
Highways 58
Population 59
The Guilds 60
Medieval Administrative Boundaries 61
Landownership 64
Land Tenure 73
Conclusion 77

Chapter IV THE FIRST PERIOD: 1600-1660: EARLY RENAISSANCE 88

Growth Determinants 88
Morphogenetic Agents 90
Private developers 90
The city council 92
The government 93
Landownership and Tenure 94
Urban Growth 95
Reclamation 95
Ringsend 98
The Walled City 99
Hoggen Green and Lazy Hill 100
The western suburbs 101
Oxmantown 102
Conclusion 103

Chapter V RESTORATION DUBLIN 108

Extent and Topography 110
Housing 112
Markets 119
Public Services 120
The Port and Estuary 120
Occupations 122
Population 123
Estates 126
Conclusion 128

Chapter VI THE SECOND PERIOD: 1660-1727: RENAISSANCE
THE FIRST PHASE: 1660-1691 134

Growth Determinants 134
Morphogenetic Agents 137
The viceroy 137
The city council 138
Estate owners 139
Speculators 140
Industrialists 141
The Guilds 141
Urban Growth 143
Reclamation 144
The Phoenix Park 147
Suburbs 147
Hoggen Green 148
St. Stephen's Green 148
Oxmantown Green 149
The Liberty of St.Patrick 151
The Aungier Estate 152
The Meath Estate 153
The Jervis Estate 156
The Ellis Estate 157
Bridges 158

Chapter VI Ctd.

Markets 159
Public Buildings 161
Conclusion 162

Chapter VII WILLIAMITE DUBLIN 172

The Estuary 173
The Townscape 174
The Suburbs 181
Housing 187
Markets 189
Industries 191
Population 194
Estates 196
Conclusion 198

Chapter VIII THE SECOND PERIOD:
THE SECOND PHASE: 1691-1727 205

Growth Determinants 205
Morphogenetic Agents 209
Public Bodies 209
Landowners and Developers 211
Charles Campbell 212
Speculators 213
Luke Gardiner 220
Bankers 223
Public Opinion 224
Philanthropists 225
Architects and Builders 225
Urban Growth 226
The Estuary 226
Reclamation 226
Suburbs 232
The Jervis Estate 232
The Drogheda Estate 233
The Eccles Estate 235
The Dawson Estate 236
The Meath Estate 237
The Aungier Estate 238
Markets 238
Industry 239
Public Services 241
Parishes 243
Conclusion 245

Chapter IX SWIFT'S DUBLIN 255

The Estuary 257
House Types 259
Public Buildings 260
Places of Recreation 264
Suburbs 265
The south-west 265
The south-east 267
The north-east 271
The eastern riverside zone 273

Chapter IX (Suburbs) Ctd.

The north-west 273
The Old City 274
Highways 275
Markets 276
Industry 276
Parishes 278
Population 280
Estates 283
Conclusion 284

Chapter X THE THIRD PERIOD: 1727-1800:
THE AGE OF IMPROVEMENT
THE FIRST PHASE: 1727-1750 290

Growth Determinants 291
Morphogenetic Agents 293
Urban Growth 297
Reclamation 298
Suburbs 299
Gardiner's Estate 302
Industry 306
Population 307
Conclusion 308

Chapter XI THE MID-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY 312

The Street-plan 314
The Street-scapes 315
Public Buildings 321
Industries 326
The Estuary 329
Recreation 331
Urban Zones 333
Conclusion 338

Chapter XII THE THIRD PERIOD:
THE SECOND PHASE: 1750-1775 341

Growth Determinants 341
Morphogenetic Agents 343
Public Agents 345
The City Council 345
Parliament 345
The Viceroy 346
The Wide Streets Commissioners 346
Trustees of the Circular Road 348
The Paving Commissioners 348
Private Agents 350
Developers 350
Architects and Builders 350
Urban Growth 354
Projects of the Wide Streets Commissioners 354
Private Development 358
The Circular Road 360
Industry 362
Population 365
Conclusion 366

Chapter XIII A STAGE OF TRANSITION 372

The Town-plan 372
Public Buildings 373
Sectoral Contrasts 375
Residential Suburbs 376
Places of Entertainment 378
Transport 379
Industry 380
The Port and Estuary 381
The Populace 382
Generative elements of Improvement 384
Dame Street and environs 385
Conclusion 389

Chapter XIV THE THIRD PERIOD:
THE THIRD PHASE: 1775-1800 393

Growth Determinants 393
Morphogenetic Agents 395
The City Council 395
Parliament 395
The Wide Streets Commissioners 396
The Canal Companies 401
Landowners and Speculators 402
Architects and Builders 407
Urban Growth 410
Projects of the Wide Streets Commissioners 410
Dame Street 411
Sackville Street 416
Avenues south of Carlisle Bridge 416
Environs of the Custom House 418
Avenues east of Townshend Street 419
The Quays 420
The new western artery 421
Minor projects 422
Residential Development 424
The Gardiner Estate 425
The Fitzwilliam Estate 428
Other Estates 430
The Canals 430
Industries 433
Population 435
Conclusion 436

Chapter XV CLASSICAL DUBLIN 446

Population 447
The 'Liberties' 452
The north and north-west 458
Industry 488
Trade 461
The Port and Estuary 463
Residential Suburbs 467
The Monumental Core 474
Conclusion 480

Chapter XVI CONCLUSION 487

Appendix: Notes on Illustrations 499

List of Sources 507

List of Illustrations

Figures

1.	The Site of Dublin c.1600	to face page 31
2.	Surface Geology	38
3.	Urban Topography c.1600	44
4.	The Liberty of St. Patrick c.1600	54
5.	Medieval Administrative Boundaries	62
6.	Parishes c.1600	63
7.	Landownership c.1600	64
8.	Land Use c.1600	71
9.	The Eastern Suburbs, 1600-1660	97
10.	Urban Topography, 1660	110
11.	Land Use, 1660	122
12.	Estates, 1660	126
13.	The South-eastern Suburbs, 1660-1691	148
14.	The North-western Suburbs, 1660-1691	149
15.	Urban Topography, 1691	173
16.	Urban Zones, 1691	179
17.	Estates, 1691	197
18.	Estates c.1720	232
19.	Parishes, 1727	243
20.	Urban Topography, 1727	257
21.	Urban Zones, 1727	266
22.	Gardiner's Estate c.1735	283
23.	Urban Zones, 1750	333
24.	Urban Growth, 1750-1775	354
25.	Surveys of the Wide Streets Commissioners 1758-1800	356
26.	Parishes, 1800	449
27.	Urban Zones, 1800	468

Tables

I.	Houses and Hearths, 1664	115
II.	Population recorded in 1659	123
III.	Housing, 1696	187
IV.	Houses and Hearths, 1696	188
V.	Population	447

Plates

I.	Survey of Thomas Court, 1634	to face page	102
II.	Burnyates's House		113
III.	The Great Market Place		154
IV.	The Tholsel		175
V.	The Royal Hospital		176
VI.	Trinity College		180
VII.	The Blue Coat School		185
VIII.	The North Lotts, 1717		227
IX.	Double-gabled House		259
X.	Gabled House in Marrowbone Lane		260
XI.	The Castle		261
XII.	The Custom House		262
XIII.	Extract from Rocque's map, 1756: Dawson Street		313
XIV.	Extract from Rocque's map, 1756: Sackville Street		314
XV.	Extract from Rocque's map, 1756: The western suburbs		315
XVI.	College Green		317
XVII.	The Great Court Yard, Dublin Castle		321
XVIII.	Kildare House, later known as Leinster House		322
XIX.	Purfield's Survey, 1761		355
XX.	Extract from Scale's map, 1773: Merrion Square		359
XXI.	Extract from Scale's map, 1773: The Quays		360
XXII.	Capel Street, Essex Bridge and Parliament Street		373
XXIII.	Rutland Square and the Assembly Rooms		378
XXIV.	Plan of Westmoreland Street and D'Olier Street		417
XXV.	Plan of the new streets between Carlisle Bridge, Sackville Street and the new Custom House		419
XXVI.	Plan of Mountjoy Square		424
XXVII.	Elevation of Mountjoy Square		425
XXVIII.	Plan of the Royal Circus		426
XXIX.	Elevation of the East Front of the Royal Circus		427
XXX.	Plan of part of the Fitzwilliam Estate		428
XXXI.	Plan of the Grand Canal Basin		431
XXXII.	Gandon's Custom House		466
XXXIII.	The Law Courts and Quays		467
XXXIV.	The House of Parliament, College Green		474
XXXV.	Elevation of the new buildings in Dame Street		476
XXXVI.	A Plan of the City of Dublin, 1797, pull-out at end.		

List of Abbreviations

Anc. Rec.	Calendar of ancient records of Dublin in the possession of the municipal corporation, ed. Sir J.T. Gilbert and Lady Gilbert (19 vols., Dublin, 1889 - 1944)
B.M.	British Museum
Commons' jn. Ireland	Journals of the house of commons of the kingdom of Ireland ... (19 vols., Dublin, 1796 - 1800)
Cal.S.P.dom.	Calendar of state papers, domestic series, 1700-2, 1703-4 (London, 1924, 1937)
Cal.S.P.Ire.	Calendar of state papers relating to Ireland, 1660-62, 1669-70 (London, 1905, 1910)
Cal.Pat.Rolls Jas I	Irish Patent Rolls of James I: facsimile of the Irish record commissioners' calendar prepared prior to 1830, with foreword by M.C. Griffith (Irish Manuscripts Commission, Dublin, 1966)
C.W.S.	The Commissioners for making wide and convenient streets through the city of Dublin.
Dublin Hist.Rec.	Dublin Historical Record (1938 -)
Extents	Extents of Irish monastic possessions, 1540-1541, from manuscripts in the Public Record Office, London, ed. N.B. White (Irish Manuscripts Commission, Dublin, 1943)
Gardiner Deeds	An unsorted collection of papers formerly belonging to the Gardiner family, National Library of Ireland.
Geo. Soc. Rec.	The Georgian Society Records of eighteenth century domestic architecture and decoration in Dublin (5 vols., Dublin, 1909-10)
H.M.C.	Historical Manuscripts Commission
I.H.S.	Irish Historical Studies: the joint journal of the Irish Historical Society and the Ulster Society for Irish Historical Studies (Dublin, 1938 -)
I.M.C.	Irish Manuscripts Commission
Ir. Builder	The Irish Builder, first issued as The Dublin Builder, I - VIII (1859-66), continued as The Irish Builder, IX - , (1867 -)
mem.	Memorial of a deed

List of Abbreviations Ctd.

M.E.O.	Meath Estate Office, Kilruddery, Bray, Co.Wicklow.
N.L.I.	National Library of Ireland
N.M.M.	National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.
P.E.O.	Pembroke Estate Office, Fitzwilliam Place, Dublin
P.R.O.I.	Public Record Office of Ireland
Reg. Deeds	Registry of Deeds
R.I.A.	Royal Irish Academy
R.S.A.I.Jn.	Journal of the Royal Society of Anticuaries of Ireland (Dublin, 1892-).
S.P.O.	State Paper Office
T.C.D.	Trinity College, Dublin
T.P.R.	The Town Planning Review: The Journal of the Department of Civic Design at the School of Architecture of the University of Liverpool (1910 -).

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Scope of the Work

From the year 1600 Dublin City, for so long cramped behind its medieval walls and towers, began to grow and transform, to expand, and to evolve through two centuries of sustained development into a 'splendid and luxurious capital'.[1] The purpose of this study is to describe, analyse and explain the morphological development of Dublin during this period, from 1600 to the passing of the Act of Union in 1800, and to identify and explain influences and agents which determined the form of development. More than anything else it was the final location of central government and administration in Dublin following the domination of the entire island in 1603 which created a sustained demand for residential and for public building, and during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries development was a response to the changing political, economic and social situation which evolved and which, in 1800, was altered by the Act of Union and its consequences. The year 1800 is a 'watershed' in the development of Dublin comparable to no other in its history. Growth continued after this date but the character of the city, its plan and buildings, gradually changed.

Urban morphology[2] is expressed in the townscape which is a combination of the townplan, the pattern of building forms and fabrics, and the pattern of urban land-use, associated with related features of the physical environment. In historic cities the townscape is composed of combinations of contemporary development and residual features: its elucidation involves the reconstruction of former topography which determined the form or pattern of development and of which relict features may or may not remain, and the identification of agents who planned, implemented or controlled development. This morphological analysis of post-medieval Dublin is therefore based on the reconstruction of the medieval nucleus of settlement from which the city expanded. the identification and correlation of phases and of units of development, the reconstruction of the townscape on the eve of each new growth-phase,

and the tracing of the final amalgamation of these units into a coherent urban plan through the work of the Wide Streets Commissioners. Although settlement of earlier phases - pre-historic, Viking and Anglo-Norman - has not been traced in detail some aspects of it are referred to in the text.

The reconstruction of the townscape at significant points of time was undertaken primarily as a stage of morphological analysis; the extent and detail of reconstruction has not, however, been restricted to those features which are known to be related to succeeding conditions or features. The objective has been to recreate the past. The volume and nature of extant evidence have imposed inherent limitations on the attainment of this objective, however, and the detail of reconstruction varies. The changing historical geography illustrated by this series of cross-sections can also elucidate the life of the people as influenced by and influencing the changing urban environment; comparison of the townscape at the end of each period or growth-phase reveals the salient characteristics of change in the mode of life of residents of Dublin during two centuries of transition from an almost medieval way of life to that of the early modern world. Urban growth prompted change in the way of life and concomitant change in urban forms: conversely, the way of life elucidates urban forms of each period. Moreover, change in the external character of buildings accompanied, without necessarily reflecting the character of internal change: therefore elucidation of the townscape sometimes demands a descriptive analysis of internal change in the character of buildings where this is associated with features of the contemporary townscape or where it significantly influenced or reflected and now elucidates the way of life of the inhabitants.

Despite the paucity of residual features in Dublin it has been possible to reconstruct the principal topographical features of the late-sixteenth century city. Subsequent growth was conditioned by an evolutionary process which combined additive functional changes with physical expansion involving the transition of many urban foci to new sites. Phases of growth are differentiated by change in the physical characteristics of new development. The first appearances of such changes were found generally to coincide with important political events. Fortuitously, the making of new surveys of the city in the

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries coincided with the beginning of new phases of development. Phases of urban development identified in this study also correspond with phases of political history; nevertheless, political designations have been rejected since they suggest too narrow a view of the character and significance of contemporary urban forms.

Three main periods of urban growth have been distinguished:

1600-1660 : Early Renaissance
1660-1727 : Renaissance
1727-1800 : The Age of Improvement

The designations of these three periods are derived from cultural influences which are expressed in buildings and in the form of urban development. The 'renascence' which took place in Dublin in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was not a rebirth or recreation of ancient indigenous cultural forms for the ancient cultural heritage of Ireland had consistently been excluded from Dublin for centuries. Instead, it was a participation in the great European Renaissance which stemmed from ancient classical sources and these had not directly influenced contemporary Ireland.

From its birthplace in Italy the Renaissance of learning with its consequent cultural transformations spread gradually throughout Europe during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, manifesting itself at a later date in the countries more distant from Italy and finding expression first in literature and art, then in buildings, and later still in urban design. In the process of diffusion all cultural traits were not transmitted and both regional and national individualism developed; cultural forms had notwithstanding a common classical basis and by the eighteenth century European society was pervaded by the same spirit - unifying although not uniform in character and derived aesthetically from ancient classical sources. Renaissance influence pervaded England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and it matured in that country in the Georgian era.

Situated on the periphery of Europe and remote from the mainstream of European culture Dublin was still, at the end of the sixteenth century, almost untouched by the new cultural diffusion and almost medieval in form and in customs. This new cultural movement which

emanated from Italy was nonetheless rooted in Ireland in the late sixteenth century; it manifested itself more positively in the period of peace which followed the domination of the entire island in 1603; it grew with renewed vigour after the Restoration and flowered in Dublin during the Age of Improvement which was characterised politically by a growing spirit of independent colonial nationalism; it matured under an almost independent Parliament. Development was stunted by the consequences of the Act of Union, and classical urbanism in Dublin never came fully to fruition. Nevertheless, despite the ravages of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it has left on the city an indelible imprint which will endure for succeeding generations.

In the history of town planning the Renaissance has been considered to extend from its beginning in Italy early in the fifteenth century until the end of the eighteenth century: indeed, Abercrombie would identify the Renaissance period of planning as beginning when the Renaissance of learning was well advanced into the Baroque and continuing until it overlaps into the nineteenth century.[3] In tracing the evolution of urban forms Lavedan has demonstrated the difference in character between urban forms in western Europe in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and he contends that this change was the evolution of modern classical urbanism.[4] It was only in the later stages of this evolution, however, that the city was regarded as a unit and that classical concepts of organised symmetry were applied to the planning or redevelopment of unitary cities. Although some classical towns and cities were new foundations, unrelated to earlier settlement and unitary even in concept, most European cities grew from medieval settlements and three distinct stages of change in the transformation of these into early modern cities of classical design may be recognised. In the early Renaissance new additions to the townscape were usually disparates scattered through the town or city,[5] their distribution being determined by the location of buildings of earlier date which had been replaced either through necessity or through the caprice of their owners: individualism, a salient characteristic of medieval builders, continued to be a dominant trait but it was expressed in a new form of building. At a later stage concepts of organised symmetry were applied to new

streets and suburbs and to some redeveloped streets. When the city was finally considered as a unit to which these classical concepts of organised symmetry were applied as a whole, articulation usually demanded redevelopment. Post-medieval development in Dublin and the continental Renaissance were not contemporaneous: the progression identified on the continent was nevertheless paralleled in Dublin in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and phases of this progression are the basis on which the three main periods of growth have been identified and named by the writer.

The first period of post-medieval urban development, here designated Early Renaissance, comprised the first six decades of the seventeenth century, a time of urban renewal and expansion in which the city extended outside its fortifying medieval enclosures and gradually assumed a new character. After the restoration of Charles II (1660) Renaissance influence manifested itself more positively and the ensuing half-century witnessed a gradual pervasion of Renaissance modes and ideas which manifested themselves physically both in civic design and in architectural styles which incorporated English, French and Dutch features. In the third period of urban growth, here designated the Age of Improvement, the developing city was moulded into a unit according to classical concepts of architectural and civic design.

Within the three main periods distinctive phases of growth have been identified: two in the second period and three in the third. Indicators of phases are significant additions to or changes in the mode of urban development which is itself a continuing process in which new methods and forms intermingle with the old and gradually become dominant. The first period (1600-1660) is treated as a unit. Major political changes occurred during these six decades; however, although growth was temporarily interrupted by wars and insurrections and by consequent urban decay, political events of this period did not materially affect the form of urban growth. Development was piecemeal and planning was limited to individual leaseholds. During the second period political events marked the beginning of each new phase of development and Renaissance influence manifested itself ever more positively and clearly. The Restoration marked the beginning of the period and the entrenchment of the Protestant Ascendancy after the

Williamite wars marked the beginning of the second phase. In the first phase of the second period new street-systems were planned in extensive tracts and a general control of house-types was imposed in some new suburbs but the correlation of such planned units was limited. The second phase was distinguished by planned correlation of street-systems laid out by independent developers and new suburbs developed as parishes of the Established Church. The decision made in 1727 to build a new House of Parliament marked the beginning of the third period which was characterised by reconstruction and re-development both public and private; politically the period was characterised by an emergent spirit of colonial nationalism among the ruling class. The reconstruction of Essex Bridge in 1751 to 1753 and the financial dispute of the 1750s marked the beginning of the second phase in which classical concepts of urban design were introduced. The third phase saw the culmination of two centuries of sustained growth through which the spirit and practice of urbanism matured; politically it was characterised by attainment of the right to free trade and the establishment of an almost independent parliament. Redevelopment and public planning undertaken by the Wide Streets Commissioners characterised the second and third phases; during the third phase control exercised by the Commissioners was extended to all areas within and extending half a mile beyond the Circular Road, thus enabling the Commissioners to correlate development.

Throughout these two centuries development was prompted and controlled by the minority ruling class which was alien in character, in origin, or by birth and was itself controlled politically by the king and his council in England. In each growth-phase the pattern of urbanisation was controlled by the availability of land for urban development. As noted above, the extent and detail of reconstruction and of analysis of the townscape in each phase is limited by the nature and volume of documentary evidence and of surviving morphological units of past eras or their residues; conversely, the volume of some types of documentary evidence has necessitated selective analysis of evidence. Both the nature of extant evidence and the criteria on which selection has been based are discussed below.

Method of Presentation

The urban evolution of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries unfolded in an inherited physical and cultural environment. Chapter II contains a descriptive analysis of the physical environment which includes a reconstruction of the site as it is thought to have been about the year 1600. Chapter III deals with urban topography of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, with the inherited cultural environment, and with the extra-mural pattern of land-ownership and tenure. The succeeding chapters are grouped in pairs comprising a narrative and a descriptive chapter: each pair deals with one phase of urban development. In the narrative chapters the influences which determined the form of development are first outlined. Morphogenetic agents, in other words, the people and the corporate bodies who controlled development, together with the zones or units which they developed are then described and analysed. Chronology is not necessarily respected in the discussion of these units in which 'unity' derives basically either from land-ownership or from land-holding: hence the emphasis on estates. Unity which derived from morphological homogeneity is considered in the descriptive chapters.

The stage of development reached on the eve of each new period or phase of urban growth is the subject matter of the descriptive chapters which take the form of cross-sections since they are an attempt to depict a transverse cut through the continuing flow of urban life in order to portray the city at significant points of time. Analysis of these cross-sections is both regional (dealing with areas in which there is a measure of morphological homogeneity) and thematic (or topical). The content of the descriptive chapters varies considerably because the nature and quantity of evidence varies. Comprehension of the final stage of growth of the eighteenth century demands consideration of concepts and plans which were approved at the time and were either being or about to be implemented but which were subsequently abandoned. Without considering these plans it is not possible to understand the city envisaged by eighteenth-century planners. The concluding chapter contains an assessment of the significance of the process of morphogenesis.

of Dublin Vols. III-XIV (1892-1909).[6] The printed transcript of the Assembly Rolls has been used and references to the printed volumes only are found in the following pages. The reliability of Gilbert's transcription has been tested by comparing selected entries in the Calendar with the originals. The compared entries were not a random selection, however, but those related to property in one small area, the Poddle-Liffey confluence and its environs during a century and a half, from the initial leasing of the property before reclamation was undertaken in the seventeenth century until the area was completely urbanised. Gilbert's transcript was found to be correct. Nevertheless, Gilbert's Calendar must be used with caution particularly with reference to the summaries of documents, for Gilbert has not recorded any principles of selection he may have used in summarising documents. With the exception of one significant entry in the Liber Albus the originals of documents of earlier date than the seventeenth century have not been consulted by the writer. The first two volumes of Gilbert's Calendar have, however, been analysed and entries related to the present study include the charters, grants, laws, usages and transactions which still affected life and property in Dublin at the beginning of the seventeenth century. They refer to civic jurisdiction, to transactions connected with lands, buildings, mills and water supplies, and to the charters of religious houses which had been established in Dublin before the Reformation. The Liber Albus or 'White Book of Dublin' contains transcripts of documents related to municipal affairs, made at various times from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century; civic transactions in connection with lands, buildings, mills and water supplies are also included. The Riding of the Franchises in 1603 is recorded in the Liber Albus and has been used in tracing the extent of civic jurisdiction at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Gilbert's Calendar also includes transcripts of various documents from other repositories such as the British Museum, the Public Record Office, London, the Public Record Office, Dublin, the Royal Irish Academy, and Trinity College, Dublin. Some volumes include transcripts of documents and pamphlets published during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Transcripts which have been used in this study are listed in the bibliography.

The municipal Assembly Rolls record decisions and directives of

the Assembly and from these the role of the municipal council can be established. The Assembly Rolls also include summaries of transactions related to property; resolutions and enactments regulating municipal affairs; the granting and renewal of leases; the admission of freemen, listed by name and occupation; and occasional comments on the growth and extent of the city. Summaries of individual grants and leases of property are included in the Assembly Rolls and so it might be assumed that the extent and the history of urbanisation of the municipal estate could be traced from this source alone. However, various other entries illustrate the difficulty of attempting to trace either the extent or use of the Corporation estate at any time prior to the eighteenth century: the loss of records and the need for new surveys are noted in the Assembly Rolls and during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries rewards were offered to those who 'discovered' and proved title to city property; and orders to compile new rent-rolls were frequently recorded. However, no rent rolls of earlier date than the eighteenth century have survived. Despite these deficiencies it has been possible to trace the probable extent, and the nature of development on city property outside the medieval walls during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Summaries of leases which are recorded in the Assembly Rolls have proved to be a very valuable source of evidence since many of the original deeds are not extant.

From the middle of the eighteenth century the Wide Streets Commissioners gradually became the principal morphogenetic agents in Dublin. The principal transactions of the Commissioners are recorded in the minutes which are preserved in the Muniment Room, City Hall.[7] Evidence recorded in these minutes which is relevant to the present study includes the purpose and objectives of the Commissioners; the nature and extent of their powers; resolutions of the Commissioners concerning improvements in the city; plans, projected and implemented; problems caused by the opposition of residents of areas scheduled for redevelopment, by existing urban topography, by economic controls, or by the restricted nature of the powers conferred by the statutes; and the identity of the people and some of the influences which moulded concepts and plans. Jury valuations made on behalf of the Commissioners are recorded in the first two decades of the minutes; later valuations are briefly summarised and the proceedings of juries are recorded in

separate volumes of which fourteen have survived covering the periods 1789 to 1801 and 1810 to 1817.[8] Such valuations permit detailed analysis of land-ownership, land-use and tenure and, when the surveys or relevant maps have survived of urban morphology in scheduled areas; evidence sometimes permits tracing back to primary urban development. Detailed analysis of the first project correlated with the survey of the area made by William Purfield[9] illustrates the significance of such evidence in reconstructing early topography; such analysis could be extended to all areas surveyed on behalf of the Commissioners.[10] Detailed analysis of selected areas only has been attempted in the present work.

The most important map collection is that of Dublin Corporation, part of which is in the City Hall and part in the Public Record Office. The latter part consists of more than seven hundred pre-Ordnance Survey maps, plans and elevations of buildings and includes the main body of surveys and plans of the Wide Streets Commissioners. The collection was catalogued and indexed together with other municipal records in the nineteenth century, some decades before part of the collection was moved to its present location. When the collection was catalogued many of the Commissioners' maps had already been dispersed and some are now found in the National Library of Ireland, in the British Museum, and in the Pembroke Estate Office. Some maps which are recorded in the minutes of the Commissioners had already disappeared when the collection was catalogued. The greatest loss is the great map of Dublin by Thomas Sherrard which was ordered in 1791; sections were presented to the Commissioners in 1794 and the map was completed in 1797.[11] The collection in the Public Record Office includes surveys made prior to acquisition of the property by the Wide Streets Commissioners; some surveys with plans superimposed; plans which were implemented, rejected, altered, or adapted before implementation; and elevations of buildings approved by the Wide Streets Commissioners. Implementation did not necessarily follow approval of plans; actual implementation must be confirmed through reference to the Ordnance Survey and to other maps of later date. The principal items in the map collection of the City Hall (which have been used in this study) are the map books of Thomas Mathews (1769-1781), the map book and rental of Arthur Neville (1829), and Morgan's Rental (1869).[12] Mathews's map books include actual surveys made of

part of the city estate; Neville's map book is partly based on Mathews's work but some new maps were added. These books were superseded by Morgan's Rental which contains maps of the entire estate inserted on Ordnance Survey maps. Corporation lease maps frequently contain valuable topographical information of the seventeenth century: when such maps have dimensions written in figures it is possible to relate the information accurately to the Ordnance Survey maps and so to reconstruct early topography.

The most significant collection of Dublin maps in the National Library is the Longfield collection which has 273 manuscript maps made by various surveyors in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which illustrate land-ownership and land-use in the various parts of the city.[13] Many were compiled in the first decade of the nineteenth century and they are a valuable source for compiling a detailed map of Dublin in 1800. Estate maps are found in the Pembroke Estate Office, the Meath Estate Office, Marsh's Library, the National Library and in the Public Record Office. The location and extent of the principal estates have been mapped from these sources; in cases where estate maps are not available, deeds and memorials have been used as sources of evidence from which conjectural maps have been compiled.

William Armstrong's maps of the Meath estate (1845 - 1850) illustrate the extent of holdings and record the date of the original lease, name of lessee and index number in the Rental.[14] This permits a detailed analysis of the estate from the late-seventeenth to the mid-nineteenth century: in this study an attempt has been made to identify only the salient features. An unfinished seventeenth century plan on parchment (Plate III) now in the Meath Estate Office illustrates the original street-plan of Newmarket and its vicinity. Numerous other maps have not been catalogued and few have been used by the writer.

The extent of the Fitzwilliam Estate in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries is shown on surveys made in 1692, 1700, 1706, and 1722 by James Cullen, in 1731 by Edward Cullen, and in 1762 to 1764 by Jonathan Barker. The surveys made by Jonathan Barker have been known to researchers for many years: the originals are in the

Pembroke Estate Office and there are photostat copies in the National Library of Ireland. Various maps of the estate, including those by Cullen, were discovered during 1971 by Mr. P. Cassidy, Estate Manager.

The estate of St.Patrick's Cathedral was mapped in the middle of the eighteenth century by Roger Kendrick whose map book is now in Marsh's Library. Estate maps of Christ Church Cathedral and of the Domville and Hatch families are in the National Library of Ireland which also has a survey of the estate of Trinity College. Other estate maps in the National Library of Ireland are listed in the map-index in the Library. The Gardiner map collection was evidently dispersed when the estate was fragmented and sold under the Incumbered Estates Court in the nineteenth century. Maps of part of this estate are included in the Incumbered Estates Court Rentals and some earlier maps and plans of part of the estate are found in the Iveagh Map collection in the Public Record Office. These include a survey of part of the Eccles estate which was acquired by Luke Gardiner.[15]

Three maps which merit special attention as sources of evidence in tracing the extension of the town plan are the seventeenth century surveys of Sir Bernard de Gomme (1673) and of Thomas Phillips (1685), and John Rocque's four-sheet map of Dublin City published in 1756. The surveys of Gomme and Phillips illustrate the extent of the city in 1673 and in 1685 during a period of extensive urban growth. Each survey was made prior to planning new fortifications for the city which was then so extensive outside the walls that the medieval fortifications were obsolete. The two maps are primarily evidence of the extent of the city in the late seventeenth century but they are also valuable as sources of evidence for earlier periods since the only known earlier map of the entire city is that of John Speed, published in the Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain (1611)

The survey of 1673 was made by Sir Bernard de Gomme, Chief Engineer; that of 1685 by Thomas Phillips who, as military engineer and gunner, had been a member of Gomme's staff and was appointed military surveyor in 1685. Confusion as to the authorship of these maps has

arisen owing to mistaken identification made by Charles Haliday in the nineteenth century, confusion which has unfortunately been propagated and perpetuated by entries in Hayes's Catalogue of the Manuscript Sources of Irish Civilisation.[16] Because of the significance of these two surveys as basic sources of evidence in the reconstruction and analysis of morphological development during a significant growth-phase, it has been necessary to clarify the date and authorship of the surveys before using them.

The discovery of a memoir signed by Sir Bernard de Gomme and of an unsigned, undated copy of a map of Dublin on which was shown a citadel, apparently that which was described by Gomme in his memoir, caused Charles Haliday to attribute this map to Gomme.[17] A copy of the map was displayed in the Royal Irish Academy in March 1861.[18] Gilbert later attributed the map to Thomas Phillips and reproduced it together with Gomme's memoirs in volume V of the Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin.[19] Gomme's dated unsigned survey was later discovered in the Dartmouth collection of the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.[20] The survey of Dublin made in 1673 was the first project on which Gomme and Phillips worked together; they subsequently worked together in surveying and mapping Tangier, Portsmouth, and the Channel Islands and these surveys are also in the National Maritime Museum.[21]

The survey of Dublin made in 1685 was conducted by Thomas Phillips: Sir Bernard de Gomme died in London that year. A number of manuscript copies of Phillips's survey have survived: three in the British Museum and one in the National Library of Ireland. The National Library copy is included in manuscript 2557 which is a seventeenth century copy of Phillips's survey.[22] The proposed citadel has not been inserted on one of the maps in the British Museum.[23] Topographical features which have been identified by the writer from other sources are accurately inserted on this map while there are identifiable topographical errors on the other copies, notably the number and location of the bridges. The evidence suggests that this map - K.Top.LIII, 10- is Phillips's original survey and the other maps were probably copies made to illustrate the site proposed by Phillips for the citadel.

A new map of Dublin and the Liberties was made by Charles Brooking and published in 1728;[24] it was based on a new survey of the city and

it includes many features not shown by Gomme and Phillips, indicating the extent of development during the intervening decades. Correlation with other documentary evidence shows that in some areas the map is extremely accurate while in others symbols which denote residential buildings are so very generalised that the map has scarcely any value as a source of evidence. This is the earliest map on which parish and Liberty boundaries have been traced.

John Rocque's four sheet map of Dublin (1756) is the earliest which illustrates all details of the ground plan of the city.[25] Reduction of Rocque's map to the Ordnance Survey scale has shown that areas such as Sackville Street which were laid out on a geometric pattern are very accurately represented. Comparison of Rocque's map with a large-scale survey made by William Purfield (1761)[26] of the street block bounded by Essex Street, Blind Quay, Cork Hill, Dame Street, and Crane Lane revealed that the number of buildings and of land-parcels inserted by Rocque were completely accurate. The configuration and location of buildings and land-parcels are slightly less accurate and they do not reveal significant morphological characteristics such as the alignment of property boundaries which can be identified with little difficulty on Purfield's map. It follows that Rocque's map becomes yet more meaningful when correlated with large-scale surveys of small areas, or with estate maps whenever these exist and however fragmentary they may be. Conversely, Rocque's map provides the key to the interpretation of early estate maps and maps attached to deeds of property in the area he surveyed. The key appended by Rocque is incomplete: some symbols which are not explained in it have, however, been interpreted on the basis of documentary evidence, for instance, timber yards, of which some are recorded by the Wide Streets commissioners. An interpretive analysis of Rocque's map made by the writer is discussed in Chapter XI.

Rocque's map, fortuitously made on the eve of an important period of urban growth, is an invaluable base-map for eighteenth century morphological analysis of Dublin since Rocque surveyed the city before any major projects of early-modern redevelopment had significantly altered the street system or other elements of the ground-plan. The accuracy of Rocque's survey is attested by records of the Wide Streets Commissioners which were compiled during the succeeding decades

and by the Rev. James Whitelaw who used Rocque's map when compiling his census of Dublin in 1798.[27]

A revised edition of Rocque's map was published by Scalé in 1778.[28] This revision, however, seems to have consisted merely of adding new extensions: no change is apparent in the older sections. This was probably the edition used by the Rev. James Whitelaw in compiling the census of 1798; although Whitelaw commends the accuracy of the map he also notes that some streets and alleys in the older parts of the city had been closed by that date.

Deeds are a valuable source of evidence of both the state and the process of development of property. Selection from the numerous Corporation deeds and deeds of the Wide Streets Commissioners has been based on indicators identified in the summaries recorded in the Assembly Rolls and in the valuations of the Wide Streets Commissioners which suggested that certain properties were significant morphogenetic units because of size, site, or situation; and leases which were granted at times when significant changes were made in the conditions of tenure. A search was also made for deeds, few in number, to which maps were attached. Although such maps are usually no more than dimensioned diagrams drawn roughly to scale, some correlate with or elucidate evidence contained in other documents.

Deeds of the Gardiner estate consist of five large unsorted crates of documents which are now in the National Library. Selection of Gardiner deeds was based on criteria of time, selecting deeds related to each growth-phase, and of area, selecting some deeds related to each newly developed street. An attempt was made to locate and analyse all deeds granted by Charles Campbell, Seneschal of the Earl of Drogheda from whom Luke Gardiner purchased the estate in 1729 to 1731.[29] It was Campbell who, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, planned the early urbanisation of the estate. Some deeds of property leased in each succeeding growth-phase and in each new street were analysed in an attempt to date development and to trace changing conditions of tenure. Selection among deeds of the Meath estate was based on the same principles. In the Meath archives associated documents are still kept together and this permitted tracing renewals of leases and changes in property from the granting of the first building leases through the

ensuing century or more. A volume of abstracts of leases granted on the Meath estate has also been analysed. Deeds granted by William Usher and by William Hendrick of property on city leaseholds record initial urban development on the holdings of Usher and of Ellis: these deeds are now in the Public Record Office.

Original deeds have been consulted where possible but the deeds of some estates have not been located and in such cases recourse was had to memorials recorded in the Registry of Deeds. The Registry of Deeds was established in 1708 [30] in order to register titles and thereby establish incontrovertible ownership of property; it was also intended to prevent catholics from illegally holding land. Memorials in this Registry record legal transactions affecting the transfer of title to property whether by sale, lease, mortgage, inheritance, or by any other means. These memorials provide valuable evidence related to property when original indentures have not survived and when such deeds in private ownership are difficult to trace. Clauses which are either suppressed or implied in summaries, whether these are memorials in the Registry of Deeds or summaries of Corporation deeds included in the Assembly Rolls, or any other summaries, usually indicate controls exercised by the lessor and sometimes include a description of the property: clauses which were essential to prove title and to prove rights of usage were all included in the summaries. Although transactions were not recorded in the Registry of Deeds until the first decade of the eighteenth century the memorials also contain a valuable if fragmentary record of earlier periods since some memorials recite the previous history of properties, extending back through the seventeenth and sometimes even the sixteenth centuries. The amount of information recorded in the memorials varies. Memorials of transfer of lands indicate boundaries, dimensions, general land-use, conditions of transfer, and sometimes previous ownership or control. In memorials related to buildings the type or use of the building (dwelling, warehouse, etc.) building materials, conditions of tenure, and previous ownership, if any, are recorded. Building leases indicate increase in the value of land when laid out for building and some leases include conditions of development.

Memorials can be traced either through the Lands Index or through the Consolidated Parties Index. In both cases the name of the grantor

and approximate date of the transaction must first be ascertained if deeds related to a particular property at a particular time are to be traced: this is perhaps the principal difficulty in using the memorials to trace urban development since the identity of holders of property is known more generally than the grantor. Transactions of an individual or those related to an estate can best be traced through the Consolidated Parties Index which is arranged alphabetically, in periods of time, giving surname and personal name of the grantor, surname only of the grantee, and the reference number of the memorial but no indication of its content. Difficulty is encountered when more than one person, particularly if contemporaries with the same surname and personal name, registered transactions during the same period. A further difficulty, not however without inherent advantages, is that the transactions of any one grantor may relate to lands widely scattered both within the city and in other parts of the country; this makes the search for memorials related to a particular area a tedious and lengthy task. The advantage of tracing records in this manner, seen in the case of Luke Gardiner and of Joshua Dawson in the present work, is that they indicate the variety and scale of operations of the grantor and this permits an assessment of his importance as an urban developer. Such records also indicate personal connections between developers, between Gardiner and other speculators for instance, or between Dawson and his associates. This has been done on a limited scale in the present work. The Lands Index for Dublin City is arranged alphabetically according to street names, and divided into volumes based on periods of time. Entries in the Lands Index include surname (only) of both grantor and grantee, the reference number of the memorial and a brief description of the property together with its location. Such entries include significant information on which to base selection of memorials for analysis; entries related to new buildings, to new streets, and to extensive properties are easily recognised. The size of the Index (the total number of entries) prohibits complete use at present.

In this study memorials have been used to establish the ownership and conditions of tenure of property, both land and buildings; to date the development of streets and buildings in some areas; and to glean indications, general and particular, of the type of development and descriptions of lands and buildings. An attempt has been made to trace,

in selected representative areas, primary urban development and subsequent transactions which influenced either the character or history of the estate or the morphology of the city. Because of the varied character of transactions and the general lack of standardisation of conditions governing ownership and tenure, except in the case of speculative development of terraced houses or regular plots of equal dimensions in the eighteenth century, random sampling of memorials is not satisfactory because it cannot be considered representative. Even a proportion of the total number of memorials selected systematically need not be representative of the whole. The volume of the source material, however, necessitated some method of selective sampling. Selection from the Consolidated Parties' Index has been based on ownership or control of important estates. Initially, all memorials registered in the name of (the first) Luke Gardiner were traced and indexed; this project illustrated the difficulties and advantages of the system as noted above. Only some (but a large percentage) of the deeds registered by Luke Gardiner's heirs were consulted; here selection was based on bequests made in Gardiner's will and an attempt was made to establish subsequent trends both in developed areas and in further primary development. Deeds registered for other estates - those of Dawson, Cuffe, Browne, Campbell, Edkins, Ellis - were consulted to ascertain the main characteristics of development and the connections of developers both with other properties and with other developers. Selection from the Lands Index was based on properties which were either important in themselves or were representative, as in the case of terraced houses with equal frontages, built in the same period. (This index can also be used to date the development of new streets in the eighteenth century and the information can be used to assess the reliability of eighteenth century published plans and maps, such as the Directory maps.) From registered eighteenth century transactions which related to the principal properties in streets laid out in the seventeenth century earlier history may be inferred even when former transactions are not recited, thus extending the range of knowledge which is restricted by paucity of evidence for some properties in the seventeenth century. This method was particularly useful in tracing the urbanisation of Aungier's estate.

Despite paucity of evidence an effort has been made to estimate the total number and the salient characteristics of the population

and of its principal occupations in each growth-phase. Sources of evidence related to the population of Restoration Dublin are both more numerous and detailed than those for earlier decades: they comprise the so-called 'Census' or Poll Tax returns of the year 1659 to 1660 which has been attributed to Sir William Petty[31] and fiscal returns which have not survived in their original form.

A Rental of Landgable for the year 1665, transcribed from the original by William Monck Mason, is published in the 57th Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records of Ireland.[32] Besides listing the various properties for which rents were paid this list indicates the nature and distribution of the population. Landgable was a tax or rent paid for the site of a house or other building: in other words, ground rent payable to the city. By the charter granted in 1192 by John as Lord of Ireland[33] ground within the city was granted to the citizens to be held in free burgage, namely by service of landgable rendered within the walls. The maximum extent of each burgage-plot was fixed by the laws and usages of the city at sixty-four feet, and the annual landgable at fifteen pence.[34] It may be assumed that the landgable was calculated according to the width of frontage of a holding in the ratio of fifteen pence per sixty-four feet. Many payments made in 1665 were much larger than fifteen pence and the list shows that landgable was paid in places outside the walls, apparently at the same rate as for places within: it may therefore be assumed that the payment of landgable was extended to all urbanised parts of the city estate outside the walled city, as the city was extended. Occasional references to landgable are found in the Assembly Rolls but no other returns seem to have been recorded. The latest reference was entered on 26 January 1738-39 which records a grant of £15 made to the Sheriff in lieu of remitted landgable.[35]

Hearth tax returns have been used to make estimates of population both by contemporary writers and by modern historians. These returns were not an accurate record of the number of houses and hearths, however, and they have generally been thought deficient. The deficiency was probably less in urban than in rural areas. Various multipliers have been used in making estimates of population based on Hearth Tax returns and, as Roger Howell so rightly remarks there is no generally accepted figure for the size of the average household[36] and this

knowledge would seem essential in order to arrive at reliable totals through calculations based on the Hearth Tax returns. Much has already been written about methods of calculation and the totals arrived at by Sir William Petty[37] whose calculations were based not only on Hearth Tax returns but also on records of birth and mortality. Petty seems to have underrated the population of Ireland[38] but the deficiency for the city of Dublin was probably less than for the rest of the country or at least less than for rural areas. In his analysis of Bills of Mortality Petty compares the scanty evidence then available for Dublin with much more ample evidence and more complete records from which the population of London was calculated: he found that London's population was twelve times that of Dublin, that the proportion of births and deaths in both cities were alike and therefore probably true. Whatever numerical error there may be in Petty's calculations it was probably consistent throughout areas which were similar in character and therefore his analysis of population change and distribution is of great interest in relation to the physical growth of and other patterns of areal variation within the city of Dublin. The identification of characteristics and trends indicated by these calculations is more reliable and therefore of greater interest than absolute figures.

Statistics of population for the greater part of the eighteenth century are similar in character to those for the seventeenth century: the notable exception is the census of 1798 which is considered in chapter XV.

Statutory control of various aspects of the development of Dublin is illustrated by legislation of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries which ranged from private enabling Acts to grant leases, to public Acts by which the water-supply, paving and lighting were improved: the improvement of the port and estuary authorised and controlled; the Wide Streets Commissioners established to improve approaches to the Castle and for other purposes; the construction of a Circular Road decreed; the location of industries controlled; new parishes of the Established Church formed and new churches built; general improvement undertaken in 1782 under the control of the Wide Streets Commissioners; and various other improvements authorised. The preamble to each of these Acts sets out the reason for the enactment and usually includes relevant topographical descriptions. The

preambles thus contain valuable evidence of contemporary conditions; clauses of the acts specify proposed changes but their implementation must be traced through other sources. Amendments sometimes record either partial or entire implementation or the reason for the abandonment of an earlier plan or project.[39]

The first issue of the Dublin Directory compiled by Peter Wilson was published in Dublin in 1751. No copies of this first issue seem to have survived. The Directory was issued again in 1752 and it must have met with a favourable response for a new and much enlarged edition was published in 1753. Unfortunately only one copy of the enlarged edition of 1753 has survived and some pages which contained lists of merchants and traders are missing from the surviving copy.[40] The next issue of the Directory was published in 1760 and during the remaining decades of the eighteenth century the Directory was issued annually. The principal evidence relevant to this study which is contained in these Directories is the alphabetical list of merchants and traders which was greatly enlarged in the edition of 1753 and in subsequent issues. These lists, however, were never comprehensive lists of all the merchants and traders in the city: only those who wished to advertise were listed. Evidence from the Directories of itself alone is not sufficient to estimate fully either the size or the pattern of distribution of any industry; on the other hand the evidence from these lists is sometimes the only evidence of the existence and location of some industries. Comparison of lists for successive years indicates the evolution of some industries, such as specialisation in the building industry and the emergence of family groups which dominated this and other industries. None of the eighteenth century Directories contain comprehensive lists of all houses in the city.

A street-plan of Dublin was published with Wilson's Directory in 1760 and with all subsequent issues. The street-plan was revised periodically but not regularly: new eighteenth-century street-plans were published in 1776, 1784, 1790 and 1793. Revisions also appeared periodically during the nineteenth century. Although the Directory maps indicate stages of extension of the city's ground-plan their value as sources of evidence is limited. New streets seem to have been marked on the Directory maps once they were marked out on the ground and sometimes such streets remained unbuilt for years, or even

for decades. The extent of the street-plan on Directory maps was therefore not co-terminous with the extent of the built-up area. In this study Directory maps have been used as a key to other material rather than as sources of evidence themselves.

Two contemporary sources which supplement the evidence from the Directories are newspapers and descriptions written by travellers. Advertisements are the principal source of evidence in newspapers and these are most numerous and informative in Faulkner's Dublin Journal. Travellers visited Dublin during each phase of urban growth and their comments usually indicate new developments in the city about the time of their visit and the general state of the city and its population. The reliability of the various travellers' comments is discussed in the chapters in which their descriptions are cited.

The earliest illustrations of buildings in Dublin are two engravings published in London in 1581 of which facsimiles are published in volume II of Gilbert's Calendar: neither depicts a significant view of the townscape.[41] Illustrations of seventeenth century Dublin are few and fragmentary. The pictorial survey of Thomas Court made in 1634 and some houses drawn on deed maps are the only illustrations of early seventeenth century Dublin.[42] During the last decade of the seventeenth century an attempt to depict the city was made by Francis Place whose drawings are now in the Civic Museum, Dublin.[43] The first attempt to illustrate systematically the architecture of Dublin was the series of views published by Charles Brooking with his map of Dublin in 1728.[44] During the second half of the eighteenth century many views and architectural drawings were published: these have recently been reviewed by Maurice Craig.[45] The illustrations used in this study have been chosen to illustrate the changing character of the townscape.

Numerous books and articles dealing with various aspects of the history of Dublin have been published since the eighteenth century: most of them deal either with the general history of the city or with narrow, specialised aspects and very few deal with the physical development of the early-modern city or any part of it. The most recent study is Maurice Craig's Dublin: 1660-1860.[46] Although Craig's work is subtitled "an architectural and social history", and it deals with some

aspects of physical urban growth, it does not claim to be based on a critical analysis of documents and it has been used as authoritative in the present work only in matters related to the architecture of Dublin. Craig's book contains a very extensive bibliography. John Harvey's Dublin[47] is sub-titled "a study in environment"; it contains a wealth of factual information and sketches the environment of modern Dublin but contains little historical background. Constantia Mazwell's Dublin under the Georges[48] sketches the growth of Dublin during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as a background to the various aspects of social history which are analysed: the book contains very little geographic material.

The Records of the Georgian Society[49], as a source of historical geography, are somewhat disappointing. These records were compiled before extensive demolition of the twentieth century removed decayed buildings and thus erased much of the legacy of eighteenth century residential building in Dublin. The research was based on visual and on documentary evidence which have since been destroyed. Illustrations of details of interiors of houses are numerous but streetscapes, and even pictures of individual houses, are relatively few. The family history of successive occupiers of some houses fills more space than descriptions of buildings or of structural details and in the later volumes anecdotes and traditions are interspersed among factual accounts of streets and buildings. Some errors made in early volumes of the Irish Builder are corrected in footnotes. Although a general list of sources is given, detailed or specific references to sources are few, even when correcting earlier compilers, and so it is difficult to assess the accuracy of these Records as a whole. The compilers of these records conclude "that there is no doubt whatever that almost all the fine houses in old Dublin were built by and for the landed gentry...".[50]

The principal value of many works published before 1922 lies in the source-material used or transcribed and which was destroyed in that year in the Public Record Office. The only record which remains of many of the documents deposited in the Public Record Office before 1922 is that of printed catalogues and calendars and fragmentary transcriptions in some publications. Fortunately, the records of

Dublin Corporation were not transferred to the Public Record Office before that date. The chief source which was available to the compilers of the Georgian Society Records and which was later destroyed was the Census of Dublin made in 1798 by the Rev. James Whitelaw: this census contained not only an enumeration of the population but also a record of the streets and buildings which were all systematically tabulated. The magnitude of the loss suffered through the destruction of the manuscript census is indicated by a summary and some extracts published in 1805 by Whitelaw together with an Essay on the Population of Dublin.[51]

A series of articles on the parishes, historic buildings and the voluntary hospitals of Dublin was published in the Irish Builder.[52] Although many of these articles were published anonymously the author of most, if not all, of the series was Edward Evans who cited and transcribed extensively documentary evidence from the Public Record Office which has since been destroyed. Evans's series on the voluntary hospitals has been used in this study, together with some of the evidence cited in other articles.

The Dublin Historical Record is devoted entirely to the history of Dublin and it has been published regularly since 1943. The articles vary greatly in content and in standards of scholarship and few can be considered authoritative. Many articles on aspects of Dublin's history have been published in the Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries: articles relevant to the present work are listed in the bibliography.

Three other works on Dublin should be mentioned, namely, the histories published by Walter Harris (1766), by Warburton, Whitelaw and Walshe (1818) and by Gilbert (1854-59).[53] Gilbert's History has long been considered an authoritative work based on documentary evidence. However, although Gilbert claims to have aimed at strict accuracy (I, xiii) he does not always cite his sources nor does he appear to have sifted contradictory evidence: errors and contradictions in the text are frequent but most of these are derived from the same source, namely, that this topographical history was written without reference to maps. Contradictions arise mainly from changes in place-names which have not been correlated by Gilbert. Historical facts are interspersed with traditions and with anecdotes. This history is

nonetheless useful for documentary evidence from a wide variety of sources is cited.

The principal value of the large work published by Warburton, Whitelaw and Walshe lies in the descriptions of contemporary Dublin and in the histories of institutions which are not otherwise recorded. This work also includes a summary of Whitelaw's census of population, 1798. Harris's History of Dublin is largely based on Ware's antiquities, a manuscript collection made by Sir James Ware (1594-1666) and inherited by Harris. Forged additions were made to these manuscripts by Sir James Ware's son, Robert, during the twenty years in which the manuscripts were in his possession and the forgeries were not fully identified until the twentieth century.[54] Some of the evidence on which Harris based his History of Dublin is therefore not fully reliable. The principal value of this History, for the present study, is the fact that it contains an eye-witness description of some of the buildings which existed in Dublin during Harris's lifetime and which have not been recorded by other writers, notably the timber-framed houses and the remains of medieval buildings.

Little use has been made of actual physical evidence although this study is an attempt to analyse the physical development of the city. This was due partly to paucity of physical remains and partly to the fact that most surviving buildings have been altered in the course of renovation or enlargement. Even buildings which have been 'restored' have often been structurally changed for, until recently, 'restoration' usually involved structural alterations as well as renovation. The identification of contemporary physical remains has been treated as an ancillary study rather than an integral part of the work.

Although the evidence used in this study has been culled from a wide variety of sources the study cannot in any way be considered exhaustive. It is rather an attempt to establish, primarily from documentary evidence, the principal topographical features of the city of Dublin at significant points of time and to identify the principal characteristics of the process of growth through which the small, walled 'medieval' town was transformed into an early-modern capital city.

References and Footnotes

1. Sir Jonah Barrington, Historic Memoirs of Ireland (London, 1835), 1,7.

2. cf. M.R.G. Conzen, Alnwick, Northumberland: a study in town-plan analysis, Institute of British Geographers Publications, No.27 (London, 1960), 3. Conzen does not include related features of the physical environment in his definition of the townscape.

3. Patrick Abercrombie, Town and Country Planning (3rd edition, London, 1959), 53.

4. Pierre Lavedan, Histoire de l'Urbanisme: Renaissance et Temps Modernes (Paris, 1941), 10-34.

5. Giulio C. Argan, The Renaissance City (London, 1969), 15-21.

6. The complete Calendar (19 vols, Dublin, 1889-1944) includes summaries of early texts in Latin, medieval French and old English and full transcripts of the Assembly Rolls, 1447-1840.

7. 50 MS calf-bound volumes and a MS duplicate of the entire set, henceforth cited as Minutes, C.W.S.

8. Jury Valuation Books of the Wide Streets Commissioners: an incomplete collection of fourteen MS volumes and duplicates covering the periods 1789-1801 and 1810-1817.

9. William Purfield, "Plan of the houses and yards between Essex Street and Dame's Street, 1761", Dublin Corporation Maps, P.R.O.I.

10. Jury maps are an essential key to the complete interpretation of the Valuations. Not all of the Jury maps have survived, however; in the absence of such maps sections of Rocque's large scale maps can be used for a partial interpretation.

11. Minutes, C.W.S., X, 161: 1 July 1791. A map of the city on a scale of 80 feet to an inch was ordered from Thomas Sherrard "distinguishing dwelling houses from stables or warehouses ... and also waste ground as yet unbuilt". Sections were submitted to the Commissioners on 20 June 1794 and on 30 Jan. 1795 and the sixth and final section was presented to the Commissioners on 16 June 1797. (Minutes, XII, 210; XIII, 36; XIV, 144) An extract showing the environs of Christ Church Cathedral was published in the Irish Builder, XXXIII (1891), 165.

12. "A Book of Maps, the Estate of the Honble City of Dublin, begun in the year 1768" by Thomas Mathews, City Surveyor. 2 MS vols, 1768-1780. "Atlas and Rental of the Estates of the Hon. Corporation of Dublin", arranged and partly surveyed by Arthur Neville, 1829. "Rental of the Estates of the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of Dublin as arranged and laid down on Ordnance Maps, 1867" by Francis Morgan, Law Agent.

13. N.L.I. 21 F 86-90 (inclusive).

14. Two principal maps of the Dublin Estate of Lord Meath were drawn by William Armstrong. One shows the urbanised section of the

Ctd.

14. Liberties of Thomas Court and Donore, 1850; the second shows the adjacent land held by the Earl of Meath in the Liberties of Thomas Court and Donore and in the adjacent Liberty of St. Sepulchre. The combined area shown in these two maps extends from the rere of properties fronting Thomas Street and James's Street on the north, to the Grand Canal Basin on the west, and south to Harold's Cross and Rathmines.

15. P.R.O.I. M2574.

16. There are 39 entries related to Phillips and his work in Hayes's Catalogue, including references to MS maps or copies of maps and to photostats of MSS which are in the N.L.I. There are three entries which refer to Gomme's work.

17. Charles Haliday, The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin (Dublin, 1882), 228. Gomme's signed memoir, B.M. Add. MS 16370 is published in full in Anc. Rec., V, Appendix VI, 556-73. The map published by Haliday to face p.229 is an extract of B.M. K.Top. LIII, 9, subtitled: "An exact survey of the city of Dublin and part of the Harbour below Rings End" (Made by Sir Bernard de Gomme in the year 1673)." This publication is probably the source of the confusion, for the map reproduced by Haliday is an extract of B.M. K.Top. LIII, 9, which is a MS copy of the survey made by Phillips in 1685.

18. It seems probable that the MS map on linen now in P.R.O.I. (M2575) was that displayed in 1861, to which the following note was probably added after Gilbert revised the identification: "The Map of Dublin was made by Thomas Phillips in 1685. .... The original sketch from which the map and plan of the Citadel was drawn was by Sir Bernard de Gomme, His Majesty's chief engineer for building of a Royal Citadel at Rings End, near the City of Dublin .... 1673". In the R.I.A. there is no record of the map displayed in 1861, nor is there any record in the P.R.O.I. of the origin of M2575 which was presented by Lord Iveagh on 10 October, 1950.

19. Anc. Rec., V, lx and Plate II.

20. N.M.M. Dartmouth collection No.11; reproduced in George Little, Dublin before the Vikings (Dublin, 1957), to face p. 88.

21. Notes compiled anonymously by a staff member of the N.M.M.

22. N.L.I. MS 2557, "Rules, orders and directions for regulating the Office of the Ordnance in Ireland, together with exact surveys of the chief harbours, forts and fortifications ..... performed by Thomas Phillips, anno 1685."

23. The citadel is not shown on K.Top. LIII, 10; it is shown on K.Top. LIII, 8, 9.

24. Charles Brooking, "A Map of the City and suburbs of Dublin and also the Archbishop and Earl of Meath's Liberties, with the bounds of each parish, 1728." The map is surrounded by a series of views and is surmounted by a "Prospect of the City of Dublin."

25. John Rocque, "An exact survey of the city and suburbs of Dublin in which is expressed the ground plots of all public buildings, dwelling houses, ware houses, stables, courtyards etc. 1756." Scale: 1" = 200'. 4 sheets. Copies in N.L.I. and T.C.D.

26. See No. 9 above.

27. Rev. James Whitelaw, An Essay on the Population of Dublin: being the result of an actual survey taken in 1798. (Dublin, 1805), 31.

28. Bernard Scale, 'An Accurate survey of the city and suburbs of Dublin by Mr. Rocque with additions and improvements .... to 1773.' Scale: 1 inch = 200 feet; 4 sheets and 2 half sheets; the extra half sheets illustrate new development in the eastern sector.

29. N.L.I., unsorted collection of Gardiner papers, mainly deeds (5 large crates).

30. 6th Anne chap. II, An Act for the public registering of all deeds, conveyances and wills .... to secure purchasers and prevent forgeries etc. frequently practised especially by papists.

31. Seamus Pender, A Census of Ireland circa 1659: with supplementary materials from the poll money ordinances 1660-1661 (Dublin, 1939). For a discussion of Pender's edition of this source see Chapter V.

32. P.R.O.I. MS 2549, 'Miscellaneous Manuscripts' by W.Monck Mason, includes the Roll of Landgable which is published in 57th Report of D.K. P.R.I. (Dublin, 1936), 553-58.

33. Translation of the charter in Anc. Rec., I, 2-6; service of landgable cited on page 5.

34. Anc. Rec., I, 224, transcript of the Chain Book including undated laws and usages of the city of Dublin.

35. Anc. Rec., VIII, 320.

36. Roger Howell, 'Hearth Tax Returns', Short Guides to Records No.7, History, XLIX, No.165 (1964), 42-45.

37. C.H.Hull (ed.) The Economic Writings of Sir William Petty (2 vols, London, 1889).

38. K.H. Connell, The Population of Ireland: 1750-1845 (Oxford,1950),259.

39. The statutes at large passed in the parliaments held in Ireland .... 1310-1800, (20 vols., Dublin, 1786-1801).

40. N.L.I. MS 4268, H.S. Guinness, 'Dublin Directories, 1751-1760' (undated typescript). The incomplete copy of the 1753 Directory was in the Chief Secretary's office when Guinness compiled these notes; it is now in the Oireachtas Library; pages 15-20 and 31-36 are missing.

41. Anc. Rec., II, Plates II and III, illustrations from The Image of Ireland by John Derricke (London, 1581: Edinburgh, 1883).

42. See Plates I & II.

43. For a commentary on the drawings of Francis Place see J. Maher, 'Francis Place in Dublin', R.S.A.I. Jn LXII (1932), 1-14.

44. See No. 24 above.

45. Introduction to facsimile reprint of Robert Pool and John Cash, Views of the most remarkable Public Buildings, Monuments and other Edifices in the City of Dublin (First edition, Dublin 1780: I.U.P. 1970).

46. Maurice Craig, Dublin 1660-1860: a social and architectural history (First edition, Dublin,1952; reissued Dublin, 1969).

47. John Harvey, Dublin: a study in environment (London, 1948).

48. Constantia Maxwell, Dublin under the Georges: 1714-1830 (First edition, London, 1936; revised edition London, 1956).

49. The Georgian Society Records of Eighteenth Century Domestic Architecture and Decoration in Dublin (5 vols. Dublin, 1909-1911.)

50. Ibid.,III, 2.

51. See No. 27 above.

52. The Dublin Builder (8 vols. 1859-66) continued from 1867 as the Irish Builder. A series of articles on aspects of the history of Dublin was published in vols. XXVIII (1886) to XL (1898).

53. Walter Harris, The history and antiquities of the City of Dublin from the earliest accounts (Dublin, 1766). J.Warburton, J.Whitelaw and R.Walsh, History of the city of Dublin from the earliest accounts to the present time (2 vols.,London, 1818). J.T.Gilbert, A History of the City of Dublin (3 vols.,Dublin, 1854-59).

54. [Philip Wilson], "The Forgeries of Robert Ware", Irish Book Lover, IX (1918), 100-01.

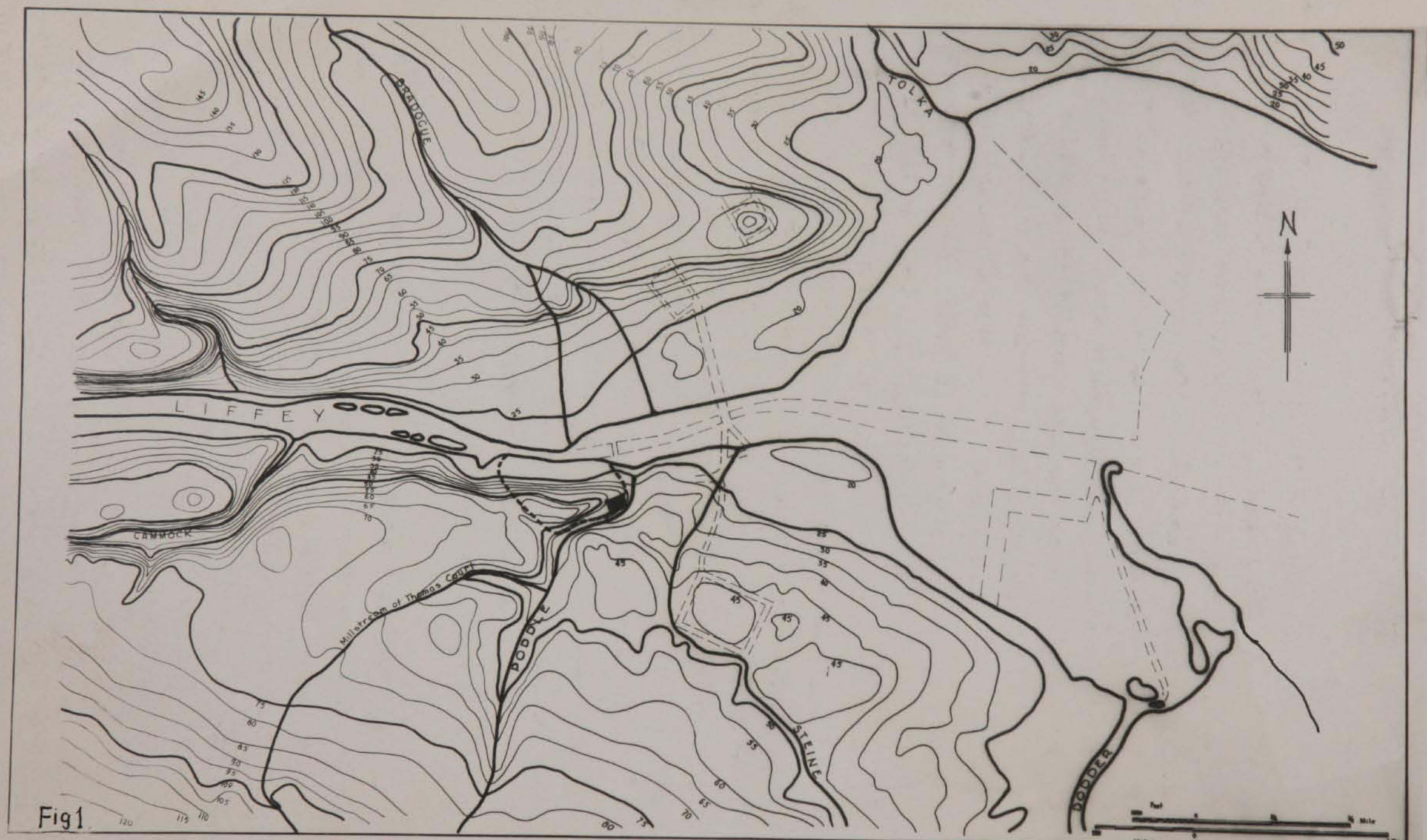


Fig 1

Site of Dublin c. 1600

see appendix

CHAPTER II

THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

Dublin lies at the mouth of the Liffey which flows into the Irish Sea north of the Leinster mountain chain. This situation which gives easy access from the interior, also afforded easy ingress and Dublin is a city built by invaders. The location of the medieval city reflects this origin for it was situated on an elevated site which was easily defended. The site which attracted medieval builders inhibited urban expansion and the area surrounding the walled city posed more problems for early-modern builders than any other part of the site of the early-modern city. The site of Dublin has been continuously altered with the passage of time: even in medieval times it had been modified, principally through reclamation along the waterfront within the city walls, and through the deflection of streams to provide a supply of water for the city and its defences. The most extensive work was undertaken, however, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries during which the configuration of the estuary was completely changed through extensive reclamation, the course of the Liffey and of its tributaries was controlled and walled in, and ground level was altered in many places as the city extended onto undeveloped ground. Early seventeenth century extra-mural topography has been reconstructed by tracing back through stages of urbanisation and using map evidence and other documentary evidence of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The early coastline south of the Liffey was defined by a low gravelly ridge comprising a post-Pleistocene raised beach fifteen to twenty feet above ordnance datum, which extended northwards at the mouth of the estuary.[1] West of this spit the coastline swept southwards, encircling an area of salt marshes which were inundated at high tide, and thence northwards to Lazy Hill. (Fig.1) North of the Liffey mouth the coast curved north-eastwards from a point opposite the spit to the mouth of the Tolka and then eastwards towards the promontory of Howth. Dominating the site on the south bank of the Liffey and west of Lazy Hill a ridge forty six to fifty-nine feet above ordnance datum stretched westwards from the mouth of the Poddle.

The medieval city was built on the eastern end of this ridge. About a mile to the west the ridge was incised by the river Camac. The north slope of the ridge dropped steeply to the banks of the Liffey. The south-facing slope was less clearly defined; a gentle gradient west of the walled city sloped south-eastwards towards tributary valleys, and south-east and east of the walled city the ground was low-lying and marshy. Three low hills seem to have been noticeable landmarks: the Mount south of the Coombe, which rose to a height of about sixty five feet above ordnance datum and was later the site of Newmarket; the site of Whitefriars which seems to have been a hill about fifty feet above ordnance datum, to the south-east of the walled city; and Lazy Hill near the coast, a hillock which barely rose above high water level. On the north bank of the Liffey the ground was also low-lying, rising slightly northwards from the coast road to the road to Ballybough and undulating westwards towards the present Phoenix Park. North of the road to Ballybough the ground rose more steeply towards a small plateau about seventy five feet above ordnance datum, which provided a site for Mountjoy Square; further northwards it rose to a height of about a hundred feet above ordnance datum and in the north-west to a height of one hundred and fifty five feet. (Fig. 1).

In its lower course, for several miles west of the city, the Liffey is incised to a depth of fifty to one hundred feet. The valley widens as the river approaches and enters the city. Prior to eighteenth-century walling-in the channel of the Liffey west of the walled city (in the area now urbanised) was almost twice its present width while east of the city the estuary broadened into a vast expanse of mud-flats, north and south.[2] West of the walled city there were several islands which were leased as pasture to the citizens: of these only the site of the largest, Usher's island, can be established with certainty; the others were smaller and lay further west.[3] As the river approached and flowed past the walled city it received the waters of several tributaries, most of which flowed from the south: only one stream of considerable size, the Bradogue, flowed into the Liffey on the north bank. Many of the streams on the south bank had been deflected and controlled in order to provide a water-supply for the medieval city, and indeed the lower reaches of the Bradogue seem to have been altered in a similar fashion to provide a water supply for St. Mary's Abbey.

The ancient watercourse intended to supply the city with water was formed between the years 1245 and 1254 from the combined waters of the Poddle and the Dodder.[4] The Dodder rises in the valley of Glenasmole. At Firhouse, five miles south of the city, most of the water was deflected at a stone weir to flow northwards towards the Poddle; the remainder followed the natural course eastwards about four miles south of, and almost parallel to the Liffey, then turning northwards it joined the Liffey west of the coastal ridge. From the weir at Firhouse the deflected water flowed northwards towards Templeogue where it joined the Poddle which rises near Tallaght. The united streams then flowed northwards to the Tongue at Mount Argus where the stream was again divided, one third going westwards as the city watercourse, via Dolphin's Barn, to the city and the remainder forming the mill stream of St. Thomas's Abbey. The city watercourse followed the high ground, flowing westwards towards St. James's Gate; then it flowed through the western suburbs, along Thomas Street, and turning northwards at Mullinahack, it supplied the mills north of St. John's, Newgate, as it flowed to the Liffey. From Thomas Street a stream was deflected eastwards towards the city where it flowed into the city ditch near Sarsfield's tower. (Figs. 1 and 3).

The Abbey stream flowed through the manor of Donore, following the higher ground until it was channelled through an abrupt turning to flow eastwards towards the Abbey of Thomas Court. From the Abbey the stream flowed southwards to the Coombe where it divided, part flowing along the Coombe towards Patrick Street, part flowing south-eastwards towards the Double Mills at Warrenmount where it again turned abruptly to join another ancient stream near the Blackpitts.[5] The united streams then flowed northwards, dividing again at the southern end of Patrick Street, where part flowed eastwards to supply the Liberty of St.Patrick. The main stream flowed northwards towards the city walls where at St.Nicholas Gate it turned eastwards to flow through the city ditch. The united streams flowed eastwards through the castle moat and then northwards towards the Liffey. Near Dame Street the stream was again divided and part flowed north-westwards to the city ditch while the rest flowed north to the Dame's mills and then to the Liffey. This multiple division of the streams meant that the Abbey of Thomas Court and the adjacent land were surrounded by streams. The western suburbs also had a plentiful supply of water.

The Poddle supplied the southern suburbs and also marked the eastern limit of the city up to about 1600.

The course of the Steine[6] has been identified in its lower reaches from physical evidence derived from drainage works. The upper reaches were altered through the construction of the Grand Canal; and since records of the survey made prior to the construction of the canal have not survived it is not possible to trace the upper reaches satisfactorily. The significance of the Steine probably derived mostly from its supplying the monasteries of All Hallows and of St. Mary de Hogges and it may have been deflected from its natural course for that purpose. The natural gradient north and east of the Steine suggests that the natural course of the stream would have followed the eastern boundary of the commons of St. Stephen's Green, and that the point of deflection may have been the south-eastern corner of St. Stephen's Green where the stream seems to have turned abruptly westwards towards the western boundary of the common pasture where it turned again abruptly to flow northwards to Hoggen Green.

North of the road to Drumcondra the Bradogue seems to have followed a natural course and its valley can still be identified from local gradients. South of this road the Bradogue seems to have been deflected towards the west. Speed's map (1610) suggests that the stream was divided north of the wall of the Abbey precincts, that part flowed through the precincts and that the main stream flowed southwards outside the Abbey walls. Many streams and run-off channels have been obscured by subsequent urban development and the course of such streams cannot now be identified; in fact, many run-off channels probably did not occupy permanent sites.

According to a survey made in 1585[7] the depth of water in the Liffey varied from six feet near the bridge at the western end of the walled city to four feet along part of the channel opposite Merchant's Quay and the depth increased again to about six feet near Prickett's tower. (Figs. 1 and 3). Near Fyan's castle the channel was only three feet deep at ebb tide and near Isolde's tower, at the eastern end of the walled city, it was about four feet deep. East of the city the channel broadened and in places the water was even shallower than it was near the walled city. According to a survey made in 1673 there was

a depth of only one foot of water in the Liffey opposite Lazy Hill at low tide[8]. At ebb tide it was impossible for vessels to approach the quays and there were few places in the channel where vessels might even ride at anchor.

East of Lazy Hill the silt-laden channel was braided, suggesting that from this place the Liffey changed course frequently as it flowed to the sea. The earliest recorded survey of the bay was that made by Sir Bernard de Gomme (1673) which illustrates the wide expanse of hard sands which extended from Lazy Hill to Ringsend on the south bank and extended along the north coast from the mouth of the Liffey to Ballybough: these sands were completely exposed at half ebb. The northern stretch was subsequently enclosed and called the North Lotts; the southern was enclosed in stages and was at various times called the South Lotts or the Low Ground. East of these hard sands there was a wide expanse of soft sands and mud flats known as the North and South Bulls. Between the North Bull and the South Bull a sand-bar extended across the mouth of the Liffey, blocking the entrance for shipping from half ebb to half tide. Within the wide estuary there were only two places where shipping might safely ride at anchor at low tide in the seventeenth century: these were Clontarf Pool near the northern shore and Pool Beg near the point of Ringsend. With the continuing increase in the size of sea-going vessels the difficulty of approaching the port of Dublin increased; dangers to shipping also increased and there were often shipwrecks. The need to improve the estuary was already recognised early in the seventeenth century: as early as 1612 Mayor Carroll envisaged walling the river as far east as Ringsend[9] but the project was deferred, probably on grounds of expense.

The enclosure of the river, the control of tributaries, and the improvement of the estuary all proceeded gradually from the beginning of the seventeenth century and by 1800 the configuration of the estuary had completely changed. In fact, the most striking feature of the site of Dublin in 1800 was the extent of reclaimed land. (Fig. 2). The intake was most extensive on the north bank where at the mouth of the estuary it extended into the North Lotts.

During the seventeenth century reclamation was undertaken piecemeal and there was a contrast between the north and south banks, on the one hand, and a contrast of a different nature between the areas reclaimed

to the east and west of the walled city. Reclamation began east of the city during the first decade of the seventeenth century[10]: its primary purpose was to enclose the confluence of the Poddle and the Liffey for, although ground was thus made available near the city, building on the reclaimed land was prohibited since it was still considered necessary to preserve the medieval fortifications of the city.[11] This initial project was so successful that reclamation on the north bank was undertaken a decade later in order to enclose the mouth of the Bradogue, while on the south bank reclamation extending north to low water mark was undertaken gradually by riparian tenants.

After the Restoration more extensive works were undertaken. On the south bank William Hawkins reclaimed land lying east of Chichester House and extending north as far as the channel: by the terms of his lease he was bound to provide an outlet for the waters of the Steine.[12] During the 1670s extensive leaseholds of land for reclamation on both banks of the Liffey both east and west of the city were granted to speculators. Although the primary motive of these developers was undoubtedly the gaining of profit they also contributed much to the ordered development and to the embellishment of the city. Their schemes were all designed to provide more land near the city which might be fit for development. Through the reclamation the channel of the river was narrowed, thus facilitating the building of bridges. The narrowing of the channel also helped to improve it, for the continual scouring of the narrowed channel helped to prevent the accumulation of silt on the river bed. The enclosure of the confluences of the Liffey's tributaries also reduced the tendency towards silting except at the mouth of the Dodder which was not improved until the eighteenth century.

Reclamation undertaken during the eighteenth century was intended primarily to improve the estuary by cutting a new, controlled channel for the Liffey and controlling the taking of ballast: uncontrolled taking of ballast from any place which was convenient for shipping had previously contributed much to the deterioration of conditions in the estuary. Constructive works undertaken in order to improve the estuary also provided much ground for reclamation and the extent of ground enclosed from the sea during the first quarter of the eighteenth century was much greater than that reclaimed during the previous century.

The work involved in the eighteenth century projects was not correspondingly increased, however, for the extent of ground which was enclosed by each wall was much greater than it had been during the previous century. Moreover, ground level on these extensive tracts was not much below high water level, as seen from the depth of made ground in recent bore-holes[13] and only that part which was near the retaining walls was raised above high water mark; much of this reclaimed land is still under the level of high water at the present time. A more detailed consideration of the various reclamation schemes will be found later in the relevant sections of the text.

The enclosure of the mouths of the tributaries to the Liffey was undertaken in association with the reclamation of land near the confluence: the control of these rivers above the confluence was undertaken in association with urban development on adjacent land. Some streams were enclosed between retaining walls without ever being built over, as in the case of most of the course of the Poddle.[14] Channels made by small streams were filled in the course of urban development and no alternative channels or culverts were provided by early developers.[15] This type of development later resulted in flooding of low-lying areas after heavy rainfall. From the beginning of the eighteenth century most streams in newly developed areas were enclosed in newly-made covered drains. Much depended on the initiative of the local developer, however, and there was neither municipal control of such works nor was there a satisfactory, comprehensive drainage scheme. In 1735 a survey of drainage works made by Richard Cassels listed the streets which were already supplied with regulated drainage.[16] Although some improvements were made during the second half of the eighteenth century problems caused by flooding of low-lying areas after heavy rainfall increased until the main drainage works were planned by Parke Neville and undertaken by the Corporation during the nineteenth century when a new network of covered drains was built.[17]

The water supply provided by the medieval water-works described above was inadequate for the developing early-modern city and a new supply was made available through a large new city reservoir which was constructed about 1721[18]: this project is discussed in chapter VIII. A further augmentation of supply became necessary after the mid-century and this prompted participation by the Corporation in the construction

Fig. 2.

SURFACE GEOLOGY

N

KEY

- Coastline c 1600 (postulated)
- Intake
- Boulder Clay
- Alluvium
- River Gravel Terraces
- Raised Beach
- Delta Gravel
- Sandspit

One Mile

see appendix

of the Grand Canal which was extended east almost to the City Basin (or reservoir) during the 1760s.[19]

The site of Dublin is entirely covered by glacial drift which rests on Carboniferous limestone.[20] (Fig.2) South of the city Carboniferous limestone outcrops on the right bank of the Dodder; further south granite outcrops in the foothills of the Leinster mountain chain and in Killiney; and north of the city the limestone outcrops sporadically along the course of the Tolka above Glasnevin. The thickness of the drift deposit varies, that on the north bank being greater than that on the south bank of the Liffey. In the north-western sector of the Phoenix Park drift barely covers the underlying rock but it thickens rapidly southwards and south-eastwards towards the Liffey. An opening made for drainage near the Park Constable's Lodge revealed more than thirty feet of boulder clay while a quarter of a mile to the north across almost level or gently undulating ground the solid rock outcrops: this suggests a rapid inclination of the underlying rock surface and also illustrates the significance of the drift in moulding actual topography.

All along the southern margin of the Phoenix Park and eastwards towards the coast there appears to be a great thickness of boulder clay. Even in the bed of the Liffey the only place in which rock outcrops is in the vicinity of Liffey Street where the rock traditionally called Standfast Dick appeared.[21] On the site of O'Connell Street (Sackville Street) a bore-hole made in 1890 revealed deposits of boulder clay forty feet deep. In the valley of the Camac west of the city the deposit of boulder clay appears to be at least eighty feet thick; a section south of the Royal Hospital revealed thirty to thirty-five feet, while the slope to the river on the south side of the road to the Hospital adds another forty to fifty feet without the rock being reached by the stream. Outside the deeply incised valley of the Camac the boulder-clay evidently becomes thinner on the south side of the Liffey. Near St.Patrick's Cathedral a drift deposit of ten or twelve feet deep was revealed in drainage works. Further south, however, the deposit thins until it is little more than a smooth covering to the irregularities of the underlying rock surface. A low limestone ridge between the basins of the Liffey and the Dodder is barely covered with boulder clay but as the Dodder valley is approached the drift becomes

very thick and is exposed in fine sections along the course of the river.

Along the banks of the Liffey below Island Bridge continuous deposits of river gravel extend to the confluence with the Camac where they form a wide terrace, and thence eastwards towards the sea where, overlain in part by alluvium and by made-ground, they merge with the gravels transported by the Tolka and the Dodder and with the marine gravels of the raised beach. In the valley of the Tolka significant deposits of river gravel are noticed only below Glasnevin. River-gravels transported by the Dodder are even more extensive than those transported by the Liffey, being spread over the flat ground from Donnybrook east to the coastal ridge and north to Ringsend. Extensive deposits of alluvium occur along both banks of the Liffey and of its major tributaries, partly overlying earlier deposits and overlain in part by made ground.

The extent of made-ground on the site of Dublin is indicated by the 'intake' (Fig. 2). Site modification has not, however, been confined to this area alone. The extent and depth of made-ground has been revealed by drainage works and bore-holes recorded by the Geological Survey which indicate a depth of ten to twelve feet of made-ground along the course of the Poddle north of St. Patrick's Cathedral, nine to ten feet of made-ground along Townshend Street (formerly Lazy Hill), nine feet along Burgh Quay, and eleven feet on Usher's Quay. On all of these sites made-ground rests on alluvium or on river-gravel; on Aston's Quay near the metal bridge a depth of seventeen feet of made-ground was found to rest on solid rock. Site alteration in these various places is discussed below in the relevant sections of the text dealing with the development of the city.

The influence of surface geology is seen in early building in Dublin: a negative influence in the sparing use of stone which was used in the construction of public buildings but only rarely in private houses prior to the seventeenth century; and a positive influence in the extensive use of bricks from the seventeenth century on. The weathered, decalcified loamy upper stratum of boulder clay was used for brick-making in the vicinity of Dublin from the late-sixteenth century and from the second quarter of the seventeenth century locally made bricks were extensively used in residential building.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there were brickfields on the site of Merrion Square, on the site of Upper O'Connell Street (Drogheda Street and later Sackville Street), west of Brown Street, on and near upper Gardiner Street, and on the south bank of the Liffey near Irishtown.[22] All of these brick-fields were not in use during the same period. The change of location reflects the gradual extension of the urbanised area; it also reflects the widespread distribution of material suited to brick-making and may also reflect the exhaustion of brick-making material on the earlier sites, for leaching which renders the drift suitable for brick-making, extended to a depth of two or three feet only. Numerous gravel and sand pits were opened and quarried for construction work; these were more numerous and more quickly abandoned than the brickfields and quarries within the urbanised area have long been built over.

Limestone and granite have both been used as building stones.[23] Calp limestone was quarried extensively both for building stones and for lime-burning. Extensive quarries in Donnybrook, Milltown, Rathgar, Kimmage and Crumlin formerly supplied material for foundations and for rubble work. Donnybrook calp was used in repairing the streets and limestone suitable for building was quarried near Lucan and Leixlip near the boundary of Co. Kildare, and in Kimmage and Rathgar. Ardbraccan limestone from Co. Meath was also used in construction work. Leinster granite was the chief local building stone during the eighteenth century and the Blessington district of Co. Wicklow, with quarries at Ballyknockan, Golden Hill and Kilbride, was the chief source of supply for eighteenth century building in Dublin. Supplies were also obtained from Glencullen, Kilgobbin and the Three Rock Mountain quarries in Co. Dublin; granite quarries in Killiney, Bullock, Dalkey and Dun Laoire supplied harder and more durable stones but these were expensive and tooled less freely and were little used in the city. Dublin was largely flagged with granite slabs made principally from erratics or from small quarries on the flanks of the Three Rock mountain and of neighbouring hills. Blocks from these sources were sometimes used in quoins and for dressed stone but were generally unsuited to such work since they decayed rapidly and disintegrated and had to be replaced at an early date.

Site geology influenced the character of buildings rather than

the pattern of urban development in Dublin. It was the location of land available for building combined with conditions of tenure, rather than site geology, which influenced the general pattern of development and these factors are discussed later. A distinction must, however, be drawn between building on reclaimed land and on the rest of the site of the city. None of the upper class residential building was located on reclaimed land. During the first half of the seventeenth century reclaimed land seems to have been used almost entirely for gardens: this was due principally to its location, east of the city walls, where building was prohibited.[24] When this prohibition lapsed during the second half of the seventeenth century the reclaimed land was used generally for commercial activities. Residential building on the new quays on the north bank was introduced through special intervention,[25] and there is no evidence to suggest that such building posed special problems. As the city developed a distinctive riverside zone of mixed commercial and residential buildings emerged, a zone which was almost co-terminous with the area reclaimed during the seventeenth century. The extensive tracts reclaimed at the beginning of the eighteenth century were still most undeveloped at the end of the century.

Topographical obstacles to expansion were greater east of the walled city than to the west, and yet the city expanded eastwards. Various influences, some topographical and mostly human or cultural, combined to determine the eastwards pattern of development: these are discussed later in association with the stages of development. The basic underlying determinant of eastward expansion was the need to improve and control the channel of the Liffey and to improve the estuary. Work undertaken for this purpose together with concomitant development gradually transformed the site of Dublin.

References and Footnotes

1. Geological Survey of Ireland, Dublin, Sheet 18, Edition of 1912 (Drift Edition, 1915). Memoirs of the Geological Survey of Ireland: No. 112: The Geology of the country around Dublin, 1903. A revision of these works is in progress but it has not progressed sufficiently to use it in this study. The coastline of 1600 has been identified from Gomme's survey, correlated with documentary evidence derived principally from leases which are cited in chapter IV.

2. Gomme's survey, N.M.M., Dartmouth Collection No. 11; 'A new and correct map of the Bay and Harbour of Dublin with a small plan of the city ...' by Thomas Burgh, Esq., Engineer and Surveyor General, and Captain John Perry, published in Haliday, Scandinavian ... publin to face page 249. Burgh's map does not show the North Lotts which had been enclosed but were still overflowed by the tide.

3. Leases cited in the Assembly Rolls, e.g. Anc. Rec. I, 386, 464; II, 22, 518.

4. Henry F. Berry, 'The water supply of Ancient Dublin', R.S.A.I.Jn., XXI (1891), 557-73; M.V. Ronan, 'The Poddle River and its Branches', R.S.A.I. Jn. LVII (1927), 39-46; Ronan, 'The Poddle River (1803-1829)', R.S.A.I. Jn. LXXVIII (1948), 5-10.

5. The origin of the name Blackpitts is not known.

6. The lower reaches of the Steine are seen on Speed's map of Dublin (1610) and its confluence with the Liffey on a 'Plan of the College sent to Lord Burleigh, 1591', reproduced as frontispiece in J.P. Mahaffy, An Epoch in Irish History: Trinity College, Dublin, its foundation and early fortunes: 1591-1600 (London, 1903). From College Green to the south-eastern corner of St.Stephen's Green the course suggested by topographical features combined with drainage works coincides with medieval property boundaries.

7. State Papers, Ireland, vol. cxxi, no.73, P.R.O. London, published in Anc. Rec. II, 557.

8. Gomme's survey, N.M.M. Dartmouth collection no. 11.

9. Anc. Rec. III, 33.

10. Anc. Rec. II, 418, 435, 457-58.

11. Anc. Rec. II, 457-58

12. T.C.D. Deeds no. 206, indenture 3 August, 1572, between the Provost Fellows and Scholars of Trinity College and William Hawkins.

13. Dublin Corporation Drainage Department, records of borings made by Cementation (Ireland) Ltd. Borings are recorded also in Geological Memoir, 88-89.

14. Ronan, R.S.A.I. Jn. (1927), 39-46.

15. Parke Neville, Report to the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Councillors of the City of Dublin on the sewerage of the city and proposed plan for improving the same. (Dublin, 1853), 4-5.

16. Richard Castle (Cassels), An Essay towards supplying the city of Dublin with water (Dublin, 1735), 16-21

17. Parke Neville, Report .... on the sewerage (1853): Dublin Corporation Main Drainage Section, Plans and sections of City sewers, mostly by Parke Neville (328 maps).

18. Anc. Rec. VII, 153-54.

19. Anc. Rec. XI, 170-71.

20. The following paragraph is based on The Geology of the country around Dublin, 36-42, 88-102.

21. 'Report of the Commissioners of H.M. Revenue on .... the site of the new Custom House', Commons' Jn. Ire. IX, Part I, appendix cccviii.

22. Place names on Rocque's large scale map of Dublin, 1756, indicate the location of former brickfields and the date of building of adjacent buildings indicates the time at which the brickfields were used. The site of brickfields still in use is shown on the survey of Ringsend and Merrion by Jonathan Barker, 1762.

23. The following paragraph is based on G.H.Kinahan, Economic Geology of Ireland, Journal of the Royal Geological Society of Ireland XVIII (1885-89), 172-73, 408; George Wilkinson, Practical Geology and Ancient Architecture of Ireland,(London, 1845), 242-49.

24. Anc. Rec., II, 458.

25. Anc. Rec. VI, 583. Development plans were changed through Ormonde's intervention.

DUBLIN • 1600

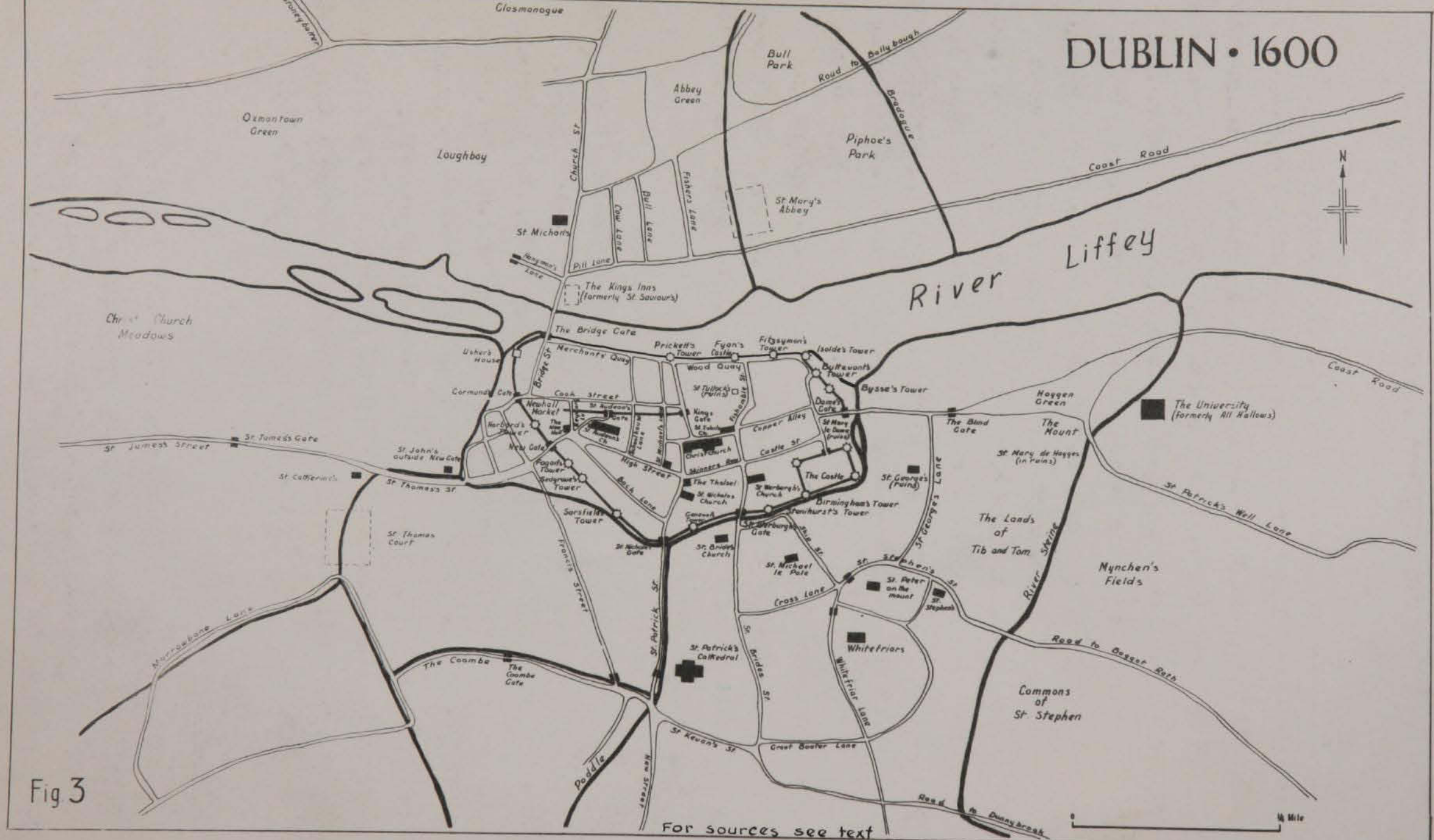


Fig 3

For sources see text

CHAPTER III

THE HISTORIC HERITAGE c. 1600

Dublin city grew and expanded from the granting of its first charter by Henry II in 1172 until, by the end of the thirteenth century, it had reached its maximum medieval extent.[1] During the later middle ages the city was subjected to intermittent attacks by the resurgent Irish and the citizens extended the fortifications on the south bank, retreated within the walls, and allowed most of the suburbs to decay.[2] The Reformation in the mid-sixteenth century and its consequent suppression of churches and monasteries brought further decay.[3] Urban renewal began towards the end of the sixteenth century[4] when the location of Parliament in Dublin, the development of central government and administration, and the subjugation of the entire island which was completed in 1603, all combined to foster renewal and expansion in the city which was then finally recognised as the capital of the entire island. This renewal marked the beginning of a period of sustained growth and expansion which lasted for two centuries during which Dublin gradually assumed the functions and character of a modern capital city.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the city was still largely contained behind its medieval walls and towers (Fig.3).[5] Suburbs on the south bank of the Liffey were restricted to linear development along the principal thoroughfares leading west and south from the city; buildings in the two short streets which formed the eastern suburbs had long decayed.[6] Two distinct nuclei of settlement had developed outside the walled city: Oxmantown on the north bank of the Liffey and the Liberty of St. Patrick's Cathedral just outside the county of the city, south of the city walls.

Fortifications

Fortifying enclosures were the city's most striking features. The Castle dominated the city and the surrounding low-lying, unbuilt area; situated at the eastern end of the inland ridge, it formed the south-eastern section of the city's fortifications

and, according to a survey made in 1585, it consisted of a series of five towers surrounding a rectangular courtyard which was enclosed by a high stone wall and encircled by a moate.[7] The main entrance from Castle Street, in the centre of the northern wall, was protected by a drawbridge and portcullis and flanked by towers, the western two storeys and the eastern three storeys high. The north-eastern tower was the residence of the viceroy. The south-eastern tower, three storeys high, was lit by windows overlooking the garden wall and the castle gardens to the south, and the middle tower on the south had also windows and loops overlooking the garden. The south-western tower contained the kitchen and was adjoined by a small, square, three storeyed tower which was lit only by loop-holes. The north-western tower had a dungeon and four rooms, the uppermost lit by a window overlooking the city. The castle was clearly a strong-point of defence: this is evident both from the character of the buildings and from the comments of the surveyor (1585) who noted that the wall over the garden door was 'very thin and weak by means there hath been, as I think, a murdring hole and a percullis and now there is none' and he recommended that the castle be 'strongly ditched on the south side from Bermingham's tower round about the garden to the north-eastern tower': this extra ditch was intended to encompass the garden which had been laid out c. 1567 during the viceroyalty of Sir Henry Sidney.[8] The earlier moate lay north of the castle gardens. Although its role of fortress remained dominant until the eighteenth century the castle was nevertheless already beginning to assume a residential character. Weakness in the wall on the south side was attributed by the late-sixteenth century surveyor to the insertion of hall windows and other windows, 'with prives and such other works as hath been of late years': these works were the first stage of a gradual but almost total transformation of the castle which was effected during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[9]

A survey of the city walls made in 1585[10] suggests that the city itself was almost as well fortified as the castle. The site of the city walls illustrated in Fig.3 has been reconstructed from documentary evidence and map evidence of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries[11] correlated with the survey of 1585; no extension of the walls made

subsequent to this date has been recorded and so, although part of the walls and some of the towers decayed during the ensuing two decades[12] the survey of 1585 may be accepted as reliable evidence of the fortifications of Dublin in 1600. The accuracy of the survey is attested by evidence from eighteenth century documents and surveys correlated with maps of the Ordnance Survey.[13] The survey of 1585 is based on the use of towers and castles as landmarks. The names of some of these towers remained unchanged for centuries; others changed periodically through the adoption of names of important occupants or lessees. The names used in the following description were used in the survey of 1585.

The city walls extended from Bermingham's tower of the Castle westward to encompass the city on the south and west, terminating at Usher's house near the bridge at the north-western corner of the walled city. From Isolde's tower, north-east of the city, a wall extended south-eastwards to Dame's Gate, the eastern entrance to the city. No description is given either of Dame's Gate or of a wall or other fortifications between Dame's Gate and the Castle and Speed's survey (1610) suggests that this section was not, in fact, fortified. Neither was it an open space, however, as suggested by Speed. The site was occupied by the church of St. Mary le Dam which had been secularised after the Reformation and was now, c.1600, in ruins;[14] its stone walls abutted the Castle on the south and Dame's Gate on the north and effectively closed and protected this apparent gap.

From Dame's Gate the walls extended due north for some fifty feet and then veered slightly westward to Buttevant's tower and thence north-westward to Isolde's tower, forming a protective arc north of the quays. This stone-built wall was five feet thick, ten feet high inside the walls and varied in height outside from seventeen feet between Dame's Gate and Bysse's tower to twenty two feet between Bysse's and Buttevant's towers. The difference in height outside was caused by the sloping strand of the shore-line.

West of the Castle a wall seven feet thick and twenty eight feet high extended south-westward along the slope above the Poddle from

Bermingham's tower to St. Nicholas Gate; sixty four feet of the eastern section was protected by the castle ditch and the remainder by a rampart. From St. Nicholas Gate the wall veered north-westward and upslope to Newgate on the summit of the ridge. Adjoining St. Nicholas Gate seventy four feet of the wall was but sixteen feet high on the outside and nine feet above the ground on the inside; from this point to the tower in Sir William Sarsfield's possession the wall was four and a half feet thick and sixteen feet high; inside the walls a rampart rose fifteen feet high (within one foot of the top of the wall) while outside there was a buttress estimated to be nineteen feet high from the bottom of the ditch. North-west of Sarsfield's tower a similar portion of the city wall lacked a rampart from a point eighty feet south of Sedgrave's tower to Fagan's tower. From Fagan's tower to the south-eastern tower of Newgate the wall was seventeen feet high and five feet thick and lacked a rampart.

North of Newgate the walls extended downslope to Gormund's Gate where they veered north-east to Usher's house which adjoined the Bridge Gate and which itself formed part of the fortifications. From Newgate to Fitzsimon's tower the wall was four feet thick and twenty two feet high and thence to Gormund's Gate it was five feet thick and twenty feet high; both of these sections were buttressed and neither had a rampart. From Gormund's Gate to Usher's house the wall was five feet thick. The section south of Harbarde's tower was twelve feet high, with a small buttress and no rampart; north of Harbarde's tower there was neither buttress nor rampart and the wall was fourteen feet high.

These dimensions suggest that the wall near Newgate and that between Dame's Gate and Isolde's tower were coeval. Irregularities in the southern section may have been caused by decay or by demolition: they also suggest that the southern wall was of different, probably earlier, date than the walls near Newgate and Dame's Gate. The name Newgate suggests that this gate was part of the most recently constructed portion of the fortifications and if so the structural differences in the southern wall may mark the limits of the original walled city. The choice of site for the wall, as delimited in this survey, seems indeed to have been governed almost entirely by expediency

rather than by free choice. Topographical features such as the course of the Poddle, the ridge, and the confluence of the stream sometimes called Coleman's Brook which joined the Liffey near Usher's house seem to have determined the extent of the settlement.

Stanihurst records the building of an extension to the city wall at the threat of the Bruce invasion and he suggests that the wall built at this time extended along Cook Street from Gormund's Gate to Audoen's Arch (of which a section is still standing) and thence to the King's Gate which spanned Winetavern Street.[15] Stanihurst's date for the building of this section of the wall seems to be in error but there is evidence to support his statement concerning the time and reason for an extension of the walls. In the writer's opinion, the extension erected at the time of the Bruce invasion was the wall which extended north from Cook Street to Usher's house. The date of building of Usher's house has not yet been established but it seems reasonable to assume that such a house would have been built near the bridge during the period of maximum medieval expansion of the city, before the resurgence of the Gaelic population necessitated fortifying the entire settlement. Moreover, the recent excavations in which part of a city wall east of Winetavern Street has been discovered, confirm the supposition that the wall aligned with Cook Street was at least in part a retaining wall.

Entries in the Assembly Rolls[16] suggest that Newgate and the wall north of Dame's Gate were coeval and structural dimensions suggest that these may have been built at the same time as the retaining wall south of Cook Street. Other documents show that the King's Gate existed prior to the Bruce invasion. It therefore seems more likely that the extension prompted by the Bruce invasion was the section of the city wall which lay north of Gormund's Gate in which Usher's house was utilised. The lack of a city wall between the Castle and Dame's Gate together with the structural similarities between the wall north of Dame's Gate and the wall near Newgate combine to suggest that the site of St. Mary le Dam was occupied by a building whose strength was similar if not equal to that of the city walls when the wall north of Dame's Gate was built; together with the river Poddle, such a building would have been sufficient protection for the

area between the Castle and Dame's Gate.

From the Bridge Gate to Isolde's tower there was, in 1600, an open quay nine feet above the channel.[17] Speed seems to be in error in showing a wall along these quays, Had there been a fortifying wall along the quays it would certainly have been described in the survey of 1585 which contains such a minute and accurate description of the fortifications and there is no evidence to suggest that new walls were built on this site during the ensuing decades. The quays were fortified by three castles - Prickett's tower on Merchant's Quay, 843 feet east of the Bridge Gate, a square, turreted tower thirty-four feet high; and Fitzsimon's tower, 144 feet further east, a small round tower with square rooms of twelve feet by fourteen feet inside walls three feet thick. The quays were also protected by the north-eastern city wall which formed a protective arc terminating at Isolde's tower.

There were six main entrances to the city; postern gates are not described in the survey of 1585 and their number is not known.[18] Newgate, the principal entrance from the west, was protected by a portcullis and flanked by towers forty feet high, surmounted by turrets. Dame's Gate, the eastern entrance, was nine feet wide and flanked by towers; over the gate was an empty niche in which a statue of the Virgin Mary stood before the Reformation.[19] The Liffey was spanned by one bridge at the north-western corner of the walled city, leading to Church Street in Oxmantown, and the only overland entrance from the north was through the Bridge Gate which was fortified by a square tower, thirty feet high and eighteen feet by fourteen feet inside walls which were seven feet thick. This gate was repaired 'at considerable expense' during the reign of Elizabeth: her royal arms and the date MDXCVIII, together with a public clock, adorned the north side facing Oxmantown.[20] On the steep slope between the Bridge Gate and Newgate stood Gormund's Gate which was fortified by a square tower thirty feet high. Access to the city from the south was through St. Nicholas Gate or through the Pole Gate on Bride Street. St. Nicholas Gate was flanked by two round towers forty-five feet high 'besides the garrets'. The Pole Gate had a square tower two storeys high.

Besides the towers protecting the entrance gates there were ten other towers and castles which formed part of the fortifications: three in the north-east, seven in the south and west, and the three towers on the quays which have already been described. At the north-eastern end of the city wall stood Isolde's tower which seems to have been a particularly strong point of defence; it was a round tower, its walls nine feet thick rising forty feet above the Channel. To the south stood Buttevant's tower, 'an old square ruinous tower' thirty feet above the channel. The floor level within this tower and within Fitzsimon's tower and Fyan's Castle was one foot lower than the reclaimed land which formed the quay and street outside. A demi-tower (semi-circular tower) adjoined 'Mr. Bise his house', 188 feet south of Buttevant's tower.

On the slope above Ship Street between the Castle and Pole Gate stood Stanihurst's tower and between the Pole Gate and St. Nicholas Gate was Geneval's tower; both were round towers, three storeys high. Between St. Nicholas Gate and Newgate there were three towers: Sarsfield's tower, a round tower then unroofed and filled with earth, no higher than the city wall; Sedgrave's tower, a semi-circular tower twenty six feet high; and Fagan's tower, a round tower thirty-two feet high. North of Newgate stood Harbarde's tower, a square tower thirty-two feet high.

Fortifying gates also protected many of the extra-mural streets, St. James's Street, St. Francis Street, Patrick Street and the Coombe,. for instance. Only one of these gates was an enduring feature of the townscape; the others were gradually removed in the course of urban expansion. St. James's Gate, at the western end of Thomas Street, remained standing until the nineteenth century and it is still commemorated by a place name.

The Street Plan

Within the city walls there was a network of narrow streets and lanes which were only eight to twelve feet wide. The main axis extended westwards along the ridge from the Castle to Newgate: it comprised Castle Street, Skinners' Row, and High Street which led

into the Cornmarket just inside Newgate. From this main thoroughfare some streets extended northwards downslope to Cook Street and the waterfront and others southwards to St. Nicholas Gate and the Pole Gate. These were intersected by numerous lanes of which the site and number cannot now be established; some lanes have, however, left a lasting imprint. Of these the most significant was Back Lane which extended south-eastwards from High Street inside the city wall to St. Nicholas Gate: its site remains unchanged to the present day. Suter's Lane, south of and parallel to Skinners' Row, provided access to orchards and gardens which then extended south to the city walls. From the Blind Quay near Isolde's and Buttevant's towers Scarlet Lane led north to Castle Street.[21]

Outside the city walls streets were few. From Newgate a street on the site of an age-old thoroughfare extended westwards along the ridge past St. James's Gate to Kilmainham. From St. Nicholas Gate Patrick Street led due south to St. Patrick's Liberty south of which was a junction with one road leading south-west through the Coombe to Dolphin's Barn and another due south to Harold's Cross. From the Pole Gate Bride Street extended south through the Liberty of St. Patrick's to Kevan's Port where a highway led east to the commons of St. Stephen's Green and another throughfare led south to Milltown. From Kevan's Port a pathway skirted the western boundary of the lands of Whitefriars leading north to Ship Street near the bank of the Poddle: a similar pathway on the eastern boundary had been granted to the monastery by the city in the fifteenth century and it appears to have been closed by fortified gates and to have been incorporated into the monastic estate.[22] St. Stephen's Street followed the declivity near the northern boundary eastwards to the Hospital of St. Stephen near St. Stephen's Green.[23] From Newgate, St. Francis Street extended almost due south to St. Francis Gate which gave access to the Coombe. East of the city a single street, Dame Street, extended some three hundred yards east to the Blind Gate which opened onto Hoggen Green.[24] From the Blind Gate George's Lane led south towards St. Stephen Street and the lands of Whitefriars; buildings on this lane had long decayed and the southern portion seems to have been closed at the beginning of the seventeenth century.[25]

In Oxmantown, the principal thoroughfare, Church Street, extended almost due north from the old bridge past St. Michan's Church to join the great northern route near Young's Castle: it had formed part of the ancient northern route to the ford near which the original settlement on the site of Dublin had developed. Subsequent growth had extended this settlement eastwards towards St. Mary's Abbey in some parallel streets: namely, Frapper Lane, Cow Lane and May Lane.[26] Southward extension towards the river was inhibited by the site and precincts of the former Priory of St. Saviour's[27] on the river bank: its precincts were skirted by Pill Lane which led from the bridge to the confluence of the Bradogue and the Liffey, near St. Mary's Abbey. Evidence of enclosing fortifications of the settlement in Oxmantown has not survived for the only building which appears to have been built primarily for defence was Young's Castle at the northern end of Church Street.[28]

Housing.

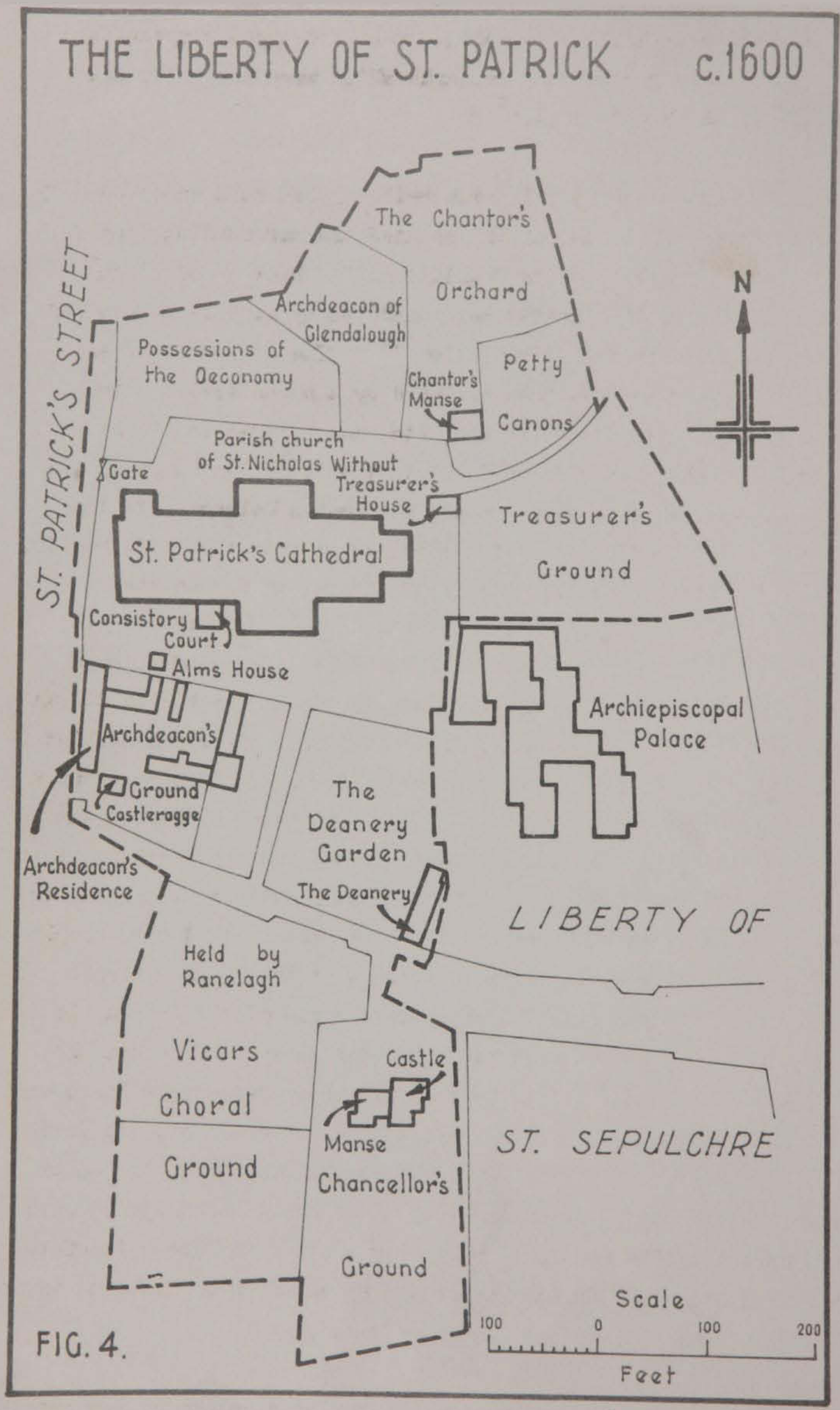
The extent and character of housing within the walled city and its suburbs cannot be established with certainty owing to paucity of evidence. Speed's map picture (1610) suggests rows of contiguous housing on all the streets within the walled city which have been identified here and on some which have not, and also on most of the suburban streets which have already been described. However, although municipal records indicate some medieval building on all streets named by Speed it has not been possible to verify Speed's record. No late sixteenth century survey of housing within the city is extant. Surveys made at the dissolution of the monasteries in the middle of the sixteenth century[29] indicate the extent and character of monastic property only and although the monasteries were richly endowed with urban property scattered throughout the city's streets and lanes. Extensive eighteenth and early nineteenth century reconstruction within the walled area and in many extra-mural medieval streets involved excavation in depth in order to construct cellars and this has rendered it highly unlikely that archaeological excavations will reveal anything more than fragmentary evidence of sixteenth century buildings or of earlier burgage plots.[30]

Evidence from some scattered building leases granted by the

Corporation in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries suggests that some buildings were reconstructed in stone or brick and roofed with oak or slates.[31] Stone-built private houses were few[32]: prior to the reign of Elizabeth most private buildings within the city walls were thatched and mud-walled and many of these still existed at the end of the sixteenth century.[33] In the course of late sixteenth century urban renewal timber-framed houses, known locally as cagework houses, were constructed and many of these, dating from the late sixteenth and first quarter of the seventeenth century, survived until the middle of the eighteenth century when they were removed by the Wide Streets Commissioners. These survivals were in High Street, Thomas Street, Cook Street, Rosemary Lane off Cook Street, on the corner of Werburgh Street, and on Skinners' Row.[34] It seems reasonable to assume that these were only remnants of the numerous timber-framed houses constructed in the city towards the end of the sixteenth century when this new house-type was introduced to Dublin. The upper storeys of these houses projected forward above the ground floor, thereby constricting further the narrow streets and passageways in the city.

The best known and most prominent private building in the walled city was the Carbrie House on Skinners' Row: its extensive garden appears to have extended south to the city walls. Carbrie House had been granted by Henry VIII to Sir Pierce Butler, nineth Earl of Ormonde, and it appears to have remained in possession of and inhabited by the family until the middle of the seventeenth century.[35] Other prominent buildings included Burnell's Inns on Cook Street, Power's Inns just inside Dame's Gate, and the Frank House, a stone-built mansion on Cock Hill near Christ Church Cathedral, which had been the Guest House of the Knights Hospitallers of Kilmainham before the Reformation.[36] Leases granted at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century suggest that housing in Oxmantown had also decayed and that these decades were a period of renewal.[37] Housing in Oxmantown was probably similar in character to contemporary buildings in the settlement on the south bank.

Despite extensive intra-mural building in the late-fifteenth century (c. 1450 - 1500) and again in the late-sixteenth century[38]



See appendix.

expansion does not seem to have resulted in extreme congestion within the city walls. Contiguous houses appear to have lined many streets within the city walls but behind them, and beside some, there were gardens and orchards which were not built-over for another century or more.[39]

In the Liberty of St. Patrick building had been encouraged by the founder of the Cathedral who donated the surrounding land to the Cathedral Chapter at its foundation.[40] By the end of the sixteenth century the Liberty was inhabited by rich merchants and by some of the Cathedral dignitaries.[41] The precincts of the Cathedral appear to have been enclosed by a stone wall: the principal entrance, St. Patrick's Gate, was north-east of the Cathedral on the east side of Patrick Street.[42] On entering the precincts through this gate grounds and houses belonging to the Oeconomy and the Archdeacon of Glendalough lay to the left (Fig.4), extending eastwards parallel to the Cathedral as far as the Treasurer's orchard which abutted Bride Street. To the right, south of the Cathedral, were the residence of the Archdeacon of Dublin, Castleragge, and the Hall and grounds of the Vicars Choral. The general plan and lay-out of these buildings closely resembled a Cistercian type cloister plan complete with houses of office and a cleansing stream, a branch of the Poddle which was deflected and probably flowed eastwards along Kevin Street and then north past these buildings and the Cathedral. Thomas Drew (1890) has indicated the probable site of the ancient chapter house which would have completed the cloistral plan north of the buildings of the Vicars Choral. The Consistory Court occupied the south-west angle of the Cathedral; further east was the Deanery Manse and garden which adjoined the Archiepiscopal Palace of St. Sepulchre. The Treasurer's House was north-east of the Cathedral and his grounds extended east to Bride Street. Further east the houses of the Petty Canons, backed by gardens to the north, extended along the laneway which opened onto Bride Street. The Chantor's manse lay west of the property of the Petty Canons and the Chantor's orchard extended north and west to the boundary of the Liberty and to Bride Street.

Outside the Cathedral precincts suburban development had already

by the fourteenth century, extended along Patrick Street, Kevin Street and New Street; holdings listed in a Rental of the Manor of St. Sepulchre (1382), assumed by James Mills to be house-plots,[43] indicate thirty five houses on Patrick Street and forty one on New Street, and Speed's map-picture suggests that houses on these sites existed also at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Public Buildings

The few secular public buildings which existed in Dublin at the beginning of the seventeenth century served multiple functions and they were also significant landmarks within the city. The Castle which was the seat of Government, also housed the Exchequer, the Treasury of Ireland, the mint, the State Paper Office, the Courts, and the prison for State prisoners; it was also a meeting place for Parliament and, from the reign of Elizabeth until 1618, it was the official residence viceroy. The Tholsel, situated near the corner of Skinners' Row and St. Nicholas Street, was the meeting place of the City Assembly, it also housed the city Treasury and, from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, it housed the Guildhall which had previously been in Winetavern Street.[46] The New Hall, a large building constructed c. 1577 in the Cornmarket near the junction with High Street, was the meeting place of the Guild of Carpenters, Millers, Heylers and Tilers.[47] The Crane on Merchant's Quay, adjoining Fyan's Castle, was both weigh house and custom house.[48] The King's Inns occupied the buildings of the former Dominican Priory of St. Saviour's on the north bank near the old bridge.[49] East of the city the new University had been established in 1590 on the site of the monastery of All Hallows.[50] Nearby on Hoggen Green was the Thingmote or Mount, an earthen pillar about forty feet high which had been the ancient meeting place of the Vikings. West of Lazy Hill and to the north of the University stood the Long Stone, an ancient Viking symbol of land-taking.[51] Other landmarks of note were the High Cross which stood at the junction of Skinners' Row with High Street; the Pillory at the junction of Skinners' Row with Castle Street; the stocks in front of St. Bridget's church in Bride Street and the public conduit erected in the Cornmarket in the fourteenth century by John le Decer who was then Lord Mayor. Other public conduits were located near the High Cross and the Pillory.[52] Some houses had piped water since the early middle ages but the needs of the greater part of the

population appear to have been supplied by these public fountains.

Despite the amalgamation of parishes, the suppression of churches, and the dissolution of the monasteries which followed the Reformation, ecclesiastical buildings were numerous. Christ Church Cathedral stood in the centre of the walled city: its thirteenth century cloisters which were deserted after the Reformation were now (c.1600) in ruins.[53] A half a mile to the south was the Cathedral of St. Patrick and east of it the Archiepiscopal palace of St. Sepulchre.[54] Within the city walls there were five churches. The eleventh century church of St. Michael the Archangel on High Street was a large building which extended from St. Michael's Lane to Trinity Lane; it was distinguished by a large, square tower at the west end of the nave. The church of St. Nicholas on the east side of Nicholas Street was founded in the mid-eleventh century by Bishop Donat, the first Danish Bishop of Dublin (1038-74); it had been rebuilt in 1573. St. Audoen's, St. John's and St. Werburgh's Churches were all founded by the Anglo-Normans soon after their arrival in Dublin and they were all three distinguished by the new architectural style introduced to Dublin at that time. The Church of St. Audoen, near the Corn Market, was originally a long narrow building devoid of any exterior ornamental architecture except a massive square tower at the western end; during the fifteenth century it had been extended to almost twice its previous size. The Church of St. Werburgh, from which the adjacent St. Werburgh Street was named, had been dedicated by the Anglo-Norman founders to the patron of Chester. The Church of St. John (the Evangelist) stood at the north-eastern corner of Christ Church Cathedral.[55]

Outside the walls on Bride Street there were two ancient diminutive Irish churches, that of St. Bridget (Bride) from which the street was named and the Church of St. Michael le Pole which was distinguished by a round tower. The old church of St. Peter de Monte, said to have been built in the sixteenth century, stood on St. Stephen Street near the end of St. George's Lane. The church of St. Kevin was further south on Kevin Street. West of the city there were two churches: that of St. Catherine on St. Thomas Street and of St. James on St. James's Street. On the north bank of the Liffey there was but one church, that of St. Michan in Oxmantown which was founded

in the eleventh century by Bishop Donat.[56]

Churches which had been secularised at the Reformation were in ruins, namely, the church of St. Mary le Dam inside and south of Dame's Gate,[57] the church of St. Tulloch on Fishamble Street,[58] and the church of St. Andrew, outside Dame's Gate, which was being used as a stable by the viceroy.[59] In earlier times a church dedicated to St. George stood on George's Lane,[60] probably opposite to present-day Exchequer Street; it seems to have been replaced during the sixteenth century by St. Peter's on the Mount.

Markets

The location of markets and sale of goods in the city were controlled by the Corporation.[61] Until the middle of the sixteenth century the city markets had all been located in the narrow, congested streets in the centre of the walled city. General produce was sold near the High Cross and in St. Michael's Lane; corn in the Corn Market; fish in Fishamble Street; wine in Winetavern Street, and the flesh shambles were in High Street. Dispersal began when new regulations were introduced in the middle of the sixteenth century and subsequently oats, hay, 'leks', rushes and shibols were sold near the church wall of St. John's Outside Newgate. The butchers were ordered in 1552 to sell under the tower next St. Owen's (St. Audoen's) Church and as a result Newhall Market developed, so named from the New Hall in the vicinity. In 1563 expenditure was authorised in order to build a 'shambles for strangers' and a weigh house for corn.

Despite this sixteenth century tendency towards dispersal, however, the only commercial activity which was removed from the city was the sale of cattle for which a market was established in Oxmantown in 1541.[62] Other livestock continued to be sold in the vicinity of St. James's Gate for about another century. By the end of the sixteenth century extra-mural medieval markets had declined: the ancient horse market on Thomas Street was no longer in use and houses had been built on its site; and St. James's Fair consisted of but a few 'cottages, booths and alepoles pitched near St. James's Gate'.[63]

Places of Recreation

Municipal places of public recreation of this time lay east and south-east of the city walls, namely, the Butts on Hoggen Green and the lands of Tib and Tom which lay south of the Mount and Chequer Lane (now Exchequer Street) and extended to St. Stephen Street.[64] The lands of Tib and Tom, traditionally known as a place of recreation, must have been relatively recently established since they seem to have occupied the site of the demesne of the dissolved monastery of St. Augustine.[65] There seem to have been no similar places of recreation near the settlement on the north bank.

Common Pasture

Near the settlement both north and south of the Liffey there were extensive municipal commons and other pastures which were still in use in 1600. (Fig.8)[66] Hoggen Green, east of the walled city, was both common pasture and a place of recreation; it extended east from the Blind Gate to the river Steine and south to Chequer Lane.[67] On the right bank of the Steine a lane led due south from Hoggen Green to the common pasture of St. Stephen's Green which was bounded to the west and south by the Steine: to the east lay the lands of Tib and Tom, to the south the Farm of St. Sepulchre's, to the north the meadows called Mynchen's Mantle and to the east the lands of Baggotrath. On the north bank of the Liffey the common pasture of Oxmantown Green extended west from the tenements on Church Street to the boundary of the county of the city.[68] North east of Oxmantown the Abbey Green had been reserved as common pasture since the thirteenth century agreement made between the monks of St. Mary's Abbey and the municipal council.[69] Near the old bridge leading to the mill at Kilmainham there was another municipal common pasture[70] which has not, however, been delimited in this study. Christ Church meadows extended along the south bank of the Liffey from St.James's Gate to the Camac.[71] Common pasture of the manor of St. Sepulchre lay south of Kevan's Port.[72]

Highways

The most enduring morphogenetic elements of the cultural landscape outside the urbanised area of 1600 were the highways which

converged on the city from the north, south, east and west. (Fig.3) Highways on the north bank of the Liffey converged on the bridge which was the only overland link with the main settlement. On the south bank the walled city, rather than a single feature, was the focus of highways for a highway led towards each of the city gates. This radial pattern of old thoroughfares was later a morphological frame within which the city developed. Widened and partly straightened, the old highways became the principal arteries of the city and they have remained a recognisable morphological frame until the present.

Population

Although lack of evidence precludes making a reliable estimate of the population of Dublin in or about 1600 it is nevertheless possible to identify the demographic characteristics and trends of the period. The total population has been estimated by Houston to have been about four or five thousand and in fact it was probably greater, for all estimates of the population of Ireland in the seventeenth century are now considered to be conservative, if not highly deficient.[73] Since its foundation the population of Dublin had been cosmopolitan although dominated at first by the Vikings, then by the Anglo-Normans, and later by the English. The gradual increase in the numbers of resident native Irish which, with the passage of time might reasonably have been expected, was checked by their periodic mandatory exclusion from the city and by their periodic exclusion from apprenticeship to the trades. If the proportion of those of English birth or origin was comparable to that recorded about the time of the Restoration, the proportion of Irish may have been as small as twenty per cent.[74] That there was a general increase in the population towards the end of the sixteenth century seems, however, to be beyond doubt. New elements at that time were officials of the central government, and the aristocracy from whom attendance at court was required. The need for residential accommodation to facilitate attendance at court had already been recognised during the reign of Henry VIII when grants for that purpose had been made to the Earls of Desmond, Ormonde and Thomond, to Brabazon, and to other officials. The population was further augmented by a new land-owning class of planters and adventurers whose descendants were the influential

'gentry' of succeeding generations.

The Guilds

Citizens engaged in trade and commerce were organised in guilds and the common council of the city was composed of representatives of the Guilds. The city council regulated both the wages of workmen and the prices of goods; disputes between guilds were also submitted to and settled by the common council. The right to form guilds such as those of the burgesses of Bristol had been granted explicitly to the citizens in 1192 and the right may even be traced to the charter granted by Henry II in 1171.[75] The Guild Merchant was the oldest, the parent guild from which the craft guilds had developed.[76] From the fifteenth century the various craftsmen had generally been organised in guilds and in the regulations for the annual pageant twenty eight different occupations are listed, some being grouped in the one guild. Guild members were required to enter into a bond to practise only their own craft. When members of a trade were not sufficiently numerous to gain a charter of incorporation, members of one craft joined with those of an associated craft to form a guild, or else they allied themselves to an existing guild; an additional potent cause of association was the desire to lighten the burden of taxation. Such combination of guilds seems to have begun in the sixteenth century. The operation of the guild system meant that the urban community was a closely knit organisation and that the guilds controlled commerce and public life.

The Guild records indicate a wide variety of crafts which were practised in Dublin from medieval times. Little is known of Dublin's trade and commerce, however, and the general lack of definite and detailed evidence of Irish commerce in medieval times has been noted by Longfield who made a detailed study of Irish trade in the sixteenth century.[77] Throughout late medieval and post medieval times the silted estuary of the Liffey was a serious disadvantage to Dublin. Even in the sixteenth century Dublin's economic importance was almost entirely due to her position as the political capital of Ireland; her export trade was far inferior to her import trade and imports were mainly luxuries which the merchants

bought in London and Chester.

The major portion of Dublin's trade during the sixteenth century was with England and above all with Chester and Bristol for in these cities free citizens of Dublin might be exempt from customs: even when not excused the entire amount allowances were liberal enough to attract traders to Bristol and to Chester rather than to the other English ports thus maintaining links which had existed since the twelfth century. During the sixteenth century the chief exports were fish, hides, wool and linen, tallow and wood. Quantities of tallow being exported were so large that municipal laws passed in 1557 forbade butchers of the city to sell any tallow to a foreigner without the mayor's special licence. Trade in meat and corn was hampered by restrictions intended to keep sufficient supplies in Ireland for the army. A statute of 1569 had endeavoured to encourage the processing of foodstuffs as well as their retention in the country by placing heavy customs duty on uncasked beef, tallow, wax and butter. Thus the foundation was already laid in the sixteenth century for the seventeenth century development of a successful trade in provisions.

Medieval Administrative Boundaries.

The principal administrative boundaries which influenced seventeenth and eighteenth century urban morphology were the county of the city and the boundaries of the Liberties of St. Sepulchre, of St. Patrick, and of Thomas Court. A liberty was a franchise, a privilege or branch of the Crown's prerogative granted to the subject.[78] The privileges granted to the burgesses of Dublin were freedom from toll and all customs for themselves and their goods throughout Normandy, England, Wales and Ireland, which were cited in the second charter granted to Dublin by Henry II in 1174.[79] Several Liberties were created in Ireland after the Anglo-Norman conquest. A Liberty consisted of lands and people over whom temporal power was exercised by the same authority, an area within which certain privileges were granted to and certain duties imposed on the residents. The Liberty of the city of Dublin was designated the county of the city and recognised as a unit distinct from the county of Dublin by the charter granted by Edward VI in 1548.[80] The area comprised by the

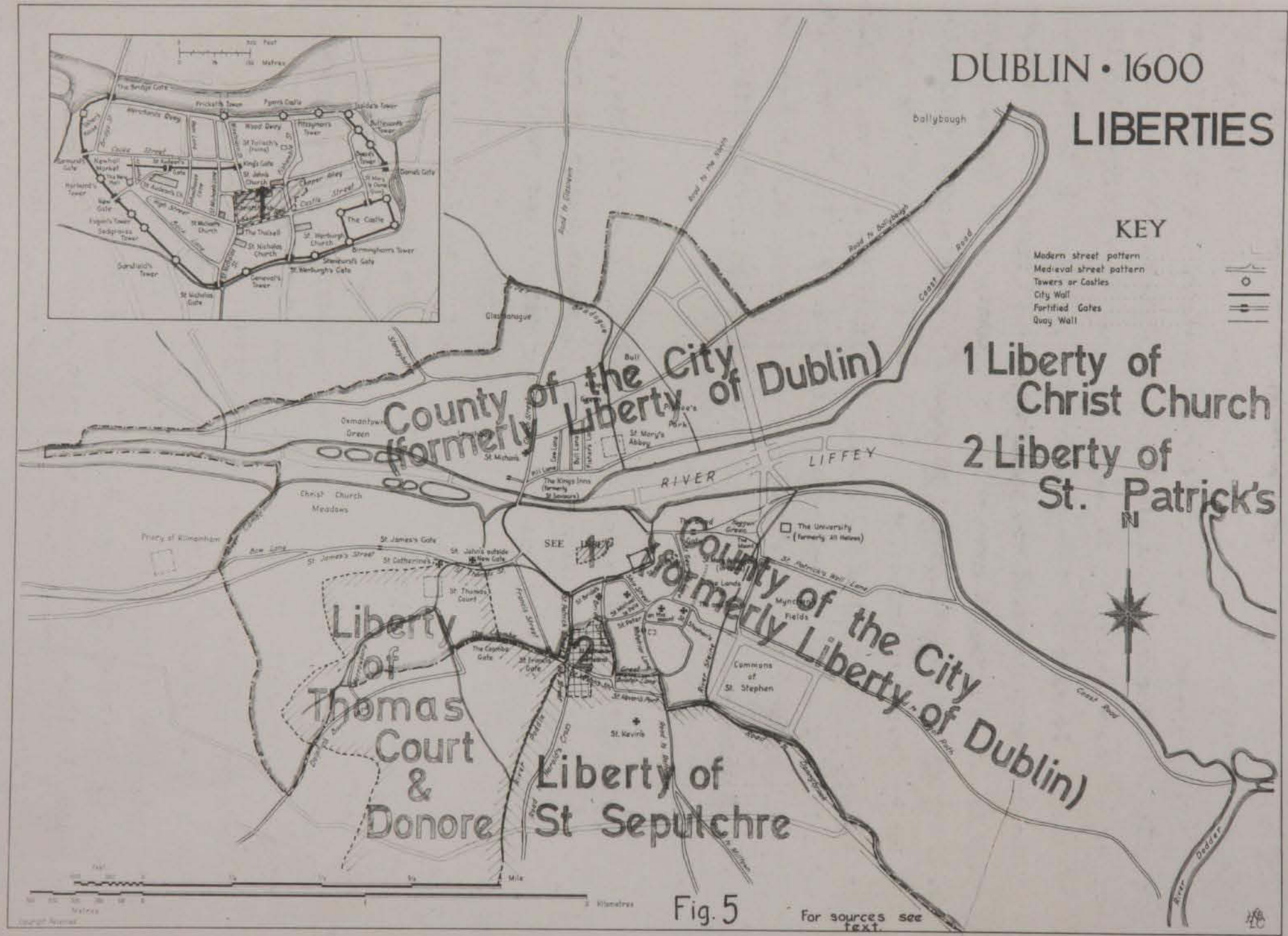


Fig. 5

For sources see text.

county of the city had, in fact, been recognised as a distinct juridical unit since the reign of Henry II and the extent of the Liberty and the rights of the municipal authority were described in detail in the charter granted by Prince John in 1192.[81] Mandatory annual riding of the franchises by the municipal officials assured continuity and recognition of the boundary throughout the ensuing centuries despite periodic official lapses. The boundary shown on Fig.5 is based on evidence recorded in the riding of the franchises in 1603,[82] on the report of the Municipal Corporations, 1835,[83] and on the boundary delimited on Rocque's map of the county of Dublin, 1757. The Liberty of St. Sepulchre (Fig.5) lay south of the county of the city and comprised the lands which were donated to Archbishop Comin in the thirteenth century.[84] The boundary of the Liberty of St. Patrick has been delimited in Fig.4.[85] The extent of the Liberty of Christ Church is indicated on estate maps of Christ Church but the origin of this Liberty is not known: it consisted of about an acre and a half of land surrounding the Cathedral. (Fig.5).[86] The estate of Thomas Court was also a Liberty; it has been delimited on the basis of maps of the Meath Estate which were compiled by William Armstrong in the nineteenth century.[87]

The manifold implications of multiple and unco-ordinated areas of independent jurisdiction were already evident during the medieval period. By charter of Prince John which defined and confirmed all rights and privileges granted in 1172 by Henry II, the city had title to and the right to dispose of all land within the Liberties which had not been donated by the Crown,[88] and the right to levy tolls and taxes and to enforce laws and usages within the Liberties. Contiguous areas outside the boundary provided a refuge for those who wished to evade the laws and taxation of the city and this led to frequent litigation between the municipal authorities and the rulers of contiguous lands. The abbots of Thomas Court and of St. Mary's Abbey each claimed independence since they were also temporal rulers of their estates and ranked as temporal feudal lords; however, in 1327 it was ruled that both Abbeys lay within the jurisdiction of the city,[89] although each had its Seneschal and Courts Leet and Baron and each had extensive lands outside the City Liberties. The situation of the manor of Donore (outside the county

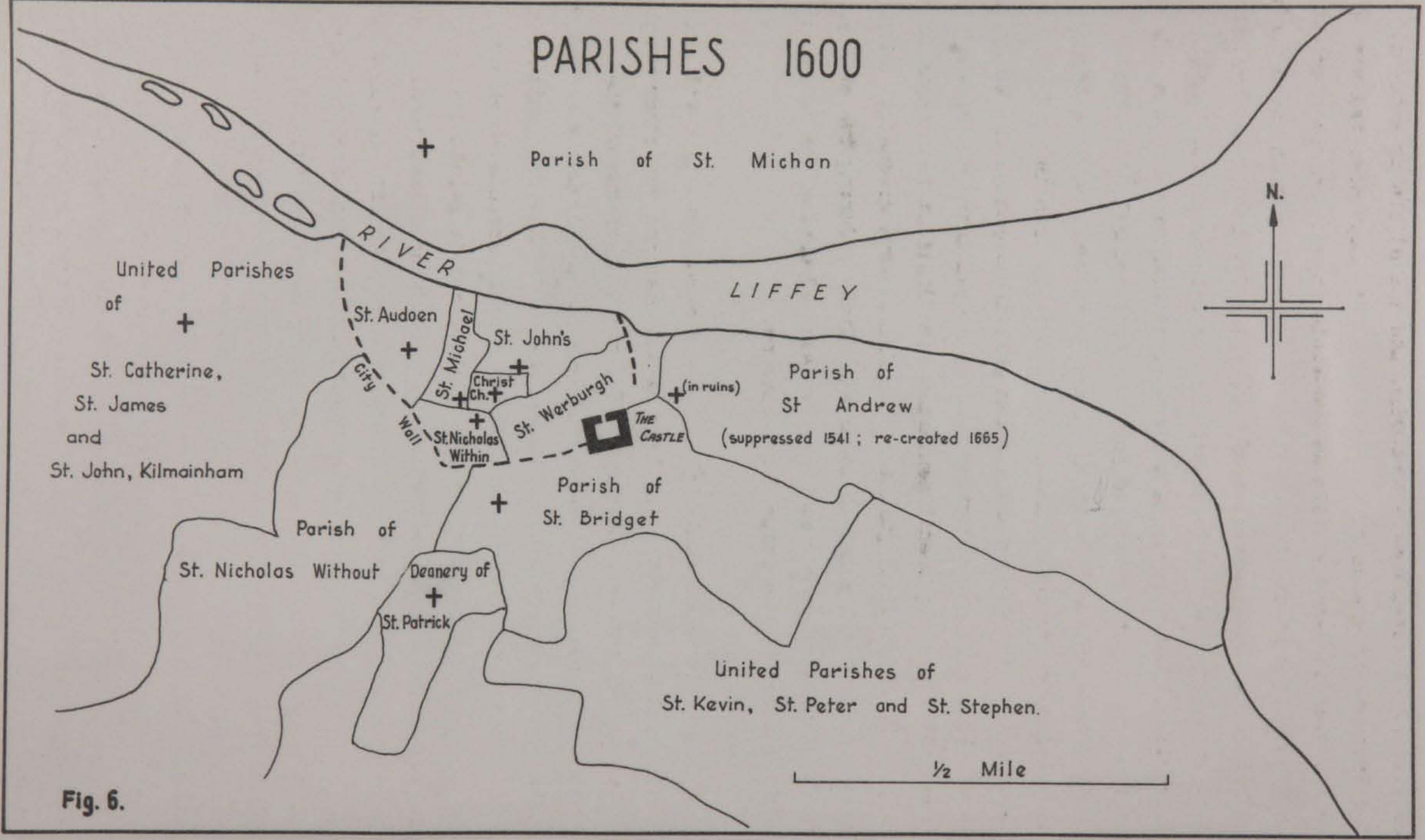


Fig. 6.

see appendix

of the city) led to the foundation there of an independent market and fair in the seventeenth century[90] and the formation of a new complex of streets, namely Newmarket and the adjoining streets.[91] The independent status of the Liberty of St. Sepulchre had already in the twelfth century, left an indelible imprint on the city with the foundation of the Cathedral of St. Patrick by Archbishop Comin who wished to be free from municipal authority in all temporal matters; and with the foundation of the Liberty of St. Patrick which gradually formed a separate nucleus of settlement which was subject to the Archbishop and not to the municipal council.[92] The independence of the Liberty of Thomas Court seems to have been asserted more frequently and more effectively than that of St. Sepulchre; the former had its own well-developed water supply, and other municipal services which were developed there during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were distinct from those of the city. These medieval juridical boundaries were gradually modified both topographically and in legal significance during the eighteenth century and they were completely reorganised during the nineteenth century reform of municipal corporations.

The parishes of Dublin (Fig.6) were recognised as civil and administrative units for the levying of taxes and for other purposes during the seventeenth century. These were parishes of the Established Church. After the Reformation the parishes of Dublin had been reorganised by Archbishop Browne.[93] The reorganisation consisted principally of the amalgamation of parishes which were too small or too poor to support an incumbent and it resulted in the secularisation of churches which has already been mentioned. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as the city developed and the population grew, the parishes were again reorganised and some new parishes were established to serve the needs of new suburbs.[94] Despite the suppression of Catholic institutions in the sixteenth century[95] the Catholic Church preserved during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a loosely organised parish network which generally corresponded areally to the parishes of the Established Church and preserved the same dedications.[96] Sixteenth century parishes have been delimited on the basis of evidence recorded in Acts of Parliament and in Stanihurst's description of Dublin.[97] Browne's 'Instrument of Union' has unfortunately not survived and so some of the ancient

DUBLIN • 1600
ESTATES

Estate of Christ Church

Estate of St. Mary's Abbey

Estate of the (Grange gorman)

Oxmantown Green

Priory of Kilmainham

Christ Ch. Meadows

Estate of Thomas Court

Estate of St. Sepulchre

Stephen's Green

Fitzwilliam Estate

1. Estate of St. Patrick's Cathedral
2. Whitefriars Estate
3. Trinity College Estate

KEY

- Modern street pattern
- Medieval street pattern
- Towers or Castles
- City Wall
- Fortified Gates
- Quay Wall
- Municipal Estates
- Crown Estates
- Church Estates
- Fragmented Holdings

Fig. 7 For sources see text

boundaries are conjectural.

Landownership

The three principal land-owners in Dublin at the beginning of the seventeenth century were the city, the church and the crown. (Fig.7) The crown estate consisted almost solely of former monastic property which had been seized at the dissolution. Church land comprised the estates of the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, of the restored Chapter of St. Patrick's Cathedral and of the secularised Chapter of Christ Church Cathedral, all of whom retained their pre-Reformation estates. The city estate consisted of land granted by charter in the reigns of Henry II and of Prince John and of former monastic property granted to the city in the reign of Queen Elizabeth I.[98] The probable extent of land granted to the city in the twelfth century and which remained under the control of the municipal council in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has been determined through correlation of leases[99] and of maps indicating patterns of land-ownership in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by which time more municipal land had been alienated. The principal extant surveys are described above on pages 11 and 12. The extent of the strand and the site of the coastline have been determined from seventeenth century leases and surveys. Grants made to the city by the crown during the reign of Elizabeth I comprised the site, precincts and possessions of the Priory of All Saints and numerous small properties scattered through the city and suburbs which, before the dissolution, had been the property of the Abbeys of St. Mary and of Thomas Court. These properties have not been mapped in this study since most of them are very small: they may be seen in Morgan's Rental.[100] This pattern of landownership was largely derived from the secularisation of land which followed the mid-sixteenth century dissolution of the monasteries.

From the thirteenth century until the middle of the sixteenth century the city of Dublin had been encircled by monasteries and their estates. The monasteries, founded in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, had been so continuously and so richly endowed with land and property within the city and county of Dublin that eventually the municipal council prohibited further donations to the monasteries

of property within its jurisdiction; indeed, some leases were granted on condition that the property would not be bequeathed to religious houses, as for instance, in a riparian grant of land near the old bridge.[101] Medieval monastic Dublin has nevertheless left little physical imprint on the modern city although early-modern extensions of Dublin were built almost entirely on what had been monastic land. The medieval pattern of land-ownership in which ecclesiastical land was overwhelmingly dominant was completely altered by the Reformation and consequent secularisation of monastic lands. The location and extent of the pre-Reformation monastic estates illustrated in Fig. 7 demonstrates the significance of the Reformation and its consequences in the development of Dublin: if monastic lands had not been secularised it seems improbable that Dublin would have assumed its present form.

The site and extent of the medieval church lands of Co. Dublin have been traced by Otway-Ruthven but this author has not identified such lands within the county of the city.[102] O Conbhuí has traced the location and extent of the entire estate of St. Mary's Abbey, part of which lay within and part outside the county of the city boundary. The estate boundary traced by O Conbhuí[103] has been found by the writer to be largely correct; however, in tracing the estate boundary from Blessington Street to Ballybough Lane (now Parnell Street) O Conbhuí adopts the line of the eighteenth century streets without reference to the change of width and alignment effected by that time by the Wide Streets Commissioners. Significant property boundaries had been altered or eradicated in the course of this work.[104] In delimiting the estate boundary of St. Mary's Abbey adjustments must also be made on the basis of surveys made by the Wide Streets Commissioners in redeveloping Cavendish Row and the Barley Fields.

Monastic estates can be traced through modern or early modern properties when title to property can be traced back to the grants made of these estates after the dissolution of the monasteries.[105] Place names sometimes indicate the approximate site of monastic buildings: most former monastic sites in Dublin are still commemorated in place names. The site of the twelfth century St. Mary's Abbey, the oldest monastery in Dublin,[106] is indicated by a small street

which actually bears the name 'St. Mary's Abbey', and by the Chapter House, the only part of the monastic buildings which has survived local urbanisation.[107] Despite almost total destruction of the Abbey buildings it is possible, as suggested by Ronan[108] and by Hogan[109] to identify and to delimit the site of the various buildings. Like all Cistercian monasteries St. Mary's Abbey was built to a uniform plan in uniform proportions and the Chapter House provides a key to the reconstruction. The Abbey buildings formed a quadrangle lying west of present-day Capel Street. The church occupied the entire north side of the quadrangle; the sacristy adjoined the south transept and was itself adjoined by the Chapter House and these, together with the Community Room, formed the eastern side of the quadrangle. The south side was occupied by the kitchen, offices, the refectory, and above this, perhaps, a dormitory. On the west was the 'Domus Conversorum' and the guest house, adjoined by the Hospice for the Poor and for strangers. In the interior of the square the cloisters surrounded the garth or enclosed garden which is now entirely covered by buildings. The Abbey buildings were divided by James I among three grantees and they were inhabited by a number of notable persons in the middle of the seventeenth century: this suggests that the medieval buildings must have largely survived the depredations which followed the dissolution of the monasteries.

The precincts of the Abbey were enclosed by stone walls.[110] The western wall was on the east bank of the Bradogue; the eastern wall appears to have been near the site of present-day Liffey Street; the northern wall appears to have followed the line of Parnell Street (then Ballybough Lane).[111] Within the precincts were the Ash Park, the common orchard, various gardens, the tan house, the brew house, the bake-house, haggard and barn; gardens lying east of the church were 'planted with large trees' in the middle of the sixteenth century.[112] Outside the precincts the estate extended west to the Bradogue, east to the sea, and north to the Tolka.

St. Saviour's Dominican Priory, founded in 1224, stood on the bank of the Liffey between the old bridge and the Pill. The precincts of the Priory were clearly delimited by natural and by man-made features, on the south by the strand of the Liffey, on the west and

north by Pill Lane which provided access to St. Mary's Abbey and to the Pill, confluence of the Bradogue and the Liffey, which formed the eastern boundary.[113] All trace of the buildings and of their ground-plan was removed and Pill Lane was closed in the course of eighteenth and nineteenth century redevelopment:[114] the only remaining indication of the site of this ancient pathway is an indentation in the footpath on the east side of Church Street which is at present being removed in the process of widening the southern end of Church Street. This monastic site of about three acres was enclosed by a stone wall within which, besides the church and priory buildings, there were several gardens and orchards and a graveyard.[115] The Priory buildings appear to have occupied the south-eastern sector of the precincts.[116] Along the western and northern boundaries there were in the sixteenth century some houses with backyards or gardens. Most of the estate of St. Saviour's lay outside the county of the city west of Oxmantown Green: two significant portions which lay within or near the site of the eighteenth century city were Ellen Hore's meadow near the county of the city boundary and a large island near the Old Bridge together with some adjacent land on or near the river bank.[117]

East of the walled city near the Blind Gate stood the monastery of St.Augustine, founded in 1259.[118] Its precincts were bounded on the south by Dame Street, on the west by Hog (Hoggen) Lane[119] and on the north by the Liffey: the eastern boundary has been obscured by later urbanisation: it was probably on or near the site of Anglesea Street. The monastic buildings have now been entirely destroyed but some of them were still standing in Harris's time (1766). At the dissolution this monastery had also about four acres near Hoggen Green which, together with the site and precincts, were granted to Walter Tyrrell. This estate was probably the land known later as that of Tib and Tom which was sometimes also called Tyrrell's Park.[120]

East of Hoggen Green on the east bank of the Steine was the Priory of All Saints which had been founded in 1166 by Dermot Mac Murrough.[121] The site of these monastic buildings is now occupied by Trinity College: the Campanile allegedly occupies the site of the church steeple which was still standing in 1690.[122] The demesne lands of All Saints were bounded to the west by the Steine, to the

south by St.Patrick's Well Lane, to the north by Lazer's Hill and the strand of the Liffey, and on the east by the coast road from Lazer's Hill to Ringsend.[123]

South-west of the Mount on Hoggen Green was the Nunnery of St.Mary de Hogges which was also founded by Dermot Mac Murrough.[124] The site and precincts of this monastery have not yet been conclusively identified: the monastic buildings probably occupied the site of the present church of St. Andrew.[125] The demesne lands of St. Mary de Hogges lay south of St. Patrick's Well Lane, bounded on the west by the Steine or the lane leading from Hoggen Green to St. Stephen's Green which itself formed the southern boundary, while on the west the demesne was bounded by the lands of Baggot Rath, then part of the estate of Fitzwilliam of Merrion.[126]

The Carmelite monastery of Whitefriars, founded in 1274,[127] occupied a small site of about two and a half acres bounded on the west by Whitefriars' Street, and on the east and south by Love Lane which is now part of Mercer Street and Upper Digges Street, while on the north it abutted the churchyard of St.Peter on the Mount.[128]

Near the south-western wall of the city the Franciscan Friary, according to tradition, occupied the site of the present church of St. Nicholas of Myra;[129] its lands extended east to the city wall or fosse. The western boundary of these lands has not yet been identified: it probably coincided with St. Francis Street, or it may have coincided with tenement boundaries east of this street: detailed analysis of property boundaries in this small area should reveal its site. The Friary buildings consisted of a Church and belfry, dormitory, hall and three chambers; within the precincts there were also a cemetery and a garden. This friary owned houses and gardens in Francis Street but otherwise it had no demesne lands in Dublin.[130]

The Priory of St. John the Baptist, known as St.John's Outside Newgate, was founded in the twelfth century by Aelred the Palmer who built a double hospital and religious house for men and women. This priory stood outside the city walls, near Newgate; it was burnt by the citizens at the threat of the Bruce Invasion but was reconstructed

soon afterwards and part of the buildings were still in use during the seventeenth century. The possessions of St. John's Outside Newgate within the city confines were very restricted in area, consisting almost solely of the walled precincts and some mills outside the north-western wall.[131] Most of the monastic estate lay in the County of Dublin and elsewhere in Ireland.[132]

The Royal Abbey of Thomas Court, west of the city, was founded in 1177 together with a church dedicated to St. Thomas a Beckett, by William Fitz Adelm, kinsman and steward of Henry II.[133] The layout of the buildings of this Abbey is indicated in a general way by Speed (1610). Unlike St. Mary's Abbey, the Abbey of Thomas Court was not built to a predetermined and commonly accepted plan; however, the detailed analysis of property boundaries should permit accurate delimitation of the Abbey precincts on modern Ordnance Survey maps.[134] Most of the estates of this wealthy abbey lay outside both the county of the city and the county of Dublin;[135] nevertheless, its Dublin lands were an important and relatively extensive unit composed of two manors of Thomas Court and of Donore of which the latter was donated to the Abbey by Prince John in 1177.[136] The demesne lands were partly delimited by natural topographical features; the valley of the Coombe formed the boundary between the two manors; the manor of Donore was bounded on the east by a branch of the Poddle; natural features which probably formed other boundaries have not yet been identified.

Just outside the county of the city, to the west, the Priory of the Knights Hospitallers of Kilmainham stood on a plateau overlooking the Camac and the Liffey. It was founded by Earl Richard fitz Gilbert, (Strongbow) c. 1174, and was richly endowed with property in various parts of Ireland.[137] Its Dublin estate extended westwards on both banks of the Liffey from the boundary of the county of the city for more than two miles. Part of this estate later formed the nucleus of the Phoenix Park and it also provided a site for the Royal Hospital with its extensive grounds.[138]

Ecclesiastical land also included the extensive estates of the Archbishop of Dublin, the greatest landowner in the county of Dublin;[139] the estates of the Cathedrals of Christ Church and of St. Patrick

and the glebe lands of numerous churches. The estate of the Archbishop, the manor of St.Sepulchre, extended south and west from the boundary of the county of the city and it comprised the lands lying between the estate of Thomas Court and of Fitzwilliam of Merrion.[140] The estate of St. Patrick's Cathedral consisted of the liberty of St. Patrick's Cathedral (a manor which constituted a separate Liberty within the Liberty of St.Sepulchre) and numerous parcels of land within the city and suburbs which had been donated at various times to the Cathedral Chapter and its dignitaries.[141] The estate of Christ Church Cathedral comprised three main tracts of land: the Liberty of Christ Church which consisted of about one and a half acres of land surrounding the Cathedral inside the city walls; Christ Church meadows which extended along the Liffey bank from St. James's Gate westward to the banks of the Camac; and the lands of Grangegorman and Glasnevin which lay north and west of the county of the city boundary and the upper course of the Bradogue.[142] The medieval city was thus surrounded and hemmed in by ecclesiastical and monastic land.

The dissolution of the monasteries (1540-46) had a far-reaching effect on the development of Dublin in later centuries for the extensive lands of the various monasteries were then secularised and later, by royal grant, they became the property either of influential individuals or of the Corporation. Most of the buildings were destroyed and those which remained were turned to secular uses. St. Saviour's Dominican Priory was granted in 1541 to the lawyers to permit establishment of the King's Inns. From this time the buildings seem gradually to have decayed and in 1600 they were almost in ruins.[143] The church of St. Mary's Abbey was occupied c. 1540 by John Travers, then Master of the Ordnance in Ireland, who used it as an arsenal. Some of the Abbey buildings together with the site, precincts, and some of the demesne lands were granted for twenty-one years, in 1543 to Walter Peppard who was installed as 'farmer' according to statute. The reversion of this property was granted to James Fitzgerald, 15th Earl of Desmond and his heirs, and on his attainder it was granted to Mathew King.[144] The monastery of St.Augustine was granted, with four acres near Hoggen Green, to Walter Tyrrell, merchant and in 1597 the property was granted to Walter Crow who built a residence on the site which was later known as the Crow's Nest.[145] The Priory of All Saints was granted by Henry VIII to the Corporation[146]

LAND USE • 1600

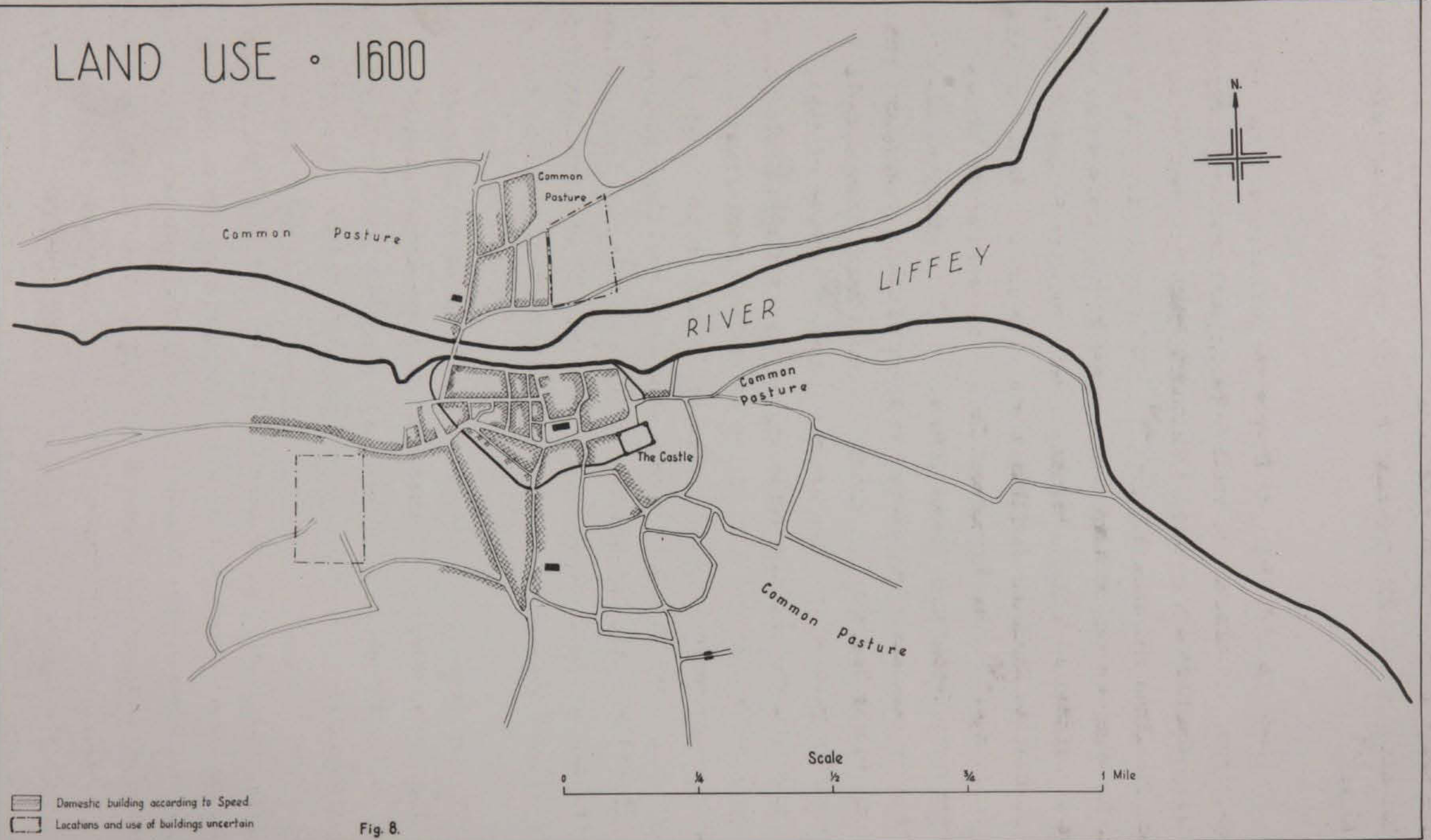


Fig. 8.

which, in the reign of Elizabeth, granted it for the foundation of a university to Adam Loftus, Protestant Archbishop of Dublin and Provost of the newly founded Trinity College.[147] New buildings were erected on the site of the Priory during the last decade of the seventeenth century.[148]

The Convent of St.Mary de Hogges was demolished after the dissolution, the timber and roofing being then removed to repair the Castle; the site was granted to Richard Tyant in order to erect looms for linen and woollen yarn;[149] this industrial venture does not, however, appear to have been successful and there is no evidence that it existed in 1600. The dissolved Carmelite Priory of Whitefriars was granted to Nicholas Stanihurst who is reputed to have demolished the buildings.[150] The Franciscan Friary was granted to Thomas Stephens who demolished the buildings.[151] The Priory of St. John's outside Newgate was first leased to Edmund Redman, a surgeon, and then to Thomas Sedgrave, merchant; Redman maintained a small hospital in part of the monastic buildings.[152] Some of these buildings and the church steeple were still standing at the end of the eighteenth century. The Abbey of St.Thomas was granted in 1541 to William Brabazon, undertreasurer of Ireland in the reign of Henry VIII; Brabazon used some of the Abbey buildings as a residence.[153] The monastery of the Knights Hospitallers of Kilmainham was reserved for the use of the Crown and towards the end of the sixteenth century the buildings were at times used as a residence by the Lord Deputy.[154]

The secularisation of monastic buildings is seen, therefore, to have led to destruction of buildings and consequent change of character of the monastic sites. All that remains of medieval monastic Dublin are hidden material fragments and commemorative street names such as St. Mary's Abbey and St. Thomas Court, Little and Big. Change of land-ownership which followed the dissolution of the monasteries had little if any immediate impact on land-use (Fig.8) and occupations; the tenantry appears scarcely to have been disturbed and records of Thomas Court suggest that farming continued as previously. Contemporary conditions must have been similar on the estates of St. Mary's Abbey and Kilmainham and probably also on the eastern portion of the estate of All Hallows where land was cultivated by the tenantry. Indeed, the compulsory installation on each estate

of a 'farmer' who administered the monastic home farm on behalf of the Crown suggests that continuity of land-use was intended when the estates were seized. Nevertheless, the mode of occupance and of land utilisation on these estates at the end of the sixteenth century is difficult to trace in detail. Urbanisation of the estate of St.Mary's Abbey effectively and deliberately removed physical evidence of earlier settlement[155] and on other estates developers did not, in fact, leave any noticeable evidence of earlier phases of occupance.

Unlike many historic cities in which the townscape itself provides evidence both of former modes of occupance and of phases of development, in Dublin property boundaries and their implications together with place names, often provide the only evidence from which the past may be reconstructed. The only physical remnant of the manorial organisation in the vicinity of Dublin which persisted during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was the open-field system of Grangegorman on the estate of Christ Church Cathedral which was still farmland at the end of the eighteenth century.[156] Although invisible in the landscape, medieval administrative boundaries left a more lasting imprint.

Although the mid-sixteenth century change in landownership brought little immediate change in land-use in the vicinity of Dublin its influence on seventeenth and eighteenth century urbanisation was nonetheless far-reaching for the secularisation and change of ownership effected in the sixteenth century led not only to further change of ownership in the seventeenth century but it also facilitated. tenurial changes which were necessary to encourage the substantial investment which early modern urban development demanded. The pattern of urban development was determined by the availability of land for building and this was governed in part by the system of land-use and even more by conditions of tenure which changed and evolved in response to demands created by changing political, social and economic needs. The pattern of landownership and the systems of tenure which evolved during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries left a lasting imprint on the city and they continue to influence patterns of urban development in Dublin today. Medieval patterns of land-ownership persisted until the Reformation and the pattern of landownership which existed in 1600 was rooted in post-Reformation changes.

Land Tenure

The tenurial system was even more significant perhaps than the pattern of land-ownership and to some extent it governed the availability of land for building for in 1600 conditions of tenure either prohibited or inhibited urban development on most of the land which surrounded the city. Medieval tenurial organisation still prevailed. This feudal system of land-holding had evolved since the Anglo-Normal Conquest when Dublin and the surrounding land which constituted the Liberties, together with the littoral as far south as Arklow and some other towns and lands in Ireland, were reserved to the king and formed the original demesne of the crown in Ireland.[157] All these lands were subsequently held of the crown: the actual owner and the cultivator of the soil owed suit and service to the king or to some overlord who held of the king. The manor was the most important unit of administration and each manor had its Courts Leet and Baron in which the affairs of the tenantry were regulated. Tenures recognised by the law were of three kinds: military tenures by which the holder owed knght service (service in time of war) to his lord together with suit of court (attendance at court), aids, reliefs and 'primer seizin' (money payments on certain occasions) and escheat (reversion of the land to the lord on failure of heirs): free socage which was the service of freemen who rendered fealty and suit of court together with some fixed service which might be (and in practice always was) commuted for a payment in money; and copyhold, the tenure of former villeins or villagers holding at will of the lord who had gained a more secure position by the custom of the manor and who held by copy of the court rolls on which their rights were recorded. Church land was held 'by Divine Service' or in frankalmoigne (free alms) without any obligation of service. The condition of tenants on church land was similar to that of tenants on the lands of temporal lords.

With the passage of time services were ever more frequently commuted to fixed monetary payments. In 1215 King John commuted services from the city of Dublin to a fixed rent by granting its land to the city to hold forever in fee farm by an annual payment of two hundred marks.[158] Military service lapsed completely during the fifteenth century and grants were then usually made in fee farm (at

a perpetual fixed rent without services with the right of inheritance) or in fee tail (at a fixed rent without services, the inheritance being restricted to blood heirs, sometimes even to male heirs only). According to both of these tenures estates reverted to the Crown on failure of the line of succession. Some estates were granted in fee simple (at a fixed rent, without services and with unconditional inheritance). In practice, the basic difference between the tenures called fee farm and fee simple was that a person who held property in fee simple had greater freedom to alienate it; furthermore, such a person seems to have paid a nominal rent while a fee farm rent might be as much as a quarter of the value of the property. Property held in fee farm seems rarely to have been alienated. Fee simple was the greatest interest in landed property allowed to any person by the common law: the owner of an estate in fee simple might put it to any use, lease it, mortgage it, sell it or give it away. Fee simple estates of those who died intestate reverted to the Crown./ A fee simple might be absolute, as it usually was, or it might be determinable by virtue of some condition imposed in making the grant. Despite commutations which had been effected in many cases long before the end of the sixteenth century some manorial services were still exacted in Dublin during the seventeenth and even during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: obligatory attendance at Courts Leet and Baron, for instance, or a certain number of days' labour in harvest time which might, however, be commuted to a money payment by the tenant according to terms fixed by the property owner in granting the lease. All manorial rights were not abolished until the twentieth century.[159]

Some leases of land and property were granted for terminable terms of years without the right of reversion which meant that the entire property including buildings and other improvements made by the tenants reverted entirely to the lessor on expiry of the lease. Such terms might be for as little as seven years but were more usually for thirty-one years or occasionally even for forty-one years. Extension to sixty-one years was an improvement sought towards the end of the sixteenth century and granted generally during the seventeenth century when longer terms of years were being gradually introduced. To such conditions of tenure may be attributed the

widespread decay in the city towards the end of the sixteenth century when terms of years granted in many leases were evidently expiring, for although the tenant was obliged by the conditions of his lease to keep the property in repair and so yield it up at the end of his term, in practice few repairs were carried out by an occupant towards the end of his term unless he had the right of reversion. By the right of reversion the lessee had the right to a renewal of his lease but the terms of such renewal were usually negotiable and the lessor usually demanded a greatly increased annual rent and he might also demand a substantial payment as a fine on renewal.

Building leases were usually granted for a fixed number of years without the right of reversion. In principle, the terms of the lease were such that the lessee might derive an equitable return from the property and still yield it up to the lessor at the end of the term without compensation. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries ever-longer terms of years were granted on some properties to offset the lack of right to the reversion and also to encourage the enormous labour and capital investment involved in extensive works of reclamation. Some of these leases are terminating only in the present century and an inherent injustice in the system has become conspicuous. Ground-landlords who neither built the houses nor contributed to their upkeep can now claim the entire property and can even require that it be surrendered in good repair, by virtue of the fact that an ancestor or predecessor in title owned the land and leased the site for building. In 1600 the iniquity of such leases was not so apparent for residential building was usually not substantial in character and houses rarely outlasted the term of years granted by the lease.

In 1600 most of the Crown Estate was in lease for short terms of years: some lands were in lease to tenants at will, some were leased for terms varying from seven to twenty-one years. Two monastic estates had been granted in fee farm: that of Thomas Court was entailed to Brabazon and his heirs[160] and that of All Saints had been granted to the city[161] which subsequently granted it to the Provost for the new university.[162] Tracts of the estate of St. Mary's

Abbey were in lease for terms of years to John Travers, to Robert Piphoe and to Mathew King who had acquired the leasehold of the Earl of Desmond.[163] The estate of Whitefriars was held by Alderman Ball;[164] that of St. Mary de Hogges by Walter Tyrrell; St. Augustine's by William Crow and St. John's Outside Newgate by James Sedgrave. The estate of Kilmainham was still held directly by the crown[165] and it was probably held by tenants at will. Church land was leased for short terms of years and might not legally be alienated. On the municipal estate commonages were extensive and this land might not be leased for building. The Fitzwilliam estate was held of the city in fee farm: a clause in the lease prohibited building lest such development might overburden the city commons and so this land was also excluded from urbanisation.[166] Land available to be leased for building about 1600 was therefore very limited. Insecurity of tenure in leaseholds inhibited the investment necessary for enduring residential building even when leases contained no clauses controlling land-use. Extensive commonages and insecurity of tenure on other lands were the two most significant tenurial characteristics which in 1600 inhibited building. The significance of location in stimulating tenurial changes which would permit or promote urbanisation became evident during the seventeenth century as did the significance of entailed estates during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The fragmentary nature of land parcels and of leaseholds within the old core area renders reconstruction of the pattern of landownership a difficult task. The pattern of landownership within the walled city and its medieval suburbs nevertheless probably holds the key to the reconstruction of medieval topography and surviving records probably contain sufficient evidence to permit a detailed reconstruction of many authentic medieval sites and possibly also of some earlier features. This has not been done in the present study although some salient characteristics have been identified and some probable hypotheses have been formulated. Regular burgage plots seem to have extended along High Street and Back Lane from St. Nicholas Street to the Cornmarket: these can be identified through correlation of plots identified in the recent excavations with later maps and property boundaries.

despite the almost total lack of physical evidence for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, for the medieval pathways uncovered in these excavations bear a clear relationship to eighteenth century pathways and these provide some positive fixed points from which other relationships can be established. St. Thomas Street and St. James's Street may also have been lined with regular, planned burgage plots. Bequests made by the burgesses resulted, by the mid-sixteenth century, in much of this land being held by the various churches, by the monasteries and by the Guilds. There is no survey which records land held outright by private individuals but there are some indications that there was, in fact, such land. Power's Inns, for instance, occupied the site bounded on the east by the city wall and on the west and north by the way leading from Buttevant's tower to Dame's Gate; the city could in principle prove its right to this land but in practice it had been held independently for so long by the Bysse family that their title was ultimately recognised.[167] Some land within the sixteenth century walled city seems to have been granted already to Anglo-Norman lords by the crown before the charter was granted to the city in 1192.[168] The extent of such land should become apparent when known titles to land within the walled city have been analysed and the related land parcels have been mapped.

At the end of the sixteenth century the city of Dublin, encircled by its late medieval fortifications, was still medieval in form, in its institutions, in its system of landholding and tenure, and of municipal government. Nevertheless, the ferment of activity from which the early modern city emerged had already begun. The spirit of change ushered in by the Reformation heralded more far-reaching changes which evolved in the two succeeding centuries during which Dublin was gradually transformed into a modern capital city, beautiful and imposing, although not without blemish.

References and Footnotes

1. The original charter is in the Muniment Room, City Hall, Dublin; the text is published in Historical and Municipal Documents of Ireland Ed. J.T. Gilbert (Rolls Series, 1870), 1; English translation in Anc.Rec. I, 1. Goddard Henry Orpen, Ireland under the Normans (Oxford, 1911), II, 129, 270-71.

2. Edmund Curtis, A History of Medieval Ireland from 1086 to 1513 (London, 1938), 189 and passim.

3. 'Description of Dublin, 1577' by Richard Stanihurst, extracted from Chronicles ... collected by Raphael Holinshed (London, 1577 and 1586), published in Anc. Rec. II, Appendix I, 537-51 Myles V. Ronan, The Reformation in Dublin, 1536-1558 (London, 1926) 543 et seq.

4. Anc. Rec. II, passim.

5. 'Dublin, 1610' by John Speed, published as inset (top right) on the map of 'The County of Leinster' in Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain by John Speed (London, 1611)

6. Anc. Rec. II, 537-51

7. 'Towers of the Castle of Dublin', 1585, State Papers, Ireland, vol. cxxi, No. 74, P.R.O., London, published in Anc. Rec. II, Appendix IV, 558-61.

8. Report on the Manuscripts of Lord de L'Isle and Dudley, preserved at Penshurst Place (H.M.C., London, 1925), I, 376-77; 398-99; 407. 'Sir Henry Sidney's memoir of his government in Ireland', The Ulster Journal of Archaeology, III (1855), 93, 106

9. Structural changes made in the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries are seen on a MS plan entitled 'Castle of Dublin', published in G.A. Hayes-McCoy, Ulster and other Irish Maps c.1600 (I.M.C., 1964) to face page 30; Hayes-McCoy suggests, from internal evidence, that this undated plan was made 'possibly in 1609... or at least ... before 1624' (op.cit.,29). cf. J.L.J. Hughes, 'Dublin Castle in the seventeenth century: a topographical reconstruction', Dublin Hist.Rec. II, (1940), 81-97

10. 'A note of the whole circuit of the city walls, from the tower called Bermingham's tower of the castle, unto the east gate, called the Dames gate, of the said city, according to the direction of the right honourable the Lord Deputy', [1585], State Papers, Ireland, vol.cxxi, No.73, P.R.O., London, published in Anc.Rec. II, Appendix II, 551-57. Unless otherwise stated the description of the medieval fortifications is based on the survey. cf. O.Goodbody 'The Walls of Dublin', Dublin Hist. Rec. XVII (1962), 126-42. The principal evidence used by Goodbody was the survey of 1585 but part of her interpretation differs from that of the writer.

11. 'Plan of the houses and yards between Essex Street and Dame's Street, 1761' by William Purfield, Dublin Corporation Maps, P.R.O.I. 'A survey of the ground plots of several houses and ground lying in and near Dublin belonging to the said city and to Col. Berry,

Ctd.

11. Mrs. O'Hara and several other persons ... 20 June 1720", by John Greene, Surveyor: original in possession of Mr. D.O'Hara, Annaghmore, Collooney, Co.Sligo; copies in N.L.I., microfilm n.2670, p.1576 and photostat 21 F 55 (3, 3a). "A map of the ground plots of several holdings belonging to the City of Dublin, Mrs. O'Hara, Col. Berry and others .... June 1721", by James Ramsay, MS copy by Roger Kendrick, C.S., 1755, Dublin Corporation Maps, P.R.O.I. "A Book of Maps" by Thomas Mathews, C.S.: maps Nos. 49, 70, 75, 84, 107, 112, 117, 122, in the Muniment Room, City Hall, Dublin. Dublin Corporation lease No. 509 to Robert Molesworth of the tower over Dame's Gate, Buttevant's tower and ground in Fishamble Street, 1704 (original indenture with map attached), P.R.O.I.

12. Dublin Corporation lease No. 652 to Jacob Newman of Isolde's tower and adjoining tenement to the west, 20 Jan. 1603 (original indenture), P.R.O.I.; leases summarised in the Assembly Rolls published in Anc. Rec.,II, passim. e.g. pages 418, 435.

13. See above No. 11; Ordnance Survey maps, Dublin City (1847-48), 5-foot, sheets 20 and 21; revised editions 1864-66 and 1886-97; Dublin, sheet XVIII, 11, 25-inch, revised edition (1910-11).

14. Irish Patent Rolls of James I: facsimile of the Irish record commissioners' calendar prepared prior to 1830, with foreword by M.C.Griffith (I.M.C., Dublin, 1966), 12; William Monck Mason, The history and antiquities of the Collegiate and Cathedral Church of St. Patrick near Dublin from its foundation in 1190 to the year 1819 (Dublin, 1820), 40.

15. Anc. Rec.,II, 537-51.

16. Anc. Rec.,I, 90-95.

17. Survey of 1585.

18. Henry F. Berry, "Minute Book of the Corporation of Dublin known as the 'Friday Book', 1597-1611", R.I.A. Proc., XXX, c (1913), 492-500. On 25 October 1597 an order of the mayor and city council directed all postern gates to be closed with stone and lime. A postern gate was opened in 1601 by one Chamberlain; on 16 July the council again ordered the closure of postern gates with stone and lime and also imposed three days imprisonment on Chamberlain. The number of gates closed in this manner is not recorded.

19. Walter Harris, The History and Antiquities of the City of Dublin (Dublin, 1766), 60 Citing Ware MS.

20. Harris, Hist. of Dublin, 65-66; Irish Builder,XXXI (1899), 141.

21. Ir. Builder,XXXI (1889), 57, 153-66; Berry, "Friday Book", R.I.A. Proc.,XXX, c (1913), 514.

22. Anc. Rec.,I, 321 (1465 A.D.)

23. Speed's map (1610)

24. The precise site of the Blind Gate cannot be established with certainty: it seems to have been at the junction of Dame Street and College Green, Anc. Rec., V, 212-14.

25. Anc. Rec., II, 548-49.

26. The streets are seen on Speed's plan (1610) and are named on Gomme's survey (1673), N.M.M., Dartmouth Collection No.11.

27. Extents of Irish monastic possessions, 1540-1541, from manuscripts in the Public Record Office, London, ed. Newport B.White (I.M.C., Dublin, 1943), 53-54; Ronan, Ref. in Dublin, 207-10.

28. Anc. Rec. II, 25-26 (1562-63 A.D.) The origin of Young's castle is unknown; its site is shown on Gomme's survey (1673).

29. Extents, passim.

30. Recent excavations carried on under the superintendence of Mr. B.O'Riordan, M.A., are located in the street blocks between High Street and Back Lane and between Winetavern Street and Fishamble Street. O'Riordan has identified a series of regular plots, in successive layers, on the High Street site: these are probably Anglo-Norman burgage plots. Paths excavated on the site correlate with eighteenth century pathways on the first large-scale map of Dublin by John Rocque (1756). Neither the minimum width nor the nature of planned burgage plots is recorded: the maximum width of frontage was 64 feet, Anc. Rec., I, 224.

31. Anc. Rec., II, III, passim.

32. Stone houses are mentioned in Anc. Rec., I, 84-85; 164.

33. Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas I, passim.

34. Harris, Hist. of Dublin, 76; William Frazer, "Half-timbered Houses in Dublin and Drogheda", R.S.A.I. Jn, XXI (1891), 367-69; The Georgian Society Records of Eighteenth Century Domestic Architecture and Decoration in Dublin (Dublin, 1909-10), I, 2.

35. Ir. Builder, XXXI (1899), 153, 166.

36. Anc. Rec., II, 511, 514; Ir. Builder, XXVIII, 144; XXXIII, 90-92, 139.

37. Anc. Rec., II, III, passim.

38. Anc. Rec., I, 275-386, 415 et seq.; II, passim.

39. Remnants of these gardens and orchards are seen on Rocque's large-scale map (1756).

40. Mason, Hist. of St. Pat., 3, citing the foundation charter.

41. Ibid. 14, citing the Annals of St. Patrick's, 1623.

42. The following paragraph and Fig. 4 are both based on a Map Book of Roger Kendrick, Marsh's Library; Thomas Drew, "Surroundings of

Ctd.

42. the Cathedral Church of St. Patrick de Insula, Dublin", R.S.A.I. Jn, XXI (1891), 426-32.

43. James Mills, "Notes on the Manor of St. Sepulchre, Dublin, in the Fourteenth Century", R.S.A.I. Jn, IX (1889), 31-41; 119-26.

44. C. Litton Falkiner, Illustrations of Irish History and Topography, mainly of the seventeenth century (London, 1904), 3-40.

45. Anc. Rec., I, 110; Ir. Builder, XXXI (1899), 41.

46. Anc. Rec., I, 106-07; 109-10.

47. Anc. Rec., II, 115; Ir. Builder, XXVIII (1886), 64.

48. Anc. Rec., III, 110-11.

49. William F. Littledale, The Society of King's Inns, Dublin: its origin and progress, and the present results of its assumed control over the legal profession in Ireland (Dublin, 1895), 7-9; Ronan, Ref. in Dublin, 209.

50. John Pentland Mahaffy, An Epoch in Irish History: Trinity College, Dublin, its foundation and early fortunes: 1591-1660 (London, 1903), 60-65.

51. Haliday, Scandinavian ... Dublin, 150-52, 162, 164, 166, 168-69.

52. Speed's map (1610); Berry, R.S.A.I.Jn, XXI, (1891), 557-73; Anc. Rec. II, 221, 240; III, 56.

53. Thomas Drew, "The Ancient Chapter House of the Priory of the Holy Trinity, Dublin, R.S.A.I.Jn, XXI (1890), 36-43.

54. Drew, R.S.A.I.Jn. (1891), 426-32.

55. [Edward Evans], Ir. Builder XXVIII (1886), 2, 21-22; XXXI (1889), 1; XXXIII (1891), 59. Drew, [Plan of St. Audoen's Church, with explanatory notes], Ir. Builder, IX (1867), 7.

56. [Evans], Ir. Builder, XXXIV (1892), 143-44; XXXVII (1895), 169, 170, 181; XXXVIII (1896), 59; Anc. Rec., II, 545.

57. Cal. Pat. rolls Jas.I, 12; Mason, Hist. of St. Pat., 40 citing leases of St. Patrick's Cathedral.

58. Cal. Pat. rolls Jas.I, 206; Anc. Rec., II, 545; Ir. Builder, XXXIII (1891), 247.

59. Falkiner, Illustrations, 164.

60. Anc. Rec., I, 431, 447; II, 36.

61. Anc. Rec., I, 115, 220-22, 411, 416, 428; II, 32.

62. Anc. Rec., I, 411.

63. Anc. Rec. II, 72, 545

64. Anc. Rec., II, 420; 'The Whole lands of Tib and Tom ... sundry parcels of ground surveyed at various times by Roger Kendrick' mid-18th century, Dublin Corporation maps, P.R.O.I.

65. Extents, 79-80; Ronan, Ref. in Dublin, 204 citing Calendar of Patent and Close Rolls 33 Henry VIII, grant to Walter Tyrell from which the land was sometimes known as Tyrell's park.

66. Anc. Rec. II, 116, 120; 155; III, 34, 65, 145, 171; an edict intended to preserve the city commons is recorded in Anc. Rec. III, 303.

67. Leases recorded in the Assembly Rolls, Anc. Rec.II, III, IV, passim.

68. Calendar of Ancient Deeds and Muniments preserved in the Pembroke Estate Office, Dublin. (Dublin, privately printed, 1891), deed No.2; Morgan's Rental (1869); original surveys of St. Stephen's Green and of Oxmantown Green, Muniment Room, Blue Coat School, published in Frederick Falkiner, The Foundation of the Hospital and Free School of King Charles II, Oxmantown, Dublin (Dublin, 1906, to face pages 43 and 44.

69. Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin ... and annals of Ireland 1162-1370, ed. J.T.Gilbert (2 vols. London & Dublin, 1882-84) I, xxxii, 248, 346-53.

70. Anc. Rec. II, 191.

71. Sketch survey of Christ Church Meadows, 4 April 1811, Dublin Corporation Maps, P.R.O.I.

72. Rocque's large-scale map, 1756.

73. J.M.Houston, A Social Geography of Europe (London, 1953) 152 He does not indicate the evidence on which his total is based; other figures cited for comparison are London, 60,000; Cppenhagen and Stockholm 10,000; Edinburgh and Warsaw 8,000. cf below pages. 122 et seq. and 194 et seq.

74. Anc. Rec. I, 280, 287, 298, 352. cf.chapter V, refs. 2 and 3.

75. Anc. Rec. I, 1-2.

76. Unless otherwise stated the following paragraphs are based on John J. Webb, The Guilds of Dublin (Dublin, 1929); Henry S. Guinness, 'Dublin Trade Guilds', R.S.A.I.Jn. LII (1922), 143-63; Henry F. Berry, 'The Merchant Tailors' Guild: that of St. John the Baptist, Dublin, 1418-1841', R.S.A.I.Jn. XLVIII (1918), 19-64.

77. A.K.Longfield, Anglo-Irish Trade in the Sixteenth Century (London, 1929), 36-126; 146-71; 196-99.

78. Herbert Wood (ed.) Court Book of the Liberty of Saint Sepulchre within the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Dublin, 1586-1590 (Dublin, 1930), vii.

79. Anc. Rec., I, 1-2.

80. Anc. Rec., I, 35.

81. Anc. Rec., I, 2.

82. Anc. Rec., I, 190-98.

83. Municipal corporations (Ireland), appendix to the first report of the commissioners (report on the city of Dublin, part 1), (H.C. 1835), xxvii, Appendix, 1-2.

84. Myles V. Ronan, "Anglo-Norman Dublin and Diocese", Irish Ecclesiastical Record, XLV (1935), 163-64.

85. Thomas Drew, "Surroundings of the Cathedral Church of St.Patrick de Insula, Dublin", R.S.A I.Jn., XXI (1891), 426-32, with map.

86. The extent of the Liberty is shown in map books of the Estate of Christ Church Cathedral, N.L.I. MS 2789 (74).

87. Estate maps by William Armstrong (1850), M.E.O.

88. Anc. Rec., I, 2-3.

89. Anc. Rec., I, 155.

90. Patent of Fairs in Thomas Court and Bray from Charles II to Edward, Earl of Meath, deed No. 166, M.E.O.

91. Undated plan on parchment of "The Great Market Place" and adjoining streets, M.E.O.

92. Mason, Hist. of St. Pat. 11; The Case of the Liberty of St. Patrick by Christopher Robinson, Seneschal to the Archbishop of Dublin (Dublin, 1757).

93. Ronan, Ref. in Dublin, 300-01 citing Archbishop Brown's Instrument of Union which is not extant.

94. 6 Anne ch. 21; 9 William III ch. 16; "Dublin Parish Records" by W. Monck Mason, containing transcripts of certificates concerning the reorganisation of parishes, T.C.D. MSS 2062 and 2063.

95. Ronan, Ref. in Dublin, passim.

96. N. Donnelly, History of Dublin Parishes (3 vols. Dublin, 1917), passim.

97. The earliest map which shows parish boundaries is Brooking's (1728). Evidence from statutes and certificates of council permit tracing back to earlier parish boundaries. Later parish boundaries are shown on Rocque's small scale map (1756) and on Scalé's revision (1773); they are delimited in the sources cited above in No. 94.

98. Morgan's Rental (1869); Anc. Rec., I, 1-37, transcripts of Royal Charters and grants.

99. Leases cited in the Assembly Rolls, Anc. Rec., I to V, passim., lease maps in Dublin Corporation Records, P.R.O.I.

100. Anc. Rec., I, 36; II, 240. Properties which formerly belonged to these two monasteries are considered to be one denomination. The number of properties listed in the Extents suggests that the city did not receive all urban or suburban monastic property.

101. Anc. Rec., I, 84.

102. Jocelyn Otway-Ruthven, "The Medieval Church Lands of Co.Dublin" in Medieval Studies presented to Aubrey Gwynn, Ed. J.A.Watt et alii, (Dublin, 1961), 54-69.

103. C. ó Conbhuí, "The Lands of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin", R.I.A. Proc. LXII, c, No. 3 (1962), 21-84.

104. A very clear example of such change is illustrated by a "Plan of the houses, yards etc. between Dame St. and Essex St." by William Purfield (1761) on which the new street line is superimposed. Surveys of the Barley Fields and plans for re-development are among Dublin Corporation Maps, P.R.O.I.

105. Extents, passim. Accurate delimitation of estates is possible only when the unbroken succession of ownership can be traced from the dissolution of the monasteries until the nineteenth century when estate maps were usually delimited on Ordnance Survey maps.

106. Aubrey Gwynn, "The Origins of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin", R.S.A.I.Jn., LXXIX (1949), 110-25.

107. The Chapter house is now a National Monument in the care of the State. It was long used as a storehouse and is at present surrounded by markets and commercial buildings. [Ed]. P.J.Donnelly, Remains of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin: their exploration and researches. A.D.1886 (Dublin, 1887).

108. Ronan, Ref. in Dublin, 171.

109. Notes by M.F.Hogan, Dublin Penny Journal (New Series), II (1904), 145.

110. Cal. pat. rolls, Jas.I, 184, grant to Thomas Hibbots and William Crowe, 31 Dec. 8th James I.

111. This site is conjectural, based on Speed's plan (1610) and on the form and extent of seventeenth century urban development.

112. Cal. Pat. Rolls Jas. I, 184.

113. Ronan, Ref. in Dublin, 207-10; Cal. Pat. Rolls Jas. I, 202,213.

114. Nineteenth century redevelopment can be traced on various editions of the O.S.maps. Eighteenth century redevelopment is illustrated

Ctd.

114. by surveys and plans among Dublin Corporation Maps, P.R.O.I.

115. Cal. Pat. Rolls Jas. I, 210, 213.

116. Speed's map of Dublin (1610).

117. Cal. Pat. Rolls Jas. I, 213. Ellen Hore's meadow is mentioned in the perambulation of the franchises but its exact location is not known.

118. Ronan, Ref. in Dublin, 203-05.

119. Hog (Hoggen) Lane was the eastern boundary of this part of the city estate, indicated by leases cited in the Assembly Rolls, Anc. Rec., II, and by lease maps in Mathew's map book, City Hall, Dublin.

120. See No. 65 above.

121. Ronan, Ref. in Dublin., 165-70.

122. Stubbs, Hist. Univ. of Dub. p. 191; a steeple is seen in the illustration of Trinity College in N.L.I. MS 392, 'Observations in a voyage through the Kingdom of Ireland ... T.D.' [Thomas Dineley]; it is identified with the monastery of All Hallows by F. Elrington Ball, 'Extracts from the Journal of Thomas Dineley or Dingley, Esq. giving some account of his visit to Ireland in the Reign of Charles II', R.S.A.I.Jn., XLIII (1913) 306.

123. 'A Survey of Part of the City of Dublin. The Estate of the College of the Holy & Undivided Trinity of Queen Elizabeth, Dublin,' by Thomas Sherrard, 1781. N.L.I. 21 F 87(72).
The Steine is seen to be the western boundary on Speed's map (1610); the College had acquired some ground from the city in the interim.

124. Ronan, Ref. in Dub., 205-07

125. The (new) church of St.Andrew was built according to tradition on the site of the Thingmote. However, this cannot be correct because the first church dedicated to St.Andrew was built on this site in 1666 and the Mount (Thingmote) was still standing in 1682. Anc. Rec., V, 238-39, 255; cf. Falkiner, Illustrations, 169.

126. The western boundary is cited in Calendar ... Pembroke Deeds, deed No. 2; the other boundaries are derived from adjacent estates.

127. Ronan, Ref. in Dublin, 162-64.

128. The site has been delimited by the writer from evidence in memorials of deeds, Registry of Deeds, Dublin, correlated with the maps of Speed (1610) and Gomme (1673); the leaseis mentioned in Anc. Rec., I, 321.

129. Ronan, Ref. in Dublin, 202-03.

130. Extents, 78

131. Charles McNeill, "The Hospital of St. John Without the New Gate, Dublin", R.S.A.I.Jn, LV (1925), 58-64 and Plates I and II. McNeill has attempted to identify these mills and the extent of the property in 1756. The stream which turned the mills joined the Liffey at the north western corner of the city walls.

132. Extents, 55-68.

133. Aubrey Gwynn, "The Early History of St. Thomas's Abbey, Dublin", R.S.A.I.Jn, LXXXIV (1954), 1-35; Ronan, Ref. in Dub., 192-201

134. Deeds are probably the only remaining source of evidence from which to reconstruct the layout of the Abbey buildings. Most of the site is now covered by blocks of Corporation flats.

135. Extents, 25-48.

136. Anc. Rec. I, 165.

137. Charles McNeill, "The Hospitallers at Kilmainham and their Guests", R.S.A.I.Jn, LIV (1924), 15-30; Extents, 80-120.

138. C.L.Falkiner, "The Phoenix Park; its origin and early history", R.I.A. Proc., 3rd Ser., vol. VI, No. 3 (1901), 465-88, reprinted in Illustrations, 41-73.

139. Otway-Ruthven, Medieval Studies, 54-69.

140. The estate boundaries are indicated on maps by William Armstrong (1850), M.E.O., and by Jonathan Barker (1762-64),P.E.O.

141. Mason, Hist. of St. Pat., 68-82.

142. Otway-Ruthven, Medieval Studies, 59-61.

143. Littledale, Society of King's Inns, Dublin, 6-8, 13.

144. Chartuleries of St. Mary's Abbey, II, xxxiii-xliv.

145. Ronan, Ref. in Dub., 205.

146. Anc. Rec., I, 33-34.

147. Anc. Rec., II, 240.

148. Anc. Rec., II, 253; Mahaffy, Epoch in Irish History, 60-76.

149. Extents, 69-72.

150. Ronan, Ref. in Dublin, 162-64; Extents, 121-22.

151. Extents, 78.

152. Extents, 55-68.

153. Extents, 25-48; Ronan, Ref. in Dublin, 193-94.

154. Extents, 80-81; McNeill, R.S.A.I.Jn, LIV (1924), 15-30.

155. Lord Drogheda's warrant for being Seneschal of the Lordship of St. Mary's Abbey, 17 March, 1706/7, Drogheda Papers, N.L.I. 21,596 - 21,629; the items in this collection have not been individually numbered.

156. A field pattern which seems to be openfield strips is shown on "A Plan of the City of Dublin, surveyed for the use of the Divisional Justices .... 1797", in James Malton, A Picturesque and Descriptive View of the City of Dublin ... 1791 (Dublin, 1799).

157. Orpen, Normans, I, 258-59.

158. Anc. Rec., I, 6-7.

159. Clauses in leases granted on the estates of St. Mary's Abbey by Charles Campbell and by Luke Gardiner during the eighteenth century and by the Earl of Meath in leases granted for land in Thomas Court during the late-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries included obligatory attendance at the courts of the manor and other services. Gardiner Papers (an unsorted collection) N.L.I. Deeds in the Meath Estate Office, Kilruddery, Bray, Co. Wicklow.

160. Copy of Letters Patent granting Thomas Court and Donore to William Brabazon from Henry VIII, 1544; Abstract of title of the Earls of Meath to the Manor and lands of Thomas Court and Donore, 1544 to 1852, deeds nos. 28 and 29, M.E.O.

161. Anc. Rec., I, 33-36.

162. Anc. Rec., II, 240.

163. Chartuleries ... St. Mary's Abbey, II, xli - xliv.

164. Recital in a survey made 11 April 1633 in Inquisitionum in officio rotulorum cancellariae Hiberniae ... repertorium (2 vols., Dublin, 1826-29), I. The volume is not paginated.

165. Falkiner, "The Phoenix Park", R.I.A. Proc. (1801), 465-88.

166. Cal. Pembroke Deeds, deeds nos. 1 & 2.

167. Anc. Rec., II, 511, 514.

168. Anc. Rec., I, 5; the charter cited confirmed all rights granted by previous charters; the grants were "not to interfere with the tenures and lands of any who, by John's charters, have lands and tenures outside the walls within the aforesaid boundaries", i.e. within the county of the city. The area enclosed by the walls in 1192 was far less extensive than in 1585 but the exact site of the earlier walls has not yet been identified.

CHAPTER IV

THE FIRST PERIOD: 1600-1660

EARLY RENAISSANCE

The first six decades of the seventeenth century may be regarded as one continuing phase of urban development despite major changes which occurred on the political scene. Although at this time peace in Ireland lasted only for a generation subsequent insurrections and political upheavals of the first half of the seventeenth century did not significantly change or interrupt the growth of Dublin. New architectural styles were introduced and building was relatively extensive; new standards of street-width and regularity were also introduced. All development was piecemeal, however, and no major structural change which left a lasting imprint on the city was made. Neither were significant new concepts urban design introduced and so, although the city increased in size and changed in character, it still retained many of its characteristic medieval features at the end of the period. The period was nevertheless fundamentally morphogenetic in character. New urban structures were not merely intrusions on the medieval scene: they brought far-reaching changes through which the city emerged from its medieval confines, while changes in the pattern of landownership and in the systems of tenure permitted more far-reaching changes in the following periods.

Growth Determinants

The primary stimulus to urban development during the first half of the seventeenth century was the location in Dublin of central government. Significant administrative measures adopted early in the century increased the effectiveness of central government which gradually imposed unity on the country. These measures also gradually increased the number of people involved in central government and administration and they consequently increased the demand for residential building in Dublin: they also influenced the morphological development of the city during the ensuing two centuries. The principal changes affected the structure of Parliament, the

structure of central administration, and the position of the viceroy.

In 1613 the composition of Parliament, which since 1585 was representative of the whole country though not of the entire population, was radically changed by the addition of forty new members from planted areas. This gave to the protestants, for the first time, a majority in Parliament which was nominally representative of a predominantly catholic country; the majority was maintained in subsequent parliaments and it ultimately led to the total exclusion of the catholics in the last decade of the seventeenth century and the consequent entrenchment of a minority protestant ruling class. Within the space of little more than a decade (1616-1628) the whole character of the Irish peerage was transformed by the creation of new peerages in the last years of the reign of James I and the early years of Charles I: this gave a majority to the new English protestant planted class and it also created an absentee peerage which supported the viceroy and which in later times aggravated political and economic problems. The landowning planter class, augmented by Cromwellians, later co-operated equally in the administration of civil government under the commonwealth and under the restored monarchy of Charles II so that continuity was disrupted temporarily by war but not by change in the form of government. This sustained development in Dublin during the first half of the seventeenth century and especially during the decade which preceded the restoration of Charles II.

The status of the viceroy also changed in this period.[1] At the beginning of the seventeenth century political initiative in regard to Ireland lay to a large extent within the English privy council. The power of the viceroy was further restricted by financial limitations and by the need to conciliate contending political parties in Ireland which might bring about his downfall through recourse to the king or his council in England. Thomas Wentworth, during his term as viceroy (1633-1641), enjoyed the complete confidence of the king and council, and consequent freedom of action and, although no Lord Deputy ever again exercised the complete freedom of action which he enjoyed, the status of the

viceroy so changed during Strafford's period of office that his position could no longer be jeopardised by contending political parties in Ireland. Although few viceroys resided permanently in Ireland prior to the last quarter of the eighteenth century, those who did enjoyed increased power and authority which enabled them to influence significantly the development of the capital city.

The freedom of action which Wentworth enjoyed was conditioned basically by improved public revenue which resulted from reorganisation and centralisation of the customs farm, effected during the reign of James I, and also to fines levied through the courts of wards and liveries and, after 1632, to increased trade and consequent increase in customs duties. Economic growth and speculative investment resulted in the growth of trade and commerce. The increase in the volume of imports was so great that the quays were twice extended to provide accommodation for the merchants and a new wharf and yard were established for the import of wood. Nevertheless, both the volume and trends of trade prior to 1660 are obscure.[2] Trading links already established since early medieval times with British ports, chiefly Bristol and Chester, and with Continental ports such as Rouen and La Rochelle were maintained.[3] Industrial development was inconsiderable and it appears to have consisted almost solely of making locally consumed goods: most of Dublin's more important industries date from the post-Restoration period. Although industrial development does not seem to have been considerable, economic prosperity and consequent increase in public revenue characterised Wentworth's administration and the volume of trade seems to have increased. Economic growth was interrupted by the war of the confederacy but was revived under the commonwealth and the economic recovery which characterised the Restoration period had its beginnings in the 1650s and was reflected in the growth of the city at that time.

Morphogenetic Agents

During the first half of the seventeenth century the principal initiatives in developing the city seem to have been taken by private developers. Residential building was undertaken by officials

who wished or needed to reside in Dublin and by speculators who built to meet the growing demand for houses. Officials were not numerous but they built houses which seem to have been significant elements of the townscape. Riparian dwellers and speculators started extra-mural reclamation which was controlled and partly implemented by the municipal council. Both the city and the crown exercised a formative influence on development: the city in planning the location of new streets and in controlling or preventing building through restrictive clauses in leases; and the Government through the construction of new public buildings. Changes in ownership and tenure effected during the first half of the seventeenth century on the estates of the city, of the crown and of the church, significantly influenced urbanisation in the succeeding periods. Grants of land and property were conferred by the crown on government officials: thus, Francis Aungier, Master of the Rolls, acquired the estate of Whitefriars in 1617, Sir Garret Moore acquired the estate of St.Mary's Abbey in 1610, and Brabazon was confirmed in possession of the estate of Thomas Court in 1617.[4]

Those who received grants of monastic estates appear to have used what remained of the monastic buildings as residences during this period, or to have built on the monastic sites. Despite tenurial restrictions some church land was leased for buildings: the Glebe of St. Andrews to Sir George Wentworth;[5] the site of St. Mary le Dam to Sir Richard Boyle, Earl of Cork;[6] an orchard of the Vicars Choral of St. Patrick's Cathedral in Bride Street to Gilbert Domville; some parks near Whitefriars, part of the estate of St.Patrick's Cathedral to Dame Aungier, and land within the Liberty of St. Patrick to Viscount Ranelagh.[7] These holdings were all located in or near streets which had been laid out already in 1600. The grantees were either holders of newly created titles or government officials and they needed residences within or near the city: the land acquired by Dame Aungier adjoined the former monastic estate of Whitefriars. It seems probable that it was the grantees who took the initiative in acquiring holdings near the city from the church and who thereby initiated tenurial changes on, and alienation of church land and property.

Land made available for residential building on the estates of the crown and of the Established Church provided, by each grant, a site for one principal residence only, that of the grantee. Speculative building existed already, however, and speculators contributed notably to the growth and morphology of the city estate at this time. Early seventeenth century speculators were almost all officials of the government and of the city, and their relatives, for instance Alderman George Jones who during his mayoralty (1631-32) built a number of houses on Hoggen Green;[8] Alderman Mathew Handcock who acquired holdings east and west of the city and in Oxmantown in 1607 and 1617;[9] and Jacob Newman who acquired property lying north and east of the city walls.[10]

The form of extra-mural development was controlled in a general way by the city in this period. New streets laid out in the first half of the seventeenth century seem all to have been on municipal land and the width and alignment of such new streets was regulated by the Corporation in granting leases: on the north bank, for instance, the street leading from Stoneybatter to Glasmanogue (later called Channel Row and now North Brunswick Street) and the street adjoining Bradogue Bridge on the way to Finglas were both widened to thirty feet.[11] Improved streets contrasted in width and regularity with the old streets within the walled city which were scarcely wide enough for wheeled traffic.

Builders of houses sometimes introduced regularity of form and of street frontage on older streets: for instance, an irregular strip of ground north of Young's castle in Oxmantown was granted by the city to permit the alignment of a new turretted mansion with the front of Young's castle on Church Street and to make a regular frontage on Frapper Lane. Some regularity of frontage was achieved on Hoggen Green by leasing a narrow strip of ground adjacent to Chichester House and another near the College to the owners of these buildings.[12] Although development was piecemeal during this period and was not controlled by any general, pre-conceived plan, modification and extension of the street system was neither haphazard nor uncontrolled. The location of new suburbs was determined by the availability of land for building.

The character of housing was determined in a general way by the terms of some municipal leases which specified that houses should be built of stone or of brick and roofed with slates or tiles. These leases sometimes indicated the height or size of houses, as, for instance, a lease granted in 1659 to one Hugh Leeson which specified that he should, within seven years, 'build a house of a storey and a half high of brick or stone and covered with slate or tile'.[13] It was the owners or builders, however, who determined the character of most buildings and the few contemporary illustrations which have survived auggest that houses varied greatly both in size and in character. Officials of the state and of the city appear to have built costly mansions of varied architectural styles, for instance, Chichester House on College Green, Cork House on Cork Hill near Dame's Gate, and the house of Sir George Wentworth on the Glebe of St. Andrew, which cost £600.[14] These houses were all demolished in the course of eighteenth century redevelopment.

The government exercised morphogenetic influence indirectly through the activities of its officials and directly through the construction of public buildings. Until the eighteenth century the residences of officials continued to be scattered throughout the city and suburbs but there was also a marked clustering of such houses on College Green and Dame Street: this determined the general character of the area while the acquisition of Chichester House by the viceroy as a residence assured its continuing importance. Public buildings constructed in this period included the Four Courts which were built on the site of the ruinous cloisters beside Christ Church Cathedral[15] and the new Custom House and wharf constructed on a site on Jacob Newman's holding in 1619-1620.[16] The location of the Four Courts within the walled city fostered congestion in this already crowded area; the requirements of lawyers increased demand for, and the value of property in adjacent streets and this led to strenuous resistance to the removal of the Four Courts to a new site in the eighteenth century. The siting of the new Custom House and wharf east of the city instigated eastward extension of the quays. It fixed the lowest bridging point on the Liffey for almost two centuries for the Custom House was reconstructed twice on the same site; it was also the first stage

in the gradual eastward movement of port facilities and trade and it therefore marked the beginning of a trend which has continued in Dublin to the present time.

Landownership and Tenure

Significant changes were made in the pattern of landownership in the first half of the seventeenth century, principally through grants made by the crown. The policy of the crown had changed radically since the reign of Elizabeth I when requests for land made by the Corporation were refused since further alienation of crown lands in the vicinity of the capital city did not then seem desirable.[17] Through the grants made by James I almost all the land held by the crown in 1600 was alienated. (Figs 7 and 12) The grants were made to private individuals in fee simple and this tenure permitted uncontrolled alienation of land by the grantee and it consequently permitted the free interplay of economic forces in developing land near the city in later times. Feudal rights of the crown were exercised in securing for Viscount Ranelagh a tract of the estate of St. Patrick's Cathedral:[18] alienation of a considerable portion of the lands of the Cathedral subsequently led to extreme congestion within the Cathedral Liberty as a result of private building. None of the municipal estate was alienated during this period nor was the estate augmented through the acquisition of property.

Important changes were made in conditions of tenure during the first half of the seventeenth century. Substantial investment and long-term planning were necessary in order to implement plans for reclamation: this caused the city council to grant longer leases for longer terms of years assuring continuity of occupation for almost or more than a century. Newman's term for the Poddle-Liffey confluence was one hundred and eighteen years and leases granted for adjacent holdings were for concurrent terms.[19] Longer terms were gradually granted by the Corporation in other leases.[20] Leases for parcels of the strand were usually granted for longer terms than leases for property in other parts of the city. The right of reversion was not usually granted in leases of the early decades of the century; under the Protectorate, however, the depleted state of

the city treasury prompted the granting of this right to holders of current leases on payment of a fine.[21] Subsequently the right of reversion was granted in all seventeenth century municipal leases. The beneficial influence of secure tenure was thus clearly recognised by the Corporation; the benefits of such tenure were subsequently recognised by private landowners who granted similar improved terms later in the century.

Urban Growth

In the first period of urban development the city grew through a process of accretion in which unbuilt land in and near the nuclei of settlement was gradually enclosed and developed. Leases of some property which was developed at this time are recorded in the Assembly Rolls: these do not, however, contain a complete record of property transactions and so they indicate only a portion of the development. New eastern suburbs were the most extensive additions. South of the city new buildings were located on or near streets which had already been opened. The western suburbs were renewed and extended and north of the Liffey there was some scattered development in Oxmantown.

The most significant addition to the ground-plan was the reclaimed land outside the north-eastern walls of the city which, although not very extensive, contributed notably to the development of the city in this and in succeeding phases. (Fig.9). Reclamation on the Liffey banks before the seventeenth century was entirely contained within the city walls; coherent extension of reclamation outside the walls was inhibited to the east by the confluence of the Poddle and the Liffey, and to the west by the confluence with the Liffey of Coleman's Brook and, further west, of the Camac. (Fig.1) Improvements along the waterfront inside the city walls were undertaken gradually from 1612 by the city, in response to demands of the merchants and other inhabitants who bore most of the expense. Two slips were constructed on Wood Quay at the expense of the inhabitants of Wood Quay, Winetavern Street and Fishamble Street; Wood Quay was enlarged in 1613 and the wharf near Fyan's Castle in 1614-15; further improvements made in 1617-18 at the request of the merchants included the insertion of rings and other fixtures in the walls for tying up boats.[22]

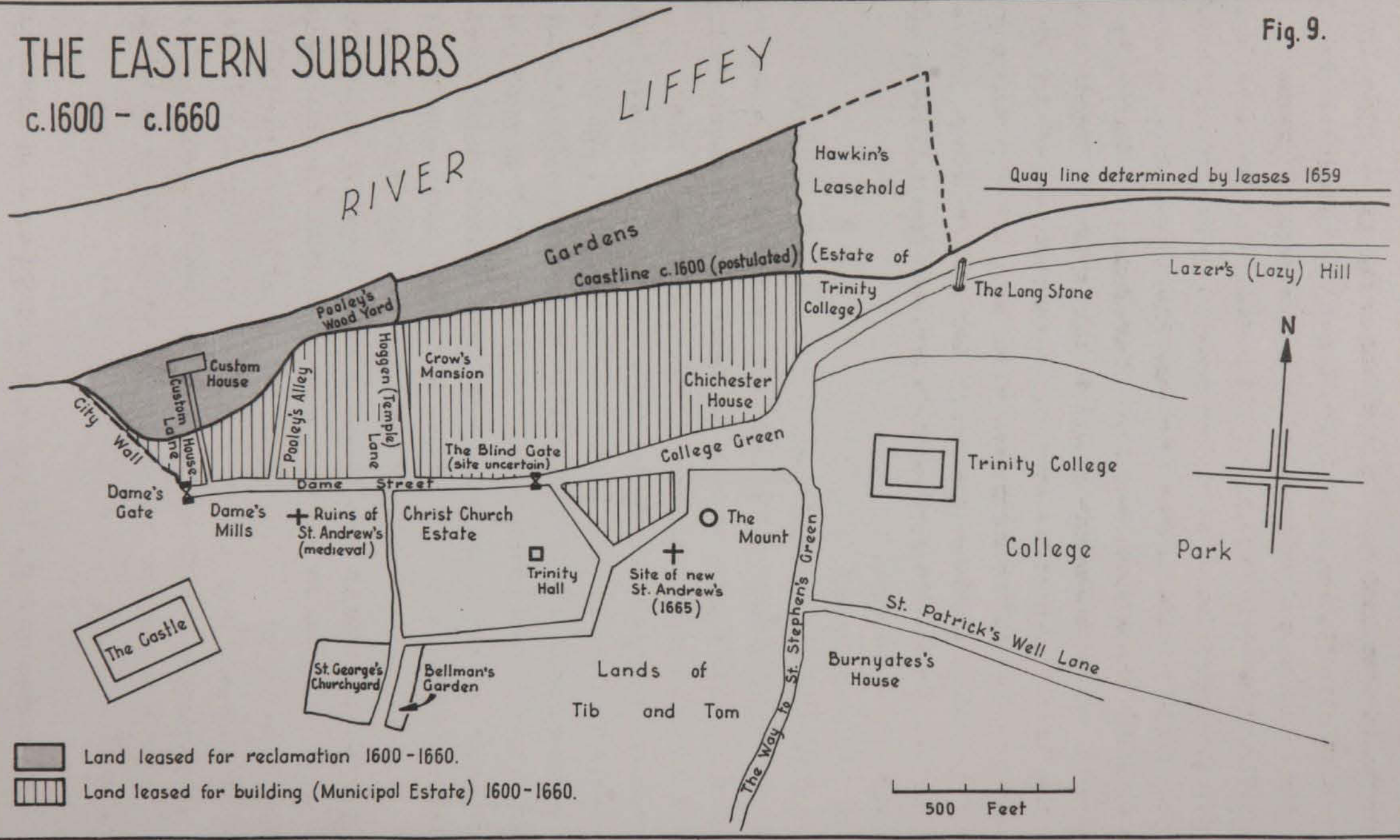
Extra-mural reclamation began in the first decade of the seventeenth century when some parcels of ground lying north and east of the city wall and extending north to low water mark and south to Dame Street were leased to Jacob Newman and ground further west, adjoining Fyan's Castle, was leased to Richard Proudfoot, merchant. Both lessees had enclosed their ground from the river by 1607.[23] Proudfoot's ground projected northwards into the river beyond Fyan's Castle and Newman's extended eastward along an irregular frontage from Isolde's tower towards Hoggen Lane.[24] This project of Newman's, the enclosure of the Poddle-Liffey confluence, overcame the major physical obstacle to coherent eastward riverside development. Clauses in Newman's lease not only prohibited building outside the city wall but even the opening of a postern gate in the fortifications to provide access to the reclaimed land and so the medieval fortifications were maintained. The only development in this area in the first half of the century was on land leased by Newman to the crown and to one Pooley.[25] Reclamation along the strand extending to Ringsend at the mouth of the estuary was already envisaged by Mayor Carroll in 1612, for his son, James, petitioned a fee farm grant of the strand from Ringsend to the Steine 'after the same be recovered .... for ... his father intended to be at great charges in recovering the same from the sea and that it will be of great amendment to the harbour'.[26] This work must have been envisaged solely as a means of improving the estuary for no urban development east of the city was permitted. The prohibition of constructing a quay north of Chichester House[27] was probably caused by the centralisation of trade at the crane on Wood Quay and later at the new Custom House and wharf. Prohibition of building east of the city walls was probably caused by the continuing need to maintain the city's fortifications.

In 1619, following a survey made on behalf of the crown, part of Newman's holding west of the Poddle but not contiguous to the city wall, was chosen as a site for a new Custom House and wharf. (Fig.9) By a proclamation issued in 1621 it was decreed that all imports and exports should henceforth be handled at the new crane and wharf, thus concentrating trade and traffic on the area. This made the site an important focal point in the city; it also led to

THE EASTERN SUBURBS

c.1600 – c.1660

Fig. 9.



see appendix.

extreme congestion in the adjacent narrow streets and this prompted redevelopment in the following period. In 1637 following a complaint from the merchants that the wharf was overcrowded more land was acquired from Newman by the crown and the wharf was extended east to the Poddle.[28] On the east bank of the Poddle a wood yard authorised by the corporation was established by Pooley who also built a wharf extending from the Poddle to Hoggen Lane, the eastern boundary of Newman's holding.[29] Narrow lanes provided access from Dame Street to both of these holdings: Custom House (now Crane) Lane led to the former and Pooley's Lane (now Sycamore Alley) to the latter.[30] Reconstruction of the Custom House on the same site towards the end of the period assured the continuing importance of the area and this encouraged development during the second period when building was no longer prohibited outside the north-eastern medieval fortifications, which, by then, were obsolete.

Under the commonwealth the strand extending east from Newman's holding to Lazy Hill and north to low water mark was leased in parcels to tenants of contiguous land who appear to have extended their gardens to low water mark. (Fig.9) The strand extending eastwards from the Long Stone along Lazy Hill was leased to Lewis Williams in 1653, to Arthur Harvey in 1656, and in 1659 by a common lease to five inhabitants of Lazy Hill - John Nicholls, Arthur Harvey, John Harrison, William Crosse and Henry Hicks - who were bound to 'win in and secure' the area within seven years or the lease was to be void. Individual leases were later granted instead of the common lease:[31] few if any projects undertaken as a group by private individuals seem to have been successfully implemented. The ground reserved as highways in leases granted for this development seems to have been the site of older thoroughfares, principally the coastal highway along Lazer's (Lazy) Hill and Hoggen (Temple) Lane. At the northern boundary of the reclaimed land north-east of Lazy Hill a new quay was constructed by Captain Nicholls about the mid-century.[32]

Stimulated no doubt by the success of Newman's enclosure of the Poddle-Liffey confluence, the enclosure and reclamation of the Pill, confluence of the Bradogue and the Liffey , was planned first in 1618

as a co-operative work of the guilds; then in 1620 by Alderman Richard Forster, and the work of reclamation was finally undertaken in 1657 by Sir James Meredith, Sir Robert Barry, Alderman John Forster and others.[33] This was the only recorded reclamation undertaken on the north bank of the Liffey in the first period and although the project did not at the time add notably to the land available for development its significance became apparent in the second period for it overcame the main physical obstacle to coherent eastward expansion on the north bank by enclosing and controlling the mouth of the Bradogue, the only tributary on the north bank of the Liffey east of Oxmantown.

In 1609 security of tenure for the large island west of the city bridge was assured to the Usher family when Sir William acquired a lease of the premises for 150 years.[34] Although reclamation and development must have been envisaged when this extended lease was petitioned from the city, plans for reclamation west of the city walls were not implemented until much later in the century. Usher's lease again indicates recognition of the need for reclamation to permit coherent urban development on the river banks and although the work undertaken in this period was not extensive it was important both in overcoming major physical obstacles to coherent development and in permitting more extensive and regular reclamation in the succeeding period.

The village and outport of Ringsend was developed early in the seventeenth century by two merchants, Edward Gough and James Sedgrave. This work was instigated by exorbitant fines imposed by one George King at the landing place near Clontarf, on the north shore of the bay, which had previously served as outport for Dublin, for the waters of Clontarf Pool provided anchorage at low tide. Since Ringsend had also a pool of adjacent water for anchorage at low tide and since it was more accessible to the city, particularly for carmen who could approach the promontory either by the lower coast road or across the hard sands which lay exposed at half ebb between Lazer's Hill and Ringsend, the carmen were prevailed on to give some days' labour in order to transport the material necessary to build a landing place near the northern tip of the sandspit and by the

mid-century Ringsend was well established as an outport at which packet boats from Chester called regularly and large ships frequently transferred their goods to smaller vessles for transportation up river to the quays.[35]

While reclamation was in progress numerous building leases were granted by the city for land inside the city walls and in existing suburban streets.[36] These leases also suggest more extensive unrecorded building for the city controlled only a small proportion of land whether within the walls or in suburban streets and the demand for building land was evidently great. Encroachments on the city commons were continuous and numerous. In 1619 the citizens complained of encroachments near the city walls by those who held land outside.[37] So great indeed was the demand for building land that the city ditch and waste ground adjoining the city gates was gradually leased for building at various times during the first half of the seventeenth century despite a municipal law, itself of unknown date, which was invoked in 1615 and which prohibited building within thirty feet of the city walls.[38] Waste ground outside St. Nicholas Gate was leased, that on the east in 1613 and on the west in 1617, while the adjacent rampart was leased in 1618,[39] and two parcels of void ground in the same area in 1659.[40] Part of the city wall east of the Pole Gate was leased in 1610-1611;[41] void ground near this gate was leased in 1638, in 1641 and in 1657-58[42] while part of the wall of the bridge which spanned the ditch or moat at the Pole Gate was leased in 1637-38[43]. Near Dame's Gate waste ground was leased in 1620 and again in 1637.[44] Waste ground, then a dunghill near the Blind Gate, was leased in 1624. Part of the 'town ditch' at Gormund's Gate was leased in 1619 and again in 1620, while waste ground near this gate was leased in 1621 and ih 1633-34; other sections of the town ditch in the vicinity were leased in 1619 and 1621, while waste ground east and west of the ditch was leased in 1623 and in 1659.[45] Outside St. James's Gate some waste ground was leased in 1620, in 1643 and in 1658.[46]

During this time the city walls, including those parts which had been leased to private individuals, were allowed to decay.[47] The towers and castles and the gate-towers were leased either to

the guilds or to private individuals but these too were frequently allowed to decay.[48] At the same time the city was extending far beyond the medieval walls and yet the attempt to preserve some of the medieval fortifications was not entirely abandoned; Newgate, for instance, was rebuilt, at great expense, in 1651,[49] for use as a prison.

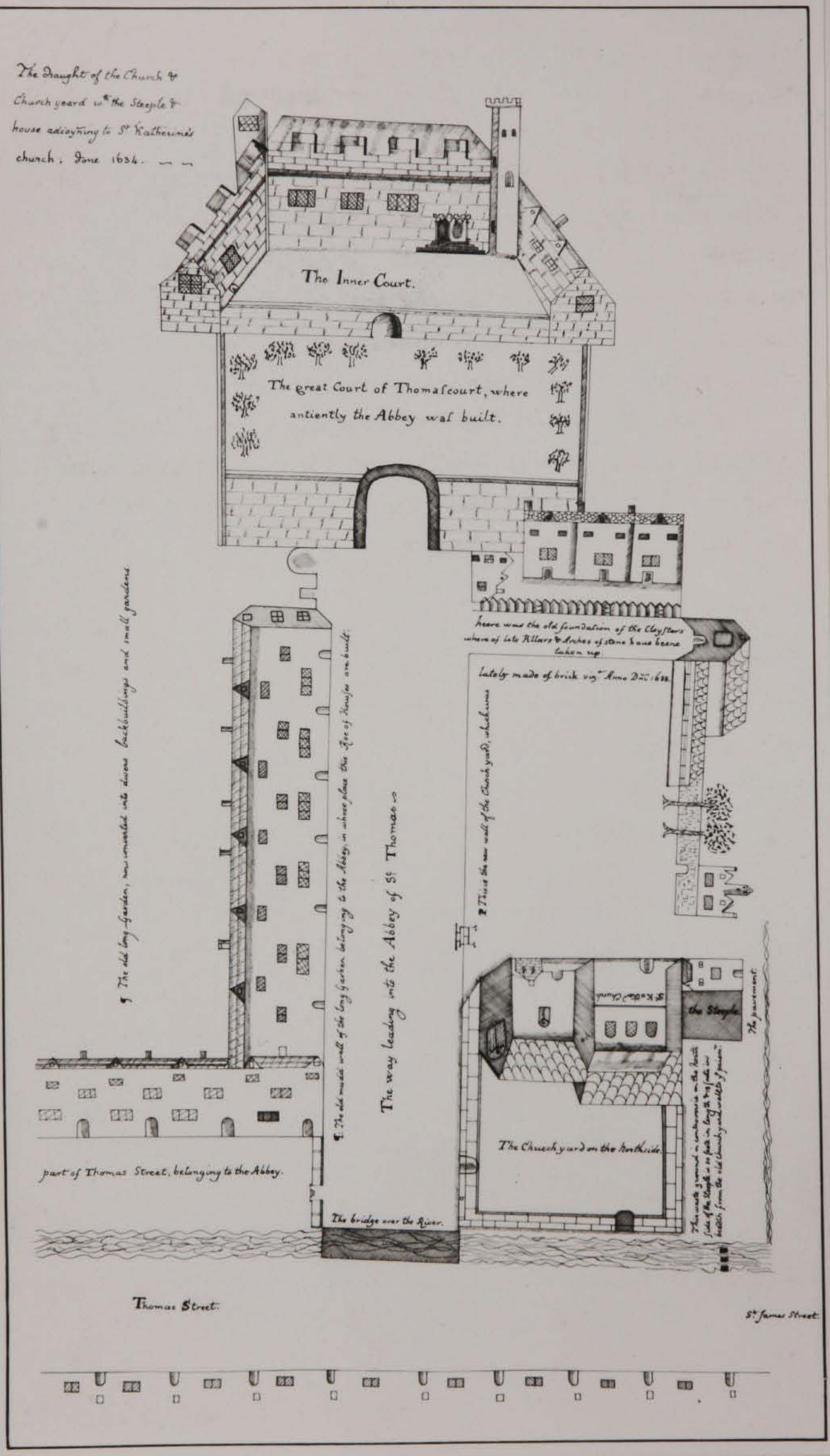
Despite numerous unauthorised encroachments on the city commons[50] the pastures on St. Stephen's Green, on Oxmantown Green and on the Abbey Green remained extensive and grazing on the common pastures seems to have continued, for penfolds were constructed on St. Stephen's Green in 1615-16 and in 1637; on Oxmantown Green in 1612-13 and on the Abbey Green in 1650.[51] Some unauthorised encroachments on the commons were later sanctioned by granting municipal leases;[52] some encroachments remained completely unauthorised, however, and in 1634-35 a complaint was made to the city council that 'beggars presumptiously build cottages on the commons and on the highways of the suburbs and also on the bishop's land'.[53]

The principal suburban extension of the first half of the seventeenth century was on Hoggen Green and Lazy Hill. Despite the prohibition of leasing land on the city commons for building, still nominally in force and invoked by the citizens in 1635, Hoggen Green was gradually leased for building from the beginning of the seventeenth century. (Fig.9) In 1602 Sir George Cary announced his intention of building a house and a bridewell on Hoggen Green and he acquired some land from the city to augment a site he held from the crown. In 1611 Sir Arthur Chichester, then Lord Deputy, purchased from his predecessor in office, Sir George Cary, a house and grounds near Trinity College, which was partly on ground held in fee farm from the city: this was subsequently known as Chichester House. When renewing a lease from the city in 1615 Chichester acquired two further grants of land, extending his holding on the south. In the same year the bridewell which had been built in the first decade of the century and was not then required by the city for its original purpose, was granted to Trinity College to be used as a free school and the College acquired a lease of contiguous ground in 1640.[54]

Building ground on Hoggen Green was leased in 1627 to Robert

Arthur, merchant; in 1631-32 to George Jones, son of the then Mayor who had already built houses on the site; in 1631 to Sir William Bushopp; and in 1643 to Thomas Pemberton and to Sir Philip Percival who had already ditched and fenced the ground. Ground on Lazer's Hill was leased to Lewis Williams (1653), to Arthur Harvey (1656) and to William Reason.[55] During this period Hoggen Green and Dame Street were both gradually lined with houses built for officials and for the gentry - Sir John Temple, Sir Toby Caulfield, Arthur Annesley, Sir William Bushopp and Sir George Wentworth. James Usher, Archbishop of Armagh, acquired Caulfield's residence and greatly extended it.[56] Some smaller houses seem to have been built speculatively by Alderman George Jones, during his mayoralty, and by Arthur Annesley. Despite such extensive residential building the recreational character of part of the Green was preserved during the monarchy; the Mount remained unenclosed; the Butts seem still to have been in use; and in 1620 a bowling green near the Blind Gate was established by Robert Taylor, merchant, and administered by him 'during the pleasure of the city'.[57] However, during the Cromwellian wars these civic amenities decayed and during the Protectorate the bowling green, then described as 'a piece of waste ground heretofore enclosed with rails', was leased to Robert Hughes, gent, for a term of years, evidently for building. Adjoining ground was leased for building to Nathaniel Fowkes, tailor, in 1655-56.[58] During the Protectorate residential building was extended eastwards on Lazy Hill and by the Restoration the number of inhabitants there and on Hoggen Green had so increased that the parish of St. Andrew was recreated in 1665.[59]

The western suburbs seem to have been renewed during the 1630s but areal extension of the street-system was inconsiderable. Southward expansion outside the city walls is suggested by the leasing and filling-in of the ditch near St. Francis Gate.[60] New houses were also built on St. Thomas Street and near the site of the Abbey of St. Thomas: pictorial evidence (Plate I) of these is found in a survey made in 1634 which suggests that rows of newly built contiguous houses lined the short street which led from the church of St. Catherine to the Abbey of St. Thomas.[61]



see appendix

Survey of Thomas Court, 1634

In the Liberty of St. Patrick the first half of the seventeenth century was a period of degeneration and decay and of impoverishment of the cathedral. The great houses in the cathedral close were deserted by the merchants and by 1623 the houses within the precincts - thirty in number - were inhabited either by 'professors of learning' or by manual workers employed by the cathedral chapter.[62] By 1656 most of the cathedral dignitaries had deserted the Liberty and, in a further retrogade step, their mansions were leased for terms of years, apparently to local tenants.[63] Building near the Liberty on ground which had belonged to the cathedral or to its dignitaries was undertaken by those who had received grants of land at very modest rents, chiefly by Gilbert Domville;[64] development which may have been undertaken by Viscount Ranelagh on land acquired from the cathedral chapter has not been recorded.

The small nucleus of settlement on the north bank seems to have expanded during the first half of the seventeenth century. Corporation leases granted or renewed for houses, tenements and shops suggest extensive reconstruction and improvement in the second decade of the century.[65] Lanes which intersected the main thoroughfares were also leased for building at this time.[66] Westward extension along the river bank was envisaged: ground adjacent to Sir Gerard Lowther's house near the bridge was surveyed in 1628-29 as a site for a house of correction. In 1637 Sir Gerard himself acquired extra land adjoining his house and some adjacent land was laid out as a site for a mint. In 1646 ground, then a dunghill, which lay south of the church stile and near Hangman's (Hammond) lane, was leased for building.[67] In 1629 ground near Young's castle at the northern end of Church Street was leased in order to permit alignment of a turretted mansion with the castle, and a new street was opened northwards to the bridge on the Bradogue in 1633.[68] Extension of building eastwards towards St. Mary's Abbey is recorded in the second decade of the century and in 1650 a penfold together with a house for the caretaker were built on the Abbey Green.[69] Although in 1620 extensive unauthorised encroachment is recorded, including building houses on Oxmantown Green. These encroachments, however, do not seem to have significantly reduced the area available for pasture.

Conclusion

Although the city had grown considerably by the end of the first period, extension of the street-plan had been insignificant for most building had been on streets which had already been laid out in 1600. With one notable exception, residential building had consisted largely of the reconstruction of decayed buildings and the consolidation of existing suburbs. The exception was the new suburb which had grown east of the city on Dame Street, Hoggen Green, and part of St. George's Lane where a tendency towards extra-mural local differentiation of land use first appeared in Dublin, for unlike the mixed suburbs of earlier date, the new eastern suburb was predominantly upper-class residential. The two principal magnets which attracted such development were Chichester House, the residence of the viceroy, and the new university. This development was the first step towards spontaneous post-medieval local differentiation of land use in Dublin.

A twofold change had come in the character of residential buildings for timber-framed houses had been constructed during the first two decades of the century while houses built during the succeeding decades were of brick. New public buildings occupied the sites of decayed, historic buildings, except the Custom House which had been constructed on reclaimed land outside the eastern city wall.

The first half of the seventeenth century was a period of transition in which Dublin emerged from its fortifying enclosures and began to shed its medieval character. Change came gradually and spontaneously and new structures were scattered through the built-up area, following the trend of post-medieval urban development of earlier date in continental cities of Europe. None of the buildings constructed at this time survived after the seventeenth century and yet the morphogenetic character of the period was highly significant. Its influence was derived partly from buildings but principally from controls exercised or changed through the pattern of landownership and the system of tenure. The significance of changes made in the pattern of landownership and in conditions of tenure became apparent during the two succeeding centuries.

References and Footnotes

1. Hugh F. Kearney, Strafford in Ireland, 1633-41: a study in absolutism (Manchester U.P., 1959), 6-7, 218-220.

2. Longfield, Anglo-Irish Trade in the sixteenth century, 196-99; Louis M. Cullen, Anglo-Irish Trade: 1660-1800 (Manchester U.P., 1968), 1-5.

3. For Dublin's medieval trading links see Orpen, Normans, I, 78 203-04; II, 122-23.

4. Cal. Pat. Rolls Ire., Jas. I, 159, 230-32, 317.

5. Mason, Hist. of St. Pat., 34n citing minutes of the cathedral chapter.

6. Cal. Pat. Rolls Ire., Jas. I, 12.

7. Mason, Hist. of St. Pat., 15 citing charter of 16 Charles I; 81n, 97n, 98n citing deeds of St. Patrick's Cathedral which are no longer among the Cathedral muniments.

8. Anc. Rec., III, 257.

9. Anc. Rec., II, 481; III, 85.

10. Anc. Rec., II, 418, 435, 457-8, 472, 518; P.R.O.I. Corporation leases nos. 652, 653, 1529.

11. Anc. Rec., III, 226, 280.

12. Anc. Rec., II, 390, III, 213, 378.

13. Anc. Rec., IV, 169. The original indenture of this lease has not survived.

14. The cost of building the house on ground leased to Wentworth in 1644 is cited in a lease granted to Sir Alex Bence in 1670, MS Register of Leases of St. Patrick's Cathedral, 1660-1689, fol.199. The only illustration of these early 17th century houses which has survived is a perspective view of Chichester House on an undated survey, probably mid-17th century, of part of College Green, N.L.I. 16 G 16(6). Fragmentary references to buildings, in various documents, suggests that there was no uniformity. Evidence in Jury Valuations of the Wide Streets Commissioners made in the 1770s (Minutes, C.W.S., IV to VIII inclusive) suggests that the early seventeenth century mansions on Dame Street and College Green were free-standing, usually with large courtyards.

15. Anc. Rec., II, 478; Thomas Drew, 'The Ancient Chapter House of the Priory of the Holy Trinity, Dublin,' R.S.A.I.Jn., XXI (1890), 36-43.

16. Anc. Rec., III, 546-50.

17. Chartuleries ... St. Mary's Abbey, II, xlix, l, citing State Papers, Ireland, Queen Elizabeth, vols.xx, No.58; xxii, Nos.9 and 10; P.R.O. London and Memorandum Roll, Exchequer, Ireland, x - xii Elizabeth.

18. Mason, Hist. of St.Pat., 15 citing Charter of 16 Charles I.

19. Anc. Rec., II, 418, 435, 457-8.

20. Anc. Rec., II, III, IV, passim.

21. Anc. Rec., IV, 170.

22. Anc. Rec., III, 25, 38, 54, 79.

23. P.R.O.I., Corporation leases nos. 652, 653, 1529; Anc. Rec., II, 418, 435, 445, 457-58, 481, 486, 518. Ground lying between Newman's and Proudfoot's was leased in 1607 to Mathew Handcock who seems not even to have perfected the lease.

24. Gomme's Survey (1673): This is the earliest survey on which the reclaimed land is shown. The only recorded reclamation in the vicinity of the Poddle-Liffey confluence between 1620 and 1673 was undertaken in order to extend the Custom House Quay. Gomme's survey therefore indicates the extent of ground reclaimed by Newman and Proudfoot.

25. Anc. Rec., III, 329-30; 337; 355; 546-50; IV, 87.

26. Anc. Rec., III, 33.

27. Anc. Rec., III, 14.

28. Anc. Rec., III, 329, 355; 546-50.

29. Anc. Rec., III, 329-30, 337; IV, 87; V, 85. P.R.O.I., Corporation lease no. 1249 to Neville Pooley, 1675, in which earlier leases are recited.

30. Gomme's survey, 1673.

31. Anc. Rec., IV, 46, 99, 159-60, 164, 178.

32. The site proposed for a quay in 1659 is shown on "Map showing the ground of three leases set by the City of Dublin to Arthur Annesley, ... Sir John Temple, ... and ... George Brooke" [no date], N.L.I. 16 G 16(7); "A Map of Temple Bar, Fleet Street, Aston's Quay etc. ... set in three leases", Roger Kendrick, C.S., 1753, N.L.I. 16 G 16 (45); Nicholls's buildings are shown on Gomme's survey, 1673.

33. Anc. Rec., III, 93, 120; IV, 116.

34. Anc. Rec., II, 518.

35. Anc. Rec., III, 146-47.

36. Anc. Rec., III, IV, passim.

37. Anc. Rec., III, 114.

38. Anc. Rec., III, 61.

39. Anc. Rec., III, 36, 85, 90.

40. Anc. Rec., IV, 159, 165.

41. Anc. Rec., III, 3.

42. Anc. Rec., III, 358, 494; IV, 132-33.

43. Anc. Rec., III, 344.

44. Anc. Rec., III, 123, 339-40.

45. Anc. Rec., III, 106, 111, 136, 140, 157, 165, 170, 216, 285; IV, 67, 157.

46. Anc. Rec., III, 127; IV, 149.

47. Anc. Rec., III, 26, 61, 171, 390, 393, 398, 402.

48. Anc. Rec., III, 95, 110, 132-33, 190, 199-200, 255, 428; IV, 1, 6, 110.

49. Anc. Rec., IV, 1, 6.

50. For instance, Anc. Rec., III, 169, 298, 304.

51. Anc. Rec., III, 34, 65, 338, 511.

52. Anc. Rec., III, 207, 255, 257, 404, 413.

53. Anc. Rec., III, 298, 304.

54. Anc. Rec., II, 390-92; III, 14, 62, 57, 303, 378.

55. Anc. Rec., III, 207, 255, 257, 404, 413; IV, 46, 99, 149.

56. Prominent residents are listed in A Census of Ireland circa 1659, with supplementary material from the Poll Money Ordinances, 1660-61, ed. Seamus Pender (Dublin, 1939), 363-64; a transcript of part of this census from a MS in the R.I.A. was published by Gilbert as "Census of Dublin, 1659", Anc. Rec., IV, appendix IV, 360-71. Gilbert's transcript includes only these areas which lay inside the county of the city and the population of the Cornmarket is omitted from the parish of St. Audoen. Pender's edition has been used in this study.

57. Anc. Rec., III, 133; IV, 121.

58. Anc. Rec., IV, 58, 88.

59. 17 & 18 Charles II, chap. vii.

60. Anc. Rec., III, 106, 165; IV, 140, 147.

61. Anc. Rec., I, 199; 'The draught of the church and churchyard with the steeple and house adjoining to St. Catherine's Church, done 1634', N.L.I. 16 G 16 (35).

62 Mason, Hist. of St. Pat., 14, citing Annals of St. Patrick's and a representation made to the Lord Deputy and Council, 1623.

63. Mason, op. cit., 14-15; J.B. Leslie, 'Calendar of Leases and Deeds of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, 1660-89', R.S.A.I.Jn., LXIV (1934), 177-202; LXV (1935), 34-73. The MS Register of Leases from which this Calendar was compiled is preserved in St. Patrick's Cathedral. No earlier register has survived and Mason seems to have had access to documents which are no longer in possession of the Cathedral. Leases recorded in this Register were granted after the Restoration but some recite earlier leases and most indicate the actual state of the property,

64. Domville's residence is one of the few big houses named on Gomme's survey (1673).

65. Anc. Rec., III, passim.

66. Anc. Rec., 42, 99, 103.

67. Anc. Rec., 221, 331, 329, 443.

68. Anc. Rec., III, 213, 280, 358.

69. Anc. Rec., III, 44, 64, 85, 93, 110, 131, 151; IV, 169.

CHAPTER V

RESTORATION DUBLIN

The restoration of Charles II in 1660 was celebrated in Dublin by a special day of thanksgiving ordered by the city council.[1] This event might suggest that the Restoration augured relief for a beleaguered city and this was not so, for Dublin had suffered relatively little, compared to the rest of the country, during the Cromwellian invasion and the subsequent confiscations. Economic recovery and urban growth had, in fact, already begun in Dublin under the commonwealth and the recovery which began in the late 1650s permitted swift growth in the 1660s. The Restoration nevertheless marked the beginning of a new era. Under the commonwealth the puritanical spirit of the Cromwellians had fostered work and this promoted economic development once peace was restored: on the other hand, social life had been stifled, the court abolished, and recreation was muted. The Restoration brought immediate anticipation of the return to Dublin of the viceroy and his court with its attendant social life and festivities and consequent stimulation of the economy. It was no wonder, then, that the Restoration was welcomed by the city council, composed as it was of representatives of all facets of Dublin's commercial life, for the Restoration marked the beginning of a new period of urban growth in Dublin, a period distinguished by change in the form and the character of urban development.

The nature of surviving evidence renders the task of reconstructing the city as it was on the eve of the Restoration very difficult indeed. None of the seventeenth century buildings have survived. Few illustrations exist. Descriptions written by visitors to the city give the most vivid picture of the townscape despite, or perhaps because of, their subjective nature; but most travellers who left written accounts of the seventeenth century city came to Dublin either long before the restoration or after structural changes which resulted from the restoration had already been made. Notwithstanding, a selective use of such descriptions combined with fragmentary documentary evidence of the period

permits an authentic if partial reconstruction of the townscape of 1660.

Statistics are the other major source of evidence for this reconstruction. This is the earliest period for which any statistics for Dublin city are available and despite their recognised inherent deficiencies both fiscal and demographic returns provide the most comprehensive indications of the extent and character of the city and its population. The so-called 'census' of 1659[2], now thought to be a Poll Tax return[3], is recognised to be numerically deficient; moreover, it represents only a fraction of the total population, namely, those over fifteen years of age who were liable to pay the tax. Since, however, the numerical deficiency of the returns in urban areas was likely to be fairly constant, it is assumed that reliable patterns of areal variation are indicated by the recorded 'census' returns and therefore valid comparisons between neighbourhoods can be made on the basis of evidence from this 'census'. Hearth Tax returns have survived for the years 1664, 1665 and for 1666, although none are in their original form.[4]

The Hearth Tax returns for 1664 are of particular interest for two reasons: legislation passed in 1663 required that henceforth all houses were to be enumerated including those which were exempt from tax, and the list for 1664 therefore includes, within deficiencies introduced by the collectors, a complete list of dwellings for each parish; secondly, returns are available both for the parishes within and for those without the boundary of the county of the city and it is therefore possible to examine evidence for all suburban areas. The Hearth Tax was introduced after the restoration[5] but no major structural changes had been made in the city before 1664 and the four years which had elapsed since the restoration cannot be considered to invalidate using this evidence for a reconstruction of townscape of the city in 1660.

A list of Landgable Rents for the city for 1666 provides some related and complementary evidence;[6] these rents were paid only for land owned by the city and therefore only for a fraction

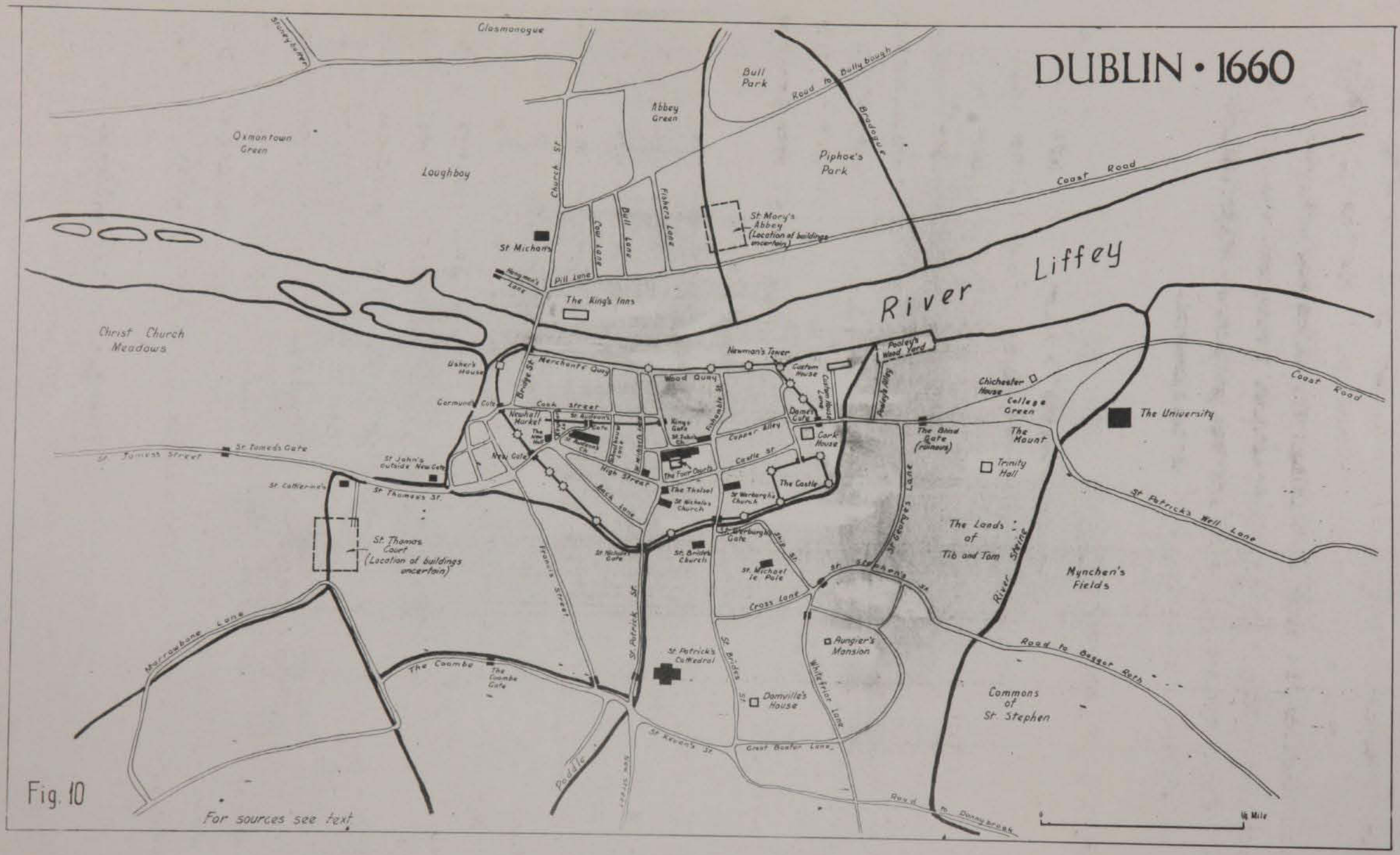


Fig. 10

For sources see text

of the land within the built-up area: in St. Michan's parish, for instance, houses listed in the Hearth Tax returns for 1664 numbered 309 while only 113 persons are listed as paying Landgable Rents. Assuming that rent was paid according to the ratio of fifteen pence for sixty four feet frontage,[7] the Landgable Rent list indicates the size of holdings for which such rents were paid; since the property was scattered throughout the city and its suburbs the average size and the pattern of distribution of holdings can be estimated from this record.

Extent and Topography

Dublin had already changed remarkably since the beginning of the century although no major structural change had been made in the ground-plan. (Fig.10) Indeed, the extent of change is difficult to depict in maps since the extension of the street-plan does not adequately reflect the extent of early seventeenth century building, for most private building was located on streets which had existed since medieval times. The principal addition to the street-plan was the eastward extension of Dame Street onto College Green and the re-opening of George's Lane which had been closed towards the end of the fifteenth century.[8] From College Green a thoroughfare extended eastwards along the site of the ancient coastal highway to Lazer's (Lazy) Hill. From Dame Street a narrow lane led to the new Custom House and another lane to the adjacent Wood Yard.[9] West of the city the only known addition to the street-plan was the development of the short street called 'The way to the Abbey of Thomas Court' which was later renamed Little Thomas Court.[10] On the north bank of the Liffey the only recorded addition to the street-plan was the northward extension of Church Street, thirty feet wide, to the bridge which spanned the river Bradogue, while the bridge itself was also widened and improved.[11] In effect, the only significant addition made to the street-plan in the first half of the seventeenth century was in the new suburb which developed outside the eastern gate of the city.

The city itself still retained much of its medieval character. The medieval walls were still standing and the gates constricted entrances to the city: even the Blind Gate on Hoggen (College) Green was still standing[12] and Dame's Gate, still only nine

feet wide, obstructed the eastern entrance to the city from the populous new eastern suburb.[13] The Castle was still the strong point of defence. The task of transforming it into a residence fit for the viceroy had been continued by Thomas Wentworth but most of the new buildings were destroyed by fire towards the end of his term.[14] A permanent addition was made to the Castle garden by acquiring the site of two adjacent mills and some parcels of land from the Earl of Cork.[15] Despite these alterations the castle retained its medieval character for Jouvin de Rochefort (1668) remarked that it was 'enclosed by thick walls and many round towers that command the town; on them are mounted a good number of cannon'.[16] The Four Courts, removed from the Castle during the reign of James I, occupied the site of the former abbey buildings which adjoined Christ Church[17] and the Abbey cloisters had become shops for tradesmen; despite the change of use these buildings evidently retained much of their medieval character.[18] The Tholsel with its public clock was evidently in a fair state of repair for no major alterations to it are recorded for another three decades. The King's Inns near the bridge had decayed so much that Charles II, at his accession, sent letters commanding revival and improvement.[19]

New buildings had been constructed in Trinity College which now had 'two large courts encompassed with lodgings'.[20] The college already had a 'fine library in which were many very scarce books'. In the college garden there was 'a great parterre representing a sun-dial and in the middle a tree that served for the gnomon': the garden was well tended and experiments in fruit growing were carried on for 'there was a vine nailed against the back part of a chimney exposed to the mid-day sun, and yet nevertheless its grapes never would ripen, the climate being too cold, which is the case with many fruit trees that cannot live here, or at least bring their fruits to maturity'.

Public buildings constructed during the first half of the seventeenth century had brought no significant change in the ground-plan of the city for they all, except the Custom House, occupied the site of older historic buildings thus giving continuity to the medieval structure of the city.

The cathedrals and churches of the Established Church seem to have been in a fair state of repair. In 1665 the re-establishment of the parish of St.Andrew was authorised together with the building of a new church dedicated to St.Andrew on a new site near the Mount on Hoggen Green.[21] The site of this one new church reflected the eastward extension of the city for the parish was re-established to serve the inhabitants of Lazy Hill and College Green.

Housing

The most striking change in the townscape was the character of residential building. The ruinous buildings which had been so numerous at the beginning of the century had been reconstructed or replaced; and in the course of private building a twofold change had come in the style of domestic building. Timber-framed houses continued to be built during the early years of the century: /one built in Cook Street in 1618 by Robert Eustace (Sheriff of Dublin in 1608-9) was described by Walter Harris in 1766 as 'large and stately'; it had the date of building and the customary inscription of the builder's name carved over the doorway.[22] Cork House, built on the site of St. Mary le Dam in the first decade of the century, was also a timber-framed house and it probably bore the motto of the Earl of Cork - 'God's Providence is mine inheritance' - over the doorway.[23] Timber-framed houses were so numerous that Luke Gernon who visited the city in 1620 stated that 'the buildings are of timber and of English form and it (the city) resembleth Bristol but falleth short.'[24] In 1612 the city council had decreed that houses must no longer be thatched but roofed with 'slate, tiles, shingle or boards' in the suburbs extending from Newgate to St.James's Gate, in Francis Street south to the late Franciscan Friary, ih Patrick Street and in Oxmantown from the Bridge to Young's castle.[25] The regulations were designed to reduce the danger of fire but they tended also to improve the standard of housing in the older suburbs. The areas listed comprised all the principal extra-mural medieval streets which had been built in the late-sixteenth or early-seventeenth centuries within the jurisdiction of the city council.

In the newer suburbs most if not all houses were built of



see appendix

Burnyates's House

bricks. Building with bricks or with stone and lime instead of with timber began to prevail in the city during the reign of James I and by the mid-century, according to Gerard Boate, 'all the new buildings (the which not only in handsomeness but also, in number and rate of building seem to have changed so rapidly during the reign of Charles I that already in 1635, according to Sir William Brereton, Dublin had begun 'to resemble London more than any other town ..... in the King of England's dominions' and new buildings were 'very fair, stately and complete buildings'.[27] While numerous timber-framed houses remained in the city and suburbs, all the older residential structures were gradually replaced by houses of brick and stone; some of these were described by Harris (1766) as 'large and elegant' and others as having 'some elegance of structure'.[28] Few illustrations and none of the structures have survived. Examples of buildings constructed in the second quarter of the seventeenth century are seen in Plates I and II. Mr. Burnyates's house was a large fr e-standing mansion which was approached from College Green by St. Patrick's Well Lane. Similar structural features are seen in the houses on the 'way leading to the Abbey of St. Thomas', or Little Thomas Court: these terraced houses were built c. 1633 on the site of the wall of the 'old Long garden' of the abbey and on the site of the abbey cloisters.[29] The most important of the private houses was Chichester House on College Green which had been built in the first decade of the century.[30] It was a two-storeyed house with attics, seventy feet in depth and one hundred and forty feet wide, with ten or twelve windows in the facade facing College Green. The house was set back about seventy feet from the Green; access to it was by a five-roomed gate-house and across a rectangular courtyard which was about forty two feet wide. A terrace walk some twenty feet wide lay east of the house, extending northwards past the house to the yards and a plantation near the shoreline; to the west there were some large residences occupied by Sir John Temple, Sir William Fownes, Sir William Crow and Sir Maurice Eustace.[31] Shortly after the restoration Chichester House was purchased by the government as a meeting place for Parliament and thereby it attained the rank of a public building.[32]

Both the Hearth Tax returns and the list of Landgable rents indicate the size of houses, the former by listing the number of hearths in each house and the latter by suggesting the width of frontage of the various holdings. The Landgable Rents (1665)[33] suggest that the average width of frontage of houses in the city was twenty five or twenty six feet since the most common payment was sixpence. Some citizens paid less than sixpence, the most common of the smaller amounts being three pence or four pence, representing frontages of twelve or thirteen feet. The most common amount larger than sixpence was fifteen pence and with one notable exception, this was generally the largest amount paid by householders within the city walls. These holdings probably had a frontage of sixty four feet: since this was the largest frontage permitted on medieval burgage plots[34] the holdings for which this sum was paid were probably undivided burgage plots which were laid out in the early middle ages. Many of the holdings which were liable for a payment of fifteen pence included a laneway and these lanes probably led into the courtyards of mansions. In Fishamble Street, for instance, there were twelve such lanes; they cannot now be identified since most were built over during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Holdings for which more than fifteen pence was paid were almost all in the suburbs and most of them lay east or south-east of the walled city. The exception within the city walls was Jereboes Inns in Kennedy Lane for which the large sum of nine shillings and two pence was paid. There is no evidence to indicate what area or special facilities this Inn had which made it liable for a rent which was so much larger than average; other listed inns generally paid fifteen pence or a little more.

The Hearth Tax returns which have survived list the total number of houses in each parish and the number of houses of each type from one to ten hearths or more; for some parishes subdivisions of returns according to the streets or wards are also listed. Commenting on the use of Hearth Tax returns as socio-economic indices Roger Howell (1964)[35] suggests that the most useful groupings are one hearth, two hearths, three to five hearths, six to nine hearths, and ten hearths or more; a total of less than three hearths would indicate an economic situation below comfortable level while a total

TABLE I

Houses and Hearths: 1664

Parish	No. of houses	% of parish total of houses with				
		1 hearth	2 hearths	3 - 5 hearths	6 - 9 hearths	10 + hearths
St. Nicholas Within	113	26	19	29	18	8
St. Michael	123	17	23	48	11	1
St. Werburgh	245	29	12	28	22	9
St. John	203	10	20	47	21	2
St. Audoen	205	27	21	38	11	3
St. Bridget	316	17	20	42	15	6
St. Andrew	336	22	26	32	15	5
Donnybrook	96	63	17	14	3	1
Sts.Catherine & James	435	44	29	20	6	1
St. Michan	309	39	21	25	12	3
St. Nicholas Without	348	56	24	17	3	-
St. Patrick	243	56	23	16	5	-
Sts Kevin & Peter	116	60	15	19	2	4

Based on 'List of houses in the City of Dublin and the number of hearths in each, 1664' and 'Transcript of Hearth Money Roll, Co. Dublin, 1664': see chapter V, ref. no. 4.

of ten hearths or more would suggest considerable affluence; the grouping three to five hearths suggests a standard of economic comfort and that of six to nine hearths some affluence. Since there is no apparent reason to the contrary these groupings have been adopted in analysing the Hearth Tax returns for Dublin. (Table I).

Although diverse activities, commercial, industrial, residential and recreational, continued to intermingle in the city and suburbs as they had done in medieval times, evidence from the Hearth Tax returns and from the Landgable Rents[36] suggests that there was already some extra-mural local differentiation of land use on the south bank of the Liffey and that the various suburbs were already beginning each to assume its different character, with industry predominant in the west and upper-class residential building characteristic of the new eastern suburbs. In the walled city there seems also to have been some local differentiation with a contrast between the north-west and the south and east.

More than forty per cent of the houses within the walls had only one or two hearths and there were probably also many cabins which had no hearth at all, suggesting that at least half of the population lived at or below subsistence level. The proportion of small houses in extra-mural parishes was even greater and it seems reasonable to assume that cabins without hearths were more numerous than those within the walls; if so a greater proportion of the population lived at or below subsistence level outside the walls than within. It cannot be suggested, however, that the poor tended to congregate outside the walls in view of the very large proportion of small houses in all parishes in the walled city.

There were some large houses in all parishes. The proportion of houses with ten hearths or more in the parish of St. Nicholas Within and in St. Werburgh's was considerably greater than in the other intra-mural parishes. This suggests that the more affluent residents lived either on the summit of the ridge or on the south-facing slope. There were few very large houses

in the parish of St. John but the proportion of houses with six to nine hearths was twice as great as in the north-western parishes of St. Michael and St. Audoen. Houses listed as paying Landgable rent in the parishes of St.Nicholas Within, St. Werburgh, and St. John each paid sixpence or more, indicating that properties had frontages of sixty-four feet or more. Most of the inhabitants of the largest houses in these parishes were people of title or rank whereas inhabitants of large houses in the parishes of St. Michael and St. Audoen were merchants or aldermen. The evidence suggests that as one moved westwards through the walled city from Castle Street the average size of houses decreased, that the standard of affluence decreased accordingly and that the density of housing probably increased.

South of the city in the parish of St. Nicholas Without, more than half of the houses had less than three hearths and there were no very large houses or notable residents. There were probably also many cabins which had no hearths at all. To the south, three adjacent areas lay outside the county of the city, namely, St.Patrick's Close and New Street in the Liberty of St. Patrick, and the Coombe and New Row in the adjacent Liberty of Donore. In all of these areas small houses were predominant. In the united parishes of St. Catherine and St. James which lay west and south-west of the walled city about half of the houses had less than three hearths; on the other hand, there were also some very large houses. These parishes comprised the industrial suburb which had developed along Thomas Street and St. James's Street where brewing and distilling seem to have been the principal activities. Residents included titled people as well as those engaged in commerce; the Earl of Meath continued to occupy the buildings of the Abbey of Thomas Court and this probably influenced the character of the neighbourhood.

In the parish of St. Bridget, south and south-east of the walled city, there seems to have been considerable affluence for, while houses with three to five hearths were predominant, one fifth were larger, having more than six hearths, and nineteen houses had more than ten hearths, the two largest having nineteen and twenty hearths. The largest houses seem to have been on or

near Bride Street. On adjacent streets in the contiguous parish of St.Kevin and St.Peter, building seems to have begun immediately after the Restoration and there was already a clustering of large houses, the incipient stage of a new upper-class residential suburb south-east of the walled city. The adjacent parish of Donnybrook was still largely rural: most of the houses were in Ringsend where there were thirty-seven in Englishtown and twenty-eight in Irishtown; more than half of these had less than three hearths and their residents evidently lived at subsistence level.

The parish of St. Michan comprised the entire urbanised area on the north bank. Although there had been some development on the north bank of the Liffey during the first half of the seventeenth century, houses were as yet no more numerous than in any one of the more densely populated of the southern parishes. More than one third of the houses which paid Hearth Tax had only one hearth and there were probably numerous cabins which had no hearth at all, and so there must have been a very high proportion of the population which lived at or below subsistence level. Large houses were few, the most prominent being Young's Castle on Church Street; others included Grange Gorman House, Roscommon House and Fingal House. There were twenty-three houses on or near the site of the King's Inns and in the vicinity of St. Mary's Abbey there were sixty, which included the residence of Lord Moore, owner of the Abbey, who lived in a house of nine hearths. The parish of St. Michan seems at this time to have had the same characteristics as the western suburbs on the south bank; both were of ancient origin; both had large monastic buildings or ruins; and both had some titled residents although both suburbs seem to have been predominantly commercial and industrial.

The clearest example of local differentiation of land-use was found at this time in the eastern suburbs whose growth led to the re-establishment of the parish of St. Andrew in 1665: although the medieval ecclesiastical parish of St. Andrew had been suppressed at the Reformation the area was still recognised as a unit for administrative and fiscal matters. During the early seventeenth century two distinct neighbourhoods had developed,

one centred on Hoggen Green and Dame Street and extending southwards into St. George's Lane, and the second in the vicinity of Lazy Hill. Development on Lazy Hill seems to have been largely commercial and industrial. Its waterside location combined with the restricted area which was initially available for building probably determined the character of the neighbourhood; reclamation was undertaken in the late 1650s to permit further development and the strand then leased was granted to waterside tenants all of whom were merchants.[37] Although there were houses of all categories on Lazy Hill the proportion of large houses was small for about two thirds of the houses had less than three hearths. Dame Street and College Green were a complete contrast.

Homogeneity of character seems to have been more clearly developed on College Green and Dame Street than in any other part of the city or suburbs. The evidence suggests that the area was almost entirely residential and there were many large houses. Prohibition of building on the waterfront had prevented development near the strand during the first half of the century and gardens sloped down to the water's edge from the holdings on the north side of College Green and Dame Street. No less than twenty-nine houses on Dame Street had six hearths or more and nine of these were very large, having ten hearths or more. Fourteen of the houses on College Green were similar and five of them had ten hearths or more. The vast majority of holdings on St. George's Lane seem to have been fairly large and some had very extensive frontages. Most paid sixpence as Landgable rent suggesting that they had frontages of about sixty-four feet: only three paid less than sixpence while five paid a half-a-crown, suggesting that they each had a frontage of one hundred and twenty-eight feet or more. The status of the residents on College Green and Dame Street at this time also indicates its upper-class residential character for in this neighbourhood there were more titled people and officials of high rank than in any other part of the city or suburbs.

Analysis of these returns indicates a distinct contrast between the suburbs which lay west of St. Patrick's Cathedral and the

suburbs to the east. Houses in the south-western suburbs were predominantly small and the absence of titled people is worthy of note. The titled people who lived in the western suburbs were relatively few and they appear to have had one principal attraction, the former Abbey of Thomas Court which was still inhabited by the Earl of Meath. Large houses and titled residents were more characteristic of streets in the southern suburbs east of St. Patrick's Cathedral, principally of Bride Street where Domville's large mansion evidently influenced the neighbourhood. As one moved eastward from the walled city and Bride Street, large houses of the wealthy seem to have been more numerous. From a nucleus established east of the walled city in the early years of the seventeenth century an upper-class residential suburb had extended east and south-east and this trend continued during the ensuing centuries.

Markets

Municipal markets were still held in the crowded streets of the walled city. Increasing congestion had prompted mandatory intra-mural dispersal through new regulations introduced in 1633.[38] and from that time bushes, rushes and herbs were sold in St. Michael's Lane, sellers of bread were required to stand by St. Michael's wall and not to obstruct the street; sellers of bacon and cheese were required to stand in the middle of Fishamble Street after the butchers who had no stalls. Butchers who had stalls in Fishamble Street numbered forty-four and thirty-three butchers paid rent for holdings in St. John's Lane.[39] The fish shambles were still in the open space at the bend in Fishamble Street. At the High Cross sellers of oatmeal and flour were required to sit on the steps without stools or vessels and sellers of butter in the centre of the street leaving an empty space between every six vessels. Hogsheads, barrels of salt, and beef, and salt beef were sold in Back Lane and in Thomas Street. Activities in the Corn Market and in the adjacent Newhall Market remained unchanged. Most of the city's live cattle had been sold on Oxmantown Green since the mid-sixteenth century[40] but this activity had not been removed entirely from the south bank for a large space was railed in

in the mid-seventeenth century near St. James's Gate for the sale of horses and cattle.[41]

The Liberty of St. Patrick had its own market which was held in the open space near St. Patrick's Cathedral and in St. Patrick's Street there were thirty-four butchers who paid Landgable rent. There was a large covered market house in this Liberty in 1668: its date of building is not known and it may have been built after the Restoration.[42]

Public Services

Municipal services and improvements introduced by the city council during the first half of the seventeenth century included lighting, paving, fire-control and the control of hackneys or cars. Public lighting of the city was provided by the citizens: every fifth house was bound to have a lantern and candlelight from six o'clock in the evening until nine o'clock at night from Hallow Eve until a fortnight after Candlemas. From 1620 every parish was required to have fire-fighting equipment consisting of ladders, buckets and a hook, the only equipment in use until the end of the century. Every householder was enjoined to pay for the paving of the street along his frontage extending outwards to the channel in the street; each householder was also bound to provide stones, sand and labourers for the work. Carmen were required to give one day's labour every month towards the work of paving and iron-bound carts of brewers, carmen and carters were excluded from the walled area of the city.[43] How successful these measures were in improving the city remains a matter for conjecture.

The Port and Estuary

Some progress in improving port-facilities had been made in the first half of the century principally through Newman's reclamation and the building of a new Custom House and of new quays, but the channel and estuary remained an obstacle to traders and the continuing increase in the size of ships aggravated problems of merchants and traders. The new Custom House quay extended eastwards outside the city wall to the mouth of the

Poddle: since the quay extended to low water mark the ships could ride at half or at full tide owing to the bar at the mouth of the estuary. The new Custom House was the centre of overseas trade for since 1620 all overseas trade was bound to load and unload at the Custom House Quay. Transshipment upriver to the quays within the walls was still unimpeded by any bridges. East of the Poddle was a large wood yard established by Pooley in the 1630s. On the north bank of the Liffey the mouth of the Bradogue had been enclosed and the site of its confluence with the Liffey had been reclaimed but there is no record of buildings which may have existed on the site at this time. East of the Bradogue the north bank was unenclosed and some ground was still subject to inundation at high tide. On the south bank the river was walled from Isolde's tower to Chichester House and gardens lined the river bank to the east and west of the Custom House Quay and wood yard. Ringsend, at the mouth of the estuary, was well established as an outport where the packet boat from Chester called regularly[44] and from which large ships had their cargoes transported upriver in smaller boats for the channel was too shallow even at high tide for boats of more than four hundred tons.[45]

Boate (1652)[46] describes estuarine conditions which still prevailed towards the end of the seventeenth century. 'The Haven almost all over falleth dry with the ebb, as well below Ringsend as above it, so that you may go dry-foot except at two places, one on the north side betwixt Dublin and the Bar and the other at the south side not far from it. In these two little creeks whereof the one is called the Pool of Clontarf and the other Poolbeg it never falleth dry but the ships which ride at anchor remain ever afloat because at low water you have nine or ten feet of water there'. Nevertheless the bay was 'frequented with more ships and hath greater importation than any other Haven in the Kingdom' because of the market for imports created by a growing population and the extent of Dublin's hinterland which in times of peace extended almost to the entire provinces of Leinster and Ulster as well as to the midlands of the country.[47] Boate also describes the course of the two largest tributaries which flowed into Dublin Bay, namely, the Dodder and the Tolka both of

LAND USE • 1660

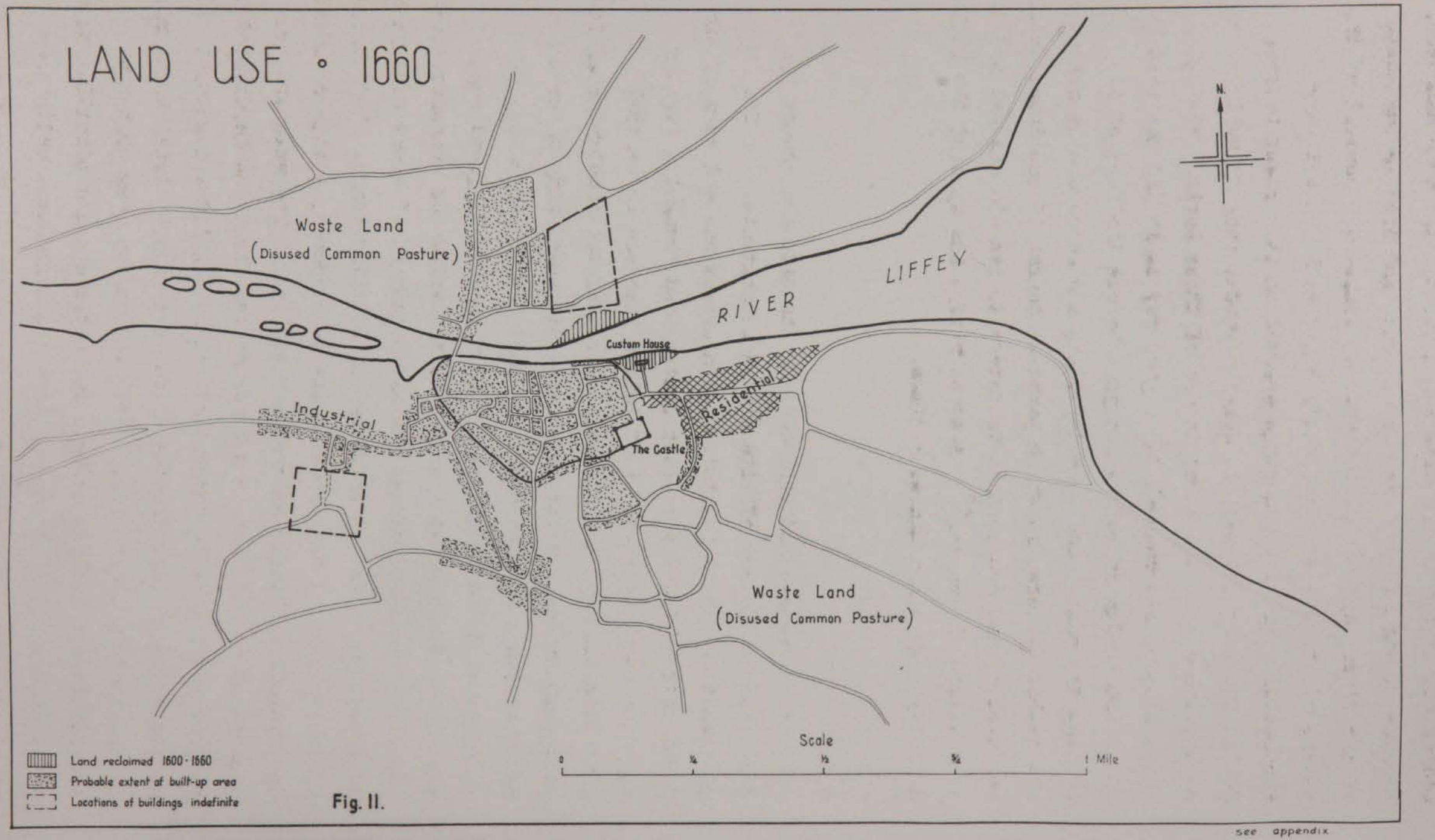


Fig. II.

see appendix

which he describes as 'dangerous brooks' near Dublin. The Dodder was liable to flooding which was all the more dangerous because it was not regular and seasonal and because the mouth of the river lay west of the spit of Ringsend; control of the waters of the Dodder had already begun although not very successfully for a stone bridge erected on this river between Dublin and Ringsend was, in Boate's words, 'hardly well accomplished when the Brook in one of those furious risings quite altered its channel for a good way as it did not pass under the bridge as before but just before the foot of it, letting the same stand upon dry land, and consequently making it altogether useless, in which perverse course it continued until perforce it was constrained to return to its old channel and to keep within the same'.[48] A stone bridge had spanned the Tolka at Ballybough since medieval times.

Occupations

Great changes had been made in the city and change had come also in the way of life of the inhabitants. The confiscations which had followed insurrections and wars of the first half of the seventeenth century had brought a further increase in the numbers of officials involved in central administration and the unsettled state of the country necessitated maintaining a relatively large permanent army under the commonwealth. The extension of port facilities and quays together with the development of the outport Ringsend suggest that there was a great increase in the volume of overseas trade. Imports of wood had caused the establishment of a new wood yard. Much employment was provided by the building trade. Industries must have existed but there is little evidence, either documentary or physical, of their nature or location. The extensive municipal commons which had been in use during the first few decades of the century now lay waste and unproductive (Fig.11) and gainful employment must therefore have been provided by local industries and by trade and commerce. Most industries were probably located in the western suburbs where there was a plentiful supply of water but since industries were small domestic units they could have been located in all parts of the built up area with the probable exception of the eastern suburbs.

TABLE II

Population recorded in 1659

Parishes and Liberties	Total	% of	
		English	Irish
St. Audoen	839	69	31
St. Michael	678	80	20
St. John	904	87	13
St. Werburgh	846	86	14
St. Nicholas Within	402	81	19
St. Nicholas Without (listed as St. Patrick)	813	70	30
St. Bride (Bridget)	732	79	21
St. Andrew	792	82	18
Ringsend (Donnybrook)	245	38	60
Sts. Catherine & James	1,376	70	30
St. Michan	1,173	52	48
St. Kevin	246	63	37
Liberty of St. Patrick	719	64	36
Liberty of Donore	416	70	30

Based on A Census of Ireland circa 1659, ed. S. Pender (Dublin, 1939)

Population

According to the Poll Tax returns of 1659 there were 10,061 people in the city and suburbs who were liable to pay tax. Of these 8,780 were in the city and the county of the city and 1,381 in the adjacent urbanised area which lay in the county of Dublin.[49] These totals were probably numerically deficient although the deficiency was probably less than in rural areas throughout the country at large and it was probably relatively constant throughout the urban area, deficiencies being greater perhaps in the more densely populated areas and therefore greater in the poorer parts of the city. The statistics record those who were liable to pay the Poll Tax of the year 1659 to 1660, namely all males and females over fifteen years of age except the clergy who were probably not very numerous at the time. In using these figures to estimate the total size of the population it is necessary to consider what proportion of the population was over fifteen years of age and whether or not all adults had dependents. As a result of immigration and of migration from rural areas it seems likely that adults were a greater proportion of the population than in normal circumstances. It is also likely that adult males were far more numerous than females owing to the nature of immigration and migration for during the preceding unsettled decades few immigrants would have transferred their families. The Poll Tax returns can perhaps be considered to represent half the population[50] and, if so, the total population of the urbanised area would have been about twenty thousand, of which about seventeen thousand lived in the walled city and the county of the city and the remainder lived in the adjacent independent Liberties.

In using the Poll Tax returns it is also necessary to consider whether the ratio of English to Irish can be considered valid for the population as a whole. It is likely that dependents of natives were more numerous than those of recent immigrants, but then 'natives' could have been of English origin and consequently classed as English. Since there is no indication of the numbers of dependents of either English or Irish, there is no evidence on which to base a modification of the ratio. Bearing in mind that because of these deficiencies

it is not possible to give absolute numbers of inhabitants for specific areas, it is nevertheless possible to identify demographic patterns of areal variation which are not without interest.

Most of the population seems to have been of English birth or origin. In fact, the proportion of English seems to have been inordinately large. On the other hand many of the Irish were migratory and were consequently able to evade enumerations such as those made for the Poll Tax. Moreover, the growth of the Irish sector of the population had been checked by periodic mandatory exclusion from the city which had been imposed once more under the commonwealth . A stable increase probably came only when the Acts of Settlement and Explanation were publicised after the Restoration. The proportion of English in the parishes within the walls was, with one exception, greater than eighty per cent, rising to a maximum in the parish of St.John. The exception was the parish of St.Audeon where thirty-one per cent of the population was Irish. In the eastern and southern suburbs eighty per cent of the population was English while in the south-western and western suburbs the proportion of Irish was as great as in the parish of St.Audeon. The Irish were more numerous on the north bank, comprising almost half the total population. The only place in the entire city, suburbs and Liberties in which the Irish were in the majority was the small village of Irishtown in Ringsend where, in a total of 196 persons who paid Poll Tax only forty-six people were English. The streets in which no Irish were enumerated were short secondary streets with very few houses, for instance, Swan Alley, where twenty-five persons paid Poll Tax, Skippers' Lane where only five paid Poll Tax and part of Back Lane in the parish of St.Audeon where fourteen paid Poll Tax. It is evident, therefore, that the English and Irish mingled in all areas although not on a basis of numerical equality.

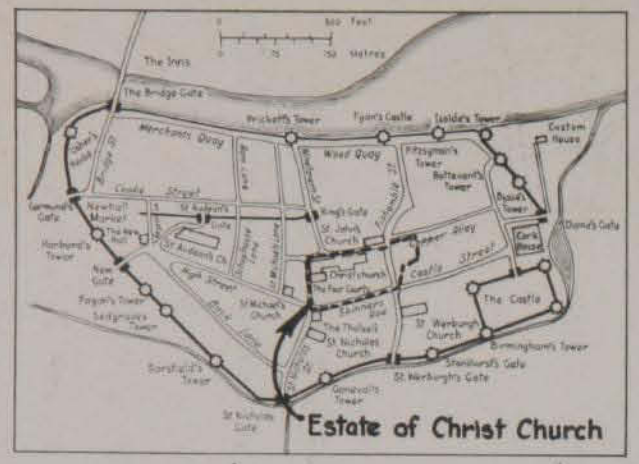
There were 'tituladoes'[51] or persons of note in almost all streets: the only places where their absence is remarkable were Ringsend, where the only tituladoes were the local landowner and his son, and the Liberty of Donore, where only two tituladoes were listed. Monastic buildings which were still standing were evidently occupied by their ennobled grantees for the Earls of Meath lived in Thomas Court

and Lord Moore lived in St. Mary's Abbey.[52] In this neighbourhood of Thomas Court there were no less than sixty tituladoes including Sir Robert Newcomen and fifty-seven of the lesser gentry. Seventeen tituladoes lived in St. Mary's Abbey of whom all but two were nobility and lesser gentry; the two exceptions were maltsters who probably still used the Abbey brew house.

In the eastern suburbs the absence of merchants in Dame Street and College Green is notable. Thomas Pooley who probably owned the adjacent wood yard on the waterfront[53] was listed as a gentleman. Residents of note then living in Dame Street included Lord Ranelagh, Sir George Wentworth, Sir Maurice Eustace and Sir John Temple; there were also some of the lesser gentry and army officers. Residents of Dame Street in 1664 included those people already listed and the Countess of Mount Alexander, Sir Henry Tichborne, the Lord Bishop of Limerick and the Lord Chancellor. College Green was similar in character for its residents included the Lord Primate of Ireland, the Earl of Anglesea, the Lord Bishop of Meath and Sir John Danellere, while Sir Henry Talbot and Lady Loftus lived in George's Lane. Within the walled city Castle Street and St.Werburgh Street were mostly occupied by the lesser gentry: residents of Castle Street included Sir James Ware in 1660 and Sir William Petty, the Lord Chief Baron Bysse, Sir Daniel Bellingham, and Sir Theophilus Jones in 1664. Residents of St. Werburgh Street included Sir Charles Coote and Sir Thomas Herbert.

The most numerous nuclei of tituladoes who were engaged in trade and commerce were all in the heart of the old settlement. In High Street there were thirteen merchants, one apothecary, one smith, one clothier and two shopkeepers, a total of eighteen engaged in trade and commerce in the twenty eight who were listed. On the Cornmarket in a total of thirteen tituladoes there were seven merchants, one distiller, and one apothecary. In Bridge Street there were fifteen merchants and a distiller in a total of thirty-two tituladoes and in Cook Street there were nine merchants, one grocer, one apothecary and one distiller among the twenty seven who were listed. The list for Oxmantown included the greatest number of shopkeepers (seven) and there were also four merchants and a vintner. In St. Patrick's Close there were five merchants and a brewer. It is evident that tituladoes

DUBLIN • 1660
ESTATES



Estate of Christ Church

Drogheda

Ballybough

Crown Estate

Oxmantown Green (city)

Christ Ch. Meadows

Usher

SEE INSET

Trinity College

City

Aungier

Stephen's Green

Domville

Meath Estate

Estate of the Archbishop of Dublin

Fitzwilliam Estate

RIVER LIFFEY

Proposed Quay

Bull Park

Abbey Parks

Mynchen's Fields

Glasmahogue

Road to the North

Road to Ballybough

Road to Baggot Rath

Coast Road

N

KEY

- Modern street pattern
- Seventeenth century streets
- Towers or Castles
- City Wall
- Fortified Gates
- Quay Wall

Fig.12. For sources see text.

merited inclusion in the 'census' as much because of wealth and commercial activities as because of social status.

Although absolute numbers of population cannot be estimated reliably, some indication of a pattern of population density is discernible. The density of population within the city walls seems to have been equally great in all the parishes and it was probably greater than in the eastern and southern suburbs. Although the number who paid Poll Tax in the parish of St. Nicholas Within was only approximately half that of St. Werburgh's or St. Audoen's, the area of the parish of St. Nicholas was also much smaller. The population of the Liberty of Christ Church was not recorded. Population density in St. Patrick's Liberty seems to have been comparable to that of the walled city. The population of St. Michan's and of St. Catherine's was considerably greater than that of the other parishes. Both of these parishes were very extensive but each had large tracts of unbuilt land and the built-up area seems to have been no more extensive than in the other parishes. It may therefore be suggested that the density of population per built-up acre in these parishes was greater than in the other suburbs. The evidence is not sufficient to indicate more detailed patterns of distribution.

The salient demographic characteristics which may be identified in Restoration Dublin are therefore a general over-whelming predominance of those of English birth or origin, a greater proportion of the Irish in the western half of the city and especially on the north bank, and a greater density of population in the areas where the Irish were most numerous.

Estates

The pattern of land-ownership had changed considerably by the mid-seventeenth century. Few changes in ownership in Dublin resulted from the Cromwellian confiscations, for private estates were formed principally through grants made by the crown. (Fig.12) Most of the crown estate had been granted to private individuals and by 1660 the only portion still held directly by the crown was the estate of the Priory of Kilmainham which lay west of the city.[54] The extent and location of this estate combined with control exercised by the crown, were the principal determinants of the form of development west of

the city during the succeeding two growth periods. The most extensive private estate was that of Sir Garret Moore, Earl of Drogheda, who had acquired the estate of St. Mary's Abbey.[55] The grant to Moore was subject to leases in being since the reign of Elizabeth; these were for terminable terms of years, perpetuated divisions made in monastic times, principally the distinction between the monastic precincts and the rest of the estate.[56] The estate of Francis Aungier comprised land acquired from three different sources, from the crown, the city and the Vicars Choral of St.Patrick's Cathedral. The nucleus of Aungier's estate was the former monastic estate of Whitefrairs, held in fee simple, while adjoining land was held on a renewable lease for a term of years from the Vicars Choral of St.Patrick's Cathedral. Aungier acquired a contiguous thoroughfare from the city in 1683.[57] The estate of Thomas Court was held in fee tail by the Earl of Meath.[58] Most of it was farm land which was leased either for short terminable terms of years, often for seven years, or was leased to tenants at will who usually held land indefinitely during the lifetime of any one estate owner. Gilbert Domville's estate in Bride Street and Viscount Ranelagh's estate in Kevin Street and New Street had both been the property of St.Patrick's Cathedral. Domville's estate influenced the development of Wood Street and Bride Street and also prompted improvements in the Liberty of St. Patrick after the Restoration. Ranelagh's grant impoverished the cathedral and thereby fostered congestion in the Liberty without contributing positively to its development; building on Ranelagh's holding seems to have been mostly small houses which were probably inhabited by Labourers.[59]

The municipal estate was still extensive for relatively little land had been alienated during the first half of the seventeenth century and although numerous building leases had been granted,[60] building leases granted in the suburbs were for relatively small parcels of land on the fringe of the built-up area or on the fringe of Oxmantown Green and St. Stephen's Green. More extensive holdings were leased on College Green and by the mid-century all that remained of this former common pasture was an irregularly shaped triangle which extended from its apex at the Blind Gate to the western boundary of the College. Almost all the unbuilt municipal land was in St. Stephen's Green and in Oxmantown Green; both were extensive unbroken

tracts of land and both now lay waste. Oxmantown Green adjoined the settlement on the north bank and St.Stephen's Green was not far from the eastern and southern suburbs. The city also held the unbuilt lands of Tib and Tom which lay north-west of St. Stephen's Green and the Abbey Green in Oxmantown to which, however, its title was not clear. The agreement made between the monks of St. Mary's Abbey and the city council in 1263 had never been rescinded and the land to which the city held title prior to this agreement was not delimited in the municipal records.[61]

Conclusion

Although the city had not extended much in area during the first half of the seventeenth century important morphogenetic changes had been made and by the Restoration all the principal generative elements of Dublin's sectoral growth pattern already existed. A high-class residential district had developed east of the walled city and to the south-west there was unbuilt land. In the west there was a populous suburb with commercial activities and some industries; a plentiful water supply was already available there to facilitate further industrial development. There seem to have been commercial activities in varying degrees in the southern suburbs. The market on Oxmantown Green had established the settlement on the north bank as a centre of commerce; unbuilt land extended eastwards to the sea while west of the settlement there were extensive disused commons.

The channel of the Liffey was still in great need of improvement and the plans made by Mayor Carroll had not been implemented, probably on grounds of expense.[62] Reclamation undertaken by riparian tenants such as Newman and Pooley had, however, already proved to be commercially viable. The success of these initial projects prompted further reclamation and the prospect of greatly increasing the extent of reclaimed land was evident. Since the medieval fortifications were no longer effective the prohibition of building east of the walled city was allowed to lapse and further reclamation would consequently increase the amount of building land. Most important of all, perhaps, for urban development of the immediate future, was the disused state of the municipal commons for these provided the site for the most extensive units of development after the Restoration.

References and Footnotes

1. Anc. Rec., IV, 180-87.

2. Census Ire., 1659, 363-73. Pender attributes these returns to Petty, citing W.H.Hardinge in whose opinion 'these census returns were made up during the period of Petty's survey by Petty (because no other person could compile it) between December 1654 and the year 1659', R.I.A.Trans, XXIV (1865), 317.

3. W.J.Pilsworth, 'Census or poll tax', R.S.A.I.Jn.LXXIII (1943) 22-24; R.C.Simington, 'A "census" of Ireland c.1659', Analecta Hibernica, XII (1943), 177-78: PIlsworth and Simington concur in identifying the 'census' as a Poll Tax.

4. 'List of Houses in the City of Dublin and number of Hearths in each, 1664'; 'List of p rsons in preceding accounts, proprietors of 6 hearths or upwards'; in 'City of Dublin Miscellaneous Records', transcripts made b W.Monck Mason, P.R.O.I. Phillips's MS 17044, published in 57th Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland (Dublin 1936), 559-63. Transcript of Hearth Money Roll: Co.Dublin 1664 (Presented by Captain G.D.Cary, per T.U.Sadlier, 7 Oct.1930), P.R.O.I. Exchequer (Revenue) 189[a], published in Journal of the Kildare Archaeological Society, X (1922-28), 245-54. 'An Enrolment of the Number of Hearths etc. in the City of Dublin and suburbs thereof, 1663' (Revised date, 1665), transcribed from the original preserved at the King's Hospital, Dublin, by C.J.Mac Garry, Assistant Keeper (no d te), P.R.O.I. Exchequer (Revenue) 14. The original transcript was dated 1663 but the date seems to have been changed to 1665 by the Registrar of the King's Hospital, the alteration being based on the entry 'Joan Relick' on folio 30 of the original, page 42 in the copy; the will of John Relick was proved in 1664 in the Dublin Consistorial Court. The revision by the Registrar of the King's Hospital is undated. 'Hearth Tax Returns for St.Bridget's parish, 1666', transcript by Edward Evans, Irish Builder, XXXIII (1891), 206-07.

5. The Hearth Tax was introduced into Ireland in 1662 by statute, 14 & 15 Charles II, chap.17, which imposed a tax of 2/- per annum on every hearth or stove in each house, except those which were exempted for reasons specified by the statute. For a discussion of Hearth tax returns see R.A.Butlin 'The population of Dublin in the late seventeenth century', Irish Geography, V, No.2 (1965) 51-66; F.J.Holden, 'Property Taxes in Old Dublin', Dublin Hist.Rec., XIII (1953) 133-37

6. 'The Roll of Landgable, common fines and sense money within the City and suburbs of Dublin for the year 1665, William Smith Esq. being mayor, Joshua Allen and Francis Brewster being sheriffs', P.R.O.I. Phillips's MS 17044, published in 57th Report Deputy Keeper of Public Records, 526-58. Landgable was a tax or rent issuing out of land, in the Register of Domesday a quit rent for the site of a house or the land whereon it stood .... what we now call ground rent. (Jacob's Law Dictionary cited in 57th Report, 526).

7. Anc. Rec. I, 302.

8. Anc. Rec., II, 548-49; properties on George's Lane are listed in the Hearth Tax Returns and in the List of Landgable.

9. Gomme's survey, 1673; leases show that these lanes existed in the first half of the century, Anc.Rec.,III, 547-48; IV, 159; P.R.O.I. Corporation lease No. 1249 to Neville Pooley, 1675.

10. Survey of Thomas Court, 1634, N.L.I. 16 G 16 (35).

11. Anc. Rec., III, 226, 280.

12. Journals of the house of commons of the kingdom of Ireland... (1796), I, 492, Petition No. 182, inhabitants of Dublin stating that the Blind Gate is useless and dangerous ... 19 April 1662.

13. Anc. Rec., VI, 222.

14. C.V. Wedgwood, Thomas Wentworth, First Earl of Strafford, 1593-1641: a revaluation (London, 1961, 1964), 137 citing Strafford MSS, VIII, folio 20, Wentworth to Clifford, 28 Sept. 1633; 226 citing Strafford MSS, XI, Windebanke to Wentworth, 11 Nov. 1637 and VII, Wentworth to Laud, 18 Oct. 1637, postscript.

15. Calendar of the state papers relating to Ireland, 1660-1662 Ed. Robert Pentland Mahaffy (London, 1905), 327, 7 May 1661 citing a lease for a term of years expired, State Papers, Ireland, 307, 53.

16. Albert Jouvin de Rochefort, 'Ireland under the Restoration' in C. Litton Falkiner, Illustrations of Irish History and Topography, mainly of the Seventeenth Century (London, 1904), 413-16, reproduced from an English translation in the The Antiquarian Repertory, compiled by Francis Grose and Thomas Astle (First edition, 1779; new edition 1809), IV, 588 ff.; original source, identified by Falkiner, Albert Jouvin de Rochefort, Le Voyageur d'Europe: ou sont les voyages de France, d'Italie et de Malte, d'Espagne et de Portugal, des Pays-Bas, d'Allemagne et de Pologne, d'Angleterre, de Danemark et de Suede (3 vols, Paris, 1672); quotations are from Falkiner's Illustrations.

17. Drew, R.S.A.I.Jn., XXI (1890), 36-43.

18. Jouvin de Rochefort, Illustrations, 414

19. Littledale, Society of King's Inns, 19.

20. Quotations in the following paragraph are from Jouvin de Rochefort in Falkiner, Illustrations, 413-16.

21. 17 & 18 Charles II, chap. 7; Falkiner, Illustrations, 169.

22. Harris, History of Dublin, 77.

23. 'Observations in a voyage through the kingdom of Ireland, being a collection of several monuments, inscriptions, draughts, of towns, castles, etc.', T.D. [Thomas Dineley, 1681], N.L.I. MS 392 contains a description of the tomb and motto of the Earl of Cork.

24. 'A Discourse of Ireland, anno 1620', by Luke Gernon, in Falkiner, Illustrations, 345.

25. Anc. Rec., III, 24.

26. Gerard Boate, Ireland's Natural History (London, 1652), 159.

27. Sir William Brereton, Travels in Holland, the United Provinces, England, Scotland and Ireland Ed. Edward Hawkins (Chetham Society, Chester, 1844), 144; published in Falkiner, Illustrations, 363-407. The Chetham edition is cited in this work.

28. Harris, History of Dublin, 76-81.

29. Survey of Thomas Court 1634, N.L.I. 16 G 16 (35).

30. This conjectural reconstruction of Chichester House is based on a Deed of Purchase by the Crown 25 Charles II; 2 French engravings of 1704; and a plan of 1734 cited in C.P.Curran, 'The Architecture of the Bank of Ireland' in F.G.Hall, The Bank of Ireland (Dublin, 1949), 425.

31. Hearth Tax returns of 1664.

32. Curran in Hall, Bank of Ireland, 425.

33. Unless otherwise stated the following paragraph is based on the List of Landgable rents.

34. Anc. Rec., I, 224.

35. Roger Howell, 'Hearth Tax Returns', Short Guides to Records No. 7, History, XLIX, No. 165 (1964), 42-45.

36. Unless otherwise stated the following paragraphs are based on Hearth Tax Returns, 1664, and the List of Landgable Rents, 1665.

37. Anc. Rec. IV, 149, 159-61, 163-64.

38. Anc. Rec. III, 278-80.

39. List of Landgable Rents, 1665.

40. Anc. Rec. I, 411.

41. Anc. Rec. III, 389.

42. Jouvin de Rochefort in Falkiner, Illustrations, 414. The only other evidence of the existence of this market house in sources consulted by the writer is a market house marked by Gomme (1673) near the eastern end of Kevin Street. It seems probable that the market house was built during the urban renewal which followed the Restoration.

43. Anc. Rec., III, 72, 128-29, 178, 215.

44. Jouvin de Rochefort in Falkiner, Illustrations, 409-10.

45. Brereton, Travels, 137.

46. Ireland's Natural History, 25.

47. Longfield, Anglo-Irish Trade, 196-99

48. Boate, Ireland's Natural History, 59-61

49. Census Ire. 1659. See above, notes 2 & 3. The principal urbanised areas which lay outside the county of the city were St. Patrick's Close, Newstreet Ward, the Liberty of Donore, and Great Boater (or Butter) Lane in the parish of St. Kevin. These are not included in Gilbert's transcript.

50. J.G. Simms, 'Dublin in 1685', Irish Historical Studies, XIV (1965), 212. Simms does not discuss the basis on which he concluded that half the population was over fifteen years of age but cites Petty (Economic Writings, II, 496, 534, 588). There is no satisfactory basis on which to revise these estimates: the population structure of Restoration Dublin cannot have been normal for there had been an influx of adults who probably had no dependents.

51. The term 'titulado' is defined by Pender (Census Ire. 1659, v) and by Simington (R.S.A.I.Jn., XII (1943), 177) as describing persons holding titles of office or of profession. A titulado might be a landowner but the terms 'titulado' and 'landowner' were not synonymous.

52. Hearth Tax Returns, 1664: see No. 4 above.

53. Gomme's survey, 1673; Anc. Rec., III, 337-38.

54. Falkiner, Illustrations, 41-73.

55. P.R.O.I. M2530, transcripts of grants made to Sir Garret Moore and heirs in 9th James I and 15th Charles I. The grant made by James I, as recorded in this manuscript, does not include the lands of St. Mary's Abbey which are included in the grant made by Charles I.

56. Chartuleries St. Mary's Abbey, II, xxxiii - li; Cal. Pat. Rolls Jas.I, 173, 184, 186, 188, 193, 201. The walled precincts seem to have been coterminous with Piphoe's Park, so named from Walter Peppard, farmer under the Crown in 1543, and with the leasehold of Humphrey Jervis (see p. 156).

57. Neither estate papers nor estate maps of Aungier's Dublin property have survived. The extent of the property is described in a memorial of a deed dated 1724 (Reg. Deeds. mem. no. 39 - 469 - 26492) by which the estate was divided between Aungier's heirs; the grant of Whitefriars is recorded in Cal. Pat. Rolls Jas. I, 317; land acquired from the Vicars Choral in Mason, Hist. St. Pat. Cathedral 97n, 98n; grants from the city council in Anc. Rec. IV, 528; V, 273.

58. M.E.O., deeds Nos. 28 & 29.

59. Mason, Hist. of St. Pat., 81n, 97n, 98n; 17 & 18 Charles II, chaps. iv, xiv; Hearth Tax Returns, Co. Dublin, 1664.

60. Anc. Rec. III, IV, passim.

61. Chartuleries of St. Mary's Abbey, xxxii, 248, 346-53.

62. Anc. Rec. III, 33.

CHAPTER VI

THE SECOND PERIOD: 1660 - 1727

RENAISSANCE

THE FIRST PHASE: 1660 - 1691

A new period of growth began with the Restoration. Two phases of development may be distinguished: the first consisted of the three decades which followed the Restoration and the second comprised the decades from the end of the Williamite war until the decision was made in 1727 to build a new House of Parliament. Although the beginning of each phase was marked by a definite political event the phases are distinguished, not by events of political history, but primarily by the changing physical characteristics of urban development. The principal physical characteristic which distinguished the first growth-phase was the planning of extensive new urban units by independent developers; through this development the areal extent of the ground plan was greatly increased in a relatively coherent manner.

Growth Determinants

The restoration of the monarchy in England in 1660 was followed quickly by a formal restoration of the old constitutional relationship between Ireland and England and the return of Ormonde as viceroy. From this time English politicians were more continuously concerned about Irish affairs which tended to become a cardinal concern of emerging party politics in England. The position of the viceroy was notably affected by this change. Strengthened in importance, independence and prestige during Wentworth's term of office, the office of the viceroy became coveted by English politicians and, although the viceroy was now independent of Irish party politics, a shift of party power in England could bring about a change of viceroy in Ireland, as happendd from time to time. The change made in the status of the Lord

Deputy during Wentworth's term of office (1633-1641) became evident during the reign of Charles II and although some held this office for a very short time and many viceroys of the late-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries did not reside in Ireland, most who were appointed either in this period or in later times are commemorated in street and place names in Dublin, symbols of recognition of their local power and influence. Both Ormonde and Essex directly influenced seventeenth century urban morphogenesis.

Although only one Parliament met during the reign of Charles II the parliamentary form of constitution now put its imprint on the capital city: Chichester House which earlier in the century had been the private residence of the Lord Deputy, was purchased by the crown as a meeting place for Parliament.[1] This acquisition proved to be a significant morphogenetic determinant, the root cause of extensive morphallaxis in later times.

Ormonde's return as viceroy heralded the re-establishment of court life in Dublin and this renewed residential development and the provision of new places of recreation. On his return to Dublin, Ormonde commented on the dearth of suitable accommodation in the city[2] and housing was needed not only by Ormonde's retinue but also by disbanded soldiers, immigrants and migrants. The population was now increased both by those who were attracted by court life and society and by those who attended the courts of justice during the lengthy proceedings instigated by the confiscations and by the Acts of Settlement and Explanation. Those who still held religious tenets of Cromwell's time came to settle in Dublin, some to seek religious freedom and others attracted by the prospect of establishing industry in the relatively undeveloped city: thus it was that a community of Quakers who contributed much to the economic development of the city was established in Dublin during the 1660s.[3]

At first post-Restoration economic growth in Ireland was hampered during the 1660s by the war with the Dutch and even more by restrictions on trade imposed by the English Parliament. By curtailing trade in live cattle with England the restrictive legislation encouraged the growth of the provisions trade and the growth of trade with the

continent where trading links were already established; links were also established at this time with the new colonies. It was not until the 1670s, however, that there was a general improvement in the economy. This improvement was reflected in the development of Dublin for the decade was one of considerable urban growth which included the development of new suburbs, extensive reclamation, and the establishment of new markets and industries. Most seventeenth century industries in Dublin date from the post-Restoration period and development was fostered by an influx of immigrants from continental Europe. The growth of crafts and of trade is reflected in contemporary guild activities.

Dublin was also the principal port in Ireland. In the 1660s it already dominated overseas trade, handling twice the value of imports handled in any other port: in 1664 a sum of £32,562 was collected in customs and excise duties; by 1668 the amount had increased to £33,137 while no other port in Ireland paid more than £12,000 per annum.[4] Despite natural, physical impediments in the bay and estuary and aided no doubt by local financial and exchange facilities, Dublin's overseas trade continued to expand and the port to grow in importance during the late seventeenth century but general improvement of the estuary was not undertaken until the succeeding phase.

Financial and exchange facilities were provided in Dublin during the late seventeenth century by private bankers, most of whome were immigrant planters or their relatives and descendants. Private banks were established in Dublin after the Restoration by, among others, Elnathan Lumm, a native of Yorkshire whose place of business was in Castle Street; Thomas Purcell, a Cromwellian from Cheshire who settled in Dublin after the Restoration; Joseph Damer, a Cromwellian whose business at the London Tavern in Fishamble Street flourished from 1660 until his death in 1720: William Archdall whose place of business was in Skinners' Row; James Southwell, a Dubliner whose place of business was in Castle Street; Sir Abel Ram, Alderman, Sheriff of Dublin in 1673 and Lord Mayor in 1684; and Sir Daniel Bellingham, Bart. who was the first Lord Mayor of Dublin when this title was conferred after the Restoration.[5] Most of these were goldsmiths who added banking to their original business; a few,

notably Joseph Damer, were simply bankers and money lenders. Private banks, however, were usually founded in association with some other business; dissociation and the establishment of banking alone followed in the eighteenth century.

Changes in tenure also fostered development after the Restoration. The need to increase municipal revenue prompted changes both in tenure and in land-use on the municipal estate. The commons, no longer used as pasture, were laid out for building and fee farm leases were granted forever at nominal rents, lessees being required to finance the laying out and paving of new streets and the provision of other facilities in the new suburbs.[6] Leases granted by the city council in this period for other properties were for longer terms of years and usually included the right of reversion or renewal which was granted under the Protectorate on payment of a fine[7] but was generally included in the usual clauses of post-Restoration leases.[8] Such security of tenure encouraged more substantial investment in the development of property. Similar tenurial changes were gradually introduced by private land-owners.[9]

Morphogenetic Agents

In the post-Restoration growth-phase the government and viceroy, the city, land-owners and speculators, and the guilds all contributed to the growth and influenced the morphology of the city. The government influenced the form of urban development through the purchase of Chichester House and through the direct intervention of the viceroys in matters which concerned planned development in the city. Even while parliament was prorogued during the seventeenth century Chichester House, the new meeting place of the parliament, assumed a growing importance through its use for administrative activities concerned with claims registered for confiscated lands;[10] its continuing importance was assured through building a new House of Parliament on the site during the eighteenth century.

Ormonde was the first viceroy who intervened to influence directly the form of urban development. On his return to Dublin in 1665 Ormonde found the Castle in such a state of disrepair that it did not

provide suitable accommodation; accordingly he stopped the grant of the Phoenix Park and prevailed on the king to enlarge the park and to fit up a house there as a residence for the viceroy.[11] The Phoenix Park was therefore first envisaged as an amenity for the viceroy; it later became a place of recreation for the more affluent citizens.[12] The house in the Phoenix Park does not seem to have been a satisfactory residence for the problem of providing suitable accommodation for the viceroy still engaged Ormonde's attention during the 1680s when he considered either building a new residence, probably on the site on Oxmantown Green which had been donated by the city, or 'opening four fair streets into the castle', a project which would probably have involved renovation of the castle as well as the improvement of its environs.[13] Ormonde is alleged to have intervened in the planned development of the north bank during the 1670s when his delegates prevailed on Humphrey Jervis to change his plans in order to incorporate an open quay sixty feet broad along the waterfront, lined with houses facing the river.[14] Leases of the strand granted by the city council contained no stipulation concerning quays except the prohibition of building on the waterfront at the beginning of the century which has already been recorded.[15] After Ormonde's intervention the concept of open quays which would permit free circulation of traffic was adopted by the city council and leases granted subsequently contained clauses regulating the formation of such thoroughfares. Where leases of the strand had already been granted building was gradually extended to the waterfront in this and in succeeding phases: the location of these leaseholds can be identified on Rocque's map (1756). During his short term as viceroy Lord Essex intervened in 1676 to authorise the opening of new streets near Essex Gate and the building of Essex Bridge.[16]

During the first half of the seventeenth century the city's role in planning and controlling urban development had been confined to the reservation of tracts of ground of specified width as public thoroughfares and the occasional exercise of a general control of types of buildings. The street-plan which evolved under this system was determined largely by pre-existing thoroughfares or pathways and by private initiative in seeking land to lease for building. In developing Oxmantown Green and St. Stephen's Green the city played a more positive role. Both Greens were surveyed prior to leasing

and the streets and building lots were laid out according to a pre-conceived plan.[17] Building standards were imposed through clauses in building leases and the lessees were also required to assist in embellishing the new suburbs by planting and tending trees and by contributing to the cost of paving the new streets.[18] These two projects, the leasing of Oxmantown Green and of St. Stephen's Green for building, seem to have been the first early-modern planning of development by a public body in Dublin, the first pre-conceived planning of an extensive area within the city and suburbs.

Estate owners played a very limited role in planning development in this phase. A distinction may be made however between hereditary estate owners who usually exercised little control over development and estate owners who had, themselves, purchased their land either with a desire to gain position and prestige or with a view to development. Estate owners who bought their lands were therefore usually speculators but not all speculators bought land; some leased one or more building lots and sold the houses together with the leasehold right to the land, or they leased the houses, usually annually, until they had recovered their capital. In this phase most if not all prominent speculators acquired large tracts of land and laid out streets and large building lots which they then leased for building. It was this development which permitted the widespread speculation in house-building which gradually prevailed during the eighteenth century. The influence of speculators was indeed considerable. Hitherto most if not all speculators had been officials of the government or of the city: now they included, in growing numbers, merchants, tradesmen and craftsmen and these gradually became dominant.[19] Financiers influenced development significantly for the first time:[20] with the increase in the number and size of banks the role of financiers increased in importance but the full significance of their contribution was not apparent until the succeeding growth-phase.

Planned development was implemented on three estates in the post-Restoration growth-phase: on those of Lords Aungier, Meath and Drogheda. All three developments were contemporaneous. Aungier seems to have been the most active of the three estate owners and he was the

earliest to begin developing. Records of the Aungier estate have not survived but it has nevertheless been possible to establish the principal characteristics and the mode of development from memorials of deeds and from seventeenth century valuations.[21] Having mortgaged his estate to secure the necessary capital Aungier laid out new streets, sought permission from the city council to remove medieval obstructions, sought authorisation for a local market and donated a site for a new church of the Established Church, dedicated to St. Peter.[22] Part of St. Mary's Abbey demesne was leased to Humphrey Jervis who planned and controlled development.[23] On the Meath estate speculators, evidently local brewers and tradesmen, instigated tenurial changes which permitted and even encouraged speculative investment.[24] The new market place of Donore (now Newmarket) clearly was planned: although development was undertaken by speculators it was evidently the estate owner who controlled the form of development for it must have been he who commissioned, or perhaps he designed the plan which is reproduced in Plate III.[25] The principal controlling clauses in leases on the Meath estate were designed to secure increased revenue to the estate owner as the area was urbanised and to prevent alienation of property by requiring the prior consent of the Earl or his successors before sub-leasing the property.[26] There seems to have been no control of building standards or of house-types during the initial phase of development.

Tenurial changes effected on church land in this phase were sought by speculators who first developed adjacent property and then acquired more secure tenure in order to develop some of the church lands.[27] Speculators also developed the municipal estate: some acuired lots directly from the corporation; some sub-leased from tenants of the corporation.[28] The most active speculator on the municipal estate at this time was William Ellis who secured a number of contiguous properties in Oxmantown and then applied for a lease of an extensive tract of the strand extending westwards from the old bridge to the Phoenix Park with a view to improving the neighbourhood.[29] Bridge building was also undertaken by speculators and, although this development was initially resisted by the corporation because it drew revenue from the existing ferries which the new bridges were intended to replace, there were nevertheless four new

bridges spanning the Liffey by the end of the phase.

Industrial development began in Dublin soon after the Restoration. The principal industrialists were immigrant weavers and merchants. Just before the acts were passed prohibiting exportation of Irish cattle some west of England clothiers 'finding their trade decaying and themselves poor' emigrated to Dublin where legislation passed in 1662 encouraged the settlement of Protestant manufacturers and the cheapness of wool was an added attraction. These settlers developed a flourishing woollen industry which in the 1670s was reputed to be 'growing daily'.[30] This was a domestic industry, the spinning, weaving and carding being done in the industrialists' houses, and the development of the industry therefore encouraged residential building. To describe the industry as domestic does not necessarily imply that all units of employment were small for some manufacturers employed others for the various stages of processing the raw material and then collected the spun or woven goods for sale. Such employers were known as 'clothiers', a west of England term.[31]

The most prominent industrialist was Anthony Sharpe who was reputed to have employed up to five hundred workers during the late 1670s and early 1680s.[32] This seems a rather large figure but it does not imply that all five hundred were within one building or set of contiguous buildings for Sharpe was a 'clothier' and was probably the largest employer in Dublin at the time. Sharpe had also acquired extensive property in the Coombe where he undertook building and some of his employees must have been engaged in the building trade.

The Guild Merchant continued to control trade: in 1652 an ancient law of the city had been invoked to prevent guild members from keeping more than one shop or tavern but there is no evidence to show the subsequent influence of this edict. The Guild Merchant nevertheless continued to impose restrictions for in 1667 members were forbidden to erect stalls on the streets either in front of their own premises or elsewhere for the sale of merchandise on market days; attempts of the city council to clear the streets of obstructions probably helped to enforce this regulation. The Guild of Coopers received a charter of incorporation from Charles II in 1666 but they had also existed in earlier times. The Guild of Feltmakers were

granted a charter of incorporation by Charles II in 1667. The Guild of Cutlers, Painter-Stainers, Bricklayers and Stationers was incorporated under the title of the Guild of St. Bartholomew by a charter granted in 1670.[1] The building trade expanded and developed: the continuing power of the guilds in this sphere was demonstrated in 1677 when, following a complaint made by the guild members, plasterers who were then laying colours were authorised to do so while resident in Dublin on payment of twenty shillings each to the Corporation of Paperstainers and allied crafts. The privilege thus accorded was a temporary one for it was also decreed that colours might in the future be laid only by members of the guild, their servants and apprentices; the granting of even a temporary privilege is nevertheless a concrete indication of the existence of a body of plasterers who were sufficiently numerous to demand continuance, however temporarily, of an existing practice which was contrary to guild regulations. In 1681 the Paviers were added as a wing to the masons.[33]

The weavers were sufficiently active and numerous in 1681 to require a Guild Hall. The first reference to a distinct hall for this guild was the appointment in that year of a committee to plan the building of a hall on a plot of waste ground in the Lower Coombe; the hall was built within a year for a committee was appointed on 25 March 1682 to supervise the management and letting of the hall.[34] The existence of a glass industry is suggested by names listed in the parish registers of St. Michan's[35] and by a glass house marked near Lazer's Hill on Gomme's survey (1673) but nothing else is known of the glass industry until the last decade of the seventeenth century. Analysis of the various seventeenth century parish records[36] would probably indicate the presence of other small industries which were not founded or controlled by the guilds.

Post-Restoration urban development was not dominated by any one person or class of people. The city council, the viceroys, the government, estate owners and speculators, all combined to promote the growth and improvement of the city. The guild organisation was revived and extended and it continued to exercise control over both trade and industry, and some guilds began to build new premises. The site of the new Weaver's Hall reflected the character of the growing south-western suburbs where the woollen industry was centred.

Speculators nevertheless gradually emerged as the principal promoters of urban development.

Urban Growth

Two surveys of Dublin, one made in 1673 by Sir Bernard de Gomme, and the second in 1685 by Thomas Phillips, are particularly valuable in tracing urban growth in this period: as sources the surveys are complementary.[37] Topographical detail on them reflects the purpose for which the maps were made, namely, to plan new fortifications for the city. Sir Bernard de Gomme (1673) envisaged a fortress which could be relieved by sea and he consequently constructed a detailed map of the bay and estuary which illustrates the braided channel of the Liffey and other navigational hazards; it also clearly illustrates both the extent of completed reclamation and the need to improve port facilities. In the city and suburbs the ancient fortifications, streets, and some of the principal buildings are inserted and named. The extent of the built-up area is not indicated, however, except in part of the new eastern suburbs of Lazy Hill and St. Stephen's Green which were adjacent to the proposed new citadel. No attempt was made to illustrate the extent of actual building on the city's streets. No written record of the survey has survived. Gomme's memoir in the British Museum merely indicates the type and cost of requisite development for the new fortifications.

In 1685 Thomas Phillips evidently used Gomme's survey as a base-map to which additions and alterations were made.[38] New streets, new bridges, and extended reclamation in the estuary are shown on Phillips's survey and the north-eastern fortifications are not shown, suggesting that they had been removed. Street widths are not differentiated as they are on Gomme's map. No attempt was made to indicate the extent of housing within the built-up area for the red symbol used to delimit street blocks is not used consistently: the area coloured red is not identical on all copies and moreover the red symbol is sometimes used on some street blocks which were not then built, as evidenced by other documents, for instance on the eastern part of Jervis's holding. This symbol should therefore not be interpreted as

representing continuous housing: it may have been a stylistic embellishment. Irregularities of the shore-line and of the walling-in of the Liffey which are shown by Gomme are almost entirely suppressed by Phillips: one such projection - at Fyan's castle - which is shown on Phillips's original survey is suppressed on copies made to illustrate the site of the proposed citadel.[39] Within the developed area Phillips did not attempt to show topographical features other than the street system, the castle and part of the ancient wall. On the original survey the topography of the surrounding area is illustrated pictorially and the survey thus indicated the physical obstacles to further urban development.

These two maps are the principal, but not the only sources, used in tracing urban development of the post-Restoration growth phase and they are the primary sources of evidence for the map of Dublin in 1690. Despite the deficiencies noted above both maps are valuable, also as aids to the interpretation of other documentary evidence.

Reclamation

Reclamation undertaken on the south bank of the Liffey before the establishment of the Ballast Board in 1708 must be regarded as one continuing development which was not materially affected by political change. Ground leased in the first half of the seventeenth century extended northwards to low water mark and lay west of Lazy Hill.[40] By the mid-century the prohibition of constructing quays east of the Poddle had lapsed and at each stage of the development north and east of Lazy Hill quays appear to have been constructed at the northern boundary of land leased for reclamation. Quays appear to have been constructed by Nicholls and Crosse on the quay-line defined in 1659.[41] Further northward reclamation was prompted by William Hawkins who enclosed ground lying east of Chichester House which he held on lease from Trinity College.[42] Hawkins's wall, already constructed by 1663[43] extended further north into the river than the walls to the west which were constructed on municipal authority. More extensive reclamation was then undertaken, extending north of Lazy Hill to the main channel of the Liffey: ground extending along the waterfront north of Lewis Williams's holding on Lazy Hill was leased to Minard Christian whose term was subsequently increased in recognition of

benefits from his work which would accrue to the city through the improvement of the channel.[44] The extent of ground reclaimed by 1673 is indicated by Gomme: he does not, however, indicate the location of any quay near Lazer's Hill, but he shows Nicholls's buildings which probably stood on or near an earlier quay. The strand north of these holdings was leased in 1683 to Philip Croft who was bound to enclose the holding within twenty one years or the lease was to be void.[45] The long term granted to Croft - 199 years - is an indication of the difficulty of enclosing this land and of the great expense involved, for Croft's holding consisted entirely of land which was inundated at high tide: it extended east along the water-front from Hawkins' wall for two hundred and eighty four yards. Croft was bound to leave forty feet for a street or a dike for water on the south side of the premises and was also bound to continue Captain Nicholls's quay along the eastern boundary of his holding. Boats could approach this quay only at high tide.

Shortly after the Restoration Usher consolidated his holding west of the walled city by obtaining a fee farm forever of the island and of a piece of ground between the wall of his house and Alderman Forrest's house on the Liffey, land which adjoined his holding. This was probably instigated by the contemporary leasing of Oxmantown Green for building and the consequent prospect of general development west of the city. However, Usher's reclamation was not undertaken for a further two decades and then a new lease was granted to his son, Christopher, by which the proposed plan of development was approved.[46]

Reclamation on the north bank of the Liffey was undertaken by Humphrey Jervis to whom Jonathan Amory ceded his lease of the strand at the mouth of the estuary.[47] Ground adjoining the strand which had been leased by Jervis was inundated at high tide and was consequently unfit for building: enclosure and reclamation would undoubtedly benefit the city both by improving the channel and by providing land for building, but it would also involve much costly work. Recognition of these conditions is suggested by the terms of the lease granted to Amory in 1674, namely, a term of 299 years at fifty shillings per annum and a couple of capons. The leasehold lay east of the Custom House, on the north bank of the Liffey. Ground was reserved for a thoroughfare

sixty feet wide (Abbey Street) evidently on the site of the former coastal highway, and also a passage two perches wide (Liffey Street) leading to the ford.[48] The lease contained no stipulation about quays: as already stated, the plan of development for this section of the waterfront was revised at Ormonde's suggestion.

In 1682 a lease of the strand from the wall near Lord Lowther's garden which lay north-west of the old bridge, and extending west to the Park Gate was granted to William Ellis who had already acquired leases of a number of contiguous pieces of land in Oxmantown which he intended to improve and develop. (Fig.14) As in other leases, ground was reserved for highways: the existing riverside thoroughfare was to be widened to forty feet and three convenient passages made to the waterfront.[49] This was the first lease of the strand granted after Ormonde's intervention; all leases of the strand granted subsequently included similar clauses.

In 1684 construction of an open quay from Ormonde bridge to the slip of the Inns was undertaken by Sir John Davys, Secretary of State. This was not, however, another wide, regular quay similar to Ormonde and Ellis Quays: it varied in width from twenty eight feet at Ormonde Bridge to six feet at the west end near the Inns.[50] The alignment was probably influenced by existing buildings and the quay was evidently intended primarily to facilitate access to the Inns; it was completed by the Wide Streets Commissioners in the eighteenth century. Between 1674 and 1686 Merchants' Quay and Wood Quay were widened by piecemeal reclamation undertaken by riverside tenants.[51] The result was not another wide open quay for building at the water's edge was not prohibited; new leases were granted to authorise reclamation near the old crane and buildings erected on the subsequently reclaimed land extended along the waterfront. From Ormonde Bridge to Essex Bridge a new quay was constructed on the south bank towards the end of the century in order to relieve extreme traffic congestion on the Blind Quay.[52] Reclamation along the waterfront was needed in order to construct this quay and the work was undertaken partly by the city and partly by riparian tenants.

The Phoenix Park

West of Oxmantown Green the Phoenix Park was established soon after the Restoration. To the former estate of the Priory of Kilmainham was added contiguous land extending west to Chapelizod which was purchased from Sir Maurice Eustace, some land purchased in Newtown (north west of the crown estate), the lands and castle of Ashtown, and some lands in Castleknock and Grangegorman: in all more than two thousand acres extending westwards on both banks of the Liffey from Oxmantown Green and the river Camac to Chapelizod. By 1671 the park had been enclosed with a stone wall and stocked with deer imported from England: the establishment of a deer park, already considered half a century earlier during the reign of James I, was finally accomplished. In 1679 a site of sixty four acres on the south bank which included the precincts of the former Priory of Kilmainham, was granted by the crown for the foundation of the Royal Hospital and in 1681 it was decided to limit the park to the north bank. This section of the Phoenix Park was walled by Sir John Temple who received in compensation the lands on the south bank, excluding the site of the Hospital, and the mansion house of Chapelizod which was henceforth assigned to the Lord Deputy. The boundary of the park, as defined in 1681, has remained unchanged to the present except for slight modification introduced on the southern boundary by the Wide Streets Commissioners to permit the construction of Conyngham Road and widening and improvement at the Park Gate.[53] Westward development of the city was clearly impeded by the Phoenix Park and by the extensive grounds of the Royal Hospital. Reclamation permitted and even fostered eastward development.

New Suburbs

The post-Restoration demand for residential building was met by the development of extensive new suburbs in each of which the street plan was conceived and laid out as a unit. In earlier times the street-plan had been determined largely by the site of existing thoroughfares. While principal thoroughfares continued to influence the alignment of some streets and of approaches to the city, after the Restoration regularity and convenience took precedence over preservation and this trend continued throughout the eighteenth century. New street systems planned as units were not necessarily influenced by existing

topographical features: in fact, some existing obstructions were removed to permit ordered development.[54] Nevertheless complete co-ordination and regularity was neither sought nor achieved. Property and administrative boundaries and some topographical features continued to exercise a formative influence, as on the Meath estate, on peripheral sections of the municipal estate, on the strand and on part of Jervis's holding. While each developer usually planned his holding so clearly as a unit that they are still recognisable in the urban ground-plan, complete co-ordination of adjacent independent development was not usually attempted until, in the second half of the eighteenth century, it became mandatory under the control and authority of the Wide Streets Commissioners. The need and benefits of such co-ordination were evidently recognised, however, by Francis Aungier in the 1670s when developing his estate which adjoined St. Stephen's Green; Aungier also recognised the value of providing local services in the new suburbs and through his activity he prompted the reorganisation of parishes to serve his estate.[55] Other estate owners later granted sites for parish churches of the Established Church. Some piecemeal development continued in the city but it consisted largely of infilling of areas where streets were already laid out but had not been fully built or where large mansions were now sub-divided and their grounds covered with high-density residential or commercial building.

Hoggen Green.

Leasing of ground on and near Hoggen Green continued. The most notable lessees of this time were William Williams, a speculator, to whom the lands of Tib and Tom were leased, and Sir William Davies who leased the Mount in 1682.[56] Regulations which had preserved the Mount during earlier decades of urbanisation now lapsed and Davies removed the Mount and laid out Suffolk Street; he is reputed to have used the earth from the Mount to raise the level of St. Patrick's Well Lane.[57] William Williams laid out William Street and Clarendon Street on the lands of Tib and Tom and planned a local market for which he obtained authorisation from the city council.[58]

St. Stephen's Green

The development of seventeen acres of St. Stephen's Green (Fig.13) in 1663 was designed, not only to augment municipal revenue but also to 'embellish the city'. Eighty-nine building lots

The North-Western Suburbs c. 1600 - 1691.

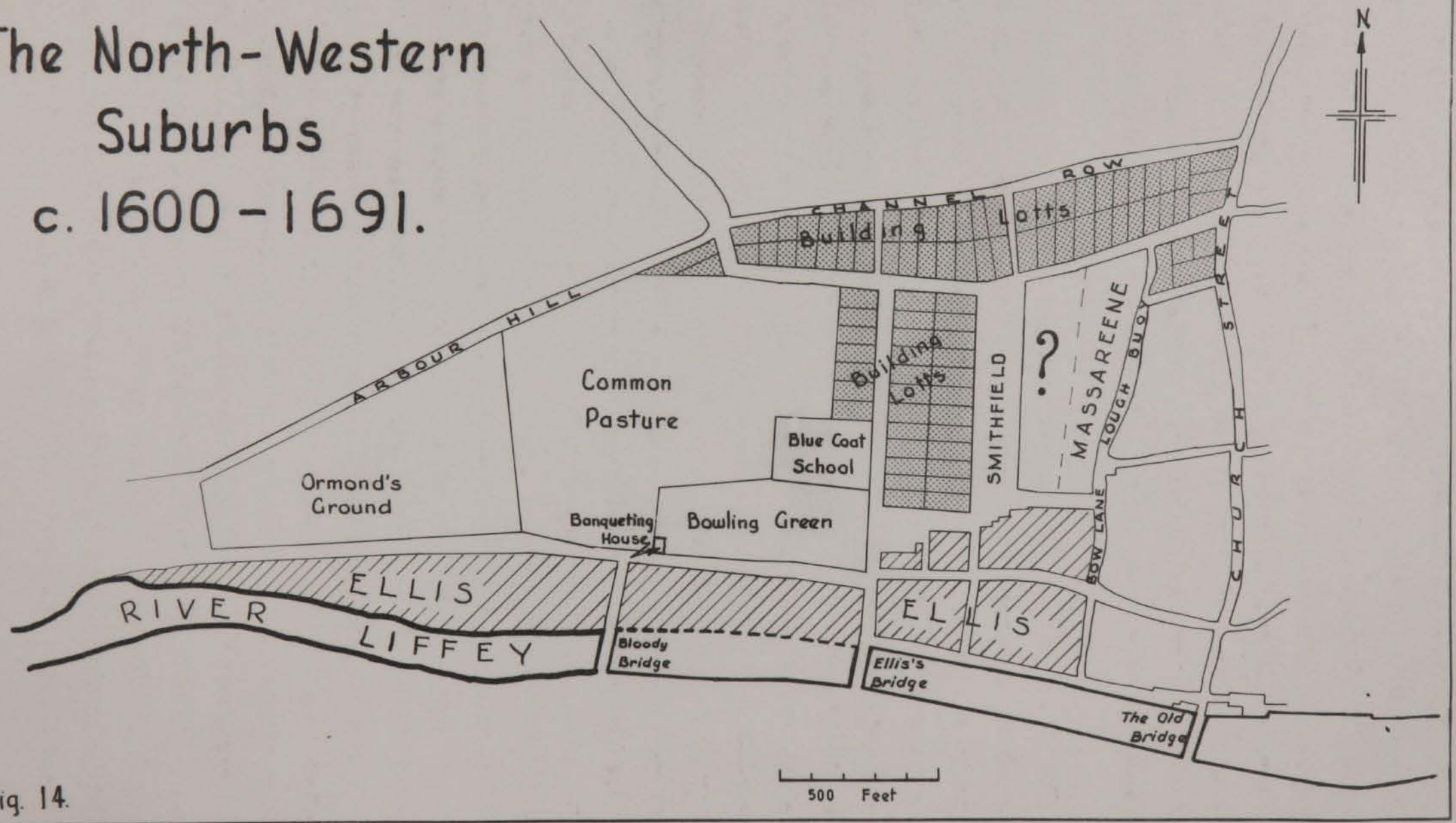


Fig. 14.

see appendix.

surrounded a large square; another (ninetieth) lot had no frontage on the square.[59]. In 1666 the square was levelled at the expense of the city and it was made available, at Ormonde's suggestion, for the exercise of His Majesty's horse and foot guards who by then were excluded from Oxmantown Green which had been laid out for building, leaving but a very small portion towards the west undeveloped. No cattle were allowed to graze on the new square on St. Stephen's Green although it had been part of the city commons; by 1669 the square was walled, surrounded by walks, and trees were gradually planted by the lessees who were bound to tend them for three years after planting.[60]

Building lots on St. Stephen's Green varied in size and in value: irregularity of shape and depth was induced by the irregular shape of the ancient commons; each lot had an average frontage of sixty feet. Lots were granted in fee farm forever; ground rents were calculated at one penny per foot frontage on the north, east and west, while on the south it was only a halfpenny per foot. The lots were allocated by ballot and were assigned to aldermen, gentlemen, merchants and predominantly to tradesmen. Grantees were not required to build but if they did so houses were to be of brick, stone and timber, to be roofed with tiles or slates and to be at least three storeys high with optional cellars.[61] Piped water was extended to the area c. 1672[62] In that year also the 'way from Hoggen Green to St. Stephen's Green' (now Grafton Street) was improved and in 1674 the streets surrounding the Green were paved.[63] By 1673, as illustrated by Gomme's survey, a number of houses had been built: on the north side a group of large, adjacent houses towards the centre of the Green and some smaller houses near 'the way leading to Hoggen Green'; eight houses at intervals along the west side; three on the east and a solitary house on the south. This evidence from Gomme's survey suggests that minimum standards laid down in leases were far exceeded by builders of houses on the north side of the Green. It also illustrates the variety of size, style and siting which was possible within the controls exercised at that time by the city council; the irregularity of frontage established during this initial phase of development has never been completely altered.

Oxmantown Green

Planned development of Oxmantown Green (Fig.14) contrasted with that of St. Stephen's Green. Following a survey made in 1665

seven acres at the western end of the Green were allocated to the Duke of Ormonde in recognition of valuable services rendered by him to the city. Loughboy, a large parcel near the ancient nucleus had been granted to Lord Massareene. The remainder of the commons extending from Young's castle to Stoney Batter and thence to the bowling green near the river, was divided into ninety-six building lots leaving 'a convenient highway' (Queen Street) and a 'large market place' (Smithfield). Two lots were reserved as a site for a school and the rest, assigned by ballot, were leased in fee farm on payment of forty shillings fine and twenty shillings per annum rent to the treasurer of the city. Early building on the Green was envisaged and the city council demanded that a time limit be set for staking out the lots and for perfecting the deeds. None of the buildings on Oxmantown Green are shown by Gomme; this does not suggest, however, that there were no buildings on the Green in 1673 for Gomme has not illustrated all the built-up areas of the city. In fact it may be assumed that building progressed more quickly than on St. Stephen's Green since there was more demand for the building lots in Oxmantown. The market place on Smithfield was railed in and planted with trees, the cost being borne by the grantees. Waste ground extending from the bowling green and the banqueting house to the river was railed-in, levelled and planted with elm trees and sycamores to provide a place of recreation for the citizens. Part of the commons was reserved as a place of exercise for the militia.[64]

The street-plan on Oxmantown Green was determined in part by pre-existing pathways and thoroughfares and by the plan for a market place. A thoroughfare which separated the lands of Grangegorman from the western portion of Oxmantown Green formed the northern boundary of Ormonde's holding, widened and straightened, it is now part of the street-plan. From Hangman's (Hammond) Lane and the bowling green an old road extended eastwards along the river bank: this is now Barrack and Benburb Streets. North of the commons, almost parallel to the river a road led west from Young's castle to Stoney Batter: this, the northern boundary of the land leased for building, was called Channel Row, now North Brunswick Street. Bloody Bridge was built in 1670 to link the new northern suburb with the main part of the city on the south bank.[65]

Grantees of the lots on Oxmantown Green included the Chief Recorder, four noblemen, thirteen gentlemen, thirteen merchants and some tradesmen.[66] The status of these grantees appears to have been generally higher than that of people who acquired lots on St. Stephen's Green. This was due partly to the greater immediate potential value of the lots in Oxmantown and partly to Ormonde's influence. Ormonde was expected to build a mansion on the ground allotted to him: he was then resident in a house called the Phoenix on that part of the Crown Estate which is now the Phoenix Park.[67] Ormonde was probably deterred by two things. The house he occupied was relatively near the site donated by the city and, being constantly in financial difficulties, he may not have wished to incur the expense of building on a site which he did not, either of itself or by its location, offer any outstanding advantages. He may also have been deterred by the predominantly commercial character of the development planned for Oxmantown Green in which Smithfield was to be the principal livestock market for the city, in succession to the market which had officially been established by the city on Oxmantown Green in 1541.[68] Ormonde's financial difficulty seems, however, to be more pertinent since the dissociation of commercial and residential functions had scarcely begun in Dublin at the time.

The Liberty of St. Patrick

Improvement and renewal in the Liberty of St. Patrick began immediately after the Restoration, prompted by development on adjacent property in Bride Street and by the general demand for housing in the city. Speculative investment in the Liberty was encouraged by granting leases for longer terms of years, authorised by an Act of Parliament, and although the right of renewal was not granted at this time, leases were in fact renewed subsequently to owners or occupiers of holdings. After 1665 control of leasing was exercised by the crown, by requiring prior approval of prospective tenants. Building standards were imposed in the Liberty through leases: in 1660, for instance, the lessee of the Chanter's manse was bound to build houses of brick and stone three storeys high 'of like form, with balconys towards the street'[69]... Standardisation of housing was thus based on a house already built, a practice subsequently adopted by speculative builders in other areas.

Changes in tenure and in conditions of development attracted speculators and land was leased at this time to developers who were also at work in other areas, namely William Williams, Abercorn and Aungier.[70] In 1663 an attempt was made to control the character and activities of inhabitants and to improve the area by prohibiting the sale of beer and ale in the Liberty without special licence. Congestion in the Liberty was somewhat relieved by establishing a new burial ground further south.[71]

The principal development on Bride Street was on the holding leased by the chapter of St.Patrick's Cathedral to Gilbert Domville: Domville had invested heavily in the property and his heir claimed that he had suffered great losses when the property was damaged during the Cromwellian wars. Sir William Domville requested security of tenure and a fee farm grant of the property was authorised by Act of Parliament.[72]

The Aungier Estate

The estate of Francis Aungier lay between the newly developed area on Bride Street and the new building lots on St. Stephen's Green. (Fig.13) Aungier had begun development immediately after the Restoration by opening Aungier Street, fifty feet wide, through the churchyard of St.Peter's on the Mount and the lands of Whitefriars on which he laid out building lots. When the lots on St. Stephen's Green were planned Aungier opened Cuffe Street through his property, aligned with Kevin Street and with the new street on the south side of St. Stephen's Green.[73] Extensive development took place in the 1670s.[74] Aungier obtained a fee farm grant from the city council of Love Lane and fortified gates at either end: he demolished the gates, added twelve feet width of his own land to the old lane and made a new regular thoroughfare, thirty feet wide: this is now Mercer Street and Upper Digges Street. York Street, forty feet wide was opened parallel to Cuffe Street and Aungier acquired the old highway at the southern boundary of the estate in compensation for losses incurred by him in laying out Cuffe Street.[75] Complete and regular articulation of the new streets on the two estates, that of the city and that of Aungier, was thus achieved through Aungier's planning and initiative. The ground was laid out in building lots which were regular in shape but were not of equal

frontage.[76] Some lots were leased by the gentry: most appear to have been taken on building leases by speculative tradesmen, bricklayers, carpenters and others, who later leased the houses.[77] The area gradually became a fashionable quarter inhabited by the nobility.[78] The fact that Lord Meath took a house in the area is an indication of the attraction of the neighbourhood;[79] it also indicates the character of the neighbourhood created by Aungier, and the parish records of the Established Church of St. Peter confirm the general standard of this residential area.

In 1680 Aungier donated a new site for a church dedicated to St. Peter and a new parish designated St. Peter's, and authorised by an Act of the privy council, was formed by uniting the parishes of St. Peter's on the Mount, St. Kevin's and part of St. Stephen's; the church built on the site donated by Aungier was consecrated in 1685.[80] The donation of a site for a church and the formation of a new parish set a pattern which was followed by eighteenth century developers, notably Joshua Dawson, Sir John Eccles, and the second Luke Gardiner. Aungier seems to have envisaged his new suburb as a distinct and perhaps relatively exclusive neighbourhood served by its own church and market; he obtained authorisation from the city council for a regular though limited market but there is no evidence that the market was actually established.

The Meath Estate

Development on the Meath estate was encouraged by holding regular markets every Tuesday and Friday, which were authorised by a Patent granted by Charles II to Edward, Earl of Meath, in 1674.[81] The request for this patent was in turn prompted by fines levied by the Corporation of Weavers within the Liberty of Thomas Court which was outside the jurisdiction of the municipal authorities.[82] 'Persons of wealth' (speculators) wished to develop streets and markets and to build houses if longer and more secure tenure were granted in leases.[83] Since the estate was entailed a family agreement

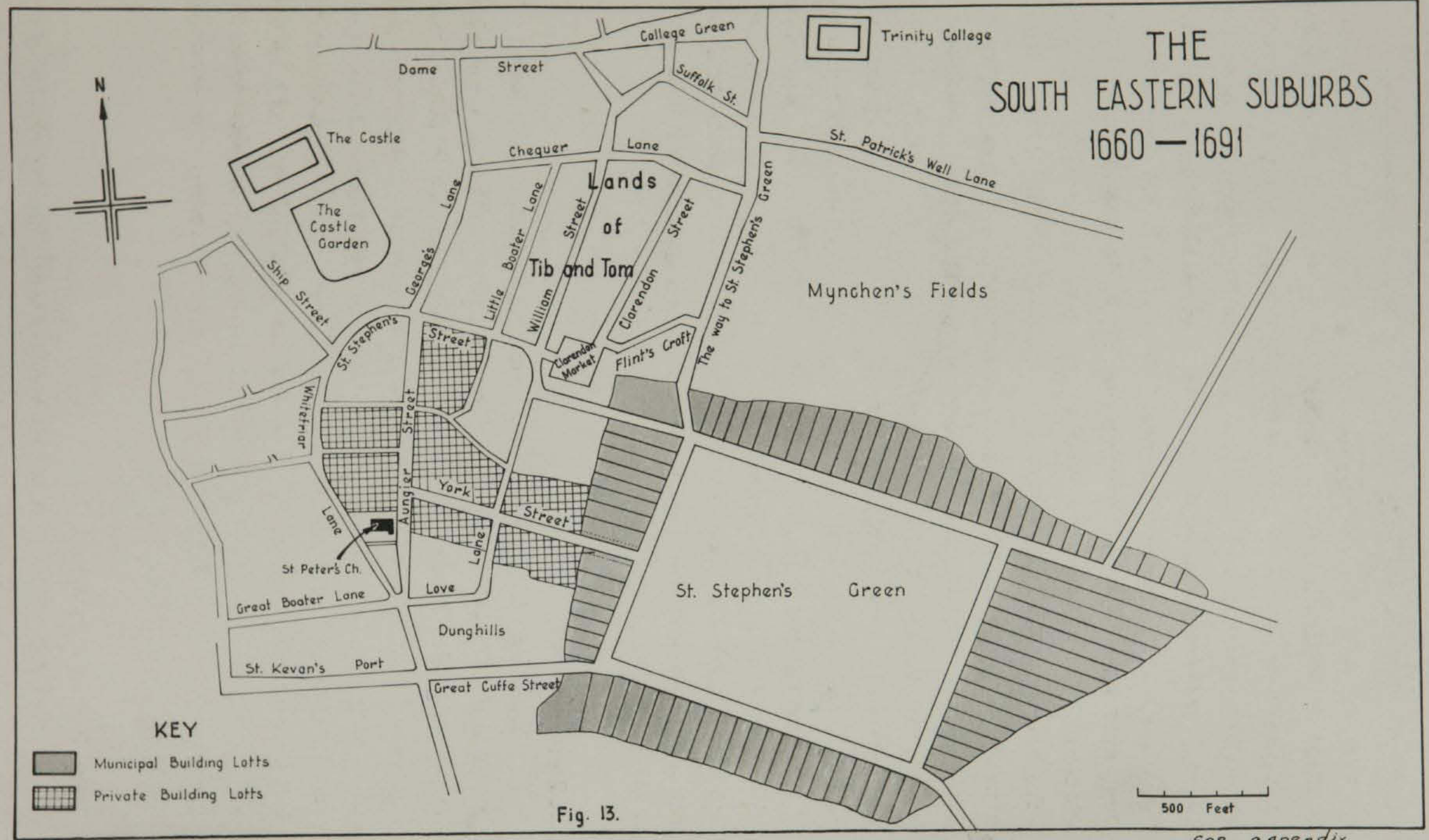
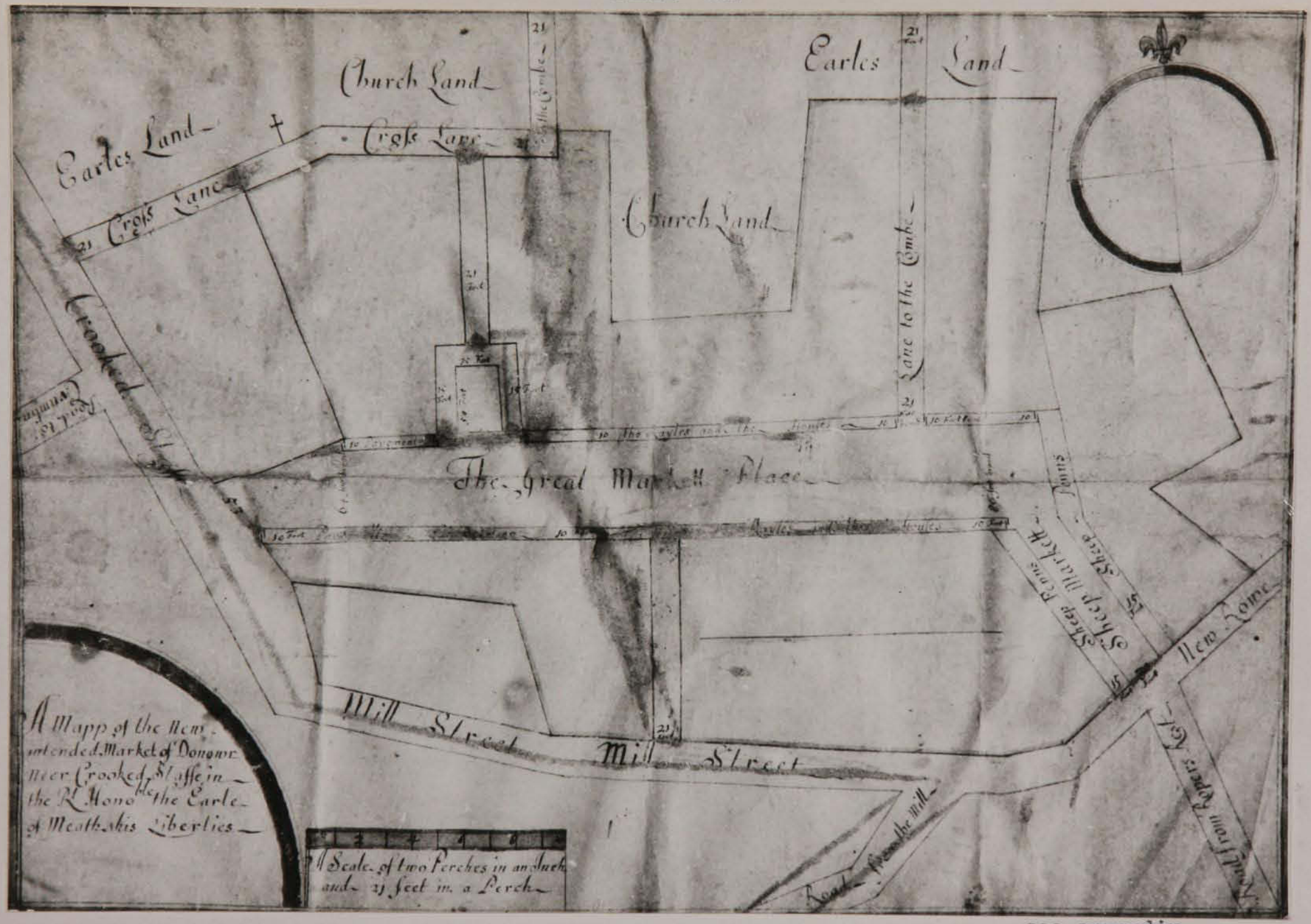


Fig. 13.

see appendix

PLATE III



see appendix

The Great Market Place

was necessary in order to change the terms of the leases. Such an agreement made in 1676 extended the terms of leases from forty one years without the right of renewal to terms of sixty one years or three lives renewable forever.[84] Equally important was the family covenant not to revoke the authority by which the leases were granted. persons wishing to build were permitted to exchange land and houses for property in areas more suited for development, if such were available.[85] The best improved rent possible was demanded; no fine was levied, but an extra year's rent was demanded on renewal of a lease. Terms included a bond of £100 to carry out covenants in the terms of the lease which included the hire of labourers in harvest time or supplementary payments in lieu; the compulsory grinding of corn in the mills of the Liberty; and also a supplementary rent for every house subsequently built, thus assuring an increased income to the estate as urbanisation progressed.[86]

Development on the Meath estate was neither unplanned nor uncontrolled. Control was exercised by the Earl through further clauses in the leases which reserved the first right of refusal to the Earl or his heirs when property was sub-divided or sub-let.[87] Planning is illustrated by the seventeenth century drawing of 'The Great Market Place' (Newmarket) and the adjacent streets. (Plate III). The location of the new market place was evidently influenced by administrative boundaries; it was cited in the manor of Donore, outside the boundary of the county of the city and so was free from all municipal control. The broad, regular market place contrasts strangely with the very narrow streets which lead to it from other areas. Although these streets seem also to have been planned they did not conform to the standard width of thirty feet which had generally been adopted in the city and suburbs (although not mandatorily by law) in the course of seventeenth century development; nor were these streets designed to provide easy access to other parts of the city. The street-plan thus reflects the independence which was asserted by the estate owners and was expressed in most aspects of development on the Meath estate. It contrasts markedly with Aungier's well-articulated development further east, articulation which must have been achieved through agreement with the city council but was made at the expense and apparently also on the initiative of the

estate owner and developer.

Some indication of the state of the Meath Liberty when planned urbanisation began is found in the Deed of Recovery of 1676[88] by which the Earl regained full possession of his estate (presumably by redeeming a mortgage). Besides the mansion house and garden which were on the site of the Abbey of Thomas Court this deed lists 300 messuages, 200 cottages, 300 gardens and one water mill; the deed must have related to only part of the estate, however, since there seem to have been at least four mills on the estate since the sixteenth century - the Malt Mill, the Wood Mill, and the Double Mills, two adjacent water mills.[89] No map had survived which might indicate the site or even the general location of these houses and cottages, but their number suggests that the Meath estate was quite populous and the evidence from the Hearth Tax returns of 1664 supports this view. Most of the proprietors would have been farmers; some, such as George Edkins of Roper's Rest, were gentlemen, and some were brewers who had premises on or near that part of the estate near the Abbey buildings which had been developed in the 1630s.

Leasing of land under the new conditions of tenure began in 1678 when ground in Newmarket was leased to James Edkins and to Samuel Keys.[90] Other grants which were probably made at the same time were not recorded in the documents which have been consulted. James Edkins seems to have been the principal developer in Newmarket; an agreement made by him with the Earl in 1682 permitted Edkins to extend the watercourse of the Liberty to Newmarket; pipes four inches in diameter were used and a stone arch was built to span the section of the watercourse which crossed the street.[91] This development prompted further building and in 1683 land was leased in Braithwaite Street to Rebecca Lotchard; in Mill Street and Warrenmount to George Edkins, son of James; in Pimlico, Pool Street and John Street to Richard Forster; and in Tanners' Row to George Edkins of Roper's Rest. The older type of leases continued to be granted in areas which had been urbanised before the agreement was made, for instance, a lease to Thomas Kieran for premises in New Row (1676); to Thomas Cook in an unnamed location (1679) and to Anthony Percy for four and a half acres in Dolphin's Barn (1683).[92] Leases for short terms of years for farmland south of Newmarket were also granted.

The influence of London and close connections with that city are suggested by certain features of seventeenth and early eighteenth century development of the Meath estate. Street names seem to have been derived from similar names in London: Pimlico and Tripilo are in both cities; Marrowbone Lane seems to be a corruption of Marylebone Lane; and in the eighteenth century Spitalfields (Spittlefields) were in both cities. The influx of immigrants who instigated development on the Meath estate may have contributed to the duplication of place-names but the close ties with England which the Brabazon family had when the estate was acquired in the sixteenth century were maintained and the place names may be a reflection of such connections.

The Jervis Estate

The principal development on privately owned land on the north bank of the Liffey was planned at this time by Humphrey Jervis who acquired twenty acres of the estate of St. Mary's Abbey on lease c. 1676 for a term of five hundred years.[93] The land adjoined the nucleus of settlement in Oxmantown and extended south to the Liffey; some of it was inundated at high tide. Building in that location, however, seemed highly desirable. The tendency towards eastward development was already apparent and building west of Oxmantown was inhibited by the Phoenix Park and by the open fields of Grangegorman. Development south of the city was also inhibited by conditions of tenure on the land which had not been urbanised. Moreover, extensive and difficult schemes of reclamation had already been implemented on the south bank, demonstrating the feasibility of such schemes and the benefits which accrued from success. These facts coupled with the sustained demand for residential building suggested that the immense expenditure and extensive reclamation involved in the development envisaged by Jervis might be a profitable speculative venture and such it proved to be.[94]

Jervis acquired the strand which had been leased to Amory and with some partners he planned twenty eight building lots served by a rectangular network of streets.[95] Enclosure and infilling on the strand took four years of continuous work; the holders of the building lots contributed to the expense. The site of the principal

streets on Jervis's estate seems to have been determined by existing topographical features. Capel Street, aligned north south, was the principal street on the estate;(Fig.15) its site seems to have been determined principally by the site of the Custom House on the south bank. A bridge was needed to link Jervis's new suburb to the south bank and the site of the bridge was determined by the Custom House; alignment with the site of the bridge permitted Jervis to open Capel Street right through the lands of St. Mary's Abbey with building ground on either side, for the buildings of St. Mary's Abbey lay west of the site of Capel Street. The site of Liffey Street seems to have been determined by the site of a pathway to the ford. Mary Street was aligned with the existing Mary's Lane and the site of Abbey Street was determined by the site of the old coast road which was reserved as a highway by the terms of Amory's grant; land south of the coast road seems to have been claimed by the city together with the strand.

The Ellis Estate

While Jervis was planning development east of Oxmantown William Ellis acquired a number of parcels of land on Oxmantown Green and in 1682 he acquired a lease of the adjacent strand. (Fig.14) Leases acquired by Ellis from Sir Gerard Lowther, Sir John Totty, John Sargent, James Stanley, Richard Brooking, John Green and Henry Orson were renewed to Ellis and in 1683 his term was extended to 199 years in view of the extensive improvement he envisaged for the neighbourhood.[96] The importance of Ellis's project can scarcely be overestimated. But for his intervention development along the waterfront on the north bank west of the old bridge would have been piecemeal. Ellis imposed a unified plan on the neighbourhood but the main elements of the plan were determined by the city council in granting leases by reserving ground for a quay thirty-six feet wide along the waterfront, a highway forty feet wide for coaches on the site of the existing riverside highway, and three passages for horses to the river, two near Queen Street, each fifteen feet wide and a third further west near the viceroy's ground. Articulation with existing development on the south bank was achieved by a new stone bridge which Ellis was bound in 1682 to build at the foot of Queen Street and by a new street which was opened by the city in 1686 leading due south from the bridge to St. James's Street.[97] Ellis was also required to replace the wooden

structure of Bloody Bridge which had been erected in the previous decade. No building standards were imposed by the city in this lease: building standards were introduced by the speculative builders who leased land from Ellis early in the eighteenth century. A restrictive clause prohibited building between the bowling green and the river without authorisation both from the city and from the heirs of Alderman Tighe who had developed the bowling green on waste ground leased to him by the city in 1663.[98] The walk on the south side of the bowling green was also reserved in the lease.

Bridges

Despite the extent of seventeenth century development on the north bank the building of new bridges was opposed by merchants and traders who feared diminution of trade on the south bank, and by the municipal council which derived income tax from authorised ferries at crossing points near the city.[99] Nevertheless, within less than fifteen years four new bridges were built. The choice of site for the first - Bloody Bridge built in 1670 - was determined by features of the physical environment and by the pattern of development; it was also influenced by the opposition of the citizens of the south bank, for it was situated west of the old bridge almost at the western extremity of contemporary development.[100] At the time the uncontrolled river broadened gradually east of the city into an expanse of estuarine mud-flats which were inundated at high tide and thus impeded riverside development prior to enclosure of the strand. West of the old bridge the channel first widened and then narrowed near the islands west of St.James's Gate. It was here on the narrower part of the river that the first new bridge was constructed. It served the Duke of Ormonde's land and the new building lots on Oxmantown Green and encouraged initial post-reformation building west of Oxmantown. The identity of the builders of this bridge is unknown: although the trouble which led to its being called 'Bloody Bridge' is recorded there is no agreement about building it in the Assembly Rolls.

The building of both Essex and Ormonde bridges was planned by Humphrey Jervis: it was also Jervis who during his mayoralty authorised the removal of the principal city markets to a new site on the

north bank near his estate. It was necessary to bridge the Liffey east of the walled city in order to develop Jervis's estate. The city council and the merchants opposed the plans made by Jervis in 1673 and consequently he sought authorisation from the viceroy to build Essex Bridge in 1676. Essex is commemorated in the place names Capel Street and Essex Bridge. While the development was in progress Ormonde returned as viceroy and he is recorded in the names of Ormonde Bridge and Ormonde Quay. Ormonde Bridge was also built by Jervis, following a presentment made by the grand jury at the Tholsel in April 1682. The fourth new bridge was built by William Ellis according to the terms of the lease granted to him by the city in 1682.[101]

Initial bridge building was undertaken by speculators. When the utility of bridges had been proved the municipal council required lessees to build or to reconstruct bridges, thus connecting new development north and south of the Liffey into a coherent unit. The absence of a bridge east of Essex Bridge led to independent, parallel development in the eastern sector during the next half-century and this in turn led to extensive redevelopment in the eighteenth century. The building of a bridge from Hawkins's ground to the northern shore was, in fact, considered in the seventeenth century;[102] site difficulties as well as popular opposition prevented the building of this bridge and the area was served by a ferry until the second half of the eighteenth century.[103] When a bridge on this site was finally built the reclaimed land on the river bank had been fully developed and buildings extended to the water's edge.

Markets

Dispersal of markets began in the 1670s and at that time changes were instigated and implemented by speculative developers. The most radical commercial change was the transfer of the principal city markets to the north bank where the reclaimed land of the Pill provided a suitable location. Significantly, this transfer was mooted during the mayoralty of Sir Humphrey Jervis when authorisation for the new markets was granted to his associate, Sir John Davies.[104] Although Jervis had no direct interest in the markets their re-location on a site which adjoined his projected residential suburb undoubtedly

favoured development on the north bank east of Oxmantown. The transfer was opposed, chiefly by John Quelch to whom the perquisites of the markets in Fishamble Street then accrued;[105] Davies overcame this opposition by taking Quelch into partnership. Commercial development west of the medieval nucleus of settlement in Oxmantown was assured already by reserving a market place in the development plan for Oxmantown Green; this market place provided for the principal livestock market of the city and provision of the site permitted continuity of the market established there in the sixteenth century.

New markets were authorised about the same time for each of the new suburbs. In 1683 Aungier was authorised to establish a market on a triangular site near St. Peter's Church.[106] About the same time William Williams sought a permit for a market in Lower King Street on the lands of Tib and Tom near St. Stephen's churchyard.[107] A limited permit was granted for each of these markets: the sale of live cattle was prohibited and the sale of fish was allowed in limited quantities only and under the control of the main fish market near Ormonde Quay.[108] Authorisation was subsequently granted to the Earl of Roscommon to establish a similar market on Lazer's Hill.[109] In 1684 clauses in the permit for the market in the lands of Tib and Tom were changed at Williams's request and the market was placed under the direct control of the corporation, with control of the sale of fish reserved to Sir John Davies.[110]

Following a municipal survey of markets made in 1684 markets, stalls and shops in and near Fishamble Street and Patrick Street were considered sufficient for these neighbourhoods.[111] A new market house which had been erected in St. Werburgh Street in the previous decade was extended.[112] Outside St. James's Gate a fixed market was established at the request of a local landowner, the Earl of Limerick, for the sale of hay, straw, firs and Kilkenny coals.[113]

The right to hold independent markets and fairs in the two Liberties of St. Sepulchre and of Thomas Court led to the development of Newmarket which has already been discussed. In the Liberty of St. Sepulchre the market was evidently held in the market house shown by Gomme at the junction of St. Kevin's Street and St. Bride's Street:

this building may be the 'covered market house' near the cathedral of St. Patrick which was described by Jouvin de Rochfort in 1668.[114]

Public Buildings

Important public buildings were acquired or constructed. The first and most significant of these was the purchase of Chichester House as a meeting place for Parliament; although Parliament met only once during the reign of Charles II the building remained in public ownership and in spite of decay which resulted from neglect it influenced the character of its immediate environment while in later times its morphogenetic influence was extended to other sectors. Although Chichester House provided new offices for the government the Castle remained congested and this led to more public building on the site of the Poddle-Liffey confluence where a Council Chamber was built together with offices for the surveyor general and his staff, and accommodation for the Horse Guard.[115] In Trinity College the construction of additional buildings was financed by the sale of surplus plate and several sets of chambers were erected at the expense of private individuals on the site of the present Parliament Square, lying west of the original quadrangle. The front square, or 'Great Court', as it was called, was closed in by the erection of a gate house. A new addition to the Library was made through a benefaction made by Sir Jerome Alexander, Justice of the Common Pleas, in 1670 and on 5 October 1684 the Archbishop consecrated the new chapel.[116]

In 1683 the decayed Tholsel was replaced by a building which not only served as a town hall but also as a Guildhall for those guilds which had no special premises; and it served as an Exchange for the merchants.[117] New churches were built and some old churches were renovated: St. Andrew's was built near the Mount on Hoggen Green, St. Peter's on a site in Aungier Street which was donated by Francis Aungier; and the church of St. Bride (or Bridget) was reconstructed and enlarged.[118]

The most important new public building constructed during this phase was the Royal Hospital.[119] Although it occupied a site on the outskirts of the city it was a significant element which influenced subsequent development in its neighbourhood: it was built on the site

of the former Priory of Kilmainham which, together with sixty-four acres of the former monastic estate, then that part of the Phoenix Park which lay south of the Liffey, was granted by the Crown for the purpose. The building was financed by deductions from the pay of the soldiers for whom it was intended. In its construction Renaissance architectural style was introduced to Dublin.

Conclusion

The enlargement of the urbanised area of itself alone indicates the significance of this growth-phase. The new suburbs were far more extensive than the entire city was in 1660. Mere enlargement does reflect its morphogenetic character, however, for each new development was significant in itself and each was subsequently a morphogenetic element in the town plan. The character assumed by each of the new suburbs at this time persisted throughout the ensuing half-century with the exception of those areas which immediately adjoined the older settlement, for the inner suburbs were gradually absorbed by the extending central area of dense habitation and commercial activity. The extension of reclamation helped to foster coherent urban expansion and the new bridges helped to make the new development and the older settlement a coherent unit. New focal points were established through the construction of new public buildings and the dispersal of markets was extended to suburban areas. Industries began to develop: of these the woollen industry left the most striking and enduring imprint on the city. The post-Restoration growth-phase was indeed a highly significant time in this period of urban building.

Finally, it may be asked why this period can claim the title of 'Renaissance'. Analysis of the character of development shows that urban extensions of this phase differed from those of earlier times not only in extent but also in physical characteristics. The geometric regularity of wide suburban streets laid out after the Restoration reflects the influence of Renaissance urbanisation, both in private development such as that planned by Aungier and by Jervis, and in public development such as that planned by the city council. An effort was made to impose certain minimum standards of building in newly

developed areas and a conscious effort was made to 'embellish' these suburbs by planting trees and providing for their subsequent maintenance. Open spaces were created in the plans for Oxmantown Green and for St. Stephen's Green: it is true that these open spaces had different functions - the former was a market place and the latter was evidently intended to be an ornamental square - but they nevertheless introduced new standards to Dublin and these were derived from the European Renaissance. The size and character of St. Stephen's Green is quite striking, even by European standards. It should be noted, however, that the new standards were applied to the ground-plan rather than to the third dimension of the townscape. The concept of regular structures lining regular streets was already well developed in Europe: the new developments in Dublin were but a reflection of their European counterparts. The character of post-Restoration development nevertheless shows that this phase was the beginning of a new era which may rightly be termed 'Renaissance'.

The source of the new influences which affected the physical character of urban development is a matter for speculation. In the writer's opinion the person who exercised the most far-reaching influence was Ormonde. The grant of seven acres of land made gratuitously to Ormonde by the city council in recognition of his services to the city, as early as 1665, indicates the extent of Ormonde's influence. Since Ormonde returned to Dublin from France it seems more likely that plans formulated by him were influenced by the continent rather than by London or by the new plantation towns of the north of Ireland. Ormonde concerned himself with the construction of particular buildings; he is alleged to have introduced the concept of open quays with residential buildings facing the waterfront; and he formulated plans for the improvement of the medieval nucleus. He was interested in the general improvement of the city and as viceroy he had considerable power but he was hampered in his schemes for urban improvement by lack of finance. Since Ormonde had not yet returned to Dublin when plans for the development of St. Stephen's Green were made it seems unlikely that he had any part in their formulation and the identity of the planner of the most striking feature of the post-Restoration townscape is not known.

References and Footnotes

1. Hall, The Bank of Ireland, 425.

2. Thomas Carte, An History of the Life of James, Duke of Ormonde (2 vols, London, 1736), II, 276. Similar comments are found in Calendar of the manuscripts of the marquess of Ormonde preserved at Kilkenny Castle (I.M.C., new series, 8 vols, 1902-20), passim., especially vols. IV, VI, and Vii, 249-50 which refers to Ormonde's return in 1677.

3. Guide to Irish Quaker Records, 1654-1860, ed. with introduction by Olive Goodbody (I.M.C., 1967); Isabel Grubb, Quakers in Ireland, 1654-1900 (London, 1927), 14-55. Wills, inventories and lists of members of the Quakers' meetings in Dublin indicate the extent of their activity, MS D 4, 'Wills and Inventories, 1683-1720'; D 5, 'A Book of Wills, 1721-1772'; D 10, Minutes of men's meetings, 5 Dec. 1671 - 12 June, 1684, in Friends' Meeting House Historical Library, Eustace Street, Dublin.

4. Cullen, Anglo-Irish Trade, 5-16.

5. C. MacCarthy Tenison, 'Notes on some old Dublin Bankers', Journal of the Institute of Bankers in Ireland, II (1900), 98-100; 'The old Dublin Bankers', Jour. Inst. Bankers in Ire., II & III (1900, 1901), a series of articles in eleven parts; seventeenth century bankers in II, 187 et seq.

6. Anc. Rec., IV, 257, 271, 299-307; 329-32, 323, 325.

7. Anc. Rec., IV, 170.

8. Anc. Rec., IV, V, passim.

9. e.g. M.E.O. Document No. 170: Agreement between William, Earl of Meath and others of the family to grant longer leases of the holdings in Dublin, 1676 A.D.

10. The continuous use of Chichester House is indicated by official records, for instance, A List of Claims as they are entered with the Trustees at Chichester House on College Green, Dublin, on or before 10 August 1700. (Dublin 1701).

11. Carte, Life of Ormonde, II, 276.

12. 'Description of the City of Dublin, 1732' by a citizen of London, Anc. Rec., X, 527; Falkiner, Illustrations, 41-73.

13. Ormonde MSS, (new series) VI, 421, 487; VII, 189; Anc. Rec., IV., 324-25; the site on Oxmantown Green is seen on Gomme's survey, 1673.

14. Anc. Rec., VI, 583.

15. Anc. Rec., III, 15.

16. Anc. Rec., V, 30, 145; 17th Report of the Deputy Keeper P.R.I. (1885), Appendix III, 27.

17. Anc. Rec., IV, 257, 271 (1663); IV, 323-25 (1664). The original surveys were given by the city council to the Blue Coat School and were in the School's Archives. The surveys are published in Frederick Falkiner, The Foundation of the Hospital and Free School of King Charles II, Oxmantown, Dublin, commonly called the Blue Coat School .... (Dublin 1906), plates to face pp. 43 & 44.

18. Anc. Rec., IV, 299-307; 329-32.

19. Anc. Rec., IV, 300-7; 330-32; the list of persons to whom lotts on Oxmantown Green and St. Stephen's Green were allocated indicate the change which had already taken place by 1664 for these lots were mostly acquired for speculative building.

20. Tenison, Jour. Inst. Bankers in Ire., II, 188-90; III, 61.

21. Original indentures of leases granted by Aungier have not survived but leases granted in 1661 are cited in List of Claims.. 1701, passim.; 'Valuations of St. Kevin's Parish (including St. Peter's), 1667-1723', N.L.I. MS 5230; Reg. Deeds, miscellaneous memorials traced through the Lands Index.

22. Anc. Rec., V, 273: 286: 296. T.C.D. MS 2062 contains a complete transcript of three certificates concerning the new church of St. Peter and consequent parochial re-organisation. The originals were burnt in the P.R.O.I.: they are cited in The Register of the parish of St. Peter and Kevin, Dublin, 1669-1761, Parish Register Society of Dublin: Publications, vol. IX Ed. with preface by James Mills (London, 1911). Mills also discusses the early history of the new church and parish of St. Peter which included (but was not co-terminous with) Aungier's estate.

23. Anc. Rec., VI, 595 records Jervis's purchases of twenty acres for £2,800 and clearance of £300 mortgage. Reg. Deeds, memorial no. 90-239-64051 records Jervis's purchase of a leasehold interest from Richard, Earl of Tyrone. This holding was probably co-terminous with Piphoe's Park which was in possession of Walter Peppard in 1543 (Chartuleries St. Mary's Abbey, II,xli).

24. M.E.O., deed no. 170 recites a previous family settlement re leases and 'whereas several offers have been made by persons of valuable estate to build, the parties agree amongst each other to extend the leasing power to 61 years'. The identity of those who made the offers referred to is suggested by leaseholds on Armstrong's map (1850) which show that very extensive holdings were gradually acquired by George Edkins, Bernard Browne and Arthur Emerson.

25. M.E.O. unsigned MS map on parchment probably of the late 17th century; Armstrong's map (1850); Abstracts of Leases, vol. I.

26. M.E.O., Abstracts of Leases, vol.I; Original indentures of leases to Thomas Ashton, New Row, 1691; to Anthony Percy, Meath Street, 1692.

27. Security of tenure was granted by 17 & 18 Charles II, chap.IV, 'An Act for vesting in and settling upon Sir William Domville... his heirs and assigns forever, a parcel of land, part of the possession belonging to the canons of St. Patrick's, Dublin..'; chap. XIV, 'An Act enabling the Precentor and Treasurer of the Cathedral Church of St. Patrick's, Dublin, and the Arch Deacon of Dublin to make leases of part of their yards and gardens for 60 years'.

28. Anc. Rec., IV, 297-307; 329-32. The subsequent development of the lots on St. Stephen's Green and on Oxmantown Green can be traced in part through Rentals now in the King's Hospital or Blue Coat School.

29. Anc. Rec., V, 237.

30. 14 & 15 Charles II, chap. xiii; Alice E. Murray, The history of commercial and financial relations between England and Ireland from the Restoration (London, 1903), 100 citing A Letter from a Gentleman in Ireland to his Brother in England relating to the concerns of Ireland in the matter of Trade (London, 1677) B.M. 1029. C.12 (1).

31. Conrad Gill, The Rise of the Irish Linen Industry (O.U.P., 1925; reprinted 1964), 3.

32. Friends' Meeting House, Historical Library, MS S 1, 'A Journal of the life and action of that eminent man of God, Anthony Sharpe', by John Crabb, 36-37; 58. MS S 3, 'Anthony Sharpe, His Book' contains a list of the principal events in Sharpe's life and a list of letters. On Sharpe's work in Dublin see O. Goodbody, 'Anthony Sharpe, a Quaker merchant of the Liberties', Dublin Hist. Rec., XIV (1955) 12-19. The figure of 500 workers is given by Isabel Grubb, Quakers in Ireland, 1654-1900, 47, without citing any authority. The writer has not found evidence to support this figure but the Sharpe papers and deeds in the Meath Estate Office suggest that Sharpe was both an owner of extensive property and an employer of a considerable number of people, especially catholics.

33. John J. Webb, The Guilds of Dublin (Dublin, 1929), 137; 194-95; 217-18.

34. J.W.Stubbs, 'The Weavers' Guild, the Guild of the B.V.M., Dublin, 1446-1840', R.S.A.I.Jn., XLIX (1919), 60-88.

35. Ed. Henry F.Berry, The Registers of the Church of St. Michan, Dublin, 1636-1700 (Dublin, 1906), III, passim.

36. Parish registers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries kept by the Established Church were deposited in the P.R.O.I. and destroyed in 1922. Fortunately, many of these records had already been published by the Parish Register Society of Dublin: these include Registers of St. John the Evangelist, 1619-99; the Cathedral of St. Patrick, 1677-1800; the church of St.Michan, 1636-1700; St. Catherine, 1636-1715; St. Peter & St.Kevin, 1669-1761; St. Nicholas Without, 1694-1739; St. Andrew, St. Anne,

Ctd.

36. St. Audoen and St. Bride, 1632-1800; and St. Luke, St. Catherine and St. Werburgh, 1627-1800. See bibliography.

37. For a discussion of the origin of the surveys of Gomme and Phillips see pages 13-14. Gomme's signed memoir, B.M. Add. MS 16370, is published in Anc. Rec., V, 556-73.

38. Such use of Gomme's survey by Thomas Phillips is suggested by a map, no.10, in the Dartmouth Collection, N.M.M. on the back of which is written 'A ruff draught of Dublin Bay per Thomas Phillips'; No.11 of the collection is Gomme's survey and Phillips's map is in the B.M.

39. Citadel not shown on B.M., K Top. LIII, 10; citadel shown on B.M., K. Top. LIII, 8 & 9.

40. Anc. Rec., V, 273. Aungier was authorised to demolish medieval gates which barred a laneway near Whitefriars in order to improve and widen the thoroughfare, Love Lane.

41. T.C.D. MS 2062 records parochial organisation; Anc. Rec., V, 286, 296; the city council granted authorisation for a market adjoining St. Peter's Church but the venture does not appear to have been successful.

42. Anc. Rec., IV, 531; V, 116-17; 255, 295. The Mount was still preserved in 1680 (Anc. Rec., V, 198); by 1682 Davies was authorised to demolish it (Anc. Rec., V, 255). cf Irish Builder, XXXVII, (1896), 73-74.

43. Haliday, Scandinavian ... Dublin, 166.

44. Anc. Rec., V, 303, 342; Reg. Deeds, mems. nos. 5-340-2020; 4-427-1121; 16-229-7356; 2-283-457: these memorials indicate the development of part of the lands of Tib and Tom, the site of Clarendon Street and Clarendon Market.

45. Anc. Rec., IV, 257, 271, 297-303; survey published in Falkiner, Hist. of Blue Coat School, to face page 42.

46. Anc. Rec., IV, 383, 466, 468, 478, 489, 509, 545-46.

47. Anc. Rec., IV, 297-99.

48. Anc. Rec., V, 2.

49. Anc. Rec., V, 37.

50. Anc. Rec., IV, 285, 323-25, 329-32, 356-58, 437.

51. Anc. Rec., IV, 536-37; the traditional stories about Bloody Bridge are in Gilbert, History of Dublin, I, 388.

52. Anc. Rec., IV, 329-32.

53. Unless otherwise stated the following paragraphs dealing with the Phoenix Park are based on Falkiner, Illustrations, 41-73.

54. Anc. Rec., I, 411.

55. Minutes, C.W.S., VII, 77: 8 Sept. 1786.

56. See Chapter IV. The lease granted to Mayor Carroll's son might be considered an exception but this grant was not made in order to facilitate urban development: in fact Carroll was directed 'not to erect any town or other building for habitation on the premises', Anc. Rec., II, 530-31.

57. Anc. Rec., V, 247; Gomme's survey, 1673.

58. T.C.D. Deed No. 206 (Chronological), Indenture 3 August 1672 between the Provost, Fellows and Scholars of Trinity College and William Hawkins. According to the lease it was Hawkins who reclaimed 'all the strand from Lazy Hill to the .. city' at a cost of £4,000. Leases granted by the city council for the strand east of Pooley's wood yard must have been assigned to Hawkins for he did not lease directly from the city. The terms of the lease granted in 1672 suggest that Hawkins appealed to the Privy Council for authorisation to develop this land.

59. Haliday, Scandinavian ... Dublin, 147 n citing 'Brief occurrences touching Ireland, begun 25 March 1661', Carte Papers, Bodleian Library, LXIV, 446.

60. Anc. Rec., IV, 254, 270.

61 Anc. Rec., V, 279. By the terms of his lease Croft was bound 'to continue Captain Nicholls's quay all along'. The original indenture of Croft's lease with map attached is among Dublin Corporation Records, P.R.O.I. but the map does not show the location of the quay built by Nicholls nor the alignment of the quay to be built by Crosse.

62. Anc. Rec., IV, 285, 368; V, 364.

63. Original indenture, City Hall, Dublin; Anc. Rec., V, 58-59; VI, 582-605. The lease is still known as the Amory grant although it was assigned to Jervis.

64. Amory's lease map, City Hall, Dublin; the relationship of the holding and the street plan are not shown on the lease-map.

65. Anc. Rec., V, 237-38.

66. Anc. Rec., V, 313. The irregular alignment is seen on Rocque's map (1756).

67. Anc. Rec., V, 45, 51, 412, 417.

68. Anc. Rec., V, 222, 322, 339-41.

69. 17 & 18 Charles II, chap. xiv; Leslie, 'Calendar of Leases' R.S.A.I.Jn., LXIV, 34.

70. Register of Leases, St.Patrick's Cathedral, 1660-1689, passim. Leslie, 'Calendar', R.S.A.I.Jn., LXIV, 34-73; Mason, History of St.Pat., 99 n.

71. Mason, History of St. Pat., 19-20 citing chapter minutes which are no longer in possession of the cathedral.

72. 17 & 18 Charles II, chap. iv; Mason, op. cit., 17 n.

5 73. Anc. Rec., V, 273.

6 74. List of Claims, passim.; Reg. Deeds, mem. no. 47-61-29528, recital re 1676 and 1677; Gomme's survey, 1673; Phillips's survey, [1685], B.M. K. Top. LIII, 10.

7 75. Anc. Rec., V, 273; 286, 296.

8 76. The site and size of the original building lots have been deduced from Memorials of deeds registered in the 1720s, e.g. Reg. deeds, mem. no. 52-532-35609; 48-82-30727; 40-418-26583; and various memorials listed in the Lands Index for Dublin City, Registry of Deeds.

9 77. The identity oflessees is suggested by leases listed in the List of Claims .... 1701.

10 78. N.L.I. MS 5230, 'Valuations in the parishes of St. Peter and St. Kevin, Dublin, 1667-1723'; The Register of the parish of St. Peter and St. Kevin, Dublin, 1669-1761; passim.

79 [sic] 79. Lord Meath's certificate of ownership of a pew in St. Peter's Church is in M.E.O. In 1664 Meath seems still to have inhabited the abbey buildings of Thomas Court. (Hearth Tax Returns, 1664).

80. T.C.D. MS 2062.

81. M. E.O. No. 166, Patent of Fairs in Thomas Court and Bray from Charles II to Edward, Earl of Meath, granting four fairs yearly and two markets weekly in Thomas Court and Donore ... 1674 A.D.

82. M.E.O. No. 55: Edward, Earl of Meath against the Corporation of Weavers, Dublin, in which his lordship complains that the Corporation levies fines and gives judgements within his Liberty of Thomas Court.

11 83. M.E.O. No. 166, Patent of Fairs.

12 84. M.E.O. No. 170: 'Agreement between William, Earl of Meath and others of the family to grant longer leases of the holdings in Dublin, 1676 A.D.' This authorisation appears to have been signed and sealed although the following inscription appears on the outside of the document: 'Draft of an Authority by Wm. Earl of Meath and others to make leases for 61 years or three lives of Thomas Court and Donore, Co. Dublin and Kilruddery & Bray, Co. Wicklow 1676'. Leases on the newly approved terms were granted during the following years.

13 85. M.E.O. No. 170. Agreement to grant longer leases.

14 86. M.E.O. Abstracts of Leases. 1686-1807. Original indentures of leases to Anthony Percy, 1692; to John Chamberlaine, 1691.

87. Abstracts of Lease to Bernard Browne, M.E.O.

88. M.E.O. No. 80. Exemplification of a Recovery suffered by William, Earl of Meath, 29 Charles II.

89. Extents, 25-26.

90. M.E.O.; Schedule of Leases; Map of part of the Liberty of Thomas Court and Donore by William Armstrong (1850) on which names of original lessees and the dates of leases are written.

91. M.E.O., No. 99; Agreement between William, Earl of Meath and James Edkins re. waterpipes in the Liberties of Dublin, 1682 A.D. (Abstract only; the original agreement is not in the archive.)

92. Schedule of Leases, and Armstrong's map (1850), M.E.O.

93. Anc. Rec., VI, 595.

94. Anc. Rec., VI, 582-605; Commons' Jn. Ire., II, 172, Report No. 94. Although Jervis did not receive £3,434-10-10 voted to him for building Ormonde and Essex Bridges, he nevertheless retained his estates and made a profit.

95. Anc. Rec., VI, 589, 595.

96. Anc. Rec., V, 237; P.R.O.I. M2549; deeds of William Ellis, D16275, D16276, D16281, P.R.O.I.

97. Anc. Rec., V, 237, 411.

98. Anc. Rec., IV, 285-86.

99. Anc. Rec., V, 313; VI, 587-88.

100. Gomme's survey, 1673; Anc. Rec., IV, 536-38; Gilbert, History of Dublin, I, 388.

101. Anc. Rec., VI, 237; 582-605.

102. Anc. Rec., VI, 129.

103. Rocque's large-scale map, 1756.

104. Anc. Rec., VI, 594.

105. Anc. Rec., V, 302.

106. Anc. Rec., V, 286, 296.

107. Anc. Rec., V, 305.

108. Anc. Rec., V, 342.

109. Anc. Rec., V, 428.

110. Anc. Rec., V, 342.

111. Anc. Rec., V, 302.

112. Anc. Rec., V, 29.

113. Anc. Rec., V, 445.

114. Falkiner, Illustrations, 414.

115. Gomme's survey, 1673.

116. Stubbs, University of Dublin, 124-25.

117. Anc. Rec., V, 257, 267.

118. Parish Reg. St. Peter & St. Kevin, vi; Falkiner, Illustrations, 169-70; T.C.D. MS 2063, 'Dublin Parish Records', transcripts by W. Monck Mason.

119. Craig, Dublin, 58-67, includes an analytical description of the structure of the Royal Hospital, based in part on information supplied by Mr. Raymond McGrath, Office of Public Works, Dublin.

CHAPTER VII

WILLIAMITE DUBLIN

By the end of the seventeenth century the early modern city of Dublin had emerged. Post-Restoration growth was already more extensive than the medieval settlement which was still, nevertheless, the heart of the city, densely populated, throbbing with life, the centre of social and commercial activities. The sustained growth which had been maintained during the early decades of the century had gradually gathered momentum after the Restoration, increasing greatly in the 1670s and the early 1680s. Changes made during the reign of James II interrupted the course of events but left no lasting physical imprint on the city. Indeed, the changes seem but a slight deviation in a continuous stream of development for they were reversed on his defeat in 1691. The principal legacy left to Dublin by this brief reign was the confiscation of lands which led to the development of new estates on the outskirts of the city, and in Dublin these confiscations were not very extensive. Williamite Dublin was to experience a continuing transformation of which the main lines already existed in 1691, having been established during the three previous decades.

Despite the recent war and municipal upheavals Dublin was then a prosperous city attracting ever greater investment and speculation. Vast improvements planned and implemented by men of vision had provided a coherent ground-plan for development. Extensive reclamation was in progress. Building and development were widespread. Trade and commerce had increased so much that port and estuarine improvement was urgently needed to permit continuing growth. As the capital city, Dublin now began increasingly to reflect the character, interests and activities of the ruling class, the Protestant Ascendancy.

Dublin's medieval fortifications were already obsolete for the city was now far more extensive outside the walls than within. Although the plans made for defence in 1673 and in 1685 were never implemented they have left a valuable legacy in the surveys of Gomme and Phillips

DUBLIN • 1691

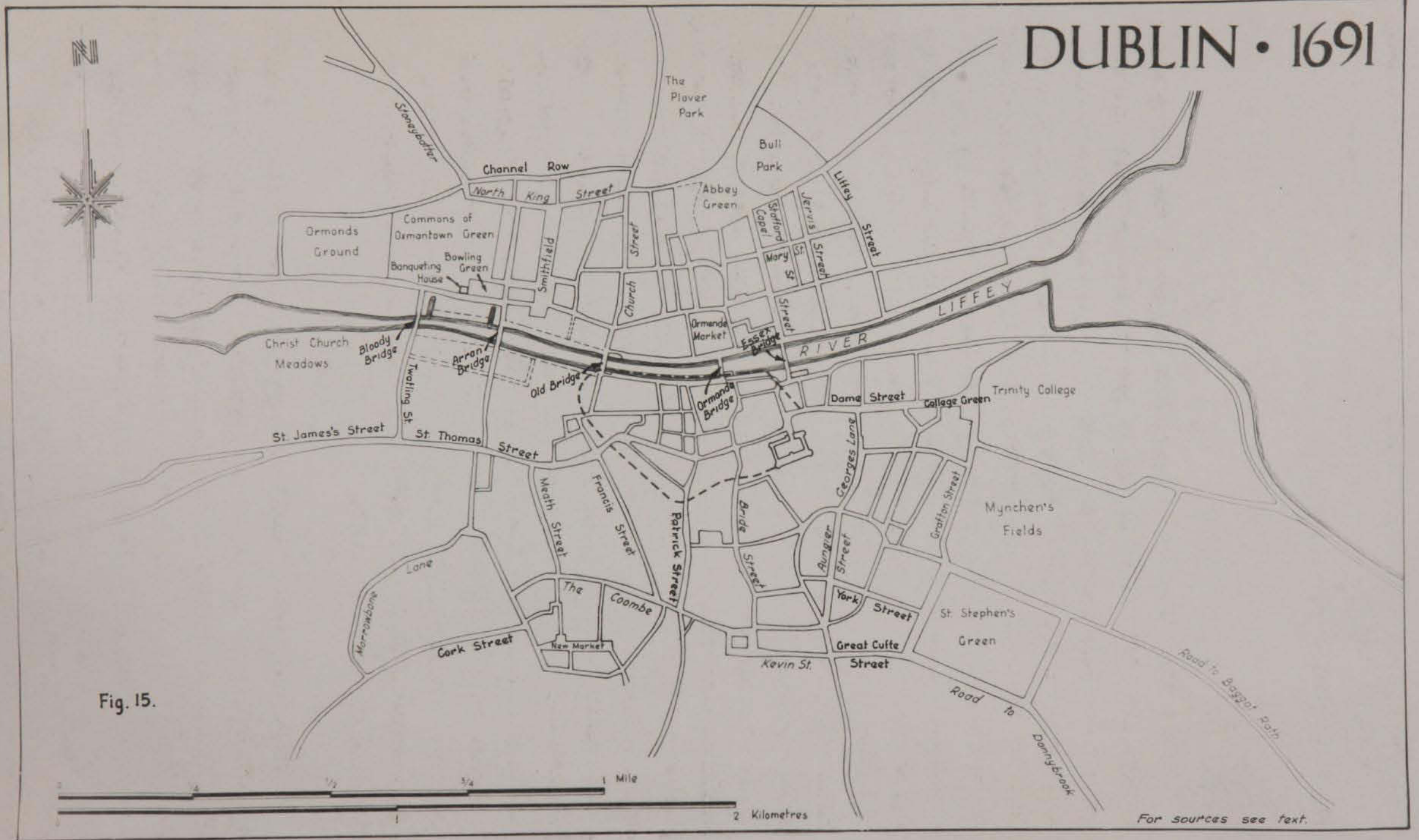


Fig. 15.

For sources see text.

which contain evidence not only of the extent of the city but also, by inference, of its character and of the accelerated rate of growth during the later years of the reign of Charles II. By correlating these surveys with documentary evidence it has been possible to compile a map of Dublin in circa 1691.

The Estuary

By this time the change in the course of the Liffey was striking. (Fig.15) Although the silted estuary was still difficult of access for larger ships the channel of the river was now walled from Bloody Bridge, west of the city to Mabbot's mill and Lazy Hill at the river's mouth.[1] The contrasting alignment of the north and south banks reflected the method of leasing the strand and subsequent reclamation. Walling on the north bank was regular west of the old bridge and east of the Pill and the strand in these two places had been leased in two unbroken tracts.[2] On the south bank an irregularly aligned wall extended east from the Custom House to Hawkins's wall which veered north eastwards towards the channel of the river.[3] East of Hawkins's holding a new pier curved northwards into the channel providing a convenient landing place at the eastern edge of the city; however, by obstructing the flow of the river it also contributed to increased silting and braiding of the channel.[4] To the south-east, reclaimed land extended along Lazy Hill where part at least of the waterfront was quayed.[5] Although some ships continued to penetrate to the Custom House near Essex Bridge many anchored at Ringsend which seems then to have been the usual place of disembarkation for passengers. On this bleak spot John Dunton, a bookseller and a prolific writer, landed in 1698: his writings provide many vivid glimpses of contemporary Dublin.[6]

Ringsend was then a 'small village with three or four tolerable houses covered with tile or slates, besides several other lesser ones'; it had no shelter nor gardens and was consequently 'a very bleak place exposed to all kinds of weather'.[7] Here goods were transferred to and from gabbards which plied between Ringsend and the Custom House and passengers disembarked either to spend the night in Ringsend - at the King's Head, as Dunton did - or if the tide permitted, to travel in hackneys (Ringsend cars) across the hard sands

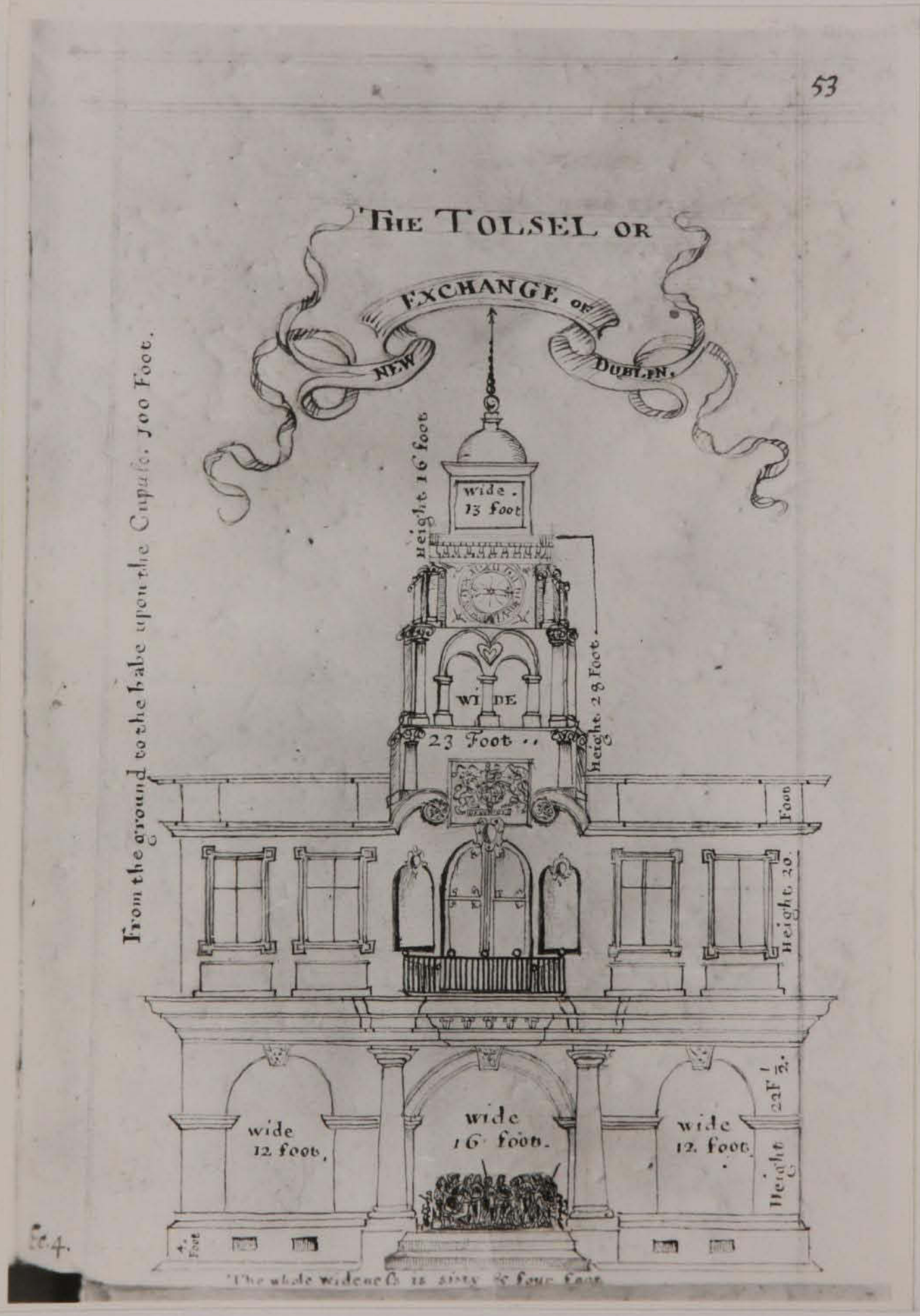
to Lazy Hill, the eastern suburb of the city.

Imports and exports were controlled at the Custom House which opened to the north onto 'an handsome quay' and to the south onto Essex Street. On the quay there was a 'large crane with a wheel in which a man walks to turn it (as dogs do in the wheel of a jack)'. On the quay Dunton noted 'an abundance of wool ... and a great deal of French wines'. On the south side of Essex Street was the Council Chamber, 'a large house to which you ascend by an handsome pair of wooden steps'.[8] Administrative activities had also been transferred to new buildings on the Crown property on the south side of Essex Street, which housed the offices of the Surveyor General and the State Paper offices; accommodation for the Horse Guard was also provided on this site.

The Townscape

The Castle had, through seventeenth century renovations, begun to assume the residential character which was predominant by the mid-eighteenth century: in 1691 it was the residence of the viceroy. Although it was encompassed by a wall and a dry ditch and could still 'command all the city from its towers', it was nevertheless ' a place of no great strength': it had, in fact, become a place of military display rather than a bastion of defence. Brass field pieces adorned the inner court and towers. A 'handsome guardhouse' with separate quarters for officers housed some companies of foot. In the lower castle yard there were workshops for the King's gunsmiths and armourers, and the office of the Ordnance. Each morning two companies of foot paraded, one to mount the town guard and the other that of the castle. On ceremonial occasions the King's representative trooped 'with flying colours and drums beating'. Dunton's impressions of the castle recall those of earlier travellers for, in the last decade as in the mid-century, the buildings were 'without much magnificance outside ... but had several stately rooms' within.[9] South of the castle a broad terrace walk extended the entire length of the building its walls 'covered with greens and flower pots'. A stone arch spanned the Poddle and a flight of stone steps descended southwards to the garden which was'handsomely laid out in grass plots with greens and gravel walks' while rows of 'flourishing lime trees' shaded a

PLATE IV



see appendix

The Tholsel

grassy walk along the north.

A view of the city was obtained from the Tholsel which had been reconstructed in 1683, (Plate IV) on an extended site at the corner of Skinners' Row and St. Nicholas Street with frontages of hewn stone to both streets.[10] From Skinners' Row steps provided access to a vestibule which was supported by massive columns of the Tuscan order, and thence to 'a large room supported by pillars and flagged ...with free stone, with open banisters on each side to the street': this was the 'Change' (Exchange) where much of the commercial business of the city was transacted. In the south-eastern corner of the building was the Recorder's Court. Above, approached by a flight of steps from the interior, were a large public room in which municipal assemblies were held, a spacious room which served as a Guildhall, overlooking St. Nicholas Street, and, on the east, a large room where public feasts and banquets were held. Higher still was a vantage point from which the entire city might be viewed and on top of the building a gilded weather cock stood on a globe. On the west front was a large open balcony surmounted by life-size statues of Charles I and Charles II.[11] The Lord Mayor's court was held in a small separate building at the south-east corner of the Tholsel, having a separate entrance from Skinners' Row through Ram Alley.[12] Although the Tholsel had been considerably enlarged in the course of reconstruction in 1683 it was already, at the time of Dunton's visit, 'scarce big enough for the company that comes to it at high change', that was at half past twelve.

The principal new public building was the Royal Hospital (Plate V) which occupied an elevated site west of the city.[13] This was the only large new public building constructed during the post-Restoration period, and in it Renaissance architectural symmetry found expression in Dublin. The principal front had a central projection treated as a portico with Corinthian pilasters rising straight from the ground, without bases, and a tower and spire rose from the pedimented roof of the centre-piece.[14] The two-storeyed building surrounded a courtyard and was intended to accommodate three hundred pensioners.

PLATE V



THE ROYAL HOSPITAL

see appendix

In most fortified cities free-standing defensive walls left an indelible imprint on the street-plan. Scarcely any such imprint is discernible in Dublin where the city walls seem to have rarely if ever been free-standing despite medieval municipal laws which prohibited building within thirty feet of the city walls. By the end of the seventeenth century the obsolete defensive walls were partly 'covered with houses' and partly demolished: they had even then left no distinctive imprint. During his visit Dunton could not identify the 'shape' of the walls because, he wrote, 'one cannot well surround them'[15]: it was not possible to walk around them. The old city itself was nonetheless distinctive. Entrance to it was still constricted by the narrow medieval gates and towers.[16] The ancient city was also distinguished by its townscape in which old and new, timber frames, brick and stone intermingled. Dunton was fascinated by the street-scenes in old Dublin where he wandered about 'staring and gazing at all the signs and everything else in the streets; pacing out their length and enquiring ever and anon: 'What call ye this street? Who dwells in yon great Home? Whose fine coach is that?'[17] The extreme congestion of market days also evoked comment: in High Street, for instance, a market held on Wednesdays and Saturdays attracted such 'throngs of country people selling friezes and linen cloth .... that you can scarcely pass among them without danger of being lousy' while the Cornmarket had become so crowded that the sale of corn had been removed to the wide part of Thomas Street.[18]

Seventeenth-century accretions masked the medieval fortifications.. Within and near the city walls the tendency towards zoning which is suggested by place names such as Corn Market, Winetavern Street, and Cook Street persisted in places but with the passage of time change had come in the use as well as in the form of buildings and diverse commercial activities intermixed in most old streets. Towards the end of the seventeenth century the outward movement of nobility and gentry which was induced by the development of new suburbs resulted in change within the old city and in the suburbs. Houses abandoned by the gentry were subdivided and gardens were gradually built over in response to the increased demand for building land; and the growth of commerce induced change in the early-seventeenth century suburbs through the expansion of the central core of dense commercial activities.

The division of Carbrie House which ranked among the stateliest of the sixteenth century mansions, illustrates the fate of homes abandoned by the gentry. By the end of the seventeenth century it had been divided into two separate entities: in one section there were two shops and two kitchens on the ground floor, two cellars underneath, three rooms on the first floor, two on the second and two garrets above; the other section had one shop and two kitchens on the ground floor, a cellar underneath, and three rooms on each of the upper floors. The first section was converted into a coffee shop by Richard Pue, proprietor and publisher of Pue's Occurrences: it was long and well known as Dick's Coffee House.[19] The fate of Cork House was similar: the most famous of its sub-divisions was Lucas's Coffee House.[20]

In the 1680s similar changes began at the western end of Dame Street where property lying between the medieval churchyard of St. Andrew and St. George's Lane changed ownership prior to sub-division and change of use. A large house on the corner of Dame Street and St. George's Lane, formerly called Kildare House, was leased in 1685 to a merchant, Michael Mitchell, together with the stables, coach-house, and other appurtenances: this was subsequently the site of four houses with street frontages and a number of back-houses.[21] In 1682 adjacent premises were sold to William Ellis: these consisted of a large house called the 'Nagg's Head' with several small houses at the rear, another house called 'The Sign of the Trumpet' with several tenements at the rear, and two houses which fronted the west side of St. George's Lane. The property extended from St. Andrew's medieval churchyard in the west to Kildare House in the east and from Dame Street in the north to the castle stables and yard in the south.[22] Ground further east on Dame Street had already changed ownership in 1697 when John Crow sold to Thomas Pilkington a large property formerly occupied by Alderman Wakefield: this was later the site of part of Dame's Court and Spring Garden Lane.[23]

The character of properties on the north side of Dame Street had also changed. The large mansions formerly occupied by Sir John Crow, Sir John Temple, the Earl of Anglesea and others had been deserted by the upper classes and the gardens and courtyards were gradually covered

with smaller houses which were probably similar to those at the western end of Dame Street. Proximity to the river where quayside building was no longer prohibited also fostered commercial development in this area.

The change of ownership and use of these properties illustrates the eastward extension of the commercial core of the city. Meanwhile the eastern end of Dame Street and College Green seem to have retained their upper-class residential character. Clancarty House, for instance stood on the south side of College Green opposite to Chichester House.[24] It was a large ornate mansion; whether its style was representative of a phase of development or of a locality in Dublin, or whether it was unique, it is not now possible to determine.

Further change in the general style of building in the city and suburbs had been induced by regulations made by the Lord Lieutenant and Council in 1669-70. For the prevention of fire, and 'for ornament in the buildings in the city and suburbs of Dublin' it was required that 'all houses or buildings to be erected within the ... city and suburbs of Dublin ... be built with stone or brick and stone ... and covered with slate or tile and be raised directly upright in the front without any jutting out windows or any other overhanging works whatever, balconies only excepted ...'[25] Standards of construction were also introduced, for the same edict laid down that ' all foundations and the walls of the first storey ... be at least one brick length and a half in thickness and the other storeys proportionable ...' Thatched cabins were still numerous and there were also some thatched houses when the regulations were made in 1670. The edict required that, within a year, owners of these houses and cabins were to cause 'such thatch coverings to be removed and ... that all persons whatsoever to take care that no buildings for the future be covered with any such combustible matter but with slate or tile'.[26]

Success in enforcing these regulations is difficult to assess since there are no surveys which indicate the general physical appearance of the city's housing during this period. It seems improbable that thatched cabins were entirely banished from the city by the end of the seventeenth century for there were numerous dwellings which had only one hearth and these probably continued to be thatched cabins

URBAN ZONES · 1691.



Fig. 16.

For sources see text.

together with dwellings which had no hearth at all. It seems certain, however, that the character of new houses continued to change and since numerous houses in the walled city and its medieval suburbs continued to be reconstructed or replaced it is probable that the influence of this edict was felt and seen widely in the city. Building in the newer suburbs would probably have conformed to these standards for similar standards were laid down by the corporation in the 1660s in leasing Oxmantown Green and St. Stephen's Green and even at the Restoration new houses in the suburbs were being built with brick and stone and roofed with tiles or slates. In the 1680s numerous refugees from the continent settled in Dublin and they introduced the building of houses in which the gable faced the street, a style which became predominant by the end of the seventeenth century. These gabled houses were usually built with bricks.

By the end of the seventeenth century the city was surrounded in all directions by new, developing suburbs which were already distinguished by different characteristics. (Fig.16) For the various suburbs had different advantages of site and situation and the spontaneous process of suburban differentiation which had already begun in the first half of the seventeenth century and then influenced principally the development of the emergent eastern suburbs, gradually extended during the second half of the century to all suburbs so that each was distinguished by localised characteristics.

Riverside location had already fostered some commercial development east of College Green before the Restoration and during the ensuing decades a riverside zone of predominantly commercial activities began to emerge. Although residential buildings of a good standard were constructed on Ormonde Quay, in response to the changed development plan, these houses seem to have been largely occupied by people engaged in commercial activities. East of these houses there were commercial activities on the newly reclaimed land on both banks of the river, such as the Ballycastle coal yard on the north bank, on Bachelor's Walk; Mabbot's mill, constructed near the river mouth in the early 1670s; and Hawkins' wind mill on the south bank which was constructed about the same time.[27] To the east and south-east of the older settlement new residential suburbs continued, as in previous decades, to attract the upper classes. To the south commercial

A the Hall B y^e chappell

71

over it.

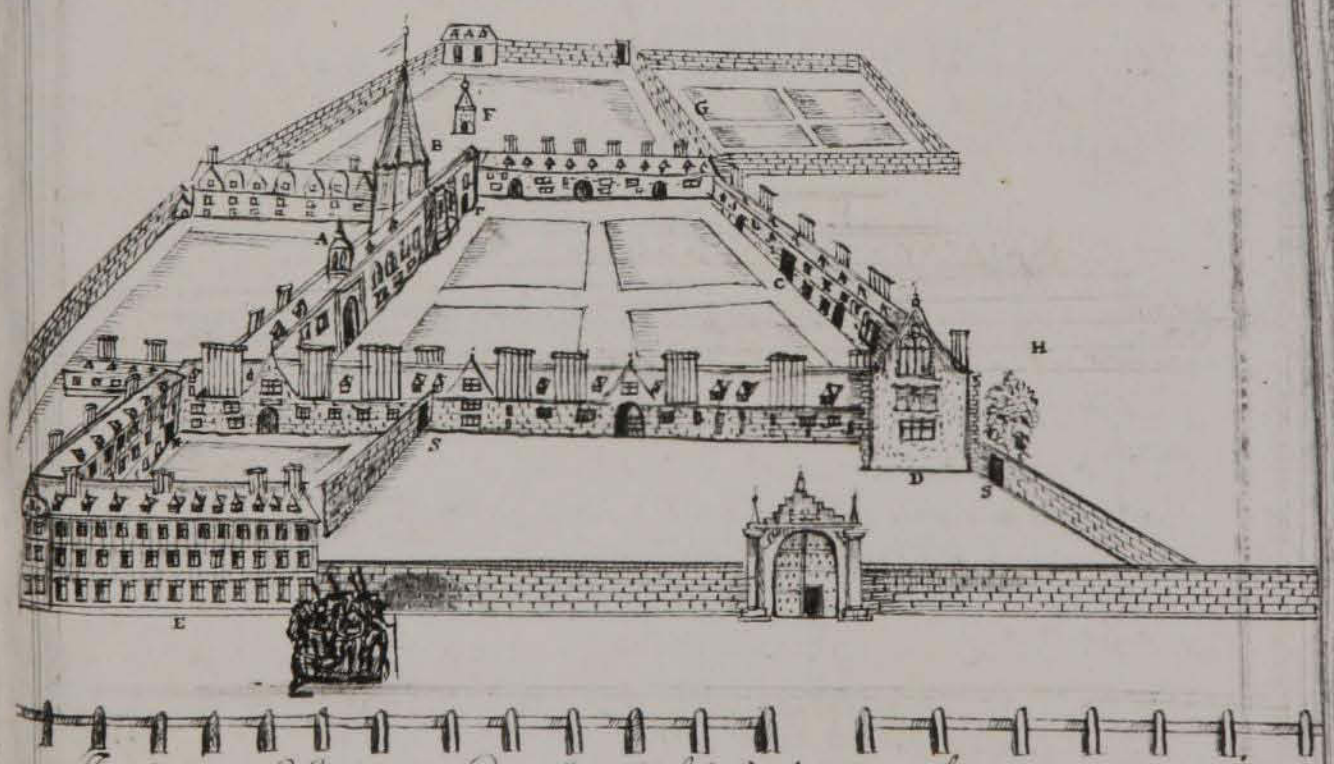
S^r WILLIAM FITZ WILLIAM KNIGHT SERVED HER MAJESTIE QUEEN ELIZABETH IN THIS REALME OF IRELAND 14 YEERS, SINCE VIZ TREASURER AND TREASURER AT WARRES AND FIVE TIMES LORD JUSTICE OF IRELAND

With his Armes this motto Prohibere nefas and this date MDLXXXVIII he descended from the FitzWilliams of STROTSBury Knts in Yorkshire.



Adjoining to the Library are seen the Armes of the Foundresse Q. Elizabeth after y^e manner on y^e right hand with this device at bottom

SEMPER EADEM.



Entring into the Universitie Chappell on the left hand is seen a faire monument of white marble of one Chaloner Thomas founder of the Chappel as appeares by Inscripcon thereon which see page

Ff.5.

see appendix

Trinity College

enterprises intermixed with residential development; to the south-west a new predominantly commercial suburb was developing while commercial activities west of the city had fostered renewal and extension along the ridge and on the slope above the Liffey. On Jervis's holding scattered building was in progress on some of the new streets.

All of the new suburbs contrasted with the old city in street-plan and in buildings: few if any suburban buildings of this time were of earlier date than the seventeenth century; streets were relatively broad, regular thoroughfares and some, such as Smithfield and the streets which surrounded St. Stephen's Green, were already embellished with ornamental trees. Each suburb had its own distinctive qualities: all contrasted with the crowded incipient decay of the old city.

The post-Restoration parish of St. Andrew east of the city on the south bank comprised the new suburbs of College Green, Lazy Hill, the lands of Tib and Tom, and adjacent development. College Green retained its upper-class residential character, indicated by the size and style of Clancarty House. The adjacent Mount had been leased in 1682 to Sir William Davies who intended to level the site and build a mansion. From this site Suffolk Street, thirty feet wide, was opened eastwards to St. Patrick's Well Lane.[28] On an adjacent site on the summit of the hill stood 'a building like an oven of an oval figure' which Dunton and other strangers thought to be a 'town oven'; it was, in fact, the new church of St. Andrew, long known in Dublin as the Round Church. It seemed a small enough building to serve a populous and growing parish but, as Dunton observed, 'it doth in its galleries and pews contain a greater number of people than its outside appearance would make one think'.[29] This church was used as a place of worship by the members of Parliament on important occasions. The site of the new post-Restoration building reflects the seventeenth century change in distribution of housing east of the city.

Trinity College at the eastern end of College Green had been extended: (Plate VI) it now consisted of three squares, the outer (newest) known as the 'Great Court' being as large as both of the inner. Between the Restoration and 1686 several sets of chambers

were erected at the expense of private individuals on the site of the modern Parliament Square, the 'Great Court' of the 1690s; the new chambers included Baker's buildings, Radcliffe's buildings, Scot's buildings and Alexander's buildings. The front square was closed by the erection of a gate house to complete the 'Great Court'. In 1670 a 'convenient well with pump and cistern' had been made in the centre of the older quadrangle. By the year 1695-96 there were one hundred and forty four hearths in the College; two students occupied each set of chambers so there must have been more than a hundred sets of chambers in addition to those occupied by Fellows and persons of higher standing. Houses in the College were not more than three storeys high and 'the old buildings were extravagantly timbered after the old fashion'. In 1684 some ground which lay east of the buildings was allocated to a bowling green. Gardens of the Fellows and of the Provost were both neatly kept and the bowling green and some 'large parks' provided exercise and amusement for the students.[30] Opposite the College, on the north side of College Green, Chichester House still housed the Parliament when in session; the old building was beginning to fall into decay which was not arrested and this led to its replacement early in the eighteenth century.[31]

The Suburbs

Building on Lazer's Hill had continued after the Restoration. Some very large houses lined the north side of the hill while smaller houses extended east to the coast on both sides of the hill, and also southwards along the west side of the coast road.[32] Commercial activities had already developed in this area: Dunton noted the presence of numerous anchor smiths and two 'glass-houses' (factories) in which production had temporarily ceased owing to scarcity of coal. Glasses made here and in the northern suburbs were 'very fine and clear and not a very great price, a flint glass of about a pint and a half being sold for eight or nine pence'.[33]

From College Green St. Patrick's Well Lane extended east to the coast road south of and almost parallel to the highway of Lazer's Hill, skirting the southern boundary of the grounds of Trinity College. From the Green and Lane two thoroughfares led south to St. Stephen's

Green: between them lay Mynchen's Fields which were still largely if not wholly meadow. Building had already begun on the eastern thoroughfare (now Merrion Street) and also on the western (now Grafton Street).[34]

Building was in progress on the lots surrounding St. Stephen's Green and the area had already become a fashionable residential suburb which included among its inhabitants Carey Monck, the Earl of Roscommon, who lived on the east, Robert Ware, son of Sir James Ware, who lived on the north together with John Heath of Finglas and Henry Petty, Lord Shelbourne. There were also many smaller houses and residents of the district were of mixed social status. Extensive eighteenth century reconstruction left little trace of these seventeenth century residences and the outline of the central square and the street plan are the only features of the initial seventeenth century development which remained relatively unchanged during the succeeding centuries. At the end of the seventeenth century the Green was walled and surrounded by trees. The south walk of St. Stephen's Green seems to have been the most southerly extension of urban development in the area at this time.[35]

To the west Aungier's estate, by now the most fashionable of the new residential areas, was approached by York Street or by Cuffe Street, each a broad new street leading due west from the Green. Most of the houses on Aungier's estate seem to have been large free-standing mansions, especially in the vicinity of the new church of St. Peter.[36] Residents of Aungier's estate included the Earl of Abercorn, Lord Viscount Ross, Lady Ram, Viscount Reading, and Aungier himself, the Earl of Longford.[37] High ranking churchmen had also settled in the neighbourhood - the Archbishop of Tuam, for instance, and the Lord Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh.[38] The area was not uniform in character and smaller houses were probably even then occupied by merchants, tradesmen and humbler folk while a large house on the corner of York Street and Aungier Street, adjacent to the Earl of Abercorn's house, was an inn.[39] The new church of St. Peter occupied a site on the summit of the hill: it too, like the church of St. Andrew, had been transferred to a new and more prominent, central site during the seventeenth century;[40] the old church of St. Peter on the Mount lay in ruins on the declivity to the north.

Aungier's development had also fostered urban growth further to the west where the new Peter Street, opened and developed by Domville, provided access to Bride Street which had also experienced renewal and new development. The church of St. Bride had been reconstructed and extended to serve the neighbourhood.[41] The ancient church of St. Michael-le-Pole with its round tower was still standing but from about this time the buildings were occupied first by a school and later, during the eighteenth century, by an alms house;[42] church services (of the Established Church) were held only in the new church of St. Bridget. /Bride Street and its neighbourhood was quite a fashionable area during the seventeenth century;[43] so much of the seventeenth century building was masked or demolished in the course of eighteenth century reconstruction that it is now difficult to trace the details of its physical character.

On the Meath Estate industries were well established: Dunton described it as 'a large and spacious(suburb) able to furnish out some thousands of brawny weavers and other tradesmen of good reputation and substance, for the greater part of the woollen trade wrought in Dublin is here and a large handsome street called the Coom(be) has little in it more than clothiers' shops and weavers' houses'.[44] Glimpses of these clothiers' and weavers' premises are provided by wills and inventories preserved in the Friends' Meeting House, Eustace Street: indeed these records suggest that much of the early development on the Meath estate, both urban and industrial, was the work of Quakers (or Friends) who had settled in Dublin after the Cromwellian wars.[45] The thriving state of the woollen industry in the 1690s promoted the development of the 'Cloth Workers' Square' (later known as Weavers' Square) which was laid out by Bernard Browne.[46]

/South of the Coombe there was building in progress on Newmarket and in adjoining streets.[47] The extent of building at this time is difficult to determine but it is certain that the streets were laid out well before the beginning of the Williamite wars, for a water supply was then extended to the district by James Edkins following an agreement made with the Earl of Meath,[48] and building probably progressed rapidly once peace was restored. Newmarket and Mill Street were the most southerly streets in this suburb.

North of the Coombe a broad new street was opened parallel to Francis Street: here in Meath Street there were also activities connected with the weaving industry and there were numerous weavers' and clothiers' premises.[49] New houses built at this time on all streets in the Meath estate were mostly brick, gabled houses in the style introduced from Holland by Huguenot immigrants and later known in Dublin as 'Dutch Billies'.

The most extensive suburban change effected since the mid-century was the development north of the Liffey: Dunton considered that 'this part of the city by itself makes a large town almost as large as Southwark'.[50] New streets had been laid out both east and west of the medieval nucleus of settlement and the street network was about as extensive as that in the newer suburbs on the south bank. The extent of building on all of these streets cannot be determined, but the nature of development during the preceding decades suggests that building was sporadic rather than continuous and that many of the large building lots in the east contained one house or perhaps had not yet been developed at all.[51] It is noteworthy that, according to the computations of Captain South[52] there were fewer houses on the north bank of the Liffey than in the parish of St. Nicholas Without: there were 858 in the former and 793 in the latter; so that in spite of extensive street development the north bank had as yet a much smaller population than the south.

The new extensions on the north bank appear to have had few remarkable features: only three evoked special comment from Dunton, namely, the Inns of Court which also housed the Rolls Office, the bowling green and 'an hospital for about sixty boys', the King's Hospital or 'Blew Coat School'.[53] The principal development was the new commercial suburb which lay west of the old nucleus: its central feature, Smithfield, was the principal livestock market for the city and this may have prevented fashionable interest in the locality for, although strict differentiation of land use had not as yet developed in Dublin, a tendency for the upper classes to dissociate themselves where possible from commercial activities was already apparent.

The large new bowling green which had been established by Alderman Tighe after the Restoration was the only thing, according to

PLATE VII



BLEW COAT BOYS HOSPITAL

see appendix

The Blue Coat School

Dunton, in which Dublin equalled or exceeded London. The green was enclosed by walls which were covered with fruit trees; along the southern wall was 'a handsome terrace walk'; south of the bowling green were the riverside pleasure grounds which had been developed on waste ground after the Restoration.[54] Further west on Queen Street, a broad new street leading due north from Ellis's new bridge, was the King's Hospital, the largest and most distinctive building in Oxmantown at this time. Dunton does not mention the Banqueting House which must have either decayed or been demolished for it had been superseded by the banqueting room in the new Tholsel. The King's Hospital (Plate VII) occupied an extensive site on the west side of Queen Street, which comprised two of the original lots laid out on Oxmantown Green in 1664 together with a lot donated by the city for gardens and a curtilage: it had a frontage of one hundred and seventy feet to Queen Street and extended back three hundred feet towards the unenclosed commons. The school buildings occupied three sides of a rectangle of which the fourth was closed by a high wall along Queen Street, in which there was an entrance gate situated directly opposite the door of the school. A chapel occupied the south wing, an infirmary the north, and between them was a large two-storeyed building with attics: a wooden cupola surmounted the vestibule which projected across part of the courtyard which lay between the building and the street.

A large, walled plot of ground west of the Blue Coat School was known as the Palace Garden in reminiscence of the building Ormonde had not erected on this site.[55] The unenclosed commons, then known as the Hospital Green, had become a place of recreation for the citizens. On Arbour Hill, north of the commons, there were large houses described by Dunton as 'very noble piles ... that yield at this day £100 a year rent'.[56]

Deeds registered early in the eighteenth century suggest that in the 1690s renewal and new building were in progress in the older streets in Oxmantown, principally in Church Street.[57] Records of early development on Jervis's holding have not survived but it seems certain that building was in progress on Capel Street and on adjoining streets to the east. Jervis's own residence was on the corner of

Capel Street and Mary Street.[58] Another 'large brick house with stable, brew house, back side and appurtenances' built in Capel Street by Jervis was occupied in 1696 by Sir Richard Pyne.[59] Evidence from memorials of deeds suggests that most houses on Capel Street were large and freestanding, having courtyards and gardens. Putland House and Langland House seem to have been built towards the end of the seventeenth century, the former closing the vista at the northern end of Jervis Street and the latter occupying the central frontage of a street block on Mary Street, of which the corresponding frontage on Jervis Street was then or soon afterwards occupied by Charlemont House, built for the first Lord Charlemont.[60] Commercial development on Jervis's holding lay east of this locality: indeed the type of division or differentiation which existed on the south bank between College Green and Lazy Hill seems also to have been there on Jervis's property, the area east of Liffey Street, then newly reclaimed land, being almost totally commercial while the area west of Liffey Street was residential development of a fairly high standard.

The diverse character of the various suburbs is now apparent. Local differentiation of land use which had begun early in the century tended by this time to affect all areas and it was this, combined with qualities of site and situation which led to suburban differentiation. The eastern suburbs continued to be the principal upper-class residential area; commercial activities had invaded the western fringe of these suburbs but the upper-class residential area had also extended to the south and east, particularly onto Aungier's estate and part of St. Stephen's Green. Similar development was intended for part of Jervis's estate, then the north-eastern suburbs. Commercial activity was dominant in the north-west, west, and south-west, on Oxmantown Green, Thomas Street and James's Street, and in the Meath Liberty where industry was, however, equally important: in fact the south-western suburbs were the only area of which the character was predominantly industrial for it was in here that the only significant industry was located, namely, the weaving industry. Commercial and residential functions were mixed in the southern suburbs and the pattern of distribution of housing which had emerged by the mid-century had persisted with a gradual, general decrease of economic status as one moved westwards from Bride Street.

TABLE III

Housing : 1696

Parish	No. of houses	% of parish total		
		Good	Poor	Waste
St. Audoen	276	75	10	15
St. Michael	147	87	4	9
St. John	301	81	8	11
St. Werburgh	328	85	3	12
St. Nicholas Within	95	94	-	6
St. Nicholas Without	1,035	84	7	9
Sts. Peter & Kevin	425	80	6	14
St. Bridget	425	79	5	16
St. Andrew	663	69	10	21
Sts. Catherine & James	818	79	9	12
St. Michan	1,101	71	12	17
Christ Church Yard	33	73	3	24
Christ Church Liberty	66	61	13	26
Donnybrook	229	80	6	14

Based on 'Enumeration of houses, hearths and people in Dublin, 1695-6' by John South: see Chapter IX, ref. no. 52.

Five bridges spanned the Liffey. The most easterly was Essex Bridge, built in 1676, which served the new eastern suburbs on the north bank. To the west was Arran Bridge which was reconstructed in stone in 1684, for the wooden rails of the first structure were constantly being pulled down at night, rendering the bridge dangerous. It was in lease to Alderman William Watt who was bound to draw the bridge and keep it in repair, and had the right to maintain small shops for selling apples on the bridge provided he did not narrow the thoroughfare.[62] The old bridge was now the central one. To the west were the stone bridge constructed by William Ellis and Bloody Bridge, still the wooden structure erected in 1670.[63]

Housing

The analysis of housing made in 1696 by Captain South gives an interesting picture of Williamite Dublin.[64] South's record is probably numerically deficient but it is assumed that, as in Petty's statistics, the deficiency is relatively constant throughout the built-up area and that South's record indicates fairly reliable patterns of distribution. Three basic categories of houses have been recorded (Table III), namely, 'waste' houses which were uninhabited and ruinous; 'poor' houses which were exempt from tax; and 'good' houses which were subject to tax and varied greatly in size. Almost a quarter of the 5,999 houses were exempt from tax. There were ruinous houses in all parishes, the greatest proportion being in the heart of the walled city, in the Liberty of Christ Church and in Christ Church yard. Houses exempt from tax on grounds of poverty were in all parishes except St.Nicholas Within, the parish which had the smallest proportion of ruinous houses and which, at the Restoration, had had a significant proportion of very large houses, indicating considerable affluence. Poor houses were most numerous in the western and south-western parishes, indicating a high proportion of poor people, a characteristic noted in this area already at the Restoration.

In the analysis of houses and hearths (Table IV) Howell's categories have again been adopted.[65] The striking proponderance of houses with one or two hearths in the Liberty of Christ Church indicates a clustering of poor people in the heart of the walled city, where houses exempt from tax were also numerous. Christ Church Liberty

TABLE IV

Houses and Hearths : 1696

Parish	% of parish total of houses with				
	1 hearth	2 hearths	3 - 5 hearths	6 - 9 hearths	10 + hearths
St. Audoen	10	11	33	32	14
St. Michael	1	5	37	40	17
St. John	4	7	36	39	14
St. Werburgh	2	6	42	36	14
St. Nicholas Within	1	2	33	38	26
St. Nicholas Without	9	24	47	18	3
Sts. Peter & Kevin	9	24	46	18	3
St. Bridget	4	13	46	33	4
St. Andrew	6	18	46	24	6
Sts. Catherine & James	12	20	39	25	5
St. Michan	9	12	31	37	11
Christ Church Yard	9	15	37	30	9
Christ Church Liberty	66	19	12	1	1
Donnybrook	53	30	14	2	1

Based on South's enumeration: see Chapter IX, ref.no. 52.

contrasted markedly with the adjacent parish of St. Michael which had the smallest proportion of small houses. In the extra-mural parishes small houses seem to have been most numerous in the western suburbs. The parish of St. Nicholas Without is noteworthy, for besides the relatively high proportion of houses with one or two hearths, there were also 208 houses with only three hearths, indicating a significant concentration of people whose standard of living seems barely to have attained subsistence level. There had been some change, however, in the district, for whereas there had been no notable inhabitants in the mid-century, by 1696 there were thirty-one houses with ten hearths or more, indicating owners or occupiers who had considerable wealth. These were probably clotheirs or weavers.

Great houses of the wealthy were found in all parishes.[66] There were some even in the predominantly poor Liberty of Christ Church. The greatest absolute number of large houses was in the parish of St. Michan which comprised the entire settlement on the north bank. There had been a striking increase in the total number of houses on the north bank since the mid-century and the number of large houses suggests that a considerable proportion of the population was wealthy. It should be noted, however, that in view of the great increase in housing on the north bank, St. Michan's was divided into three soon after South's enumeration was made, and so the average number of large houses in each of the three new parishes would not have been great. In the walled city residences of the wealthy who still remained inside the city walls seem to have been scattered fairly evenly among the parishes. In the western suburbs most of the large houses seem to have been in the Meath Liberty, either in the vicinity of the Abbey of Thomas Court or in the Coombe where a prosperous weaving quarter was developing. In the eastern suburbs the pattern which had emerged at the Restoration had persisted while the number of very large houses in St. Peter's parish had increased owing to the development of Aungier's estate.

The most striking feature of South's entire analysis is the undoubted preponderence of houses which had between three and nine hearths, whose occupants seem to have had a fairly comfortable

standard of living and some of whom must, in fact, have been fairly wealthy. The highest proportion of these houses was in St. Bridget's parish which comprised most of the southern suburbs. In all other parishes, except Donnybrook which was largely rural, about three-quarters of the houses belonged to these categories. This seems to indicate the emergence of a strong middle class which was probably engaged in trade and industry and it reflects the economic buoyancy which preceded and followed the Williamite wars.

South's record of housing therefore suggests that in 1696 the vast majority of the population of Dublin probably had a comfortable standard of living, that affluence had considerably increased since the mid-century, and that houses of all types were relatively well mixed in all parts of the city and suburbs, except perhaps in the heart of the walled city. Although suburban differentiation had begun, it was based on urban functions rather than on the site and character of housing. This record also confirms the impression that economic recovery in Dublin was very rapid after the Williamite wars and that disturbances which resulted either from changes made during the reign of James II or from the war left no permanent imprint on the city and the interruption in the growth of the urban economy must have been relatively slight.

Markets

Until the Restoration the walled city had continued to dominate the commercial life of the city: by the end of the century this dominance had been broken. Dispersal began soon after the Restoration and within three decades a new pattern had emerged. The change was both instigated and implemented by developers and although not made according to any general, pre-conceived plan the change undoubtedly benefited the city. Markets had ceased to obstruct the various thoroughfares of the walled city, for permanent sites and stalls had been provided by the city or its assigns

in the various designated locations.[67] New markets were established in the southern suburbs by William Williams, in the lands of Tib and Tom,[68] and by the Earl of Roscommon in Lazer's Hill;[69] although a market was authorised for Aungier's estate[70] there is no evidence that it was actually established. The most radical change was the transfer of the principal city markets to the Pill:[71] this, combined with the principal livestock market on Smithfield, helped to promote urban development on the north bank of the Liffey and thereby to bring about a more balanced pattern of urban development.

Although the principal markets were transferred to the Pill the old city was still served by local markets. Following a special survey of the city's markets made in 1684 shops and stalls then in Fishamble Street and in St. Patrick Street were found not to obstruct the streets and they were also judged to be sufficient to supply the needs of the inhabitants of these neighbourhoods.[72] Newhall market continued to serve the western streets of the old city.[73] A site outside St. James's Gate was provided for the sale of Kilkenny coals and other articles.[74] A market house in St. Werburgh Street, erected soon after the Restoration, was enlarged in 1674 by adding waste ground at the rere to the site and rebuilding the house.[75]

The character of the markets changed as well as the pattern of distribution, for municipal regulations governed the provision of certain facilities on each site. In William Street, for instance, (on the lands of Tib and Tom), seats and fixed stalls were provided in the new market by the corporation for sale of butter and cheese, and the sale of fish was permitted only in the shops.[76] The proprietors of the new markets on the Pill, Sir John Davies and John Quelch, were bound to flag the area, to provide pumps, conduits and other conveniences, to keep the market clean and fresh, and to provide seats for the vendors.[77] A proposal made in 1684 to develop a new market on Ormonde Quay as the main fish market of the city was vetoed by the city council since it would obstruct free circulation on the quayside: instead it was decided to enlarge the existing markets, the Ormonde markets on the Pill, by a further twenty feet in breadth.[78]

The limited nature of markets established at this time helped to preserve the residential character of the newer suburbs: while the

service provided satisfied the usual requirements of householders, it also helped to relieve congestion in the old city by dispersing these activities through the suburbs. These changes have continued to influence the morphology of the city until the twentieth century.

New markets were also established in the suburbs which lay outside the jurisdiction of the city. A market near St. Patrick's Cathedral served the Liberty of St. Sepulchre.[79] The market on the Meath estate was Newmarket which was probably the principal wool market for the city as well as being a general market for the neighbourhood.[80]

Industries

Industrial development contributed much to suburban differentiation. Although industry was domestic, located in the workers' and industrialists' houses rather than in special buildings other than mills, and although there was industry, however small the concerns, in all parts of the city except the eastern and south-eastern suburbs, a predominantly industrial sector had nevertheless already emerged in the south-west and in the west. The location of the weaving industry and of the greater part of the brewing and distilling industries in the west and south-west was determined by the plentiful supply of water in these suburbs which were in fact surrounded by streams: a stream flowed along Thomas Street, another along the Coombe to join a branch of the Poddle near St. Patrick's Cathedral, and a branch from the stream on St. Thomas Street flowed eastwards and downslope towards Nicholas Street where it joined the Poddle. It was not difficult to install piped water to new premises in the areas near these water supplies.

A wide variety of activities existed in the weaving trade which was still almost entirely a woollen industry. Although it was a domestic industry it was developing a complex organisation which became more elaborate as the industry developed. There were both large concerns and small and the thriving state of the industry is illustrated by inventories of clothiers' possessions which were made in the 1690s. A clothier who died in 1699 had a house and shop in Meath Street. The shop had two large looms, one harness, warping

cards, combs and various materials; rooms in the house, which are also described in the inventory, included the 'blue room, the parlour, the middle room, and the kitchen'. The list suggests that this clothier had a small concern and indeed he might have been regarded simply as a weaver for the list seems very meagre compared to the inventory taken of Henry Flower's possessions when he died in 1700.[81] Flower seems to have had a very large business and to have employed other spinners and weavers as well. On his own premises he had a weaving shop, a dyeing shop, and a street shop which had a large and varied stock of materials. In the garrets of his house he had fleeces of wool weighing approximately 192 stones, thirty stone of broken clothing wool, six stone of base wool, two stone of coloured wool and there were also twenty stone of clothing wool in the cock loft. Flower also had various goods in the hands of other workers (termed 'goods abroad' in the inventory) - some serge at a dyer's; both serge and other stuff at the presser's, broadcloth at the burler's; some mixed goods at the weaver's and fifty balls of combed wool in the hands of spinners. Henry Flower was a large'clothier' in the true west of England sense of the word. Joseph Deane, a shearman had both a shear shop and a weaving shop; in the former there were nine pairs of shears, handles and boards; in the latter there was a broad loom, a narrow loom, combs, bales of comb work, bales of worsted, serges, broadcloth, satin, crimson serge and frieze. Deane also had a pair of tenters.

These inventories demonstrate the character of the various activities connected with the woollen industry before legislative restrictions impeded further development. There were probably many other concerns as large as Henry Flower's and indeed there may have been many larger: Anthony Sharpe was reputed to be the largest employer in the late 1670s and his industry probably continued to grow until the end of the century.

By 1685 there were several thousand workers in Dublin engaged in spinning and carding wool;[82] once peace was restored after the Williamite wars the industry continued to grow until restrictions were imposed by Parliament. The largest item among exports in the 1680s was wool and friezes. Besides the legitimate exports to England there was also a considerable export of friezes to France and the Low Countries.

During the 1690s both industry and trade continued to grow.

Building and construction provided employment and also fostered allied industries. Brickfields seem to have been located near newly opened streets: one was established near Weaver's Square, for instance, probably by Bernard Browne. Another was situated between Drogheda Street and Henry Street. Lime Kilns must have been numerous and there must have been many quarries and gravel or sand pits in use, all of which were built over during the succeeding growth phase.[83]

Brewing and distilling provided much employment. Most, though not all, breweries and distilleries were in the western suburbs, mostly along Thomas Street and St.James's Street, taking advantage of the plentiful supply of water. Petty estimated that in the 1680s there were 1,180 ale-houses supplied by ninety-one brewers.[84] With the growth of population in the 1690s these numbers would probably have increased.

The only industry for which special buildings were constructed about this time seems to have been the glass industry, indeed, Gomme indicates the location of a 'glass-house' near Lazer's Hill already in 1673. In 1698 Dunton commented on the glass industry which at that time seems not to have been successful for the 'fires were out for want of coal'.[85] However, although these special buildings were constructed during the seventeenth century, the principal development of the glass industry in Dublin dates from the eighteenth century.

Despite physical obstacles in the channel and estuary Dublin's overseas trade continued to grow. Petty estimated that in 1685 Dublin was responsible for 40 per cent of the total customs revenue and in the 1690s trade continued to grow and revenue must consequently have increased. Most of the trade was with England. Coal, drapery, hops and tobacco were among the largest imports. Much of the coal came from Whitehaven where in the 1680s colliery masters kept a fleet of sixty ships to supply the Dublin market. In all, over 30,000 tons of coal were imported in 1685.[86] Dublin was by far the greatest consumer and consumption must have increased during the 1690s.

Population

The population of Dublin had increased considerably since the Restoration and its composition had changed. Further changes followed the Williamite wars. Statistics on which to base estimates of population and on which to base comparisons are more numerous for the second half of the seventeenth century than for the first but the evidence itself must be assessed before using it to make comparisons. The amended figure suggested for the population of Dublin at the Restoration was about twenty thousand. According to the estimates of Captain South there were 40,508 persons in Dublin in January 1696.[87] This total is reputed to include those who were resident in institutions. It suggests that the population had doubled since the Restoration. However, South does not give any explanation of the method used by him in making calculations and therefore there is no evidence on which to base modifications of this total. Apart from inherent deficiencies of the records and calculations on which this total for Williamite Dublin is based, the comparison with the estimate for 1660 needs qualification. An attempt was made in this study to include all urbanised areas listed in the 'Census' of 1659; the parishes listed by South include those which extended outside the county of the city; therefore the totals are broadly comparable. However, South does not include any figure for the Liberty of St. Patrick although he lists both Christ Church Yard and the Liberty of Christ Church. The population of the Liberty of St. Patrick may have been included either with the united parishes of Sts. Peter and Kevin, or more probably with the parish of St. Nicholas Without, in which case the totals are comparable, but the omission referred to demonstrates once more the difficulty of arriving at accurate assessments of population from the records available and the need to analyse and to qualify totals of population before making comparisons.

The great increase of population in the second half of the seventeenth century is recorded also by Sir William Petty, who made calculations based both on the number of houses in the city and on the bills of mortality. During the period 1682 to 1687 burials were consistently over 2,000 per annum; Petty calculated that deaths numbered one in thirty of the population and according to this

calculation the population of the city and suburbs before the Williamite wars was probably about sixty thousand. Calculations based on housing for the same period would give a total population of a little over fifty thousand.[88] Petty thought that the totals registered for housing were deficient; a modern writer has suggested that Petty's own general calculations were highly deficient;[89] therefore the larger figure of sixty thousand seems more probable for the total population of the city and suburbs in the years before the war and indeed it may even be considered a conservative estimate. If Petty's totals are deficient, then South's estimate must be highly deficient if not simply erroneous, for Dublin's population increased after the war, both through immigration and through the migration of dispossessed catholics to the city where they engaged in trade and commerce. Complaints made by the Corporation of Tailors in 1696[90] indicate a great increase in the numbers of catholics engaged in tailoring, and if catholics sought employment in trades controlled by the guilds they must also have been employed in trades which were not so controlled, such as the provision trade. If Petty's larger pre-war estimate of population is correct then the population of Dublin in the 1690s must have numbered about seventy thousand or more. Butlin suggests that the population had already increased to c. 70,000 by the early 1680s.[91] Whatever the precise total may have been the striking feature of a remarkable increase since the 1660s is beyond question. Moreover, an increase of more than 40,000 in less than thirty years in a city whose total population had been c. 20,000 is really quite extraordinary. The physical development of the city during these three decades was also quite extraordinary and it indicates the essential truth of the estimates of population.

The population had increased through immigration as well as through natural increase. Since 1662 the immigration of protestant merchants and craftsmen had been encouraged by legislation and large numbers of immigrants came to the city, some attracted by the possibility of establishing industries, some, like the Huguenots, in search of religious freedom. A community of Quakers established after the Cromwellian invasion had continued to increase during the 1660s and the 1670s and it has been estimated that there were about two hundred families of Quakers in Dublin in the latter half of the seventeenth century.[92] Huguenots had begun to settle in Dublin in

the 1660s for in 1665 they were granted the use of St.Mary's Chapel in St. Patrick's Cathedral for a period of twenty one years. During the ensuing decade the community increased in numbers and a further influx of Huguenots came in the 1680s following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.[93] Immigrant Huguenots came mostly from western France and many who settled in Dublin had served in William's army, for four regiments of French Huguenots were disbanded in Ireland. Unlike the Quakers who engaged mostly if not entirely in trade and industry, the Huguenot community was not entirely industrial; many immigrants had realised assets and brought their fortunes to Ireland and they undertook commerce or banking in Dublin; there were also many Huguenot immigrants who had a very low standard of education and so there were probably Huguenots in all ranks of society. Their contribution to the commercial and industrial development of the period was considerable for they founded the silk industry, fostered other industries, founded private banks and generally promoted urban development. Huguenots were both conformists and non-conformists. Those who conformed participated fully in civic affairs and in public life and many of the families which were established in Dublin in this period helped to determine the course of urban development in later years and many were also prominent in politics. The most prominent of these families were La Touche, Barre, Blaquiere, and D'Olier.[94]

English immigrants were concerned not only with industrial affairs but also with all aspects of urban, political and administrative life. Irish migrants probably formed the major part of the labour force required by the extensive building and construction of the 1670s and 1680s. During the 1690s, as noted above, catholics also engaged in increasing numbers in the various trades. It has been suggested that Irish catholics numbered one third of the population of Dublin in the 1680s:[95] the proportion probably increased when peace had been restored after the Williamite wars.

Estates

Significant changes in ownership affecting extensive areas of land had taken place since the Restoration and yet Dublin was still on the eve of the most important phase of change in land-holding which

DUBLIN • 1691

ESTATES

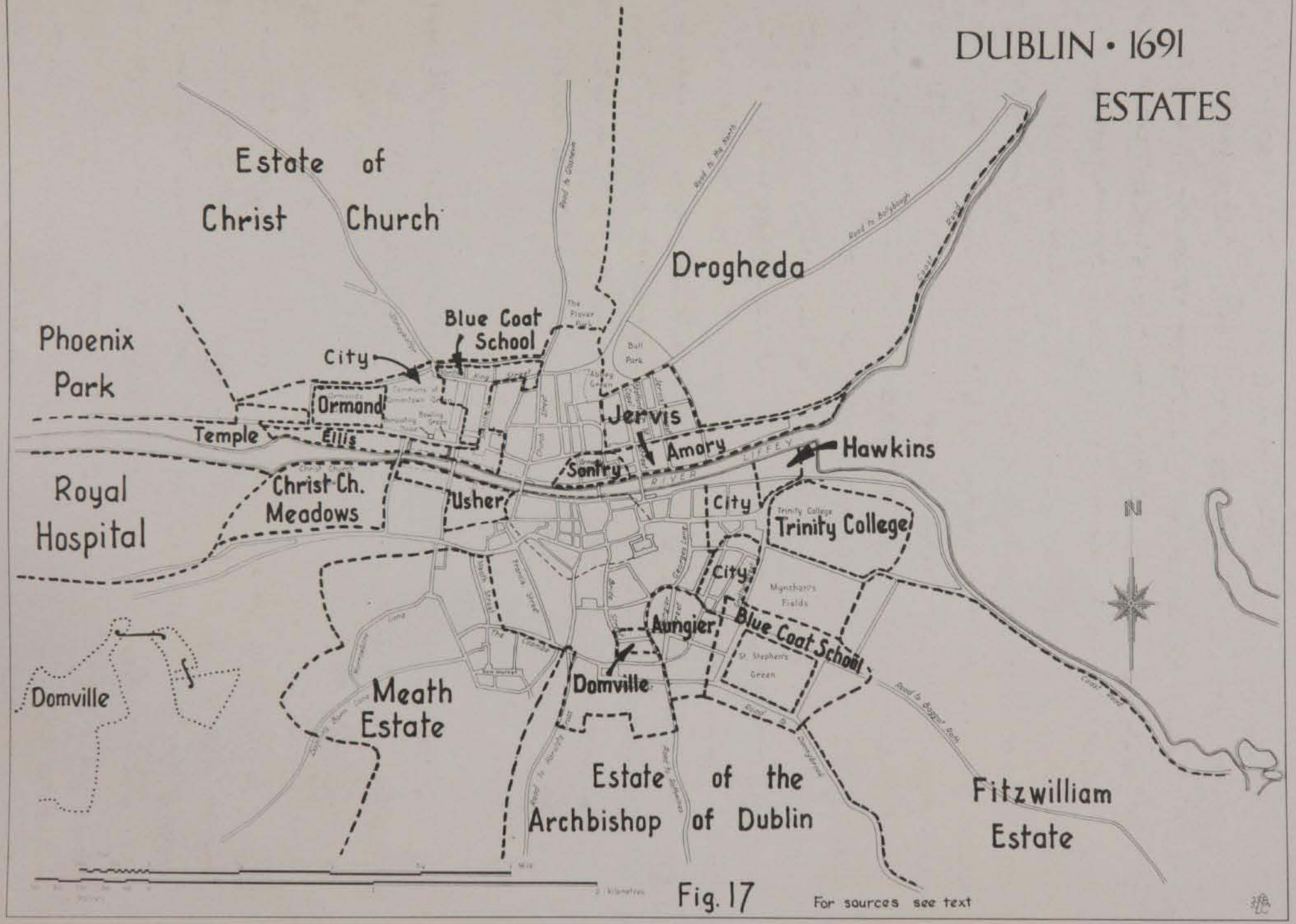


Fig. 17

For sources see text

affected the physical growth of the city. The most important basic change , already effected by 1691, was the emergence of private estates on which conditions of tenure favoured or at least permitted urban development (Fig. 17). Changes made on the municipal estate had affected the most extensive areas of land. The building lots on St. Stephen's Green and on Oxmantown Green had been leased by the city in fee farm in the years 1663 to 1666.[96] The development of this land had been planned as a supplementary source of income for the Corporation; however, shortly after the establishment of the Blue Coat School the income derived from all these building lots was transferred to the Blue Coat School as a donation from the city.[97] The grant was not stated to be terminable and although the Corporation retained the title deeds, the lots laid out after the Restoration have since 1669 been regarded as the estate of the Blue Coat School. The strand on the north shore of the Liffey estuary had been leased by the Corporation to Jonathan Amory[98] and to William Ellis[99]: these leases were granted for long but terminable terms of years and although the original ground rent was scarcely more than nominal, it was apparently envisaged that the benefits of improvement would ultimately accrue to the Corporation. Since the principal lease terminates in 1974 the Corporation can claim the right to ownership of the ground. This case presents an interesting problem in the light of the Landlord and Tenant (Ground Rents) Act of 1966.

On the estate of St. Mary's Abbey a large holding of 28 acres was in lease for a term of 500 years to Humphrey Jervis who had already laid out a street system and some building lots.[100] The remainder of the estate of St. Mary's Abbey was held in fee simple by the Earl of Drogheda subject to leases in being when the estate was granted by James I.[101] Most of this estate seems to have been leased for short terminable terms of years but there were exceptions. Jervis's leasehold had, in the sixteenth century, been in possession of Robert Piphoe: it is not certain that the Earl of Drogheda could claim even the right of reversion for this land. Two exceptions which also pose problems which have not yet been solved were the lands of Ballybough which were purchased from the Commissioners of Forfeited Estates by Sir John Eccles[102] and two large parcels of land lying between Ballybough Lane and Drumcondra Lane which were acquired

in the same manner by Christopher Dominick[103]; both of these holdings must originally have been part of the estate of St. Mary's Abbey.

The formation of the Phoenix Park had important consequences for the city, for it excluded an extensive tract of land from any possibility of urban development and, together with the seven acres granted by the city to Ormonde, it restricted westward suburban development and consequently promoted eastward development with concomitant extensive reclamation. During the 1690s further changes were made in ownership and in conditions of tenure. Land was acquired by speculators and urban development was undertaken by speculators rather than by those who held land during the seventeenth century or their descendants.

Conclusion

At the end of the seventeenth century Dublin was a growing, prosperous city in which new, developing suburbs were far more extensive than the medieval core. The extraordinary urban growth which had characterised the post-Restoration decades was consolidated and extended during the 1690s. Industries expanded and provided increasing opportunities for employment. The population continued to grow, evidently through migration as much as through natural increase: in fact, much of the city's prosperity was based on the wealth of immigrants who came to the city in growing numbers and Irish catholic migrants were numerous also. None of the evidence suggests that there was poverty to any marked degree in the city. Indeed, throughout the seventeenth century visitors to the city seem always to have been impressed by its general prosperity; the poorer classes must have been numerous but there was plenty of employment while urban and industrial growth continued and consequently there must have been relatively little destitution. Dublin was growing and prosperous but it did not reflect the life of the country at large. It seems to have been the only city in which a new form of urbanism was developing, if we except the plantation towns of the north. It was the capital city of a predominantly catholic country and yet both government and administration were in the hands of protestants who retained control throughout the eighteenth century.

References and Footnotes

1. Phillips' survey, B.M.K.Top.LIII, 10.

2. Anc. Rec., V, 58-59; 237.

3. Gomme's Survey (1673); Phillips's survey (1685): Hawkins's ground was already reclaimed by the time these surveys were made

4. R.I.A. MS 3 C 24, Report of the Committee appointed by the General Assembly of January 1711-12 to inspect Mr.John Mercer's affairs relating to the Ballast Office.

5. Anc. Rec., V, 246-47.

6. Unless otherwise stated, descriptions in this chapter are based on John Dunton's writing: 'Letters', in Edward Mac Lysaght, Irish Life in the Seventeenth Century: after Cromwell (2nd edition, Cork, 1939), 375-90, from Rawlinson MSS, D 71, Bodleian Library, Oxford; The Dublin Scuffle (London, 1699); The Life and Errors of John Dunton, citizen of London ... to which are added Dunton's conversation in Ireland (London, 1818) Dunton's arrival in Dublin, Dublin Scuffle, 1-5.

7. Dunton's Letters. The extent of Ringsend is seen on two manuscript maps recently discovered in the Pembroke Estate Office: 1692/3, Ja.Cullen, 'Baggotrath Marsh and the Strand ... between Ringsend and Lazie Hill .. '; 1706, Ja. Cullen, [Ringsend and Irishtown].

8. Dunton's Letters.

9. cf. Jouvin de Rochefort cited in chapter V.

10. Anc. Rec., V, 257, 267; Dunton's letters; N.L.I. MS 329, 'Observations in a voyage through the kingdom of Ireland. Being a collection of several Monuments, Inscriptions, draughts of Towns, Castles etc.', T.D. [Thomas Dineley]. The description cited here is based principally on Dunton's Letters.

11. Simms, 'Dublin in 1685', I.H.S., XIV (1965), 219.

12. Dimensions of the Tholsel are given by Evans, Ir. Builder XXXI (1889), 142; dimensions of the elevation in N.L.I.MS 392 reproduced in Plate IV.

13. Craig, Dublin, 58-67.

14. Drawings by Francis Place, Civic Museum, South William Street, Dublin, suggest that the tower and spire were completed at a later date; J.Maher, 'Francis Place in Dublin' R.S.A.I.Jn. LXII (1932), 1-14.

15. Dunton's Letters in Mac Lysaght, Ir.Life after Cromwell, 380.

16. The date of demolition of each of the city gates is not recorded

Ctd.

16. in the Assembly Rolls. Dame's Gate was still standing in 1699 Anc. Rec., VI, 222) and both Newgate and St.James's Gate were still standing during the eighteenth century: both were removed by the Wide Streets Commissioners.

17. Dunton, Dublin Scuffle, 325-26

18. Dunton's Letters in Mac Lysaght, Ir.Life after Cromwell, 383.

19. Ir. Builder, XXXI (1889), 166.

20. Minutes, C.W.S., I, 203-09: 14 Sept. 1764, memorial of Anthony Perry, master of Lucas's Coffee House, part of Cork House.

21. Minutes, C.W.S., II, 186: 14 April 1779, being a summary of evidence given during the valuation by Jury of premises on the south side of Dame Street.

22. Minutes, C.W.S., II, 228: 4 May 1779, citing deeds of lease and release dated 14 & 15 July 1682.

23. Minutes, C.W.S., III, 242: 28 May 1781, citing deeds of John Crow and Thomas Pilkington.

24. N.L.I. 16 G 16 (4), 'A survey of the waste ground fronting to the west of the College on College Green near the City of Dublin surveyed ... 20 April 1683, Jo. Green, City Surveyor.'

25. Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland, 1669-1670; with addenda 1625-70. Ed. Robert Pentland Mahaffy (London 1910),248.

26. Ibid., 249.

27. Anc. Rec., V, 58; VI, 583; 'Survey ... of part of the strand lying between the river Liffey and Lazy Hil ... 15 May 1683, Jo. Greene, City Surveyor', deed map attached to lease from the City of Dublin to Phillip Crofts, 1683, P.R.O.I.

28. Anc. Rec., V, 261. Lease-map (undated) is reproduced in Halliday, Scandinavian ... Dublin to face 163.

29. Dunton's Letters in Mac Lysaght, Ir.Life after Cromwell, 379. Falkiner, Illustrations, 177-79.

30. Stubbs, University of Dublin, 124-25, 143-44; N.L.I. MS 392.

31. Curran in Hall, Bank of Ireland, 425.

32. Gomme's survey, 1673.

33. Dunton's Letters in Mac Lysaght, Ir.Life after Cromwell,378.

34. Gomme's survey, 1673.

35. Gomme's survey, 1673; Geo. Soc. Rec., II, 45, 48-49, 62-68, 112, citing deeds.

36. This conclusion is based on evidence from memorials of deeds, registered in the 1720s, listed in Registry of Deeds, Lands Index Dublin City, 1708-38, e.g. memorials nos. 52-532-35609; 48-82-30727; 40-418-26583; and on 'Valuations in the parishes of St. Peter and St.Kevin, Dublin: 1667-1723', N.L.I. MS 5230.

37. Register of the parish of St.Peter and St.Kevin, Dublin, 1669-1761, passim.

38. Reg. Deeds. mems. nos. 42-72-25700; 42-423-26873; 42-437-26963.

39. Reg. Deeds. Mem. No. 14-173-6001.

40. 'Parish Records', T.C.D. MS 2062.

41. Reg. Deeds. Lands Index, Dublin City, 1708-38, and miscellaneous memorials; statutes 17 & 18 Charles II, chap. xiv, preamble; 'Parish Records', T.C.D. MS 2063.

42. [Evans], Ir. Builder, XXXVII (1895), 181-82; 195 citing records of St. Bridget's parish and leases.

43. [Evans], Ir. Builder, XXXVIII (1896), 4, 20, citing Registers and vestry Books of St. Bridget's.

44. Dunton's Letters in Mac Lysaght, Ir.Life after Cromwell, 385.

45. Friends' Meeting House, Eustace St., Dublin, MSS D4 and D5, passim. Inventories list properties in the Liberties which were held, built or developed by various Quakers; they also include inventories of many business premises.

46. M.E.O. Abstract of Leases granted by Bernard Browne (undated), being loose leaves inserted in Abstracts of Leases, Vol.I, which records leases granted by the Earl of Meath to Bernard Browne. The property held by Browne is illustrated by Armstrong's map of part of the Meath Liberty, 1650.

47. M.E.O. Abstracts of Leases and some miscellaneous indentures.

48. M.E.O. Documents No.99, Agreement between William, Earl of Meath and James Edkins re waterpipes in the Liberties of Dublin, 1682 A.D. (Seventeenth century abstract: the original deed is not available).

49. Friends' Meeting House, MS D4, D5, various wills and inventories.

50. Dunton's Letters in Mac Lysaght, Ir.Life after Cromwell, 388-89.

51. The street pattern can be seen on B.M. K. Top. LIII, 10 [Survey of Dublin; 1685, by Thomas Phillips]; Reg. Deeds, mems. nos. 11-316-4606; 2-532-615.

52. Captain South, 'An Account of the Houses and Hearths in Dublin for ... 1695/6, 1696/7'; 'An Account of the number of people in the ... city of Dublin .... 1695/6', Philosophical Transactions XXII, (1700-01), 518-22; Arc. Rec., VI, 575-78, citing

Ctd.

52. Southwell MSS; a MS copy of the returns, T.C.D. MS I, i,2, fol. 83 omits the column for 29 houses. Captain South has not explained either the source of the returns on the basis of his computations and it is therefore impossible to modify or even critically to assess these returns.

53. Dunton's Letters in Mac Lysaght, Ir.Life after Cromwell, 388-89. Falkiner, Blue Coat School, 69-70.

54. Dunton's Letters in Mac Lysaght, Ir. Life after Cromwell, 388.

55. Anc. Rec., IV, 358; Gomme's survey, 1673.

56. Dunton's Letters in Mac Lysaght, Ir.Life after Cromwell,399.

57. These conclusions are based on entries in Lands Index, Dublin City, 1708-38, Registry of Deeds, Dublin.

58. Reg. Deeds, mem. no. 11-316-4606.

59. Reg. Deeds, mem. no. 2-532-615.

60. Geo. Soc. Rec., I, 4-6; IV, 38-39.

61. Anc. Rec., VI, 583-85.

62. Anc. Rec., V, 350-51; VI, 587-88.

63. Anc. Rec., IV, 536-37; V, 237.

64. See no. 52 above.

65. Howell, 'Hearth Tax Returns', History, XLIX (1964), 42-45.

66. cf. Butlin, 'Population of Dublin in the late seventeenth century', Irish Geography, V, 51-66. The writer does not agree with Butlin's assertion that the poor congregated mainly on the outskirts of the city.

67. Anc. Rec., V, 328-342.

68. Anc. Rec., V, 342.

69. Anc. Rec., V, 428.

70. Anc. Rec., V, 286.

71. Anc, Rec., V, 302, 313; VI, 594.

72. Anc. Rec., V, 302-03.

73. Anc. Rec., V, 163; 413.

74. Anc. Rec., V, 445.

75. Anc. Rec., IV, 511; V, 29.

76. Anc. Rec., V, 305, 342.

77. Anc. Rec., V, 328.

78. Anc. Rec., V, 302, 313.

79. Jouvin de Rochefort in Falkiner, Illustrations, 414.

80. The charter granted by Charles II to the Earl of Meath, 1674, authorised a general market. cf. J.J.Webb, Industrial Dublin since 1698 and the Silk Industry in Dublin (Dublin, 1913), 6.

81. Friends' Meeting House, MS D 4, page 89, the Last Will of Jno. Steevens of Meath Street, clothier, 4 Jan. 1699; pages 100-05, the Will of Henry Flower of the city of Dublin, clothier, with inventory 6 Feb. 1700; page 54, inventory of Joseph Deane, shearman, 27 June, 1694.

82. J.G.Simms, 'Dublin in 1685', I.H.S., XIV (1965), 216 citing Clarendon Correspondence, I, 321, 528.

83. The location of brickfields and quarries is indicated on Rocque's map (1756).

84. Sir William Petty, Tracts: chiefly relating to Ireland (Dublin, 1769), 309.

85. Dunton's Letters in Mac Lysaght, Ir. life after Cromwell, 378.

86. Simms, op.cit., 218, citing B.M.Add. MS 4759 which includes detailed figures for exports and imports of the chief Irish ports for 1683-86.

87. See no. 52 above.

88. The Economic Writings of Sir William Petty together with the Observations upon the Bills of Mortality more probably by Captain John Graunt. Ed. Charles Henry Hull. (2 vols. Cambridge, 1899), II, 498.

89. K.H.Connell, The Population of Ireland, 1750-1845 (Oxford,1950), 260.

90. Cal. S. P. Ire. 1696, 144.

91. Butlin, Irish Geography, V, 57.

92. Grubb, Quakers in Ireland, 36.

93. Samuel Smiles, The Huguenots: their settlements, churches and industries in England and Ireland (6th edition, London, 1889), 293-94.

94. Registers of the French Conformed Churches of St. Patrick and St. Mary, Dublin, ed. J.J.Digges La Touche (London, 1893), i-v; Registers of the French Non-Conformist Churches of Lucy Lane and Peter Street, Dublin, ed. Thomas Philip Le Fanu (Aberdeen, 1901), ix-xiii.

95. Simms, op.cit., 217 citing B.M. Add. MS 28053, f.386.

96. Anc. Rec., IV, 297-303; 323-29.

97. Anc. Rec., IV, 485-87.

98. Anc. Rec., V, 58-59.

99. Anc. Rec., V, 237; 264-65; 350.

100. Anc. Rec., VI, 595; Reg. Deeds, mem. no. 115-133-79910.

101. Chartul. St. Mary's, Dublin, II, liii-lix.

102. Reg. Deeds, mem. no. 29-261-17142.

103. Reg. Deeds, mem. no. 159-59-105982.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SECOND PERIOD

THE SECOND PHASE: 1691 - 1727

The peace which followed the Williamite wars marked the beginning of a new period of Irish history. In Dublin it was the beginning of a new urban growth-phase which comprised the decades 1691 to 1727, the second stage of the Renaissance period. It was not the beginning of a new period of development, however, for no significant new concepts of urban design were introduced. Development followed trends which had already emerged during the seventeenth century: in fact, many projects which were completed during this phase had been started or at least planned during the preceding decades, and, moreover, the form of new projects initiated during this phase derived from seventeenth century development. Politically the phase was distinguished by the entrenchment of the protestant minority ruling class which dominated urban activities during the rest of the century. Urban development was characterised by the voluntary co-ordination of planning by independent private developers and by recognition of the need for centralised control of civic amenities.

Growth Determinants

When peace was restored after the Williamite wars there was a great resurgence of activity in Dublin with the resumption of social and economic activities which had been interrupted but not destroyed by the war. Urban growth was encouraged by complex interacting influences which derived from political, social and economic conditions and these resulted from changes brought by the war. The entrenchment and consequent security of the protestant minority land-owning class was assured by legislation and security helped to foster the development of court life and of social activities. Although the viceroy was not at this time permanently resident in Ireland more regular and prolonged sessions of parliament began to ensure his presence and that of his court for long periods, and Dublin gradually developed a 'season'

which attracted the landed gentry to the city and fostered migration to Dublin instead of seasonal emigration or total absenteeism in England. Although many of the upper class continued to go to London or to Bath 'for the season' Dublin society soon attained a reputation for gaiety and splendour which it maintained until the passing of the Act of Union in 1800.

During the last decade of the seventeenth century Parliament passed legislation which curtailed industrial expansion. Then it demonstrated its power by rejecting a bill and assured to itself continuing power and the need to meet more frequently by not increasing hereditary revenue and granting instead, for a limited period, additional duties which required renewal by Parliament. This resulted in more regular and frequent meetings of that legislative body. For Dublin this meant an increased demand for housing.

The exclusively protestant character of Parliament had already been extablished in practice during the reign of Charles II: it was now made absolute by requiring from all members a declaration which was against distinctively Roman catholic doctrines thus effectively and permanently excluding catholics who formed the vast majority of the population of the country. Moreover, protestant dissenters were excluded in 1704 by the introduction of the sacramental test clause and from this time membership of Parliament and of municipal councils remained open only to members of the Established Church thereby confining all power to a small minority, the Protestant Ascendancy.

Since the ruling class was a small minority it was necessary for it to maintain a strong standing army. Hitherto armies had been maintained only to fight imminent wars and they were generally quartered among the town-dwellers. Legislation passed in 1704 authorised temporary continuance of this practice while sites were acquired to build suitable barracks.[1] In Dublin the site on Oxmantown Green which had not been used by Ormonde was allocated to the barracks.[2] The influence on urban growth exercised in times of peace by this large army was considerable: the army required provisions, clothing and entertainment and many of the officers also built or rented houses in the city.

The Church of Ireland was the recognised State Church since the Reformation but obligatory attendance at it was not enforced. Indeed such attendance could not be enforced in Dublin for the churches were neither numerous nor large enough to accommodate all the population. The entrenchment of the Protestant Ascendancy now led to the building of new churches. The re-organisation of parishes which began in the 1680s continued in the 1690s and in the early years of the eighteenth century until each new suburb had a parish church. Both Parliament and speculators encouraged church-building: following Aungier's example speculators donated sites for new churches in new suburbs.

Immigrants contributed much to the development of trade and industry. Three French regiments of William's army were disbanded in Ireland and many of the officers decided to settle in Dublin. Immigration of protestant merchants and artisans was encouraged by legislation. The Huguenot community increased; Huguenot immigrants founded the silk industry in Dublin, and others fostered the linen industry.[3] Weavers continued to migrate from western England during the last decade of the seventeenth century: they were attracted by cheap local raw materials and labour. Former Williamite officers engaged in the glass industry. The industrial development encouraged migration from the country to Dublin and in its train employment-induced migration brought an influx of beggars. This increased poverty and congestion among the lower classes early in the eighteenth century and the miserable condition of the poor led to the foundation of voluntary hospitals and institutions.

The apparent stability of political and social life fostered speculation in residential building. Although confiscation of property after the Williamite wars was inconsiderable in Dublin and in the adjacent Liberties the general confiscations influenced Dublin indirectly through widespread speculation in land and in houses. The demand for residential building was increased not only by those directly associated with the court, with Parliament and with central administration but also by numerous place-seekers, planters who migrated from their acquired lands to Dublin seeking further fortune. The combined demands of disbanded Williamite soldiers, immigrants and migrants created a certain overproduction in house-building and this

brought financial difficulties towards the end of the phase.

Ireland recovered with remarkable rapidity after the Williamite wars and Dublin's economy recovered with even greater rapidity than the rest of the country. Although in the first decades of the eighteenth century the economy of the country was depressed there was nevertheless in Dublin both industrial development and growth in the volume of trade. The restrictions of 1699 did not initially adversely affect the growth of the woollen industry for, although exports were curtailed, outlets on the home market appear to have been increasing with the growth of population. The influence of the restrictions appears to have been felt during the second decade of the century and by the 1720s there was widespread unemployment: from this time the Meath Liberty (of Thomas Court), principal centre of Dublin's weaving industry, began to lose its prosperous character.[4] The silk industry was fostered by favourable legislation and for a time it continued to expand. The linen industry was encouraged by special parliamentary intervention. Although the principal basis of this industry was in the north of Ireland exports were channelled through Dublin; in 1721, owing to the steadily increasing traffic in bleached cloth to Dublin and thence across the Irish Sea, it was decided that a central market would be an advantage to the trade and that it should be established in the capital city. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the principal linen export was yarn and very little cloth was exported. The increase in the amount of cloth exported during the first quarter of the century demonstrates the significance of the linen industry. In 1705 more than half a million yards of plain linen cloth were exported; by 1715 exports of plain linen had increased to 2,153,120 yards; and by 1725 this trade had expanded to 3,864,987 yards. By 1727 exports of linen amounted to one third of the total value of Irish exports and the trade was subsequently centred on the Linen Hall in Dublin.[5]

The determinants of growth were not constant throughout this phase of development which comprised a time of economic prosperity followed by a serious recession. This was accompanied by a twofold change in the structure of the population, for immigrants who were attracted by industrial opportunities of the last decade of the

seventeenth century emigrated during the time of recession while migrants continued to move into the city from rural areas. Trends established during the second part of he phase continued to influence the city during the rest of the eighteenth century.

Morphogenetic Agents

Public Bodies

The significance of a central authority with the right to legislate for the entire urban community seems to have been generally recognised early in the eighteenth century. Laws and ordinances of the city council were not then binding in the Liberties of St. Sepulchre and Donore which lay outside the boundary of the county of the city for medieval administrative boundaries still effectively divided the urbanised area. Although these boundaries remained unchanged until the nineteenth century reform of Municipal Corporations in Ireland a measure of unified control was introduced during the eighteenth century beginning with legislation of 1717 and 1719 which authorised the establishment and control of public services both in the city and its Liberties and in the adjacent independent Liberties of St. Sepulchre and of Donore.[6]

The public services controlled by legislation were the city's water supply, paving, lighting, and public transport. Parliament also authorised the establishment of the Ballast Board[7]; the creation of new parishes and building of new churches of the Established Church[8]; and the building of the Royal Barracks, the Linen Hall and the Workhouse[9]. Legislation which affected the city indirectly controlled trade, fettered the woollen industry, and fostered the linen and silk industries. The final direct impact of Parliament on the growth of Dublin during this phase was the decision to build a new House of Parliament on the site of the decayed Chichester House,[10] a decision which exercised a continuing morphogenetic influence on the capital city throughout the century.

The privileged position of the Established Church led to the

construction of new churches in the principal residential areas: these were usually in prominent positions. Numerous places of catholic worship, 'mass-houses', were established in secluded places in the poorer parts of the city, usually in the back rooms of houses or in stables.[11] Meeting Houses were established by dissenters: these seem often to have been specially built but the sites were usually in the centre of street-blocks of which the perimeter was lined with houses and warehouses.[12] Parliament did not actively interfere with such development. The Corporation played an increasingly positive role in determining the form of development during the early decades of the eighteenth century despite the fact that most of the municipal estate had already been leased for building. The section of Oxmantown Green which remained unbuilt was the only unbroken tract of the municipal estate which could be leased for building and it was not in an area where at this time demand for housing instigated development. Nevertheless it was the city council which controlled the most significant and even spectacular plans of this phase, namely, the improvement of the estuary and concomitant reclamation.

During the seventeenth century no effort had been made to improve the channel of the river or to control the silting of the estuary. By the end of that century irregular walling on the south bank had increased braiding of the channel while uncontrolled taking of ballast had disimproved the estuary.[13] The need for a central authority to control the estuary was evident. Efforts were made by private individuals during the late-seventeenth century to obtain control by establishing a Ballast Board with authorisation from the crown.[14] These attempts were strenuously opposed by the city council which claimed a historic right, vested in it by charter, to control both the strand and the estuary.[15] From its foundation in 1708 the Ballast Board was controlled by the Corporation and it supervised the walling-in of the Liffey which was now made to conform to a unified plan.[16] Work executed by the Ballast Board included the staking of a new channel, the building of quay walls and removal of obstructions from the new channel.[17] The right to lease the reclaimed land and the control of subsequent development were retained by the Corporation.

Landowners and Developers

Land owners influenced development by leasing land for building and by planning development on their estates. The principal land owners who influenced urban development at this time were the Earl of Meath, the Earl of Drogheda, Joshua Dawson, and Alderman John Eccles: the two latter may more correctly be regarded as speculators and, together with other speculator-developers, they will be considered later.

On the Meath Estate leasing of land for development continued on the system begun in 1676 throughout the succeeding decades until, by the early eighteenth century, new leases had been granted for most holdings. The identity of the speculators who prompted the new agreement made in 1676 is suggested by the pattern of land-holding which had developed by the end of the seventeenth century: numerous and extensive leaseholds had then been acquired by Arthur Emerson, a brewer of Thomas Court; by Bernard Browne, his son-in-law; and by George Edkins, lessee of Roper's Rest.[18] Controls exercised through leases granted by the Earl were similar to those exercised in the preceding phase. Greater security of tenure was given to the tenants in 1714 when leases for terms of years then in being were made commutable to leases for lives renewable forever.[19] Increased income to the estate was assured at the same time by levying a supplementary ground-rent ranging from two to seven shillings per annum for every house subsequently built on the property. The right to mines of coal, lead, tin and all minerals was reserved to the estate owner in areas which had not yet been urbanised, and conditions of tenure also imposed bonds ranging from £20 to £200 to ensure observation of clauses in leases.[20]

It is difficult to determine the nature and extent of plans formulated by the Earl of Meath or by his representatives for some planning may be attributed to lessees who acquired extensive holdings and then apparently made plans for development which comprised both streets and building lots. Weavers' (the Cloth Workers') Square, for instance, displays clear evidence of planning both in the width and the alignment of the square and in the houses which were all similar

in elevation; since the site of the entire square together with much of the adjacent land was leased to Bernard Browne[21] it appears to have been Browne who planned the unit and not the Earl or his representative. The physical character of the development suggests that it was Browne's initiative: street-widths in this plan-unit compare more favourably than on the rest of the Meath estate with good speculative development elsewhere in the city and the regular building lots were laid out by Browne./ A large leasehold acquired by Samuel Braithwaite and developed by him in conjunction with his son-in-law, Isaac Summers[22] also contains evidence of planning: the alignment of Summers Street seems to be completely independent of pre-existing topographical features and its width is greater than that of other secondary streets on the estate. Similar characteristics are seen in Roberts' Street and in Rainsford Street./ On the rest of the estate the practice of reserving ground for thoroughfares which had been adopted earlier by the city in granting leases, was exercised also by the Earl in leasing land for building. In some places straight new streets replaced old laneways, as in Cole's Alley which connected Pimlico and Meath Street. A standard width of twenty or twenty-one feet was adopted for secondary streets within street-blocks delimited by the main streets or old thoroughfares. This width was narrower than contemporary widths adopted in other parts of the city. In later times some of these streets resembled the narrow irregular streets of the medieval city and they left an impression of unplanned development. The new, wider streets on the Meath estate seem all to have been laid out by developers.

Charles Campbell

On the Drogheda estate planning at this time seems to have been entirely the work of Charles Campbell whom the Earl appointed Seneschal in 1707[23] and to whom jointly with Richard Tisdall he leased the estate in trust for development in 1704.[24] Nevertheless, whether prompted by Campbell or of his own initiative, it was the Earl who, in appointing his seneschal, established conditions which permitted improvement of the estate and the implementation of planned development which was free from topographical controls exercised by existing man-made or natural features. Campbell was authorised to grant leases to tenants who intended to improve their lands or any

part of their holdings; to authorise demolition of the old buildings which then existed on the estate, and the uprooting of trees to permit improvement; he might also authorise the digging of quarries and of gravel and sand-pits by lessees on their holdings provided the stones, sand and gravel were used only for improvement and building on the estate.[25] Campbell was also authorised to hold Courts Leet and Baron regularly in order to conduct the affairs of the estate. Powers thus granted by the Earl of Drogheda to Charles Campbell resulted in the complete removal of traces of earlier occupance which now renders impossible the identification and reconstruction of earlier settlement patterns on that part of the estate which was urbanised under Campbell's control.

Early eighteenth century leases on this estate were granted jointly by Charles Campbell and Richard Tisdall[26]: the partnership seems not to have been satisfactory, however, for in 1706 a large portion of the estate was leased to one William Colville who subsequently acknowledged that he had acquired the property in trust for Charles Campbell to whom he ceded it in the same year.[27] It was Campbell alone who subsequently leased this property for building and so it was he who actually controlled the development of the estate. Leases granted by Campbell were for terms of years equal to or shorter than the term granted to Campbell himself by the Earl of Drogheda.

Speculators

West of the city urban growth was promoted by speculators on municipal land which in the seventeenth century had been reclaimed by Sir William Usher and William Ellis. Both Usher and Ellis seem to have been active developers during the seventeenth century but by the 1680s Usher had leased his riverside property together with the islands to Ellis and it was apparently he who planned subsequent reclamation, quaying, and new streets on both holdings. When the primary work of reclamation was done the land was leased in large building lots to speculators some of whom completed the reclamation before building on the property.[28] There is no record of building standards imposed by Usher on his lessees and the only control of building exercised by Ellis was that houses should be 'of stone or

brick and lime, slated', and of a standard or of sufficient value to attract tenants who would be able to pay the ground rent.[29] Development on both of these holdings was predominantly commercial and it was undertaken by speculators.

Residential development elsewhere in Dublin was also implemented by speculators who undertook a wide variety of activities. Both the nature of urban speculation and the character of speculators changed during this phase. Previously speculators had usually been officials of state or of the city who acquired grants of land and property from the city and from the crown. While some officials continued to speculate in this phase most developers were now speculators by profession: some were partners in private banks; some invested in land and houses and when the houses were built they either sold or rented them to the gentry. Although some landowners built residences in Dublin, throughout the eighteenth century most rural landowners rented their town-houses from builders or speculators, a practice which seems to have begun at this time.

Speculation has been defined as 'a more or less risky investment of money for the sake of unusually large profits'.[30] A basic distinction may, perhaps, be made between <u>speculators</u> who engaged only in buying and selling, in leasing and in mortgaging real property and who contributed little or not at all to the actual physical development; <u>speculative-developers</u> who purchased or leased extensive tracts of land in the hope of gaining large profits but who also contributed materially to urban development for they planned and laid out streets and building lots and then leased the building lots or engaged in building, either speculatively or on contract for specific clients; and <u>speculative builders</u> who leased a number of building lots and having built, either sold, leased or mortgaged the premises. There is no record of builders who engaged only in contract-building although some may have existed. Sir John Eccles and James Dymond typify speculators; Joshua Dawson, William Hendrick and Martin Tucker were speculative developers; Ralph Evans, Richard Span, George Spike, Samuel Braithwaite and Nicholas Carter were all speculative builders.

Although financial gain was the prime motive for investment in land or building sites speculators also contributed much to the ordered extension and to the embellishment of the city. Since, however, the property acquired and developed by them was largely if not entirely intended to provide accommodation for the wealthier classes the standards adopted were no more than those indicated by recognition of the standards demanded by the nobility, by the gentry and by merchants and tradesmen of that time.

The surest manner of deriving immediate and large profits seems to have been servicing land in areas of primary urbanisation combined with leasing building sites for which ground rent was demanded: 'servicing' meant the opening of streets and stable lanes and sometimes included the provision of a water-supply. The ground rent paid by Luke Gardiner to the Corporation for Mercer's holding on George's Quay, for instance, was £3 per annum and capons or 5/- in lieu: when the streets were laid out a total of £122-10-0 per annum was received in ground rents.[31] Joshua Dawson paid £50 as fee farm rent for the estate purchased from Henry Temple:[32] ground rent for building lots was charged at a rate of £6 for holdings with forty feet frontage on Dawson Street, and on Duke Street ten guineas for a frontage of about one hundred and thirty-nine feet.[33]

The system of speculative building which had been elaborated in London by Nicholas Barbon (Barebone) in the second half of the seventeenth century was gradually adopted in Dublin towards the end of the seventeenth and during the first half of the eighteenth century, with variations suited to the circumstances of each developer and of the unit being constructed. It was Barbon who first laid out series of small building sites on which rows of identical houses were subsequently speculatively built.[34] In Dublin some developers leased very large building lots on which there is no evidence of regular, ordered building sites, as for instance on the holdings leased by Charles Campbell and by William Ellis and Sir William Usher; the planning of building sites and of street-frontages on ground leased by them was the work of lessees, of speculative builders. Subsequent development on such holdings depended on the success of the speculative builder and on the demand for housing, and in part on location.

Where building lots of individual houses were laid out by the ground landlord (on Barbon's system) subsequent construction seems to have proceeded more rapidly and by the middle of the century planning was generally more detailed and individual building sites were laid out both by the municipal council and by private landowners.

Alderman John Eccles was one of the principal speculative developers of the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries; he was an associate of Humphrey Jervis from whom he leased part of the strand in the seventeenth century.[35] During the last decade of the seventeenth and the first decade of the eighteenth century Eccles gradually acquired a vast estate consisting of various properties in Dublin and others scattered throughout the country. The estate in Dublin comprised land in Ballybough purchased from the Trustees of the Forfeited Estates, held by Eccles in fee simple; part of the Drogheda estate leased from Charles Campbell for a term of years; part of the strand leased from Jervis and several smaller lots in Capel Street, Mary Street, St. Mary's Abbey, Bolton Street, Skinner Row and Fishamble Street, none of which greatly influenced eighteenth century planning and of which title and tenure have not been established. Eccles also held ten acres of land in Kilmacaragan on the south side of the 'way from Dublin to Donnybrook' (now Leeson Street), 'St. John's lease' near Harold's Cross[36] and a number of holdings on the North Lotts.[37] Of these numerous and extensive holdings the only one in which development was planned by Eccles himself was Ballybough: and this development was interrupted when the estate was sold (1720-24) to clear enormous debts incurred by Eccles with the Revenue Commissioners.[38] Difficulty was encountered in selling part of the estate, principally Mount Eccles and the surrounding land, since an annuity of £200 was assured to Dame Elizabeth Eccles for her lifetime and so a clear title could not be given to the purchaser. This difficulty was overcome through a financial arrangement made with Luke Gardiner, banker, who acquired the lands of Ballybough and Kilmacaragan together with numerous small holdings on the Eccles Estate which remained unsold.[39] Urbanisation of Ballybough was interrupted by the seizure of the estate: it was completed in association with the development of adjacent lands by Gardiner' heirs.[40]

Investment in building land comparable to that of Eccles was made contemporaneously by Christopher Dominick, a Dublin physician. Dominick began to acquire property in Dublin in 1679 when he leased from Humphrey Jervis three lots in Piphoe's Park, of which one was on the west side of Capel Street; in 1682 Dominick purchased a site with twenty feet frontage on Ormonde Quay on which he probably built his own residence. His most significant purchases were made after the Williamite wars, however, for in 1691 he purchased several parcels of ground on the strand; in 1709 he purchased three acres of land in Ballybough Lane and three adjacent acres which had a frontage on Drumcondra Lane: this was later the site of Dominick Street.[41] Unlike Eccles, Dominick retained control of his estate and it was he who opened Dominick Street and planned regular building lots there in the mid-century.

Joshua Dawson was also a prominent developer. He held various offices of state during the first decade of the eighteenth century and during that time he was also engaged with others in property transactions in various parts of the city.[42] The only place in which Dawson determined the form of development appears to be the estate centred on Dawson Street where he held eight acres and thirty four perches of land in fee farm from Henry Temple and a contiguous lot on St. Stephen's Green which permitted opening a street from St. Patrick's Well Lane to St. Stephen's Green.[43] Dawson also integrated his development with Grafton Street and his example was followed later by Robert Molesworth who acquired one of the building lots on the east side of Dawson Street to permit opening a street thence into Molesworth's fields. Dawson's concept of planning for this area seems to have been the development of a fashionable, residential suburb with its own parish church for which Dawson himself granted the site.[44] Leases were granted in fee farm forever. There is no evidence in recorded memorials that building standards were imposed by the ground landlord: nevertheless, standards which attracted the gentry seem generally to have been maintained. Dawson's suburb was, in fact, the first in which a certain uniformity of standards was maintained and here the first stage of urban zoning may be seen. This seems still to have been a good residential suburb in the mid-century and its status was raised through reconstruction

and renewal in the second half of the century.

Speculators who invested only in buildings were numerous in this and in succeeding phases: these were usually master-builders and tradesmen in industries associated with building who sometimes co-operated in the construction of houses. They leased building sites on developed land and when completed, they either rented or sold the houses. This type of speculator can rarely have lost money while the demand for houses continued; he was not deterred by the nature of leases or tenure provided the term of years was sufficient to allow the builder to recover his capital investment by renting the property or by selling the leasehold interest. Many speculators of this type were ruined in times of economic crises caused by bank failures and many of the small builders were ruined in the 1720s.

The term of years generally granted in building leases had been greatly extended during the seventeenth century and even longer terms were granted in the eighteenth century; nevertheless, the terms of these improved leases still allowed the ground landlord to claim all buildings and improvements on the property as his right, without any compensation to the lessee, on termination of the lease. The improved conditions of tenure attracted speculative-developers and the inequity of the leases granted on some estates was not apparent during the lifetime of the developer. As the eighteenth century progressed groups of builders and tradesmen became associated through marriage and family connections: some of these later groups have been identified by C. P. Curran.[45] The principal speculative builders of the early decades of the century, indicated by memorials of deeds, were George Spike, Ralph Evans, Robert Holt and Richard Span, all of whom leased sites from Joshua Dawson and also built elsewhere in the city.[46] James Dymond leased extensive building sites from Joshua Dawson but he seems to have been mainly a speculator for he assigned the land in trust and was already in London when the building sites were leased on his behalf by Thomas Trotter.[47]

The community of Quakers, numbering some hundreds, contributed much to the development of the city through speculative building in this phase. Some, such as Samuel Braithwaite, leased undeveloped

land and also engaged in building on the land of other developers.[48] Some leased land and then sub-leased to builders: one of these was Jonathan Hutchinson, a smith who lived on Temple Bar and had numerous leases of land in the vicinity: he held two lease-holds from Hawkins's heirs; one from the Earl of Anglesea (on the strand near Anglesea Street); holdings on Lazy Hill from three different lessors; some property on Dame Street; and Dame's mills and adjacent property which he held from Keane O'Hara.[49] Another Quaker, Nicholas Carter, described himself as a bricklayer but he seems to have in fact been a very successful builder for he held property on Dame Street, College Green, George's Lane, College Street, Mercer's Dock, and on Lazer's Hill; he also had a leasehold from Lord Fitzwilliam (of which the location is not specified) and some property in Dolphin's Barn. At the time of his death in 1733 he was building houses on College Green on land leased from Sir William Fownes.[50] The records suggest that the Quakers probably contributed as much to the secondary development of Dame Street and its vicinity, extending eastwards to Lazer's Hill, as they did to primary urbanisation on the Meath estate.

Some Quakers were ground landlords on the Meath estate and many also engaged in building; for instance Samuel Claridge, merchant, had a large holding on Earl Street (also called Yea and Nay Street) near Meath Street where he built one large brick house; he set part of the holding to other tenants who built two houses. Claridge also held several houses in Meath Street.[51] Samuel Braithwaite leased a large holding from the Earl of Meath which he developed in conjunction with his son-in-law, Isaac Summers and he also had houses on the Coombe, on Pimlico, on Weavers' (the Cloth Workers') Square, in Meath Street, Earl Street and Elbow Lane, in Fordham's Alley, Newmarket, Poole Street, Crilly's Yard and Thomas Court; he also held houses on Bolton Street on lease from Luke Gardiner for a term of years.[52]

The Huguenot community also numbered some hundreds and it contributed much to urban development at this time; since no communal records, such as those of the Quakers, were preserved by the Huguenot community it is more difficult to trace their commercial and

speculative activities. The most prominent Huguenot who invested in building at this time was undoubtedly David Digges Latouche who held extensive property on the south side of Dame Street and on the Aungier Estate.[53] Latouche also had an interest in other properties and through his bank he probably financed much speculative building.

Luke Gardiner

More than any of his contemporaries Luke Gardiner influenced the development of Dublin throughout the first half of the eighteenth century. Gardiner's origin remains obscure. His influence manifested itself in diverse ways - indirectly through speculation and through financing speculators, and directly through planning and through redevelopment executed about the mid-century. Early in the eighteenth century Luke Gardiner, as senior partner, founded with Arthur Hill the successful bank of Gardiner and Hill which remained solvent until it went into voluntary liquidation in 1737.[54] Through the bank Gardiner not only financed speculators but also acquired mortgages on various estates. His activities also extended to public life and politics: he was secretary to the Ballast Board at its foundation;[55] subsequently he was a member of parliament, surveyor general, vice-treasurer of Ireland, and a member of the privy council from c.1748.[56] However, it was not through his public life but through his acquisition of property that he exercised a lasting influence on the development of the capital city, an influence which was formative not only during his lifetime but also throughout the rest of the eighteenth century.

From 1712 to 1730 Gardiner gradually acquired relatively small properties in various parts of the city in areas which were being developed or were suitable for development. On the south quays he first acquired the holding north of Lazy Hill which was in lease from the city to John Mercer and Mary Kemys; later he acquired the adjoining holding which was in lease to Sir John Rogerson.[57] In 1722 Gardiner acquired part of the estate of Sir Richard Reynell,[58] in 1724 part of the estate of Sir John Eccles,[59] and in 1729-30 he purchased the estate of St. Mary's Abbey with all rights and reversions from the Earl of Drogheda and from Lord Duncannon.[60] Gardiner's other properties in Dublin included holdings in Tighe Street, in Hendrick

Street, Barrack Street, Pill Lane, St. Stephen's Green, Francis Street and Marrowbone Lane;[61] he also owned extensive estates elsewhere in Ireland.[62] Gardiner acted as rent-collector on the estate of Samuel Braithwaite and Isaac Summers[63] and he was actively engaged in the development of other properties through association with other developers. The only development which was planned and controlled directly by Gardiner during these decades seems to have been that on the south quays and a small portion of the lands of St. Mary's Abbey. Nevertheless his importance at this time must not be gauged by the extent and importance of these properties only. It was through Gardiner's intervention that the walling of the Liffey at Mercer's Dock was finally carried out after protracted delay and, later in the century, having purchased a number of holdings on the North Lotts,[64] Gardiner's intervention is evident in procuring an Act of Parliament for the effective control and maintenance of the Lotts.[65]

The form of development on Gardiner's holding on the south quays was determined by municipal planning of the main elements of the street-system in granting leases, and by its location on the water-front near existing quays and wharfs. Gardiner's ability as planner and developer is more apparent in the development of privately owned land and most particularly in the re-development of part of the Drogheda estate and its environs in the middle of the century. In developing Bolton Street he maintained the existing thoroughfare which was widened and given a regular frontage through a series of building lots. This tendency towards regularity of frontage was introduced about this time also on the estates of Joshua Dawson and Bernard Browne.

Gardiner evidently recognised the need for security of tenure. On the holding on the south quays although leases were granted for terms of thirty-one years, four successive leases granted at the same time assured to the lessee and his heirs security of tenure for more than a century; and some leases for lives renewable forever were also granted. In developing Bolton Street and adjoining areas Gardiner granted leases for 999 years. No fine was demanded on granting a lease, perhaps because of the need to lay out capital in constructing buildings. The terms of leases were designed to

encourage development and to secure the best income possible at the time without regard to future increase of value: increased income from the estate as a whole was assured by granting leases for farm land for short terms of years without the right of reversion; when through extension of the city such farm land and pasture became suitable for development it was planned and leased for building by the estate owner on termination of the lease. These principles were laid down by Gardiner in his will:[66] they had already been practised by him for a quarter of a century.

Gardiner's own speculation was very varied: it included development or servicing of land for building; the building of houses which were later sold; and the building of houses to a design specified by the lessees in building covenants which laid down the terms of bi-annual payments at fixed rates of interest. The only control of building exercised through leases by the first Luke Gardiner seems to have been an indirect one, exercised through ground rents: these were estimated on the basis of potential income from the developed land through renting houses or through the sale of good residential houses, for ground rents were related to the type of development desired by the landlord. Later in the century more stringent terms were introduced by Gardiner's heirs. At all times tenurial conditions on the Gardiner estate induced speculation. In the eighteenth century this resulted in the building first of good houses for merchants and industrialists and later in the century it resulted in the construction of large houses for the gentry; in the nineteenth century, following the break-up of the estate, it induced congestion and appalling slum conditions through an effort to derive maximum income from the property.

The influence exercised by Luke Gardiner through financing speculation must also have been considerable for his was one of the most successful private banks of the early eighteenth century and the finance necessary for speculation was made available by merchant banks. The influence of the banks may be measured by the coincidence of bank failures with general cessation of building, for during the eighteenth century expansion was not one continuing, uninterrupted process: Dublin grew through waves of building which coincided with times of

economic prosperity and which ceased at times of economic crises. Banking crises were concentrated on years of commercial difficulty and throughout the century these coincided with recessions of the building industry: such crises occurred in the 1720s.

Bankers

Private bankers of the seventeenth century were usually goldsmiths who undertook banking as an addition to their business. Increased commercial activity fostered the development of private banking and prompted the establishment of private banks as distinct and independent businesses, a development presaged already in the seventeenth century by Joseph Damer.[67] Bankers of the early years of the eighteenth century were either immigrants or descendants of comparatively recent immigrants - planters, adventurers, soldiers or craftsmen. Most of the capital was invested in landed estates and crises occurred when political troubles affected either the value or the saleability of land. The extent to which banks were involved in the development of speculative building in Dublin may be gauged from memorials of deeds for very few banking records survive. The identification and analysis of this involvement would throw much light on the process of urban development but would entail tracing deeds in which financiers who were not necessarily land-owners were named: in this study the identification of speculators and of their methods has been confined to the estates on which ownership and tenure have been analysed.

The largest and best known of the Williamite banks was that of Ben Burton which was established c. 1700 at No.4 Castle Street in conjunction with Francis Harrison: Burton was both Government banker and friend of the most influential people.[68] Two banks which surmounted the financial crises of the early years of the century were those of Gardiner and Hill[69] and the bank of Hugh Henry and Co. which was founded c. 1712 and whose location is not known; both of these banks went into voluntary liquidation in 1737. Other banks founded during this phase included Mead and Curtis, founded by James Mead and George Curtis early in the century: it failed in 1727[70]; the bank of James Swift and Co.;[71] Nuttall and Maguire, founded by

Joseph Nuttall and Richard Maguire on Lower Ormonde Quay c. 1716: it failed in 1737;[72] and the bank of Joseph Fade, subsequently known as Willcox and Dawson, which was founded in Thomas Street c. 1715 by Joseph Fade, a Quaker.[73] The private bank which enjoyed the longest and most prosperous life was that founded by the well-known Huguenot, David La Touche, in partnership with Nathaniel Kane, namely the Bank of Kane and La Touche. La Touche had served for ten years in the Williamite armies and had, in 1693, established a factory in High Street for the manufacture of cambric and Irish poplin (tabinet), before establishing the bank. He financed many speculators and also actively participated in development himself. His heirs and descendants were prominent members of Dublin's Huguenot community and they too played an active part in furthering the development of the city.[74]

Public Opinion

A force which exercised a marked formative influence on the developing capital city was roused during these decades although its influence was scarcely felt until the succeeding phase. This was public opinion expressed in a form of protestant nationalism: it might more properly be called protestant colonial nationalism since unlike later European and American nationalism it was not based on a popular movement towards national independence: protestant nationalism in eighteenth century Ireland was based on the claim that both by the law of nature and by the common law Englishmen in Ireland had a right to equality with their fellow-subjects in England. The right to control the Irish economy was asserted by the English parliament in 1699 and in 1719 England's right to legislate for Ireland was asserted by the passing of the act called the 'sixth of George I'. These constitutional and economic issues combined to rouse public opinion against England and, fostered by Swift's pamphlets, the force of public opinion, now felt for the first time, was strong enough to rouse even the essentially 'loyal' Parliament of Ireland. In recognition of the services rendered by him to the city at this time Swift was, 'by special grace' admitted a freeman in 1729 and the freedom of the city was conveyed to him in a special gold box.[75]

Philanthropists

Philanthropic instincts prompted some members of the Ascendancy to provide for the needs of the poor. Aided by legislation and by bequests charitable institutions were founded, notably, the Workhouse[76] and Steevens's hospital[77] both of which ranked as significant public buildings when Brooking surveyed the city in 1728. Other voluntary hospitals and institutions had more modest beginnings: their existence was more a testimony to the numbers and miserable plight of the sick poor than a formative influence on the townscape.[78]

Architects and Builders

Although numerous builders were at work in Dublin in the first decades of the eighteenth century only one executed work which left a notable and enduring impression on the townscape and thereby merited for him the appellation of architect: this was Thomas Burgh. Burgh had served in the Williamite wars and in 1700, on William Robinson's retirement, he succeeded him as surveyor-general. The decision made in 1704 to build a barracks in Dublin gave Burgh his first opportunity to design a public building. The Custom House had again decayed and Burgh designed its replacement in 1707. In 1711 he designed the infirmary of the Royal Hospital. Burgh's third important commission was the new library of Trinity College: begun in 1712, it was opened in 1732, two years after the architect's death. While this work was in progress Burgh designed and executed the replacement of the medieval church of St. Werburgh, advised on the construction of the new city 'Bason' or reservoir, and on the pedestal for the statue of King George I on Essex Bridge.[79] In the course of his work Burgh must have trained many local craftsmen: George Spike, plasterer and painter, for instance, worked with Burgh from about 1700 to 1708 and he later engaged in speculative building on Dawson's estate and in other parts of the city. The 'discovery' of Edward Lovett Pearce has also been attributed to Burgh. Both directly and indirectly it is evident that Thomas Burgh exercised a very significant formative influence on the third dimension of the townscape.

The work done and the influence exercised by the various

morphogenetic agents were complementary to each other. Parliament authorised much-needed improvements in the estuary and the city. The city council controlled public services such as the water supply and the improvement of the estuary. Building was planned and executed by private individuals; and private individuals or commercial concerns provided the finance necessary for development. Although both the city council and the Parliament each contributed much to the development of the city, the significance of the work of private individuals working independently can scarcely be exaggerated for it was individuals who planned, executed and promoted residential development.

Urban Growth

Four areas of development may be distinguished in this phase: improvement of the estuary; reclamation; the development of new suburbs; and building on streets which had been laid out in the seventeenth century.

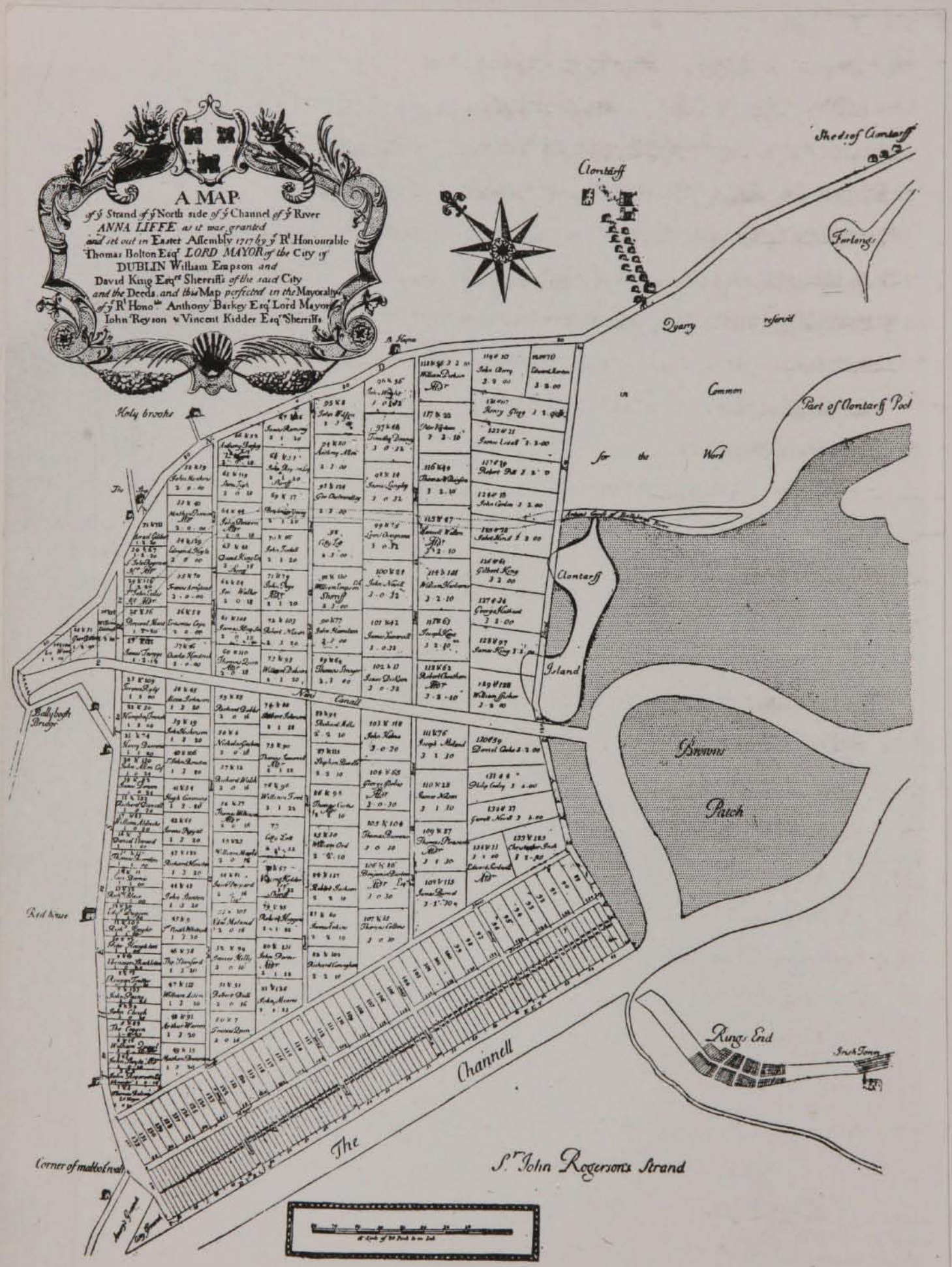
Improvement of the estuary

Improvement of the estuary was undertaken by the Ballast Board which was established in 1708. Following a survey made in that year by Richard Moland the approved line of the new channel was staked out according to lines marked on Moland's map.[80] The new channel extended in a straight line from the mouth of the river near Hawkins' wall to a point north of Ringsend; when the river was confined to this channel it was envisaged that scouring and flooding would naturally deepen the channel. Walls built by the Ballast Board extended east on both banks of the river to Ringsend and reclamation of the land behind the walls was planned by the Corporation. East of Ringsend a double, dry-stone wall was built extending east to the Pidgeon House: this was also designed to improve the estuary but no reclamation east of Ringsend was planned at this time.

Reclamation

Reclamation of the North Strand east of Mabbot's Mill was planned

PLATE VIII



see appendix

The North Lotts, 1717

in 1717 following a survey made on behalf of the Corporation.[81] Initially it was intended to enclose an area of four hundred and forty-one acres extending from the North Wall to Clontarf Island and thence north to a point on the coast west of Clontarf House.[82] (Plate VIII) The area included the estuary of the Tolka or Ballybough river: it was proposed to enclose this river in a new channel or 'canal' eighty feet wide, extending in a straight line through the reclaimed land from Ballybough to the sea, and in its eastern section widening gradually to one hundred and fifty feet. The reclaimed land was divided into two types of lots: ground near the channel was divided into two parallel rows of rectangular plots, eighty-eight lots fronting the channel and forty-four lots in the rear. The difference in plot size reflects an appreciation of the greater value of a situation on the waterfront for the ground rent was the same on both front and rear lots. The rest of the reclaimed area was divided into one hundred and thirty-four rectangular lots; two of these were reserved to the city - Nos. 77 and 92 - and the rest were assigned by ballot. Each person received two lots, one near the channel and one in the rear.

The planners envisaged a quay sixty feet wide along the North Wall, extending northwards from its eastern end along the eastern boundary of the reclaimed land to Clontarf House. Streets and cross-streets in the reclaimed area were to be fifty feet wide and roads through the 'acre'lots to be two perches wide. The old coast road at the western boundary of the reclaimed land was to be widened to eighty feet. The width of streets and roads planned for this reclaimed area reflects the foresight of the municipal planners of the time: the reclaimed land had great potential commercial value because of its situation near the estuary, and full commercial use of it would involve heavy traffic. Indeed, the street-widths laid down were as broad or broader than the best streets in most of the new suburbs and they contrasted both in width and regularity with the streets in the older part of the city where most if not all were still less than twenty feet wide.

Work done at public expense included the initial enclosure of the area with walls of lime and stone; the construction of the canal

bed to contain the Ballybough river; the laying out of streets and the construction of quays on the waterfront. Between the strand which had already been granted to Amory and his assigns and the area scheduled for reclamation in 1717 there was an unwalled stretch of strand through which the tide penetrated and caused great damage. In 1723 it was decreed by the city council that this area should be enclosed at their expense by a wall built and backed by the Ballast Board.[83]

Successful implementation of the plan depended on two things, namely, the walling of the eastern boundary and the regular payment of rents to provide the necessary finance. The eastern wall was not built. The 'acre' lots were all exposed at half tide: the wall envisaged would have enclosed a vast area but it was an area which promised no immediate return on investment. A contributing factor to the neglect and the non-payment of rents may have been the location of the scheme. At the time the eastern suburbs on the north bank of the Liffey had scarcely extended beyond Liffey Street and newly planned streets extended only to Marlborough Street; consequently there was no demand for building sites in the vicinity of the North Lotts. Riverside commercial development had not yet congested the land reclaimed in the seventeenth century and so there was no immediate incentive for speculators to develop the quayside lots. Moreover, the Custom House, at which overseas trade was bound to load and unload, was still situated near Essex Bridge and there was consequently little encouragement for shipping to use the new quays.

Since the infilling and reclamation of the 'acre' or rear lots did not proceed satisfactorily the wall built by the Ballast Board was endangered by continual overflowing at high tide. In midsummer 1723 the city council also ordered the building of a back wall on the inner boundary of the quay in order to protect and preserve the work already completed by the Ballast Board.[84] Later the plan made in 1717 was greatly modified and the area scheduled for reclamation was reduced almost to a half. In this venture as in other planned development, work undertaken by public bodies with municipal or statutory powers to implement plans at public expense was completed: work which depended on the voluntary co-operation of private individuals

did not proceed satisfactorily and of necessity plans were subsequently modified.

On the south bank of the Liffey piecemeal reclamation planned independently by lessees resulted in a configuration which became more irregular as reclamation progressed. The south strand east of Hawkins' wall had been leased in 1686 to Phillip Crofts; on this holding a semi-circular quay wall built by Alderman Watts, an associate of Croft's, projected into the river east of Hawkins' wall, protecting the eastern quays north of Lazy Hill but at the same time contributing to the silting and braiding of the channel. Following a survey made at the request of the Ballast Board it was decided to remove this projection which was in fact already ruinous: only the foundations needed to be demolished.[85] A new agreement was made with the lessees, then John Mercer and Nicholas Kemys, heirs of Crofts and his associates; the site of the projecting quay wall was exchanged by the city for one hundred and thirty-three perches adjoining the holding on the east; and the ruinous projection and its foundations were to be removed by the Ballast Board at the expense of the city. By the new agreement the lessees were bound to enclose the eastern end of the holding within six months and to build a quay wall nine feet high from the foundations within eighteen months; along the waterfront of the new ground they were bound to leave an open quay forty feet wide, without steps or cellars, and on the southern boundary of the holding to leave a lane sixteen feet wide to provide free access to Captain Nicholls's quay and to the rest of the strand behind the holdings on Lazy Hill.[86] Mercer's Dock (from which the quay wall projected into the river) was used by the Ballast Board during the period of construction and when the quays further east were complete this dock was filled in and buildings then erected extended to the waterfront.[87] This development illustrates the significance of controlling clauses in leases. The aim of most if not all leaseholders was to derive maximum profit from their holdings. The original lease from the city contained no clauses which controlled the form of development and the developers did not feel obliged to leave an open quay on this section of the waterfront. Buildings erected on the site early in the eighteenth century were demolished later in the same century in the course of redevelopment planned by

the Wide Streets Commissioners in order to extend open quays along the entire waterfront.

The time limit set by clauses in the new lease granted by the city to Mercer was not observed. In 1712 yet another new lease was granted by the city council: this was a lease for lives renewable forever granted to John Mercer who, having thus gained security of tenure, ceded the lease in that same year to Luke Gardiner.[88] At Gardiner's request the city agreed to bear half the cost of the wall from Nicholls's quay to the river: work then proceeded without further delay and the wall was completed by 1713.[89] This incident again illustrates the importance of security of tenure when substantial investment was necessary in order to develop property: it also displays Gardiner's business acumen and his ability as planner-developer, qualities which were subsequently exercised to benefit the city as much as for Gardiner's own benefit. New development on or near Mercer's dock was linked with development north of Lazy Hill by three arches built to span the existing shore or ditch which separated the properties and to link new north-south streets on holdings developed by Crosse, Nicholls, Mercer and Gardiner.[90]

In 1713 the strand from Lazy Hill to Ringsend was granted to Sir John Rogerson and his heirs on surrendering the existing lease; the alignment of the new quay wall which formed the northern boundary of this holding was fixed by the Ballast Board.[91] Between the strand granted to Mercer and that granted to Rogerson a section was still unenclosed; this section was walled in 1715 at the expense of the city[92] and afterwards it was known as City Quay. Because of difficulty in leasing the site for development streets and building lots were laid out by the municipal council: fifty-one regular building lots of twenty feet frontage by two hundred and thirty feet depth were served by two streets each thirty-four feet wide which crossed the holding from east to west and another street was aligned north-south.[93] On the adjoining holding new streets thirty feet wide were named from the developers, Gardiner and Holt: lots were taken by mariners, a ship's carpenter, a glazier, and by other tradesmen and mixed commercial and residential development followed.[94]

Reclamation and development west of the city continued throughout

the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century and by 1718 most of the holdings of Ellis and Usher were enclosed and new quays had been constructed along the waterfront, streets had been laid out, and building ground was enclosed with walls of lime and stone. The ground was then gradually leased to speculators and builders who developed the area.[95]

A fresh impetus to development is discernible when Sir William's estate was vested in John Ellis by an Act of Parliament.[96] Early building of houses was encouraged by the terms of leases which John granted: for instance, in leasing a large building lot on the west end of Arran Quay to William Hendrick one year only was granted free of ground rent and a total of £38 per annum was fixed for the entire holding; in case houses were not built within two years, however, Hendrick was required to pay six guineas per earth foot of ground facing Arran Quay in lieu of rent until the houses were erected. Since Hendrick had been granted a frontage of one hundred and fifty-four feet to Arran Quay, he was liable to incur heavy penalties if building did not proceed according to schedule.[97] A lease granted to Jacob Nixon, a timber merchant, in the same period, allowed two years rent free in a term of one hundred years.[98] It seems reasonable to assume that building proceeded rapidly since Hendrick, in 1723-24, announced his intention of building on the strand opposite the bowling green in Oxmantown.[99]

The bowling green in Oxmantown had been superseded by more recently established bowling greens and other recreational facilities in the new eastern suburbs. The restriction on building which had been imposed by the Corporation in 1663 was removed by the city in 1724 at the request of Richard Tighe: Tighe was bound to procure from Hendrick two hundred feet along the waterfront to be left as a watering place for horses instead of the narrow passage which had hitherto been reserved near Queen Street. A new street fifty feet wide was laid out on the site of the gravel walk leading from Queen Street to the old Banqueting House and the rest of the ground was laid out for building.[100] In this area the developers are commemorated in street names: Tighe, Hendrick, (William) Ellis and John (Ellis). Houses built by Hendrick in Queen Street set a standard

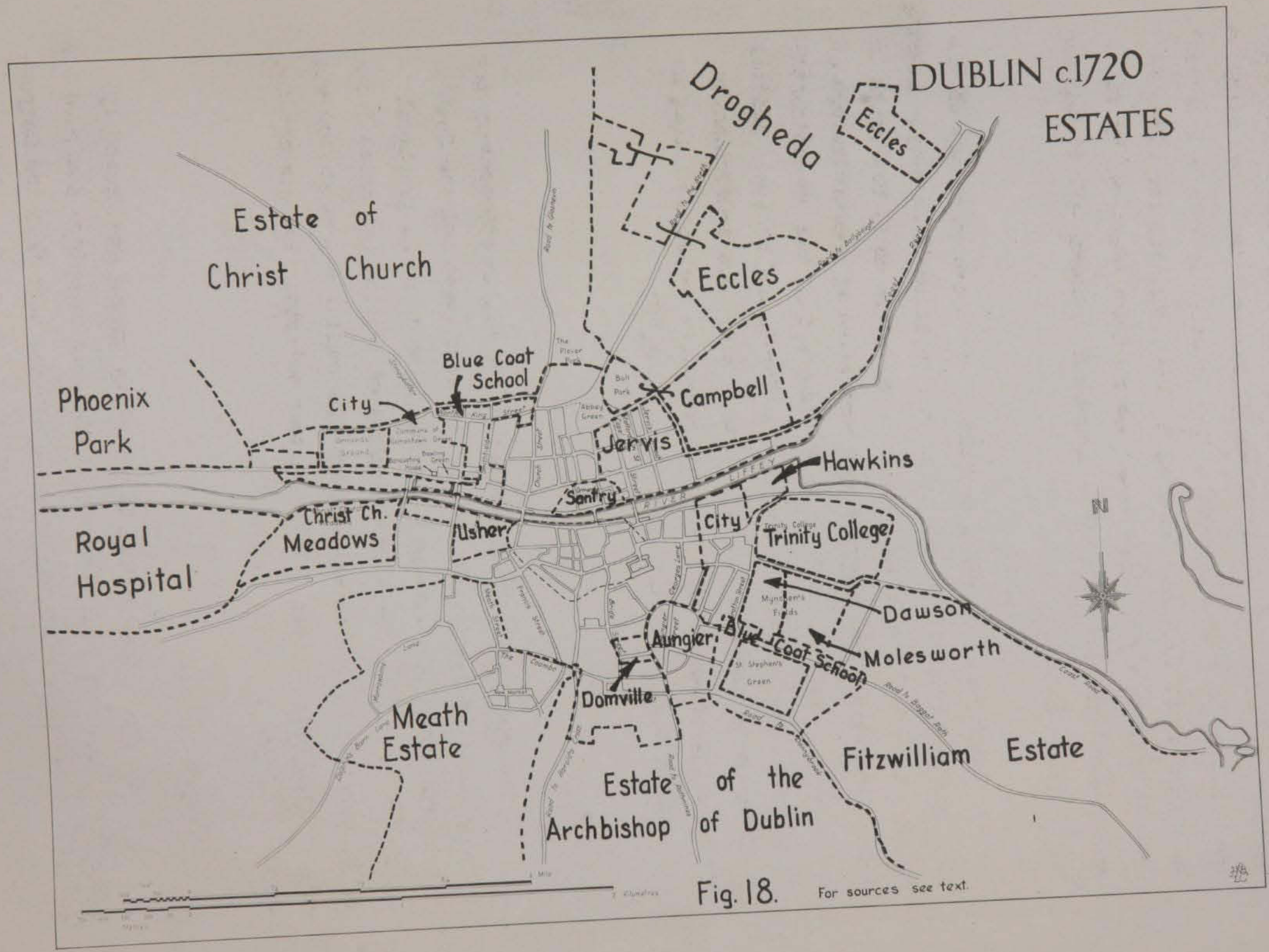


Fig. 18. For sources see text.

for the neighbourhood which was imposed through building leases granted later by Hendrick.[101] The area was inhabited largely by tradesmen and merchants. However, some restrictions on industrial development were introduced in 1744 by Welbore Ellis who was then ground-landlord: clauses in leases forbade residents to 'carry on the business of tallow chandler, dyer or other offensive business'.[102] No such restrictions are recorded in leases granted for sites on Usher's holding where there were both mansions inhabited by the gentry and lime-kilns and other commercial concerns all within the same street-block.[103]

Reclamation of Jervis's holding on the north bank east of the city was complete before the end of the seventeenth century. Leasing of ground on the strand was continued by Jervis until his death in 1706; afterwards the property was controlled by administrators of the estate. Initial development on Ormonde Quay was predominantly residential and included the houses of Jervis and Eccles. Initial development on Jervis's Quay (Bachelor's Walk) was predominantly if not solely commercial: the most extensive recorded holding in this location was the Ballycastle Coal Yard.[104]

Suburbs

By the end of the first quarter of the eighteenth century new suburbs entirely surrounded the ancient settlement and the Custom House, the focus of overseas trade, was almost the geographical centre of the city. The eastward trend of development which became characteristic of Dublin was already discernible but extension was not at this time confined to the eastern suburbs. The new estates which developed are seen in Fig. 18.

Jervis's Estate

On the estate of St. Mary's Abbey ground was leased by Humphrey Jervis until his death in 1706. His executors assigned his interest in the lease of the strand which was held from the Corporation to John Darby, pewterer, in trust, in order to pay Jervis's debts. The leasehold interest of the property was sold by Darby at a public auction. Nine hundred feet frontage of the easternmost

section of Jervis Quay was bought by one Jeremiah Symes who soon assigned it to William Phillips. Phillips assigned his interest to William Hogan and it was Hogan who then planned the development.[105] The most easterly section comprising one hundred and fifty-eight feet frontage was laid out in streets and building sites, cutting off eight feet of the triangular eastern point of the property to form a wide street leading to the waterfront; Hogan then sub-leased some building sites and built some houses himself.[106]

Leases in being on Jervis's holding were also transferred at this time and some holdings changed ownership more than once, for instance, ground on Jervis Quay was leased to John Eccles who then sold his interest to Martin Tucker who developed the property about 1723.[107] Some other parcels of ground leased originally by Jervis to Martin Tucker and to John Eccles were in 1708 acquired by Ralph Gore who built some houses and sub-leased the rest of the ground for building.[108] On the streets which Jervis laid out in the seventeenth century building was in progress; buildings seem to have varied in size and in character, and most proprietors appear to have been merchants or tradesmen. On Capel Street, for instance, the 'Pyed Horse Inn' was built on the tenth lot laid out by Jervis; the 'Black Spread Eagle' and adjoining house were complete by 1709. Thomas Gaven, a brewer, bought a house which adjoined a brick house belonging to Thomas Bond, a weaver, and on the north a house erected by Thomas Rawlins, a carpenter.[109] A number of houses in and near Capel Street were built by John Wheeler, a bricklayer: on White Lyon Court on Strand Street he built sixteen brick houses and on Black Lyon Court he built three.[110] The designations of these lots suggest that they either were or were intended to be the site of one large mansion during the post-Restoration growth-phase when Jervis first planned his new suburb.

The Drogheda Estate

Plans for developing the Drogheda estate were implemented by Charles Campbell immediately after his appointment as seneschal. Some new leases were granted jointly by Campbell and Richard Tisdall in the years 1704 to 1706[111] but Campbell then acquired sole control over the property through the lease made to William Colville which

has already been cited. Property acquired by Campbell in this manner included the large garden then in possession of John Cole which lay on the west side of Drumcondra Lane; the Stone Park of which the exact location is not known; the Bull Park containing six acres near the junction of Drumcondra Lane and Ballybough Lane; part of the Lady Park on the east side of Drumcondra Lane; houses, gardens and a lime kiln on the Strand; houses, gardens and a pound on the east side of Liffey Street, and several other parcels of ground of which the location is not known.[112]

A morphological frame for urbanisation was provided by old thoroughfares and by the streets laid out by Jervis: this frame was maintained by Campbell and within it the grid-street system was extended east to Marlborough Street. East of Marlborough Street land was leased in large parcels of which the size and shape were determined by existing fields: for instance, two fields near the North Strand containing four acres, one rood and fourteen perches were leased to Robert Montgomery and two adjacent fields containing thirteen acres, three roods and thirty-two perches to Joseph Moland; a field of four acres two roods and eleven perches on the east side of Drumcondra Lane to Charles Bourthier, and the Brickfields containing ten acres two roods and twenty-eight perches to John Makens, a baker. Cole's Garden and the Bull Park were laid out in regular building lots which were two hundred to two hundred and ten feet in depth, with a regular frontage to Drumcondra Lane and to Ballybough Lane; this ground was leased in small holdings, some with sufficient frontage for one house and some for two or three.[113]

A new street system was laid out within the area bounded on the west by Liffey Street, north by Ballybough Lane and south by the strand which had been reclaimed by Jervis: new streets and lanes separated large building lots which were enclosed by walls of lime and stone early in the eighteenth century./ Holdings which were bounded on the west by Marlborough Street extended eastwards to a depth of five hundred feet while frontages ranged from three hundred and seventy-one feet to four hundred and fifty-four feet. Holdings bounded on the east by Marlborough Street extended westward to Drogheda Street; holdings bounded on the south by Henry Street extended

one from Liffey Street to Cole's Lane and another from Cole's Lane to Marlborough Street.[114] These large lots were subdivided into building sites by Campbell's lessees who in turn leased to other speculators or developers, for instance, a large lot on the east side of Drogheda Street leased by Campbell to Andrew Caldwell was subdivided and leased to developers who included Jacob Nixon, a timber merchant, who built houses on the site. Some of Nixon's houses must have been quite large: one occupied a site which had eighty-five feet frontage to Mellifont Lane and three hundred feet to Drogheda Street.[115] This mode of development in which complexities were introduced by multiple sub-leasing renders it extremely difficult to determine the form and process of development during the ensuing decades for none of the relevant estate documents are in public keeping. Charles Campbell died in 1725[116] and Luke Gardiner subsequently acquired the estate.

Eccles's Estate

Urbanisation of Ballybough began about the time Great Marlborough Street was opened. Eccles seems to have invisaged northward extension of residential building and his development of Ballybough suggests that he intended it to be a suitable environment for his mansion, Mount Eccles, which was situated on the hill north of Ballybough Lane (now Parnell Street).[117] The section of the lane on rising ground north of Marlborough Street was renamed Summerhill and from it a tree-lined avenue extended north to Mount Eccles.[118] A site further east was donated by Eccles for a new church dedicated to St. George;[119] Eccles also partly financed its building and adjoining it a new home for widows was established by his wife.[120] Ground fronting Summerhill was laid out in building sites one hundred and fifty feet deep; the principal developer was Christopher Smith, a gentleman who built a number of brick houses.[121] No leases granted by Eccles are in public keeping; registered memorials, the principal source of evidence, do not record any control of building standards and leases were granted for lives renewable forever. The street-frontage of Ballybough Lane was improved in laying out building sites but no evidence of a comprehensive plan for further development has survived.

Dawson's Estate

The new suburb planned by Joshua Dawson lay east of the city. Dawson Street, the principal street, extended south parallel to Grafton Street from St. Patrick's Well Lane to St. Stephen's Green where Dawson's acquisition of a building lot enabled him to extend Dawson Street to the Green.[122] Two secondary streets, Anne Street and Duke Street, were aligned east-west. Each street-frontage had a stable lane. Most of the estate was leased in large holdings to builders and speculators chief of whom were George Spike, painter-stainer, Ralph Evans, bricklayer, and his son and namesake who was also a bricklayer; Richard Maguire, clothier; Robert Holt, yeoman; Richard Span, gentleman, and James Dymond, merchant.[123] Numerous smaller holdings were leased for building individual houses, for instance, Robert Arthur leased one site in Dawson Street in 1709 and another in the same street in 1713; Dame Lettice, Lady Bingham, leased a site for one house in 1719; and the Right Reverend Peter, Lord Bishop of Cork, and Nathaniel Shaw, gentleman, each leased a site for one house in 1714. One John Dawson leased a site for a single house in 1710: he may have been Joshua Dawson's son but there is no evidence that he participated in the speculative building.[124]

Leases were granted at a peppercorn rent for the first three years in order to encourage investment in building; a fixed rent determined by the width of frontage was required from the third year. Dawson appears to have implemented his plans immediately and he also seems to have been successful in encouraging early building on the estate for in 1707 a new parish was created 'for the growing suburb': Dawson himself donated a site for the new church dedicated to St. Anne.[125] Although there is no evidence in the registered memorials that building standards were imposed by the lessor and no original indentures have been deposited in public keeping, it is nevertheless evident that a high standard of residential building was maintained and Dawson's estate seems to have rapidly superseded that of Aungier as the principal fashionable residential area of the city. Gentry and clergy of high rank bought or leased the houses on the new estate of which the status was assured when a house built by Dawson was bought by the Corporation as a residence

for the Lord Mayor.[126]

Dawson's suburb makes an interesting contrast to that developed by Sir John Eccles. Both developers envisaged a new suburb which would attract the gentry; each donated a site for a church; but otherwise both the plan and the mode of development differed. Dawson's property was planned as a unit with a principal street, secondary streets, and stable lanes. The layout of the property was designed to give maximum financial return to the ground landlord, Dawson, but secure tenure at relatively reasonable rents and terms was nevertheless granted to the lessees. The estate was also connected freely with existing streets. There is no evidence which would suggest that Eccles had a comparable plan of development. Eccles's major expenditure seems to have been on the building of his own mansion and the embellishment of its immediate surroundings, while Dawson's greatest expenditure was on the provision of a new network of streets. Comparison of development and of the subsequent history of the two men suggests that Eccles was a reckless speculator who enjoyed the prestige of a newly acquired title and of newly acquired estates while Dawson was a shrewd investor and developer who sold his property once initial development and consequent immediate financial gain was complete.

•

The Meath Estate

The granting of new building leases on the Meath Estate was completed in the first two decades of the eighteenth century. Old thoroughfares provided a morphological frame which was maintained in leasing land for building on the estate: these old thoroughfares, widened and improved, became the principal streets of the area, namely, Marrowbone Lane, the Coombe, and Cork Street. Building in New Market, New Row and the Lower Coombe was complete by the end of the seventeenth century. During the last decade of the seventeenth century some ruinous houses were leased together with adjacent land. New building standards and architectural styles were adopted in the course of reconstruction in order to conform to the type of residential building then in vogue: reconstruction therefore involved a complete transformation of the townscape. Regularity was induced by clauses in leases which required that

buildings should 'range in one line' with buildings which were already constructed.[127]

The Aungier Estate

While new, developing suburbs north and south of the Liffey were attracting the gentry the fashionable suburb developed by Aungier in the seventeenth century gradually decayed as its mansions were forsaken by the gentry and reconstruction and infilling gradually changed the character and status of this estate during the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Although there is evidence that some building was in progress from 1709 to 1713 the main development seems to have begun about 1723 and in 1724 the estate was divided equally between Michael Cuffe and James Macartney, Francis Aungier's heirs. The division appears to have been made in order to facilitate urbanisation for most of the unbuilt ground was developed during the ensuing decade. Street names recall the principal developers: Aungier, Longford and (Great) Cuffe Street were named during the preceding growth-phase and they record the land-owner, his title and family name, and a connection by marriage. Digges Street and Bow (Beau or French) Lane were named during this growth phase from David Digges Latouche, father and son: the father had acquired land leased by Aungier and the son was the principal developer of the 1720s. Macartney's name is not included in street names: his connection with the estate appears to have been solely a financial one and financiers were rarely if ever recorded in street names; Macartney was resident in Westminster when his share of the estate was sold in 1747.[128]

Suburban growth on the various estates developed contemporaneously and independently without any centralised control. Developers planned streets, stable lanes, and building lots but they did not provide public services: these were authorised and controlled by legislation after the new suburbs had developed.

Markets

No major change was made in the distribution of markets during these decades for only one market was founded. In 1704 the site of

the medieval graveyard of St. Andrew was leased to Sir William Fownes and Thomas Pooley and the Castle Market was successfully established by them; its success was probably due to the increased population in the neighbourhood where new, smaller houses were built about the same time.[129] The new markets established during the late seventeenth century were located in suburbs in which there was much building during the early years of the eighteenth century: as residential building developed the demand for services provided by these markets grew and they became established features of the townscape.

Industry

More than anything else it was the location of industry which determined suburban differentiation of character at this time. Industry was absent from the south-eastern suburbs: in all other areas industries and commercial activities were mixed with residential development. Differentiation derived from the activities of the people rather than from buildings for most industries were domestic. The only industries which occupied specially constructed premises were the glass industry and milling and neither mills nor 'glass-houses' were located in one particular suburb. There were only two glass factories, one near Lazy Hill and one in St. Mary's Abbey.[130] Mills seem to have existed in most suburbs except in the south-east.

By the end of the seventeenth century the Meath Liberty had already emerged as the principal industrial sector and with the growth of the woollen industry during the 1690s the area continued to prosper. The chief industrial wealth of Dublin at that time was derived from the woollen industry and consequently the south-western suburbs must have been the most prosperous commercial area in the city. The woollen industry in Dublin was almost entirely in the hands of Protestants during the early 1690s and it is said to have given employment to as many as twelve thousand protestant families in 1698.[131] This figure probably represented about two thirds of those employed in the woollen industry for, according to a petition presented in 1698 to the Irish House of Commons, 'in 1692 the papists in the manufacture were few but during the last six years they got one third of the industry into their hands'.[132]

By the 1720s thirteen hundred families of weavers were all out of employment and some were even starving.[133] The influence of this widespread unemployment on the Meath Liberty must have been disastrous: the congestion which characterised the area later in the century probably began about this time.

The only other branch of the weaving industry which left a localised imprint on the city at this time was the silk industry which seems to have been centred on Spittle Square, between the Coombe and Francis Street.[134] The Linen Hall was the growth-point of another area of localised specialisation during the next phase but there was little weaving of linen in the city. Records of other industries are scattered and fragmentary. New charters granted to the Guilds of Curriers (1695) and to the Brewers and Maltsters (1696) suggests that each of these groups had a flourishing industry;[135] both seem to have been concentrated in the south-western and western suburbs. The most important feature of the townscape derived at this time from the guilds was the Tailors' Hall which was reconstructed in Back Lane in 1710.[136]

The building industry provided much employment, both in construction and in associated industries such as brick-making. Brickfields of the early eighteenth century were located near the developing estates: in the north-east there was one in the street-block east of upper Drogheda Street; in the south-east bricks were made near Ringsend and in Merrion; in the south-west there were brickfields west of Newmarket and the Cloth Workers' Square. Their location is seen on Rocque's map (1756). There must have been numerous lime-kilns but their location remains unknown with the exception of a kiln near Flint's Croft on the south-western side of Grafton Street.[137] Many kilns were scattered through the built-up area, even in areas of dense housing. There were numerous quarries whose location cannot be established because all such sites were built over in the course of urban expansion: the location of some quarries which were still in use in the mid-century is shown by Rocque.

Public Services

Public services provided at this time included public lighting of the city and Liberties, paving and improvement of the streets, an improved water supply and new fire-fighting equipment. The erection of public lights was authorised by Act of Parliament:[138] the objective was neither the embellishment of the city, nor facilitating of nocturnal travellers but the prevention of crime. The system introduced was modelled on that which already existed between Whitehall and Kensington in England. One Michael Cole, a Dublin merchant, had devised a method of supplying and maintaining lamps with tallow and other ingredients instead of oil; he undertook to set up and maintain the lights effectively and eighteen years after 1698, leaving the lights in good condition, to cede all rights to the city. Although Cole was granted the initial contract for erecting lamps he did not maintain them for the full term for in 1716, according to the Assembly Rolls, one Joseph Tininson had already been concerned with the lights for five years. In 1720 William Aldrich and Hugh Cumming, Dublin merchants, were authorised by Act of Parliament to set up new lights within the city and a bond of £2,000 was imposed on them to ensure observance of the agreement.[139]

Within the area in which public lighting was authorised public transport was also controlled by legislation. Both hackneys and public sedan chairs were required to have a licence and to have special distinguishing marks on either side. One hundred and fifty licences only were authorised for each form of transport. Brewers were also required to licence carts and drays. All revenue derived from public transport was allocated to the Workhouse.[140] Although the danger of fire had been considerably reduced when thatched roofs were replaced by slates and tiles, fire fighting equipment was also improved at this time and legislation passed in 1719 obliged all churchwardens to provide fire-engines for the use of each parish.[141]

Legislation also authorised much needed paving of the streets.[142] The condition of the streets at the time is graphically described in the preamble to the statute. Not only were the public pavements

in the city and Liberties out of repair but in many places, especially in front of new buildings, the pavement was raised to such a height that carriages, coaches and even horses could no longer pass with safety. Many encroachments on the public thoroughfares had been made in the course of constructing doors and stairs which gave access from the street to the cellars of houses. Great quantities of ashes, dirt and other filth were thrown daily into the streets, lanes and alleys, while rainwater gushing from spouts on house-tops impeded passers-by. A committee representative of the city and of the Liberties of Thomas Court and Donore was appointed to supervise improvements. Each property owner or chief tenant was obliged within fifteen days of notice to raise, lower or mend the pavements as directed by the committee; each was obliged to pave the length of his street-frontage, extending in breadth to the middle of the street in front of his house. Quayside dwellers were obliged to pave in breadth to the wall constructed for keeping out the water. Encroachments and nuisances caused by cellar doors or stairs were to be removed and the deposition of refuse on streets or lanes was prohibited. Inhabitants were required to sweep their street-frontages before nine o'clock each morning and scavengers were appointed to remove refuse twice a week. Holes made in the pavements were to be lighted at night by placing lanterns to avoid further accidents. Householders were required to control the flow of rainwater from the roof by conveying the water to the sides, fronts, or ends of houses and after 1718 owners of houses with projecting spouts were liable to be fined every month while the nuisance lasted.

An improved water-supply was also regulated by legislation[143] which authorised the city to alter the watercourse leading from the river Dodder by making new cuts, ditches, trenches or passages not more than four and a half feet wide or by laying new pipes through any property except through houses or ornamental gardens. The committee appointed to control the water-supply reported in 1721 that the Dodder could provide an adequate supply if a reservoir were constructed for the dry season.[144] Three fields south-west of St. James's Gate provided a site where a reservoir might be excavated to contain 500,000 hogsheads of water at a level high enough to supply the main pipes: such a reservoir would be capable of

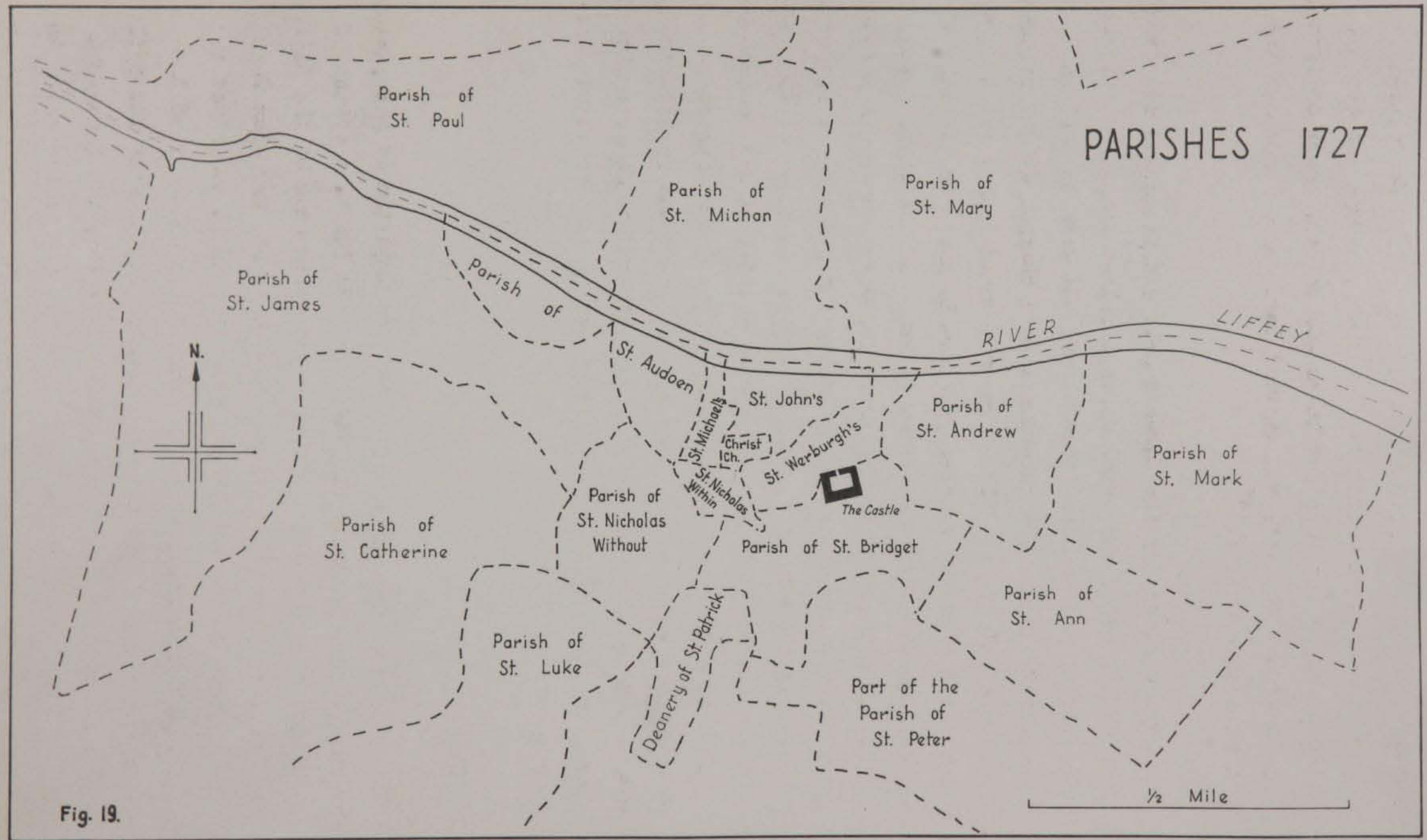


Fig. 19.

Based on Brooking 1728; 9th William III, Chap XVI; 6th Anne, Chap XXI.

supplying all the city pipes at that time for fifty or sixty days. Ground was acquired from Sir Samuel Cooke, from Richard Tighe, and from the Workhouse. The city gardener, one Robert Moody, was ordered to stake out the site and when the reservoir was constructed to make level walks and to plant trees and shrubs. Rent collectors were appointed and the city was divided into three zones for the collection of water-rates.[145]

In levying rates for the water supply a distinction was drawn between ordinary pipes and pipes which supplied industry. Brewers were required to pay not less than £3 and not more than £5 and maltsters, distillers and sugar-bakers were charged at the discretion of the committee. In 1725 it was recommended that all houses which benefited from the water-supply should have 'brass-tickets' affixed and householders who wished to avail of the water supply were required to apply to the district collector who would authorise the fixing of a pipe on payment of twenty shillings for a licence. In some districts hucksters' stalls supplied all those of the neighbourhood who bought their wares and consequently it was recommended by the committee that hucksters, innkeepers and ale-drapers should not be granted a water pipe. When the reservoir was constructed a new water-house was erected outside the Gate in St. James's Street to control the new supplies and Richard Darley was appointed collector on surety of £2,000.[146]

Parishes

The growth of new suburbs prompted the creation of new parishes of the Established Church. (Fig. 19) In 1697 the vast parish of St. Michan's, then the only parish on the north bank of the Liffey, was divided into three.[147] The new parish of St. Mary was formed from the eastern sector of old St. Michan's and it comprised the lands of St. Mary's Abbey which lay inside the boundary of the county of the city. A new church dedicated to St. Mary was built at the corner of Mary Street and Stafford Street, its graveyard extending eastwards to Jervis Street. A new parish dedicated to St. Paul was created to serve the new suburban area on Oxmantown Green and a site for a new church dedicated to St. Paul was granted

by the city on the unenclosed part of Oxmantown Green. The parish of 'new' St.Michan's consisted of the residue of old St.Michan's which lay between the boundaries of St.Paul's and St.Mary's and comprised the old seventeenth century nucleus of settlement and some adjacent development.

On the south bank of the Liffey new parishes were formed in 1707 to serve the new suburban development to the east, south-east and south-west of the old city. The new seventeenth century parish of St.Andrew had already grown 'too large for the parish church' and it was divided in two. The new parish dedicated to St. Mark consisted of that part of the old parish of St.Andrew which lay east of College Lane, Fleet Lane and Fleet Alley and a site for a new church was donated by John Hansard of Lazy Hill.[148]

In 1707 the parish of St.Anne was established to serve Dawson's new suburb and a church dedicated to St.Anne was built on a site donated by Joshua Dawson.[149] The new parish comprised part of the united parishes of St.Peter and St.Kevin to which was added the parish of St.Bridget which was 'remote from the church of St. Bridget' and comprised the eastern side of William Street, part of Chequer Lane, Grafton Street, part of King Street, Clarendon Market, the Square[150] and Clarendon Street. A further addition was made when the Vicarage of St.Peter and St.Kevin became vacant, by detaching from the parish of St.Peter and St.Kevin that part which lay north of King Street and of St.Stephen's Green (North), including the north sides of these streets and extending east to Merrion Street and north to St.Patrick's Well Lane.

The parish of St.Nicholas Without the Walls had also grown too populous for the parish church and in 1707 it was divided into the parishes of St.Nicholas and St.Luke. The new parish of St.Luke comprised 'that part of St.Nicholas Without known as Donore Ward on the west of a brook which runs from Harold's Cross through the Black Pitts and so to the Poddle; and also that part south of the water which runs from Crooked Staff down the Coombe and so to the Poddle where the two brooks meet': here medieval

administrative boundaries influenced the delimitation of an eighteenth century parish. A site was allocated to a new church in the centre of a street-block which was bound to the south by Newmarket and to the north by the Lower Coombe.

In the same year, 1707, the united parishes of St. Katherine's and St. James's, Dublin, and St. John's, Kilmainham, were divided into two distinct parishes, that of St. Katherine's and that of St. James. Here topographical features also delimited the parishes for the boundary was marked by the 'water-course which parts Dolphin's Barn and the Earl of Meath's Liberty and runs to the Pipes at St. James's Gate and on the west of that Gate to the Liffey in a straight line over against the west side of the Bowling Green': streets and houses west of this boundary comprised the parish of St. James and the remainder comprised the new parish of St.Katherine's.

Conclusion

Although few additions were made to the street plan during the first quarter of the eighteenth century some important changes were made in the city. Building proceeded on streets laid out during the late seventeenth century and as the city grew the need for urban services such as lighting, paving and an improved water supply was recognised. In providing these the first steps were taken towards establishing modern, centralised urban services. Houses built during this phase had a longer span of usefulness than houses built in earlier times and consequently changes made in the third dimension of the townscape were more enduring, lasting for about two centuries. Rapid economic recovery and conditions which favoured economic expansion fostered the development of all kinds of industry during the beginning of the phase and this brought a great influx of population, both immigrants and migrants. The restrictions subsequently imposed on industry brought decay to certain quarters of the city and this instigated emigration of protestants to the colonies where they hoped for greater economic freedom. Migration to the city from rural areas continued and it resulted in a gradual increase in the catholic population and, combined with the emigration of protestant weavers, it resulted in a change of ratio of

catholics and protestants in the city, with the catholics gradually beginning to form the majority of the urban population during the 1720s as they did of the population of the country at large.

In this phase a new and very significant contribution to the morphogenesis of Dublin was made through the work of the Ballast Board. Reclamation undertaken by the Board was not only the key to improvement of the estuary: it also provided extensive tracts of land for eastward urban development and enabled removing the Custom House downstream later in the century. Work planned by the Ballast Board in 1717 has given us the configuration of the estuary as it is today for, although the plans of the Board were modified later in the eighteenth century, this was done on grounds of expense, not of feasibility. Half of the scheme had been implemented by 1800 and the work has been resumed piecemeal during the twentieth century.

Significant intangible morphogenetic elements which emerged during this phase had far-reaching consequences. These were class distinctions which derived largely from the entrenchment of the protestant ascendancy after the Williamite wars, and the subsequent awakening of a very latent spirit of national consciousness among the ruling class: both were expressed in the subsequent physical development of the city. Class consciousness first found expression in the construction of large mansions, and then it fostered the development of exclusive residential suburbs. From the spirit of independent (colonial) nationalism roused by Swift stemmed the initiatives which inaugurated the Age of Improvement and culminated later in the formation of a capital city which could rank with the finest in Europe.

The second phase of the Renaissance growth-period was thus scarcely less significant than the first. Its morphogenetic character is seen in the ground-plan, in the population, and in all spheres of its activities. Moreover, the most significant morphogenetic elements were intangible and immeasurable and they bore the seeds of far-reaching changes. The morphogenetic significance of a growth-phase or of a period of urban growth, should therefore be measured, not in physical terms only, but by the subsequent morphological influence of elements, whether tangible or intangible, which it generates.

References and Footnotes

1. 2nd Anne, chap.iv.

2. Cal. SPI., 1703-4, 282.

3. Smiles, Huguenots, 294-95; Registers French conformed Churches, preface, ii-iv; Registers French non-conformist Churches, preface, ix-x.

4. William King, A Great Archbishop of Dublin: William King, D.D. 1650-1729: His autobiography, family and a selection from his correspondence. Ed. Sir Charles Simeon King, (London, 1906) 226, citing B.M.Add. MSS 6117, letter to His Grace Archbishop of Canterbury, Dublin, 23 March 1720-21 concerning a petition from 300 families engaged in the linen, silk and woollen trades.

5. Gill Ir.Linen industry, 61-82; Alice E. Murray, A History of the Commercial and Financial Relations between England and Ireland from the period of the Restoration (London 1903), 120-31.

6. 4th Geo.I, chap. xi; 6th Geo.I, chap.xv.

7. 6th Anne, chap. xx.

8. 9th William III, chap.xvi; 6th Anne, chap.xxi.

9. 2nd Anne, chaps.iv, xix; Gill, Ir.linen industry, 79-80.

10. 3rd Geo.II, chap.viii.

11. 'The State and Condition of the Popish Chapels in Dublin both secular and regular, 1749', Archbishop's Registry no.18 (10), T.C.D. This survey also traces the origin of eighteenth century places of catholic worship.

12. The location of meeting houses is shown on Rocque's large-scale map (1756); Friends' Meeting House, MS D 12, minutes re building meeting house at Sycamore Alley.

13. 6th Anne., chapter xx, preamble.

14. Anc. Rec., V, xxxvi, 118, 377, 582-83.

15. Anc. Rec., I, 2-6; V, 118-19.

16. The early history of the Ballast Board has been traced by C.Litton Falkiner in 'Some Illustrations of the Commercial History of Dublin', R.I.A.Proc. XXIV Section C, Part 3 (1903) 133-52. The earliest volume of minutes in possession of the Port and Docks Board is the Committee Book of the Ballast Committee which begins 3 March 1721. Earlier transactions are recorded in R.I.A. MS 3 C 24, Ballast Office, 1708-1712, folio volume bound in calf which appears to be a rough copy of minutes of early meetings. The Ballast Board was controlled by the city council and so a summary of its reports is included in the Assembly Rolls.

17. R.I.A. MS 3 C 24, 44-45; Anc. Rec., VI, 419.

18. M.E.O. Armstrong's map, 1850; Abstracts of Leases, vol. I.

19. M.E.O. Document no. 175, schedule 18 March 1714 of property in Dublin, being a list of the holdings held under short leases, proposing to grant to the lessees leases for lives renewable forever.

20. M.E.O., Abstracts of Leases, vol.I; miscellaneous indentures of original leases.

21. The name 'Cloth Workers' Square' was used when the land was leased for building by Bernard Browne: M.E.O. Abstracts of Leases, vol.I contains an abstract of Browne's leases on undated, loose leaves.

22. M.E.O. Armstrong's large-scale map, 1850; Abstracts of Leases, vol.I.

23. N.L.I. D21,596-21,629, Lord Drogheda's warrant for being seneschal of the Lordship of St. Mary's Abbey, 17 March 1706/7.

24. N.L.I. Unsorted collection of Gardiner Deeds, deed of assignment in trust to Charles Campbell and Richard Tisdall. This assignment is also recited in all leases granted jointly by Campbell and Tisdall.

25. See no. 23 above.

26. Counterparts of leases granted jointly by Campbell and Tisdall are among Gardiner Deeds, N.L.I.

27. N.L.I. Unsorted collection of Gardiner Deeds, indenture of lease from Charles Campbell and Richard Tisdall to William Colvill of part of the estate of St. Mary's Abbey in trust for said Campbell. Colvill was a clerk employed by Campbell according to a recital in Reg. Deeds, mem. no. 1-399-242.

28. P.R.O.I. D16,268-303, deeds of property on Ellis's estate; D20,447-53, deeds of property on Usher's estate.

29. P.R.O.I. D16,288, lease from Ellis to Hendrick.

30. Chambers's Twentieth Century Dictionary: mid-century version. Ed. William Geddie, (London, 1955).

31. Reg. Deeds mem. no. 36-115-21761 reciting lease granted in 1712 by Ralph Gore, Lord Mayor, etc., to John Mercer and Mary Kemys, later assigned to Luke Gardiner; recital in mem. no. 10-272-3675. Various memorials, e.g. 22-221-11843; 20-344-10850; 21-90-10852; 13-204-5608; 38-145-23729; 38-251-24136; 21-371-11845; 21-371-11847; 21-371-11848; 30-435-19061 and others. Total ground rent derived by Gardiner is recited in 36-115-21761.

32. Morgan's Rental, preface, xvi.

33. Reg. Deeds, mems. nos. 3-369-1076; 23-257-13302; 13-360-5970; 11-157-4237; 10-377-3861; 1-47-26, and others.

34. Lewis Mumford, The City in History: its origins, its transformations and its prospects (London 1961), 418.

35. Reg. Deeds, mem. no. 29-261-17142 records the extent of Eccles's entire estate; mem. no. 14-15-5031 recites lease from Humphrey Jervis to Eccles, 1706.

36. Reg. Deeds, mem. no. 29-261-17142; 44-142-28121.

37. Miscellaneous indentures among Gardiner Deeds, N.L.I.

38. Recital in Reg. Deeds, mem. no. 44-142-28121; Iveagh map collection, P.R.O.I. M2574.

39. Recital in Reg. Deeds, mem. no. 44-142-28121.

40. P.R.O.I. M2574.

41. Reg. Deeds, mem. no. 159-59-105982 in which the dates of acquisition and location of the various parcels of land held by Dominick are recited.

42. Transactions to which Dawson was a party in association with others are recorded in Reg. Deeds, mem. no. 4-435-1137; 5-193-1539; 5-164-1485; 5-6-1171. Dawson was a trustee appointed by the High Court of Chancery.

43. Morgan's Rental, preface xvi; Reg. Deeds, mems. nos. 3-369-1076; 3-157-788; 9-125-3357; 9-103-3327; 9-429-4124; 11-326-4631; 13-452-6408; 23-257-13302; 27-370-17437 and others.
A comprehensive list is found in Consolidated Parties Index, 1708-38, Registry of Deeds.

44. 6th Anne chap. xx; Anc. Rec., VII, 141.

45. C.P.Curran, 'Dublin Plaster Work', R.S.A.I.Jn., LXX (1940), 30.

46. Reg. Deeds, mem. no. 1-47-26; 12-85-4495; 14-164-5971; 23-213-13152; 10-159-3298; 10-86-3415; and others.

47. Reg. Deeds, mem. no. 10-88-3127; 14-351-6365; 14-364-6384.

48. Friends' Meeting House, MS D 5, 30.

49. Idem., MS D 4, 249.

50. Idem., MS D 5, 75-80.

51. Idem., MS D 4, 226.

52. M.E.O. Armstrong's map, 1850; Friends' Meeting House, MS D 5,30.

53. Minutes, C.W.S., III, 48-50: 2 July 1779, summary of evidence given to the valuation jury for Dame Street in which leases granted by Latouche are cited.

54. Geo. Soc. Rec., III, 75-76.

55. R.I.A. MS 3 C 24.

56. As no. 54 above.

57. Reg. Deeds, mem. no. 10-272-3675; 158-347-106256.

58. Reg. Deeds, mem. no. 34-219-21281.

59. Reg. Deeds, mem. no. 44-142-28121.

60. N.L.I., Gardiner deeds, conveyance from Earl of Drogheda and others to Lord Duncannon and Luke Gardiner, of the Lordship of St. Mary's Abbey; conveyance from Lord Duncannon to Luke Gardiner; assignment from executors of Charles Campbell, deceased, to Lord Duncannon and Luke Gardiner. Reg. Deeds, mems. nos. 64-92-42772; 61-275-41357; 63-155-43032.

61. Reg. Deeds, mems. nos. 57-356-38849; 31-476-20017; 58-39-38425; 46-382-28999; 47-361-30979; 47-71-29560; 126-467-88386; 123-199-84177; 122-317-84178; 150-83-100190. N.L.I. Gardiner Deeds, John Hendrick and others to William Moore.

62. The extent of Gardiner's property elsewhere in Ireland is indicated by the numerous entries under his name in the Consolidated Parties Index, Registry of Deeds.

63. N.L.I. Gardiner Deeds, Conveyance from Luke Gardiner, to Samuel Summers, 11 June 1742, reciting assignment from Samuel Braithwaite to William Alcock and Luke Gardiner, 9 & 10 April 1717.

64. N.L.I. Gardiner Deeds of Lots nos. 26 & 98; 29 & 116; 34 & 129; 35 & 70; 48 & 91; 59 & 85; 88 & 94; 87 & 114; 118 & 103.

65. N.L.I. Gardiner Deeds include a copy on parchment of a Petition to Parliament about the North Strand, 24 Nov. 1743.

66. P.R.O.I., Testamentary Substitutes, T 11145.

67. Tenison, Jour. Inst. Bankers in Ire., II, 188-90.

68. Ibid., III, 63-64.

69. Ibid., III, 267.

70. 3rd Geo. II, chap. xxiii.

71. Tenison, Jour. Inst. Bankers in Ire., IV, 13.

72. Tenison, Jour. Inst. Bankers in Ire., III, 201-03.

73. Ibid., III, 202-04.

74. Ibid., IV, 195 ff. Brief biographical notes of the various members of the La Touche family are included in the Appendix to Hall, Bank of Ireland.

75. Anc. Rec., VII, 476.

76. 2nd Anne, chap. i; Anc. Rec., VI, 282.

77. T. Percy C. Kirkpatrick, The History of Doctor Steevens' Hospital, Dublin: 1720-1820 (Dublin 1924), has a detailed account of the foundation, acquisition of land and early building.

78. For an account of the voluntary hospitals see Ir. Builder, XXXVIII (1896) - XL (1898), series of articles in 35 parts by Edward Evans.

79. Craig, Dublin, 94-105.

80. R.I.A. MS 3 C 24, 44-45.

81. Anc. Rec., VII, 30-34.

82. Anc. Rec., VII, Plate II; a copy of this map was attached to each lease.

83. Anc. Rec., VII, 243-44.

84. Anc. Rec., VII, 251.

85. R.I.A., MS 3 C 24, 67.

86. R.I.A. MS 3 C 24, 85-87, copy of agreement re ground below Mercer's house.

87. R.I.A. MS 3 C 24, 84; Rocque's map (1756).

88. N.L.I. Gardiner Deeds, assignment from Mary Kemys to Luke Gardiner, 17 January 1712; Reg. Deeds, mem. no. 36-115-21761.

89. Anc. Rec., VI, 484.

90. Anc. Rec., VI, 453.

91. Anc. Rec., VI, 485-86.

92. Anc. Rec., VI, 512-13.

93. Anc. Rec., VI, 512-13; VII, 77, 84, 88, 90, 108, 146, 223.

94. Reg. Deeds, mems. nos. 13-204-5608; 20-344-10850; 30-435-19061; 21-371-11845; 22-305-12096; 36-115-21761; 38-145-23729; 38-251-24136, and others. A complete list of refs. to these memorials is given in the Consolidated Parties Index, 1708-38.

95. P.R.O.I. D16,268-303; D20,447-53.

96. P.R.O.I. D16289, indenture of lease from John Ellis Esq. to Mr. Jacob Nixon, 9 Sept. 1718 in which authorisation by Act of Parliament 'lately made in England' is cited.

97. P.R.O.I. D16288, indenture of lease from John Ellis to William Hendrick, April 1718.

98. P.R.O.I. D16289.

99. Anc. Rec., VII, 248-49.

100. Anc. Rec., VII, 274.

101. P.R.O.I. D16290. Indenture between William Hendrick of Dublin, merchant and Richard Hoffmann Esq. 7 Jan. 1725 includes the following clauses: 'that all such houses as shall be built or erected on the said demised premises shall be in all respects of equal height, storeys and ornaments to the houses now finishing fronting Queen Street ....'.

102. P.R.O.I. D26295, indenture between Welbore Ellis and Samuel Byron, 8 Sept. 1744.

103. P.R.O.I. D20447-53, miscellaneous deeds of property in Dublin City belonging to the Usher family.

104. Lease cited in Minutes, C.W.S., IV, 157; 24 Sept. 1782.

105. Minutes, C.W.S., IV, 157-86; 24 Sept.-16 Oct. 1782; V, 24-28: 16 May 1783, being valuations of Bachelor's Walk, Strand Street, and Drogheda Street in which titles to the property were proved. Reg. Deeds, various memorials traced through the Consolidated Parties Index and the Lands Index, Dublin City, 1708-38, e.g. mems. nos. 1-214-133; 2-532-615; 7-57-1606; 8-315-2819; 13-68-5033; 14-15-5031, and others.

106. Minutes, C.W.S., V, 24-28: 16 May 1783.

107. Minutes, C.W.S., V, 186: 16 Oct. 1782.

108. Reg. Deeds, mem. no. 7-57-1606.

109. Reg. Deeds, mems. nos. 8-312-2815; 1-511-401; 2-207-415.

110. Reg. Deeds, mem. no. 2-549-625.

111. N.L.I. Gardiner Deeds, leases granted by Campbell and Tisdall to Robert Montgomery, Thomas Overend, Charles Bourthier, Joseph Moland, Griffith Morris, Mary White, John Whinnery, Arthur Bush and William Cross.

112. N.L.I. Gardiner Deeds, indenture of lease from Charles Campbell and Richard Tisdall to William Colvill in which the various parcels are named, being a total of 65 acres and 17 perches.

113. N.L.I. Gardiner Deeds, leases to Henry Davys, Henry Moore, James Greer, Denis Cavanagh, and William Morrow.

114. Ibid., leases to Arthur Bush, John Orpin, and Thomas Gledstanes.

115. Reg. Deeds, mem. no. 34-381-21999.

116. N.L.I. Gardiner Deeds, no. 465 reciting Campbell's will, published 27 Oct. 1725.

117. An Advertisement in Faulkner's Journal No. 6149, 8-11 April 1782 states that the Mansion of Mount Eccles was then No. 14 North Great George's Street.

118. Rocque's map (1756).

119. Anc. Rec., VII, 59.

120. Reg. Deeds mem. no. 8-324-2846.

121. Reg. Deeds mem. no. 8-132-1924; 33-528-23587; 41-438-26719; and others.

122. Morgan's Rental, xvi.

123. Reg. Deeds, mem. no. 1-47-28; 10-297-3722; 15-94-6872; 12-85-4495; 14-164-5971; 10-88-3127; 19-349-10338.

124. Reg. Deeds, mem. no. 3-369-1076; 23-257-13302; 13-360-5970; 13-452-6408; 10-274-3676.

125. 6th Anne, chap. xxi; Anc. Rec., VII, 141.

126. Anc. Rec., VI, 534, 544; VII, 216, 309.

127. M.E.O. lease no. 59, to George Edkins of Roper's Rest, 1683; no. 60 to George Edkins of Mill Street, farmer, 1691; Abstracts of Leases, vol. I.

128. Reg. Deeds, mems. nos. 39-469-26492; 39-361-25649; 39-396-25862; 40-270-25650; 42-68-25682; and others; Lands Index, 1703-38.

129. Minutes, C.W.S., II, 114, 228, 245-47, citing leases.

130. M.S. Dudley Westropp, Irish Glass: An Account of Glass-making in Ireland from the sixteenth century to the present day (London 1921), 41.

131. W.A.O'Connor, History of the Irish People (second edition 1886) 202: no source is cited. O'Connor is cited by Murray, Commercial and Financial Relations, 102: Murray cites no other source although most of her work is based on primary source material.

132. Murray, op. cit., 102-3 citing petition to the Irish House of Commons from the protestant woollen manufacturers of Ireland, Ir. commons Jn., II, i, 247-48.

133. B.M. Add MS 6117, letter from William King, Archbishop of Dublin to the Archbishop of Canterbury, 23 March 1720-21, cited in King, A Great Archbishop of Dublin, 226.

134. William P. Coyne, ed., Ireland, Industrial and Agricultural (Dublin 1902), 436-37; Webb, Industrial Dublin since 1698 and the Silk Industry, 132-42. Documentary evidence of the silk industry is scanty.

135. Henry S. Guinness, 'Dublin Trade Guilds', R.S.A.I. Jn., LII (1922), 143-63.

136. Geo. Soc. Rec., IV, 119; H.F.Berry, 'The Merchant Tailors' Guild, that of St. John the Baptist, Dublin, 1418-1841', R.S.A.I. Jn., XLVIII (1918), 42; date stone on the building is 1710.

137. Reg. Deeds, mem. no. 5-340-2020.

138. 9th William III, chap. xviii.

139. Anc. Rec., VII, 12, 66; 4th Geo. I, chap. ix; 6th Geo. I, chap. xviii.

140. 2nd Anne, chap. xix.

141. 6th Geo. I, chap. xv.

142. 4th Geo. I, chap. xi, amended by 6th Geo. I, chap. xv.

143. 6th Geo. I, chap. xvi.

144. Anc. Rec., VII, 152-53.

145. Anc. Rec., VII, 157-58; 163, 166, 196, 275.

146. Anc. Rec., VII, 315, 374, 379.

147. 9th William III, chap. xvi. Brooking's map (1728) illustrates parish boundaries and sites of churches.

148. 6th Anne, chap. xxi.

149. The following three paragraphs are based on 6th Anne, chap.xxi.

150. 'The Square' probably surrounded the Clarendon Market at the southern end of Clarendon Street.

CHAPTER IX.

SWIFT'S DUBLIN

Swift's Dublin was a city of contrasts. 'Of late years the city and suburbs of Dublin are so much improved by additional buildings ..... so as to be the largest and most populous city in the imperial dominions of Great Britain, excepting the city of London': this was the impression of a Londoner who had spent some time in Dublin in 1732.[1] Speculative builders had transformed much of the urban area: 'they have', wrote Dean Swift, 'found all the commodious and inviting places for erecting new houses while fifteen hundred of the old, which is a seventh part of the whole city are said to be left uninhabited'.[2] Mrs. Delany described the gay social round in Dublin with glowing enthusiasm but also remarked that 'the town is bad enough, narrow streets and dirty looking houses but some very good ones scattered about'.[3] Aware of the false impression created by English visitors who participated only in the carefree social life of the ruling minority the Dean protested that it was 'a little unhospitable and others may call it a subtil piece of malice, that because there may be a dozen families in this town all able to entertain their English friends in a generous manner at their tables their guests upon their return to England shall report that we wallow in riches and luxury .... There is not one argument used to prove the riches of Ireland which is not a logical demonstration of its poverty.'[4]

The great increase in the extent of the city indicated by activities of the first quarter of the eighteenth century would indeed suggest a growth in prosperity. New streets laid out towards the end of the seventeenth century seem largely to have been built in these decades. Quaying of the Liffey had been extended; new public buildings had been erected; new streets had been opened and building on them begun. Nevertheless, much of this apparent prosperity was ephemeral and building broughtruin to many small operators. As Swift records: 'Their method is the same with that which was first introduced by Dr.Barebone at London who died a bankrupt.

The mason, the bricklayer, the carpenter, the slater, and the glazier, take a lot of ground, club to build one or more houses, unite their credit, their stock and their money, and when their work is finished, sell it to the best advantage they can. But, as it often happens, and more every day, that their fund will not answer half their design they are forced to undersell it at the first story and all are reduced to beggary'.[5] Elsewhere Swift paints an even more dismal picture of the speculation which was undoubtedly the cardinal source of early eighteenth century expansion in Dublin: 'Hence our increase of buildings in this city because workmen have nothing to do but employ one another; and one half of them are infallibly undone'.[6]

The decision made in 1727 to build a new House of Parliament marked the end of a phase of development and ideally this chapter should depict Dublin as it was in the year that decision was made. The nature of surviving evidence precludes confining the chapter to that date precisely, however, for some relevant and significant evidence is found in documents of earlier and of later date. An effort has been made to identify the buildings and other components of the townscape which actually existed in 1727 and to omit features constructed later than 1727. Population figures for 1733[7] are more detailed than those for 1728:[8] 'since there was no known influx or diminution of population of significant proportions during those five years the pattern of distribution suggested by the returns of 1733 are probably also valid for 1727. Evidence concerning industries and the occupations of the populace is derived partly from documents of earlier date than 1727 where such evidence appears to be both reliable in itself and to be illustrative of conditions which still pertained in 1727. Similar evidence of later date than 1731 has not been used, for the foundation of the Dublin Society in that year had important consequences for industry.

A new map of Dublin based on a survey by Charles Brooking was published in 1728.[9] The survey was made fortuitously at a significant date in the evolution of the urban plan. However, this map is not an entirely reliable source of evidence and its accuracy must be tested through comparison of evidence from other sources.

DUBLIN • 1727

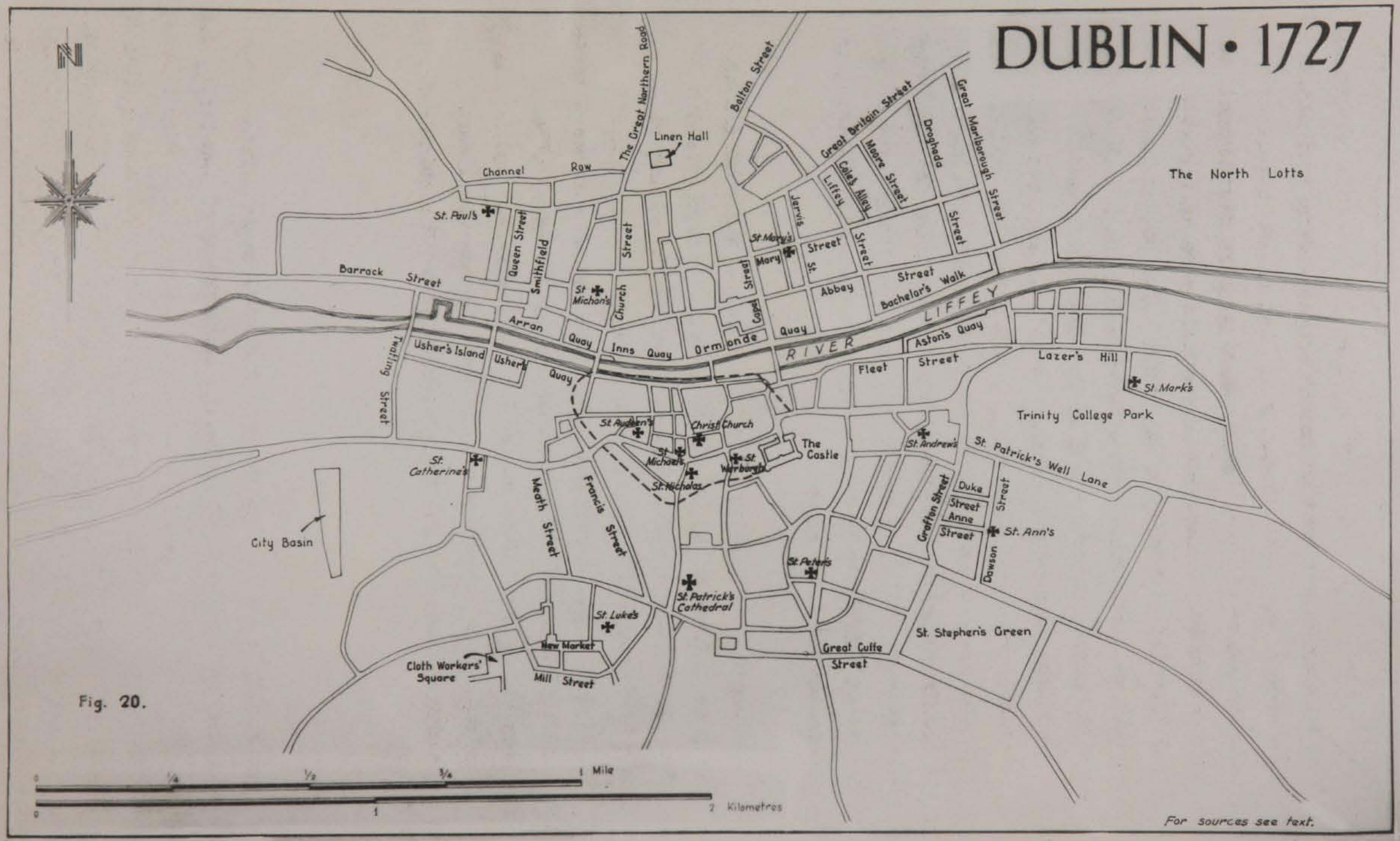


Fig. 20.

For sources see text.

No record of Brooking's survey, other than the map, has survived. Documentary evidence from other sources suggests that Brooking did not record only what existed in the city at the time of his survey; plans which were being implemented are included without differentiating development which was complete from that which was not. A more significant criticism is that of the symbol used to indicate the built-up area. This symbol appears continuously on street blocks which other evidence suggests were only partially built at the time; moreover, the symbol also covers locations where there was definitely no residential building, such as the site of the Quaker burial ground on St.Stephen's Green.[10] It also covers the site of Chichester House which was then an important site of a public building, being the site of the proposed new House of Parliament. Revision of Brooking's map is not possible since other documentary evidence of the extent of early eighteenth century building is scanty and fragmentary and so the insertion of a symbol to represent residential building on Fig.20 has not been attempted.

The name of the chapter - Swift's Dublin - has been chosen because Dean Swift was the most influential figure of his day in Dublin. It was principally he who roused in the ruling class a spirit of (colonial) national independence. Swift began to influence the course of events in the 1720s and he continued to do so during the 1730s. The principal immediate result of his activities had already been achieved by the year 1727 and so the title of the chapter seems justified both for the ideal date of the cross-section and for the period of years for which evidence is cited.

The Estuary

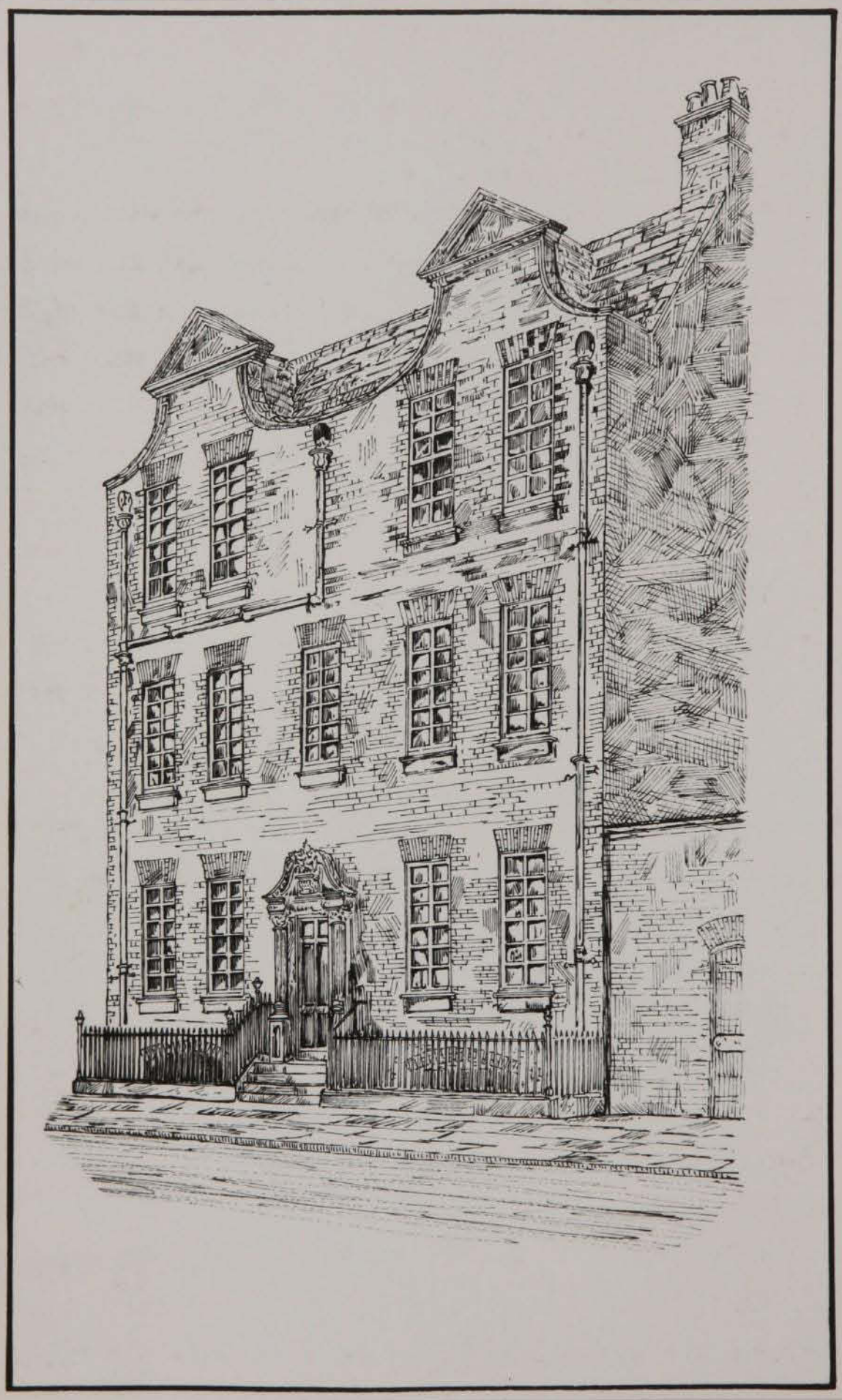
The configuration of the estuary had changed dramatically by 1727 and the arduous task of improving the channel of the Liffey had begun. From Ringsend incoming vessels sailed up the Liffey between walls erected by the Ballast Board, which by then extended almost to Ringsend. Although the channel of the Liffey had been narrowed and the river was now confined to a new bed, improvement and deepening of the channel had scarcely begun. Little progress had been made

with reclamation for the North Lotts and part of the south bank were still overflowed by the incoming sea.[11] On the north bank of the Liffey quays extended continuously westward from Jervis Quay to the Bloody Bridge at Queen Street. On the south bank Sir John Rogerson's holding seems to have been only in process of reclamation but quays extended westward along the waterfront from City Quay to the rectangular indentation of Mercer's dock which had been used by the Ballast Board in the early stages of its work: since work in its vicinity had been completed Mercer's dock may have already been enclosed for reclamation. West of Mercer's dock there were no quays on the south bank east of Pooley's wood-yard and building in progress (or perhaps already completed) extended north to an irregularly aligned wall which controlled the Liffey. Along the waterfront of the walled city there were irregular but continuous quays and west of the city the south bank of the Liffey had been quayed as far as Bloody Bridge at Twatling Street.

A semblance of contradiction is found in observations of the estuary recorded by visitors. A citizen of London who spent some years in the city during the 1720s was impressed by the improvements: 'Shipping of very large burthen now come up to the Custom House and other quays'.[12] The physical obstacles which remained impressed one Loveday who paid a fleeting visit to the city in 1732: 'Great ships cannot come up to Dublin except at high water because of the heaps of sand that at ebb and flow are washed into the Liffey's mouth. Piles are continued from the land a great distance into the sea as a direction to mariners to avoid the beds of sand.'[13] Visitors were, on the whole, more impressed by the need for further development than by what had already been accomplished.

Five bridges spanned the Liffey. Eastward expansion of the city during the beginning of the eighteenth century was accompanied by extended reclamation but it did not at this time lead to further bridge building largely because the site of the Custom House determined the site of the lowest bridging point and the bridge built beside the Custom House quay by Humphrey Jervis remained the most easterly bridge until the end of the eighteenth century. East of Essex Bridge there were ferries, one from Temple Lane to Liffey Street

PLATE IX



see appendix

Double - gabled House

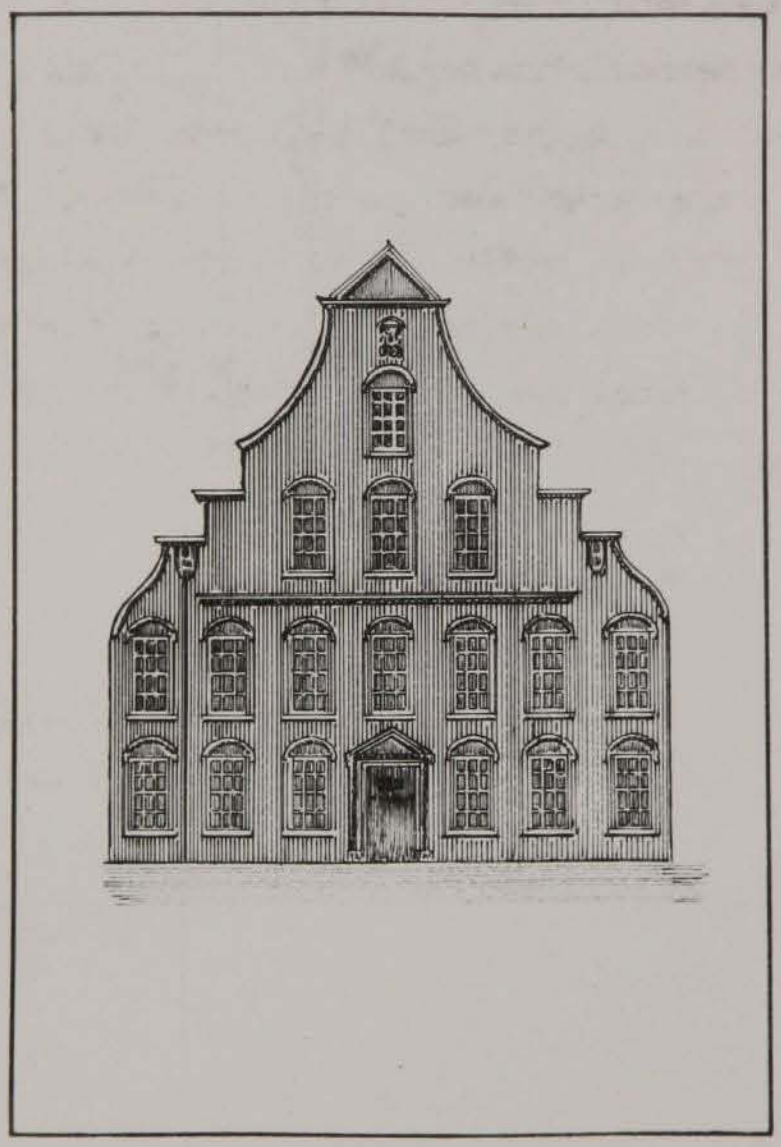
one from Porter's Row to Bachelor's Walk and another from Hawkins' Street to Jervis's Quay. These ferries facilitated inhabitants of the eastern suburbs for the eastward trend of development which became characteristic of Dublin was already discernible; they are marked on Rocque's map (1756).

House Types

Development of the first three decades of the eighteenth century had extended the city to the north, south, east and west, continuing trends which had already been established in the 1690s. Unlike houses built during the earlier phases which were completely demolished to permit the planning of new suburbs, houses built in the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries were frequently re-fronted and modernised to conform to standards introduced later in the eighteenth century. Typical structural features permitted identification and dating of these buildings before they were completely removed in the course of twentieth-century urban renewal.[14] Deeds and memorials of deeds indicate the locations of houses of which no physical evidence remained.

Houses of the period were distinctive both externally and internally. The new gabled style introduced by Dutch weavers in the seventeenth century remained in vogue and was predominant in residential building of the first three decades of the eighteenth century. These houses varied both in size and in character: some had single, plain pointed gables; some had curved single or double gables (Plate IX); some larger houses were treble-gabled. (Plate X). Windows with thick wooden sash-bars were generally flush with the wall outside and without ledges. Doorways of stone and of simple design were usually narrow, leading into a hall or passage which was little wider than the doorway. Different varieties of stone doorways gradually evolved with the passage of time but the simple, plain doorway characterised most houses built early in the century. Indeed it was this very plainness and simplicity which later led to the replacement of house-frontages while the solidity of the buildings prompted renovation rather than demolition. Inside the houses walls were generally panelled throughout in oak or in Memel pine.

PLATE X



see appendix

Gabled House in Marrowbone Lane

Staircases had carved wooden balustrades. Ceilings were plain and completely lacked any plaster decoration. In some of the later houses simple plasterwork was introduced in flat pilasters with ornamental caps in the hall and on the stair landings.[15]

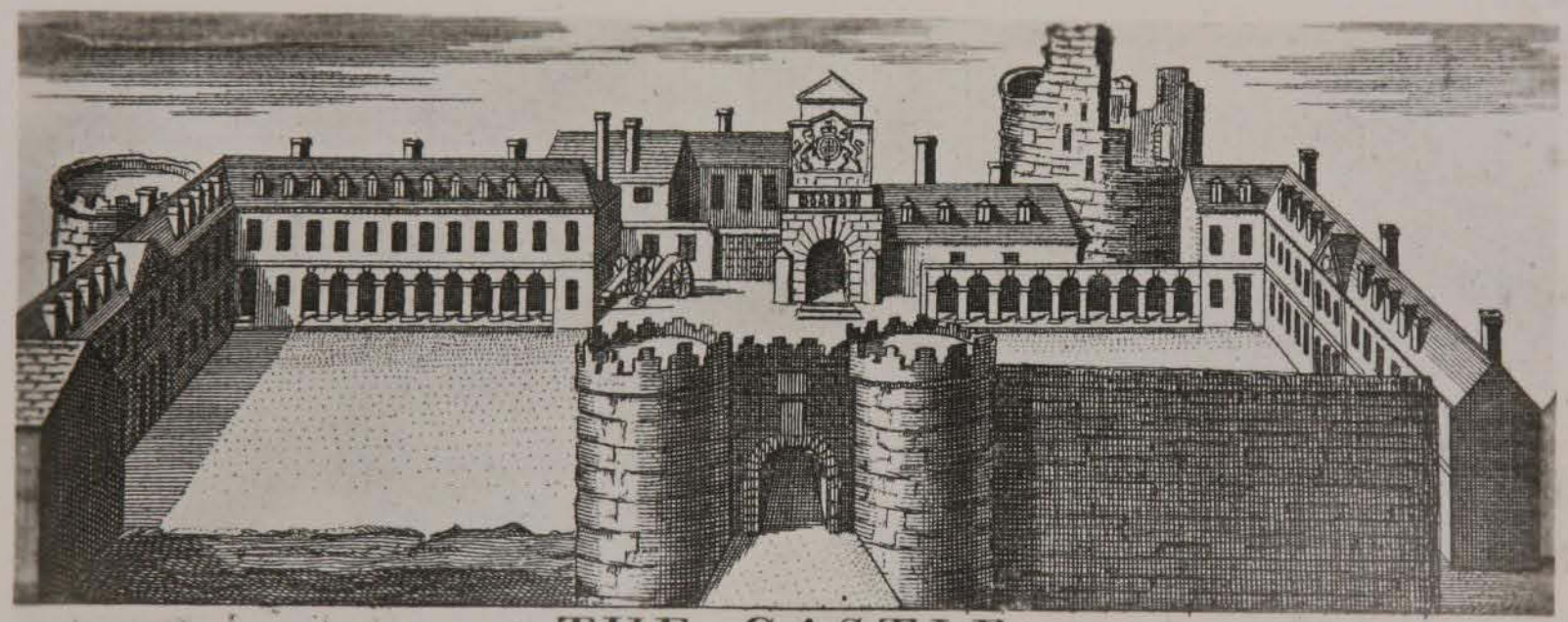
Uniformity of street frontage had been introduced in some streets. It was based on repetitive units and it is characteristic of streetscapes of the early-eighteenth century which were built or controlled by one speculator, by William Hendrick in Queen Street for instance, or Bernard Browne in Weavers' Square.[16] Such streets were not distinguished by any architectural embellishment or by any architectural feature which was given prominence. The houses were usually intended for the middle classes who were engaged in domestic industry or in commercial activities and they were usually utilitarian rather than distinctive: their distinction lay principally in the architectural style which was new to Dublin.

Public Buildings

Public buildings reflect the state of the city. Brooking published eighteen views with his map of Dublin: four depict buildings associated with commerce and three show buildings which were constructed for the poor. Two large public statues are also included, namely, the statue of King William on College Green and that of King George the Second on Essex Bridge, on a special pedestal erected for the purpose. These two statues were considered by Brooking to be among the principal views of the city while the meeting place of parliament which was but a few yards distant from the statue of King William was not included. In fact, this series of views highlights the almost total lack of stately public buildings in the city. Chichester House was probably in the course of demolition. The King's Inns had decayed and were unfit for continued use; reconstruction of the King's Inns was urged in 1730 by a committee of the House of Lords.

The 'bird's eye view' of the Castle which Brooking includes suggests that the general character of the Castle was that of a medieval fortress. (Plate XI). Arcades within the courtyard also

PLATE XI



THE CASTLE

see appendix

suggest that the eighteenth century renovations had already begun.[17] Two views of Trinity College illustrate the transition which began both in the college and in the city about 1727. The western front towards College Green was still Jacobean in character while the new library designed by Thomas Burgh was the first positive step towards a new age. The most striking public building illustrated by Brooking was the Custom House near Essex Bridge, designed by Thomas Burgh and built in 1705. (Plate XII). It was a four storeyed building, the lowest storey arcaded and built of cut stone; the second and third storeys of brick with rusticated quoins; dormer windows pierced the blue-slated roof and in the pedimented centre-piece there was a public clock. The principal front faced Essex Street. From Essex Bridge a flight of steps provided direct access to the Custom House Quay. The new Royal Barracks was also designed by Burgh: it was an imposing building constructed on the site on Oxmantown Green which in the 1660s had been granted to the Duke of Ormonde. Writing in 1732 Loveday noted: 'From the road you see the Barracks, very large stone buildings of late date, part cloistered; they seem to be no small ornament to Dublin'.[18] Brooking also illustrated the Royal Hospital, the most notable building in Williamite Dublin.

The public buildings associated with commerce included the Tholsel which had been constructed between 1676 and 1682: it also housed the Exchange.[19] The Linen Hall, opened in 1728, was a complete contrast in architectural style and in its situation. The Linen Hall stood on a large site between Capel Street and Church Street, on the periphery of the northern suburbs. It opened southwards onto a new street, Lisburn Street, which was aligned east-west, to the north of King Street; it was a rather plain, functional two-storeyed building with an arcaded, pedimented centre-piece, and its courtyard was surrounded by a brick wall.[20] The Corn Market House stood in the middle of Thomas Street, extending westward from New Row, a two-storeyed building of cut stone, the lower storey arcaded and the upper containing offices.[21] The Glib Market was further west in the centre of Thomas Street: no illustration of it has survived. The Four Courts had been reconstructed on the site adjacent to Christ Church Cathedral.[22]

PLATE XII



THE CUSTOM HOUSE

see appendix

Although the city still lacked stately buildings a change had come already in the pattern of distribution of public buildings. Historic sites within the walled city were still in use but there was also a tendency towards further dispersal and towards increased development in the northern suburbs. The site of the new barracks was determined by the availability of an extensive tract of land in a location suitable for the establishment of a Horse Barracks.[23] The site of the Linen Hall was determined by the location of the linen trade[24]: most of the linen drapers came from the north of Ireland and the site chosen adjoined the north road. It was also near the places where linen merchants and drapers usually lodged and in its environs there was room for the development of a new suburb.

The three buildings constructed for the poor which ranked in Brooking's estimation among the principal buildings of the city were the Workhouse and two voluntary hospitals, Mercer's Hospital in St. Stephen Street and Steevens's Hospital in Bow Lane. As the population of the city grew during the seventeenth century Dublin's poor increased in numbers both through natural population increase and through the numbers of migrants who were attracted to the city by increased opportunities for employment and on arrival failed to find work. So great was their number after the turn of the century that a workhouse was built in 1704 on a site in St. James's Street, which was donated by the city and by the Earl of Limerick.[25] It was a large, plain building lacking any distinction. Steevens's Hospital in Bow Lane was founded through a bequest made by Richard Steevens, a Dublin physician who died in 1710 leaving his property in trust to his sister and after her death for the foundation of a hospital for the relief and maintenance of Dublin's sick poor. A site west of the city near Bow Lane was purchased from Sir Samuel Cooke and a new road was opened from Bow Lane to the river. The city council authorised a ferry from the end of the roadway to the north bank of the river and this permitted transporting building materials to the site of the new hospital.[26] Mercer's hospital occupied the site of the medieval church and hospital of St. Stephen.[27] Another voluntary hospital was founded in 1723 in a house in Cook Street. Within five years the number of patients was so great that new

premises were needed and the Charitable Infirmary moved to Inns Quay where a large house had accommodation for fifty patients.[28]

Some of the guilds left an imprint on the city at this time through the building of new premises. The best-known foundation of the period was the Tailors' Hall which was built in Back Lane in 1710: the Hall is still standing and has been restored; it occupies the site of the seventeenth century Jesuit Hall in Back Lane. In fact, it has been suggested that the shell of the present structure was erected in 1627 and that the hall of the present building was probably the Jesuit chapel. A gateway in Back Lane provides access to the buildings. The design of the Tailors' Hall has been attributed to Richard Mills, assistant to the Master of the City Works, overseer and presumed architect. Guilds or corporations which had no premises of their own were permitted to assemble in the Tailors' Hall, namely, the butchers, the smiths, the barbers and the saddlers.[29] The Shoemakers' (Cordwainers') Hall was built on the north side of Cook Street opposite St. Audoen's Arch on a site leased in 1698 from James Cottingham, goldsmith. In 1709 the Guild of Goldsmiths, Watchmakers and Clockmakers built a new hall in Werburgh Street nearly opposite to Hoey's Court. About the same time the Guild of Cutlers, Painter-Stainers and Stationers built the Stationers' Hall on Cork Hill. The brewers and maltsters had premises in Hoey's Court and the coopers in Castle Street. The Carpenters' Hall was in the passage leading to Audoen's Arch and it was used by a number of guilds.[30]

The existence of these guild premises, many of them newly built, suggests that each of these groups represented a flourishing industry. It should be noted, however, that the premises were built at the end of the seventeenth or very early in the eighteenth century before trade restrictions had any significant effect. Furthermore, the guilds were no longer truly representative of those engaged in the various trades since catholics were no longer freely admitted and catholics engaged in the various trades in increasing numbers since the 1690s. During the eighteenth century the training of craftsmen and the maintenance of standards of craftsmanship was assumed by the Dublin Society.

Guild premises were all located in the most densely populated parts of the city. Only two of the buildings became significant landmarks in the city: these were the Tailors' Hall and the Weavers' Hall in the Coombe which was reconstructed later in the eighteenth century.[31] The Tailors' Hall was one of the largest halls in Dublin during the eighteenth century and it was frequently used for social functions as well as for functions associated with the guilds. The site of the Weavers' Hall was clearly influenced by the location of the weaving industry in the south-western suburbs. Its sphere of influence was largely the woollen industry and its significance was diminished through the decline of the woollen industry and through the activities of the Dublin Society.

Places of Recreation

The social and recreational life of Dublin's citizens is reflected in the number of pleasure grounds which existed already and in the numerous and varied pastimes available in the city. The citizen of London who visited the city in 1732 has left a very comprehensive list of the pastimes, namely, backsword, cudgels, boxing and wrestling; bull baiting, cock fighting, hunting, tables, draughts, balls, plays, consorts of music, singing, dancing, women and wine: unfortunately he has not listed any of the places where such entertainment might be found although he has listed the 'principal places resorted to by the quality .... to take the air', namely, 'the waterworks in St. James's Street, the Deer Park, the Strand, and St. Stephen's Green'.[32] The 'waterworks' lay to the south-west of the city. As shown by Brooking a wall enclosure which surrounded the new 'City Bason' was entered from the south through an ornate, pedimented gateway. A double row of trees surrounded the 'bason' shading a walk which encircled it inside the enclosure. The feasibility of such development west of the city reflects the prosperity of the contemporary western and south western suburbs where both titled gentry and rich merchants lived. The adverse effect of economic controls had apparently not yet left its imprint on the area when the 'bason' was constructed.

The Deer Park or Phoenix Park provided a pleasant drive for the

nobility who 'resorted thither in their coaches'.[33] As Mrs. Delany wrote in 1732 after attending a military review: 'The park, justly called the Phoenix Park, was the place of show. One regiment of horse and three of foot who all performed their parts well. The Duchess of Dorset was there in great style and all the beau monde of Dublin. But I must not pass over in silence the beauties of the park which is a large extent of ground, very fine turf, agreeable prospects and a delightful wood in the midst of which there is a ring where the beaux and belles resort in fine weather: indeed I never saw a spot of ground more to my taste - it is far beyond St. James's or Hyde Park'. Mrs. Delany was equally enthusiastic about St. Stephen's Green which, she wrote, 'may be preferred justly to any square in London and it is a great deal larger than Lincoln's Inn Fields. A handsome, broad gravel walk and another of grass are railed in around the square, planted with trees that in summer give a very good shade'.[34]

The sea shore of the North Strand and Clontarf was another pleasant drive. Although reclamation was in progress the Lotts were still overflowed by the tide. The coast road which formed the western boundary of the reclaimed land led north and east to Clontarf and to Howth and the citizens found that 'in bright and serene weather gives a delightful prospect by the sailing inwards and outwards of shipping; also to the mountains of Wicklow and the Hill of Howth; and as the shore is level for seven or eight miles it is much resorted to by all degrees of persons'.[35]

Each quarter of the city had its fashionable promenade, although transport was necessary to use all but one. Both the Phoenix Park and St. Stephen's Green retained their status throughout the eighteenth century. The North Strand became slightly less fashionable when the commercial concerns near the area developed but the northern part remained a pleasant drive throughout the century.

The Suburbs

The south-west

Suburban differentiation had proceeded spontaneously since

URBAN ZONES • 1727

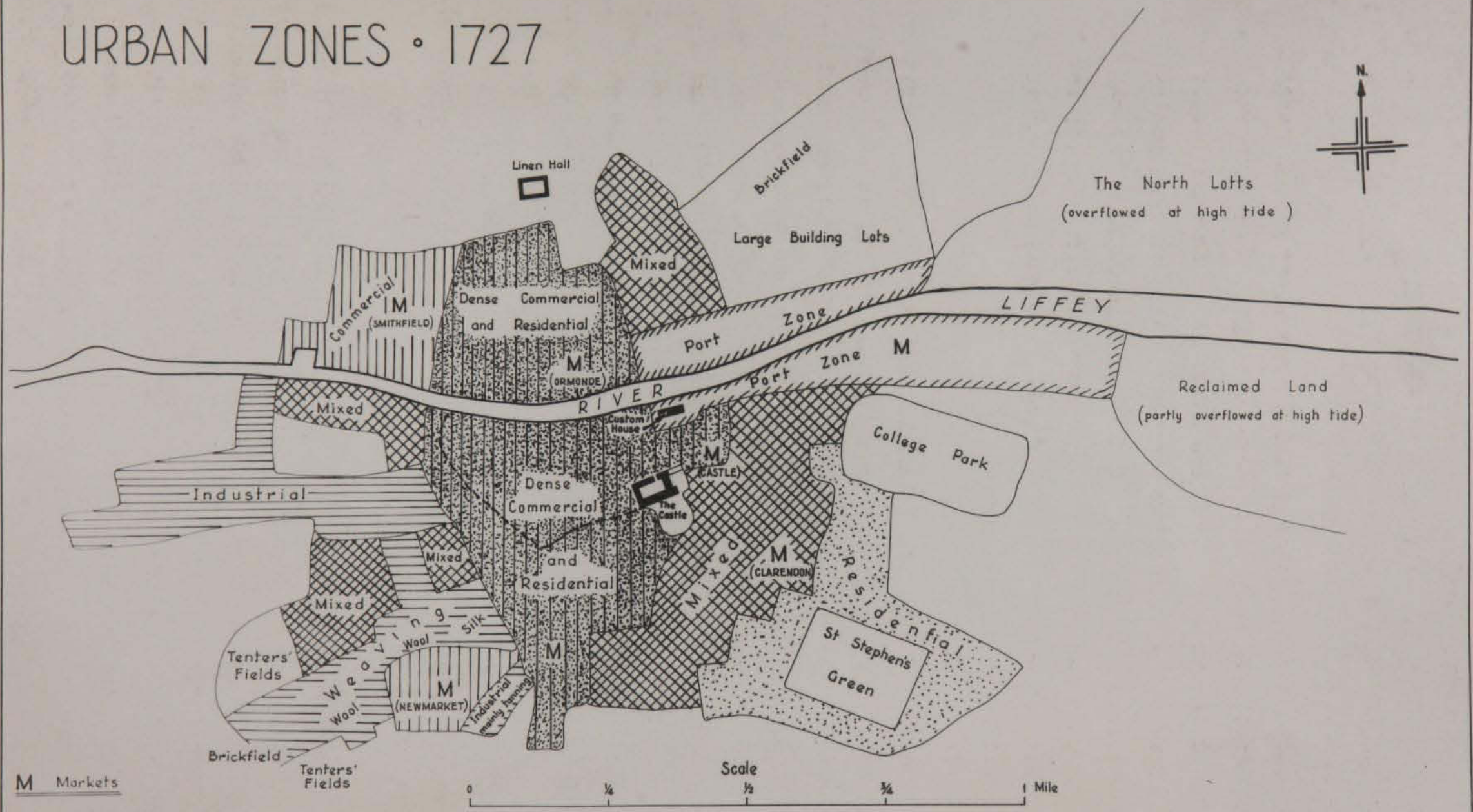


Fig. 21.

see appendix.

the beginning of the eighteenth century. (Fig.21) The most extensive building had been in the south-west where development was rapid during the first half of the growth-phase. In fact it was during this time that the principal characteristics of the south-western suburbs evolved for growth almost ceased during the 1720s. Although most of the houses in this suburb were constructed about the same time and all were probably gabled houses, there was nonetheless considerable variety of street-frontages. Some streetscapes were composed of simple, repetitive units as in Weavers' Square where the houses were three-storeyed with plain, pointed gables; they had neither area nor basement, reflecting the purpose for which they were constructed for Weavers' Square was built specifically for 'cloth-workers' who combined place of work with residence and required well-lit rooms rather than cellars.

In Mill Street and Newmarket the streetscape was neither uniform nor regular and the building sites were leased at different times to various tenants. One large house in Mill Street, was double-gabled and double-fronted with two large windows on both sides of the doorway; it was a three-storeyed house with an area and a basement and was evidently occupied by a person of some wealth and consequence for the ornate doorway surmounted by a pediment and flanked by columns was probably a later insertion prompted by the changing fashions of later decades. (Plate IX). On Sweeney's Lane leading south from Mill Street to the southern Tenter Fields, there were a few three-storeyed houses with single pointed gables, lacking basements and areas: the absence of any attic window suggests that these houses also lacked attic rooms.[36]

On Marrowbone Lane there were few houses and building did not proceed further during the eighteenth century for the vacant land within this street block continued to be occupied by Tenter Fields. An illustration of one large house in this street, built in 1703, provides an interesting example of the larger, more ornate private buildings erected early in the century; its precise location cannot now be established, however, since it was completely demolished in 1813 and the only record which remains is the illustration reproduced in Plate X. This house was wide-fronted, treble-gabled, with curved

gables rising to a high central point; an ornate tablet inserted over the doorway recorded the date of building and the occupiers, a practice then in vogue and derived from customs of earlier times.[37] This house was undoubtedly distinctive. Whether it was typical of the houses of wealthy merchants or whether it was unique is not now possible to establish.

Most of the gabled houses which survived until the twentieth century were located in the south-western suburbs: all were in suburbs in which commercial activities were fully intermixed with residences. This does not necessarily indicate that there were no similar houses in other streets but it does reflect the character of the suburbs in which the houses survived: it was these suburbs which experienced great poverty and decay during succeeding decades and centuries. Elsewhere houses were occupied by wealthier people and the gabled houses were either reconstructed or refronted by them later in the eighteenth century.

The south-east

Building had progressed rapidly on Dawson's estate once the streets were opened early in the century. By the end of the phase most though not all of the estate had been developed. Some lots were still vacant, for instance, the corner house on the north-eastern side of Dawson Street was built after 1731 when the site was leased by Joshua Dawson to Charles (Carr), Bishop of Killaloe who built a mansion described in an advertisement as 'neatly and fully furnished', having a fine back garden with gravel walks and a fountain, and a large coach-house and stables at the rear.[38] Variety of style and size within the regular street-frontage laid out by Dawson seems to have been the keynote, but there is little evidence from which to reconstruct a comprehensive townscape.

The house built by Dawson and inhabited by him in 1711 was subsequently purchased by the city council (for £3,500) as a residence for the Lord Mayor.[39] The minute description recorded by the committee appointed to view the premises illustrates the standard of magnificance set by Dawson in designing the premises. This was a large brick, double-fronted mansion set back a little from the

street-line on the east side of Dawson Street, adjoining on the north the ground allocated to the new parish church of St. Anne. The rooms on the ground floor were all 'well wainscotted with Danzick oak and French walnut with very good floors, locks and choice marble chimney pieces.' In the walnut parlour there were 'gilt leather hangings, four pairs of scarlet calamanco window curtains and chimney glass' and the 'large eating room' on the same floor was 'well-curtained! The 'lodging rooms' upstairs were 'very good and well wainscotted and painted' and the 'offices below stairs, kitchens and outhouses all large and well-built and very convenient.' When offering the house for sale Dawson proposed to extend it for official use and in agreeing to purchase it the city ordered that the new room be constructed to the north-east of the existing buildings, that it be furnished and that the kitchens beneath be made ready for use with 'spits, racks and jacks' and that a chaplain's room be provided also.[40] This house has remained the Lord Mayor of Dublin's official residence from that time to the present.

On the lands of Tib and Tom development had begun about 1704 when Clarendon Street was opened by lessees of William Williams. This development was probably prompted by the success of the Clarendon market on King Street, which had been developed by Sir Abel Ram, Alderman John Knox and George Blackall to whom William Williams had leased the market place in 1685. By 1710 the Clarendon Market was already lined with houses and stalls occupied the central square. Building on Clarendon Street proceeded sporadically from that time: some building is recorded c. 1710 and some houses were built c.1718.[41] These seem to have been small houses intended for the middle classes, for artisans, tradesmen, and perhaps some small merchants. Although Brooking suggests that the entire area was built by 1728 the distribution of the symbol for residential building on his map is not of itself sufficient to determine the extent of building.

Brooking has provided a 'Prospect of St.Stephen's Green' which illustrates tall houses surrounding three sides of the Green. The dome seen in the background resembles that of St.Werburgh's and this

suggests that the view faces west. A deficiency of the illustration, - lack of entrances to the Green - indicates again, however, the general unreliability of Brooking's work as a source of evidence. Notwithstanding it is certain that there were houses at this time on all sides of the Green although their precise number and location cannot be ascertained. On the east the residence of the Monck family was prominent and from it was named the eastern walk, Monck's Walk, on St. Stephen's Green.[42] Nearby was Spring Garden House, a large house near the north-eastern corner of the Green, which was approached by an entrance from Baggotrath Road (now Merrion Row).[43] Between these two houses Landré's nursery gardens occupied a frontage of two hundred and thirty-eight feet on St. Stephen's Green East and they extended five hundred and eighty-six feet in depth eastwards. Landré was 'well known for his great skill in rearing fruit-trees and ever-greens'. He occupied the former residence of the Earl of Roscommon, 'a large brick house enclosed with a stone wall'; in the extensive garden Landré built a summer house and another small house. The adjoining nursery gardens were enclosed with walls and planted with trees: they extended from Landré's house to the road to the Gallows (Baggotrath Road).[44] These were not the only nursery gardens in the vicinity for in 1721 one Charles Furlong supplied Lord Carteret with 30,000 thorns for quickset hedges, from a nursery near the Green.[45]

The largest house on the Green had a frontage of one hundred and twenty feet: it was situated on the north side east of Dawson Street and was occupied by Thomas Wyndham, Lord Chancellor of Ireland from 1726 to 1739.[46] West of Dawson Street was the town residence of the Earl of Meath which he had leased in 1702 from Abel Ram, owner of Lot. No 30.[47] East of Dawson Street was the residence of Elnathan Lumm, a banker in Castle Street who had died in 1708. Nearby on ground owned by Henry Ware, was the former residence of Henry Petty, Lord Shelbourne, a son of Sir William Petty, which was leased in 1712 by John Pratt of Cabragh Castle, Co. Cavan, Deputy Receiver to the Vice-Treasurers of Ireland and Paymaster General: Pratt, like Eccles, incurred heavy debts and in 1725 this property was conveyed in trust to Luke Gardiner, as receiver, to clear the debts.[48] On the corner of Coote Lane (Kildare Street) and St.

Stephen's Green was Kerry House, residence of Thomas Fitzmaurice, twenty-first Baron and first Earl of Kerry who lived there from 1722 to 1741: part of the Shelbourne Hotel occupies the site at present.[49]

Of the houses which probably stood on the south side of the Green is now no record. Building in the first decade of the century on the road to Donnybrook, now Leeson Street and then La Fontan Street, is recorded in a lease made in 1708 by David La Touche to Rev. Theodores des Vories of a new house adjoining Captain La Fontan's dwelling.[50] Most of the lots surrounding the Green were rebuilt during the second half of the century and both documentary and physical evidence of the earlier houses is either scanty or non-existent. According to the Georgian Society Records No. 41 was among the oldest houses on the Green in 1907:[51] the internal arrangement and ornamentation showed that it dated from the early part of the eighteenth century. The most striking feature was the grand staircase leading from the hall to a landing from which the drawing rooms opened: these were small rooms owing to the space taken by the broad staircase. Fireplaces occupied the corner of the room, a typical early-eighteenth century feature.

The character of Aungier's estate had changed considerably: nobility and churchmen had forsaken the neighbourhood when houses became available in the newer suburbs and large mansions and other seventeenth century dwellings had been leased to merchants and tradesmen. Vacant ground on the seventeenth century streets and the gardens of mansions had been leased for building. The new buildings seem to have been smaller houses in brick and stone, some warehouses and a timber yard. The status of the eighteenth century lessees indicates the changed character of the neighbourhood: houses were leased to a timber merchant, coachmakers, a smith, a tailor, a painter, a weaver, a baker, a clothier and a bricklayer.[52] In the south-eastern sector of the estate new streets were laid out and these were lined with small dwellings suited to the middle classes or to the lesser gentry.[53] House design was similar to that of the south-western suburbs: in Digges Street, for instance, houses were very similar to those in Weavers' Square, - a series of repetitive units, each house having a plain, pointed gable but, unlike Weavers'

Square, each house had a railed area in front which permitted windows under ground level and therefore enabled builders to excavate deep basements for kitchens and cellars.[54]

The north-east

The north-eastern suburbs had extended considerably. Since Campbell had integrated his new streets fully with those laid out by Humphrey Jervis in the seventeenth century the two estates had merged and had tended to become a unified sector. This tendency continued until the 1730s when new developments reversed the trend.

In the course of early-eighteenth century development the character of Jervis's estate had gradually changed. The large seventeenth-century building lots and the gardens and courtyards of mansions constructed during the previous phase were gradually covered with buildings. On the site of a house called Black Lyon Court in Capel Street, for instance, John Wheeler erected three houses. On another site on the west side of Capel Street Wheeler constructed six houses and on White Lyon Court in Strand Street he built sixteen brick houses. The site of the Flying Horse, a house erected in 1683 by Christopher Dominick, had by 1715 been 'improved with stables, coach-house, shops and tenements'. Adjoining Sir Humphrey Jervis's 'Great House' in Capel Street (on the corner of Mary Street) there was a sugar-baker's premises. Some houses in Capel Street were divided into tenements and others were occupied by merchants and traders; there were also many inns in the locality.[55] The effort to make this area an upper-class residential suburb seemed to have failed and the tendency towards building big, individual houses, which characterised primary development in the seventeenth century, seemed to have been reversed. Capel Street became a predominantly commercial centre but was not without big houses both on the street and in its environs.

On Jervis Street, Mary Street, and Stafford Street there were both large houses and small and these streets were predominantly, if not entirely residential. The town residence of Viscount Charlemont was in Jervis Street: it was a brick, double-gabled house with irregularly placed windows and the doorway off centre. The house

was well-planned inside where the hall, staircase and walls were panelled in Memel pine. Mantelpieces were typical of the early-eighteenth century, placed cornerwise in the rooms and having simple, carved wooden beading framing narrow slabs of marble. In the hallway there were pilasters of pine with carved capitals./In the same street-block, facing Mary Street, a large house erected c. 1697 by Paul Barry, Keeper of the Pipe or Great Roll of the Exchequer, was inhabited by the Ingoldsby family from 1712 to 1743: this was later known as Langford House. In it the entrance opened into a wide, low flagged hall which led into a corridor; corridors divided each floor of the house.[56] No other individualism is recorded except the fact that it was set well back from the street-line, as shown by Rocque (1756).

On the Drogheda estate the large building lots planned by Charles Campbell were walled with lime and stone at an early date. Most recorded early building was in the southern sector near the strand reclaimed by Jervis. The lots north of Henry Street were still unbuilt when acquired by Luke Gardiner in 1729-1730 and it seems likely that little or no demolition of houses was necessary in order to widen Drogheda Street in the 1740s. The presence of brickfields on the site of building lots west of Drogheda Street and of gravel or sand pits in the same area are the only indications of early-eighteenth century land-use in this place.[57]

Building had started on Mellifont Lane and probably also on adjacent streets. Jacob Nixon, a timber merchant, sold a house in Mellifont Lane to Darby Egan of the city of Kilkenny for £500[58]; this sum should not be thought necessarily to be the price of the completed building, however, for houses were frequently sold when only the shell had been constructed and the decoration of the interior was arranged by the purchaser. In Marlborough Street Thomas Singleton had laid out and developed a very successful bowling green which had 'a very good garden, well situate in good air and a very good pump'. Singleton had obtained a lease of the ferry from the quays near Hawkins' Street to Union Street on the north bank, to facilitate his clients.[59]

The Eccles estate was the only developed area north of Marlborough Street. The most prominent building was the mansion of Mount Eccles which stood on the summit of the hill north of Great Britain Street. No record of the facade of Mount Eccles has survived. It was a large, free-standing, three storeyed house with a basement; on the ground floor there was a very large hall and four parlours; there was both a grand staircase and a back stairs to provide access to the upper storeys where there were seven bedrooms on each floor. In the basement there were two kitchens and a cellar. This seems to have been the only large mansion in Ballybough or Summerhill. Other houses built on Summerhill about the same time seem to have been small terraced houses which lined the roadway near St. George's Church and opposite the entrance to Mount Eccles. Near the foot of the slope and east of the tree-lined avenue of the mansion, the church of St. George was situated on the north side of Summerhill. Nearby was a home for widows established by Dame Elizabeth Eccles. Although this neighbourhood was predominantly residential there were also some commercial concerns in the neighbourhood. On the hill above Great Britain Street there was a windmill and near it a slated house occupied by a miller.[60]

The eastern riverside zone

Between the residential suburbs of the north-east and the south-east a distinct zone adjacent to the river had emerged. It was already characterised by density of buildings and was predominantly commercial. Density of occupation seems to have been greater on the south bank where, during the second decade of the century, the large seventeenth-century mansions had been leased to merchants and tradesmen and small new houses had been built on their courtyards and gardens.[61] Proximity to the river and to the Custom House influenced the character of this small area which seems to have been congested but prosperous during the ensuing half-century.

The north-west

On Oxmantown Green a thriving commercial suburb had developed. Although there were probably some industries in this suburb statutory restrictions on industry did not affect the prosperity of the area in the same manner as they did the south-western

suburbs during the 1720s. The site of the principal livestock market was in Smithfield and this probably influenced the character of Oxmantown Green: activities connected with the provisions trade were located in this suburb and in the old city and these activities were not affected by adverse legislation. Extension westward was precluded by the extensive site of the Barracks and by the Phoenix Park. The streetscape in Oxmantown was probably similar to that of the south-western suburbs since the two areas were built contemporaneously but the poverty which characterised districts in the south-west was absent from the north-west.

The old city

The old city had lost much of its medieval character but was still distinguished by its narrow, winding streets and by congestion which had increased owing to building in the gardens of mansions which had been subdivided either for commercial use or as residences for the poor. Colourful signs such as those which had fascinated John Dunton still enlivened the street scene and the wit and ingenuity displayed in some of the advertisements provoked comment from Swift: 'I have not observed the wit and fancy of this town so much employed in any one article', he wrote, 'as that of contriving variety of signs to hang over houses where punch is to be sold. The bowl is represented full of punch; the ladle stands erect in the middle, supported sometimes by one sometimes by two animals, whose feet rest upon the edge of the bowl. These animals are sometimes one black lion and sometimes a couple; sometimes a single eagle and sometimes a spread one; and we often meet a crow, a swan, a bear or a cock in the same posture.'[62] Such colourful signs were used to distinguish private residences as well as inns and places of business. Some buildings had been reconstructed but the extent of renewal in the old city is difficult to determine since the evidence is slight. Reconstruction can only have been sporadic, however, and the contrast between the older and the newer sectors of the city became more marked as the decades passed.

Most of the medieval gates which had guarded the entrances to the old city had been demolished in the last decade of the seventeenth

century. It had been proposed at that time to widen the entrance to Dame's Gate from nine to fourteen feet, reconstructing the medieval gate.[63] There is no record of the work actually executed and it seems probable that the gate was removed rather than widened at this time. Sections of the medieval fortifications which remained were Newgate and St. James's Gate which barred the western approach to the city and Wormwood Gate at the western end of Cock Street. Other public improvements had also been made. Irregularities of alignment and obstructive projections had been removed in places and some street-levels had been altered. The steep slope in Fishamble Street had already been levelled, for instance, when the city ordered similar improvement of St. Michael's Lane and of Cork Hill in 1713.[64]

One very significant feature of the pattern of distribution of housing is indicated by the returns of 1733,[65] namely, a very large increase on the north bank of the Liffey, particularly in the parish of St. Mary which, by 1733, had a larger number of houses than any parish in the city or suburbs. The parish comprised the precincts of St. Mary's Abbey and most of the development was of more recent date than 1670. The comparison between the number of houses in this parish (1373) and in the parish of St. Paul (482) where early-modern suburban development had begun about the same time is indeed almost startling. The contrast reflects extensive development in the eastern sector during the previous growth-phase in which there was scarcely any land available for westward urban expansion on the north bank.

Highways

The influence of highways on the growth-pattern of the city had become apparent by this time. It was the highway from the north which determined the location of the Linen Hall. Within the built-up area the old highways were the principal arteries: between them new, regular streets had been opened and these partly obscured the radial character of the old thoroughfares. On the north bank, for instance, there was no longer one clear focus such as the old bridge had been at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Roads from the

north and north-east converged on the northern end of Capel Street which led due south to Essex Bridge. New streets had been opened as approaches to the new western bridges and these deflected some traffic from the old core-area. As the city expanded sections of the old highways were widened and improved. Outside the urbanised areas there were probably extensive cabin-suburbs and it is likely that ribbon-development of new housing had already begun.

Markets

The principal city markets were still the Ormonde markets on the Pill on the north bank of the Liffey. Only one new market, the Castle market, had been established during the eighteenth century: its success probably derived partly from the transfer of the old markets from the walled city to the north bank. The Castle market fostered redevelopment in its vicinity and this resulted in a further change of character in the seventeenth-century eastern suburbs where commercial activities increased in the older, western sector near Dame's Gate. Other markets founded in the seventeenth century continued to serve the southern suburbs. From this time, new centres of commercial activities were shops rather than markets.

Industry

Despite the lack of special buildings and the paucity of map evidence, or even of documentary evidence which can be related to maps, a definite pattern of distribution of industry is discernible at this period, (Fig. 21), a pattern which evolved from trends established in the seventeenth century and some which were established even in earlier times. As the suburbs extended during the first quarter of the eighteenth century industries continued to be excluded from the eastern suburbs. As land-use changed in the inner eastern suburbs the older buildings were invaded by commercial activities which probably included some small industries.

Weaving of all kinds, and associated industries, were located in the south-west and the reason for this local specialisation has already been noted, namely, the plentiful water supply. Although

the decline of the woollen industry brought poverty and misery to this quarter by the 1720s, weaving nevertheless continued. Whereas in the 1690s the production of broadcloths and fine serges had developed rapidly, by the 1720s the principal production was of coarse materials for the home market.[66] There were still many large concerns. John Pearson of Francis Street, for instance, described himself in his inventory as a 'Shagg Weaver' whereas he was in fact a clothier: he had many employees and he sent goods to other weavers and spinners and he had four looms and a warping mill on another premises, that of John Jefferson. Pearson also had a shop in which he had large quantities of cloth of various types, qualities and colours, including some broadcloth.[67] There is not sufficient evidence to indicate whether or not Jefferson was one of the larger employers of the time but it seems probable that there were many others who had similar concerns.

The silk weavers' quarters between Francis Street and Patrick Street were not nearly as extensive as the woollen quarters. By 1730 there were about 800 looms at work in the city, employing three thousand persons.[68] Most of these were probably in or near Spittle Square. The silk industry seems to have been largely in the hands of immigrant Huguenots; the figures cited did not include the making of poplin or 'tabinet' which had been started by La Touche in 1695.[69]

The great increase in the linen trade had prompted the foundation of the Linen Hall. It also prompted the building of extensive warehouses in the city for there were merchants and drapers who gradually specialised only in linen; although some later found storage in the Linen Hall most seem to have had their own storehouses at their place of business. There were a few linen weavers in Dublin and during the second quarter of the eighteenth century numerous bleach yards were established near the city: their location is not known but they were probably near the tributaries of the south bank. An inventory made in 1721 records the possessions of a linen weaver, Philip Kelly, who had a workshop with eight looms, reeds and harnesses, a bucking house, beaters and wringing hooks; he also had a shop with a large stock of linen cloth and yarn of

various types, and a bleach yard.[70] There were probably similar concerns and some may have been larger than Kelly's.

Brewing, distilling and tanning continued to be centred on the western and south-western suburbs, attracted by the good water-supply. Tanneries were mostly along the Poddle with premises open onto New Row. Breweries and distilleries were mostly in Thomas Street and in St. James's Street.

The northern suburbs were predominantly commercial. This resulted partly from the location of the Ormonde markets on the Pill and the livestock markets on Smithfield. Activities associated with the provisions trade seem to have been mostly in these northern suburbs and in the older settlement on both banks of the Liffey. Since there are neither detailed Directories nor surveys for the period it is not possible to establish their precise location.

The building trade with its associated industries was probably the greatest single source of employment. The recession of the 1720s was followed by extensive building and reconstruction towards the end of the decade. This is reflected in the inventory of Nicholas Carter who described himself as a 'bricklayer' but was evidently a master-builder and an employer on quite a large scale. Carter's stock included 'old steps and stairs, old balustrades, old doors and door-cases' as well as black flaggs and steps, lumber, lime, sand and gravel, horses and carts. He was evidently engaged in renovating old houses as well as constructing new ones. Carter had large warehouses and stores in Crow Street and he also owned a malt mill and a lime-kiln whose location is unknown.[71] All activities, except brick-making, associated with the building trade were scattered through the city and suburbs: the location of the brickfields is seen in Fig. 21.

Parishes

The reorganisation of parishes which was prompted by the development of new suburbs also led to the building of new churches. The churches of the Established Church reflect two aspects of the life of

the times, namely its privileged position and the speculative character of development, for none of the new buildings constructed at that time was completed. Brooking illustrated two of the churches built during this phase: St. Anne's and St. Werburgh's. Both elevations are similar, the principal difference being that St. Werburgh's is surmounted by a dome and St. Anne's by a spire. The church of St. Nicholas Within was extended and rebuilt in 1707.[72] Its frontage was of hewn stone; in the centre a great arched doorcase was surmounted by a large arched window with a smaller arched window on either side; a square belfry rose above the roof.

The church of St. Paul occupied a site donated by the city on Oxmantown Green. The building lacked any architectural distinction and it occupied a secluded site north of the Blue Coat School. The Church of St. Mary occupied a large site in Mary Street extending from Stafford Street to Jervis Street: its principal distinction was that it was a galleried church, and it is thought to be the first galleried church built in Dublin; during the next century and a half all Dublin churches of the Established Church were built in similar form. Externally the church is severely dignified, its plainness almost unrelieved. The church of St. Luke in the Coombe was frequented mainly by Huguenot weavers who overflowed from the 'French Church' in the Lady Chapel of St. Patrick's Cathedral; it has been described aptly if not complimentarily, as an 'economic rectangular box'.[73] It lacked architectural distinction but occupied a pleasant, secluded tree-lined walk. The church of St. Mark near Lazer's Hill resembled that of St. Luke in its lack of architectural distinction and it too was pleasantly situated, south of the main thoroughfare and approached by a narrow street. Both of these unadorned churches were built in areas which were predominantly commercial. A new church dedicated to St. James, on the north side of James's Street, was built soon after the parish of St. James was recreated in 1707. A church dedicated to St. George, built near Summerhill by Sir John Eccles, did not become a parish church. In Ringsend the Royal Chapel of St. Matthew at Irishtown was built by the corporation in 1704 to 1706: the architect then employed is not known but the tower added in 1713 was designed by Richard Mills.[74] The parish network is seen in Fig. 19.

New chapels for the Roman Catholics were built about this time and the protestant Dissenters built meeting houses. No comprehensive survey of these premises has survived for this period and their location is discussed later.

Population

The total population of the city in 1728 was estimated by Dobbs to be 90,000, a computation based on Hearth Tax returns and on recorded births and burials. The total is thought to be deficient since the evidence from all three sources was deficient and incomplete. According to Dobbs, recorded burials did not include either those who died in the city and were transported to the country for burial or Quakers who were buried in their back yards. Recorded births included neither dissenters nor catholics who were more numerous than those who adhered to the Established Church. Hearth Tax returns were often acknowledged to be deficient and they were never known to include totals too large for houses for the poor. Furthermore, in returns for the city of Dublin public buildings and institutions were not included, namely, the Castle, the Custom House, the Barracks, Colleges, Workhouses, charity schools and watch houses or light houses. The estimated total was therefore grossly deficient. Dobbs also records the results of a survey made in two (unnamed) parishes, one in the city and one in the suburbs, by one Dr. Tisdal who calculated that there was an average of 12½ inhabitants in every house, a positive indication not only of the increased population but also of increased congestion since the seventeenth century. Furthermore, even this average was thought to be too low 'considering how many live together in the trading parts of the city where seventy persons have been known to live in a house, there being a family sometimes in each room, oftentimes on each floor and in the cellars.'[75]

More detailed population statistics are recorded in the returns made by the clergy of the Established Church in the year 1733.[76] These returns were not based on enumerations made by the clergy or their assistants, however; they are merely estimates based on the Hearth Tax returns for 1733 and on an enumeration made in St. Michan's

parish in 1723. The returns are nevertheless of interest for many reasons. Since returns of houses and hearths are given for each parish it is possible to modify them in the light of other evidence. It is possible also to identify the areas in which the most extensive building had taken place since the end of the seventeenth century.

According to the enumeration made in 1723 there was an average of twelve persons per house in the parish of St. Michan and this figure was used as multiplier in estimating the total population for each parish in 1733. The question arises immediately as to whether the parish of St. Michan was representative of the entire urbanised area. The parish of (new) St. Michan's comprised the old medieval core of settlement on the north bank of the Liffey and some adjacent streets which had been opened and largely built during the seventeenth century. The density of population in this parish was probably comparable to that of the parishes within the walls and the parishes which comprised the seventeenth century or medieval suburban streets on the south bank. The density was probably greater in all of these areas than it was in the newer parishes which comprised streets opened and developed during the late-seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. Six parishes would belong to the second category and they contained more than one third of the recorded houses. The six parishes were St. Andrew's and St. Mark's which were combined in the statistics and had 1174 houses; St. Anne's, 320 houses; St. Luke's, 554 houses; St. Mary's, 1373 houses; St. Paul's, 482 houses; St. Peter and Kevin's, 721 houses. Four other parishes had a considerable number of new streets and houses: these were St. Bridget's, 547 houses; St. James's, 643 houses; St. Katherine's, 1,361 houses and Donnybrook and Ringsend, 452 houses. This suggests that overestimation could have applied to half of the urbanised area.

If the returns of houses are accurate then the total population is overestimated. However, it should be noted that these returns and calculations were made by the clergy of the Established Church who were not acquainted with catholics or with protestant dissenters in their parishes, and these they probably underestimated. The estimates of catholics would have included the residents of small

houses and cabins which were usually underestimated by collectors of Hearth Tax. Comparison with the figure recorded only five years earlier by Dobbs suggests that this return is overestimated: if both returns are reasonably accurate, then the population had increased by some fifty thousand in five years, a figure that scarcely seems credible.

The population had increased not only through natural growth but also through the increased number of migrants who were attracted by apparently increasing opportunities for employment and on arrival failed to find work. Swift records that in the 1720s 'about 1,500 weavers were forced to beg their bread, and had a general contribution made for their relief which just served to make them drunk for a week and then they were forced to turn rogues, or strolling beggars, or to leave the kingdom.'[77] Archbishop King recorded the great numbers of protestant weavers who left the city (and the country) during the 1720s, reducing the proportion of protestants considerably and leaving an increasing proportion of the trade in the hands of catholics.[78] Poverty and beggary increased, particularly in the south-western weaving quarters: throughout the rest of the century visitors to the city scarcely ever failed to remark on the poverty and destitution in the western sector of the city and on the great numbers of those who begged in the streets. And yet the number of beggars seen by visitors scarcely conveyed a true impression of the extent of the misery of the vast majority of the poorer classes.

Swift analysed the motives which in his estimation attracted the country gentry to the metropolis: none of the motives he suggested were constructive in terms of civic or of national development. Following the example seen in London absentee landlords had learnt to 'rack their land', deriving maximum profit without need of their own presence. Squires came 'having some vain hope of employment for themselves and their children' and 'discouraged by the beggarliness and thievery of their own miserable farmers and cottagers' or else 'seduced by the vanity of their wives, on pretence of their children's education .... together with that most wonderful and yet more unaccountable zeal for a seat in their assembly, though

GARDINER'S ESTATE c.1735

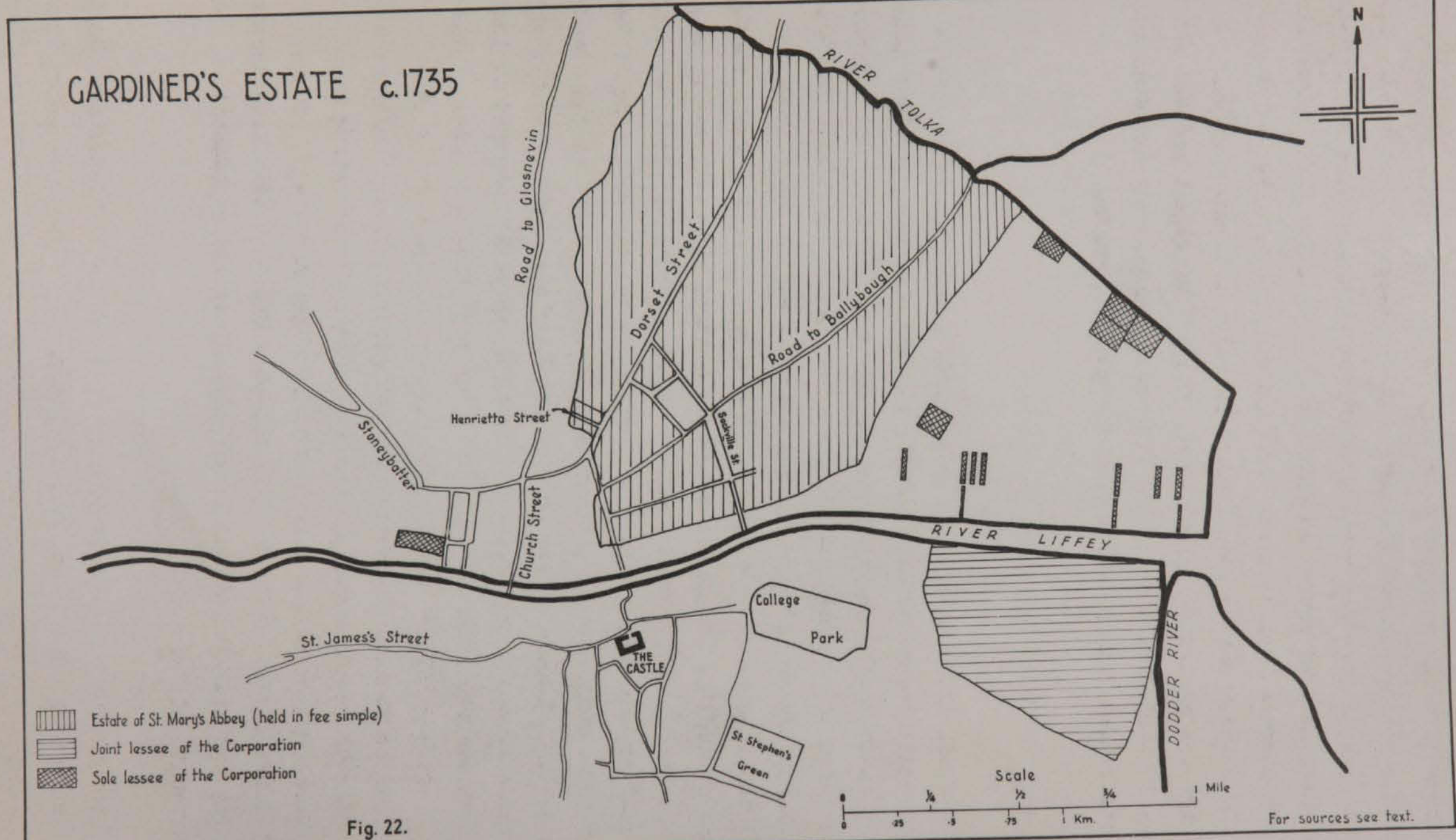


Fig. 22.

at some years' purchase of their whole estate ....'[79] The influence of court life and of parliament as growth determinants in Dublin were clearly recognised by Swift: his analysis also indicates the great lack of economic growth, or of any economic basis which would naturally have attracted an increase in population. His observation of the contrast which existed between the capital city and the rest of the country was no less keen. The metropolis was a refuge for country gentry and its eighteenth century development and was not a reflection of the state of the country at large. The division and contrast became more marked with the passing decades.

Estates

Significant changes in land-ownership made during the eighteenth century were almost complete in 1730 when Luke Gardiner acquired clear title to the lands of St. Mary's Abbey.[80] Gardiner's efforts to acquire the Drogheda estate probably started soon after the death of Charles Campbell in 1725. Initially he became joint owner in partnership with Lord Duncannon but Gardiner purchased Duncannon's interest in 1730 and at the same time settled all other claims on the estate. This transaction demonstrates the significance of title to property and, in particular, Gardiner's own understanding of the need for clear and secure tenure for it was not until he had cleared all possible claims on the estate that Gardiner started the building of large houses on Henrietta Street although he was engaged in less pretentious development in the area for more than a decade. The acquisition of clear title to the Drogheda estate meant that Gardiner controlled the subsequent urbanisation of all land which lay between the Bradogue and the old coast road, extending north to the Tolka and including some townlands on the north bank of the Tolka. (Fig. 22). This property was both the most extensive section and the most significant morphogenetically in the subsequent development of the city.

Gardiner also acquired some property on the North Lotts. Sale of lotts which were £10 or more in arrears with rent was authorised by Parliament in 1727; Gardiner gradually bought lotts offered for sale by the administering committee and by 1734 he was the most

extensive property owner in the North Lotts. At that time measures already authorised by Parliament did not provide for the maintenance and repair of structures which protected the reclaimed land from the ravages of the sea. In 1743 a petition to Parliament requested legislation which would oblige the proprietors of the lotts to keep the walls in repair.[81] In view of Gardiner's successful intervention in the reclamation of the south strand earlier in the century it seems probable that Gardiner was the chief instigator of these improvements.

Gardiner acquired an interest in the holding of Sir John Rogerson on the south bank of the Liffey[82] and thus controlled the development of an important tract near the mouth of the estuary. Gardiner also acquired an interest in other smaller properties scattered through the city and suburbs so that even the great extent of his own estate does not fully reflect the extent of his influence on the development of property in Dublin.

The second largest estate near the city was that of Fitzwilliam which lay south-east of the city. Although this property was almost as extensive as Gardiner's, its role in the development of the city was less significant. This was due partly to its situation and partly to the fact that the estate owner did not seek to promote urban development. Suburban building extended onto the Fitzwilliam estate during the eighteenth century chiefly through the influence of the Earl of Kildare and then subsequently through the work of speculators who leased land for building.

These two estates, Gardiner's and Fitzwilliam's, together with the Meath estate, occupied most of the ground available for building adjacent to the developing city. Subsequent eighteenth century development demonstrates the significance of ownership and tenure on these lands.

Conclusion

Comparison of Swift's Dublin with the city in the 1690s shows that the late-seventeenth century promise of prosperity had not been

fulfilled. Whereas in the 1690s the south-western suburbs were growing and becoming more prosperous, in Swift's day they were poverty-stricken and beginning to decay. Industries which showed great promise and were developing rapidly in the 1690s had greatly declined and some production had ceased. A building recession during the 1720s had arrested urban growth. The population had increased but the greatest increase was among the poor. And yet the poverty and decay were not unrelieved for Dublin was then a city of contrasts and there were better quarters inhabited by the richer people. Compared to the 1690s, however, the general state of the city had declined and poverty stalked the streets.

References and Footnotes

1. Anc. Rec., X, 519-20, transcript of A Description of the City of Dublin in Ireland, 1732, by a citizen of London who lived twenty years in Ireland (London, 1732), attributed to Edward Lloyd by Maxwell (Dublin under the Georges, 252.)

2. Jonathan Swift, Irish Tracts, 1728-1733, ed. Herbert Davis (Oxford, 1955), 134.

3. Mary Delany, The autobiography and correspondence of Mary Gran-Mrs. Delany: with interesting reminiscences of King George the Third and Queen Charlotte. Edited by Lady Llanover (3 vols. London, 1861) I, 300.

4. Swift, Irish Tracts, 12.

5. Swift, Irish Tracts, 134-35.

6. Swift, Irish Tracts, 11.

7. T.C.D. Archbishop's Registry No.30, A Table of the several parishes in the city of Dublin and Liberties thereunto adjoining in the year 1733.

8. Arthur Dobbs, An Essay on the Trade and Improvement of Ireland (Dublin, 1729), 10.

9. 'A Map of the City and Suburbs of Dublin and also the Arch Bishop and Earl of Meath's Liberties, with the bounds of each parish' based on a survey made by Charles Brooking, 1728. Printed by John Bowles, London.

10. The site of the Quaker Burial Ground is shown on Rocque's map (1756). The deeds of the property, now in the Friends' Meeting House, show that the burial ground was in use from 1671 to c.1780 (Conveyance from John Robinson, Thomas Simmons, William Taylor, and John Bewley, merchants, to the Royal College of Surgeons, 22 July 1805.)

11. Brooking's map notes that the North Lotts were overflowed by the tide.

12. Anc. Rec., X, 520.

13. John Loveday of Caversham, Diary of a Tour in 1732 through parts of England, Wales, Ireland and Scotland (Privately printed for the Roxburghe Club, 1890), 56.

14. Some seventeenth century buildings are recorded by the Georgian Society, Geo. Soc. Rec. I, 5; II, 3; III, 110-17.

15. e.g. Langford House, Geo. Soc. Rec., IV, 38-39.

16. P.R.O.I. D16290 records conditions imposed by Hendrick. The streetscape of Weavers' Square testified similar controls: Bernard Browne was the developer.

17. John Cornforth, 'Dublin Castle', Country Life, CXLVIII (1970), 286.

18. Loveday, Diary, 56; Anc. Rec., VI, 207; 2nd Anne, chap.iv.

19. Anc. Rec., V, 96, 101, 254, 256.

20. Gill, Ir. linen industry, 79-81.

21. Anc. Rec., VII, 290, Report of Committee appointed to view a proper place for a market house. Brooking's illustration shows the market house built according to the proposed design.

22. Cal. S.P.Dom., 1700-2, 74; Ibid. 1702-3, 226; Anc.Rec., VI, 83.

23. Cal. S.P.Dom., 1703-4, 282.

24. Precedents and Abstracts from the Journals of the Trustees of the Linen and Hempen Manufacturers of Ireland to the twenty-fifth of March 1737 (Dublin 1784), 55-56.

25. Anc. Rec., VI, 282; 2nd Anne, chap.xix; [Evans], Ir. Builder, XXXIX (1897), 68.

26. T.Percy C.Kirkpatrick, The History of Doctor Steevens's Hospital, Dublin, 1720-1820 (Dublin 1924), 18-28.

27. Vestry Books of St. Peter's Parish, First Series, vol.II, 120; F.P.Carey, 'The Medieval Parish of St. Stephen's', Dublin Hist. Rec., VI (1944), 63-73; [Evans], Ir. Builder, XXXVII (1895), 171.

28. Anc. Rec., VIII, Plate II; [Evans], Ir. Builder, XXXIX (1897),6-7.

29. Berry, R.S.A.I.Jn., XLVIII (1918), 42; Geo.Soc.Rec., IV, 114-20; Ir. Builder, XXXI (1889), 99-100.

30. Guinness, R.S.A.I.Jn., LII (1922), 148; Ir. Builder, XXVIII (1886), 64-65; XXXI (1889), 99-100.

31. William Cotter Stubbs, 'The Weavers' Guild, the Guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Dublin, 1446-1840', R.S.A.I.Jn., XLIX (1919), 60-88; the first Weavers' Hall was built 1681-82; it was reconstructed 1745.

32. Anc. Rec., X, 527.

33. Ibid.

34. Delany, Autobiography, I, 294, 300.

35. Anc. Rec., X, 527.

36. M.E.O. Abstracts of Leases, vol.I; ground-plan in Rocque's map (1756) indicates the size of the buildings; Geo.Soc.Rec., I, Plate II, a.

37. Dublin Penny Journal, I, no.34 (1833), 269.

38. Geo.Soc.Rec., IV, 102 citing lease and advertisement in Pue's Occurrences, 26 Nov. 1743.

39. Anc. Rec., VI, 472.

40. Anc. Rec., VI, 534, 544.

41. Reg. Deeds, mem. no. 5-340-2020; 16-229-7356; 21-553-12481; 22-425-12482; 23-35-12480.

42. Geo. Soc. Rec., II, 68 citing deeds of the Monck family (in private keeping).

43. Geo. Soc. Rec., II, 114 citing leases and Scalé's revision (1773) of Rocque's map (1756).

44. Geo. Soc. Rec., II, 115 citing leases in private keeping; II, 112 citing conveyance from John Landré (1751) to Rt. Hon. Anthony Malone; II, 111 citing Landré's obituary in Exshaw's Magazine, Nov. 1747.

45. Geo. Soc. Rec., II, 62 (no source cited).

46. Geo. Soc. Rec., II, 47 (no source cited).

47. Geo. Soc. Rec., II, 44 citing deeds.

48. Geo. Soc. Rec., II, 48 (no source cited). This evidence seems to be derived from deeds.

49. Geo. Soc. Rec., II, 50 (no source cited).

50. Geo. Soc. Rec., II, 78 citing lease which was evidently in private keeping.

51. Geo. Soc. Rec., I, 7 citing physical evidence which existed in 1907.

52. Reg. Deeds, Lands Index 1708-38, and various memorials e.g. 40-270-25650; 42-68-25682; 42-72-25700; 39-361-25649; 39-396-25862; 36-469-26492; 47-61-29528; 42-450-26994; 42-65-25670 and others.

53. N.L.I. MS 5230.

54. Geo. Soc. Rec., I, Plates I and II.

55. Reg. Deeds, Lands Index, 1708-38, and various memorials e.g. 2-549-625; 15-203-7214; 21-241-11367; 21-271-11474; 21-351-11767; 84-435-61810; 90-221-63888; 90-239-64051.

56. Reg. Deeds, Lands Index, 1708-38; Geo. Soc. Rec., I, 4, and Plate III; IV, 38-39, citing physical evidence which existed in 1907.

57. Reg. Deeds, Lands Index, 1708-38; mem. no. 91-380-64500; and various others; mems. registered by Luke Gardiner.

58. Reg. Deeds, mem. no. 34-381-21999.

59. Reg. Deeds, mem. no. 1-399-242.

60. Advertisement in Faulkner's Journal, 8-11 April, 1782; Reg. Deeds, mems. nos. 8-324-2846; 33-528-23587.

61. Reg. Deeds, mems. nos. 13-284-5760; 13-167-5508; 16-477-8023; 11-316-4606; 4-131-787.

62. Swift, Irish Tracts, 222.

63. Anc. Rec., VI, 222.

64. Anc. Rec., VI, 472.

65. See No. 7 above.

66. Murray, Commercial and Financial Relations, 102-05, citing petitions to the Irish Parliament.

67. Friends' Meeting House, MS D 5, pages 2-4.

68. Report from the committee appointed to enquire into the state of the manufactures of this Kingdom .... 5 March 1784, Commons' jn. Ire., XI (1783-85), cliii.

69. Coyne, Ireland, Industrial and Agricultural, 436-37.

70. Friends' Meeting House, MS D 4, 304-5; advertisements in

Ctd.

70. Faulkner's Journal, passim.; Gill, Ir. linen industry, 57.

71. Friends' Meeting House, MS D 5, 75-82.

72. H. A. Wheeler and M. J. Craig, The Dublin City Churches of the Church of Ireland: an illustrated handbook (Dublin, 1948). Unless otherwise stated the following paragraphs are based on this handbook.

73. Craig, Dublin, 112.

74. Anc. Rec., VI, 476-79.

75. Dobbs, Essay on Trade, II, 7-10.

76. T.C.D., Archbishop's Registry no. 30.

77. Swift, Irish Tracts, 121.

78. King, A Great Archbishop of Dublin, 226.

79. Swift, Irish Tracts, 134.

80. N.L.I., Gardiner Deeds, assignment from executors of Charles Campbell to Lord Duncannon and Luke Gardiner (1728); conveyance from Lord Duncannon to Luke Gardiner (1730); and other deeds.

81. 1st Geo. II, chap. xxvi; N.L.I., Gardiner Deeds, leases of the North Lotts; copy of Petition to Parliament.

82. Reg. Deeds, mem. no. 158-347-106256.

CHAPTER X

THE THIRD PERIOD : 1727 - 1800

THE AGE OF IMPROVEMENT

THE FIRST PHASE : 1727 - 1750

The third period of urban growth began with the decision to build a new House of Parliament in 1727. It comprised the remainder of the eighteenth century and was characterised by the application of classical principles in building and in urban design. Initially classical concepts influenced small localised development: later the city was viewed as a unit and principles of classical urbanism were applied by a central authority. The introduction of new architectural styles instigated reconstruction: the introduction of urban concepts instigated redevelopment: hence the period is called the Age of Improvement.

Three distinct phases have been identified in this period. In the first phase, 1727 to 1750, buildings were reconstructed and a significant change was made in the street-plan through opening a new wide north-south street, a private project which required re-development. No attempt was made as yet to develop the city as a coherent, rationalised unit. During the second phase, 1750 to 1775, the Wide Streets Commissioners were established to improve the approaches to the Castle and to make other minor improvements in the city; private development was not controlled by them during this time. Initially the powers and influence of the Commissioners were limited and their objectives were both limited in concept and loosely defined. In the third phase, 1775 to 1800, the concepts of the Commissioners were gradually enlarged to consider the planned development of a new city core and their powers were subsequently extended to enable them to control the opening of new streets and the nature of new elevations in the city. Politically the entire period was characterised by an emergent spirit of independence which matured during the third quarter of the eighteenth century.

Growth Determinants

A spirit of independence and of colonial nationalism was roused in the ruling class by constitutional and economic issues in the years 1719 to 1725. Although this emergent spirit of independence did not manifest itself consistently in matters of government until the middle of the century it meanwhile expressed itself in forming the capital city and in fostering industries: its first concrete expression was the decision to build a new House of Parliament. The pervasive influence of a new spirit was manifest in the reconstruction of public buildings and in the building of new private houses, in the formation of the Dublin Society, and in attracting to Dublin, not from London but from continental Europe, master-craftsmen of high repute. It is true that the decision to build a House of Parliament was made at a time when even structural repairs would not have rendered the building fit for continued use by the legislative assembly: it was not necessity, however, which prompted building on a grand scale as designed by Sir Edward Lovett Pearce. This new building seems to express recognition of the status which parliament should have in the life of a nation: it also instigated reconstruction on a grand scale in the capital city.

Four decades of internal peace and stability had elapsed and a generation of the ruling class had come to adult years in Ireland without knowing the insecurity resulting from political upheavals which almost every seventeenth century generation had experienced. Facilities for travel were steadily improving. Moreover, it became customary for the gentry, on attaining adult years, to travel in Britain and on the continent where they participated in the life and social functions of their peers and imbibed new ideas and fashions which they imitated on their return to Dublin.

Ireland was recovering from the economic recession which followed the bank failures of the 1720s. The bank of Gardiner and Hill remained solvent during the period of crisis and it appears to have been Gardiner who provided the main impetus for renewed private development in the 1730s and again in the 1740s, although in the 1740s his role was no longer that of banker but of developer since

the bank of Gardiner and Hill went into voluntary liquidation in 1737.[1] Analysis of the physical development of the city shows that the principal residential development of the 1730s was the construction of large houses in Henrietta Street and this project was planned and financed by Gardiner. During the 1740s Gardiner planned Sackville Street and the Mall and financed part of the building on the new street.[2] The work of David La Touche and of his family was no less important although less spectacular than that of Gardiner. La Touche held extensive property but his role in urban development was almost a hidden one for his activities were centred in trade and commerce and not in public affairs.

Gardiner's fortune was derived primarily from speculation in land. Fortunes were also made through speculation in building but these are less easy to trace. One such speculator was denounced by Swift: 'Insomuch that I know a certain fanatic brewer [Leeson] who is reported to have some hundreds of houses in this town, is said to have purchased the greater part of them at half value from ruined undertakers, hath intelligence of all new houses where the finishing is at a stand, takes advantage of the builders' distress and by the advantage of ready money gets fifty per cent at least for his money'.[3] Gardiner saw that the gain from speculative building was derived chiefly from the better houses which were bought or rented by the wealthy gentry and buildings constructed by him in the 1730s differed in size and character from those of the 1720s. A similar evolutionary step was probably taken by fortune-makers like Leeson for, as the century progressed, the principal and sometimes the sole development was in better-class residential suburbs.

The foundation of the Dublin Society in 1731[4] was perhaps the most significant determinant of industrial growth in Dublin during the eighteenth century. The objectives of this society were the improvement of husbandry, manufacturing, and other useful arts and sciences: its aim was to make Ireland not only self-supporting but also a great exporting country. Industries founded in Dublin were, in general, a response to an existing demand created by the upper classes; they were fostered by the Dublin Society which provided craft schools and a system of premiums designed to establish and

maintain a high standard of craftsmanship. Diversification in the textiles industry was encouraged by a system of premiums. Special attention was devoted to paper manufacture; to earthen, iron, and glass ware; to salt-works, hemp and dyeing stuffs as well as to agricultural improvements. Although Dublin did not become an industrial city she gradually attained a good reputation for various luxury articles and even developed an export trade in some commodities.

Social amenities had been provided during the first decades of the century and the demand for diverse places of entertainment increased. The example of London's Vauxhall Gardens prompted the establishment of similar places of entertainment in Dublin. The one theatre which had existed in Smock Alley since the seventeenth century was now rivalled by new theatres in the new suburbs.[5] The increased social activity and entertainment among the gentry also prompted internal reorganisation of house-plans for private dwellings and the construction of new town-houses on a larger, grander scale.

Morphogenetic Agents

Individuals played a more significant role as formative agents in this phase than corporate bodies: landowners and statesmen, leaseholders and craftsmen, all had complementary roles. The extension of the street-system was planned by landowners, principally by Luke Gardiner, Robert and John Molesworth, the Earl of Fitzwilliam (or his agent) and Christopher Dominick, a Dublin physician. Luke Gardiner's activities had already left their imprint on the city in the previous phase. By 1730 Gardiner was not only the most extensive landowner in Dublin (Fig.22) but also a prominent public figure and this must have helped him to attract to his new suburbs persons of note such as Primate Boulter; Nathaniel Clements, Teller of the Exchequer (and speculator), and Thomas Carter, Master of the Rolls.[6] Gardiner's ability as a planner and developer was manifest in this phase most particularly in the building of Henrietta Street and the redevelopment of Drogheda Street.

Viscount Molesworth leased the fields adjoining Dawson Street for building. The Molesworth estate was not extensive and its development was unspectacular: it was nevertheless an important segment of the south-eastern suburbs since it extended coherent urban development eastward from Dawson's estate and it also maintained the high-standard residential character of the neighbourhood. Development on the adjacent section of the Fitzwilliam estate seems to have been prompted by lessees, chiefly by the Earl of Kildare. The leasehold acquired by Kildare was not extensive and yet through it the Earl exercised a very considerable influence. No suburban growth in the vicinity had as yet been planned when the Earl leased his site, nor was such development even envisaged. Indeed Kildare's choice of a site for a new town house seemed almost bizarre to his contemporaries but the Earl confidently expected that the gentry would follow wherever he settled and his prediction was realised during the second half of the century.[7]

Development of the northern suburbs was undertaken by Christopher Dominick and by Dr. Bartholomew Mosse, as well as by Luke Gardiner. Christopher Dominick held an extensive tract of land between Great Britain Street (formerly Ballybough Lane) and Bolton Street (formerly Drumcondra Lane). Through it he opened Dominick Street, its site being determined by the site and width of Dominick's holding rather than adjacent urban features.[8]

A very significant morphogenetic element was added to the city through the initiative of Dr. Bartholomew Mosse.[9] Mosse's major contribution to life in Dublin was made in the medical field through the foundation of the Lying-in Hospital, first in George's Lane and later in a new, specially erected building on Great Britain Street. It was the need to provide a constant and sufficient income for the hospital which prompted the development of the pleasure grounds and Assembly Rooms which later formed the nucleus of Rutland (Parnell) Square. Mosse understood well the modes and social values of his time. To site a new hospital for the poor in a district which was becoming a fashionable residential area might have seemed almost eccentric but the building commissioned by Mosse and designed by Richard Cassels tended if anything to raise the aesthetic standard

of the neighbourhood and the new pleasure grounds provided social amenities while achieving their basic purpose of providing an income for the hospital. Mosse had travelled widely on the continent and he introduced continental craftsmen to Dublin. It was Mosse who gave to Dublin a unique example of baroque decoration through the work of Bartholomew Cramillion, a French statuary who lived in Italy and who came to Dublin at Mosse's invitation to execute the ceiling and altar piece in the chapel of the Lying-in Hospital.[10]

Architects and builders contributed much to the formation of the townscape in this phase for most buildings were individual in style while conforming to the general standards of Palladianism which was then in vogue. The most important public building of the period, the House of Parliament, was designed by Sir Edward Lovett Pearce. Pearce had travelled on the continent and had spent some time in Italy. When he designed the House of Parliament he was a member for Ratoath and was only twenty-nine years of age. His inspiration was evidently drawn from his continental experience: the design, however, was original and even appears to have been unique. The only other public building designed by Pearce was the theatre in Aungier Street. Pearce was knighted on 10 March 1732 and was granted the freedom of the city on 6 April 1733. He died at an early age on 7 December 1733.[11]

The principal architect of the period was Richard Cassels who was invited to Ireland about 1727 by Sir Gustavus Hume. Cassels came to Ireland at the beginning of a general surge of building activity, an apt time for the introduction of new styles. Cassels's style was derived from Palladio but was greatly influenced by a particularly austere form of Palladianism practised by refugee Huguenots who had settled in Hesse and worked as town-planners and architects. Cassels's earliest work in Dublin seems to have been number 80 St. Stephen's Green (now part of Iveagh House) which was built about 1730. In the early 1730s he built houses in Henrietta Street for Luke Gardiner. In 1734 he designed the Dining Hall and Printing House of Trinity College. In 1739 he was working again on St.Stephen's Green where he designed Clanwilliam House. In 1740 he built Tyrone House, Marlborough Street, the first, modern stone-built mansion in Dublin. This house was an important determinant of the re-development

of Drogheda (Sackville) Street in which Richard Cassels also built some houses. He built houses in Kildare Place for Lord Massareene and for Sir Skeffington Smyth, and in Smithfield for the Earl of Bective. Cassels's most outstanding and enduring domestic building was the last-built of his Dublin houses, namely Kildare (Leinster) House, built in 1745. The Music Hall in Fishamble Street which was opened in 1741 was also designed by Cassels: it was praised by Handel for its accoustics. Cassels's final 'bequest' to the city was the design for Mosse's Lying-in Hospital (1750) which was executed by his pupil, John Ensor, after Cassels's death in 1751.[12] Cassels's influence on the morphology of Dublin was enduring: it was exercised not only through his own work but also through his training of craftsmen. No less important was the fact that he left to the stuccodores who worked in his houses complete freedom to execute their own designs, thus furthering the development of the Rococo in Dublin.

While Richard Cassels was at work in Dublin the schools of the Dublin Society were founded to provide a training for local craftsmen. Although the craft guilds still existed they no longer controlled the activities of craftsmen: both the training of craftsmen and the regulation of standards were gradually controlled by the Dublin Society. Through the schools of the Society there was a close association between builders, architects, and artisans who perfected the various types of ornaments and some were skilled in more than one craft. New associations of craftsmen developed, based on family connections or on contacts made through the schools or through working with master-craftsmen. These associations of craftsmen dominated private building in the city during the second half of the century. Many of the master-craftsmen in schools founded by the Dublin Society were Frenchmen; others were Irish craftsmen who were trained in Paris.[13]

The adoption and modification of Palladianism in architecture led gradually to the planning of unified streetscapes and consequent rigid controls which were generally imposed during the second half of the century. The adoption of Rococo forms of decoration and the progression which followed helped to foster diverse but associated

crafts and industries. Decorative work of the 1730s in Dublin was closely related to the work of Jean Berain who had introduced a certain freedom and gaiety into the Baroque style while restraining motifs within a symmetrical composition which was confined within a definite frame. This is the form found in Dublin ceilings of the 1730s. In the 1740s the figured ceiling was introduced by the Francini brothers and true Rococo was dominant in the 1750s. Throughout the period the development of an international style is followed but most of the work was in the hands of native craftsmen who exercised in design and execution a taste which gave the work a local character. By the end of this growth-phase the complex continental influences had reached their height and a new group of locally trained craftsmen were at work in Dublin.[14]

Many competent master-builders were engaged in domestic building. Since their only association with public buildings was through being employed by well-known architects from whom they learnt their craft and imbibed ideas they are difficult to identify and even when their identity is known it is difficult to trace their careers. Among such builders of whom some record has survived was Henry Darley who built houses in Cavendish Street;[15] and George and John Ensor who worked under Richard Cassels and subsequently engaged in speculative building.[16] John Ensor executed Cassels's designs for the Lying-in Hospital and he later designed and built the adjacent Assembly Rooms from which the hospital was subsequently known as the Rotunda.[17] The Semple family were also well-known builders: its most important member was George Semple who designed the new Essex Bridge and thereby initiated a new phase of development in Dublin.[18] George Semple was a practical builder, a craftsman-architect who accorded high praise to the training he received in the schools of the Dublin Society.

Urban Growth

Urban growth was largely confined to areas in which preparations for development, either physical or tenurial, were made during the preceding decades. Physical development demonstrates the significanc of changes in landownership and tenure made early in the eighteenth

century and completed in 1730. The change made in plans for the reclamation of the North Lotts also demonstrates the significance of ownership and tenure.

Reclamation

Although land reclaimed at this time was not built for at least another half-century reclamation was nevertheless an important feature of the development of Dublin. By 1727 financial difficulties were seriously hampering the reclamation of the North Lotts. Since the walling of the channel was a matter of civic importance, necessary for the improvement of port facilities and consequent fostering of trade, an Act of Parliament was passed in 1727 to facilitate more speedy and effectual enclosure of the strand.[19] Already £13,000 had been spent on the work. The fee farm rents which were due to expire in 1727 were extended for a further seven years and a committee was set up, authorised by the statute and appointed by the lott-holders. When a holder was £10 in arrears with the fee farm rents the committee was authorised to sell his lott by public auction. As a result of this measure Luke Gardiner acquired twenty-two lotts, eleven by the acre and eleven by the foot, and he became the most extensive property owner in the reclamation scheme. It was probably he who prompted the petition made to parliament for further amendments of the controls exercised over the lott-holders. The lotts had been enclosed by 1735, within the extended time-limit set by parliament. Subsequently several breaches were made in the quay wall and stones from the breached sections obstructed the channel. There was no provision in the Act of 1727 to oblige the proprietors of the North Strand to repair the wall and it was feared that the obstructions would hinder navigation in the Liffey. By 1743 pasture and meadows on the acre lots were threatened with inundation.[20] It was probably in this year, after the petition was made to parliament, that the reclamation scheme was confined to the area south of the course of the Tolka (otherwise known as the Ballybough river): only this southern sector is shown walled on Rocque's map of the County Dublin (1756) but no record of an agreed modification of the reclamation appears to have survived. The reclamation of the North Lotts contributed indirectly to the growth

of the city through improving the estuary.

Suburbs

The new surge of building activity which began about 1730 resulted in growth in most parts of the city. New components of the street-plan were not extensive but many of them were highly significant morphogenetic growth-points, introducing new standards of street design and establishing trends of development which were followed during the succeeding growth-period. New suburban development can be identified in four areas; in the environs of the Linen Hall in the northern suburbs; on and near the river banks in the western suburbs; in the south-east and in the north-east.

The development of new streets near the Linen Hall was planned and controlled by Benjamin Everard who had sold the site of the Hall to the Linen Board.[21] Development began in 1729, the year after the Linen Hall was opened. Three parallel north-south streets provided access to the Linen Hall from King Street, intersecting Lisburn Street, a new street thirty feet wide which skirted the Linen Hall enclosure. The names of the streets reflect their origin and their close association with the linen trade for the new streets were named Lurgan, Coleraine, Lisburn, Derry and Linen Hall Streets. Everard laid out a series of regular building lots and he built the first houses himself. Lessees were bound to build houses of the same design as that built by Everard himself.[22] Houses were four-storeyed, with flat roofs and without cellars for, according to a lease granted on 31 Jan. 1729 by Benjamin Everard to Alexander Montgomery, merchant, Montgomery had already

> at his own expense built one good and substantial brick house of four framed floors covered with a flat ... roof, with its front of the like materials and ornaments ... as the front of ... Everard's house at the south-east corner of Linen Hall Street.[23]

Corner houses on Linen Hall Street had similar frontages to both streets. Houses were built by merchants and by speculators and all houses seem to have been occupied by people associated with the linen trade.

In the western suburbs building was undertaken principally by William Hendrick. Riverside urban development west of Queen Street had stopped south of the bowling green since building in this location was prohibited by a clause in the lease granted to Richard Tighe in 1664.[24] Since the bowling green, the root cause of the prohibition, was no longer in use the controlling clause was annulled by the city in 1724.[25] Tighe then leased the bowling green to John Hendrick who sub-leased to William Hendrick, merchant, and it was William Hendrick who planned and controlled development.[26] As required by the Corporation the Gravel Walk leading west from Queen Street was left as a public thoroughfare fifty feet wide leading due west towards the Royal Barracks. A new street, Hendrick Street, was opened through the bowling green, parallel to the Gravel Walk. A series of small, regular building lots was laid out along each street-frontage and Hendrick himself built the first house. Hendrick's lessees were bound by clauses to build similar houses.

Prohibition of building south of the Gravel Walk was also cancelled in 1724. This ground was in lease from William Ellis to Mary Pallister, widow of William Pallister, late Lord Archbishop of Cashel. Part was sub-leased and developed by William Hendrick and part was developed by John Murphy, a timber merchant.[27] Contemporary development on the opposite bank of the Liffey on Usher's holding has not been traced.

Extension of the south-eastern suburbs was planned by Viscount Molesworth and by the Earl of Kildare. In 1725 a private bill passed in the Irish Parliament enabled the Right Honourable John, Lord Viscount Molesworth and his brother Robert to lease land adjacent to Dawson's holding, known as Molesworth's fields, for building.[28] In 1732 an Act of the Parliament of Great Britain authorised the making of fee farm leases.[29] Molesworth had already acquired a building lot on the east side of Dawson Street and a piece of ground on the north side of St. Stephen's Green between the houses of the Earl of Kerry (on the east) and of James Ware[30] to permit connecting the new with existing streets. The principal street, Molesworth Street, led due east from Dawson Street to Coote Street (later called Kildare Street) on the eastern side of the holding. From Molesworth Street a new secondary street, Frederick

Street, led due north to St. Patrick's Well Lane, part of which was renamed Nassau Street in 1744.[31] Regular rectangular building sites served by stable lanes were laid out on each of these streets and then leased to speculators and builders.

The site acquired by the Earl of Kildare lay east of Coote Street and extended north to St. Patrick's Well Lane; this section of the lane was later named Leinster Street, probably because building lots on the south side of the street were laid out by Kildare who later became the Duke of Leinster.[32] The site of Kildare House faced east onto Molesworth Street so that the entrance closed the vista at the end of the street. Contemporary building on the adjacent section of the Fitzwilliam estate seems to have been prompted by the Earl of Kildare who acquired from Fitzwilliam a tract of land extending east from his mansion to Merrion Street to permit laying out an extensive lawn. This acquisition also ensured that Kildare House would not subsequently be hemmed in by building sites fronting Merrion Street which had already been opened in the seventeenth century.[33] Some large new houses were soon built on either side of Kildare House, fronting Merrion Street.[34]

Luke Gardiner and Christopher Dominick planned the extension of the north-eastern suburbs. Dominick's development consisted of one broad street extending from Great Britain Street to Bolton Street. Some deep, rectangular building sites were leased at this time but most of the street was still unbuilt when Rocque surveyed the city in 1756. None of the original indentures of leases granted by Dominick are now in public keeping and it is not known whether building standards were imposed by the terms of the leases. Dominick Street developed as an upper-class residential street but this may have been due to the influence of the neighbouring development on Gardiner's estate rather than to special clauses in building leases. It is likely, however, that building standards of some type were imposed for the street was not built by one developer[35] and without some overall control it is unlikely that such uniformity of character as the street assumed could have been achieved.

Gardiner's Estate

The most significant extensions of the street-system were planned during this phase by Luke Gardiner. These were Henrietta Street and Sackville Street. Henrietta Street had, in fact, been laid out in the 1720s when some building lots were leased and houses built.[36] By 1730 Gardiner had acquired clear title to this property and he apparently decided that it was a good site for upper class residential development. Gardiner re-planned the street and introduced new standards. The demolition of houses which had been built only a few years previously illustrates the contrast between standards of the 1720s and of the 1730s for three houses were demolished to permit the construction of one residence which was subsequently sold to Primate Boulter for £1,900.[37] Gardiner undertook most of the building on Henrietta Street and he employed Richard Cassels to design the large houses at the top of the hill.[38] Of the thirteen houses built on Henrietta Street after 1730 eight were built by Gardiner, four by Nathaniel Clements, who also speculated in houses in other parts of the city; and one house, his own dwelling,was built by Thomas Carter.[39] Some of the houses built by Gardiner were sold and some were leased. A building covenant made with Sir Robert King of Rockingham, Co. Roscommon, records an expenditure of £853-14-3 on the structure of the house; Sir Robert repaid this amount in fixed instalments at an interest rate of 5% and he also paid £23 per annum as ground rent.[40] Neither the cost nor the conditions of building other houses in this street have been recorded.

Although no other buildings on the estate surpassed in grandeur the best houses in Henrietta Street later Gardiner's later planning was genetically more significant in the development of the city, namely, the improvement of upper Drogheda Street which was renared Sackville Street, and the opening of Cavendish Row east of Mosse's gardens. The changed character of Henrietta Street tended to raise the status of the neighbourhood but it did not engender changes in the ground-plan of the city.

Fashionable interest in the north-eastern sector of the city was fostered by a number of contemporaneous developments. Gardiner's new houses on Henrietta Street attracted the upper classes. New pleasure

grounds were laid out on an extensive site north of Great Britain Street by Dr. Mosse in the 1740s. In 1740 Tyrone House was built in Marlborough Street for the Earl of Tyrone. Nearby other mansions were built for Lord Avonmore and Lord Annesley in Marlborough Street and for the Earl of Drogheda in Henry (or Earl) Street.[41] As initially planned by Charles Campbell Drogheda Street was a secondary street aligned north-south, parallel to Capel Street and to Great Marlborough Street; its plan and status reduced the area available for better-class residential building. Gardiner re-planned the upper part of Drogheda Street and completely changed its character.

In the new plan the alignment of the street frontage on the eastern side of Drogheda Street remained unchanged but new building lots were laid out two hundred feet in depth and backed by a stable lane. The street was widened towards the west to a total width of one hundred and fifty feet; down the centre of the street a long, railed enclosure was set aside for the Mall (or fashionable walk). On the west building lots one hundred and eighty feet in depth were laid out, served by a stable lane. Maximum use was made of the street-frontage by making shallower lots at the south-western corner of the street, some facing Sackville Street and some facing Henry Street. Houses varied in size: this suggests that the width of frontage was adjusted to the requirements of lessees. Building lots leased between 1749 and 1752 were taken by speculators, a master builder, three carpenters, a plumber, a bricklayer, and a coachmaker; some lots were taken also by army officials and by the lesser gentry. Leases granted were for lives renewable forever.[42] Some of the houses were built by Gardiner according to plans selected by the lessees or purchasers. A building covenant made in 1750 with the Rev. Edward Bayly, for instance, records that Gardiner undertook

> to build with all convenient speed the walls or shell of a dwelling house in Sackville Street .... with good sound and merchantible stone and brick according to a draft of a plan given to Luke Gardiner by Edward Bayly, at 5% per annum for whatever sum the walls amount to, to be computed at a ratio of five shillings by the perch; payment to be made by half-yearly payments until the cost is cleared.[43]

Although building standards were not imposed by the terms of the

leases granted by the ground-landlord a regular alignment of frontage was achieved but not the strict uniformity which was imposed on other streets later in the century. The skyline was irregular, reflecting the varying height of houses, while the varying height of storeys in houses resulted in windows rarely being aligned with those of neighbouring houses.[44] Nevertheless, a good standard of building was maintained and the area attracted upper-class residents.

This redevelopment displays an understanding and appreciation of urban design as distinct from mere development. It brought cohesion and organic unity to the neighbourhood, added social amenities and embellishments, and fostered more extensive upper-class residential growth. The organic unity introduced by Gardiner was not that of modern town-planning which connotes inclusion of various types of dwellings and the services which are necessary for modern daily living. Gardiner's organic unity was rather the exclusion of house-types and activities which might render the neighbourhood less attractive; it was the organic unity which Mumford has termed typically baroque.[45] At the time residential building north and south of the Liffey was already developing along parallel but separate and independent lines. Although Gardiner did not unite, nor even attempt to unite, these two areas he prevented discordant dispersal, and in re-developing Drogheda Street he introduced a standard of street-planning which remains unsurpassed and which influenced subsequent redevelopment of what is now the centre-city area./

To the north of Sackville Street Gardiner opened a new street, Cavendish Row, seventy-three feet wide, along the eastern boundary of Mosse's pleasure gardens.[46] There is no evidence that Gardiner planned a residential square to encompass the pleasure gardens: nevertheless the plan of Cavendish Row suggests that he envisaged such development for building lots were laid out only on the eastern side of the new street so that Mosse's gardens might later be the central open space in a residential square.

It has been suggested by Craig and by Curran[47] that the siting of the Lying-in Hospital west of, instead of at the northern end of Sackville Street was the result of a disagreement or at least lack of

co-operation between Gardiner and Mosse. Neither Curran nor Craig cites supporting evidence however, and the writer has found none. The location of the one leasehold which Mosse acquired from William Naper determined the location of Mosse's planned unit. There is no indication that he sought land from Gardiner in order to extend the holding. Moreover, the plan envisaged and executed by Mosse was not complementary to any scheme then in being. It was a spur towards further development rather than the termination of an existing project which it might have been had the new hospital closed the vista at the northern end of Sackville Street.

Gardiner's plan was criticised by his contemporaries who considered that such a broad street should have a monumental terminal vista.[48] These critics even suggested that Sackville Street should have been extended south to College Street on the south bank of the Liffey and that another new monumental building should close the southern vista. Gardiner's critics overlooked two things. Gardiner neither owned nor controlled the site of the proposed extension south of the Liffey and since he was a private developer he had neither the property nor the authority necessary to implement such development. The development suggested by the critics would have been a closed unit, neither a radial focus nor an aid to further improved development. Gardiner's plan provided for further expansion while improving the existing situation. Mosse's development was planned independently of Gardiner and it was Gardiner and his heirs who used the new pleasure grounds and hospital as the focal point for the development of a new residential square.

In 1748 Dr. Bartholomew Mosse leased from William Naper a parcel of land containing four acres and one rood (plantation measure) on the north side of Great Britain Street. The site was bounded to the west, north, and east by ground held by Luke Gardiner. The ground rent for the first two years was £20 per annum and was thereafter raised to £70. Mosse proposed to build a hospital on part of the site and to lay out the rest as public gardens. The work was executed without delay and the pleasure grounds were already in use before Mosse became liable for the increased ground rent.[49] Pleasure gardens were laid out about this time on the eastern side of

St. Stephen's Green by Landré's heirs: they were planned on a less ambitious scale than Mosse's gardens and they were also less successful.[50]

The income from the new pleasure gardens was intended to support the Lying-in Hospital founded by Mosse. The new hospital buildings were built after the pleasure grounds were opened and meanwhile the Lying-in Hospital was housed in a large house in George's Lane. In the twelve years in which this hospital was in George's Lane 3,975 patients were admitted. The hospital was transferred to its new premises in 1757.[51]

Industry

Industrial development was a response to encouragement given by the Dublin Society rather than to general economic conditions. Diversification in the weaving industry was encouraged by premiums offered by the Dublin Society.[52] The woollen industry did not recover from the depression of the 1720s but some woollen cloths were produced for the home market. Carpet-making was encouraged by the Dublin Society through premiums for imitations of imported carpets. The linen industry continued to expand and trade through Dublin increased greatly in volume after the opening of the Linen Hall. The base of the linen industry was still in the north of Ireland but many of the finishing processes were carried on in the neighbourhood of Dublin. The silk industry met with severe competition from imported materials and by degrees the attention of weavers was focused on small light articles such as ribbands and handkerchiefs.

Glass-making was already well established. In 1729 the Round Glass House in St. Mary's Lane advertised a wide variety of glass including 'drinking glasses, salvers, baskets with handles and feet for desserts, fine salts ground and polished, all sorts of decanters, lamps, ...:'[53]: similar advertisements appeared intermittently from 1746 to 1752 when the proprietors proposed to sell at a price cheaper than similar ware could be imported from England. Another factory known as the Square Glass House was erected about 1730 on

Bachelor's Quay for making bottles and window glass. A glass factory in which glass was engraved was erected in 1734 in Fleet Street, nearly opposite to Price's Lane: it seems to have ceased production about 1746. There were two small factories near Lazy Hill: one established in 1749 by Rupert Brooke and the other, 'Barber's small glass house', made vials and green glass.[54]

The building industry entered a new phase during the 1730s. New styles were introduced and local craftsmen gradually rose to prominence. The new style of interior decoration promoted allied industries, providing employment for stuccodores and statuaries. World's End on the North Strand became an industrial centre for many of these activities. Here tapestry-making work-shops were established by John van Beaver and these became a training centre where workers served their time with Van Beaver and then established independent workshops: such were Daniel Bayly and Richard Pawlet of St. Martin's Lane. Interior decorating also encouraged the development of the wall-paper industry of which the earliest records date from the 1740s. John Russell at the Indian Woman in Bride Street and Bernard Messinck the elder and James Messinck the younger at their premises 'opposite the great mahogany shop on the Blind Quay' both made and sold wall paper.[55]

Unlike industries of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries which developed spontaneously and were based on a plentiful supply of local raw materials, the industries which developed in the second quarter of the eighteenth century were small, narrowly based and catered almost solely for the market created by the upper classes.

Population

No statistics from which estimates of population can be compiled have survived for this phase. The population continued to increase but there is no evidence of any considerable influx of immigrants. Emigration of protestant weavers which resulted from the depression of the 1720s had reduced the proportion of protestants in the city. Migration from rural areas continued and it was probably during this

phase that catholics began to be the majority of the city's population. Dispossessed catholics had engaged in trade since the beginning of the century, and they began to amass considerable wealth. A prosperous middle class emerged during the middle of the century and it included many catholics. Descendants of immigrants of earlier decades integrated with the ruling classes and many were prominent in public life during the rest of the eighteenth century.

Conclusion

This phase was a time of transition. Significant changes were made in the townscape and elements which influenced urban development of the second half of the century gradually emerged. Domestic building began to assume improvements in its vicinity. The first of Dublin's great classical buildings, the House of Parliament, was constructed, establishing the focal point of later redevelopment. The most important change in the street-plan was the opening of Sackville Street for its alignment determined the site of Carlisle (now O'Connell) Bridge and the form of approaches to it. In opening Sackville Street Gardiner demonstrates the feasibility of redevelopment and introduced a new standard of civic design. Two new growth-points were established in the eastern suburbs; these encouraged eastward development and determined the general character of subsequent residential building in the east. By the end of the phase new trends had emerged and the significant morphogenetic elements of the next period existed.

References and Footnotes

1. Tenison, Jour. Inst. Bankers in Ire., III, 267.

2. Reg. Deeds. mems. nos. 63-29-42497; 136-297-91449; 141-141-94728; 144-315-97661; 139-335-94366; 150-341-102115; 152-139-101080; 137-393-93779; 142-126-94891; 141-173-94892 and others.

3. Swift, Irish Tracts, 134

4. Henry S. Berry, History of the Royal Dublin Society (London, 1915), 2-6.

5. La Tourette Stockwell, Dublin Theatre and Theatre Customs: 1637-1820 (Kingsport, Tennessee, 1938), xiii, 45.

6. Lists of owners and occupiers of houses in Henrietta Street in Geo.Soc.Rec., II, 28-30.

7. Geo.Soc.Rec., IV, 46.

8. Rocque's map (1756). Reg.Deeds, mems. nos. 159-59-105982; 188-224-125311; 188-225-125312; 188-225-125313; 188-226-125134; 73-241-50720; 137-292-93370 and others.

9. T. Percy C. Kirkpatrick, The Book of the Rotunda Hospital: an illustrated history of the Dublin Lying-in Hospital from its foundation in 1745 to the present time, ed. Henry Jellett (London, 1913), 3-15

10. C.P. Curran, The Rotunda Hospital, its Architects and Craftsmen (Dublin, 1945), 1-49.

11. Thomas U. Sadlier, Sir Edward Lovett Pearce (Dublin, 1910), 1-14.

12. Thomas U. Sadlier, 'Richard Castle, Architect', R.S.A.I.Jn. XLI (1911), 241-45; C.P. Curran, 'Dublin Plaster Work', R.S.A.I.Jn., LXX (1940), 1-56; Curran, Rotunda Hospital, 1-49; Geo. Soc. Rec., III, 20.

13. Berry, Hist. Dublin Soc., 109-13.

14. Curran, R.S.A.I.Jn., LXX (1940), 8-10.

15. Geo. Soc. Rec., III, 99 list of owners, occupiers and builders compiled mainly from deeds.

16. Reg. Deeds, Lands Index and various memorials, e.g. 233-389-154646; 255-100-163625; 334-83-222138; 409-522-269080; 331-594-223615; 331-594-223616; 333-105-222708.

17. Curran, Rotunda Hospital, 24-25.

18. George Semple, A Treatise on Building in Water (Dublin, 1776), 52.

19. 1st Geo. II, chap.xxvi.

20. Anc. Rec., IX, 120-22.

21. Precedents and Abstracts, 55-56.

22. Reg.Deeds, Lands Index and various memorials e.g. 64-115-42870; 64-305-43967; 65-511-46687; 66-329-46553; 67-171-45755; 85-341-60403.

23. Reg. Deeds, mem. no. 64-115-42870.

24. Anc. Rec., IV, 285-86.

25. Anc. Rec., VII, 274.

26. N.L.I. Gardiner Deeds, lease from Richard Tighe to John Hendrick; lease from John Hendrick to William Hendrick.

27. P.R.O.I. D 16291, lease from Mary Pallister to William Hendrick; D 16293, lease from Mary Pallister to John Murphy.

28. Acts and Statutes made in a Parliament begun in Dublin 12 Nov. 1715 and contimued ... until September 1725(Dublin,1725)

29. Anc. Rec., VIII, 64, refers to enabling Act of Parliament obtained by Molesworth from the Parliament of Great Britain; Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont: Diary of Viscount Percival, afterwards first Earl of Egmont (H.M.C., London, 1920) I, 243-44 contains a note on Molesworth's Act. The Act is recited in Reg. Deeds mem. no. 72-92-49844.

30. Recital in Reg. Deeds, mem. no. 63-197-43190; also mems. nos. 27-166-16310; 10-186-3415; 30-43-46282.

31. E.J.French, 'Dublin Street Names', R.S.A.I.Jn., LVIII (1928), 157-58.

32. Building sites were advertised on behalf of the Earl of Kildare in Faulkner's Journal, No. 2887, 31 Dec. - 4 Jan. 1755.

33. P.E.O., estate maps by Jonathan Barker, 1762-1764; Gomme's survey, 1673.

34. Rocque's map (1756). The ground plan indicates the size of these houses some which have survived until the present.

35. See memorials of deeds listed in no. 8 above.

36. Reg. Deeds, mem. no. 38-261-24170 (1723).

37. Geo. Soc. Rec., II, 28-30; Reg. Deeds, mems. nos. 63-29-42497; 136-297-91449.

38. Geo. Soc. Rec., II, 28-30; III, 85.

39. Geo. Soc. Rec., II, 28-30.

40. Reg. Deeds, mem. no. 136-297-91449.

41. Geo. Soc. Rec., III, 68-70, citing deeds; Reg. Deeds, mems.nos. 138-432-93781; 141-151-94784; 152-140-101081.

42. Details of the plan are seen on Rocque's map (1756). Leasing of building sites is recorded in Reg. Deeds mems. nos. 144-315-97661; 139-335-94366; 150-341-102115; 152-139-101080; 137-393-93779; 142-126-94891; 141-173-94892; 148-320-99753; 155-71-104950; 158-70-104949; 155-345-104951; and many others. A complete list can be found in the Consolidated Parties Index.

43. Reg. Deeds. mem. no. 141-141-94728.

44. 'Sackville Street and Gardiner's Mall in 1756' from an engraving by Oliver Grace, reproduced in Geo. Soc. Rec., III facing 77.

ctd.

44. Location of original is not known.

45. Lewis Mumford, The Culture of Cities (London, 1940), 77, 135; City in History, 394.

46. Reg. Deeds, mem. no. 161-277-108602; 161-56-107559; 162-83-108601; 162-82-108600; 163-145-108047, and others.

47. Curran, Rotunda Hospital, 9; Craig, Dublin, 141. Craig remarks that the quarrel 'cannot have been very serious' and indicates subsequent co-operation between Gardiner and Mosse.

48. John Bush, Hibernia Curiosa: a letter from a gentleman in Dublin to his friend at Dover in Kent giving a general view of the manners, customs, dispositions etc. of the Inhabitants of Ireland .... collected in a Tour through the Kingdom in the year 1764 (Dublin, 1769), 13.

49. Kirkpatrick, Rotunda Hospital, 19-20.

50. Geo. Soc. Rec., II, 111 citing advertisement.

51. Kirkpatrick, Rotunda Hospital, 18.

52. Berry, Hist. Royal Dub. Soc. 52-57.

53. Advertisement from Faulkner's Dublin Journal Nov. 1729 cited by Westropp, Irish Glass, 41.

54. Westropp, Irish Glass, 43-46.

55. A.K. Longfield, 'The Manufacture of "Raised Stocco" or "Papier Mâche" Papers in Ireland, c. 1750-70', R.S.A.I.Jn., LXXVIII (1948), 55-62; 'History of the Dublin Wall-Paper Industry in the 18th century', R.S.A.I.Jn., LXXVII (1947), 101-20.

CHAPTER XI

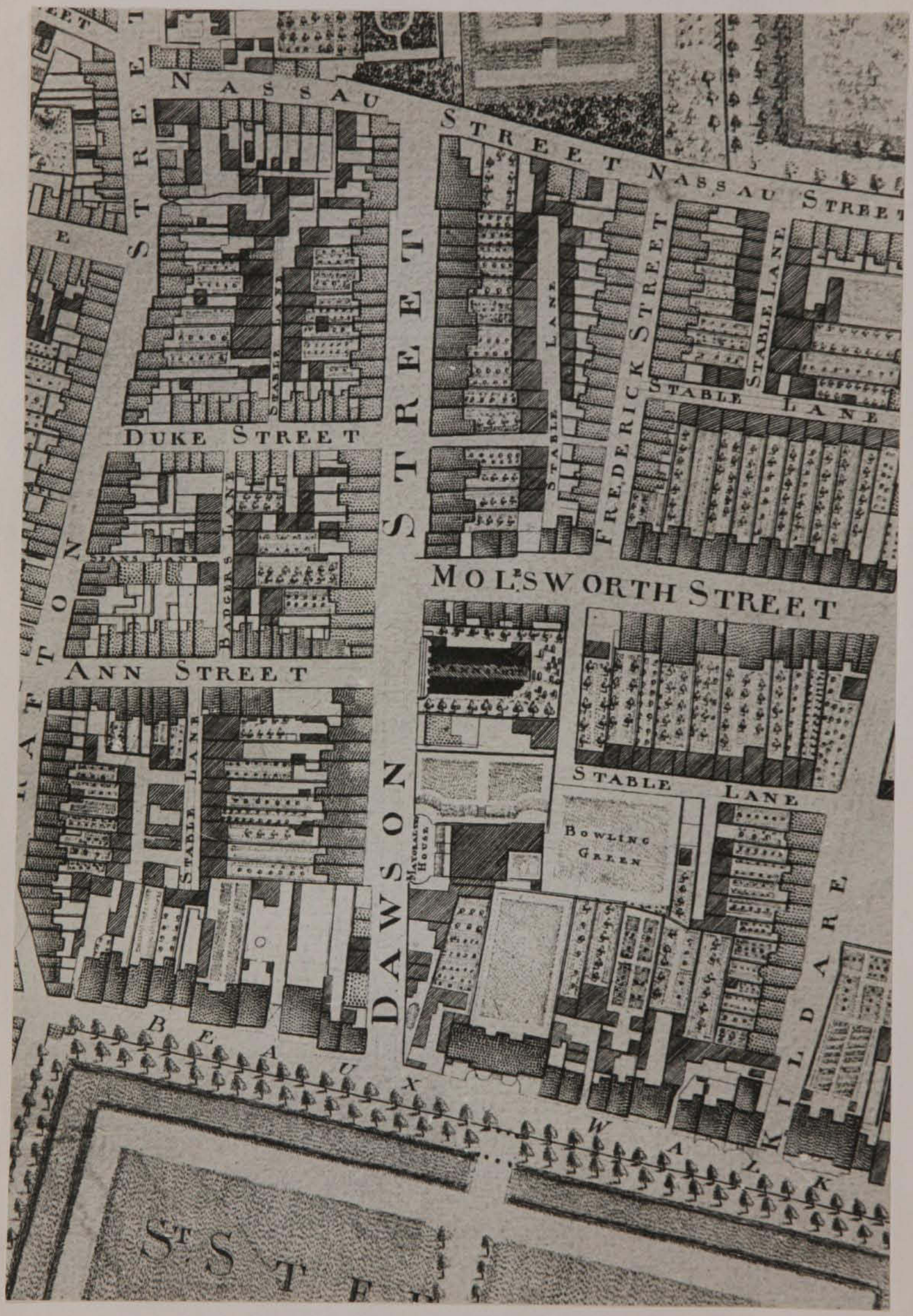
THE MID-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

In the middle of the eighteenth century Dublin was on the threshold of a new age. A century of sustained development had extended the city in all directions and the relatively balanced pattern of suburban growth which had been maintained since the Restoration had almost redressed the historic balance which favoured settlement on the south bank and made it dominant. By the middle of the eighteenth century the river Liffey separated two urban areas which were almost equal in extent: the western sectors were knit by five bridges and north-south thoroughfares while the eastern, which were just as extensive, comprised two areas of independent development which were not connected by any bridge. Significant changes had recently been made in the townscape but the city still lacked cohesion: although each of the new suburbs was a well-planned unit the total complex was a relatively amorphous town-plan. In it the principal coherence derived from the inherited morphological frame of ancient highways which had been modified in the process of urban growth. Rationalisation of this plan was a task undertaken gradually during the second half of the eighteenth century.

The first detailed map of the city was made about this time and published by John Rocque in 1756. Rocque's map permits a detailed analysis of the town-plan on the eve of a period of improvement in which the transformation begun in the 1730s was gradually extended and a new core, that of the modern city, was formed. Rocque's survey was made, in fact, on the eve of the establishment of the Wide Streets Commissioners whose activities gradually rationalised the town-plan: although not made for the purpose the map illustrates the need for a co-ordinating body such as the Commissioners later became.

Rocque's key distinguishes only three basic types of buildings, namely, dwelling houses which are indicated by stippling, 'warehouses,

PLATE XIII



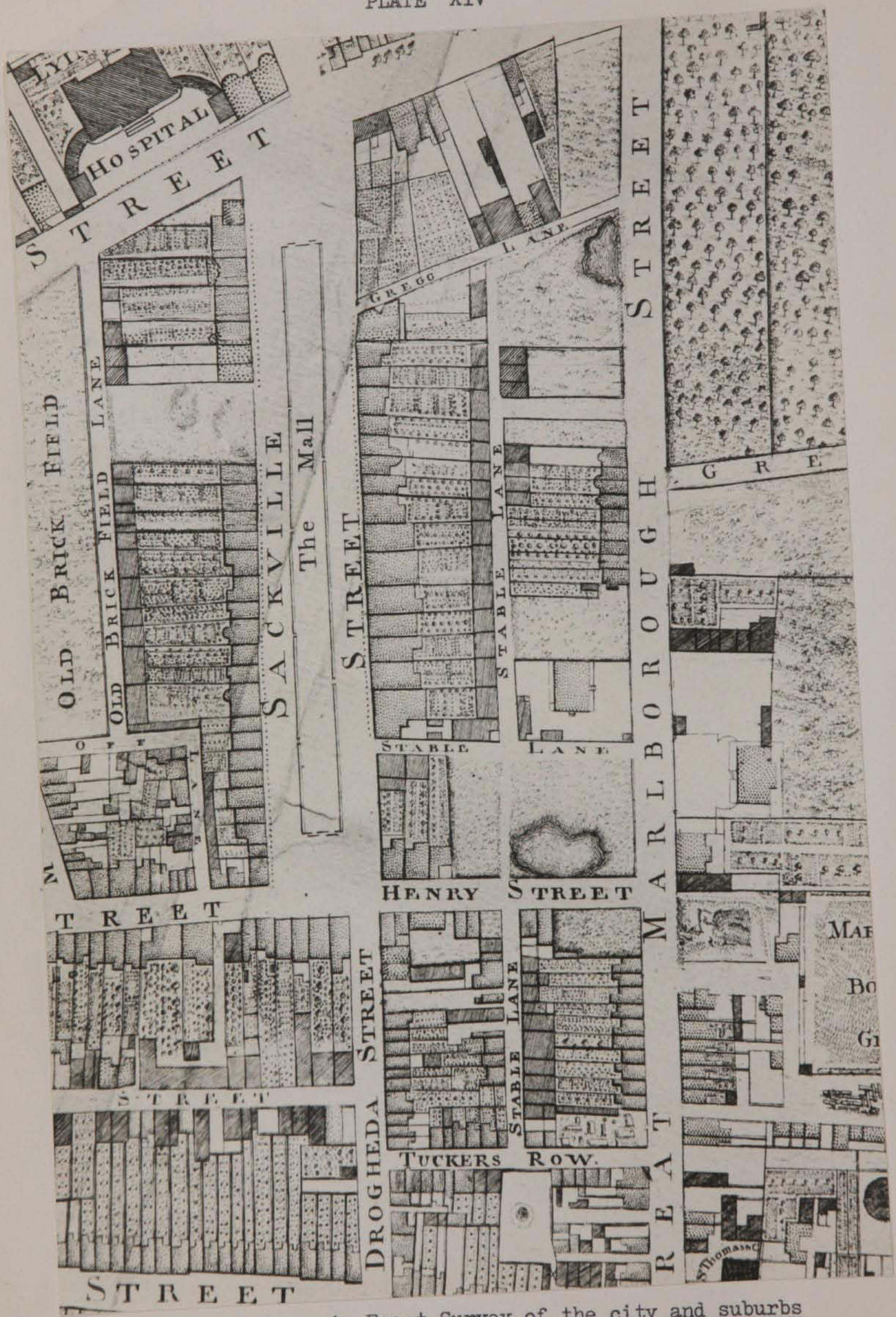
Extract from An Exact Survey of the city and suburbs of Dublin ... by John Rocque, 1756, (actual size)

Scale: Two hundred feet to an inch
For explanation of symbols see text, chapter XI

stables, etc.' indicated by diagonal ruling, and places of worship which are ruled with symbols or letters superimposed. In the present analysis further distinctions have been made. Three types of residential buildings have been identified, namely, large individual houses which were often though not always free-standing and which were evidently occupied by the nobility and by the greater gentry; secondly, terraced houses, large and small, whose gardens are shown with an ornamental 'characteristic' on Rocque's map and which are assumed to have been purely residential; and thirdly, houses which had either small gardens mapped without ornamentation or no gardens at all. The third category of housing is assumed generally to be associated with commercial activities. Rocque groups warehouses and stables without explaining either the reason for such grouping or the significance of the term 'warehouse'. The significance of the grouping seems to have been a distinction made between residential and non-residential buildings. The term 'warehouse' could mean a building for storing goods or a shop: since shops at the time were generally part of residential buildings the symbol is assumed to indicate buildings for storing merchandise. The addition of the word 'etc.' shows that more than warehouses and stables were indicated by ruling: other buildings seem to have been industrial premises such as breweries, distilleries, tanneries and other works. Symbols used on gardens are assumed to indicate ornamentation since other documentary evidence shows that some of the gardens of the larger houses were, in fact, ornamented. Rocque used the same symbols on gardens which were not attached to any dwelling: in such cases the gardens have been designated nurseries; most of these were on the periphery but there were small ones in all parts of the city, even in the densely occupied core. Orchards are represented by a tree-symbol. Tenters' fields are indicated by rows of posts on which yarn can be seen threaded through hooks. Timber-yards are represented by piles of planks. A symbol similar to that of the timber-yards remains a puzzle: an example of it is seen on the south side of Earl Street in Plate XV.

Large houses were mostly in the eastern suburbs but there were also a few in most other parts of the city: there were two on Smithfield, for instance, and one - Lord Rawdon's - stood on Usher's

PLATE XIV



Extract from An Exact Survey of the city and suburbs of Dublin ... by John Rocque, 1756 (actual size)

Scale: Two hundred feet to an inch
For explanation of symbols see text, chapter XI

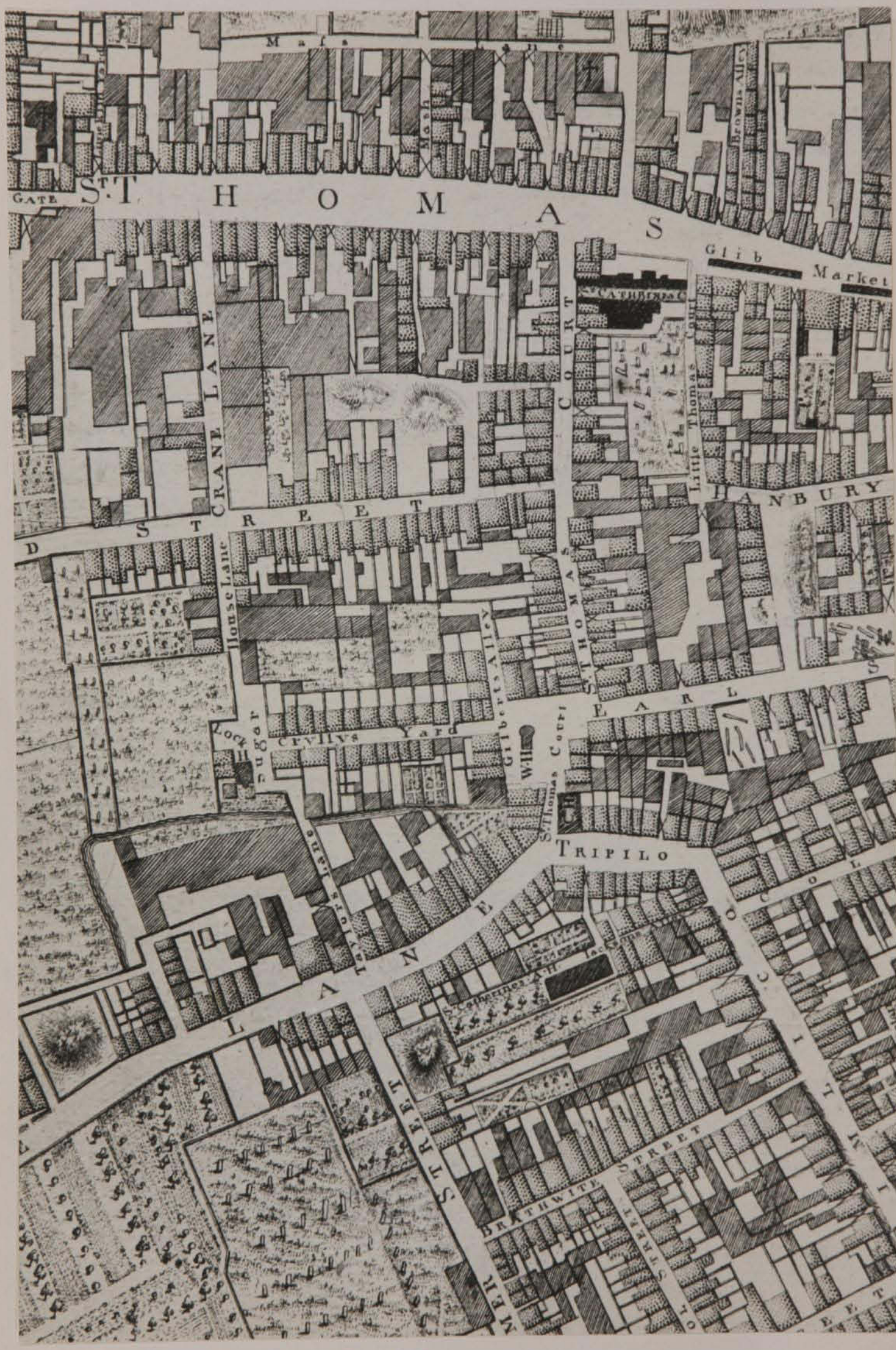
Island where the quay was lined with trees. Houses of the second category were predominant in the eastern sector and those of the third category were predominant in the west. Houses of these two categories were not mutually exclusive, however, and 'zoning' of house-types had emerged only in the south-eastern and north-eastern suburbs. A sub-division of warehouses and stables is also possible. Stables which were intended for the use of residents of private houses can be distinguished from those which were evidently associated with warehouses. It is not possible to distinguish the stables of commercial concerns from warehouses and industrial buildings. The size of some buildings suggests that they housed large industrial and commercial concerns and these are found mainly in the western sector of the city. Analysis of types, sizes and density of buildings has indicated urban regions which are discussed later. Three extracts of Rocque's map are reproduced to illustrate three different types of development.

The Street-plan

The most striking feature of the street-plan of Rocque's Dublin was the existence of some broad streets in the outer suburbs while the approaches to the city and the arteries through it remained narrow and congested. Newmarket and Smithfield were both market places: each was surrounded by industrial and commercial suburbs: each was a striking open space in a dense network of streets. Contrasting in width and alignment with streets to the west of it Aungier Street was a base from which new streets had been opened towards St. Stephen's Green, the south-eastern limit of the city. In its size and character St. Stephen's Green was unique. It was the largest open space in the city; already its tree-lined walks were fashionable promenades; it was an apt growth-point for a good residential suburb. Sackville Street, the broadest street in the city, was a unique element of the town-plan and it proved to be an important morphogenetic determinant of the form of redevelopment towards the end of the century.

These open spaces and broad streets had two common characteristics: each was the focus of a suburb whose character it partly

PLATE XV



Extract from An Exact Survey of the city and suburbs of Dublin ... by John Rocque, 1756 (actual size)

Scale: Two hundred feet to an inch
For explanation of symbols see text, chapter XI

determined; all were far from the Castle, separated from it by a congeries of narrow, irregular streets. Clearly these dispersed elements could not be the skeleton of a rational, modern town-plan. The Castle was the geographic centre of Rocque's Dublin but not its focus. Indeed, far from being an organic centre from which streets radiated the Castle even lacked an adequate approach to its one main entrance and it was surrounded and hemmed in by small, densely crowded buildings.

The House of Parliament stood on College Green a half a mile east of the Castle. The only direct approach to it from the Castle was Dame Street, a narrow, irregular, congested street. Since it was one of the principal centres of commerce Dame Street was densely thronged during the day; width, use and character all rendered it unfit to be the principal approach from the Castle to the House of Parliament, a thoroughfare which should have been the principal street of the city. The western approach to the Castle was even more irregular, narrower and more congested for it led due west through the old city to Newgate and St. James's Gate through streets which were all densely thronged centres of commerce. In the centre of the old city Christ Church Cathedral was hemmed in by buildings and the Courts of Justice and the Tholsel in close proximity increased congestion in the area. The city lacked any clear organic unity. During the second half of the century organic unity was gradually created through rationalising the existing town-plan and controlling new development.

The Streetscape

The mid-century streetscape was a mixture of old and new. Timber-framed houses still survived. Gabled houses were numerous, especially in the south-west. A definite change in building styles had been introduced in the 1730s but the older houses were far more numerous than the new. It was the new style which was significant, however, for it influenced domestic building throughout the rest of the century and induced refronting of old houses in many parts of the city. The new style of the 1730s was introduced principally in large houses built for the greater gentry. The principal architect

of the larger mansions was Richard Cassels who built about ten houses, some in Henrietta Street, and on Sackville Street, some on St. Stephen's Green, Tyrone House and Kildare House. Cassels's residential work in Dublin was complete by 1750. Individuality was the keynote of houses designed by Cassels and yet they all conformed to the basic house-type of the period, an urban adaptation of the large classical country mansions. Whereas in the country building sites were usually sufficiently extensive to have all the principal rooms on the ground floor and to have colonnades and additional wings on either side of the main building, constricted urban sites induced adaptation. Town houses which had wings were conspicuously few. Most houses were square or rectangular blocks rising three storeys high. The principal reception rooms were on the first floor, approached by a stately staircase which usually rose only to the first floor. Inside the front entrance the hallway was large and wide enough to accommodate a sedan chair as well as arriving guests. The stuccodores and other decorators created a bright, gay environment in the principal rooms. Little planning or thought seems to have been given to the rest of the house. Easy access to the bedroom accommodation, for instance, received little attention: indeed, secondary stairs running from the basement to the top floor, intended for general use, were often the only means of access to the upper storeys or to the basement. Consistency of design with a large variety of detail was characteristic. Houses built on larger sites were usually markedly individual. Relatively little variety was possible, on the other hand, in the external appearance of terraced houses even when uniformity was not imposed by the terms of the building lease. Nevertheless, uniformity was markedly absent in streets built in the second quarter of the century although regular alignment of frontages and of areas was imposed through the terms of the building leases. Change in the skyline was also beginning: the irregular, angular line associated with gabled houses was succeeded by a flat roof-top. It was not until uniformity of design was imposed, however, that the skyline assumed a straight, regular, horizontal form. In Sackville Street, for instance, the new houses constructed in the 1740s and 1750s were all built in the new style but neither windows nor roof-tops were aligned with each other: variety in the height of, rather than the number of

PLATE XVI



see appendix

College Green, 1753

storeys induced this irregularity.

The best terraced houses were at this time in Henrietta Street and in Sackville Street. These two streets attracted upper-class residents and provided a growth-point or focus for upper-class residential development in the north-east. A few important and widely dispersed houses were both adornments of the streetscape and morphogenetic elements of the town plan. Kildare (Leinster) House was undoubtedly the most significant in terms of morphogenesis and even at the close of the century it was still the 'most stately private edifice in the city'.[1] (Plate XVI) The large site, extending from Kildare Street to Merrion Street, permitted constructing a house which had all the attributes of a country mansion, a free-standing, three-storeyed rectangular building, adjoined on either side by short Doric colonnades which provided access to the offices in small square buildings at either end, making a total frontage of two hundred and ten feet, the entire width of the courtyard. The western, principal front, in Portland stone, had a well-accented, pedimented, centre-piece; in front, the courtyard was enclosed by a high stone wall ornamented with rustic piers and an ornate rusticated stone gateway. Behind the house was 'a beautiful lawn with a handsome shrubbery on either side screening the adjoining houses from view, enjoying in the tumult of a noisy metropolis all the retirement of the country'.[2] The garden front, in Ardbraccan limestone, had a light appearance: a deep area ran the entire width of the building to provide light for the basement which lacked windows on the west front, and this was spanned by a wide balustraded stone staircase in the centre of the house, providing access to the lawn and the principal adornment of the west front.

Kildare House set a new standard of magnificence in domestic building which was emulated but remained unsurpassed in the second half of the century. It was also a significant morphogenetic element of the town-plan for it closed the vista at the eastern end of Molesworth Street and on the east, the lawn became the centre-piece of the west side of Merrion Square. It was no less important as a growth-point in the south-eastern suburbs for, as Lord Kildare had prophesied, it encouraged the development of an extensive new

suburb for which it also set a standard.

Tyrone House had a similar role in the north-eastern suburbs. It too was designed by Cassels but was much less imposing and less spacious than Kildare House. Tyrone House occupied a site on the east side of Marlborough Street. It was a free-standing house but it lacked wings; its principal distinction was a Doric portico surmounted by a Venetian window, a typical element of Cassels's later designs. The morphogenetic influence exercised by Tyrone House was indirect: it neither terminated the vista of a street nor prompted the opening of a new one but it was one of the underlying determinants of the redevelopment of Drogheda Street.

The influence of changing fashions in house building is indicated by many advertisements in contemporary newspapers. Advertisements intended to attract the gentry usually mentioned renovations, new furniture or other fashionable attractions.[3] Although sectoral differentiation of housing had developed since the beginning of the century houses suited to the gentry were advertised in many districts and titled people who were either neighbours or former residents were frequently mentioned. Lord Rawdon lived on Usher's Quay, for instance; Lord Tullamore lived in Capel Street; Sir Thomas Taylor lived in Smithfield and the Archbishop of Cashel in Queen Street. All these streets had many commercial concerns and there was a large market in Smithfield. Large houses were advertised in Dawson Street and on St. Stephen's Green where one house was five storeys high with flat-ceiled garrets. Commercial concerns were not entirely absent from the Green, however, for one David Beranger advertised all kinds of snuff, dry and liquid sweet-meats from Tours, and even wearing apparel for sale at the Coffee House on St. Stephen's Green. Borr House in Great Boater Lane was advertised in 1755: the advertiser asked that 'whoever has a mind to treat for the same are desired not to take notice of its outward appearance but are requested to walk in and see further'. Borr House had six rooms on each floor, a good kitchen on a level with the parlours, a large garden full cropped, a coach house, stables, and many other facilities. It was considered suitable for a gentleman. The advertisement suggests that this house had not been refronted although it was probably either furnished or decorated in the new fashion.

New houses invariably had coach houses and spacious stables, sometimes for as many as twelve horses. A house in Henry Street with sixty feet frontage had three coach houses, stabling for eleven horses, a hay loft which could contain one hundred loads of hay, a straw room, two granaries which could hold a hundred barrels of oats, a garden, a very large stable yard, a wash house out of doors, vaults large enough for a hundred tons of coals, a large brick cistern arched over that could hold above sixty hogsheads of water; a pigeon house, three hen houses and many other conveniences. New houses in Cavendish Street were still under construction when advertised. A house adjoining Lord Viscount Castlecomer's had a parlour, the 'two pair of stairs' floor and the garrets furnished in an elegant manner and the middle floor almost finished; it had stables for many horses, a coach house for many carriages and all the other usual conveniences. The advertisement states that the house was built for several years and never inhabited, indicating speculative building which was not entirely successful. Indeed, the advertisements suggest that most if not all of the houses built and advertised at this time were constructed or renovated by speculators.

Reconstruction brought alterations to the older parts of the city, to commercial premises as well as to residential. The Brazen Head Inn in Bridge Street had lately been rebuilt 'in a most commodious manner': it contained thirty rooms together with a parlour, kitchen and cellars. New breweries were offered for sale in St. James's Street; one of these, situated on the corner of Steevens's Lane had two large malt houses in James's Street and another at Mount Brown had a dwelling house as well as malt houses, outhouses, and a garden. A dwelling house and brewery on Pimlico had a malt house, yard, stables and other possessions in John's Street and two malt houses, malt and beer rooms and a garden at the rear of houses on the south side of James's Street. Amalgamation of industrial premises had already begun. Some large industrial premises can be seen on Plate XV but there is not sufficient documentary evidence to identify them individually.

Most advertisements designed to attract merchants specified the storage space available. On Usher's Quay, for instance, premises suitable for a merchant had good vaults capable of containing fifty

or sixty tuns of wine, a large warehouse and a street-cellar divided into bins for bottled wine. Houses in Abbey Street and in Jervis Street invariably had four rooms to a floor and large vaults and cellars; some had spacious warehouses. On Capel Street a house for a merchant had a large open back yard, a good warehouse, a large vault, a coach house and stables. In the same street some houses were divided into apartments rented to merchants. A householder at the upper end of the street advertised a middle apartment which consisted of three rooms and a closet, with or without a back kitchen, and at the back of the house a large loft fit either for corn or for a merchant's goods. In advertising new houses on Lazy Hill it was noted that 'the lower part .. may be turned into a shop as there is a stout beam over the windows of each parlour'.

The size and nature of premises were as significant as locality in attracting tenants. A house in Aungier Street, for instance, was advertised for sale in 1757 as being 'fit for a lawyer or gentleman of fortune ... near business and in fine air'. This house had a flagged courtyard and a gravel walk, a new stable for four horses and various other conveniences. A house in Borr Court in St. Michael's Lane near Christ Church Cathedral was also advertised as being fit for a lawyer: it was a large dwelling with a garden at the back and although in the heart of the city it was 'remarkably airy' and commanded 'a fine prospect of the deer park'. Its proximity to the Four Courts was thought to render it fit for a lawyer or attorney. From the advertisements it is evident that there was considerable variety of house types and that building or renovation was in progress in most parts of the city.

The newspapers contain no evidence at all of one category of housing, namely, the dwellings of the poorer classes and these must have housed the greater part of the population. Subdivision of houses in the old walled city during the second half of the seventeenth century has already been noted. As the gentry moved to the eastern suburbs their former dwellings were invaded by commercial activities and by the poorer people and subdivision continued. Subdivision of mansions was usually followed by building in the courtyards and gardens where one-storey cabins were constructed. Through this type

PLATE XVII



GREAT COURT YARD, DUBLIN CASTLE.

see appendix

of 'infilling' accommodation was provided for the increasing population of the central area and of the south-western suburbs. Clusters of small houses and cabins can be identified on Rocque's map: most are in the western sector of the city. Some small houses had a rear yard, such as those on Tripilo and in Crilly's Yard, (Plate XV). Many had no rear entrance at all: clusters of these can be seen west of St. Thomas Court and on Brown's Alley off Thomas Street, an example of the narrow alleys lined with small poor dwellings which came to typify the western sector of the city and particularly the south-west. Numerous small dwellings can be seen already in the mid-eighteenth century in streets which had been opened earlier in the same century, and on the Coombe there were alleys and numerous small dwellings similar to those off Thomas Street.

Public Buildings

Public buildings still occupied their historic sites but some, particularly the more important ones, had already changed character. The first of Dublin's great classical public buildings was the House of Parliament designed by Pearce, (Plate XVII), an original conception whose majestic grandeur was still unsurpassed at the end of the century. The entrance from College Green was the only exposed part of the structure, for the main body of the building was embedded in a street-block, hemmed in by houses and commercial concerns.[4] An entrance court facing south was surrounded on three sides by a continuous flight of steps on which was raised a colonnade with Ionic columns along east and west sides, leading to a tetrastyle portico. The striking feature of the design was the height and proportion of the galleries or colonnades which Pearce carried round at the same height as the portico: such galleries and wings were usually subordinate. Pearce's design and proportions seem to have been unique: Curran[5], who made a special study of the building, could identify no contemporary building which had a similar feature. The colonnade carried an entablature and balustrade and the portico and flanking pavilions supported pediments. The only sculptural enrichment was the tympanum of the central pediment. The design and proportions of the interior were equally impressive. The Commons Chamber was distinguished by a low, oblate, dome, later irreverently christened



LEINSTER HOUSE, DUBLIN.

see appendix

Kildare House, later known as Leinster House

the 'goose-pie'.[6]

The reconstruction of the Castle had been in progress since the 1730s and by the mid-century it was almost complete.[7] The entire complex was almost entirely reconstructed at this time and only a vestige of the original buildings remain. The renovated Castle consisted of two courts: in the upper, principal court, on the site of the original castle, were the State Apartments and private apartments of the viceroy and his suite. (Plate XVIII). Writing in 1799, having studied both Dublin and London, James Malton considered the uniformity of the buildings, the spaciousness of the Court, and the display of the north side, gave it an air of grandeur 'superior to what is observable in any of the Courts of St. James's, the Royal Palace of London'.[8] The principal entrance, on the site of the medieval gate and drawbridge, was an ornate stone archway surmounted by a statue of Justice. To the north, a corresponding gateway was surmounted by a statue of Fortitude. Between the gateways was an ornate stone building with an arched entrance surmounted by an open gallery where on festive occasions, the state musicians performed. Opposite, on the south side of the courtyard and facing the entrance from Castle Street, were the apartments of the viceroy, the council room, the ball-room and other state apartments which occupied the entire south side of the court. The rear elevation of this building was of granite, ornamented by Ionic semi-columns, with architraves and cornices to the windows: an imposing structure in a situation where few might see it, since the only public passage near it was directly underneath, passing under an arch that supported a flight of steps leading from the Castle to the garden. Rows of relatively plain, uniform buildings on the east and west completed the Upper Court. The general appearance of the Lower Court was very inferior. It was larger than the Upper Court, irregular in shape and lacked unity, much less uniformity of buildings. On the north were the Treasury, and other offices forming a 'range of indifferent brick buildings with a terrace before them, owing to the great descent in the ground.'[9] The private chapel of the viceroy was also in the Lower Court, and the Wardrobe Tower, the only remaining part of the medieval structure.

Rebuilding of the west front of Trinity College began when reconstruction of the Castle was almost complete: it was financed by a grant from Parliament.[10] This work was in progress in the 1750s and continued in the 1760s until a new complex of buildings was complete. The only eighteenth-century building which was finished by the mid-century was the library designed by Thomas Burgh which had been completed in 1732: it occupied the entire southern side of the eastern (original) court.

The great surge of church building which had followed the entrenchment of the Protestant Ascendancy in the 1690s had quickly waned and in fact, many of the new churches commissioned at that time were never completed: they usually lacked towers and spires.[11] The greatest ecclesiastical ornament of the city was the Church of St. Werburgh which occupied a site sufficiently elevated to make the church spire a notable feature of the city's skyline. This church was burned in 1754 and was rebuilt by 1759: unlike all other contemporary churches its elevation was completed right to the top of the spire, possibly because the church was used regularly by the viceroy. The principal elevation, facing west, displayed 'both elegance and delicacy and was perfect in its proportions'.[12] The grand entrance of the Doric order was flanked by two side entrances and surmounted by a second storey in the Corinthian order crowned by a pediment: above, a large window lit the loft and the attic storey where there was a good set of bells. The steeple and spire rose a further 160 feet high. This was the last structure of its kind built in the city.

Churches of the Established Church were well distributed throughout the city. North of the Liffey there were three parish churches, St. Michan's, St. Mary's and St. Paul's, and two chapels of ease, that of St. George on Great Britain Street, built by Sir John Eccles, and a Church of St. Thomas at the lower end of Marlborough Street about which nothing is known except the location which is shown by Rocque. South of the Liffey, besides the two cathedrals, there were nine parish churches, St. Audoen's, St. Michael's, St. John's, St. Andrew's, St. Mark's, St. Anne's, St. Catherine's, St. James's and St. Peter's which had also a chapel of ease dedicated

to St. Kevin.[13] Most of these churches occupied prominent sites: all, except the Church of St. Thomas, occupied spacious sites adjoined by churchyards.

Places of worship of other denominations were located in lanes and alleys, or were hidden in the centre of street blocks and approached by narrow entrances. Although they occupied such secluded sites many of the meeting houses were large buildings constructed specially for the purpose and well known in the neighbourhood, as indicated by place names such as Meeting House Lane leading north from Mary's Abbey, and Meeting House Yard south of Usher's Quay.

There were nine catholic parochial chapels and six chapels of the regular clergy.[14] Few of the parishes of the catholic church were co-terminous with parishes of the Established Church but most of the chapels had the same dedications as the old pre-Reformation churches. A chapel in Liffey Street served an area which was almost co-terminous with the parish of St. Mary of the Established Church; it had been built about 1729. Another chapel in St. Mary's Lane served most of St. Michan's parish. A third chapel on the north bank was situated on Arran Quay and it served the parish of St. Paul and part of St. Michan's.

In James's Street there was a chapel near Twatling Street for the parish of St. James and another in Dirty Lane for the parish of St. Katherine. The chapel in Francis Street served the parishes of St. Nicholas Without, St. Bride's, St. Kevin's and St. Luke's. A chapel in Cook Street served the parish of St. Audoen and one in Rosemary Lane off Cook Street served the parishes of St. Michael, St. John, St. Nicholas Within and St. Werburgh. A chapel built in Hawkins Street during the 1730s served the parishes of St. Andrew, St. Peter, St. Mark and St. Anne. Chapels of the regular clergy were all in the older parts of the city. The Franciscans were in Rosemary Lane; the Dominicans in Bridge Street; the Carmelites at Wormwood Gate at the western end of Cook Street, and the Augustinians in John's Lane, Thomas Street. The Calced Carmelites were in Ash Street and the Capuchins in Church Street. There were also three nunneries: one in Mullinahack, another near Arran Quay, and a third

in Channel Row. The two former occupied sites in the centre of street-blocks; that of Channel Row occupied a prominent site with a wide street-frontage and some large buildings on either side of the street.

The number, character and distribution of all these catholic chapels and institutions show that the status of catholics had improved considerably since the beginning of the century when chapels were in converted stables or in rooms in the houses of catholic merchants: many of these old chapels had been dilapidated and all were overcrowded. Early in 1741 a house in Hope's Yard off Cook Street which was used as a mass house collapsed killing nine people. The viceroy and the local magistrates then made known that they would prefer to see regular chapels opened than to have people lose their lives in such a manner. From that time catholic chapels remained open and some new ones were built. The absence of chapels from the new residential suburbs should be noted.

The principal hospitals of the city were buildings of some architectural distinction. Indeed Mosse's Lying-in Hospital which was completed in 1757 was one of the principal buildings of the city.[15] It faced south onto Great Britain Street: the main block was faced with granite and had a rusticated basement and a pedimented centrepiece. Similarities between this building and Kildare House are striking. From the central building of the hospital colonnades curved east and west to detached buildings to which, however, they did not provide access for the colonnades were constructed merely for effect, to form a courtyard in front. The north elevation facing the gardens was simpler. The hospital could have been a magnificent termination of an avenue. In its actual location it was, together with the pleasure gardens, the generative element in the formation of a new residential square.

West of the city three of the principal hospitals were all in the same neighbourhood: the Royal Hospital in Kilmainham, Steevens's Hospital in Steevens Lane and St. Patrick's Hospital on a site fronting Bow Lane. St. Patrick's Hospital for Lunatics was built in 1749 to a design of George Semple's which was based on the

Bethlehem (Bedlam) Hospital in London.[16] Mercer's Hospital in Stephen's Street closed the vista at the southern end of William Street. Private voluntary hospitals had continued to multiply in numbers and to increase in size. The Hospital for Incurables had been founded with funds raised by the Charitable Musical Society which gave concerts in Crow Street Music Hall from 1742.[17] In 1744 a house was rented on the Blind Quay for the new institution and in 1750 the governors purchased a house and garden on the north side of Lazer's Hill and on this site erected a large new building, its front in hewn granite, surmounted by a pediment. The Hospital for Incurables on Lazer's Hill was opened in 1753. In 1757 the Locke Hospital acquired the premises in George's Lane formerly used by the Lying-in Hospital, which consisted of a large three-storeyed house opposite Fade Street.

The Workhouse had passed through another stage of its evolving history. In 1727 it was reconstituted by statute and from 25 March 1730 the Governors were required to receive 'all exposed children of whatever age or sex'. Funds for their maintenance were derived from an extra three pence in the pound levied on ministers' money. This brought a complete change in the original objectives of the institution and the Workhouse became a hospital for foundlings.[18]

Public buildings had become more numerous by the mid-century and new architectural styles had been introduced. None of the buildings, however, had as yet become focal points of the town-plan although some were significant morphogenetic elements of the form of future development. Insulated sites were few: so were terminal street vistas. In reconstructing public buildings and in siting new ones their influence on the townscape as a whole was not yet considered. Aesthetic city-building had not yet begun.

Industries

Lists of merchants in the Dublin Directory for 1753 suggest that the greatest source of employment in Dublin at the time was the textile industry which included linen, woollen, silk and other goods. Writing in 1759 Henry Brooke records: 'It was with real satisfaction

that I have lately seen some superfine cloth of home manufacture equal to any imported and some very elegantly finished pieces of silk'.[19] One assumes that these were manufactured in Dublin for Brooke lists a very wide range of materials which were then produced in the city including superfine and middling cloths, serges, druggets, narrow goods of all sorts, poplins, velvets, plain and flowered; hair and worsted shag; silks of different kinds and patterns; silk handkerchiefs and ribbands; gold and silver lace and fringe. Locally produced materials could now rival imports and some of the aims of the Dublin Society had been achieved.

The diversification which had taken place in the textile industry derived in part from encouragement of the linen industry and in part from the influence of premiums offered by the Dublin Society. These were annual prizes offered for various goods of high quality, the objective being to offset imports by encouraging the production of similar goods of high quality in the city. A new suburb had grown in the vicinity of the Linen Hall. Bleach greens had been established near the Dodder and linen drapers were numerous in the city. Linen drapers bought brown linen for cash from weavers, contracted for bleaching and finishing, and then several months later, disposed of white cloth to merchants and other buyers. Most of the brown linen was produced in the north of Ireland and the trade in brown cloth passed through Dublin where there were dyers and a few weavers as well as the bleach yards.

Brewers and distillers were mostly located in the western suburbs: some on Lazer's Hill and in Queen Street also advertised in the Directory. As noted already, the amalgamation of breweries and distilleries had already begun. Increased production did not depend on new technology and these industries made more progress during the remainder of the eighteenth century. About this time the brewery which later grew to be the largest in Dublin was established. In 1759 Arthur Guinness purchased from Paul Espinasse a small brewery on an extensive site on the south side of James's Street near St. James's Gate. The brewery was not only small but was poorly equipped: almost half of the Dublin breweries had larger outputs than Guinness.[20] From small beginnings this brewery grew to be the third largest in

the city by the end of the century and to-day it is a major source of employment and of revenue. Breweries had been well established in the western suburbs in the seventeenth century and the plentiful water supply enabled expansion. Most of the large premises seen on Rocque's map at the rear of St.Thomas Street and St.James's Street were probably breweries.

Fifteen sugar-bakers advertised in the Directory in 1753[21] and there were probably others who did not advertise. Some were in the western suburbs but there were also sugar-bakeries scattered through the city: there were two on George's Lane, two on Lazer's Hill, one on Hawkins Quay and one in Boot Lane near Mary Street. A silver refinery had been established on the North Wall: the premises advertised for sale in 1757 comprised

> 'several large and convenient smelting houses .... one ore hearth and two furnaces for smelting ore: two refineries for extracting silver; a large assay office .... with a smith's forge and all necessary utensils'.

At Ringsend a salt refinery had been established. Fostered by the Linen Board rope-making had developed and it included large concerns in Abbey Street owned by Hosea Coates. Coach making had been established: one firm in Mary Street advertised in the Directory in 1753 and Brooke records that in 1759 coaches, post-chaises and chariots were 'well and neatly finished in Dublin'.[22]

The character of building suggests that there must have been many stonecutters but only two - both of the Darley family - advertised in the Directory. Timber merchants were so numerous that Rocque distinguished their premises by a special symbol: an example indicating one small timber-yard can be seen on the north side of Earl Street in Plate XV. Thirteen timber merchants advertised in the Directory in 1753. Many of their premises were on or near the quays, on Bachelor's Walk and Hawkins Quay, on College Green, College Street and Lazer's Hill; others were scattered throughout the city.

Wine merchants were numerous and imports of wine seem to have greatly increased. Most premises of wine merchants were located in streets near the quays. Nine chandlers advertised in 1753, of whom one specialised in wax. Many merchants and 'grocers' (who were often

wholesale merchants dealing in a wide range of goods) advertised and their premises were in most parts of the city. Various goods listed by Brooke as being notable articles of trade included fine hats and millinery, clocks, watches, cutlery, saddlers' goods and firearms.

Although most new industries catered for the local market exports had also increased. The greatest export trade was with Great Britain and the principal item was linen, both cloth and yarn. Other exports included beef, butter, pork and tallow. Imports of coal had increased and this trade continued to grow throughout the remainder of the century. Trade had also developed with other European countries and with the colonies, with Holland, France, Spain, Denmark, Russia and with the West Indies.

The Estuary

Improvement of the channel and estuary facilitated this increase in overseas trade which was centred on the Custom House at Essex Bridge. Essex Bridge was still the most easterly of the city's bridges and yet, by the middle of the eighteenth century, it was nearly the geographic centre of the city. The Custom House which adjoined this bridge on the east had fixed the lowest bridging point and although the construction of a bridge further east had already been mooted the project was strongly resisted by merchants and others who feared disruption of business and loss of trade. Four ferries, named by Rocque, linked the extensive eastern suburbs of the north and south banks of the Liffey: one at Temple Lane probably existed before Humphrey Jervis built the first Essex Bridge; another at the Bagnio Slip ferried people to Liffey Street and provided a link between two densely occupied areas of commercial activity; another ferry crossed the river from Porter's Row at the western end of Aston's Quay; a fourth 'old ferry' (in Rocque's terminology) had been established about four decades earlier by Thomas Singleton with authorisation from the Corporation, to facilitate clients who wished to visit his bowling green in Marlborough Street: by the mid-century this ferry had become an important link between two centres of commerce.[23]

The significance of Essex Bridge as the lowest bridging point on the river is indicated by the boats inserted by Rocque: none of the larger boats are seen west of this bridge. Rocque has unfortunately left no explanation of the number, character and distribution of the boats shown on the Liffey; they were, nonetheless, more than stylistic embellishment for a distinct pattern is discernible of which the significance may be deduced. It suggests that Rocque intended to illustrate the use of the various quays and their relative importance in relation to the import and export trade. The Custom House Quay is crowded: significantly, the vessels moored there are large sea-going sailing ships which clearly could come upstream as far as Essex Bridge, and there was evidently trans-shipment of goods by small boats both upstream and downstream from Essex Bridge. In fact the numerous small boats inserted in the channel as far eastwards as Rocque's survey extends suggests that there was probably trans-shipment of goods from ships moored at the outport of Ringsend. The principal destination upstream was evidently Wood Quay which lay between Ormonde Bridge and the junction with Essex Quay and the Blind Quay. Some boats, relatively small in size and few in number, are seen upstream past Ormonde Bridge at least as far as the landing slip near the western end of Barrack Street: the builders of Steevens's Hospital were evidently not the only people who found that the carriage of goods by water was the most economic mode of transport to places lying west of the core area of the city. A ferry authorised by the Corporation and operated by the assigns of Steevens's Hospital plied between the landing slip near the northern end of Steevens' Lane and the slip near Barrack Street; this ferry is not indicated by Rocque.

East of Essex Bridge the boats illustrated by Rocque form an interesting pattern. Some large vessels at intervals along the channel suggest continuous traffic to and from the Custom House Quay. Potential moorage on lower Ormonde Quay and on Bachelor's Walk seems not to have been in use although the newly extended Aston's Quay[24] was lined with boats, large and small. One solitary boat was moored near the Bagnio Slip, where building extended to the waterfront: this suggests that goods could not easily be unloaded at such places even when buildings near the water's edge were warehouses.

The density of moored vessels along George's Quay and Rogerson's Quay was as great as, and in part greater than the density already noted at the Custom House Quay: it reflected the use of these open quays and the proximity of numerous commercial concerns in the adjacent street blocks. The almost total absence of large moored vessels along the North Wall is a contrast. Nevertheless, quayage on the North Wall was already in use, however sporadically, for timber and other unidentified goods lay on the wharf.

Since the lowest bridging point on the Liffey was almost the city's geographic centre the direct influence of the port extended almost to the heart of the city. An industrial and commercial zone associated with the port extended eastwards from Essex Bridge along both banks of the Liffey and yet it was in the east that the new upper-class residential suburbs were developing. This was a unique feature of eighteenth century Dublin: that the gentry moved eastwards and began to congregate in two areas on either side of the Liffey, separated by the unbridged river and by a commercial and industrial zone associated with the estuary.

Recreation

Most residential building of the second quarter of the eighteenth century was intended for the gentry. A concomitant development was the establishment of places of entertainment, of which some provided funds for charitable establishments. The most important of these centres was Mosse's Pleasure Gardens which were established for the sole purpose of providing funds for the Lying-in Hospital. The garden behind the hospital was enclosed by a wall; a concert room and a coffee room were built, valuable trees and shrubs planted, and the entire was laid out much like the Vauxhall Gardens in London. On 11 September 1749 the new gardens were illuminated and the public admitted for an English shilling: £2,000 had been spent on the initial lay-out of the gardens. During the summer season, beginning in June, there were 'grand concerts of wind instruments' every evening from seven o'clock until half past nine. A gentleman's subscription for a season ticket for musical evenings, the bowling green and gardens was one guinea: a lady might subscribe half a guinea for

similar privileges. Mosse's Pleasure Gardens soon became the most fashionable resort in the city and at the end of the century they were still 'the vortex of all the fashion of that part of the town'.[25]

During the first three decades of the eighteenth century the Smock Alley Theatre was the only public playhouse in Dublin. It was rebuilt in 1735 and continued to provide entertainment until 1787. A new company of actors founded a theatre in Rainsford Street in 1732 but they were not successful for the theatre had closed already in 1736. Another attempt to found a theatre in Rainsford Street was made by Thomas Walker in 1742 but nothing else is known of its history. These two theatres probably failed because of the depressed state of the Liberties at the time. On 8 May 1733 the first stone was laid in Longford Street for a theatre designed by Sir Edward Lovett Pearce: it was not successful either for it was closed already by the mid-century and is marked by Rocque as an 'old Theatre'. Another theatrical venture in Capel Street was also short lived: opened on 17 January 1745, it was closed five years later. On 23 October 1758 Crow Street Theatre was opened: it attained a measure of fame and remained open until 1820.[26]

The success of the theatre in Crow Street may be attributed to the diverse uses made of the premises which provided finance for the theatricals. Private assemblies were held there and the proprietors, Messrs. Whelan and Routledge, provided 'hands for country dancing' as well as refreshments, for there were buffet rooms and a supper room. The Music Hall in Fishamble Street was set for similar functions: here there were even public breakfasts held 'in the genteelest manner with cards and dancing'.[27]

Cork House had become a vortex for fashionable men of leisure. The principal sub-division of this house was the famous Lucas's Coffee House which occupied several rooms on the ground floor extending to the yard at the rear, and a kitchen and cellars in the basement. The three principal rooms were known as the Coffee Room, the Picquet and Backgammon Rooms. Adjoining them was a large room divided into two, two billiard rooms and two other adjoining rooms which were used for a variety of activities, notably for playing

URBAN ZONES • 1750

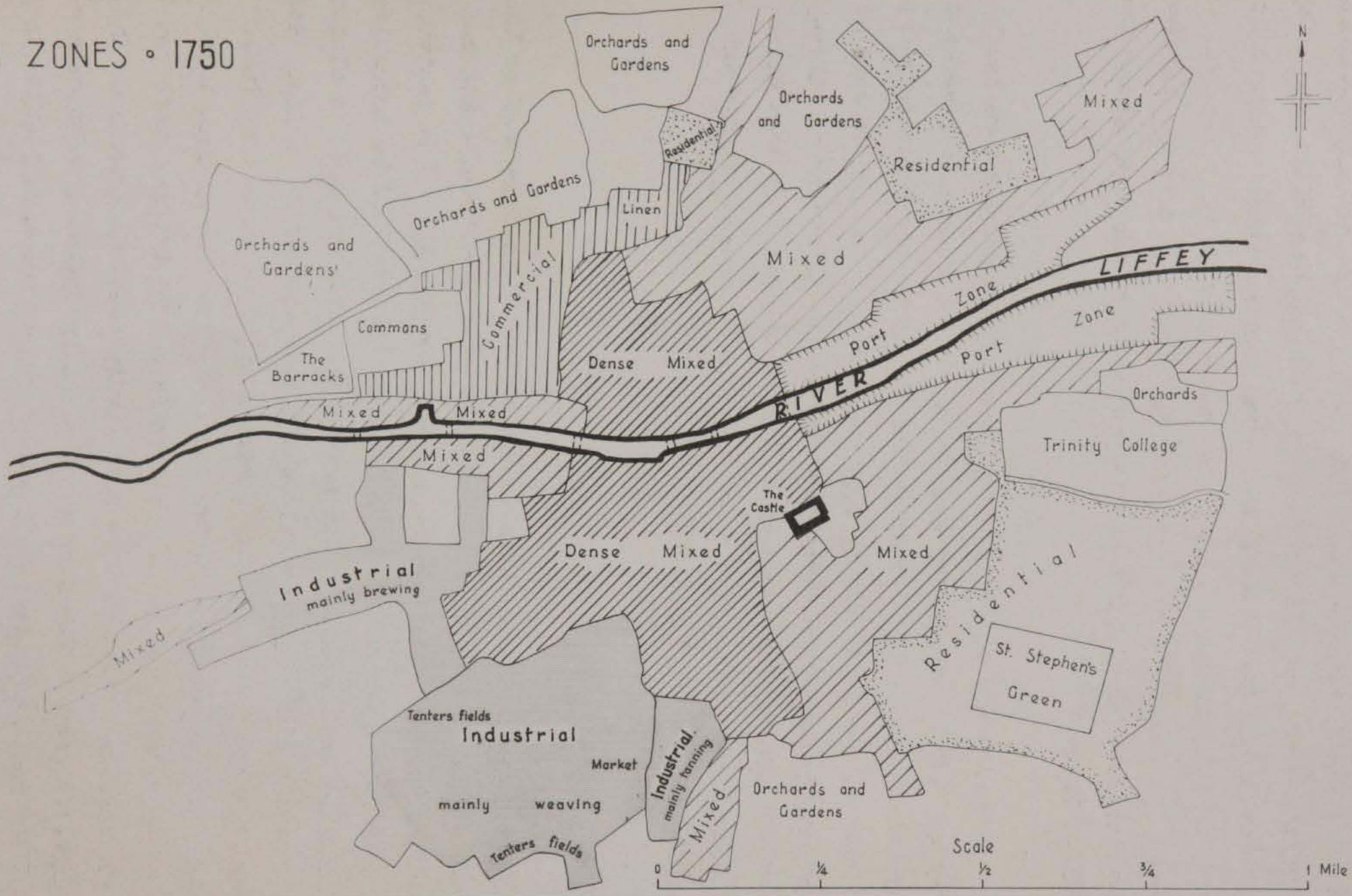


Fig. 23.

see appendix.

chess and for various card games. In one year before this house was demolished in 1763 14,400 packs of cards were made for sale in Cork House and many of these packs were sold twice over since the sale of second-hand cards is also recorded. Cards made by the usual suppliers were insufficient and extra cards were needed from other card-makers. The profits must have been enormous. Adjoining this hive of activity on the east was Tom's Coffee House which was in lease to Thomas Pooley: it too was a thriving concern and seems even to have benefited from its proximity to the more famous Lucas's Coffee House.[28]

The increasing number of places of entertainment reflects the way of life of the gentry and the principal source of revenue of speculators in Dublin whose income was derived from catering almost solely to the needs of the upper classes. The development of industries and trade were also fostered by the gentry: through demands created by them and through the activity of the Dublin Society whose founders and members were drawn principally from the upper classes in Dublin.[29]

Urban Zones.

Analysis of the distribution of the various symbols on Rocque's map indicates the existence of urban zones which had a measure of homogeneity. These are illustrated in Fig. 23. The central core area on both sides of the Liffey was characterised by intensity of land-use indicated by dense buildings. This region was almost co-terminous with the city and suburbs of Restoration Dublin. Streets were narrow and irregular. Residential and commercial buildings were mixed. There were few large commercial concerns, indicated by the size of warehouses and stables. Most houses were small, few had gardens but there were some gardens and small orchards in most street-blocks. The density of buildings seems to have been greater on the south bank where alleys and courtyards were lined with small buildings: one notable clustering of such small dwellings was in the vicinity of Cook Street, Bridge Street and Wormwood Gate, in the north-western corner of the former walled city.

Adjacent to the core on the south bank there were two areas characterised by large commercial or industrial concerns: these are considered to be two segments of a predominantly industrial zone. One extended westwards along St. Thomas Street and St. James's Street where there were many breweries and distilleries. Part of this district is illustrated in Plate XV. The size of the industrial concerns is striking and similar premises in the southern segment of the industrial region were equally large. Here the principal industries were tanning and brewing, centred on New Row and the Poddle. Street names indicate the presence of a lime-kiln at the western end of St. Thomas Street near St. James's Gate and of a sugar-baker south of Rainsford Street near Sugar House Lane. There were probably many other lime-kilns and sugar-bakers in the vicinity.

Between these two industrial areas there were newer industrial suburbs where weaving was the predominant activity, indicated by extensive tenters' fields. Part of the tenters' fields may be seen on Plate XV west of Braithwaite Street and Summer Street. In this area housing was less dense; streets had been laid out in the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries and there is no indication that infilling of small cabins had as yet congested the area. It is doubtful, however, whether the area could have been prosperous since the decline of weaving in the 1720s.

West of the dense core-area a mixed zone extended along both banks of the river. There was some good housing on the waterfront, on Arran Quay and on Usher's Island: indeed, as mentioned above, Usher's Island was lined with trees, suggesting that it had been intended to be a good residential area. On both river banks there were commercial concerns of which the largest were in the eastern sector adjacent to the old walled city.

North of the western riverside zone and west of the dense core area of the north bank there were suburbs which seem to have been predominantly commercial. The character of this region derived principally from the market on Smithfield; it was broadly co-terminous with the seventeenth century streets laid out on Oxmantown Green but it included new streets which had developed near the Linen

Hall. Density of housing was much less in this suburb than in the south-west and there were few small houses or congested alleys. The recession of the 1720s which stunted development in the south-west does not seem to have affected the north-western suburbs where prosperity derived from the market and probably from the provisions trade.

East of the central core there were three regions: the port zone near the river; a region of mixed suburbs on either side; and a region of upper-class residential development which comprised three distinct segments. The port lay east of Essex Bridge and it seems to have influenced the area lying between Abbey Street on the north bank and Dame Street and Lazer's Hill on the south. Here many of the commercial concerns were associated with the import and export trade, for instance almost all of the city's wine merchants were situated in this locality. Here too were located the very few large industrial concerns named by Rocque: the Glass Houses in Abbey Street and in Marlborough Street, Pounden's Foundry in Luke Street, the Iron Quay, and numerous smaller concerns.

The most extensive urban region comprised mixed suburbs which extended east from the core area on either side of the port zone. Here residential development intermixed with commercial and industrial concerns. Large commercial concerns seem to have been almost absent for there were few large warehouses and no special industrial buildings. One pocket of fairly large warehouses lay south of King Street: otherwise buildings were relatively small and residential building seems to have been far more extensive than buildings which clearly were associated with commerce.

Upper-class residential suburbs lay north and south of the Liffey. The principal segment of the southern suburb is illustrated in Plate XIII which shows the streets developed by Dawson and Molesworth. Residential building on these streets seems to have been fairly homogeneous in character. Most houses are backed by long gardens with stables at the rear. Housing on Dawson Street and on Molesworth Street seems to have been similar in ground-plan but the elevations may have varied greatly. Frederick Street had smaller

houses, some with gardens and some without: it was probably a 'genteel' residential street. With two exceptions the largest houses in the neighbourhood fronted St. Stephen's Green where the alignment of street-frontage was very irregular and was probably derived from seventeenth-century development. The two exceptions were Kildare House at the eastern end of Molesworth Street and the Mansion House of the Lord Mayor fronting Dawson Street. The ground-plan suggests that the area west of Dawson Street was very different to that on the east. On Ann Street and Duke Street few houses had gardens; most appear to have had small rear yards and some had no rear entrance at all. These buildings probably housed commercial concerns, possibly shops. On Grafton Street development was mixed: the street was probably a shopping centre already although there were also some fairly good residential houses. This type of mixed development seems to have been characteristic of streets which were built early in the eighteenth century and Grafton Street was probably not unlike streets in the adjacent mixed suburbs. Dawson Street and Molesworth Street seem to have been the kernel of a good residential zone which had its parish church, St. Ann's, and its place of recreation, a bowling green. Even these two streets were not homogeneous, however, for a row of very small houses extended along the north side of St. Ann's churchyard, fronting Molesworth Street.

Adjacent to St. Stephen's Green there was a residential area of smaller housing lying between Cuffe Street and York Street: it may be regarded as a sub-sector of the south-eastern residential suburbs for its character was determined, in part at least, by proximity to the main upper-class south-eastern residential suburbs.

The north-eastern upper-class residential area comprised two segments: Henrietta Street, possibly the most fashionable street in the city; and Sackville Street which is illustrated in Plate XIV. Sackville Street was then the newest street in the city: its width and alignment contrast markedly even with Dawson Street which had previously been the widest residential street. The contrast with Drogheda Street to the south is even greater, illustrating the striking change introduced by Luke Gardiner in redeveloping the street. Houses backed by long gardens and stable lanes lined both sides of

Sackville Street, facing a tree-lined Mall which became a fashionable walk. Three quarries and the 'Old Brick Field' indicate earlier commercial activities in the area, suggesting that Gardiner's innovation made a radical transformation in the neighbourhood. This street was the underlying determinant of the form of redevelopment in the area lying between it and the quays later in the century; moreover, it was the growth-point from which an extensive upper-class residential district later stemmed. Its significance as a morphogenetic determinant during the late-eighteenth century can scarcely be overestimated.

Although urban regions have been thus identified and each had a measure of homogeneity it should be noted that local differentiation of land-use was still at an incipient stage, that activities were mixed in most parts of the city and suburbs, and that regions have been identified as much on the basis of intensity of land-use as on homogeneity of activities. Strict local differentiation of land-use developed only towards the end of the eighteenth century. In the total analysis of the built-up area the general predominance of the symbol indicating residential building without gardens is striking. It suggests that most of Dublin's citizens were engaged in aspects of trade and commerce. The vast majority of the industries were small concerns which occupied sections of houses and it was this type of industry which developed further during the second half of the century.

On the periphery of all suburbs there were extensive nurseries, orchards and market gardens. Premises advertised in McDonnell's Lane in the northern suburbs exemplify these: a large garden was

> 'well enclosed with high walls and completely planted with the choicest fruit and trees, with a good asparagus bed, the plants brought in from Cork last season; the trees .....in full bearing, the greater part planted within seven years'

and there were also many flower roots.[30] Meadows extended westward along the south bank of the Liffey from Twatling Street to the Camac. North-west of the city the unenclosed land on Oxmantown Green had been reduced to a fraction and to the north were the fields of Grangegorman. Elsewhere, outside the urbanised area, there was meadow, pasture and farmland.

Conclusion

The mid-eighteenth century was a time of change. Improvements had already been made in the city: public buildings had been reconstructed; the standard of new residential building had been raised; and aesthetic street-design had begun. The need for further improvement was nevertheless greater than what had already been achieved for the city lacked character and coherence. The continuing eastward trend of development was creating problems, largely through lack of a bridge east of Essex Bridge; nor could the river be bridged further east while the Custom House remained on its site near this bridge. All developing suburbs were now in the east and thither the gentry moved, creating exclusive residential districts. The old city and the western suburbs were becoming ever more congested through subdivision of housing and the construction of small cabins and 'back-houses' and congestion was inducing incipient decay. These trends were not reversed during the remainder of the century: in fact new developments heightened the contrasts which became more acute with the passage of time.

References and Footnotes

1. James Malton, A Picturesque and Descriptive View of the City of Dublin in a series of the most interesting scenes taken in the year 1791 (1899), unpaginated notes on Leinster House

2. Ibid

3. Unless otherwise stated the evidence from advertisements is from George Faulkner's Dublin Journal, 1751-57.

4. The following advertisement was inserted in Faulkner's Journal No. 399, Jan. 1-4, 1757: 'Just arrived from Drontheim, at Healy's Tar and Tar Water shop next the Parliament House ... a large fresh parcel of the right genuine Liquid Norway Tar ...'

5. C.P.Curran, 'The Architecture of the Bank of Ireland' in F.G.Hall, The Bank of Ireland: 1783-1946 (Dublin and Oxford, 1949), 425-27.

6. Craig, Dublin, 128.

7. For an illustrated discussion of the stages of renovation of the Castle during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries see J. Cornforth, 'Dublin Castle', Country Life, CXL (1970), 284-87, 342-45, 458-61.

8. Malton, Picturesque View of Dublin, unpaginated notes on the Castle.

9. Ibid.

10. Stubbs, Hist. University of Dublin, 188-95.

11. Philip Luckombe, A Tour through Ireland wherein the present state of that Kingdom is considered; and the most noted cities, towns, seats, buildings, loughs etc. described .... (Dublin, 1780), 29-30.

12. Robert Pool and John Cash, Views of the most remarkable Public Buildings, Monuments and other edifices in the City of Dublin, delineated by Robert Pool and John Cash, with historical descriptions of each building (Dublin, 1780) 87 and Plate facing.

13. The church of St. Kevin was the parish church of the united parishes of Sts. Peter and Kevin from the Reformation until 1680. After the re-organisation of parishes in 1680 and the building of new St. Peter's the church of St. Kevin became a chapel of ease. T.C.D. MS 2062.

14. The following three paragraphs are based on T.C.D. Archbishop's Registry No. 18 (10), 'The state and condition of the Popish chapels in Dublin both secular and regular, 1749'.

15. C.P. Curran, The Rotunda Hospital: its Architects and Craftsmen (Dublin, 1945), 5-11.

16. Maurice J. Craig, The Legacy of Swift, A Bi-centenary Record of St. Patrick's Hospital, Dublin (Dublin, 1948); St. Patrick's Hospital, Dublin: charters and bye-laws with a copy of the will of the founder, the very reverend Doctor Jonathan Swift, late Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin. (Dublin, 1931).

17. Unless otherwise stated the following notes on voluntary hospitals are based on the articles by Edward Evans, Ir. Builder, XXXVIII - XL (1896-98).

18. 1st Geo. II, chap. xxvii.

19. [Henry Brooke], An Essay on the Antient and Modern State of Ireland with the various important advantages thereunto derived under the reign ... of ... King George II (Dublin, 1759), 92-93.

20. Patrick Lynch and John Vaizey, Guinness's Brewery in the Irish Economy: 1759-1876 (Cambridge, 1960), 69-70.

21. The following two paragraphs are based on Dublin Directory, 1753; Faulkner's Journal, 1755-57.

22. [Brooke], op. cit., 92.

23. Commons' jn. Ire., V, 129; Anc. Rec., IX, 400.

24. Anc. Rec., X, 114-15; 293.

25. Faulkner's Dublin Journal, No. 2930, May 31-June 3, 1755, advertisement for the New Gardens; Kirkpatrick, Rotunda Hospital, 19-20; quotation from Malton, Picturesque View of Dublin, unpaginated notes.

26. La Tourette Stockwell, Dublin Theatres and Theatre Customs: 1637-1820, xiii, 1-45.

27. Advertisements in Faulkner's Journal e.g. No. 2888, Jan. 4-7, 1955.

28. Minutes, C.W.S., I, 203-09: 14 Sept. 1764, being a summary of Jury Valuations of the premises.

29. Berry, Hist. Royal Dub. Soc., 2-7 and passim.

30. Faulkner's Journal, No. 3173, 1-4 Oct. 1757.

CHAPTER XII

THE THIRD PERIOD

THE SECOND PHASE : 1750 - 1775

The reconstruction of Essex Bridge in 1751 had immense repercussions in the city. Through this project concepts which instigated redevelopment were introduced by George Semple, architect of the new bridge, who thus initiated a time of public improvement in the city. Semple's plan led to the establishment of the Wide Streets Commissioners, a new statutory body which subsequently rationalised the town-plan. Two phases can be identified in the work of the Commissioners and these broadly coincide with the second and third phases of the Age of Improvement. During the second phase of improvement urban growth was partly an extension of plans and trends of the previous half-century. Important new elements were nevertheless introduced. Significant public schemes of re-development were undertaken for the first time and although these were not very extensive their successful implementation led to more widespread improvements in later decades. Private development also assumed a new character with the planning of residential squares.

Growth Determinants

The underlying determinant of the character of development during this phase was the growing consciousness of the right to independence which was expressed by Parliament during the 1750s. The occasion was a financial dispute in which the commons asserted the right to control surplus revenue. Having asserted their right in 1753 the commons allowed the claim to lapse but ensured that the issue did not arise again by increasing grants to public bodies to such an extent that any possible surplus revenue was absorbed in advance. Large grants were thus made available for the reconstruction of public buildings and for other improvements in the capital city.

The dispute of 1751 to 1753 had even more far-reaching consequences. It fostered the very latent spirit of protestant, colonial nationalism roused by Swift in the 1720s. The principles laid down during the dispute made a permanent impression on the public mind; the opposition had learnt that it was possible to defeat the government; and these conditions favoured the emergence of a stable opposition party, a 'patriot' party devoted to the establishment of Ireland's constitutional rights. Interest in politics was most active among protestants. A new and powerful middle class had emerged and although Roman catholics were an increasingly important sector of this class, they could not hope for any immediate share of political power.[1] Otherwise their lot was improving: penal laws against Roman catholic education, against bishops and regular clergy, and against unregistered priests were increasingly ignored. Protestants, however, were not yet ready to have these laws repealed although they did not want to have them enforced. As a result of the changed status of catholics, old religious divisions receded and protestants and catholics were united in seeking to redress constitutional grievances. Such unity of purpose, and concomitant absence of significant friction benefited economic progress.

A change made in the mode of government, during the 1760s, also furthered the patriot cause. From the appointment of Lord Townshend in 1767, the viceroy was required to live in Ireland. The Castle was then clearly the centre of government and controls exercised in Britain became more obvious and their true nature was recognised. These changes coincided with the opening of a decisive stage in the constitutional conflict between Great Britain and the American colonies. The parallel with Ireland's case was too close to be missed and it furthered the growth of the 'patriot' movement and of a spirit of independence in Ireland. The American war found Ireland in a state of economic depression. Even the linen trade had been declining since 1771. New taxes were imposed and yet expenditure regularly exceeded income. The Irish market had become important to Britain and this combined with patriot agitation resulted in trade concessions granted first in 1775. These concessions mark the beginning of the third phase of the growth-period.

The regular meetings of Parliament and the presence of the court of the resident viceroy tended to reduce absenteeism and to encourage migration of the country gentry to Dublin. Industries fostered by the Dublin Society were largely designed to meet the demands of fashions adopted by such people for most of Dublin's manufacturing industries were producing consumer goods for the luxury trade and it was not until the right to free trade was won that there was any general development of industry comparable to that of the last decade of the seventeenth century.

Morphogenetic Agents

Both individuals and corporate bodies were significant formative agents during this phase. Individuals prompted change and undertook new development, but authorisation from Parliament was necessary in order to implement the most important plans. Nevertheless the role of individuals, whether acting in their private capacity or as members of statutory bodies, should not be underestimated. The successful implementation of schemes for which statutory bodies were established depended on the effectiveness of the individuals who were their members.

The course of events connected with the reconstruction of Essex Bridge demonstrates the interplay and the interdependence of the various formative agents. Part of Essex Bridge collapsed early in 1751. Both repairs and total reconstruction were considered by the city council. Thomas Prior, a prominent member of the Dublin Society and a man who concerned himself with affairs which would benefit the country at large, took an interest in the problem and he persuaded George Semple to survey the bridge and to submit a plan for its reconstruction. Prior's role in this project remained almost unnoticed for he died in 1751, soon after he had induced Semple to undertake the work. The only record of Prior's intervention appears to be the account left by Semple himself.[2]

In September 1751 the city council decided that Essex Bridge should be demolished and that its replacement should be considerably

wider, for the carriageway of Essex Bridge was then only twenty feet wide and was totally inadequate for the increasing traffic. The approach to the bridge from the south was only twenty-four feet eight inches wide and adjacent streets between the bridge and the Castle were even narrower. These streets also needed to be widened and improved. Since the Custom House Quay lay immediately east of Essex Bridge it was essential that the bridge should be widened to the west and this could not be done without acquiring houses situated at the northern end of the bridge and some on the south side which lay west of the approach to the bridge from Essex Street. Authorisation from Parliament was necessary in order to make this improvement for it involved compulsory purchase of property and a committee was appointed to prepare a petition to submit to Parliament.[3]

The city council submitted a plan for improvement and an appeal for financial assistance to Parliament in 1757:[4] it was this appeal which prompted the establishment of the Wide Streets Commissioners. The plan submitted by the Corporation with the petition was recommended by the parliamentary committee. Neither the text of the petition nor the plan seem to have survived but the brief record in the Assembly Rolls and the Commons' Journals suggest that it was similar to the plan subsequently implemented by the Wide Streets Commissioners and if so its author was George Semple.

Before designing the new structure of Essex Bridge Semple consulted authorities on bridge-building and civic design such as Palladio, Scamozzi, Serlio and Alberti. He also spent some time in London where he informed himself of schemes for improvement and obtained copies of three relevant Acts of Parliament which he brought back to Dublin. Semple's plan was based on the principle of Leon Battista Alberti that a bridge should be as broad as the street which leads to it and the design was derived from that of Westminster Bridge. Although Semple's plan was based on Alberti's principle it was in fact the bridge which determined the width of the new approach from the south and not the width of the street which determined the width of the bridge. The bridge was fifty-one feet wide. The approach from the north, Capel Street, was about forty-six feet wide.[5] The influence of London and of the continent combined in determining the

design of Essex Bridge and of associated improvements. From this time improvers of Dublin seem to have been directly influenced by contemporary improvements in London but they showed independence and judgement in adapting designs to the local situation and continued to draw inspiration from the continent.

Public Agents

The importance of the city council in determining the form of urban development had been reduced in many ways, principally through the diminution of its own estate and the decline of its power. The fundamental cause of the limited significance of the city council was the limited extent of its jurisdiction and the problem of jurisdiction was not fully solved until the municipal corporations were reformed in the nineteenth century. The city council took the initiative in two important morphogenetic schemes at this time, namely, the urbanisation of the remaining segment of the commons of Oxmantown Green and the extension of the Grand Canal to the western suburbs of the city. The development of Oxmantown Green stemmed from the need to rebuild the Blue Coat School. The need to augment the city's water-supply prompted municipal co-operation in the construction of the Grand Canal.

Some leases granted by the city during the seventeenth century were renewed at this time and supplementary clauses were introduced in the renewals to control the character of building and the width and alignment of part of the quays. In 1761, for instance, the terms of a lease granted to Thomas Blair for some ground on Aston's Quay required that

> 'he be obliged ... to leave the quay forty feet wide and to rebuild the premises in the following regular and uniform manner .... that every house shall be at least three storeys high besides the cellars, the first or shop storey to be nine feet high, the second or middle storey to be ten feet high, and the third or garret storey to be eight feet high. The front and rere walls to be fourteen inches thick and built with brick cemented with lime and sand. The window stools and copings to be of mountain stone and the top of every house to be of equal height and range with each other ...' [7]

The role of Parliament continued to be that of a central authority which could legislate for the entire urban community. Since the jurisdiction of the Corporation extended only to the boundary of the county of the city special legislation was required to control public

services which were extended uniformly throughout the urban area. Legislation controlling the public lighting of the city and suburbs was amended by Parliament in 1759. Trustees were appointed in 1763 to supervise the construction of the Circular Road. Funds were allocated to public works. The Paving Board was established in 1774. The most significant statute for Dublin was that which established the Wide Streets Commissioners in 1757, granting them funds and wide explicit and even wider implicit powers.[8] The establishment of the Commissioners created an unusual urban administrative situation since the Commissioners were responsible not to the municipal council but to the national legislative assembly. This accorded to Dublin a new status in making its improvement a national rather than a local problem.

The viceroy influenced development indirectly through obtaining large grants from the crown to supplement financial aid given by the Irish Parliament and directly through his suggestions for the erection and siting of the new Royal Exchange.[9]

The principal new formative agents were undoubtedly the Wide Streets Commissioners who were appointed by statute in 1757. The Commissioners named in the Act included W.H. Fortescue, chairman of the parliamentary committee which had considered the petition from the city council; prominent members of the House of Commons such as John Ponsonby, Speaker, Anthony Malone, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Anthony Foster, later Lord Chief Baron, a number of landowners who were also members of Parliament and the Lord Mayor who was appointed ex officio. All of the Commissioners except the Lord Mayor were members of Parliament. The members of Parliament for the city of Dublin were appointed Commissioners by an amendment passed in 1767.[10] The Commissioners were authorised to make

> 'a wide and convenient .... street from .... bridge to the Castle ... to design .. and lay out ... through what ground such .. street shall be made and in what manner the new houses... on either side of such .... street ... shall be built.'

At the same time their attention was directed to the fact that several other ways, streets and passages within the city of Dublin and liberties adjoining were narrow and crooked and they were authorised to improve such streets as funds became available. They were granted powers of compulsory purchase of the ground and buildings necessary

to carry out improvements and were authorised to impanel juries, if necessary, to value such premises.[11] The establishment of the Commissioners was the first step towards viewing the city as a whole in planning improvements: this was implicit in their first terms of reference and it later became explicit when the powers of the Commissioners were extended.

The Lord Mayor presided at the first meeting of the Commissioners which was held at the Tholsel on 1 May 1758.[12] The Speaker of the House of Commons presided at the second. During the years in which plans were considered for the initial improvement of the approach to the Castle meetings were chaired either by the Lord Mayor, by the Speaker (Ponsonby) or by William Fortescue. There were seldom more than five or six present at meetings although twenty-one Commissioners were appointed by the Act of 1757 and replacements were appointed whenever Commissioners resigned or forfeited their seats through non-attendance at meetings. Parliament Street was opened in 1762. No meetings were recorded from February 1769 to June 1771 and again from June 1772 to July 1777. When activities were resumed in 1777 the Lord Mayor presided at meetings and it was probably he who prompted resumption. On 4 May 1758 Gorges Edmond Howard was appointed clerk (or secretary) to the Commissioners. No permanent surveyor was appointed during the early years; various surveyors and architects were employed for particular tasks from time to time.

In view of the great, constructive activities and wide interests of Luke Gardiner the absence of a member of the Gardiner family from the Commissioners first appointed by Parliament is noteworthy. The bill by which the Wide Streets Commissioners were established was introduced in Parliament relatively soon after the death of the first Luke Gardiner in 1755. Gardiner's estate was not entailed and according to his will it was divided between his two sons, Charles and Sackville.[13] The elder son, Charles, inherited all of the estate of St. Mary's Abbey which had not yet been urbanised. There is no evidence to suggest that Charles made any notable contribution to the town plan which might merit his appointment as a Commissioner; he continued to lease land for building on lines already well established by his father without initiating any new schemes. Indeed, the need

for redevelopment of the Barley Fields north of Cavendish Row (now the site of North Frederick Street) might well be attributed to Charles Gardiner's lack of foresight in leasing this land. The contribution towards urban development made by Charles's son and heir, Luke Gardiner (the second), equalled in importance and surpassed in grandeur of concept that made by his grandfather in the first half of the eighteenth century. Luke Gardiner was appointed a Commissioner in April, 1778[14] and from that time until his death in 1798 he was prominent at meetings.

In 1763 trustees were appointed by statute to supervise the construction of the Circular Road and to administer funds allotted for that purpose.[15] The Lord Mayor, the Recorder and Sheriffs of the city of Dublin, the Members of Parliament for the city and county of Dublin, and Justices of the Peace for both the city and the county were all appointed ex officio. Seventy-nine other persons nominated personally in the act included the principal land-owners of Dublin - Charles Gardiner, Lord Fitzwilliam, Lord Palmerston, the Earl of Meath, Lord Brabazon - and holders of office under the crown. Any group of seven trustees might authorise expenditure or construction. It was also made lawful to administer the northern and southern sections of the Circular Road as separate entities. An amendment of 1777[16] appointed as additional trustees the rectors and vicars of the several parishes of the city and those who had an estate of freehold in 'lands, tenements or hereditaments of the clear yearly value of £200 at least' within either the county of Dublin or the county of the city. Powers vested in the trustees were similar to those granted to the Wide Streets Commissioners in regard to the acquisition of houses and lands, valuation by jury, and granting compensation: nevertheless, apart from the restricted nature of the project itself, the powers of the trustees were less authoritarian than those of the Wide Streets Commissioners since prior consent of local ground landlords was required before opening any section of the Circular Road. This condition did not apply to any of the schemes of the Commissioners whose chief deterrent was lack of money. The only landowners who made any recorded objection to the Bill were Lord Palmerston and Henry Monck.[17]

The Paving Commissioners were appointed by statute in 1774.[18]

They included the Lord Mayor, the Lord Chancellor, the Archbishop of Dublin, the Deans of St. Patrick's and of Christ Church Cathedrals, and a number of prominent property owners, any seven of whom could constitute a Board. At the time the streets of the city were not properly pitched or paved and the methods prescribed by law in 1717[19] had proved ineffectual. Five divisions were now made of the city and the Commissioners were authorised to have the streets paved, to raise or alter the street levels where appropriate, to dig and cart the necessary materials, to alter or remove all posts, rails, signs, steps, bulks, stalls, holes, pits, show-glasses, show-boards, 'jut-out-windows' and walls enclosing dunghills. They might also fill up, remove, or alter steps and doors leading from the footpaths or carr-iage ways into vaults and cellars or other similar places. All signs, sign irons, posts, boards, spouts, gutters and encroachments or annoyances in any of the streets, squares or lanes might be altered from time to time by the Commissioners at their discretion and at their expense. No private individual might alter the form of the pavements nor put up posts, rails, signs, nor erect steps or stalls or projecting windows without authorisation of the Paving Board.

Systematic numbering of houses was now introduced for the first time. The Paving Board was authorised to order the inhabitants to number their houses and to affix the name to each street at either end. Occupiers of houses and owners of tenements were ordered to cleanse all along the front of their respective houses or tenements: from 1 May to 30 September this was to be done before 8 a.m. and from 1 October to 30 April before 10 a.m. Special agreements which had already been made between landlords and tenants remained unaltered, however, and initially both Sackville Street and Marlborough Street were exempt from the jurisdiction of the Paving Commissioners, for Commissioners had previously been appointed to supervise the improve-ment of these streets.[20] Plunkett Street was also exempt: in this case it was claimed that the alteration of penthouses and projections would damage the livelihood of the inhabitants, for it was a market for the lower classes.[21] No effort was made to provide an alternative location so that this street might be improved and it continued to degenerate until the end of the century.

Private Agents

Developers

Few new streets were opened at this time by private developers but those which were opened were morphogenetically significant. Sackville and Charles Gardiner continued to develop a residential square to encompass Mosse's pleasure gardens.[22] The first major urbanisation of the Fitzwilliam estate was planned in the 1760s. The Fitzwilliam family had been resident in England since early in the eighteenth century and estate development seems to have been planned in response to demands of speculators and to the initiative of the Earl of Kildare in building his town house in 1745 on a site which extended east to Merrion Street. The estate was surveyed about 1762 by Jonathan Barker who planned the street-system: although the main lines of Barker's plans were adopted in laying out the streets some alterations were introduced but there is no evidence to indicate why the changes were made. The principal element was Merrion Square. Kildare House set a standard for the neighbourhood but other residential buildings were terraced. The foresight of the planners is indicated by the 'circular road' which was opened to the south-east so that traffic might avoid the residential square.[23] The extent of controls exercised by the landowner in Merrion Square cannot be ascertained without reference to the original deeds and these have been dispersed through sale of freehold in recent years. Controls recorded in memorials of deeds were similar to those imposed on the Gardiner estate, such as standardised width of areas and regular alignment of street-frontages but there was no provision for the enclosure and ornamentation of the square. This was later undertaken at the expense of the residents.[24] Harcourt Street was opened by speculative builders through the Farm of St.Sepulchre. The difficulty of identifying the planner of this street is understandable when one considers that the street had already been opened and some houses were partly built when security of tenure was obtained.[25]

Architects and Builders

The streetscape was fashioned by architects and builders. Some of these were already at work in Dublin before the mid-century; some had completed their academic training in the schools of the Dublin

Society and some came from England when commissioned to erect public buildings. All residential building of this phase was executed by local or Irish-born builders although designs for some of the principal houses were obtained from England. John Ensor completed Mosse's projected development through executing Cassels's plans for the Lying-in Hospital and he designed the Assembly Rooms which became known as the Rotunda. Both he and his brother, George, engaged in speculative building and in domestic building commissioned by speculators or by prospective occupiers.[26] The formative influence exercised by George Semple has already been discussed. Known examples of Semple's work are few but his influence was highly significant, for it was he who expressly introduced classical principles of urban design and these clearly influenced the subsequent work of the Commissioners.[27]

To Robert Ball may be attributed the design of the streetscape of Granby Row (now the western side of Parnell Square) for a house built by him, the first in the Row, was used as a model and clauses in leases granted by Charles Gardiner imposed its reproduction on builders of other houses in the street.[28] The Darley family was engaged in speculative building in many parts of the city:[29] Henry Darley, its most prominent member, built some of the early houses on Cavendish Row in association with John Ensor and Dr. Bartholomew Mosse. Robert West was the principal builder in Dominick Street. He was also a renowned stuccodore: it was he who perfected the ornithological motifs for which Dublin became famous: in his own house, No. 20 Dominick Street, birds in bold relief suspended a full sixteen inches from the ceiling.[30]

Although there was no centralised control of residential building at this time similar standards were adopted in most new streets: no projections were allowed, for instance, and a uniform, regular frontage throughout a street was required by clauses in building leases. It is noteworthy also that streets developed during this phase by private speculators, particularly the better residential streets, required little or no modification later in the century.

Most of the larger eighteenth-century houses had already been constructed by the mid-century and very few distinctive houses were

subsequently built. One of the largest of these, Powerscourt House, was constructed by Robert Mack in the years 1771 to 1774.[31] Mack seems to have been a carpenter-builder. No other authenticated work of his is known and his influence was inconsiderable for Powerscourt House occupied an obscure site in a street which was not part of an upper-class residential area. Indeed, to have built Powerscourt House in this location seems rather extraordinary for already the adjacent streets had been developed and they were predominantly commercial. Powerscourt House did not even terminate the vista at the end of a secondary street and William Street, in which it stood, was not wide enough to allow the house to be seen to advantage.

Two other distinctive houses constructed during this time were Charlemont House and the Provost's House. The design of the Provost's house was derived from the Earl of Burlington. As an element of the townscape this mansion was not significant owing to its situation for it was not an integral part either of the streetscape of Grafton Street or of the College building complex.[32] Charlemont House was designed by Sir William Chambers who never came to Dublin but exercised a formative influence both directly and indirectly on the growing city. Charlemont House was the principal feature of the streetscape of the new residential square which encompassed Mosse's pleasure gardens. Chambers also designed the new chapel and theatre for Trinity College.[33] More important for Dublin, perhaps, was the introduction of his pupil, James Gandon, to prominent Irishmen, resulting in Gandon's commission for the new Custom House, the new Four Courts, and the extension of the House of Lords. Gandon's work was executed during the last quarter of the eighteenth century and it is considered in Chapter XIV.

The most distinguished of the Irish born architects of this period was Thomas Ivory. Born in Cork about 1720 he began his career as a carpenter in his native city. After coming to Dublin he attained the reputation of being the best architectural draughtsman in Dublin and in 1759 he was appointed Master of the Dublin Society's Architectural School, a post he retained until his death in 1786. His most important work was the design for the new Blue Coat School in Oxmantown

w

which was conceived on such a scale of grandeur that financial controls made modification necessary and this resulted in Ivory's resignation when he had supervised the construction of the façade and the boardroom. His other buildings of note in Dublin were the Newcomen Bank in Castle Street (1780) and the Marine School (1768-75).[34]

Some excellent work was executed by another local architect, John Smith (Smyth) whose first commission seems to have been the Provost's House which was built to a design of Lord Burlington's. Smyth seems to have completely lacked originality, or else he simply did not use innate talent for his designs were copied from the masters, for instance, that of St. Thomas Church, Marlborough Street, was taken straight from Palladio, and the church of St. Catherine was very similar.[35]

Although native builders and architects were numerous and competent the more important public buildings were all designed by English architects. Thomas Cooley won the competition for the Royal Exchange and came from London to settle in Dublin. His later commissions included the new gaol of Newgate on the Little Green, additions to Steevens's Hospital, the chapel of the Hibernian Military School and finally the Public Offices on the Inns Quay which he did not live to complete.[36] The architects of the new west front of Trinity College were John Keene and Henry Sanderson of London: no other Dublin work of theirs is known.[37] When, during the 1770s, the construction of a new Custom House was considered an architect was again sought in Britain.

New craftsmen, stuccodores, plasterers, statuaries and others gained recognition in their own crafts and also engaged in speculative building. Patrick Cunningham, for instance, advertised himself as a statuary and Patrick Semple advertised as a plasterer and stone-cutter. From about 1765 clients set more store on taste than originality and during the remainder of the century designs for houses and for decorative work were repetitive variations of accepted themes. Michael Stapleton and Charles Thorp rose to prominence in this phase and they were the best-known local craftsmen of the end of the decade: their

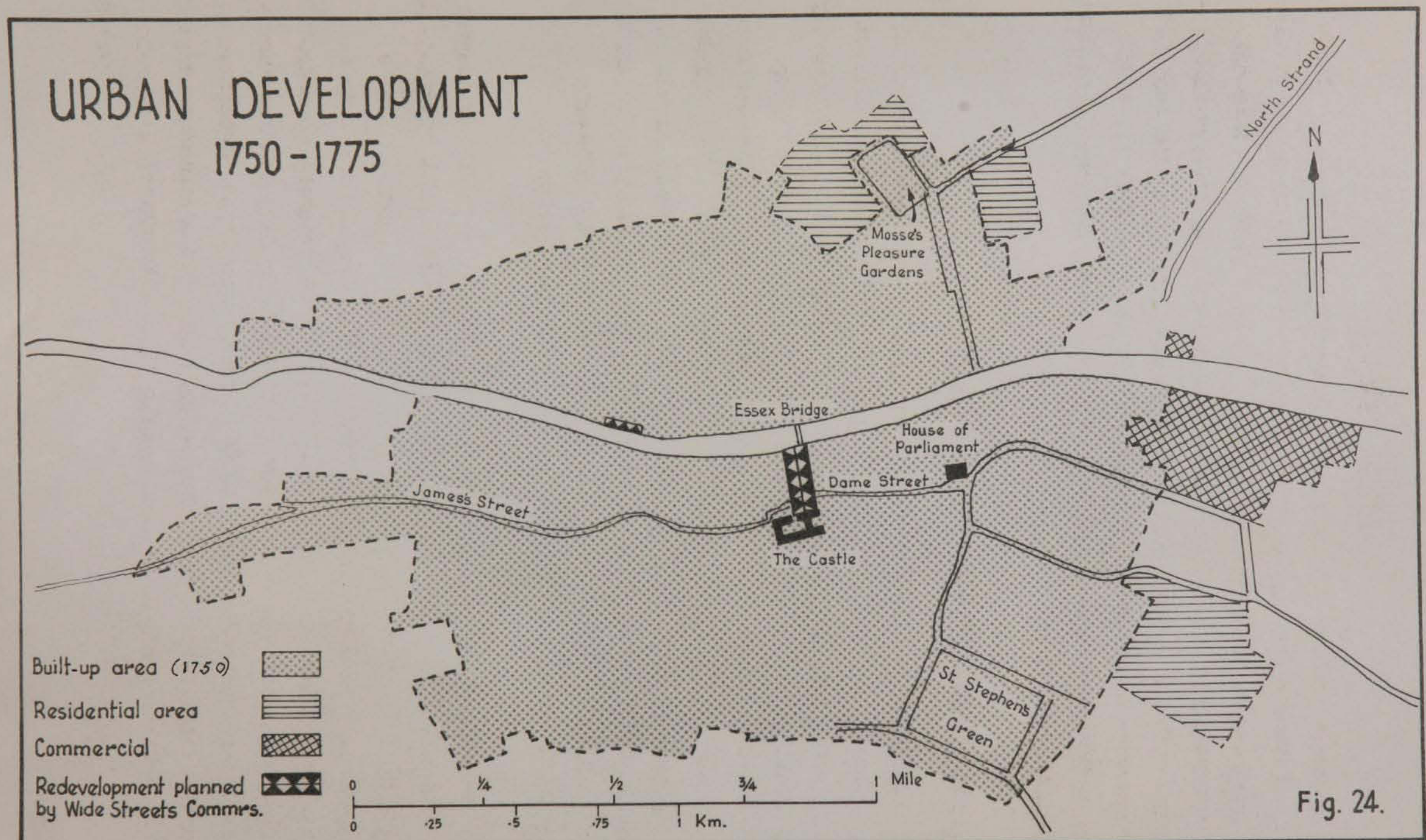


Fig. 24.

Based on Rocque's map (1756), Scalé's revision (1773) and evidence cited in text

equivalent in England was Robert Adam whose influence pervaded Dublin during the last decades of the eighteenth century.[38]

Urban Growth

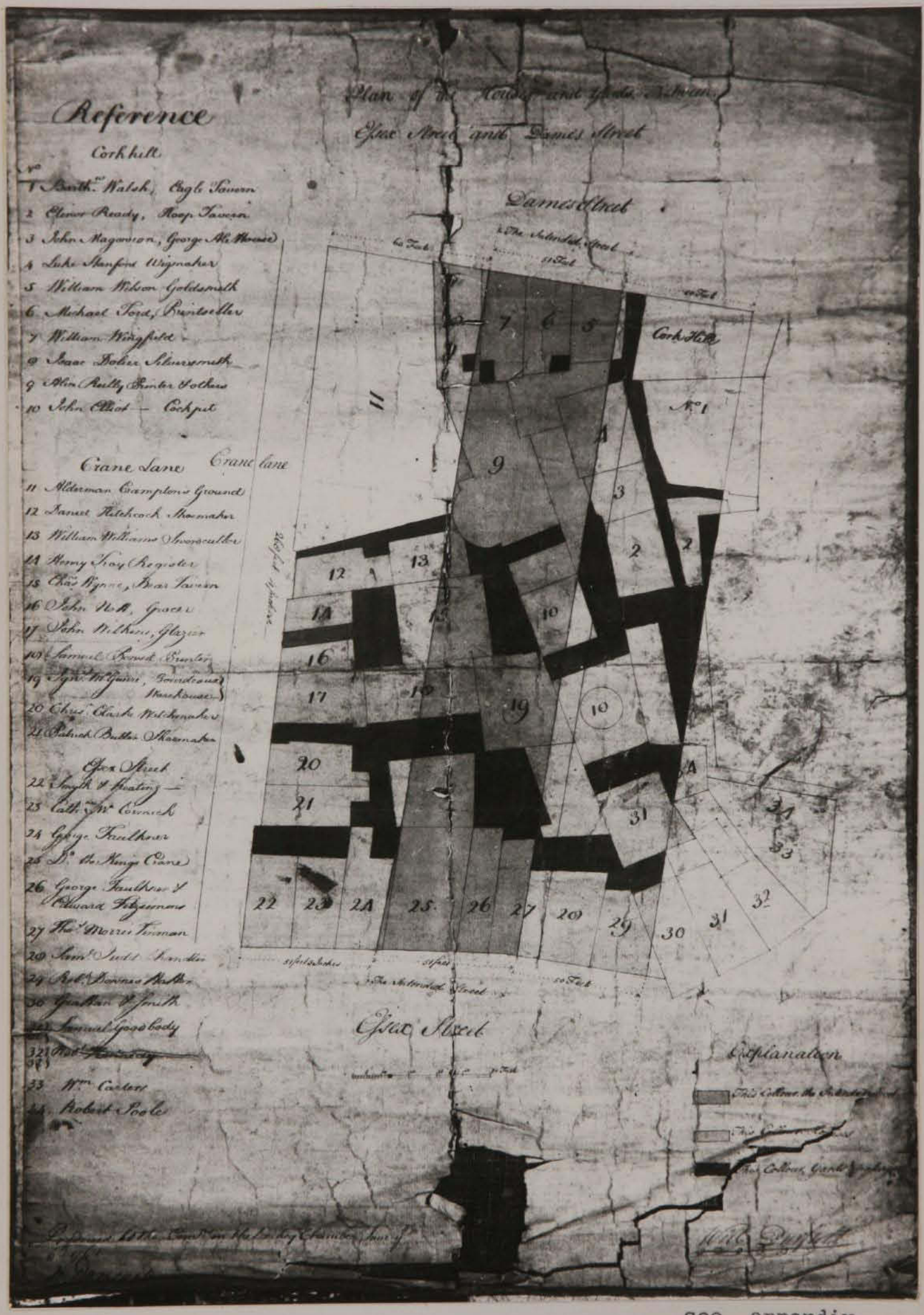
Urban growth of this phase is illustrated in Fig. 24. Three types of development are distinguished: new residential suburbs in the south-east and in the north-east; a new commercial zone near the south quays; and areas redeveloped by the Wide Streets Commissioners. The main extension of the ground-plan was in the east and yet the most significant projects were those planned by the Wide Streets Commissioners and it was from their work that the subsequent transformation of the city centre evolved.

Projects of the Wide Streets Commissioners

Two types of projects were undertaken by the Commissioners in this phase: opening new streets through existing built-up street-blocks, involving total re-development in a new form; and secondly, modification of the existing street-plan by widening streets or removing obstructions in the built-up areas. Most improvements of the second category were in the older streets which had been opened at a time when most traffic was pedestrian. Some improvements in these streets were undertaken voluntarily by the owners of property which was being reconstructed, and in such cases the improvers sometimes later sought compensation from the Commissioners.

The first project undertaken by the Wide Streets Commissioners was the opening of Parliament Street. Maps published anonymously in 1751 and 1753 had publicised both the need for improvement and a possible plan of redevelopment which would have given the city a central open space adorned with a statue of the reigning monarch.[39] In his account of the reconstruction of Essex Bridge, written twenty years after the event, George Semple cites a principle enunciated by Alberti on which both the published plan and that ultimately adopted by the Commissioners was based, namely, that a bridge should be as wide as the street which leads to it. Although the plan for Parliament

PLATE XIX



see appendix

Purfield's Survey, 1761,
with plan of Parliament Street superimposed

Street was surveyed and drawn by William Purfield, Semple himself is undoubtedly its author for Semple was employed by the Commissioners for some time after their establishment.[40]

The new structure of Essex Bridge determined the alignment of the new street which was opened in a straight line with the bridge fifty-one feet wide.[41] Parliament Street was opened in 1762, (Plate XIX) cutting straight through a street block which had developed around the site of the north-eastern city wall.[42] The improvement was extended eastwards along Essex Street in order to align new houses on the corner of that street with Burgh's Custom House.[43] Regular building lots were laid out along both sides of the street; each had seventeen feet or seventeen feet eight inches frontage; those on the eastern side extended back to Crane Lane and on the western side the depth of building sites ranged from sixty feet on Cork Hill to fifty feet six inches at Essex Bridge. On the eastern side the purchase price ranged from 38/- per foot for each of the three lots at either end of the street, to 33/- per foot for the central lots, making a total purchase price for the east side of £11,704-3-4.[44]

Purchasers were required to clear the building sites and building materials on each lot, extending twenty-five feet onto the site of the new street, were included in the purchase price. Builders were required 'to make a uniform front throughout the street with no projecting windows, and post and flags ... before the houses'.[45] The pattern followed in building was set by the new houses designed by George Semple which had been constructed near Essex Bridge.[46] The building lots were sold by public auction. Lack of demand, indeed total lack of interest on the part of speculative builders is indicated by the number of auctions held before the building lots were finally sold.[47] Lots on the western side of the street were purchased by several different persons. The entire eastern side was purchased by Alderman Crampton and it was at his suggestion that the thoroughfare was named Parliament Street.[48]

The street from Cork Hill to the Upper Castle Yard was still 'narrow, steep and inconvenient'.[49] The first suggested improvement

SURVEYS OF THE WIDE STREETS COMMISSIONERS 1758 – 1800

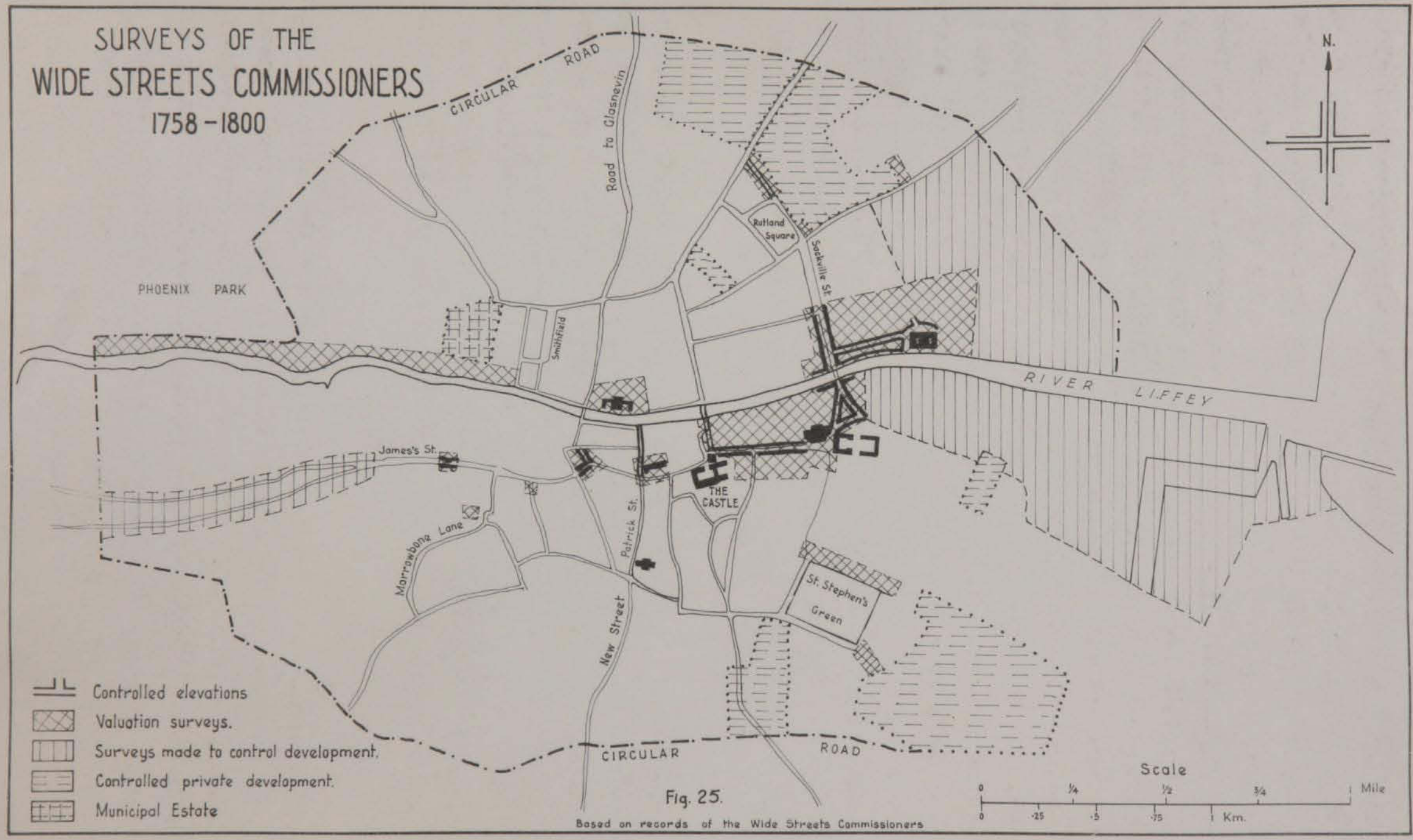


Fig. 25.

Based on records of the Wide Streets Commissioners

was to open a wide space extending from the entrance to the Lower Castle Yard to the western side of Cork Hill, thus improving the entrance to both Upper and Lower Castle Yards. An additional element was added to the project, and to the difficulty of planning, through the suggestion made by the Lord Lieutenant that a suitable site for a new Exchange for the merchants would be 'that part of the new street in which ... it ... would be a termination of the view from Capel Street, Essex Bridge and Parliament Street'. The viceroy also suggested leaving a large open space in front of the new building to accommodate the throngs of merchants who would frequent the Exchange: this could be adorned with a statue of the reigning monarch.[50] Fixed elements of the site-plan made adaptation of these plans necessary and eventually the idea of opening a square in this location was abandoned. A site at the upper (southern) end of Parliament Street was reserved for the Exchange and the streets on Cork Hill were widened to fifty-one feet.[51] Castle Lane (now Palace Street) was also improved to provide a fitting approach to the Lower Castle Yard. A competition held to select a design for the Exchange was won by Thomas Cooley.[52]

The new streets formed a coherent plan-unit despite the piecemeal nature of the project which is nevertheless revealed in slight irregularities of execution. The Exchange closed the vista at the end of Parliament Street effectively and majestically but it was not perfectly aligned with the centre of the bridge. Irregularities of frontage on the western side of the street contrast with the complete regularity of the eastern side, reflecting ownership of the building lots.

The street-block south of Essex Bridge was the first area in the city to experience a complete transformation through total redevelopment in a new form. All reconstruction or redevelopment involved some change: in some cases the ground-plan remained unchanged while the streetscape was transformed; in others the ground-plan was modified but not completely changed. Minor alterations of the ground-plan had also been made through widening and straightening streets and through the amalgamation or subdivision of properties. Nevertheless, controls exercised by the existing morphological frame

and by property boundaries limited the extent of any transformation effected before the middle of the eighteenth century. In opening Parliament Street the alignment of the street-plan, plot-boundaries, and property boundaries which had either existed since medieval times or had evolved from medieval patterns, was completely altered. Form, function and ownership were all changed in the course of redevelopment. It is this total change which is termed morphallaxis. The first transformed area was very small in proportion to the expanding eighteenth century city: its significance was nevertheless very great for its success prompted more extensive undertakings and led to the transformation of what is now the centre-city area. When the first project was complete a procedure had been established which, with slight modifications, was followed in all later work of the Wide Streets Commissioners.

While work on Parliament Street was in progress a very significant minor project was undertaken, namely, the improvement of the quays at the Old Bridge. This was the first step in the redevelopment which was necessary in order to open quays along the entire waterfront on both banks of the Liffey. It was also the first of numerous minor alterations which were undertaken while the great schemes of the ensuing years were in progress, projects which were much less dramatic than the major schemes but were no less important in their cumulative effect. Through them the existing old, irregular streets were gradually widened whenever projections or irregularities interrupted the free flow of traffic.

Houses had been built on the waterfront on Ellis's leasehold at the north-east corner of the old bridge near the foot of Church Street. In September 1760 these ruinous houses were about to be rebuilt when the Commissioners intervened to prevent reconstruction and to avail of the opportunity to widen the thoroughfare along the quays.[53] In 1771 Sir William Mayne sought the assistance of the Commissioners to improve the western end of Cook Street near Wormwood Gate.[54] In granting Mayne's lease the Corporation had required that Mayne at his own expense would widen and improve the street. The principal obstruction was a dwelling house and adjoining Sugar House at the lower end of New Row which were occupied by one Richard Davis who had

recently improved the premises by installing new pans, making a chimney, deepening the ash-pits and making new floors and roofing. Davis refused to co-operate with Mayne in improving the street. At Mayne's request the Wide Streets Commissioners appointed a jury to value the premises which were then purchased compulsorily at Mayne's expense and the street was subsequently widened.[55]

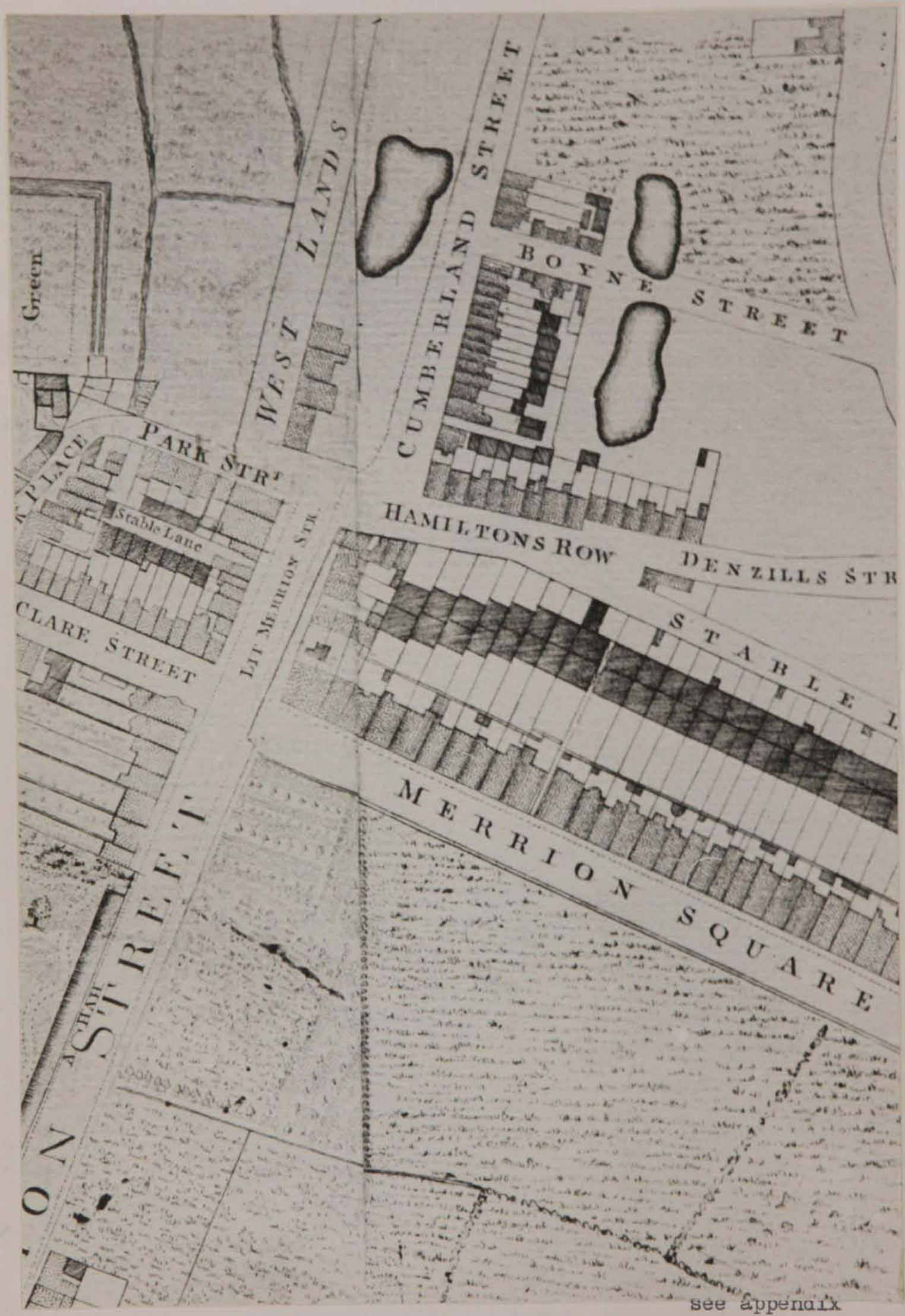
Private Development

The eastward trend of urban growth continued and new residential suburbs were developed in the north-east on the Gardiner Estate and in the South-east on the Fitzwilliam estate, while the commercial and industrial riverside zone continued to extend eastwards on both banks of the Liffey. Three growth-points which fostered residential development can be identified: Mosse's pleasure grounds; Kildare House; and St.Stephen's Green.

The pleasure gardens laid out by Mosse in the mid-century formed an enclave in the Gardiner estate: adjacent land on the east had been inherited by Sackville Gardiner and that on the west and north by his brother, Charles.[56] Whether or not Dr.Mosse and Luke Gardiner had disagreed on the siting of the Lying-in Hospital, it is certain that the Gardiners co-operated fully in developing a high-class residential square to encompass the pleasure gardens. The site and width of Cavendish Street had been determined by Luke Gardiner. Building sites on this street were leased by Sackville Gardiner, chiefly to John Ensor and to Henry Darley.[57] Whether building standards were imposed by the ground landlord or by the builders is not known for none of these deeds are now in public keeping: that building standards were imposed, or at least maintained is certain for this part of Cavendish Street conformed to the better contemporary standards of terrace building and needed no improvement later in the century. The pleasure gardens exercised a positive influence on the form of development for the standards adopted in Cavendish Street extended only to the northern end of the pleasure gardens where the street intersected Palace Row and Gardiner's Row.[58]

Building sites on Granby Row were leased by Charles Gardiner to

PLATE XX



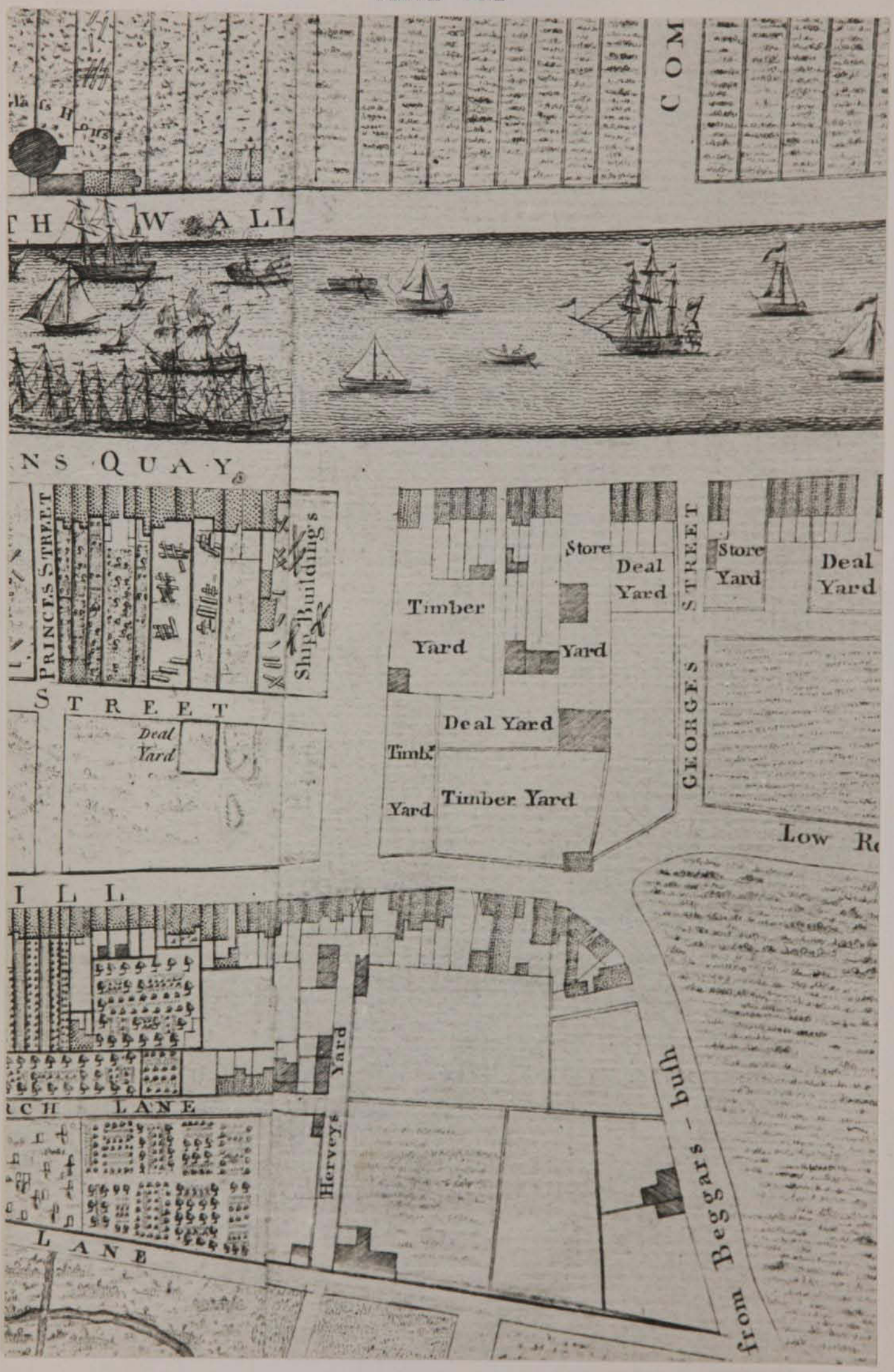
Extract from Scalé's map, 1773
(actual size)
Scale: Two hundred feet to an inch

Robert Ball, carpenter; to Simon Vierpyl, stonecutter; to Robert West, builder; Patrick Kent, merchant; John Reed, builder, and to Henry Darley, stone-cutter. The first house on Granby Row was built by Robert Ball and, as noted already, clauses in leases granted subsequently required that houses should be similar exteriorly to Ball's. Other clauses specified the width of the street, of the footpath and of the area in front of each house.[59] Palace Row, north of the Pleasure Gardens, completed the residential square. A large site in the centre of this street was leased to the Earl of Charlemont and the residence designed for him by Sir William Chambers formed a centrepiece set back from the streetline of the adjacent houses which were regularly aligned, four-storeyed terraced houses with railed areas.[60]

Merrion Square was planned for the Fitzwilliam estate but only the northern side was built at this time. (Plate XX) The principal builders were Samuel Sproule and the Ensor brothers. George leased eighty-six feet frontage and John Ensor one hundred and fourteen feet frontage on the north side of the Square while Sproule leased ground in Merrion Square and in Mount Street which was opened a little later. Controlling clauses in leases specified the width of the street, the footpath, the area in front of the basements of houses and the width of a flagged passage to the entrance to each house. Most of the houses were built by speculators who subsequently sold their leasehold interest or leased the houses. The only building which seems to have been undertaken by the landed gentry was the residence built by the Earl of Antrim who leased an extensive frontage at the north-eastern side of the square: the house was probably built by Sproule.[61] Antrim House closed the vista at the northern end of Fitzwilliam Street which formed the eastern side of the Square. The standard of building attracted the gentry to Merrion Square and by the 1780s the social status of this new suburb had already been established and this encouraged further extension of residential building during the last two decades of the century.

Near the northern boundary of the Fitzwilliam estate residential building extended into Park Place, Park Street, and Clare Street, linking development to Leinster Street and Nassau Street. Two new

PLATE XXI



see appendix

Extract from Scalé's map, 1773
(actual size)
Scale: Two hundred feet to an inch

streets linked this street-complex to St. Mark's Church. The concentration of housing at the end of Cumberland Street and in Hamilton Row suggests that the development of the Fitzwilliam estate fostered the extension of residential building on contiguous land.

On the reclaimed land on the south bank of the Liffey commercial activity was dominant. New development on this land included the Ship Buildings, a deal yard and some houses on Rogerson's Quay and on Moss Street. East of the Ship Buildings a complex of commercial enterprises extended to the Marine School: it consisted chiefly of deal and timber yards but there were also some houses which faced the waterfront. (Plate XXI)

From the south-east corner of St. Stephen's Green Harcourt Street was opened southwards. The chief instigator of this development was John Scott who was subsequently ennobled as the Earl of Clonmel. Clonmel House seems to have been the only house of note in this street and it was probably its owner who instigated opening the new street, for houses had already been built on it when authorisation to grant more secure tenure was sought from parliament.[62]

The Circular Road

The approaches to the city were narrow and inconvenient and obstructions to the free flow of traffic in the city's streets were numerous. The construction of a Circular Road to encompass the city and to connect the great northern, western and southern routes was authorised by parliament in 1763. The author of this plan is not known: the concept foreshadowed by-pass roads of the twentieth century; it was only vaguely related to Vitruvian concepts of circular roads whose configuration was induced by fortifications. The new road was intended to improve the principal approaches to the city, to reduce obstructions in the streets by deflecting traffic and thereby also to preserve the pavements. The route was laid down explicitly in the Act: it was 'to begin at the little bridge opposite the north-western angle of Lord Chief Justice Aston's wall on the road from Dublin to Donnybrook', thence to a point on the Rathmines Road marked by the entrance to Swan's gardens; thence to a point on

the Rathmines Road south of Portobello, through Castlerag Lane into Rathfarnham Road; then through Roper's Rest, Watergate fields, and Rahober Lane to Dolphin's Barn Road; through the commons of Kilmainham to the turnpike on the Rathcoole Road, and from Golden Bridge in a straight line to the road leading from Dublin to Inchicore and thence to the Liffey.[63]

North of the Liffey and west of the road to Finglas it was left to the trustees to determine which site would be most convenient for the public and least injurious to private property. From the junction with the road to Finglas the Circular Road was to proceed through McDonnell's Lane into Dorset Street and thence in a straight line through the Barley Fields into Cavendish Street. Prior consent of the property owners, whether of land or of buildings, was required before demolishing buildings or opening any part of the new road. The trustees were authorised to acquire only sufficient ground for the road.

The Circular Road was intended to be sixty-three feet wide. Building regulations included in the Act were designed to maintain a good standard of residential building in the vicinity of the new road. No building at all except the construction of toll houses was permitted within twenty-five feet of the road; within eighty feet, the only building authorised was that of houses 'whose walls shall be seventeen feet high at least and built of stones or brick, with lime and mortar, well-sashed and slated'; all the usual enclosures (areas or gardens) and offices attached to such houses were also permitted.

The southern section of the Circular Road was continued eastward from the road to Donnybrook towards the south wall of the Liffey: no tolls were levied on this section and the erection of gates, turnpikes, and toll houses was prohibited by the statute. The extension of residential building on the Gardiner estate prompted alteration of the north-eastern section of the Circular Road for houses had already been built north of McDonnell's Lane before it was opened. In 1775 an amendment stated that it would be more advantageous to have the Circular Road north of Eccles Street and a new route was prescribed.[64] This alteration deflected the Circular Road from the Barley Fields and

Cavendish Street where improvement was undertaken a decade later.

Industry

The principal sources of employment were still the building industry, the various branches of the textiles industries, the provisions trade, and the production of luxury goods for the home market in an effort to reduce the scale of imports. Every species of woollen drapery was made and finished in Dublin but most of the manufacturers lacked capital and were unable to purchase presses, dyeing coppers and other necessary utensils. Dyeing coppers were hired by the day. Goods were sent to press shops for finishing and in them pressing was charged by the piece. These shops also served partly as warehouses or halls for the goods were left there for sale and it was in the press shops that country shop-keepers purchased goods.[65] In 1772 it was resolved to establish a warehouse for the sale of woollen goods in order to encourage the industry. The Woollen Hall was opened in Castle Street in 1773 and was placed by parliament under the management of the Dublin Society. After the establishment of the Woollen Hall an increasing amount of goods was sent there for sale: by 1780 their annual value had risen to £10,674-4-1. All the coarser materials which were needed for the home market were made locally but most of the finer materials were imported.[66]

The silk industry was also fostered by the Dublin Society. By 1763 the number of looms making garment silks (which had numbered eight hundred about 1730) was reduced to fifty. Great quantities of silk had been imported during the previous three decades.[67] A silk warehouse established by the Dublin Society was formally opened in 1765: this was intended to encourage the weavers by centralising the trade and reducing the amount of handling and consequent increase of cost by middle men.[68] Although the trade increased for a while and up to 1,500 persons were employed in making garment and lining silks as well as many others making ribbands and smaller goods, the increase was short lived and a decline began about 1771.[69] In 1778 an attempt was made once more to get people to wear home manufactured materials and a non-importation agreement was made in 1779.

The building trade continued to be a major source of employment both directly and indirectly.[70] New styles of construction were introduced and new styles of interior decoration and these fostered allied industries. Entries in the Dublin Directory indicate two trends in the building industry: firstly, a tendency for members of the same family to engage in the same type of work or in complementary works and secondly, specialisation which developed in the industry itself. During the early decades of the century some who called themselves bricklayers engaged in all aspects of building and people who followed associated trades frequently grouped together in order to construct some houses. During the second half of the century advertisers claimed to specialise in one type of work: slaters, plumbers and house painters advertised as well as bricklayers (who were probably master builders), stone cutters, pump borers, carvers and gilders. The organisation of the industry had become more like its modern counterpart. Timber merchants were numerous and their premises continued to be scattered throughout the city. Some lime-burners advertised and there must have been many others who supplied the building trade without ever advertising in the Directory. Some bricks were imported but many were made locally and newer brickfields must have been established in peripheral areas.

Changes in interior decoration promoted the wallpaper industry. Much of Dublin's wallpaper trade was in the hands of a few families and those who advertised in the Directory were often one of a group of the same name; the Fullers, Gordons, and Dunns alone account for most of the entries. Wallpapers made in Dublin were usually based on English patterns.[71] Some manufacturers tried to emulate contemporary European developments: four of these made raised stucco or papier mâche, namely, Augustine Berville who was also a statuary; and Thomas Fuller, John Gordon and John Rivett who were all paper manufacturers.[72]

The furniture industry continued to develop and many cabinet makers advertised. Furniture gradually became more standardised, being influenced in particular by trade catalogues from England.[73] Premiums offered by the Dublin Society fostered the pottery industry and led to the establishment of Delamain's Pottery works. Premiums

for black pottery 'in imitation of and equal in goodness to that imported from Liverpool' were awarded to Thomas Hardy and to Walker and McCloskey. Premiums were awarded to Thomas Ashburner and to Andrew and William Meakins for water pipes and for ridge and flooring tiles.[74]

The glass industry had been well established at the mid-century and during the second half of the century it expanded and was reorganised.[75] A new 'Round' glass house was erected near the Ship Buildings in Abbey Street about 1753 by a company founded by Thomas Hawkshaw, Hugh White, Annesley Stewart and George Boyd. In 1754 the 'Square Glass House' on Bachelor's Quay was purchased by William Deane and Co. who then confined themselves to the making of glass bottles. Skilled workmen were brought from England in 1754 for the 'New Round Glass House' and in 1757 the two concerns of Deane and Co. and Hawkshaw and Co. amalgamated for the manufacture of glass bottles. In 1754 another new glass house was erected near Marlborough Green: it seems to have been highly successful for in 1764 this concern advertised in the Dublin Journal that it was 'now enlarged and the furnaces rebuilt'. The extensions were probably planned by the Williams family - Richard, William, Thomas and Isaac - English immigrants who in June 1764 obtained a premium from the Dublin Society for the manufacture of flint glass. In 1770 Richard Williams and Co. were advertising 'all the newest fashioned, enamelled, flowered, cut and plain wine, beer and cyder glasses, common wines, drams, etc.' At the corner of Marlborough Street and Abbey Street there was another glass house owned by one Mr. Lunn. Rupert Barber's glass house on Lazer's Hill was still at work in 1772 but little else is known about it.

There was also a thriving leather industry and the provisions industry continued to prosper. Numerous tallow chandlers advertised and some chandlers specialised in wax candles. The coach making industry had grown and by 1781 thirty-one coach making firms were advertising, and one firm which specialised in the making of carts and waggons.

Sources of employment were therefore varied: some were new but

most had existed since the beginning of the century or earlier. None were great exporting industries, however, and even the linen trade began to decline during the 1770s when thousands of weavers left the country and emigrated to America.[76] There were still a few linen weavers in the city, but most employment provided by the linen industry in Dublin was that of the drapers.[77] Dyers and bleachers were also numerous.

Markets which existed in the mid-century continued to flourish but their significance changed with the passage of time. During the second half of the eighteenth century numerous and varied shops were in most parts of the city, usually occupying part of former residential buildings. From the mid-century special buildings were constructed as shops, such as those in Parliament Street, and at the same time an effort was made to confine commercial activities to specific locations by excluding them from new residential areas.[78] Since no new commercial centres were established the commercial heart of the city continued to expand, intensity of occupation increased and commercial interests invaded more of the older residential buildings.

Population

Statistics which might indicate the size and composition of the population are more sparse for this phase than for previous decades. Other evidence indicates an increase of population particularly among the poorer classes. The numbers of beggars had greatly increased and in 1773 the Corporation resolved to establish a House of Industry to which beggars might be committed. Parochial committees were established to enquire into the state of the poor in the various parishes and the names of 970 beggars who were totally unable to support themselves were returned. The House of Industry in Channel Row was established to house the most needy, and within a year 575 persons of both sexes had been admitted. Badges which licenced begging were issued to those who could not be accommodated.[79] Only the most needy were accommodated or licensed and their numbers indicate a great increase in poverty in the city. The appalling congestion which Whitelaw recorded in 1798 must already have begun.

When Whitelaw made his census he noted that many houses had

collapsed or been demolished because of decay. These had previously been densely inhabited and it may be concluded that congestion characterised wide areas of the old city and of the south-western and western suburbs when the House of Industry was established. The only significant increase in housing in the central and western sectors of the city was the building of small cabins in alleys and courtyards. Rocque's map illustrates their existence already in the mid-century and such 'infilling' probably increased during the ensuing decades. As the eastern suburbs expanded the wealthier people must have migrated from the older parts of the city leaving houses which were subsequently subdivided for poorer inhabitants. Such subdivision and the building of small cabins provided accommodation for the increasing population, leading to the densities recorded by Whitelaw in 1798 which are discussed later.

The emergence of a powerful and affluent middle class during the eighteenth century has already been noted. Many of this class were catholics who had amassed large fortunes through various trades. Guild regulations excluded catholics from membership but a system of association had been devised whereby catholics might be 'quarter-brothers' paying 'quarterage' or fines to the Guilds who thus exercised some control over their activities. In Dublin the Guild system still remained powerful although, by the end of the eighteenth century, it had broken down in most other cities and towns. The increasing strength of the catholic population is indicated by the active opposition of the Dublin Guilds to all measures which might give relief to catholics: as late as 1775 the freeholders and freemen of Dublin instructed their representatives in parliament 'to oppose any act tending to give papists any more power than they have' and also 'to use their best endeavours to obtain a just and equal quarterage'.[80] Some relief was nevertheless given to catholics through legislation of 1778 which enabled them to have more secure tenure and to engage in speculative building.[81]

Conclusion

By 1775 the eastward trend of development was clearly predominant. New additions to the town-plan were almost all in the eastern sector

of the city - residential development in the north-east, commercial development near the quays and residential development in the south-east. The western suburbs had scarcely extended during the previous half-century but density of occupation had increased. The ground-plan of the central area seemed scarcely to have changed: with one important exception. The exception was the new approach to the Castle formed by Parliament Street and the new streets on Cork Hill. The success of this improvement led to further redevelopment, culminating in the great schemes of the last two decades of the century.

References and Footnotes

1. Maureen Wall, 'The rise of the Catholic middle class in eighteenth century Ireland', I.H.S., XI (1958), 91-115

2. George Semple, A Treatise on Building in Water (Dublin, 1776) 1-2.

3. Anc.Rec., IX, 389; Semple, Building in Water, 27.

4. Commons' Jn. Ire., VI, 59.

5. Semple, Building in Water, 8-16, 27-29

6. Anc. Rec., XI, 170-71; 321; 441-42

7. Anc. Rec., XI, 38.

8. 31st Geo. II, chap.xix; 33 Geo.II, chap. xviii; 3rd Geo. III, chap. xxxvi; 13th and 14th Geo. III, chap. xxii.

9. Minutes, C.W.S., I, 194-95, reply of the Lord Lieutenant to a memorial transmitted by the Wide Streets Commissioners.

10. 7th Geo. III, chap. vii.

11. 31st Geo. II, chap. xix.

12. The following paragraph is based on Minutes, C.W.S., I.

13. P.R.O.I., T 11145.

14. Minutes, C.W.S., II, 101.

15. 3rd Geo. III, chap. xxxvi.

16. 17th and 18th Geo. III, chap. x.

17. 3rd Geo. III, chap. xxxvi, section iv.

18. 13th and 14th Geo. III, chap xxii.

19. 4th Geo. I, chap. xi, amended by 6th Geo.I, chap xv and 3rd Geo. II, chap. xiii.

20. 11th and 12th Geo. III, chap. xiii.

21. 13th and 14th Geo. III, chap. xxii, section xvi.

22. Reg. Deeds, mems. nos. 176-389-119264; 178-557-120257; 178-559-120258, and others listed in the Consolidated Parties Index; N.L.I., Gardiner Deeds.

23. P.E.O., Plans and surveys by Jonathan Barker, 1762-64; 15th and 16th Geo. III, chap. xxviii, section ii.

24. 31 Geo. III, chap. xlv; Reg. Deeds, mems. nos. 331-492-222967; 331-593-223615; 333-105-222708; 334-83-222138, and others traced through the Lands Index.

25. 21st and 22nd Geo. III, chap.xii.

26. Craig, Rotunda Hospital, 24-25; Reg. Deeds, miscellaneous memorials for Cavendish Street and Merrion Square traced through the Lands Index.

27. Minutes C.W.S., I, 3,5.

28. N.L.I. Gardiner Deeds, Rt.Hon.Charles Gardiner to Robert Ball, Carpenter; to Simon Vierpyl, statuary; to Robert West; to Henry Darley.

29. Craig, Dublin, 141, 240-41, 265-66, 298.

30. C.P. Curran, Dublin Decorative Plasterwork of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (London, 1967), 56-59.

31. Geo. Soc. Rec., I, 14-15, citing MS builder's day-book of which the present location is not known.

32. Pool and Cash, Views of ... Dublin, 41.

33. James Gandon, The Life of James Gandon .... from materials collected by his son (Dublin, 1846), 13, 160.

34. Anthologia Hibernica: or monthly collection of Science, Belles Lettres and History, I (May 1793), 334-35.

35. Malton, View of Dublin, unpaginated notes on the Churches of St. Thomas and St. Catherine.

36. Anthologia Hibernica, II (July, 1793), 35.

37. Craig, Dublin, 180, 186, citing Commons' Jn.Ire. 1759, Nov. 14, Report, Account No. XXXV and the Dashwood Papers, Bodleian Library.

38. C.P. Curran, 'Cesare Ripa and the Dublin stuccodores', Studies XXVIII, (1939), 237-48; 'Michael Stapleton, Dublin stuccodore', Ibid., 439-49; 'Dublin Plaster Work', R.S.A.I.Jn., LXX, 29.

39. 'A Survey of the present streets immediately leading to His Majesty's Royal Palace or Castle of Dublin, Nov. 9, 1751', Plate V to face page 140; 'A Design for opening proper streets or avenues to His Majesty's Royal Palace in Dublin, Jan. 15, 1753', Plate VI to face page 142 in E. MacDowel Cosgrave, 'On two maps dated 1751 and 1753 of the Essex Bridge District, Dublin', R.S.A.I.Jn., XLVIII (1918), 140-49. Also 'A Plan for opening and widening a Principal Avenue to the Castle', published 15 January 1753', Dublin Corporation Maps, P.R.O.I.

40. Semple, Building in Water, 27; Minutes, C.W.S., I, 3-20: 9 Dec. 1758-22 Jan. 1759.

41. Minutes, C.W.S., I, 70: 19 Sept. 1760.

42. Minutes, C.W.S. I, 181: 11 Oct. 1762.

43. Minutes, C.W.S., I, 109: 28 July 1761.

44. Minutes, C.W.S., I, 79-83: 19 April - 27 May 1761.

45. Minutes, C.W.S. I, 162: 26 June, 1762.

46. Minutes, C.W.S., I, 5, 79: 9 May 1758, 19 April 1761.

47. Minutes, C.W.S., I, 75-83: 19 Dec. 1760 - 27 May 1761.

48. Minutes, C.W.S., I, 179: 3 August 1762.

49. Memorial of the Wide Streets Commissioners to Hugh, Earl of Northumberland, Lord Lieutenant, 11 June 1764, in Minutes, C.W.S.I, 192

50. Reply on behalf of the Lord Lieutenant, 21 July 1764 in Minutes, C.W.S.,I,194.

51. Minutes, C.W.S., I, 197: 3 August 1764.

52. Anthologia Hibernica, II, 35.

53. Minutes, C.W.S., I, 71, 244, 250-65: 19 Sept.1760 - 15 Jan.1765; II, 73, 76, 90: 24 June 1768 - 16 June 1772.

54. Minutes, C.W.S., I, 78: 18 Nov. 1771.

55. Minutes, C.W.S. II, 82-85: 12 Dec. 1771.

56. P.R.O.I., T 11145.

57. Reg. Deeds, mems. nos. 178-557-120257; 178-559-120258; 186-478-125516; 286-646-191357 and others.

58. Scalé's revision of Rocque's map, 1773.

59. N.L.I., Gardiner Deeds.

60. Malton, View of Dublin.

61. Reg. Deeds, mems. nos. 331-593-223615; 406-525-267349; 447-281-290207; 403-328-267622; 333-301-224307, and others.

62. Geo. Soc. Rec., IV, 35-36 citing deeds and John Scott's pedigree.

63. 3rd Geo. III, chap. xxxvi.

64. 15th and 16th Geo. III chap. xxviii, further amended by 17th and 18th Geo. III, chap x.

65. Thomas Wallace, An Essay on the Manufactures of Ireland (Dublin, 1798), 160-63.

66. Berry, Hist. Royal Dub. Soc., 204.

67. Report on Industry, 1784, Commons' jn. Ire. XI, cliii.

68. Berry, Hist. Royal Dub. Soc., 198-200.

69. Report on Industry, 1784, Commons' jn. Ire., XI, cliii.

70. The following paragraph is based on analysis of Dublin Directories 1775-1782 and comparison with Directories of 1752 and 1753.

71. A.K. Longfield, 'History of the Dublin wall-paper industry in the eighteenth century', R.S.A.I.Jn., LXXVII (1947), 101-20.

72. A.K. Longfield, 'The Manufacture of "Raised Stocco" or "Papier Mâche" Papers in Ireland c. 1750-70', R.S.A.I.Jn., LXXVIII, (1948), 55-62.

73. Chapter on Irish furniture in Symonds, Old English Furniture.

74. M.S.D. Westropp, 'Notes on the pottery manufacture in Ireland', R.I.A. Proc., XXXII, Section C, no. 1 (1913), 1-27.

75. The following paragraph is based on Westropp, Irish Glass, 46, 51-59 in which advertisements are quoted.

76. J.C. Beckett, The Making of Modern Ireland (London, 1966), 206.

77. Dublin Directories for 1775-1782.

78. Terms of leases, Gardiner Deeds, N.L.I. Terms of leases on the Fitzwilliam Estate are known in detail only for the last two decades of the century: indentures now in P.E.O.

79. An Account of the Proceedings and state of the Fund of the Corporation instituted for the Relief of the Poor and for punishing Vagabonds and sturdy beggars in the County of the City of Dublin (Dublin, 1774).

80. M. McGeehan, 'The Catholics of the towns and the quarterage dispute in eighteenth-century Ireland', I.H.S., VIII, No.30 (1952), 91-114.

81. 17th and 18th Geo. III, chap. xlix.

CHAPTER XIII

A STAGE OF TRANSITION

'From the public spirit which has lately begun to display itself in the nation it is hoped we are at last arrived at a period that may prove propitious to the cultivation of the arts in general'.[1] Such a period existed in Dublin in 1775 for 'which may soever a stranger turns himself he will perceive an increasing spirit for elegance and improvement'.[2] Travel in Ireland was increasing and some visitors to Dublin left detailed accounts of their impressions of the city. The most notable of these was Thomas Campbell who visited Dublin in 1775. In 1780 Robert Pool and John Cash illustrated the improved state of the city in published views of the most remarkable public buildings.[3] Few statistics have survived for this period and so maps, views, directories and accounts written by travellers are the principal sources from which this cross-section has been compiled. Since this was an age of improvement there were obviously contrasts in the city. New public buildings had been constructed; new streets had been opened; but most of the city continued to decay.

The Town-plan

Comparison of the two versions of Rocque's map of Dublin indicates the nature of urban development during the intervening quarter of a century. New suburbs were all on the eastern side of the city continuing the eastward trend of development which had existed from the seventeenth century. Very little change is discernible in the western suburbs which had scarcely extended since the 1720s. Almost no change is indicated in the old centre-city area where density of occupation and intensity of land-use had nevertheless increased. The most significant structural changes had been made in the vicinity of the Castle: it was from these that subsequent redevelopment stemmed.

Improvement of the approach to the Castle had introduced for the first time in the early-modern period an open space into the centre of the built-up area. The principal entrance to the Castle now opened

PLATE XXII



see appendix

Capel Street, Essex Bridge and Parliament Street

onto an open space near the Royal Exchange. While the opening was much smaller than the square first envisaged by the viceroy and some of the planners it nevertheless greatly improved the state of the locality. A more striking change had been made south of Essex Bridge in opening Parliament Street. It was a relatively short street: in fact the entire redeveloped area was not very extensive and yet in it all relevant principles of classical urbanism had been applied - regularity, symmetry, uniformity of frontage, and a monumental vista at the southern end of the street. Since the new street was directly aligned with Essex Bridge which in turn was aligned with Capel Street, the approach to the Exchange was quite long, increasing the effect of the new development. In traversing its length one could observe the change of streetscape introduced by the Commissioners. (Plate XXII) In Parliament Street there were no projections: elevations were straight and simple though not quite uniform. North of Essex Bridge elevations were varied: some had bow-shaped shop-windows; some had colourful shop-signs which were characteristic of earlier decades. Already Parliament Street 'for the uniformity of its buildings and the grandeur of the shops ... was ... no way inferior to the best trading streets of London'.[4] It was a fitting approach to the new Royal Exchange which was then 'the principal ornament of the city.'[5]

Public Buildings

The Exchange occupied an elevated site on Cork Hill. Although an insulated site might better have displayed its architectural beauty the Exchange was nevertheless well-placed with its two fronts of Portland stone opening onto important new streets. In front a flight of steps led from the eastern end of Cork Hill to the entrance which was bounded towards the street by a balustrade. Structurally the general lay-out of the interior resembled that of the old Tholsel but the design and rich decoration was that of a new resplendent age. The Royal Exchange was the only new building which was a significant morphogenetic element of the townscape. Other new public buildings were locally significant and one fostered the development of a new suburb. This was the new Blue Coat School designed by Thomas Ivory. Architecturally, it was the most distinctive of the public buildings in the western part of the city where it terminated the vista at the

the western end of Blackhall Street which was opened through the site of the earlier structure. Streets and building sites in the vicinity were planned by Thomas Ivory, completing the urbanisation of Oxmantown Green.[6] Ivory designed the Marine School on Rogerson's Quay about the same time. This was a rather plain, three-storeyed structure; the lowest storey was of rusticated stone but otherwise the entrance portico was its only adornment. The school provided education for orphans and needy children of seamen who were intended to serve commercial interests in time of peace and the national marine in war-time. This building was well enough situated on the quays but otherwise it added little to the townscape.[7]

The old gaol at Newgate had decayed and a new site in the northern suburbs was chosen for the construction of a new one. Despite the change of location the old name was retained. The new site was a vacant lot on the Little Green where the foundation stone of a building designed by Thomas Cooley was laid in October 1773 by the Lord Chief Justice. The building was a large quadrangular pile with round towers at each angle.[8] Additions had recently been made to the Horse Barracks at the western end of the city which was capable of accommodating 3,000 foot and 500 horse and was the largest building of its kind not only in the British Dominions, but in Europe.[9]

New institutions had been founded for the relief of the poor. In Channel Row the House of Industry was opened in November 1773. Voluntary hospitals and institutions continued to flourish and some new ones were founded. In Leeson Street, a Magdalen Asylum had been founded by Lady Arabella Denny and the Rev. Dean Bayly; it was financed entirely by voluntary contributions.[10] All other institutions founded for the relief of the poor were situated in the densely occupied, poorer parts of the city.[11] The Meath Hospital, founded in Skinners' Alley in 1756, subsequently migrated to Meath Street (1761), to Earl Street (1764) and then to the Coombe in 1773: in 1774 this hospital was designated the County Dublin Infirmary.[12] In 1764 the hospitals of St. Nicholas and St. Catherine were united. The Westmoreland Locke hospital acquired new premises: from George's Lane it moved to Clarendon Street in 1768, thence to Donnybrook Road and then to Townshend Street. In 1778 George Simpson, a wealthy

merchant of Jervis Street, bequeathed a large estate for the foundation of a hospital for blind and gouty men in reduced circumstances; trustees were incorporated by Act of Parliament in 1780 and Putland House in Great Britain Street was purchased and fitted up for patients.

Churches and meeting houses were even more numerous than at the mid-century. Pool and Cash record, besides the two Cathedrals, eighteen parish churches and eight chapels of ease of the Established Church; two churches for French, one for Danish and one for Dutch Protestants; six Presbyterian Meeting Houses; one Meeting House for Anabaptists, two for Methodists, one for Moravians and two for Quakers; and one Jewish synagogue.[13] For the Roman catholics, by now the majority of the urban population, there were twelve chapels and three nunneries. Chapels were probably more numerous than Pool and Cash suggest for their number increased with the increase of population. Of all these buildings only the churches of the Established Church had some architectural merit. Indeed the others were scarcely visible in the townscape for most continued to occupy the secluded sites which were described earlier.

Two new churches of the Established Church had been constructed since the mid-century: St. Catherine's occupied the medieval site in Thomas Street and the church of St. Thomas was in Marlborough Street; both were designed by John Smith. The church of St. Thomas closed the vista at the western end of Gloucester Street: its distinctive feature was the composition of the front elevation which appeared to have well-proportioned wings detached from the body of the building, suggested by a composite entablature. St. Catherine's Church was similar in style but less imposing: it was built in Wicklow granite and has survived to the present.[14]

Sectoral Contrasts

The contrast between the eastern and western sectors of the city had become more pronounced. In the western and central areas density of usage had increased and commercial activities continued to invade residential buildings from which occupants moved to the new eastern suburbs. The contrast derived from the age and style of structures

as well as the nature of land-use. The western suburbs on both banks of the Liffey were predominantly commercial. Most houses had been constructed before the mid-century: most were gabled, varied in size, and both skyline and street-frontage were irregular in most streets. Regularity had been imposed in a few streets but these lacked any architectural distinction. Some new houses were still advertised in the western suburbs: these were 'fit for merchants or for gentlemen of fortune'.[15]

Residential Suburbs

The eastern sector of the city was 'almost entirely laid out in elegant streets for the residence of the gentry'.[16] There were now two residential squares, one each in the north-east and the south-east, and a third was being built. These residential squares and new streets with deep building lots and stable lanes at the rear were characteristic of the new suburbs of the second half of the eighteenth century: high and fairly uniform standards of development had been set although there was no overall, general control of building. Only the north side of Merrion Square was already built. Most of the houses were constructed in stone as far as the first floor which 'gives them an air of magnificence inferior to nothing of the kind if we except Bath.'[17] These houses conformed to standards which had already been set earlier in the century in the course of building on Merrion Street. The new style which lacked projections was followed throughout and a measure of uniformity was achieved. Variety and individuality were found principally in the doorways which were all in the classical idiom but varied much in individual design. This development was 'not perhaps surpassed by any buildings of the kind in Great Britain'.[18]

The characteristic of uniformity was the cardinal difference between St. Stephen's Green and Merrion Square. On St. Stephen's Green the houses were 'so extremely irregular that there are scarcely two of the same height, breadth, materials or architecture'.[19] This irregularity and inequality of the houses was thought to add to the beauty and distinction of the square. The gravel walks of the Green were still among the most fashionable walks in the city: here the

'genteel company' walked in the evenings and on Sundays after two o'clock as in St. James's Square in London. The centre of the Green was still rather swampy and in winter it was invaded by snipe seeking shelter from sportsmen. A low wall separated the central area from the coach road which surrounded the Green.[20] Houses on St. Stephen's Green had almost all been reconstructed during the 1760s and most were very large mansions occupied by the gentry.[21] Proximity to the Green was considered an asset in advertising housing: a house in Merrion Row, for instance, was 'three doors from the Beau Walk of St. Stephen's Green'; it had 'new and fashionable furniture'; two parlours and a closet and two drawing rooms and a dressing closet; bedchambers and dressing closets on the attic storey and kitchen, housekeeper's room, pantry, larder, scullery, wine and beer cellars, and coal vaults in the basement.[22]

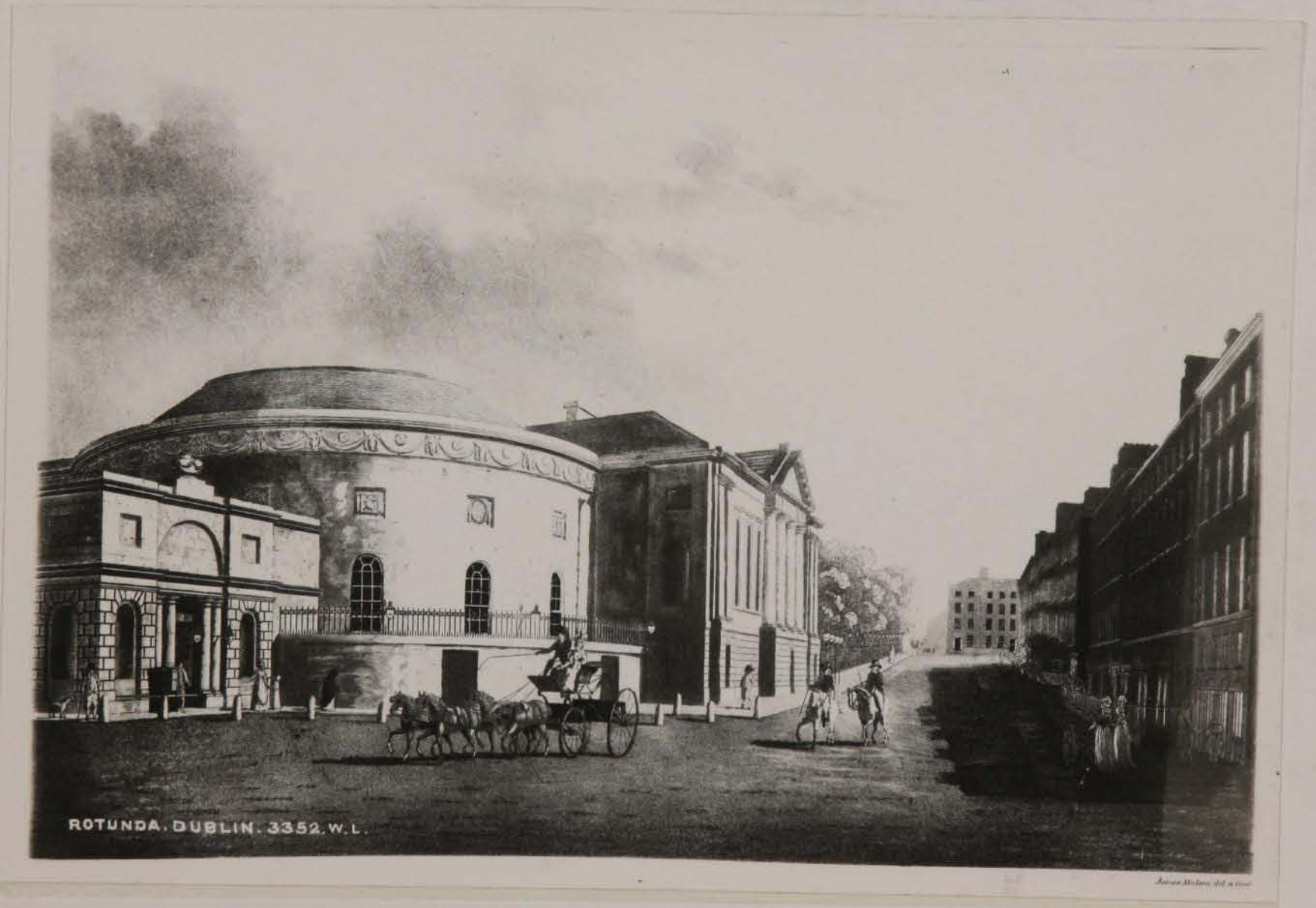
The square which surrounded Mosse's pleasure gardens possessed a distinction which characterised neither Merrion Square nor St. Stephen's Green for Charlemont House formed a centre-piece which of itself adorned the square. Sir William Chambers has explained his design:

> As you cannot have a court deep enough to turn carriages in without throwing the house too far back to be an ornament to the street, or to receive any advantage from the fine prospect, I have designed two entrances with piers at the two extremities of the court and the space between may be enclosed with an iron grille which will look well and will show the house to advantage. I have made the piers plain as the rest of the house is also.[23]

The house was a three-storeyed rectangular block faced with granite and Portland stone; obelisks on either side of the main entrance supported ornamental lamps.

Although the new residential suburbs of the third quarter of the eighteenth century were not extensive they added important structural elements to the town-plan. The similarity between houses and the general appearance of the residential squares is indicative of the influence of fashion for none of this development was subject either to local or to centralised control. It is true that some controls were exercised by the ground-landlord but the character of the new suburbs of this time reflects standards demanded by the gentry rather than a preconceived idea imposed by any one authority.

PLATE XXIII



see appendix

Rutland Square and the Assembly Rooms

Places of Entertainment

Places of entertainment were mostly in the eastern sector of the city where the gentry lived.

> 'There is a very good society in Dublin in a parliament winter', wrote Arthur Young, 'a great round of dinners and parties; and balls and suppers every night in the week, some of which are very elegant, but you almost everywhere meet a company much too numerous for the size of the apartments. .... They have two assemblies on the plan of those at London, in Fishamble Street and at the Rotunda, and two gentlemen's clubs, Anthry's and Daly's, very well regulated; I heard some anecdotes of deep play at the latter though never to the excess common at London'.[24]

Most of the entertainment for which Dublin was famous was carried on in private houses and few places of entertainment influenced the townscape.

Mosse's pleasure gardens had been improved and new Assembly Rooms were built during the 1760s. The principal early building, the Coffee House, was not sufficient for concerts and other indoor entertainment. The new Assembly Rooms, designed by Ensor and built in 1764, were financed by a grant from parliament. The main entrance was at the end of Sackville Street where a large entrance hall provided space for servants to await their masters. The great hall, or Rotunda, was eighty feet wide and was designed to accommodate two thousand people.[25] Although the pleasure gardens were modelled on the Vauxhall Gardens in London they had a certain originality: subscription rates for the Assembly Rooms were raised when the new buildings were constructed but the price of admission to the gardens remained sixpence. Campbell thought that the attendance would have increased had the price been doubled for the gardens would have been more exclusive and would have attracted the moneyed classes. As it was they attracted a very mixed gathering and 'it must be confessed that the motley appearance gives an air of freedom'.[26] Structural changes had been made in the upper part of the Rotunda and a new building had been added on the north before the picture reproduced in Plate XXIII was made.

Despite the many theatrical companies which had been founded in

Dublin there were only three theatres: Crow Street Theatre had been opened in February 1758; (the second) Capel Street Theatre opened in February 1770 and closed in the summer of 1784; and Smock Alley Theatre continued to provide entertainment until the end of the century.[27] The Phoenix Park and the reservoir of 'City Bason' still attracted the gentry during their leisure. The 'Bason' was still on the periphery of the city and a short distance from it the Grand Canal terminated. At one end of the reservoir there was a Chinese bridge from which there was a fine view of the canal. The canal itself was spanned by 'an elegant stone bridge of one arch'; along the sides of the canal rows of elm trees extended for some miles into the country. In the Phoenix Park there were two roads: one led to a wood which encompassed an open ring in which a figure of the Phoenix had been erected on top of a fluted column, and the second wound around the circuit of the park near the wall. The adjacent Circular Road had not yet been completed for it was thought at the time it would be opened through the park itself.[28]

Campbell records the novelty of hotels and 'chop-houses' in Dublin for the hotels had all been established within a few years. None of them seem to have had a high standard and Campbell himself moved to a lodging house in Capel Street soon after his arrival: this seems to have been a common practice for Bush (1764) had even recommended travellers to seek furnished lodgings. The famous Lucas's Coffee House and its neighbour, Tom's Coffee House, in Cork Hill had been demolished during the 1760s; some new coffee houses had been established and there were at least seven well-known establishments when Campbell visited the city although none achieved even a measure of the fame of their predecessors.[29]

Transport

As the city extended it became ever more necessary for the inhabitants of the outer suburbs to have their own means of transport. Coaches, chaises and sedan chairs were numerous: it should be noted that provision of coach houses and stables for a number of horses had become a normal facility, included with new residential buildings. The same type of contrast which existed in housing was seen also in

modes of transport. The rich travelled in coaches, some of them splendid equipages; for shorter journeys they used sedan chairs which were often followed by a suite of lackeys. Numerous single-horse, two-wheeled chaises plied the streets: these were locally known as 'noddies' and were used only by the lowest orders of citizens who used hired transport. Campbell found them 'indelicate' for the driver's seat was on the shafts 'so that the rump of the horse is at his mouth and his rump at the mouth of the person in the chaise'.[30] Goods were conveyed about the city on small two-wheeled cars drawn by one horse: the wheels of these were thin round blocks, each about twenty inches in diameter. These cars were used as a general substitute for the cart in the town and for the waggon in the country: such general use of a low class of vehicle conveyed an idea of widespread poverty to visitors from England. A penny post had lately been established for conveying letters in and about Dublin and twenty stage coaches existed for journeys to various parts of the kingdom. There were as yet, however, no stages for horses except on the road from Dublin to Belfast and so travellers frequently hired carriages and horses for touring the countryside.[31] The increase in transport had several repercussions. Improvement of the streets and pavements became ever more necessary, and a thriving industry of coachbuilding developed, producing work that equalled 'either coach, chariot or phaeton as yet brought into this kingdom'.[32]

Industry

The pattern of distribution of industries established by the mid-century persisted during the ensuing decades and new industrial development of the second half of the eighteenth century brought little change to the townscape or to the pattern of land-use within the city. Most industries were located either in residential buildings or in warehouses. Only glass-making and pottery works had specially constructed buildings. There were some large sugar-baking concerns but these usually occupied buildings which were equally suited to the establishment of a brewery or a distillery. Some industries grew and there was a corresponding increase in the size of buildings, but such enlargement took place through the amalgamation of adjoining premises and these were usually in the heart of a street block, having one or

two laneways to provide access from the street.

Industries which had special premises were all located in the eastern suburbs and most of them were in the riverside commercial and industrial zone. On the north bank this zone extended to Abbey Street where there were large glass works and rope works which had a long rope walk extending northwards parallel to Marlborough Street. These large concerns were not too far distant from the newly developing fashionable residential quarter of the north-east but the industries had already been established when residential development was planned further north. North-east of Abbey Street a mixed suburb had developed in the first half of the century where statuaries and stuccodores had congregated. Here industrial buildings housed pottery works and a delph factory.

Large industrial concerns on the south bank were all located on the reclaimed land near the river. Here were Founden's large iron-foundry, the Glass House near Lazy Hill, and numerous warehouses and timber yards. New quayside development on the south bank included the Ship's Buildings, timber yards and some houses on Rogerson's Quay and on Moss Street. East of the Ship's Buildings commercial enterprises extended to the Marine School: these were chiefly timber yards but there were also some houses facing the waterfront.

The Port and Estuary

Trade was continually increasing even before concessions were granted in 1775. The Custom House was too small for the increasing import and export trade: the building was in need of repair and the time was ripe for removal to a new site. More significant even than the state of the Custom House was the state of the channel which was now impassable for many vessels visiting the port. Unloading downstream was necessary and in fact most trade no longer actually passed through the Custom House. Loading and unloading took place on various quays thereby increasing the difficulties of the Revenue Commissioners and providing an opportunity for widespread smuggling. Eight tiers of ships were frequently moored at the Custom House Quay and yet these were only about one sixth of the total number which visited the port. In 1770 only 378 ships discharged at the Custom House Quay

when a total of 2,440 discharged in the port; in 1771 the number increased to 387 at the Custom House Quay while 2,699 discharged at the port; by 1773 the numbers had increased to 391 at the Custom House Quay and 2,819 in the port. The channel of the river needed deepening. The best mooring lay east of George's Quay where the river might easily be deepened; deepening to the west near Aston's Quay would be more difficult owing to a rock outcrop near Liffey Street.[33]

The quays had assumed a great importance in the life of the city. Outward bound ships generally unloaded at the lower part of Aston's Quay, at Bachelor's Walk, or at the North Wall and goods were generally brought on cars to these places. Imports were unloaded at many different quays: corn was landed at George's Quay; salt at Aston's Quay or Crampton Quay; rock-salt at George's Quay; coals at Aston's Quay as far as Swift's Row; and potatoes brought by sea were unloaded at Crampton Quay. Larger vessels used the lower quays. All ships of great draught were forced to lighten at Poolbeg or they could not cross the bar at the mouth of the Dodder: some goods were transported upstream in gabbards and timber was generally floated.[34] Extensive open quays were clearly an advantage to the city: Campbell also thought them to be its principal beauty. 'When the quays are paved like the streets of London', he wrote, 'we shall have nothing to compare with them'.[35]

Urban improvement had already affected the waterfront. The new Essex Bridge had raised footpaths, alcoves and balustrades and was an adornment of the city as well as being functional. Queen's Bridge at the foot of Queen Street had also been reconstructed but was less ornate than Essex Bridge. The western bridges had not been improved.[36]

The Populace

While the eastern suburbs drew praise from visitors the state of the general mass of the people did not pass without comment. Nor did the great contrast between the lot of the Ascendancy and that of the populace remain unnoticed. Campbell asserted that the bulk of the city of Dublin was like the worst parts of St. Giles in London.[37] In places congestion had become appalling: as many as seventy people

were known to inhabit the one house, an observation which was scarcely an exaggeration for similar densities had been noted by Arthur Dobbs in the 1720s and during the intervening half-century congestion had increased. More large houses had become tenements and small houses in rear courtyards and alleys were densely thronged. Such conditions extended through most of the city west of the Castle and Whitelaw's census (1798)[38] shows that conditions continued to deteriorate for the rest of the century.

As an indication of the indigence of the middle classes Campbell cites the numerous shops which were used for totally different trades, such as silversmiths and booksellers, or saddlers and milliners sharing the same premises. The valuations made on behalf of the Wide Streets Commissioners suggest that such sub-division was typical of most of the commercial districts of the city and that frequently there were small industries on the upper floors as well as different trades in the ground-floor shops. Campbell records the stock in trade of the petty shop-keepers which consisted of half a dozen eggs and a platter of salt; a few pipes, a roll of tobacco, a yard of tape, a ball of twine, a paper of pins and other small goods. Such small concerns were numerous in the central and eastern parts of the city: some were even located in the cellars of houses in which traders occupied the ground floor, small industries the upper floors, and residents the garrets.

Campbell found the general state of the city very depressing.

> Here we see but little to cheer or exhilarate .... but much to sadden and depress the spirits. There is indeed a motion, but it is such as when the pulse of life begins to stagnate, or like that of the wheel of some great machine just after the power which impelled it ceases to act.[39]

The lot of the poor was even more hopeless:

> I cannot describe to you how much I was hurt by the nastiness of these streets and by the squalid appearance of the canaille. The vast inferiority of the lower ranks in Dublin, compared even with those of the country towns in England, is striking. Seldom do they shave and when they do it is but to unmask the traces of meagreness and penury. In the morning before the higher classes are up, you would imagine that half the prisons in Europe had been opened and their contents emptied into this place. What

> must it have been then even within three years when near two thousand wretches, much worse of course, than any now to be seen, exercised the unrestrained trade of begging? I am told that the nuisance was risen to such a pitch that you could scarcely get clear of any shop you entered without the contamination of either ulcers or vermin from the crowds of mendicants who beset the door. [40]

Such conditions extended, in varying degrees throughout the city except in the new residential suburbs of the north-east and south-east. All visitors commented on the great numbers of beggars and on the apparent poverty of the great mass of the people. 'The hawkers of news and the cleaners of shoes' who filled up 'the measure of apparent poverty' in Dublin were to be seen even in the best trading streets while congestion and incipient decay characterised all but the eastern suburbs in varying degrees. The streets in the old city were still the narrow thoroughfares of medieval times although now more crowded: Campbell cited the street leading to St. Patrick's Cathedral as a specially odious place for it was so 'noisome that it is necessary to stop one's nose in passing through it'. It seems likely that back streets of the neighbourhood and of the Liberties in general were even more crowded and 'noisome'.

Generative Elements of Improvement

Improvements undertaken during the last quarter of the eighteenth century stemmed not from the needs of the populace but from a desire to create a ceremonial capital. A beginning had been made in improving the environs of the Castle. When the Royal Exchange was built more widespread changes were considered and plans were made by various people. Interest centred on the area east of the Castle and in particular on the environs of the House of Parliament. Two other elements were very significant. The need for a new bridge east of Essex Bridge was greater than it had been at the mid-century and although opposition to its construction continued there were also many who favoured a new bridge.[41] The chief obstacle was the site of the Custom House which had fixed the lowest bridging point for more than a century. The Custom House had decayed: the need to rebuild it provided the opportunity to change its site and this had enormous repercussions, leading to the creation of the heart of the classical city.

Parliament Street had been opened through a densely occupied commercial street-block. Obstacles to redevelopment in the area lying between the Castle and the House of Parliament were even greater for the area was more extensive and the intensity of land-use was equally great. In order to appreciate the enormous task undertaken by the Wide Streets Commissioners in improving the approach to the House of Parliament and in creating a new north-south thoroughfare to the east one must examine the site of these new streets in the 1770s.

Dame Street and environs

Density of occupation had increased since the mid-century in Dame Street and in adjoining streets, lanes and alleys. Some houses had been reconstructed but even the newer houses were usually sub-divided. In 1771, for instance, a new house and back-houses were constructed on the south side of Dame Street west of George's Lane: the site had twenty-two feet frontage to Dame Street and was only ninety-seven feet in depth. Adjoining were two new brick houses constructed about 1765 by Alderman Philip Crampton on a site with twenty-seven and a half feet frontage and ninety-seven feet depth.[42] Nearby on the same side of the street was a large house called, in the valuation survey, numbers 18 and 19 which suggests that it was divided into two separate dwellings: the large house might have been one of the seventeenth-century mansions which had not yet been replaced. Both sections were subdivided and the building housed diverse commercial activities: a watchmaker held a shop and a large room behind; a printer had a stable behind the house; another watchmaker held the cellar under the back-parlour; a butcher held another cellar and a cutler had a third. The rest of the house was held by a watchmaker.[43] Such sub-division was typical of the neighbourhood. Some buildings were even more densely occupied and the activities within were more varied.

Behind the houses on Dame Street was the Castle Market to which the principal access was through a narrow lane leading from George's Lane on the west. The Castle Market was lined with houses and there were stalls in the central space: thirty-four stalls were set weekly to butchers; there was a section for a Herb Market and another for a

Root Market. Stalls near the Dirt Hole in the Herb Market were set at 1/1 a week each; two adjacent stalls were set at 3/3. In all, rents from the stalls in the Herb Market amounted to 9/9 while the thirty-four stalls set to butchers fetched £6-10-0. No details of the stalls in the Root Market are known. Even the Market House itself was subdivided.[44] Some of the houses in the market place had small back-houses at the rear and many of these were residential. The house called the Black Spread Eagle, for instance, No. 21 Castle Market, was held by Mrs. Frances Sylvester who also held the adjoining house where she herself lived. Mrs. Sylvester set the back house to roomkeepers and for it, together with two stalls in front of the dwelling, she received £43-3-10 per annum gross rent. She herself also held the taproom, the dining room and the back kitchen and cellars in No. 21.[45]

Houses on Dame Street east of George's Lane were also set in tenements. One, for instance, was in lease to Edward Irwin, a grocer, who had various tenants: Rachel Grogan, a quilter held a room 'two pair of stairs backwards' at £4-11-0 per annum and a room overhead at £3 per annum; another tenant paid five guineas for a room 'one pair of stairs backwards'; a huckster had the street cellar at ten guineas per annum and a butcher held the stable at the rear for £6 per annum.[46] The adjoining house was held by Robert King, merchant; a wind-instrument maker held half a shop and the second floor; a surgeon had the first floor; a tobacconist held half of the shop and the lower part of the house at will; and one Mrs. Bushell had one room on the second floor.[47]

A number of lanes led southwards from this part of Dame Street to courtyards and former gardens. In Dame's Court, for instance, between Dame Street and George's Lane, there were workhouses and stables and a few dwellings where three cabinet makers and two chandlers had their premises. In Spring Garden Lane to the east there were warehouses and some small dwellings. At the southern end there was a tennis court adjoined by a house and workshop in possession of a gunmaker and adjoining this there were large concerns belonging to a chandler. Some of the small dwellings were set in tenements: one held by John Brady, for instance, had four tenants.

A bookbinder held the parlour; a gunmaker held two rooms at will; William Phips lived in the garret; and on a piece of ground at the rear one Osbry had erected a workshop in 1770. A bookbinder held the adjoining house which does not seem to have been subdivided. Adjoining it was a large sugar-house then held by Sweetman. A puppet show had earlier occupied part of one of the houses at the southern end of the Lane.[48]

Nearby in Spring Garden Alley houses seem to have been somewhat larger and most, if not all, were set in tenements. One house, for instance, was held by a chandler: a gunmaker held the parlour and coal hole; a widow held one room on the ground floor; a shoolmaster held the dining room and closet; a spinster held one room on the first floor; garrets were held by two separate tenants; a chandler held a workshop and closet, while another tenant had the stable at the rear. In Chronicle Court there were numerous concerns of a similar nature and variety, including a smith's forge, a butcher, a publican, a shoemaker, and a bookbinder.[49]

The same pattern of multiple subdivision and dense occupation characterised the eastern end of Dame Street and Trinity Lane. In the house on the corner of Trinity Lane and Dame Street, for instance, a grocer had his business. A breechesmaker held the small shop in front and a room 'up one pair of stairs'; a huckster held the cellars and a servant lived in the garrets. Nearby in Trinity Lane a tobacconist had his business; a shoemaker leased part of his premises and a chandler had two small rooms behind the shop and the back cellars.[50] Further south in the lane a widow held a house and back-house at the rear. She had lodgers in the back-house and had the front house set in tenements. A servant and a huckster held the shop, parlour and a small room behind; a mantua maker held the street room on the first floor; a ribbon weaver held two rooms on the second floor; a 'plain worker' held the street garret and a washerwoman the back garret while a stone cutter had a shed and part of the back yard.[51] Three beds in the back house were set at 2/2 a week each: they were evidently either of better quality or of higher status than the lodging houses in the western part of Dame Street where beds cost about a shilling a week.

At the top of Trinity Lane buildings were also subdivided and put to various uses. Proximity to the church of St. Andrew had no apparent influence on land-use for there was no significant change of usage in its vicinity. On Pye corner, almost opposite the church, there was an almshouse, a dairy, and premises used by a stonecutter; at the rear there were coach houses and stables, a chaise house, and warehouses.[52] These densely occupied premises were on the site of seventeenth century mansions.

The pattern of occupation and sub-division on the north side of Dame Street was similar. The courtyards of earlier mansions were lined with small houses to which access was gained by narrow lanes. Small houses adjoined the House of Parliament on the west and similar housing extended eastwards into College Street. Houses on College Street were newer and slightly less densely occupied than those on Dame Street. One held by John Nougé, for instance, had one tenant on the first floor whose apartment consisted of a dining room, bed-chambers, a closet, a kitchen in the yard, and a coal hole. A spinster held a room on the second floor and Nougé himself held the rest of the house. The adjoining house was similar and appears to have been built about the same time: it had multiple subdivisions. A confectioner held the shop, parlour and closet, a kitchen and a bakehouse; a lady held the dining room, closet and kitchen; another tenant had the backroom and closet on the first floor and the same accommodation on the second floor; a gownmaker lived on the second floor and a paper-stainer had the cellars. The adjoining house seems to have been entirely held by one tenant, a grocer. Adjoining this was another house with a number of tenants: one held the shop, parlour and closet; a wig-maker held the middle floor, a gownmaker had the second floor and a College porter the garrets. On the whole this street was less densely occupied and both occupants and activities were of slightly higher status than those of contemporary Dame Street and its adjacent lanes.[53]

Between College Street and the river Liffey there were industrial concerns, large and small.[54] Uncertainties of twenty years during which the construction of a new bridge in the vicinity was under consideration had adversely affected this area where decay was widespread. Sweetman's Brewery which extended north to the river bank

had decayed so much that some of the waterside structures had fallen into the river. Although the concerns near the proposed site of the new bridge had been allowed to deteriorate the adjacent quays to the west had been improved through controls exercised by the city council when renewing a lease granted to Aston.[55]

The magnitude of the task which confronted the Wide Streets Commissioners in creating a new city core is now evident. A new principal thoroughfare from the Castle to the House of Parliament could be opened only through the densely occupied area which has been described. The environs of the House of Parliament were equally congested and the streets in its vicinity were equally narrow. To make this area the centre of a ceremonial capital involved a total transformation, a task which was undertaken by degrees during the remainder of the century.

Conclusion.

Dublin was a city of contrasts in Swift's day. A half a century later the contrasts were even greater in an enlarged city. The misery of the poorer classes had increased: congestion in the central and western areas was more dense and was continually increasing: and no constructive relief measures were as yet envisaged. Standards of building had been raised in the newer suburbs and these were all in the east. Public schemes had improved the environs of the Castle and they also indicated the need for more widespread change. Visitors to the city were shocked by the condition of the general mass of the population and impressed by urban improvements. 'Upon the whole' wrote Campbell, 'Dublin is no contemptible city and we should rather wonder that considering its limited trade it is as well as it is than that it is not better'.[56]

References and Footnotes

1. Pool and Cash, View of Dublin, 12. Although this book was published in 1780 most of the descriptions apply equally to 1775 for the general introduction is mostly taken from Thomas Campbell, A Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland (London, 1779), from which some passages have been transcribed verbatim although the source is not acknowledged.

2. Pool and Cash, View of Dublin, 12.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., 9.

5. Ibid.

6. Falkiner, Blue Coat School, 208-10; Plan of Oxmantown Green, 1771, by Thomas Ivory, Dublin Corporation Maps, P.R.O.I.

7. Pool and Cash, View of Dublin, 59-61

8. Ibid., 55-56.

9. Ibid., 15.

10. B.B. Butler, 'Lady Arabella Denny, 1707-1792', Dublin. Hist. Rec., IX (1947), 1-20.

11. Unless otherwise stated the following paragraph is based on Evan's articles in Tr. Builder, XXXVIII - XLI (1896-99).

12. 13th and 14th Geo. III, chap. xliii.

13. Pool and Cash, View of Dublin, 17.

14. Ibid., 90-93.

15. Faulkner's Journal, 1775, various advertisements.

16. Pool and Cash, View of Dublin, 14-15

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid.

19. R. Twiss, A Tour in Ireland in 1775 (London, 1776), 12.

20. Campbell, Philosophical Survey, 6.

21. Geo. Soc. Rec., II, 39-40 citing deeds.

22. Faulkner's Journal, no. 6302, 24-27 March, 1781.

23. Letter from Chambers to Lord Charlemont, 12 March 1763. quoted in Geo. Soc. Rec., IV, 25.

24. Arthur Young, A tour in Ireland, with general observations on the present state of that kingdom: made in ... 1776, 1777 and 1778 and brought down to the end of 1779. (2 vols. London, 1780) I, 5.

25. Kirkpatrick, Rotunda Hospital, 67-68.

26. Campbell, Philosophical Survey, 26-27.

27. La Tourette Stockwell, Dublin Theatres and Theatre Customs, xiii.

28. Campbell, Philosophical Survey, 5-6; Bush, Hibernia Curiosa, 15-17.

29. Campbell, Philosophical Survey, 49,51; Bush, Hibernia Curiosa, 25.

30. Campbell, Philosophical Survey, 47.

31. Twiss, Tour in Ireland, 28-29; 53.

32. Faulkner's Journal, No. 6276, 22-25 Jan. 1781, advertisement inserted by a coachmaker in Henry Street.

33. Report of the Commissioners of H.M. Revenue on the situation of a new Custom House, Commons jn. Ire., IX, Part I, Appendix, cccliii-ccciv; Report from the committee ... appointed to take into consideration the Report of the Commissioners of H.M. Revenue and the several petitions ... and other papers relative to the site of the new Custom House, Commons' jn. Ire., IX, Part II, Appendix, cccviii-cccxv.

34. Ibid.

35. Campbell, Philosophical Survey, 7.

36. Ibid.; Semple, Building in Water, 25-26; 62-67.

37. Campbell, Philosophical Survey, 3-4, 6, 41.

38. Whitelaw, Essay on the Population of Dublin (1802).

39. Campbell, Philosophical Survey, 29-31.

40. Ibid.

41. Commons' jn. Ire., V, 129- 183; VI, 189, proposals and petitions re new bridge; VIII, 567, plans of David Latouche and Col. Burton; Anc. Rec., IX, 389, 401; Freeman's Journal, 1769, articles on proposed improvements in the city.

42. Minutes, C.W.S., III, 10, 40: 9 June, 16 June, 1779.

43. Minutes, C.W.S., II, 225: 4 May, 1779.

44. Minutes, C.W.S., II, 169-72: 18 March 1779.

45. Minutes, C.W.S., II, 183-210: 14 April 1779.

46. Minutes, C.W.S. II, 189: 15 April 1779.

47. Minutes, C.W.S. II, 193: 17 April 1779.

48. Minutes, C.W.S. III, 20-52: July 1779; III, 224, 22 Jan. 1781.

49. Minutes, C.W.S. III, 20-52, July 1779; III, 66, 25 Feb. 1780.

50. Minutes, C.W.S. III, 128: 29 Feb. 1780.

51. Minutes, C.W.S. III, 137-40: 6 March 1780.

52. Minutes, C.W.S. III, 224; 22 Jan. 1781.

53. Minutes, C.W.S. IV, 101-110, 10 July 1782.

54. Jury Maps and Surveys of the C.W.S., Dublin Corporation Maps, P.R.O.I.

55. Anc. Rec., XI, 38-39.

56. Campbell, Philosophical Survey, 28.

CHAPTER XIV

THE THIRD PERIOD

THE THIRD PHASE: 1775 - 1800

The last quarter of the eighteenth century saw the culmination of two centuries of sustained growth in Dublin. Plans for improvement had gradually matured during the preceding decades; the desire for independence had grown, and circumstances now combined to induce great projects. Public buildings were constructed on a scale more magnificent than hitherto; extensive residential suburbs developed contemporaneously; and long-considered schemes of improvement finally crystallised. With the extension of the powers of the Wide Streets Commissioners between 1782 and 1792 a unified though limited control was imposed on the city[1] and the Commissioners were enabled to rationalise the street-system and to correlated new projects. Through these changes the modern town-plan gradually evolved. Politically the phase was characterised by newly-won freedom: initially by the right to free trade and then by an almost independent parliament.

Growth Determinants

The American war had immediate and diverse repercussions in Ireland. Trade concessions granted in 1775 enabled Ireland to export clothing and other equipment for troops on the Irish establishment serving abroad; in order to encourage the linen manufacture a bounty payable by the British treasury was granted on flax seed imported into Ireland. Although these measures fell far short of satisfying Irish demands they stimulated industry in Dublin where there was a rapid response to the new conditions. Further concessions were demanded. By 1780 restrictions on foreign trade were removed and the right to free trade was won.

Troops were withdrawn from Ireland to serve in the American war. In response to this measure the volunteer movement was founded in

Ireland and in 1778 it was organised on a national scale. This proved to be a decisive step towards changing the course of Irish politics. Although the volunteer force was not founded by popular leaders it allied itself with them and in turn was used by them in the agitation for free trade and for constitutional freedom.

Meanwhile, in the years 1771 to 1778, some concessions were granted to the Roman catholics. Although catholics were still excluded from political power legislation of 1778[2] authorised granting them more secure tenure, namely, leases for lives and leases for any fixed term not exceeding 999 years. Catholics were also authorised to bequeath and to inherit property. The motive in granting these relaxations was economic, for catholics, excluded from politics and from many professions, had devoted themselves to commerce and some were very wealthy. The concessions made in 1778 enabled them to speculate in lands and buildings and consequently to participate in urban development. Although the new spirit of religious tolerance had prompted concessions and further relief acts were introduced in 1782, catholics were still totally excluded from political activities and so a deep division of the population remained, based on religious allegiance although lacking the animosity of earlier decades.

Agitation about Ireland's constitutional position culminated in 1782 in victory for the 'patriot' party with the unopposed assertion of Ireland's independence by Henry Grattan. The independent status of parliament was more apparent than real, however, for the administration remained partly under British control. The changed status nevertheless brought significant changes to Dublin with the institution of annual sessions to deal with the increased volume and range of legislation. Functions previously performed by the House of Lords of Great Britain now devolved on the Irish House of Lords. Extra accommodation was required by both Houses of Parliament and this was a key element in the creation of a new city core. The prospect of a permanent resident legislature with growing administrative bodies, and of the permanent presence of the court of the viceroy, increased speculative investment in upper class residential building. The new status of parliament also fostered a spirit of civic pride in the national capital and this encouraged urban improvement.

The right to free trade instigated improvement of the estuary and of port facilities; it also prompted the extension of the Grand Canal to the Liffey and the construction of extensive docks. Commercial rivalry caused the construction of the less successful Royal Canal north of the Liffey. Trade and commerce undoubtedly increased when legislative restrictions were removed but this did not make any significant morphological imprint on the city. No constructive measures were adopted to improve the lot of the working classes despite the economic growth which followed free trade. Urban improvement of the last phase of the eighteenth century was derived principally from the conscious effort to provide the city with a central area worthy of being the core of a national capital and from projects planned by speculative builders. An economic recession during the 1790s curtailed building: Parliament survived only a brief eighteen years and in 1800 changes began.

Morphogenetic Agents

Formative agents of this phase included the city council, the Parliament, the Wide Streets Commissioners, the Canal Companies, Landowners and speculators, architects and builders. The activities of individuals were controlled by various statutory bodies, chiefly by the Wide Streets Commissioners. As in earlier phases, the role of the various agents was complementary and individuals were prominent both as private developers and as members of public bodies.

Controls exercised by the Corporation were further reduced by this time. Far from being the primary central controlling authority the role of the municipal council in urban development had become one of co-operation with and subordination to a statutory body, namely, the Wide Streets Commissioners. The Corporation nevertheless still took initiatives in developing city property but their schemes were implemented by the Commissioners.[3]

The role of Parliament continued to be that of a central enabling authority which could legislate for the entire urban community. Legislation of this period was voluminous and varied and legislative

control was more specific than in previous decades. An attempt was made to control the location of certain industries: for instance, no glass-house might be erected in the city or on the North Wall nearer than eight hundred yards beyond the Circular Road or on the south side than Ringsend or anywhere else than three-quarters of a mile of the Circular Road, nor any chimney thereof under fifty feet high.[4] Already lime might not be burnt 'within the lamps' in kilns erected after 24 March 1772: those convicted of burning lime or lime-stone after 1 April 1776 were liable to be fined £50. Brick-making was prohibited within two miles from the public lamps of the city. Legislation authorised the removal of some industries which were already established in the city, for instance, the glass-house in Mary's Lane.[5] In 1791 funds were provided for the construction of docks at the terminus of the Grand Canal on the Liffey.[6] Private acts of parliament authorised numerous local improvements such as the enclosure of Merrion Square and the improvement of Rutland Square.[7] New legislation controlled the work, planning and expenditure of the Wide Streets Commissioners while conferring additional powers and extended jurisdiction on them. The tole of Parliament must nevertheless be viewed as one of control and authorisation rather than that of actively determining the form of development. Parliament conferred the authority which was necessary to implement plans and to overcome popular resistance.

The Wide Streets Commissioners

The Wide Streets Commissioners were undoubtedly the most important formative agents of the last quarter of the eighteenth century. After a period of apparent inactivity which lasted five years meetings were resumed by the Commissioners in July 1777.[8] Their immediate objectives had been achieved early in the 1760s and more extensive improvements were now envisaged. In February 1778 new commissioners were appointed to fill six vacancies: these included John Foster. In April 1778 Luke Gardiner was appointed to fill another vacancy and John Beresford was appointed about the same time. These two men played a very important part in planning the extensive redevelopment undertaken during the last two decades of the century. Unlike their predecessors, the Commissioners appointed during the last quarter of

the eighteenth century were not all members of parliament. Most of them, however, were well-known public figures; some had extensive property in the city and consequently had a vested interest in improvement; some had an interest in architecture. Attendance at meetings was poor: this suggests that most of the Commissioners were active only in connection with those projects in which they had some immediate interest; it also indicates the enormous power exercised by a few. The most active of the Commissioners are recorded in street-names. Commissioners who were prominent during the 1780s included Thomas Burgh, William Burton Conyngham, William Colville, Lord Carlow and Sir Thomas Blackhall. In 1789 three members of the La Touche family were Commissioners, namely, David, John and William Digges; the La Touche bank frequently lent money to the Commissioners and yet despite their activity no street opened by the Commissioners was named for the La Touche family or any of its members. During the 1790s Luke Gardiner, Lord Mountjoy, was frequently chairman at meetings; Beresford was often in the chair from 1792; and Jeremiah D'Olier was prominent during the late 1790s.

In the early stages many surveyors were employed from time to time by the Commissioners: these included Samuel Sproule, Patrick Roe, and Thomas Penrose. In 1782 Thomas Sherrard was appointed secretary and surveyor to the Commissioners, a post he held until about 1834. Thirty years after his appointment Sherrard's duties were described in the minutes of the Commissioners which record that he

> surveys premises intended for improvement, draws maps of the same and submits them with plans of new streets to consideration of the Board .... lays out upon the ground the several building lots. Fixes and directs the lines and levels, the vaults and sewers of the streets opened by them and superintends the building thereof. Makes all necessary estimates and valuations ... and receives and gives possession of all premises .... also superintends and directs the lines and levels of all new streets opened by individuals, the approbation and control of which is .... vested in the Commissioners .... when architectural drawings are required they are provided and charged for. 10

Sherrard also brought to the attention of the Commissioners many desirable minor improvements and in such cases his suggestions were usually adopted. Whether or not it was he who designed elevations submitted by him to the Commissioners is a debatable question for

Sherrard was primarily a surveyor. He engaged in speculative building on the Gardiner estate where he is commemorated in street-names. It was he who laid out Mountjoy Square in 1787, and he designed the alterations to the Dublin Royal Circus after the Union. Thomas Sherrard's contribution to the making and improvement of Dublin was therefore quite considerable.[11]

The earlier plans of the Commissioners had been influenced by London and by continental Europe and these places continued to be the source of inspiration in the later period. In the mid-century Semple had consulted European authorities about bridge-building: in this phase the design of buildings for new commercial streets was derived from the Continent as suggested by the plan made in 1787 for the improvement of the southern end of Cavendish Street on which is inscribed

> The style of buildings proposed here has long been in use on the continent and found uncommonly convenient in procuring bed-chambers contiguous to shops or the apartments of persons in trade, unconnected with the upper floors.[12]

Other derivations from the Continent are discussed later. About the same time the Commissioners seem to have been influenced by contemporary town-planning in Ireland for in December 1785, when they decided to extend Sackville Street to the river, it was resolved

> to write to Mr. Wyatt to request he will give his opinion of the distribution of the ground for building from Sackville Street to the College and the Custom House ....[13]

James Wyatt had planned the new town of Westport in or about 1780. No plan of Wyatt's for Dublin has survived, however, and there is no record of actual work done by him for the Commissioners. As the years passed the Commissioners appear to have looked more and more to London but they retained their independence in adapting designs to the local situation. In April 1792 Sherrard was directed

> to obtain elevations of such range buildings or others in London as he may judge will be of advantage towards furnishing designs for the new streets and places in this city.[14]

The Commissioners also bought maps of London; some of Sherrard's purchases are recorded in 1796, 1804 and 1808.[15] It is interesting to note that the cultural influence of London seems to have increased at the time of greatest parliamentary independence in Dublin. While the

formative character of external influences must be recognised the independent judgement exercised by the Commissioners and by their employees is perhaps more significant for it enabled them to merge ideas, to introduce innovations and to design a distinctive city.

The primary objective of the Commissioners during the 1770s was to make 'an easy communication through the centre of the city'.[16] The two important focal points associated with this street were the Castle and the House of Parliament. The site and alignment of the street was decided after surveys and plans for the area which lay between the Castle and the House of Parliament had been considered. The decision to remove the Custom House downstream enabled a new bridge to be built and the need for new approaches to the bridge, combined with the new extensions of the House, led to a total re-development of the environs of the House of Parliament. Thus, the idea of opening a principal street through the city was enlarged and the concept of a new core area with monumental buildings and streets of distinction gradually evolved. Although detailed plans for attaining this objective were formulated the plans were never fully implemented owing principally to changes which followed the Act of Union in 1800.

Most redevelopment undertaken by the Commissioners was designed to open or improve main arterial routes through the city. However, the removal of relatively small local obstructions was almost as important as the opening of new thoroughfares in attaining their over-all objective. Through such minor improvements traffic was enabled to circulate more freely in congested areas without the expense of major redevelopment.

The statutory powers given to the Commissioners by earlier legislation were widely extended and more clearly defined. An Act passed in 1782 assigned the proceeds of a coal-tax to the Commissioners to finance

> making one or more convenient street or streets ... from His Majesty's Castle .... to the Parliament House and College Green .... to making or widening such other ways, streets or passages through the .. city for the improvement thereof as they or any nine of them shall appoint or in widening the several roads and approaches to the city within

> two miles of the same to such breadth not less than one hundred feet as they .... shall direct.[17]

Additional funds were provided by an amendment of 1783 which authorised the Commissioners to purchase leasehold interests on the site of intended new streets after valuation by jury 'on one month's notice to the parties of their determination of .. opening such new street'.[18] New primary development was controlled by an Act of 1790 which decreed that

> When any new street is to be laid out the line of such new street is to be approved by nine or more of the Commissioners before any building shall be commenced and where any addition is to be made to a street part of which is already built, that such additions shall be built in such line as shall be approved..by the Commissioners or any nine of them.

The same statute directed attention to the older parts of the city and Liberties: in many narrow streets and lanes buildings had decayed and widening such streets and passages would benefit both inhabitants and proprietors. It was made lawful for

> the Commissioners or any three or more of them upon application made in writing by the person or persons owning ... two parts in three of the front of either side of such street, lane or passage, to assess ... the whole amount... awarded by ... jury on all the owners or proprietors of the grounds to the fronts on both sides of every street.. to be widened..[19]

This encouraged initiatives towards improvement taken by inhabitants and proprietors as well as by the Commissioners. An Act passed in 1792 extended the powers of the Commissioners a half a mile outside the Circular Road which was then the parliamentary boundary.[20]

The Commissioners were not at any time authorised to construct buildings but they actively formed the third dimension of the streetscape through controlling elevations. Such control extended only to streets opened by them and to new streets opened after 1790. The basic aim was to have a unified frontage in each street: the attainment of this objective was difficult in Dame Street and in Drogheda Street where the Commissioners did not alter the alignment of both sides of the street at the same time. The statute of 1790 enacted that future building on these streets should conform to the standards set by the Commissioners and that the excess cost over and above the

cost of 'erecting plain fronts of brick with stone window-stools and door-cases' should be borne by the Commissioners, the excess to be estimated by jury.[21]

The powers of the Commissioners were thus greatly extended but large areas of the city still remained outside their control. Even in the schemes explicitly provided for by statute they were hampered by lack of funds. Revenue derived from an additional tax of a shilling per ton imposed in 1782 on imported coal was allocated initially to the improvement of Dame Street.[22] In 1790 a further sum of not more than £21,500 was allocated to this project and £25,000 to the purchase of property on the site of Sackville Street; a maximum of £5,500 was allocated to opening a new street from Summerhill to the Great Northern Road and £2,000 was allocated towards defraying the immediate expenses of opening Conyngham Road.[23] In 1799 revenue was allocated to opening new avenues south of Carlisle Bridge.[24] Funds were allocated to the Dublin Society in 1799 for the erection of new premises: on the other hand, the trustees of the Linen Hall were required to finance improvements petitioned by them in 1783.[25]

The Canal Companies

The two canals, Grand and Royal, encircled the city in the 1790s.[26] The canals lay outside the Circular Road but they were within the jurisdiction of the Wide Streets Commissioners who controlled development in their vicinity.[27] The terminus of the Grand Canal had been established near James's Street and the need to extend the canal to the Liffey was already apparent in the 1770s. Left to themselves the proprietors would have extended it to the Liffey by the most economic route, direct from James's Street. The circular extension which insulated the greater part of the city was planned by William Chapman, an engineer who published a booklet addressed to the Wide Streets Commissioners in which he outlined the merits of his proposed plan.[28] At the time this type of insulation was considered an advantage since it extended the facilities of transport by navigable waterways to most parts of the city. The disadvantages of the plan became apparent only with the recent extension

of the city and the concomitant increase in road traffic.

The site for extending the Grand Canal through the reclaimed land east of Lazy Hill was sold to the Canal Company by Luke Gardiner, John Bowes Benson and Richard Benson, and their heirs who jointly held title to the property which was on lease from the Corporation.[29] Here the Company co-operated in implementing plans determined by the landowners, principally by Luke Gardiner. The Company agreed, at its own expense, to make wharfs and quays around the intended docks to a breadth of forty feet from the water's edge, as outlined on an approved plan; Mountjoy and his associates and assigns were then to extend the quays and wharfs to widths specified on the plan. The ground sold to the Canal Company comprised the site of the canal and quays only. The right to develop adjoining ground, which would naturally increase in value, was retained by the ground landlord who also retained the right to construct vaults under the quays on condition that the entire expense should be borne either by him or by the developer. The right to quayage and wharfage on the quays constructed by it accrued to the Company. The rights of each party were set out clearly in the Articles of Agreement for the Sale of Land.

Construction of the Royal Canal was authorised by statute in 1789.[30] West of the city this Canal was almost parallel to its more successful competitor, the Grand Canal. Two lines were proposed in the city, one terminating at the Liffey to the east of the new Custom House, and the other a branch line from Phibsborough to the Broadstone where a canal harbour was planned. It was said that the instigator of plans for the Royal Canal was a disgruntled member of the Board of the Grand Canal Company: if so, the person in question may have been John Binns who was present at meetings of the Grand Canal Company until 1790 and was a director of the Royal Canal Company until 1802. A Dublin bridge over the Royal Canal was named in his honour; on the Grand Canal he is commemorated only in the name of a country bridge.

Landowners and Speculators

Landowners continued to exercise considerable influence: some

co-operated with the Commissioners and some projects undertaken in this way were designed primarily to improve the city rather than for profit. Profit was nevertheless usually derived from the concomitant improvement of adjacent premises or from the increased value of contiguous land.

Luke Gardiner, the most active of the Commissioners, was also the most active and original private developer of his day. His contribution to urban development equalled in importance that made by his grandfather in the first half of the eighteenth century. About the time of Gardiner's appointment as Commissioner in April 1778 a survey was made of that part of the Gardiner estate which lay between Sackville Street and the Liffey: this was copied soon afterwards on behalf of the Commissioners in order to correlate redevelopment on both banks of the Liffey.[31] It was through Gardiner's co-operation that the new thoroughfare north of Carlisle Bridge was opened, and a new street was opened north through the Barley Fields to Dorset Street, and his guiding hand can be traced in subsequent work of the Commissioners. It was Gardiner, in fact, who seems to have dominated meetings of the Commissioners during the two decades which followed his appointment: meetings were frequently held at his residence and despite poor attendance on the part of most of the Commissioners the work proceeded.

In his private capacity of landowner the second Luke Gardiner made remarkable additions to the ground-plan of the city. In order to plan a completely regular street-system Gardiner resumed control of land which lay east of Marlborough Street: some of it seems to have reverted to him on expiry of leases granted for terminable terms of years and a private Act of Parliament authorised acquisition of the rest.[32] Gardiner Street was planned in conjunction with the Wide Streets Commissioners.[33] Gardiner himself seems to have been the author of plans for Mountjoy Square and its associated streets which were laid out by Thomas Sherrard in 1787 and for the Royal Circus complex: these plans are discussed later.

Gardiner granted leases for long terms of years: these contained clauses which controlled the character of development so that control

exercised by the ground-landlord lasted as long as the term of the lease. Clauses prohibited the use of buildings for certain trades then considered obnoxious: the trades of tallow-chandler, melter of tallow, soap-boiler, tobacco-pipe maker, sugar-boiler, baker, cork-burner, distiller, butcher, slaughter-man, founder, tanner, tin-worker, pewterer and brazier were excluded from all new residential streets;[34] brewing was also excluded from Mountjoy Square and from the Royal Circus.[35] An extra rent-charge of £50 per month was imposed on those who practised such trades without written authorisation from the ground-landlord. In the Royal Circus and in principal streets immediately adjoining it was required that some houses be built within seven years and that all ground leased for development be built within twelve years. Ground which remained unbuilt at the end of that period would revert to the ground-landlord without any right to compensation on the part of the lessee. The time-limit for building was extended on streets more distant from the Royal Circus and only part of the building was required to be completed within an imposed time-limit. In secondary streets the time-limit was further extended.[36] In imposing graded controls of this type Mountjoy displayed an appreciation of the probable influence of a completed and inhabited unit of expensive and luxurious dwellings, such as those of the Royal Circus, on the immediate neighbourhood: the desire to live near such an area would undoubtedly encourage building on adjacent streets through creating a demand for housing. Clauses which controlled the general standard and the alignment of buildings are considered later.

Liberal provision of open spaces was a feature of Mountjoy's planning, continuing and extending traits introduced earlier in the century by his grandfather. Clauses in leases controlled the use and embellishment of open spaces in Mountjoy Square and in Florinda Place: Mountjoy covenanted to preserve these central spaces unbuilt and when houses had been erected in the environs to convey title to the open space to the inhabitants so that they might be at liberty to beautify the squares if they should apply to Parliament for assistance. No other specific directions were laid down initially except for the Royal Circus which was evidently to serve as a prototype. The character of the Royal Circus is discussed later.

Stringent controls imposed by the ground landlord were tightened by speculators who subleased so that they might not incur penalties of default. In Gardiner Street a total frontage of 536 feet was acquired by one Francis William Warren who then subleased to other speculators: to Benjamin Glorney of Meath Street, a silk manufacturer who acquired one large lot with 100 feet frontage; to Philip Henry and John Scanlan, Esqs. who took 226 feet frontage; and the title to four large lots was sold to Alex. Hendras Sutherland, merchant, for £2,007. So that development might begin without delay Warren's lessees were bound, within twelve calendar months, to build vaults along the entire front of the premises in the same manner as they had already been constructed in the street. A penalty of £100 was imposed in case of default and, on the other hand, the ground rent for the first year was reduced to a peppercorn if the vaults were completed within the specified time. In case houses were not completed within the time-limit ground which remained unbuilt was to revert to Warren, the lease to be void, and furthermore, the lessee was bound to reimburse Warren for all damages, losses and forfeitures sustained.[37] The fact that land was readily leased for building under such conditions is indicative of the potential demand for such houses at the time.

Other speculators who leased land from Gardiner included Edward Byrne who leased part of Gardiner Street, Richard Mun who leased part of Florinda Place, William Speer who started the building of Mountjoy Square, and James Lecky, David Peter, John Lyons, Samuel Reed, John Darley and Nicholas Le Favre, all of whom leased ground on the Royal Circus and signed the special articles of agreement which applied to the area.[38]

Residential building on the Fitzwilliam estate seems to have been prompted initially by speculators, some of whom planned the street-system. Development east of Merrion Square, for instance, was planned by one Mr. Verschoyle who submitted plans to the Wide Streets Commissioners for approval.[39] Mount Street was opened by Messrs. Crosthwaite and Grant who appear to have been joint lessees of Lord Fitzwilliam's: they purchased adjacent land from Sproule in order to open the street all the way to the canal.[40] On the

other hand Fitzwilliam Square seems to have been planned by the estate agent who employed Pat and John Roe to survey and lay out the square and adjacent streets.[41] Baggot Street was already being developed when Fitzwilliam Square was planned: holders of property on the street seem to have been responsible for the means of connecting the streets. In 1796, for instance, Lord Fitzwilliam agreed to a proposal made by one Mr. Brown 'to give up so much ... ground .... in Baggot Street as will make the stable lane leading to Fitzwilliam Square a street of seventy feet wide'.[42] Initial development during this period seems therefore to have been a response to an existing demand and plans were altered as the demand increased. The peak period seems to have been the years 1790 and 1791: later in the 1790s demand decreased during a general economic recession.[43]

Building standards were laid down in leases granted by Lord Fitzwilliam and a time-limit was set for building: on Fitzwilliam Square, for instance, leases were granted for a term of 150 years; three years were granted at a peppercorn rent and lessees were bound to build within four years. If the houses were not built within the specified time an additional rent was imposed. Land-use was also controlled for each lessee covenanted that neither he nor his assigns would

> use any part of the front of .... houses as a shop or follow or permit .... to be carried on in the said house or in any part of the said demised premises, the business of a tavern, ale-house, soap-boiler, chandler, baker, butcher, distiller, sugar-baker, brewer, druggist, apothecary, tanner, skinner, lime-burner, hatter, silversmith, copper-smith, pewterer, blacksmith, or any other offensive or noisy trade, business or profession whatsoever. And that on the breach of this covenant or any part thereof the present demise shall be utterly void..[44]

As a concession, instead of forfeiting all rights given by the lease a tenant who did not observe the regulations might instead pay an additional rent of £100 sterling during the time any trade was carried on on the premises. The prohibitions on the Fitzwilliam estate were even more comprehensive than those on the Gardiner estate, excluding specifically all kinds of shops as well as obnoxious trades. The significance of these controls, together with Fitzwilliam's own tenure of the estate, became apparent during the nineteenth century and their

influence may be seen in the character of the estate even at the present time. The open space in the centre of Fitzwilliam Square was also controlled by clauses in the leases. Fitzwilliam covenanted that no buildings would be erected on this space during the term of the lease and that no cattle would be allowed to graze there. On the other hand, he imposed further expenses on leaseholders who were bound to bear the cost of laying out the square as pleasure grounds in a manner approved by the majority of the tenants.

The Fitzwilliam estate seems never to have had an original and enlightened planner-developer. Standards laid down in leases and in plans for development were no more than those of most good residential building of the period. Notwithstanding, it was this estate which attracted the gentry and sustained their interest: a good standard of building was maintained in all streets and this, combined with the influence of early residents helped to gain fashionable recognition for the area. Although the estate was inhabited largely by the landed gentry it was to speculators that it owed its development.

The identity of planners on other estates has not been established. Harcourt Street was opened in 1778 through the estate of John Scott who was later ennobled as the Earl of Clonmel: this development seems to have been the work of speculators.[45] Residential building in other parts of the city was in fact inconsiderable. The significance of the Gardiner and Fitzwilliam estates can scarcely be overestimated: they were the principal residential areas of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries.

Architects and Builders

The greatest architectural contribution of this time was undoubtedly that of James Gandon who came to Dublin on the invitation of John Beresford who was acting on behalf of the Revenue Commissioners. Gandon was born in London in 1743.[46] In 1758 he was taken as an apprentice by William Chambers and at Chambers's, he was introduced to Beresford and to other prominent Irishmen and this later resulted in his invitation to design the Custom House. Gandon's second

important commission in Dublin was the extension of the House of Lords. Site topography made this a difficult task, requiring greater skill, perhaps, than the designing of an entirely new building. After Cooley's death Gandon was commissioned to design a new building for the Courts of Justice into which the Public Offices begun by Cooley would be incorporated. Gandon's unique opportunity of designing two important public buildings, each on a prominent site on the north bank of the Liffey was therefore fortuitous. In 1786 General Conyngham requested Gandon to give sketches for a military hospital to be erected in the Phoenix Park: since the institution was a benevolent one he donated the drawings. In 1786 the dock and stores adjoining the new Custom House were complete and Gandon was commissioned to design the new bridge to the west, - Carlisle (now O'Connell) Bridge. The original design was for a triumphal bridge to commemorate the achievements of the army and navy during the reign of George II. Since the extra expense of the proposed colonnade and embellishments was estimated to be £10,000, an alternative design for a balustraded bridge on arches was adopted.

The last of Gandon's public buildings was the King's Inns which was undertaken in conjunction with Henry Aaron Baker and was largely executed by Baker. Gandon was consulted about the design for the new Assembly Rooms in Cavendish Street and through his intervention the designs of Frederick Trench were rejected in favour of those of Richard Johnston; he himself designed the improvement of Ensor's Assembly Rooms. Gandon was also consulted by the Wide Streets Commissioners for whom he designed elevations for Lower Sackville Street and for Beresford Place. It is interesting to note that the designs for Lower Sackville Street were simplified by the Commissioners. The alteration was not prompted by economic considerations for it was made in the period when the greatest schemes of the Commissioners were planned and not when post-Union exigencies demanded simplification. It suggests that Gandon's talent was more suited to the grand classical mode of the public buildings and that his genius did not adapt so readily to the simpler idiom of private building which was characteristic of most of Dublin at the time.

Some prominent stuccodores were engaged in speculative building,

notably James McCullagh, Michael Stapleton, and Charles Thorp, father and son.[47] James McCullagh was admitted to the Guild of Plasterers and Bricklayers in 1761, became its master in 1778 and a member of the city council in 1781. He worked as a plasterer in the Rotunda for John Ensor (1774); his best known work was Powerscourt House (1771-74) where Michael Stapleton was his colleague. Michael Stapleton is listed as a plasterer and stuccodore in the Dublin Directories from 1777. After the Relief Act of 1778 Stapleton, a catholic, increased his practice as master builder and in 1789 he leased a number of sites from Lord Mountjoy. Charles Thorp engaged in extensive domestic building: some of his recorded work was in Hume Street, Ely Place, and Mountjoy Square. He was a prominent craftsman for, with Gandon and Francis Johnston, he was a member of a selected committee of the Dublin Society appointed in 1816 to report on desirable alterations to Leinster House after its purchase by the Dublin Society; it was he who decorated the premises of the Royal Irish Academy in Grafton Street. Thorp was surpassed by his abler contemporary, Michael Stapleton, whose fame and extensive practice is a clear indication of the changed status of catholics in the later decades of the eighteenth century. His contemporary, Edward Byrne, also a catholic, was reputed to be the wealthiest merchant in the country; he appears to have engaged widely in speculative building after the Relief Act of 1778.[48]

The foremost Irish architect of the period was Francis Johnston who worked in Dublin from about 1790 until 1824.[49] His brother, Richard, was also an architect of repute whose designs for the new Assembly Rooms were recommended by Gandon. The Johnston brothers were descended from a Williamite family of Scottish origin who had settled in Derry. In 1783 Francis was articled to Samuel Sproule and he succeeded Thomas Cooley as architect to Primate Robinson. It was Francis Johnston who designed the new Daly's Club House erected on College Green in the 1790s. In 1798 he designed additions for the Foundling Hospital and in 1800 the new church of St. George in Hardwicke Place. His Dublin works executed in the nineteenth century included the Richmond Bridewell (1811), the Chapel Royal and Record Tower of Dublin Castle (1813) and the Royal Hibernian Academy (1824) which Johnston himself founded and endowed.

The most striking and enduring additions to the townscape made in this phase were undoubtedly the public buildings designed by James Gandon and yet the work of local craftsmen and of Irish architects was scarcely less important in the aggregate. Additions to the townscape designed and executed by them were more extensive than Gandon's work and they were an apt foil for the magnificence of the public buildings. The few public buildings designed by Irish architects lacked the scope for grandeur of concept and design which Gandon's commissions both permitted and required. Although Gandon's structures were the crowning achievement of the period, the fame of classical Dublin did not rest on Gandon's work only.

Urban Growth

The most important primary development of this phase was planned by estate owners or their agents and the eastward trend of development continued. The initiative in planning was taken by the Wide Streets Commissioners only in areas which required improvement or renewal and in some areas, such as the vicinity of the Grand Canal, where they wished to control the character of development. It was nevertheless through the work of the Commissioners that the character and orientation of the city was changed. During the 1790s controls exercised by the Commissioners ensured coherent co-ordination of all development. For the first time the city was viewed as a unit in planning its development. Pre-conceived ideas were not imposed, however, and the new plan evolved in response to various complementary projects: their location and extent are illustrated in Fig. 25.

Projects of the Wide Streets Commissioners.

The need to improve approaches to the Castle had prompted the establishment of the Wide Streets Commissioners and recognition of the Castle as the most important focal point of the urban plan is evident in all their early schemes and deliberations. The House of Parliament was recognised to be a second, scarcely less important focal point during the 1770s.[50] While the plan for an improved approach to the Upper Castle Yard was still under consideration William Purfield had been commissioned to survey the ground and houses south of Dame Street with a view to opening a new street from the

Lower Castle Yard towards College Green.[51] The improvement envisaged was not the widening of Dame Street but the opening of a new street parallel to Dame Street from the eastern side of the Lower Castle Yard to the church of St. Andrew, the opening of a wide, semi-circular public place at the entrance to the Castle and another at the eastern end of the new street near the church of St. Andrew. A short thoroughfare would have joined this new complex to College Green and so to the House of Parliament. The minutes of the Commissioners suggest that they did not give any serious consideration to this plan which would have involved compulsory purchase of extensive property in a densely occupied commercial area. Similar economic controls impeded work on later projects. The plan suggests that the Commissioners were guided by current theories of urban design or improvement and already they were considering the creation of a new open core area. The prohibitive cost of thus completely remodelling the city resulted in adapting ideas and principles to the existing situation, a task which required greater skill, and in which the Commissioners displayed great ability as planners.

Since it was not possible to open a new thoroughfare it was imperative to improve Dame Street which was the principal, in fact the only direct approach from the Castle to the House of Parliament. At first the aim of the Commissioners was to make this a 'wide and convenient' street; then it was thought necessary to distinguish it as the principal thoroughfare in the city by enriching the buildings with stonework and with special ornamentation.[52] Acquisition of property for widening Dame Street was very expensive since it was a densely occupied commercial centre. The schemes of the Commissioners were therefore modified by economic considerations, and the entire development was not undertaken at once. The plan which was finally adopted combined features of plans drawn by Samuel Sproule, architect, Thomas Sherrard, surveyor, and Frederick Trench, architect.[53]

The western end of Dame Street from Palace Street to George's Lane was first widened to sixty-six feet, according to a plan drawn by Sproule, and levels were set by Thomas Sherrard in conjunction with Sproule. Palace Street was widened to fifty-five feet at the corner of Dame Street from which it diminished in width gradually

along thirty-five feet from which point to the Castle Yard it was forty-two feet wide. From the east corner of Palace Street to George's Lane, Dame Street was widened on the south side; George's Lane was widened to forty feet in the section south of Exchequer Street and was renamed Great George's Street. From Palace Street to George's Street Dame Street was flagged with best mountain stone, four inches thick and the edges squared throughout, with a curbing stone nine inches deep: these standards of paving were later extended throughout the length of the street.

Building lots planned by Sproule contained sixty feet frontage and were seventy-five feet in depth. The taker of each lot was entitled to use the building materials on the site, and was bound to build according to the approved elevations drawn by Samuel Sproule; each was bound to construct vaults in front of his holding, fifteen feet depth from the line of frontage; specifications were given for the construction of the vaults. Each leaseholder was also bound to build a sewer of stone or bricks and mortar. Leases were granted for lives renewable forever, and the fee simple of ground rents were later sold separately. The corner lots were sold at £3 per foot frontage and the other lots at £2-10-0.

Site clearance on Dame Street involved total demolition of the Castle Market which was subsequently re-established on a site in Great George's Street. Following representations made to them by the traders of the Castle Market prior to its demolition, the Commissioners resolved that no houses built on ground purchased from them would be leased to butchers, fishmongers, or poulterers not only in the vicinity of the Castle Market but also of Patrick's Market in Patrick Street, Clarendon Market, Fleet Market and the Ormonde Market.[54] In July 1784 the Commissioners decided that cut stone quoins, a cornice and a parapet should be added to the elevation approved for the corner house on lots leased to one Patrick Matthews: the Commissioners were to bear the extra cost.[55] This was the first concrete step towards the creation of a distinctive centre-city area.

The first plan for widening Dame Street east of Great George's Street was drawn in 1782 by William Penrose who was directed to make

the street sixty feet wide from the houses on the south side of College Green. Before any detailed planning for this section of Dame Street was considered by the Commissioners the new extensions of the House of Parliament were already envisaged and the concepts of the Commissioners had evolved from the making of 'wide and convenient' but utilitarian streets to the creation of fitting surroundings for the House of Parliament. East of George's Lane the line finally approved for Dame Street was probably determined by the site of the House of Parliament and by the site of the west front of Trinity College which closed the vista at the eastern end of the street. On 7 March 1785 it was resolved that the new line of the south side of Dame Street was 'to range from the angle in the centre of the north end of George's Lane (Street) to the north-east corner of Church Lane, let it fall where it may on the east side of Trinity Lane'.[56] Improvement of the north side of Dame Street merely straightened the line of frontage sixty-six feet north of the new southern frontage and this improvement was made by degrees as funds and property became available. Elevations designed by Frederick Trench for this section of the street were more ornate than the earlier utilitarian designs of Samuel Sproule: Sproule was directed to revise his plans and to estimate the cost of additional stone-work introduced in the designs drawn by Trench.[57] On 28 February 1785 the Commissioners decided that 'in so great and permanent a work as ... rebuilding .... the principal street of communication in this city the Commissioners are fully justified in securing and ornamenting the same at the Public Expense'.[58] The elevations designed by Trench were therefore adopted, the expense of rustic quoins, balustrades, pedestals, vases and other ornamentation being borne by the Commissioners.

Leasing of building sites followed the pattern already established in earlier projects. The improvement was extended southwards into Trinity Lane (later Trinity Street) of which both width and alignment were altered at this time. Dame Lane was opened south of and parallel to Dame Street and Exchequer Street. Plans and elevations for Dame Court drawn by Robert Walker, a carpenter, were approved by the Commissioners. In Dame Lane and Trinity Street the designing of elevations was left to the lot-holders or builders except at the corner of Dame Street where the Commissioners directed that the corner

house should be built on three stone arches in similar style to the one adjoining the west side of the lot, i.e. fronting Dame Street.[59]

The piecemeal nature of the projects of the Wide Streets Commissioners is more evident in Dame Street than in any other work undertaken by them. Regularity of alignment of the buildings on the south side of the street was achieved in the 1780s; the north side was completed in the nineteenth century. However, buildings in the street only partially reflected the intentions of the Commissioners. Some building leases had been granted before the decision to embellish the street was made. Builders were not co-operative: irregularities were introduced even into the regular utilitarian elevation which had been approved before building leases were granted, and it became necessary for the Commissioners to appoint a supervisor of buildings to ensure maintenance of even the lowest approved standards.[60] Builders did not co-operate in introducing supplementary ornamentation even when the expense was borne by the Commissioners. Moreover, the acquisition of land for redevelopment of the street was not yet complete in 1800 and the scheme envisaged by the Commissioners was never completed.

The redevelopment of College Green was also a piecemeal project but a unified plan was achieved. The alignment of College Green was determined by the new line of Dame Street: east of Church Lane the street-line curved south-eastwards to leave a clear view of the west front of Trinity College. On the north side extensive site clearance was necessary to permit the construction of the new extension of the House of Commons and this resulted in complete re-development extending west to Anglesea Street. A new street, Foster Place, was opened to provide direct access to the House of Commons, leaving a clear view of the House of Parliament which had hitherto been hemmed in by small buildings. Redevelopment of the area east of Parliament House later opened a clear view of the House of Lords. This widening of College Green and Street restored a vestige of the age-old assembly ground: more important, it provided an adequate setting for the extended House of Parliament.

Clauses controlling building standards were introduced into leases of ground on the south side of College Green to ensure

implementation of the plans laid down by the Commissioners: for instance, on lot No. 1 (the corner of College Green and Trinity Street) it was required that the front of the house be built on two stone arches in a style similar to that of the house on the corner of Dame Street and George's Lane, the front to Trinity Lane to be similar to that of Mr. Pemberton on the west side of George's Lane, on the corner of Dame Street. This was intended to give a further measure of architectural unity and distinction to the south side of Dame Street and College Green. The contrast between planning and standards for principal and for secondary streets is emphasised by the fact, noted above, that houses in Trinity Street might be built 'according to the plan and elevation the tenants might think proper'.[61]

Parliament House with its new extensions filled the main part of the north frontage of College Green. A site in Foster Place was allocated to the new Excise Office. A site fronting College Green in the block west of Foster Place was acquired by Daly's Club. In March 1789 Richard Johnston was requested to prepare

> an elevation of the front .... from Anglesea Street to Foster Place, as nearly conformable to the elevation of the Club House as possible, and in a style that the whole will appear as one building, and if the Lords and Gentlemen of the Club agree thereto, that he prepare an elevation of the front of Foster Place as nearly uniform to the Account Offices as they will admit ...[62]

The Commissioners approved Johnston's elevations and then petitioned the viceroy to introduce a similar style to the frontage of public buildings in Foster Place. In order to form a unified front to the west portico of the House of Commons it was agreed in 1790 that additional ornamentation on buildings would be paid for by the Wide Streets Commissioners.[63] It was the intention of the Commissioners that large, ornate buildings would adorn all the principal streets near the House of Parliament: in this they were more successful on College Green and at the east end of Dame Street than elsewhere since clauses in leases imposed supplementary conditions prior to leasing the ground for building and construction was either started or completed by 1800.

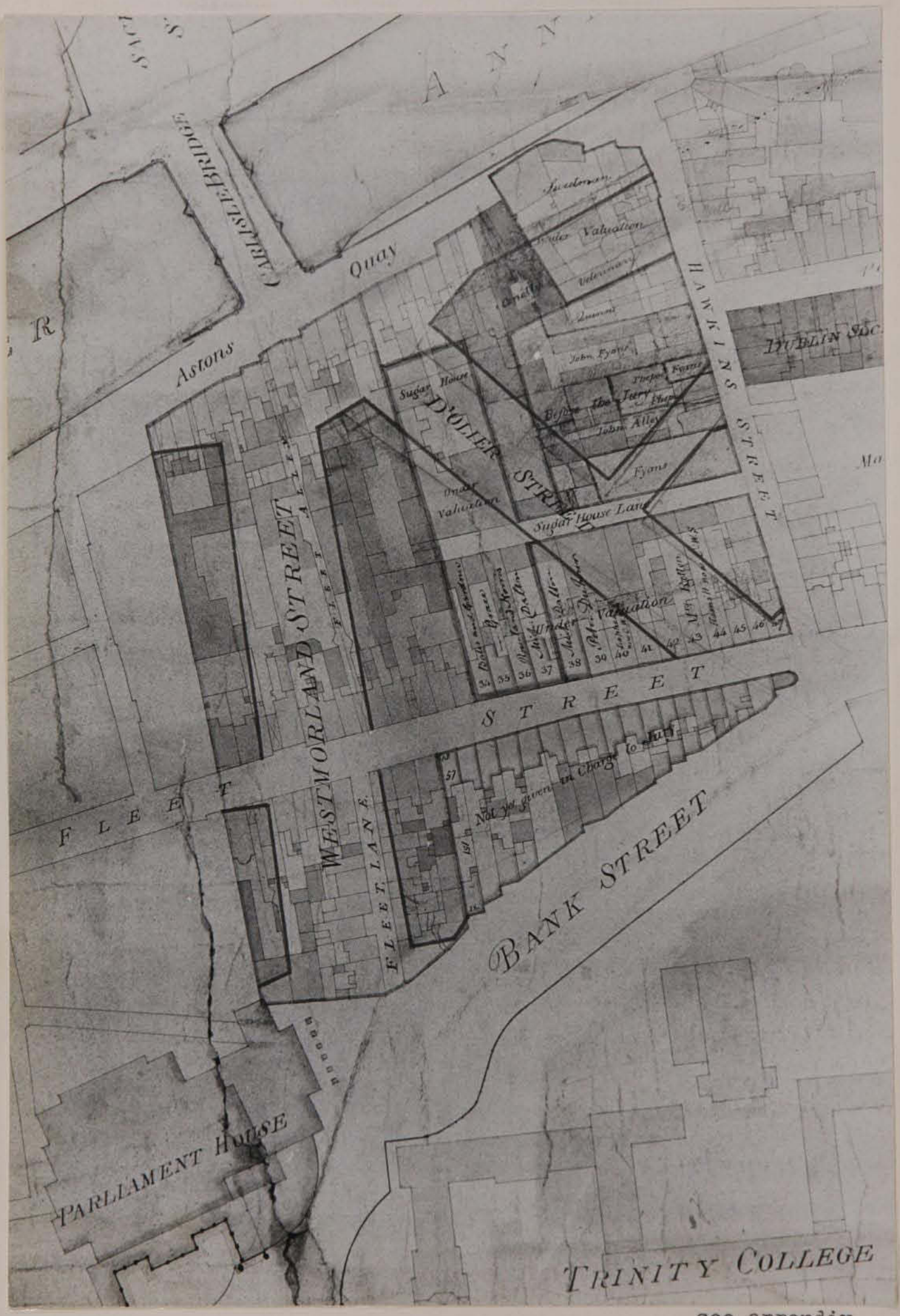
Extension of the House of Lords prompted the widening of College

Street. In 1798 the wall of Trinity College was rebuilt along the southern side of this street and a pavement twelve feet wide was constructed along the wall, curbed with mountain stone, and paved. Stone posts with globe irons were erected in the line of curbing along the entire length of the wall in a style already adopted in the environs of the Custom House.[64] The alignment and character of the frontage on the northern side of College Street were later determined by the plan of Westmoreland Street and D'Olier Street.

The form of redevelopment north of Carlisle Bridge was determined by existing features of the street system, namely, the alignment and width of Sackville Street which had been laid out by Luke Gardiner in the middle of the eighteenth century. It was Gardiner's grandson, Lord Mountjoy, who prompted the opening of Lower Sackville Street; it was he who ordered a survey of the area in 1778 and he donated the site of the new street for he considered that he would be more than recompensed by the increased value of the adjacent property.[65] Sackville Street was extended due south to the quays and building sites on either side were laid out by Thomas Sherrard.[66] Elevations for the new street were prepared by James Gandon and were approved by the Commissioners with the proviso that pilasters in the centre of the proposed elevations should be omitted: this made the buildings less ornate than buildings designed for principal streets south of the Liffey. The new street was intended to be a shopping centre: buildings were designed with a hall or passage separate from the shop entrance to provide independent access to the upper storeys. Absolute uniformity was not enforced: each tenant was at liberty to fix his shop door in a manner convenient for his business and no pre-determined proportions were imposed provided the tops of all doors and windows were in line.[67] The opening of Lower Sackville Street and the building of Carlisle Bridge made it necessary to raise the level of the quays on the north bank of the Liffey, for the level of the new street was almost five feet higher than the flagging of Bachelor's Walk at the corner of Bachelor's Lane.[68]

The greatest achievement of the Wide Streets Commissioners, in the writer's estimation, was the opening of new avenues, east of the House of Parliament, leading south from Carlisle Bridge. South of

PLATE XXIV



see appendix

Plan of Westmoreland Street and D'Olier Street

this bridge there was no existing morphological frame which might determine the site and alignment of a new avenue. Indeed, the sites of the two fixed elements of the town plan, the House of Parliament and Trinity College, increased the difficulties of planning. To continue a broad straight street due south from Carlisle Bridge, aligned with Sackville Street, would have left an awkward approach to the House of Parliament and such a street would have had a blank wall (the boundary wall of the College) to close the southern vista. The assymetry of the open space between the College and the House of Parliament precluded the introduction of an open space in the form of a square or a crescent: in fact, the proposed continuation of Sackville Street in one straight line to College Street was considered a deformity as indeed it would have been.[69]

The area lying between Carlisle Bridge and the House of Parliament was an industrial centre in which the principal thoroughfares, the quays and Fleet Street, were aligned east-west and were intersected by narrow laneways. Total redevelopment and re-planning was necessary. The ground scheduled for redevelopment was bounded to the east by Hawkins Street, to the south by Trinity College, and to the south-west by the House of Parliament. The three fixed morphogenetic elements were Carlisle Bridge; the House of Parliament and its new extensions which were complete by this time; and Trinity College which was situated south-west of Sackville Street, a situation in which its imposing façade could not suitably close the vista of an entirely new street. (Plate XXIV).

Numerous plans drawn by Sherrard and considered by the Commissioners attest the magnitude of the problem. The plan which was ultimately adopted was not modelled on designs which then existed in other cities: it was based on principles and was adapted to a situation created by three fixed sites. Traffic density, which earlier had prompted the complete rebuilding of Essex Bridge, now suggested the plan which was finally adopted. Two principal thoroughfares from Carlisle Bridge were suggested: one leading to the House of Parliament and the second, intended to deflect commercial traffic from the House of Parliament, leading east from Carlisle Bridge to the docks.[70] College Street already provided an approach to the House of Lords

whose portico closed the vista at the western end of the street.

The alignment of Westmoreland Street was determined by the site of the entrance to the House of Lords and the angle of the west front of the College: the western side was designed to 'range in a direct line from the interior angle of the Portico of the House of Lords to the south-west angle of Carlisle Bridge' while the eastern side was 'to range in a direct line from the eastern quoin of the Pavillion of the College to the south-east angle of the bridge'.[71] Elevations envisaged for this street were intended to emphasise its status of principal thoroughfare, for the Commissioners resolved that

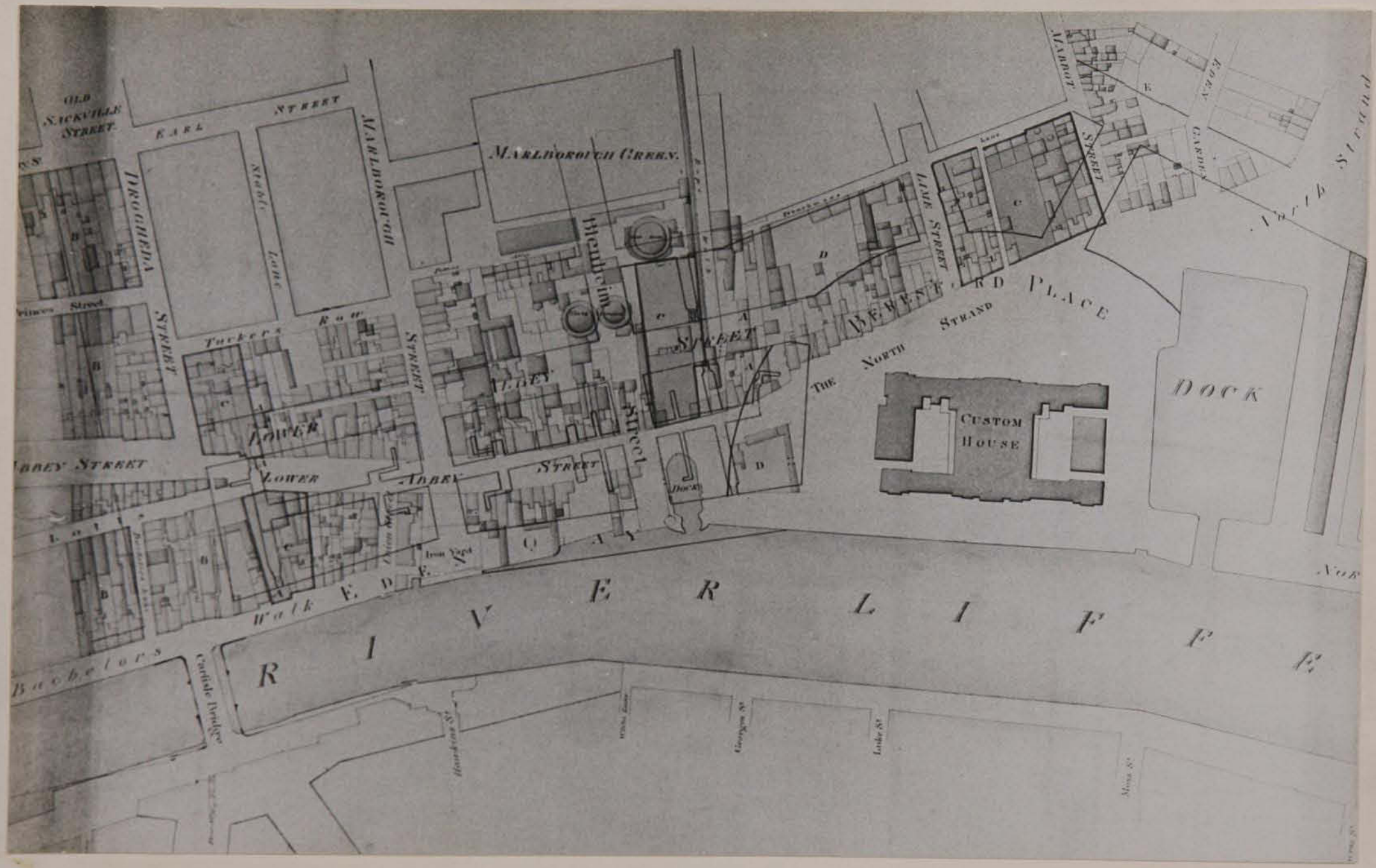
> the buildings in the street shall stand upon a colonnade of twelve feet wide and fifteen feet high ... so as to form an extended Piazza for the length of the street on either side, the superstructure to be supported on stone pillars of the Doric order; the .. Piazza to be vaulted underneath and flagged and to occupy the space of the footway so that the carriageway at the entrance on the quay shall be sixty feet wide. [72]

No detailed plan for D'Olier Street was considered at this time: its primary purpose was the deflection of commercial traffic and no special consideration was as yet given to the elevations.

The large triangular site delimited by the new streets and College Green was acquired by the Bank of Ireland in 1799.[73] Since an 'extended Piazza' could not fittingly be incorporated into the Bank buildings new elevations were designed for the west side of Westmoreland Street by Henry A. Baker.[74] At the end of the century the site of the bank had been walled-in but building was still delayed pending approval of elevations by the Commissioners. Parliament was removed to Westminster and the subsequent purchase of the House of Parliament by the Bank of Ireland changed the character of the street again but an important and even spectacular legacy of the Commissioners yet remains in the street-plan.

The new Custom House was situated on reclaimed land on the north bank of the Liffey east of Carlisle Bridge. Improvement of its environs demanded realignment of Abbey Street and redevelopment of the North Strand and adjacent streets which had been built early in

PLATE XXV



see appendix

Plan of the new streets between Carlisle Bridge, Sackville Street and the new Custom House

the century.[75] With Gardiner's co-operation new streets were planned in the area extending from the Custom House north to Great Britain Street and Summerhill and east to Sackville Street. The focal point of this entire complex was the Custom House which was bounded to the south by a new quay, seventy feet wide, and to the north by a new crescent, Beresford Place, from which streets radiated to the west, north and east. On the west Abbey Street was widened and straightened between Sackville Street and Beresford Place; a new quay, seventy feet wide was planned east of Sackville Street and extending to the Custom House, and the removal of glass-houses and other factories from the area was ordered. Gardiner Street, eighty feet wide, was designed to lead due north from the Custom House to the new residential square on the Gardiner Estate, and the old strand road was widened and improved. (Plate XXV).

On the south bank of the Liffey few new streets had been opened east of Townshend Street (Lazer's Hill) since the early decades of the eighteenth century. The only major addition to the street plan was, in fact, Westland Row which was opened in the 1770s and completed in 1784.[76] In 1789 the improvement of Townshend Street began.[77] On 21 May 1790 Lord Mountjoy laid before the Commissioners a map of a new street to be laid out parallel to the river from the angle of ground belonging to the Governors of the Marine School to the East Wall of Ringsend Harbour: the site of this street was on ground which Mountjoy held as joint tenant with John Bowes Benson and Richard Benson, on lease forever from the Corporation and Mountjoy undertook to pay the expenses of valuation and acquisition of property on the proposed site of the new street.[78] On 28 January 1791 Sherrard was commissioned to survey the ground and streets extending from the House of Parliament and Carlisle Bridge to Ringsend and from the Liffey south to Nassau Street and the road to Beggars' Bush:[79] this enabled the Commissioners to co-ordinate the plans of independent developers and so to avoid the need for subsequent removal of irregularities. On 1 February 1791 streets planned for the South Lotts, the reclaimed land east of Townshend Street, were approved by the Commissioners.[80] A great new thoroughfare was also planned on the north side of College Park leading west to the House of Parliament and east to the Grand Canal: this was Great Brunswick Street (now

Pearse Street). A parallel street was opened from the South Lotts to the east end of Townshend Street and secondary streets leading from Westland Row, Denzill Street, and Holles Street to the river. On 10 February 1792 the governors of Sir Patrick Dun's Hospital proposed to acquire a large parcel of ground, part of the College estate, which lay between the south side of Lazer's Hill (Townshend Street) and the College Park as a suitable site for a new hospital: this encouraged the opening of planned streets leading east from the House of Lords.[81]

The completion of continuous, open quays along the waterfront was considered intermittently by the Commissioners. On 9 July 1790 Sherrard was ordered to survey the watering slip in Barrack Street and to prepare a map of the ground necessary to open a new quay the same width as Arran Quay and estimates of the cost of its construction. At the same meeting it was decided to apply to the city council for a grant of property on the site of the proposed quay.[82] On 14 January 1791 the Commissioners requested the Honourable Society of the King's Inns to present their improvement plan for ground on Inns Quay which had been advertised by them: the plan must have been submitted immediately for on 21 January 1791 it was considered by the Commissioners who ordered a survey of the ground and buildings which lay between Charles Street, Church Street (east), Pill Lane (south) and the quays, with a view to more extensive improvements.[83]

On 2 November 1792 a request from the Ballast Board was submitted to the Commissioners asking their assistance in opening and improving quays east of Carlisle Bridge. According to the report submitted by the Ballast Board the quays were then in a ruinous state: on the north quays there was berthing space for discharging not more than eight vessels while the space between the North Wall and Union Street, south and south-west of the new Custom House, would provide space for twenty additional berths. In reply, the Commissioners agreed to open quays on the north side of the river but stated that they had no funds to undertake desired improvements of the quays on the south bank.[84] The principal obstruction on the south quays east of Carlisle Bridge was Sweetman's brewery which extended northwards to the waterfront between Hawkins Street and White's Lane: the buildings had long been

ruinous and part had fallen into the river in May 1792; there were, however, no funds to buy up the lot.[85] The viceroy, on application made to him by the Lord Mayor, requested the Commissioners on 5 December 1792 to proceed with both of these much needed improvements. The improvement of the north quays was begun, as had already been decided by the Commissioners, but despite the intervention of the viceroy, funds were not made available for the redevelopment of the site of Sweetman's Brewery until 1799.[86]

The Ballast Board itself continued some work on the quays, for on 11 August 1797 the Commissioners received a report of a wall which had then been built by the Ballast Board, extending from Carlisle Bridge to Crampton Quay, in order to widen and improve the quays. It was then decided by the Commissioners that the quay should be extended to Essex Bridge although this would involve both another extensive intake from the river and raising the level of the old Custom House Quay.[87] On 14 February 1799 the Commissioners decided that work on the new quay at the site of the Old Custom House should proceed, the quay to be made 'the wider the better but not less than thirty feet wide'.[88] On 9 February 1798 the Commissioners resolved to take a lease in perpetuity of the Leather Crane on the waterfront at the foot of Winetavern Street with a view to removing the obstruction and so improving the quays.[89].

On 25 May 1799 the Commissioners appointed a committee to confer with the Revenue Commissioners on the best method of opening a quay east of the new Custom House from Union Street through the Iron Yard on the waterfront and of extending Great Marlborough Street south to the new quay; this committee was also asked to purchase from Sir Annesley Stewart and William Colvill their interest in the Old Dock and the adjoining yard in order to complete the quays on this site. A Government order dated 30 November 1792 had authorised the purchase.[90] These waterside schemes were completed in the nineteenth century: they gave to the city a double traffic artery along the waterfront through the entire urbanised area.

In 1790 the Commissioners turned their attention to the western part of the city and in March it was decided to open a new principal

thoroughfare extending west from the Royal Exchange when the redevelopment of Dame Street was complete.[91] This new project involved redevelopment of some of the oldest and most congested parts of the city, namely, Castle Street, High Street, Newgate and Thomas Street. It also involved the transfer of the Corn Market House from Thomas Street. Although the area was surveyed and valuations were made, little was achieved during the eighteenth century. The cost of acquiring premises proved prohibitive, particularly those on Cutpurse Row. As with most of the projects of the Commissioners the western approach through the old city was improved in stages. The first positive step towards improvement was a request from the Deen and Chapter of Christ Church that a convenient passage be opened to the cathedral.[92] Property on the north side of Skinners' Row was valued but no action was taken before the end of the century. One improvement was undertaken jointly by the Corporation and the Wide Streets Commissioners: the Corporation suggested opening a street through the site of Newhall market. The market was surveyed and valued in 1787 and the new street, Upper Bridge Street, was later opened, cutting straight through the former market place and providing direct access from the Old Bridge to High Street.[93]

While these major projects were in progress several minor improvements were undertaken by the Commissioners. In July 1790 property in Leeson Street was valued by the Commissioners at the request of Gustavus Hume who intended to improve the street.[94] The cost proved prohibitive and nothing further was done until the property had decayed and become ruinous. On 28 June 1799 projecting houses on the north side of Leeson Street were removed. Projecting houses on the south side were reported to be in ruins and reconstruction had therefore become inevitable. Plans approved by the Commissioners were forwarded to the ground-landlords, the Governors of the Blue Coat School, so that they might control the proposed reconstruction through which forty feet were added to the width of Leeson Street at its eastern end near St. Stephen's Green.[95]

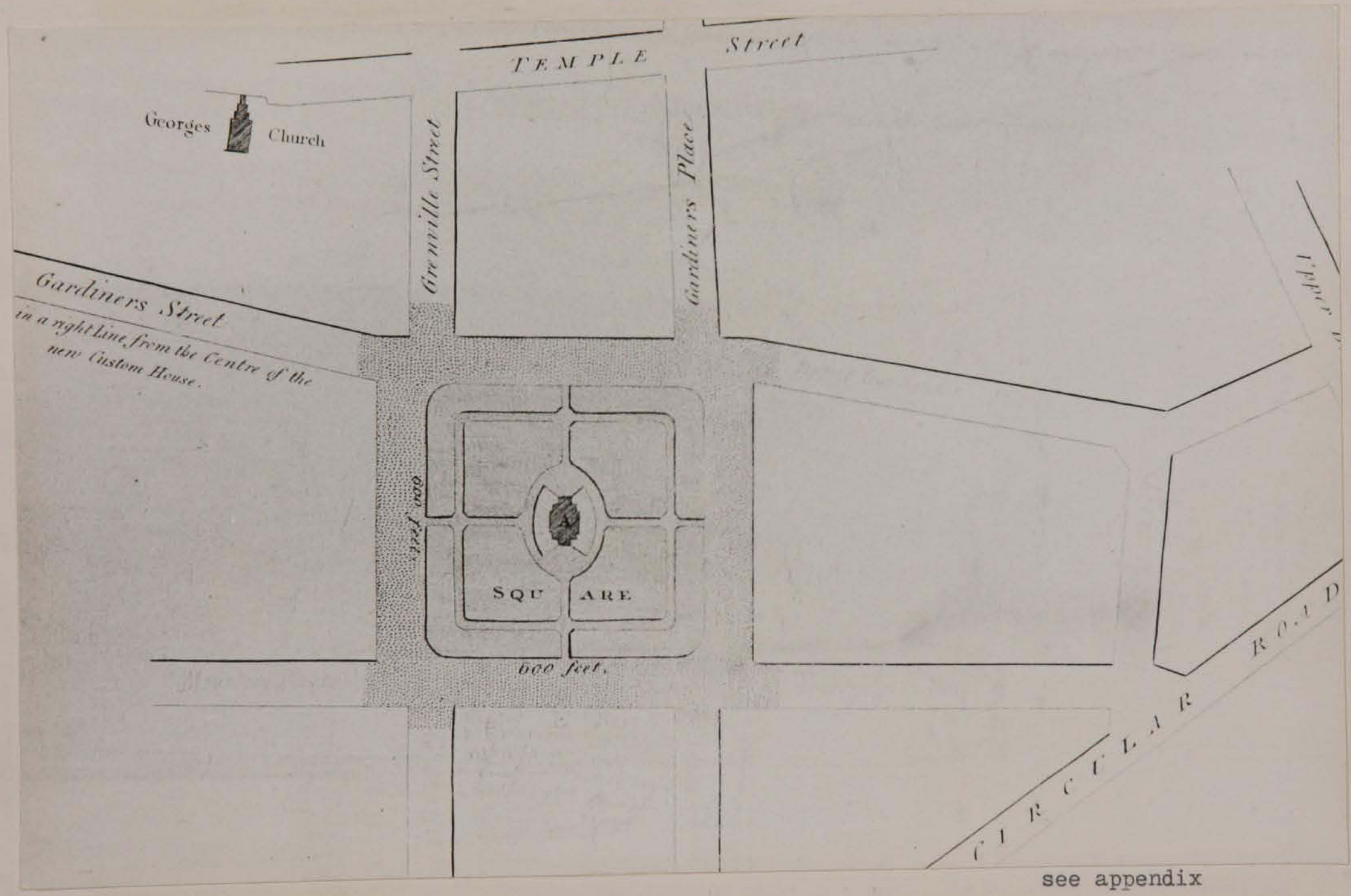
On 20 July 1792 valuations on the north side of St. Stephen's Green were ordered: proprietors agreed to recede to the general line of frontage when reconstructing premises.[96] Valuation of premises on

the south-western corner of Kildare Street and the corner of St. Stephen's Green was ordered on 12 October 1792: the cost of the improvement on this site proved prohibitive and the project was deferred. The sale and subsequent demolition of Shelburne House in 1795 enabled the Commissioners to improve this site through controlling the plans for new buildings.[97]

On 18 April 1782 the attention of the Commissioners was directed to the projecting houses at the north-western end of Nassau Street, adjoining Grafton Street. This improvement was deferred until 1798 when the houses were demolished. Improvement of the southern end of Grafton Street was approved in 1799 but there were no funds for the work.[98]

Part of Patrick Street was improved by Sir Thomas Blackhall who set projecting houses back three feet in the course of reconstruction: he asked compensation from the Commissioners on 31 December 1784.[99] Some timber-framed houses in Thomas Street, known as the Pest Houses, were demolished by the Corporation in October 1782: the Commissioners gave some compensation to tenants who had started to rebuild immediately and then they availed of the opportunity to improve that part of Thomas Street.[100] On 23 January 1785 the inhabitants of Francis Street petitioned the Commissioners to open a passage from Francis Street to the City Market: valuations were made in 1790 but the Commissioners were unable to proceed with the improvement owing to shortage of funds.[101] In 1794 a projection on Great Ship Street was removed for the princely sum of twelve guineas.[102] In March 1789 the Earl of Meath requested widening Meath Row which obstructed traffic between Meath Street and Thomas Street: surveys, valuations and plans were made by the Commissioners and the expenses of the improvement were defrayed by Lord Meath and the inhabitants of Meath Street.[103] In February 1793 the attention of the Commissioners was directed to a large projection near St. James's Gate: this was part of Guinness's brewery. Following representations made to the proprietors, Guinness agreed not only to remove the projections but also to carry out extensive alterations and improvements in the brewery: he was awarded one thousand pounds by the Commissioners towards the expenses.[104]

PLATE XXVI



see appendix

Plan of Mountjoy Square

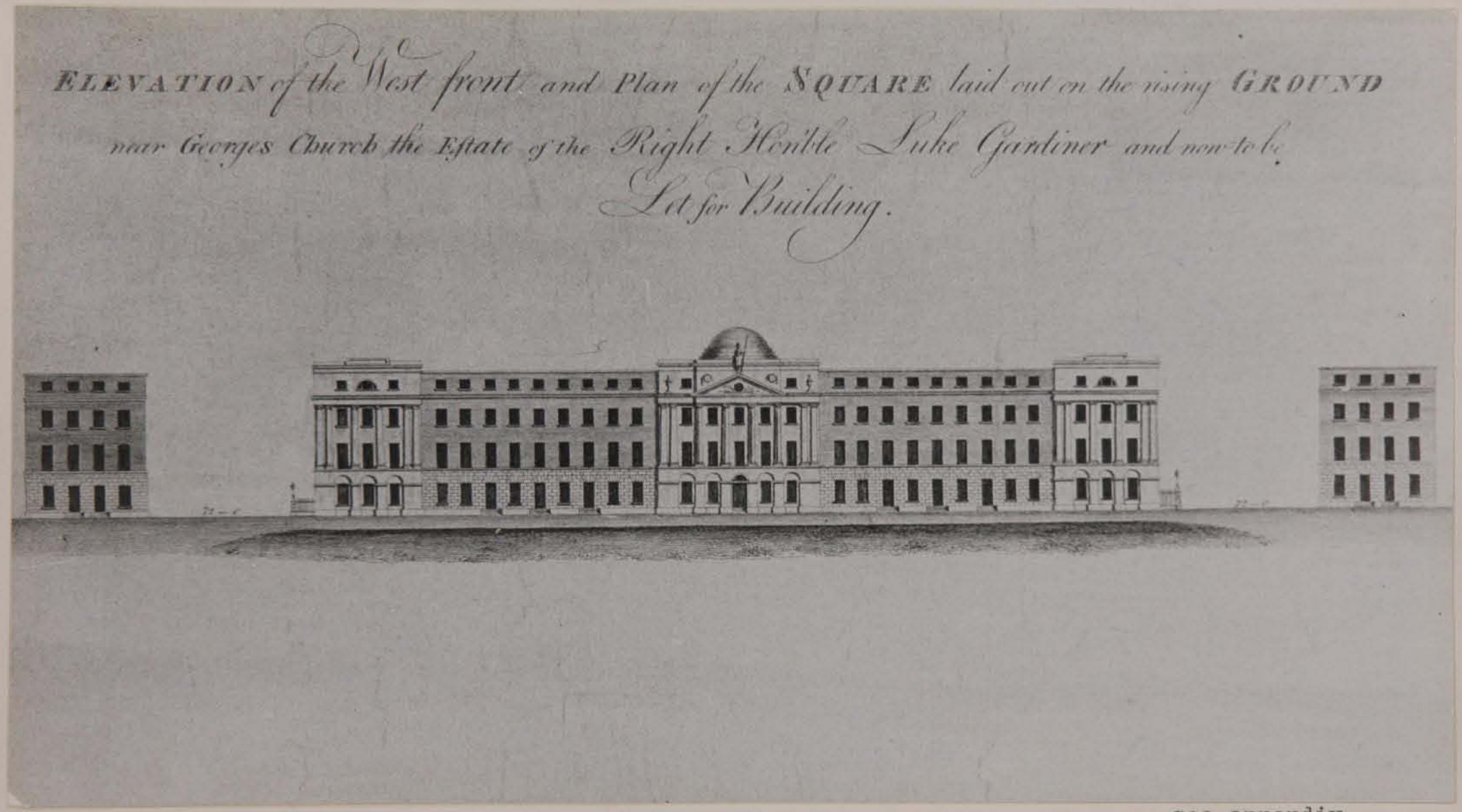
At the corner of Boot Lane and Mary's Lane projections were surveyed in 1796: improvement was deferred until the Bank was removed to its premises in College Green early in the nineteenth century.[105] Projections on Capel Street and Bolton Street were surveyed by the Commissioners in 1785 and were subsequently removed: tenants of the locality bore part of the cost. In 1789 plans were made to open a new street from Church Street to Coleraine Street to provide easier access to the Linen Hall: the street was opened with the approval and co-operation of the Linen Board.[106]

Improvement of the western approach to the city on the north bank of the Liffey was undertaken in 1786: a statute authorised widening this road to at least sixty feet and it was named in honour of William Conyngham, who proposed to widen part of the road at his own expense.[107] In order to execute the plan it was necessary to acquire some ground in the Phoenix Park which had been granted to the Royal Infirmary. This improvement included the approach to the park gate: it was the only alteration made to the extent of the Phoenix Park since the late-seventeenth century.

Improvements made by the Commissioners in the north-eastern sector were intended to facilitate free circulation of traffic. These included the redevelopment of the Barley Fields in order to open a new street aligned with Cavendish Street; the opening of a new street leading from Summer Hill to Dorset Street (now Upper Rutland Street) and limited redevelopment on Great Britain Street to connect the upper and lower sections of Gardiner Street.[108]

Residential Development

While these improvements were in progress the Commissioners controlled new development on private estates. Street plans and elevations were submitted by developers to obtain approval from the Wide Streets Commissioners and the fairly uniform standards which prevailed in the new suburbs of the north-east and south-east may be attributed to the controls exercised by the Commissioners as much as to initiatives of private developers.



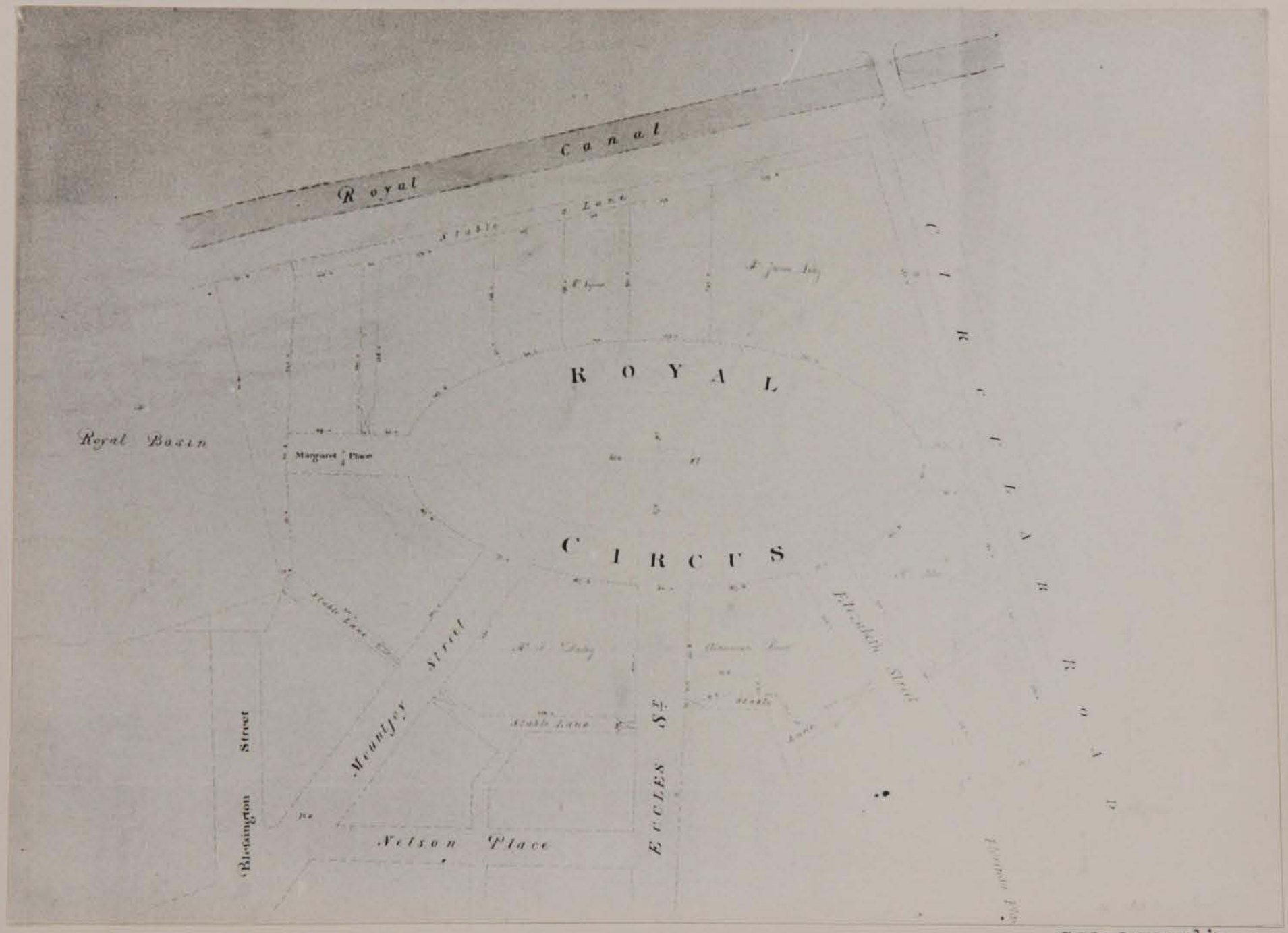
see appendix

Elevation of Mountjoy Square

The Gardiner Estate

Development on the Gardiner estate consisted principally of two separate and contrasting street-complexes, each of which appears to have been modelled on eighteenth century residential development planned and executed by John Wood, and his son in Bath.[109] Plans for Mountjoy Square and adjacent streets were made in 1787 and plans for the Royal Circus complex in July 1792.[110] Although neither plan was fully implemented both must be considered here in some detail since each was an important plan-unit in the developing city, and the combined complex was the culmination of eighteenth century planning by the Gardiner family. Without considering this development which was in progress and in part far advanced when the Act of Union was passed in 1800, it is not possible to understand the total plan of the capital city which was envisaged and designed by eighteenth century planners. Alteration of these plans early in the nineteenth century was a direct consequence of the Act of Union: this is expressly stated in nineteenth century deeds which authorised the changes.[111]

The area planned at this time was delimited by an existing morphological frame of established thoroughfares and was divided into two irregular segments by Dorset Street and the Great Northern Route; the eastern boundary was the Circular Road. The focus of the southern complex was Mountjoy Square which was situated at the first break of slope on rising ground above the Custom House. The main approach to the Square was via Gardiner Street, part of which formed the western side of the Square. (Plate XXVI) The Square itself was laid out on a plateau which sloped down on the east to the Circular Road. Streets radiated from each street corner of the Square connecting it with the Circular Road, with Dorset Street, and with Cavendish Street and Rutland Square. Although single dwelling units were envisaged for all sides of the Square, the elevation designed for the west front had a unified, monumental frontage which suggested one large mansion (Plate XXVII): the design was evidently modelled on Queen's Square, Bath.[112] Leases granted for building lots on the eastern side of the Square specify that houses were to be built in red stock brick; dimensions of the areas and of each of the storeys of the buildings were determined by the landlord in the terms



see appendix

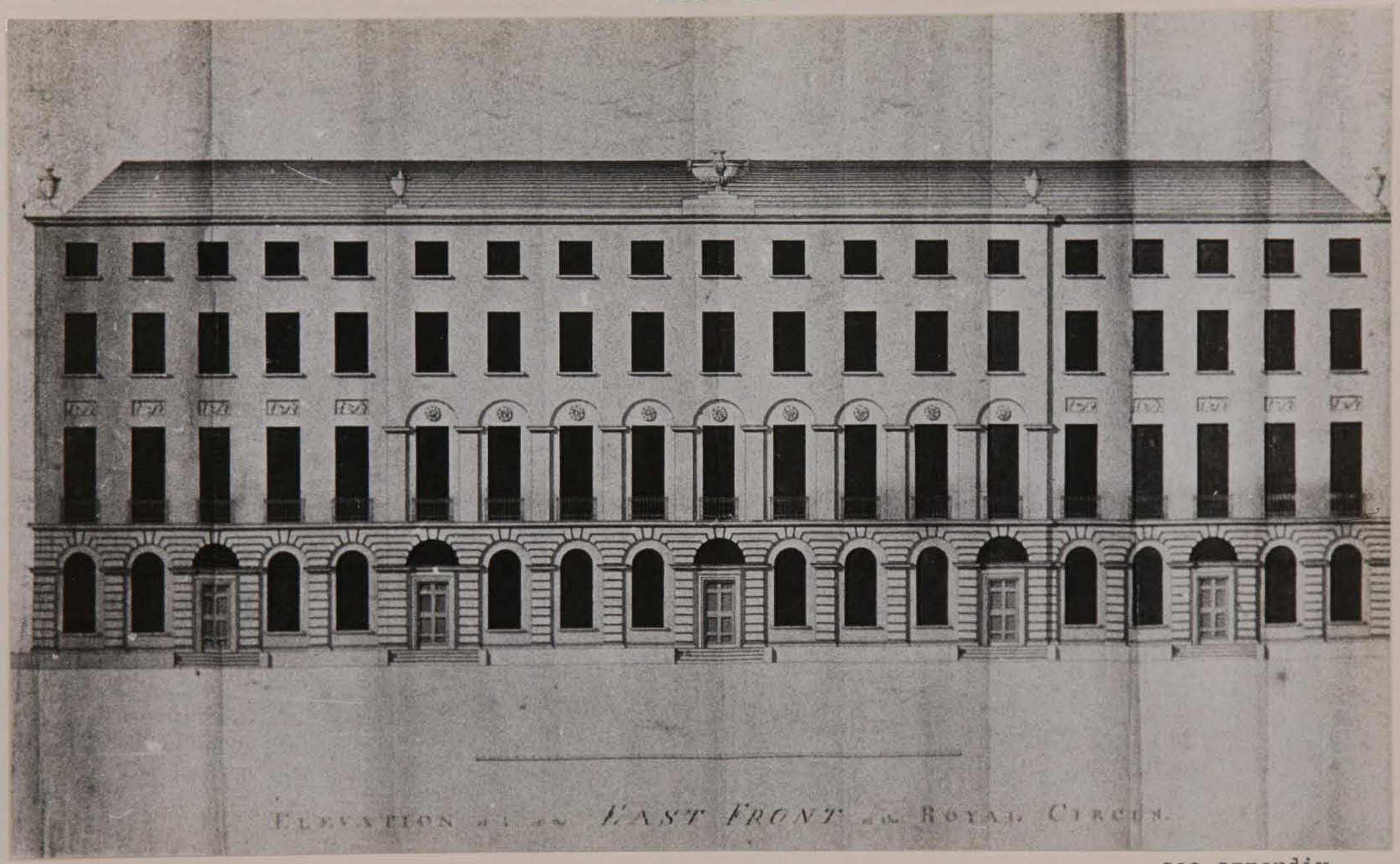
Plan of the Royal Circus

of the lease.[113]

The plan for the Royal Circus surpassed and dominated that of Mountjoy Square and was itself influenced by the planning of the Wood family, incorporating elements of both the Royal Circus and the Royal Crescent in Bath. (Plate XXVIII) The Dublin Royal Circus was situated on the highest ground on the Gardiner estate, north of Dorset Street, now the site of the Mater Hospital and adjoining streets: the Circus was approached via Rutland Square and Blessington Street and new streets connected it with the Circular Road and with Dorset Street.[114] The Circus was planned as an oval comprising four arcs of buildings encircling an open space: the principal, south-facing segment was a crescent, a single, unbroken unit of buildings occupying one half of the entire frontage of the Circus. The elevation of each arc had a uniform frontage and it was intended that the south-facing arc would be more ornate and higher than the adjacent buildings. The height of the proposed dwellings emphasised the dominance of the Royal Circus. The average height of dwellings in other streets was forty-seven feet; in Elizabeth Street and in Eccles Street, both of which led to the Royal Circus, it was forty-three feet six inches. The average height of buildings for the Royal Circus was fifty-one feet and the principal arc was to be even higher.[115]

In the Royal Circus the first storey of the buildings was to be in granite -'the best kind of Glencullen stones' - and fourteen feet high; the drawing room storey to be of best red stock brick and ornamented with Coade's composition stone 'fifteen feet in the clear'; the attic and garret storeys were also to be in best stock brick and finished with a hewn stone cornice twelve inches deep, and a blocking course and composition stone vases as laid down in the approved elevations. (Plate XXIX) The Articles of Agreement signed by developers or lessees of land in the Royal Circus included clauses provided for the adornment and maintenance of the central open space. According to the agreement Mountjoy and his assigns were

> .... empowered to contract with such person or persons as they shall think proper for the workmanship of the enclosure of the said inner area of the Royal Circus and to finish the same with a basement of mountain stone not exceeding eighteen inches above the level of the street around the



see appendix

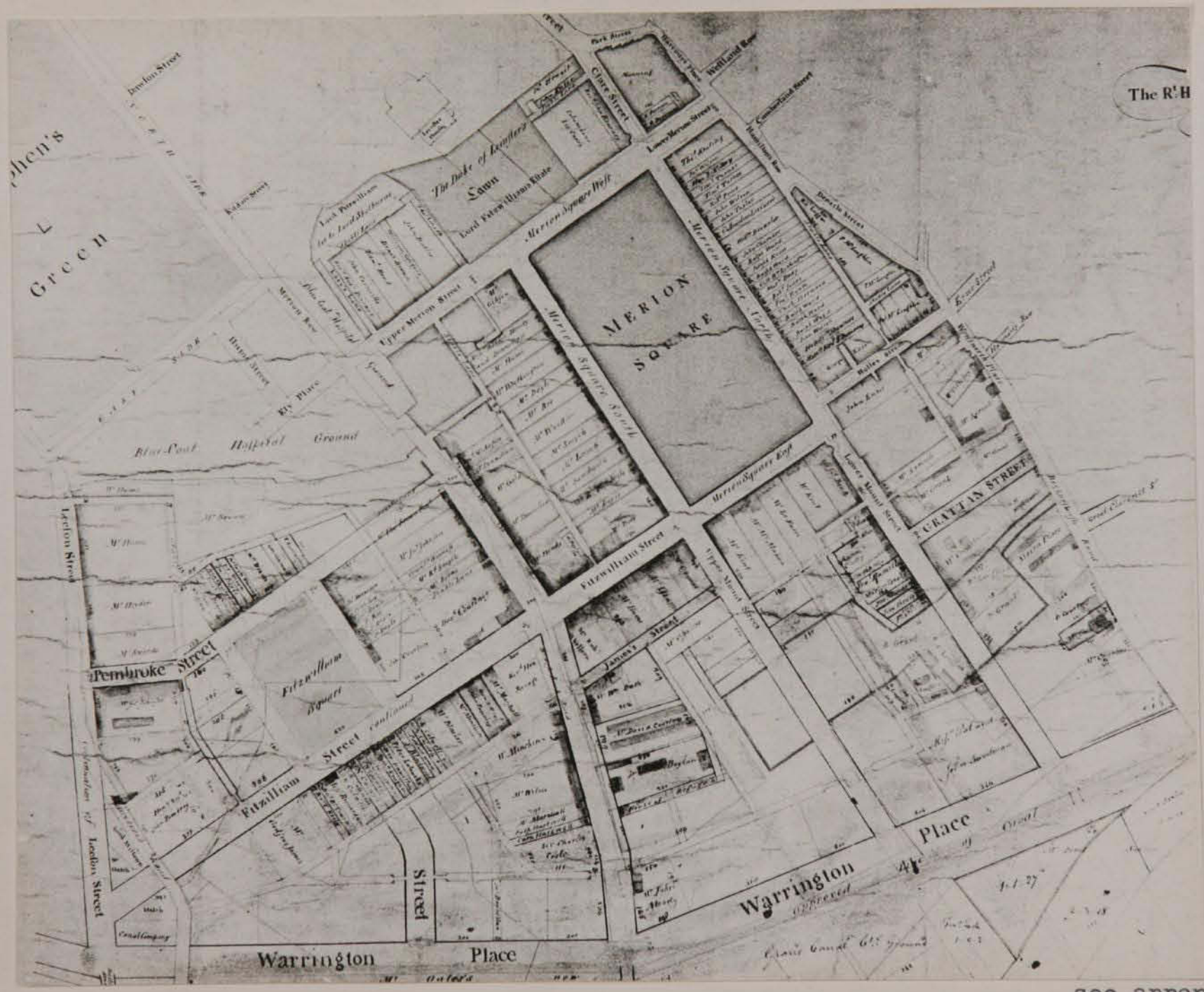
Elevation of the East Front of the Royal Circus

> said Circus at any price not exceeding eight shillings per lineal foot and to furnish same with a light plain iron palisadoe and globe irons at thirty feet distance from each other at a price not exceeding nine shillings and six pence per foot ..... and in order to preserve the said enclosure by painting, repairing the said iron work and keeping in repair said stone work and to beautify the inside by making walks, grass plots and borders and planting shrubs, evergreens, setting flowers and other things properly ornamental and when necessary to purchase globes and to pay for the lighting thereof and for payment of yearly wages of a person properly to keep the enclosure in repair ..... to create a fund for recurring expenses ..... by .... yearly subscriptions rateable by the foot frontage ... not to exceed one shilling and sixpence per foot and a shilling in the pound for collecting .....

The initial expenses were financed by a special voluntary rate which was levied on the inhabitants by the foot frontage on the Circus and these 'voluntary' payments were ensured by imposing a bond of £1,000 in default. Such detailed planning and control does not seem to have been imposed in any other area in the city. The enclosure and adornment of the central space in the Royal Circus seems to have been intended as a model for the enclosure of other open spaces.

Clauses were inserted in all Gardiner's leases to control the general design of buildings. These determined the alignment of house-fronts, the widths of areas and the height of plinths; they prohibited bow-windows and other projections beyond the window-stools and doorcases. Areas ranged from eight to ten feet wide in the different streets; plinths were generally forty-seven feet high in the principal streets but fifty-one feet in the Royal Circus where the ground-landlord also reserved the right to build even higher on the principal segment. The extent of control exercised over buildings varied in accordance with the situation and with the potential value of the proposed development. All developers were required to build 'good and substantial' houses. For some streets the type of building material was specified; in others the minimum value of houses: in Great Charles Street, for instance, an expenditure of at least £1,000 on the first building was demanded. Controls exercised by Gardiner corresponded to controls exercised by the Wide Streets Commissioners in principal and secondary streets opened by them.[116]

PLATE XXX



see appendix

Plan of part of the Fitzwilliam Estate

The Royal Circus was evidently intended to be Gardiner's masterpiece and the special articles of agreement indicate the care with which it was planned. The surviving elevation, illustrated in Plate XXIX, is signed by T. Cunningham: otherwise there is no record of either architect or surveyor connected with the plans. The fact that Gardiner retained the right to raise the height of the principal segment of the Circus even when the Articles of Agreement were signed suggests that his was the guiding hand even if he did not actually draw the elevations and plans.

The Fitzwilliam Estate

Although the general trend of urbanisation on the Fitzwilliam Estate parallelled the residential development on the Gardiner Estate in many respects, plans were less imaginative. In fact, the first plans drawn for Fitzwilliam Square, Vaux Street and Warrington Street which were submitted to the Wide Streets Commissioners were returned unapproved on 16 September 1791.[117] The Commissioners' Minutes do not record the reason for the rejection: the plan drawn by Pat and John Roe, reproduced in Plate XXX suggests a possible explanation. This is a plan drawn in 1789: the street-pattern is similar to that on three other surveys of the same area which are now in the Pembroke Estate Office.[118] There is no indication which, if any, of these was submitted to the Commissioners. The rejected plan included Vaux Street: according to the plans by the Roe brothers, Vaux Street led due south-east from centre of the south-eastern side of Fitzwilliam Square and then south to Warrington Place: the southern section can be seen on Plate XXX while the northern had already been closed and building ground leased on its site. It is possible that Vaux Street was the reason for rejecting the plan: as originally intended it would have deprived Fitzwilliam Square of its character by breaking the line of buildings on one side and opening it more freely to traffic.

The principal morphogenetic elements on the Fitzwilliam Estate were the old routes leading to Baggotrath and Donnybrook and the eastern section of the Grand Canal. The terrain was low-lying, almost level, and relatively monotonous. The streets which surrounded Merrion Square had been laid out in the preceding growth-phase and Fitzwilliam Street extended southwards to the intersection of the

Circular Road and the road to Donnybrook (now Leeson Street). In 1791 plans for the improvement of Baggot Street and its extension towards Ballsbridge were considered by the Commissioners and final approval was granted on 27 April 1791.[119] The western end of Baggot Street was widened gradually until it was one hundred feet wide at the junction with Fitzwilliam Street and from this point it continued eastwards, one hundred feet wide to the canal bridge. The line of Fitzwilliam Street from Merrion Square East to Leeson Street was approved ninety feet wide. On 21 October 1791 a general map of the Fitzwilliam Estate showing the area lying between St. Stephen's Green, Merrion Square and Fitzwilliam Street was approved. On 13 April 1792 Pembroke Street was approved, its width being reduced later from seventy-five to seventy feet.[120]

Lessees of Fitzwilliam Square were bound

> to build on the entire front ... good and substantial dwelling houses of the best materials, well roofed and covered with slates, not less than three and a half storeys above the cellars at least and shall make an area of eight feet wide .... and lay flags before the house for a foot passage in the like manner that the same is done in Merrion Street. [121]

Developers were also bound to pave the street in front of their houses and to contribute to the upkeep of the central square. No elevations drawn for Fitzwilliam Square or for the adjacent streets have survived. There is no evidence to suggest that unified monumental frontages such as those designed for the Gardiner estate were ever considered. The plans may have been less imaginative than Gardiner's but they were also more practical. The Fitzwilliam estate continued to attract the gentry and in the nineteenth century it did not suffer a great change of character.

Although no new concepts were introduced in these plans, they cannot be considered entirely unimaginative. Open spaces were provided in accordance with approved standards of the times. Antrim House closed the vista at the end of one long street, Fitzwilliam Street, while a view of the distant mountains added interest to the vista at the southern end which terminated at the intersection of the Circular Road and Leeson Street. Curvature of Pembroke Street

introduced an element of variety into a street which otherwise lacked distinction. Baggot Street was, in its revised form, well planned although the buildings on either side did not in any way match the grandeur of concept of the street plan.

In 1791 enclosure of the central space in Merrion Square was authorised by Act of Parliament and on 28 May 1792 the Wide Streets Commissioners considered the plan for enclosure and related improvements.[122] Significantly this Act had been obtained by the residents on the Square: no plans for extra adornment of projects on the Fitzwilliam Estate appear to have been formulated by the estate agent and the central space in Merrion Square had been left open and unimproved since the streets were laid out. In fact it was even necessary for the improvers, residents of the Square, to purchase the title and interest of tenants and undertenants of the central space which was held since the early decades of the eighteenth century by several persons who had either leases or derivative interests. Special Commissioners were nominated in the statute, any five of whom might contract for improving, ornamenting and enclosing of the square. Householders were charged at a rate not exceeding three shillings per foot or part of a foot frontage, as specified in an annexed schedule: the use of these funds was authorised for railing and improving the central square and other incidental expenses of upkeep and for paying the ground rent of the square.[123]

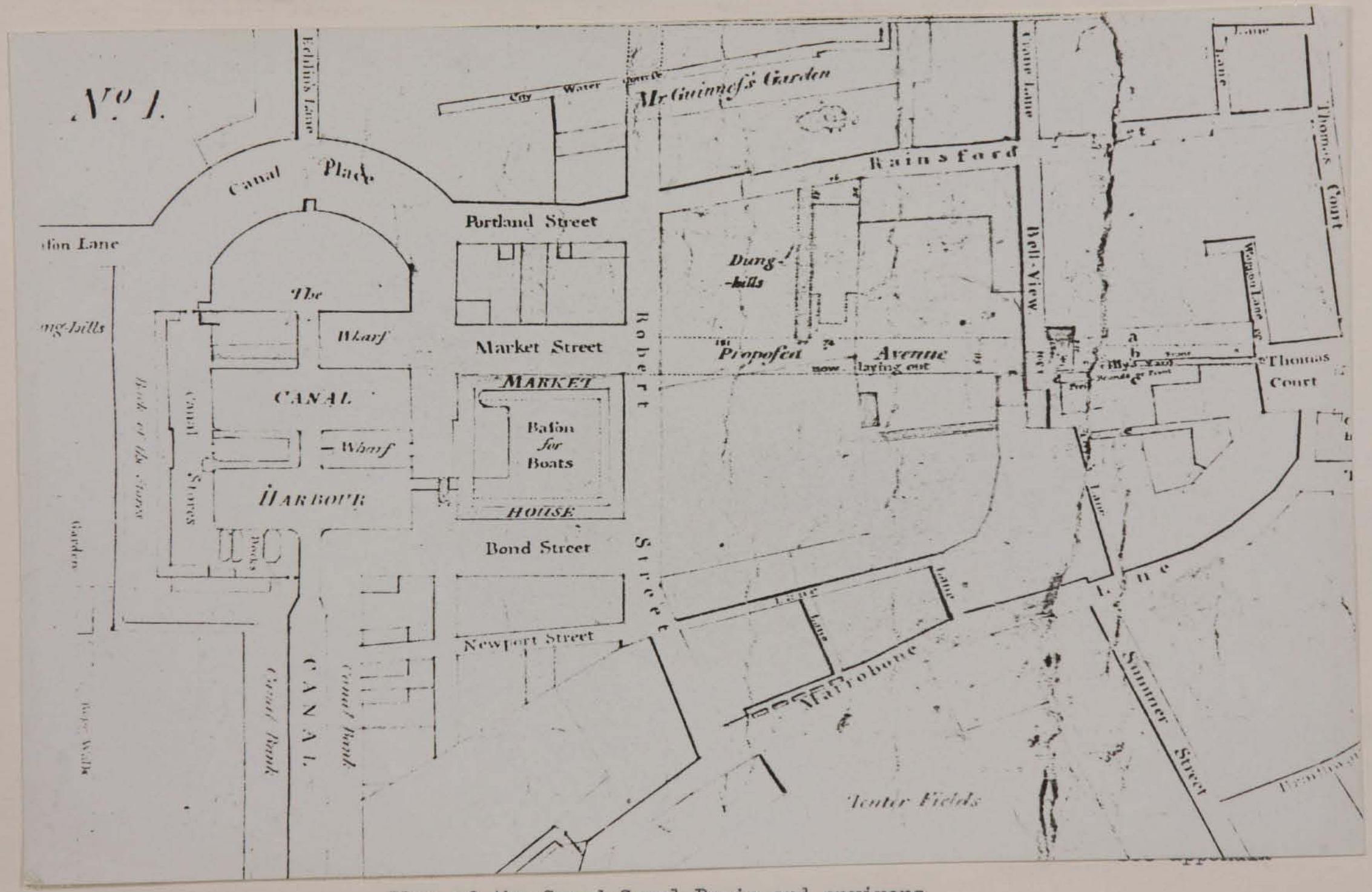
Other Estates

Speculators were at work on land south of the Fitzwilliam estate: in fact both Hatch Street and Harcourt Street were already laid out when the developers sought approval from the Wide Streets Commissioners: approval of these street plans was granted on 2 December 1791 and no changes were imposed.[124] On 13 July 1792 several new streets were approved, east of Hatch Street, between Leeson Street and Donnybrook Road, Charlemont Street, and part of the road leading to Milltown.[125]

The Canals

Canals constructed during the 1790s almost encircled the city. The new extensions of the Grand Canal curved south-eastwards from the

PLATE XXXI



Plan of the Grand Canal Basin and environs

City Bason in an elliptical channel, south of and almost parallel to the Circular Road. Three harbours were built on this canal: one each at St. James's Street, at Portobello and at Ringsend. Undeveloped land which extended east from the City Bason to Roberts's Street provided a suitable and convenient site for the first canal harbour in Dublin; (Plate XXXI) it was near the principal and most densely occupied industrial and commercial area, and site development included the construction of extensive wharfs and a large market house.[126] New streets were opened northwards towards James's Street and eastwards to Crilly's Yard to provide direct access to industrial areas. This in turn prompted redevelopment, for heavy traffic from the canal harbour was channelled through Crilly's Yard, a short street which was only thirteen feet wide, and was a serious traffic obstruction on the most direct route from the Grand Canal Harbour to Meath Street. This improvement was undertaken by the Wide Streets Commissioners.

The new thoroughfare leading to Crilly's Yard was fifty feet wide. Reconstruction of housing in Crilly's Yard in 1798 provided an opportunity for widening the street to twenty-five feet next to Thomas Court and to thirty-seven feet near the new street: the graded width of the improved street was designed principally to align the end of the street as nearly as possible with the new avenue leading from the canal harbour.[127] Construction of the harbour at Portobello was designed principally to facilitate passenger traffic: this harbour prompted adjacent residential development and influenced the alignment of new streets on the Synge estate.[128]

At Ringsend extensive docks and wharfs were constructed according to an approved plan of development. The Grand Canal Quay, the principal quay, was planned eighty feet wide, Hanover Quay seventy feet wide, and Charlotte Quay was fifty feet wide in the east-west section and sixty feet in the section aligned north-south leading from the Docks to Brunswick Street.[129] New streets near the Grand Canal Docks were aligned with the existing thoroughfares, with Townshend Street (Lazer's Hill) and with the Artichoke Road or old coast road which was renamed Grand Canal Street. The siting of bridges was also determined by existing thoroughfares, namely, the Artichoke Road, the road to Donnybrook, the road to Milltown and the road to Harold's Cross.

New streets adjoining the canal were opened by the Wide Streets Commissioners so that they might control the character of building. One-storey buildings required by the Grand Canal Company to control traffic were the only buildings permitted by the Commissioners on the canal bank.[130] Space for new roads parallel to the canal was provided by the plan which allowed no construction of houses within 102 feet of the south bank and fifty-five feet of the north bank of the canal: the latter distance was determined by the site of some buildings which had been constructed by one Mr. Dwyer before these regulations were laid down by the Commissioners.[131] The Commissioners intended that houses facing the waterfront should be built near both the north and south banks of the canal: unfortunately only part of this plan was actually implemented.

The extension of the Grand Canal also stimulated residential development in the southern and south-eastern sectors of the city. In 1793 a new street leading to Harold's Cross, extending from the Circular Road to the canal bank was approved by the Commissioners, its width to be eighty feet at the Circular Road and widening gradually to 104 feet. The interior bank of the canal was fifty-five feet and a number of cross-streets forty-five feet wide were also approved: these were not built until the nineteenth century and were then lined with small two-storeyed red brick houses.[132]

North of the city the new extension of the Royal Canal followed an elliptical course from Phibsborough, outside and parallel to the Circular Road, cutting through the North Lotts to join the Liffey east of the new Custom House. Development in the vicinity of this canal was influenced by plans already approved for the environs of the Grand Canal: near the Royal Canal the line of building on the interior bank was fixed at fifty-six feet from the water's edge and 102 feet from the canal bank on the exterior. A further extension of the Royal Canal brought navigable water due south from Phibsborough to the Broadstone where an aqueduct was constructed across the ancient thoroughfare of Glasmanogue and a new harbour was built on the western side of the thoroughfare; agreements made in connection with the extension of the Royal Canal have not survived.[133]

Industries

Most urban development which has already been described was located in the eastern residential areas and in areas which needed to be improved to cater for increasing traffic. Industries developed during this period but they did not, either singly or collectively, stimulate the development of a new suburb. Most industries expanded on sites on which they already existed or else they were small concerns which occupied sub-divided residential building of earlier decades. Soon after the repeal of commercial restrictions there was distress in Ireland which affected the artisans of Dublin in particular. Existing industries increased production in response to the opening of new markets but at the same time imports increased and local manufacturers began to stock-pile and then to lay off workers. By 1780, however, the country at large seems to have begun to prosper and Dublin manufacturers shared this prosperity in most branches except textiles which recovered more slowly. Interest rates were lowered from 6% to 5% and credit recovered almost at once. Absentees began to return to the capital and this had a very beneficial influence on the economy of the city.[134]

The linen industry had declined during the American war: after the removal of trade restrictions this branch of the textile industry seems to have recovered fairly rapidly and exports had doubled within ten years. As in earlier decades, this industry continued to be based in the north of Ireland but trade passed through Dublin where some of the finishing processes were also carried out.[135] The woollen industry seemed to recover rapidly after the removal of trade restrictions but manufacturers overreached themselves and during the early 1780s a reaction set in; the industry was fairly prosperous from 1786 to 1792 when a decline began again and from 1798 the decline was general. On the whole, after the first impetus given by the removal of trade restrictions the Irish foreign trade in woollen goods did not progress to the same extent as foreign trade in other articles and even the more prosperous years were not as favourable as the last decade of the seventeenth century had been. In 1789 there were about 2,000 looms employed in Dublin and its vicinity: by 1793 there were no more than 500. Ireland's position was less

advantageous than it had been before the trade restrictions had been imposed; the industry now required new skills and larger capital investment and Ireland was deficient in both of these things.[136]

Next to the glass industry the Irish cotton industry seems to have made most progress after the repeal of the commercial restrictions and the printing of cotton was brought to a high standard. A number of bleach-greens were established in the vicinity of Dublin: most of these were near the Dodder and its branches in the vicinity of Ballsbridge and Beggars Bush. Dublin ropemakers were able to supply cordage for ships much cheaper than English manufacturers and the industry accordingly responded to conditions of free trade. Only some branches of the silk industry recovered and these were all small concerns, manufacturing small articles which were scarcely influenced by changing fashions, principally handkerchiefs, modes, peelings and ribbons: they were scattered through the city in subdivided houses; there is no indication that the local specialisation which had developed early in the century had persisted in any great measure. Almost half of the employees of the various branches of the silk industry were unemployed in 1784: 5,366 persons in a total of 11,270.[137]

The glass industry probably made more progress than any other industry at this time. Before 1782 Ireland had imported all her flint-glass from England: as the industry grew the greater part of the home market was supplied and some glass was even exported to England and to America.[138] Coach-making also developed and diversified. The great building schemes undertaken during this period naturally fostered the building industry and all its allied trades. Stone-cutters found increasing opportunities for employment in the construction of new buildings; associated trades such as carpentry, bricklaying and other ancillary trades of the building industry benefited also. Furniture-making, upholstering and all trades associated with the furnishing of new houses prospered.[139]

The development of the brewing industry was the most lasting industrial enterprise of the latter part of the eighteenth century. Enlargement of breweries did not depend on new technology nor did it

necessarily increase the work force. Large-scale production was possible even with machinery which was operated by hand. During the latter decades of the century capital investment in the brewing industry increased and smaller breweries were gradually closed or amalgamated. Small distilleries also disappeared while sugar-refining prospered.[140]

Population

Although the most detailed population statistics of the eighteenth century relate to this period, specifically to the year 1798,[141] there is not sufficient evidence of changes which occurred during the preceding decades to permit a satisfactory analysis of trends. It is certain that the population continued to increase, both through natural growth and through migration. Returned absentees were relatively few compared to the total population but their coming resulted in increased local trade and in the growth of certain industries, and this induced migration from the country. No new groups of immigrants, either national or religious, have been identified in this phase.

During the eighteenth century the proportion of catholics in Dublin had gradually increased and by the end of the century they were the majority of the population. They were still excluded from public life but most other restrictions had been removed. Much of the wealth of the city was in the hands of catholics and it was this fact, combined with increasing toleration which prompted the relief granted to them during the 1770s. Catholics were engaged in all branches of trade and commerce and after 1778 they also engaged in speculative building.[142] Protestant dissenters were also excluded from public life and were actively engaged in commerce. Some descendants of immigrants of earlier times were prominent in public life, particularly the Huguenots whose religious allegiance enabled them to participate freely in all aspects of civic and political life. Although many industries prospered and trade grew a great proportion of the population still lived in abject poverty in those parts of the city which remained untouched by improvements of the later decades of the century. The census made by Whitelaw in 1798 permits an analysis

of population patterns in the city and these are considered later.

Conclusion

The last quarter of the eighteenth century was a very significant phase of urban morphogenesis in which the city gradually assumed a new character and its orientation changed. Structural changes were made in the town-plan through schemes of redevelopment and a new core was formed of streets which are still the principal thoroughfares of the city. The Custom House was removed to its present location and the modern port was created. A measure of centralised control was established through new powers conferred on the Wide Streets Commissioners who were enabled to rationalise the town-plan and to correlate new projects: this was an important step in the emergence of a public morphogenetic system which could effectively control the development of the city.

Despite their overwhelming significance the closing decades of the eighteenth century compare unfavourably in some ways with earlier times. Despite the resurgence which followed free trade industry did not recover the status it had attained in the late-seventeenth century and the city did not have a broadly based economy. While religious animosities had receded class distinctions had hardened during the eighteenth century and they were reflected in the form of urban growth for the upper classes congregated in the exclusive new suburbs leaving the older areas to industrialists, merchants and the working classes. Energies were bent on creating a monumental city core; public money was poured into the construction of magnificent public buildings and private wealth was used to create an aesthetically satisfying environment for the gentry. Meanwhile the contrast between the lot of the Ascendancy and that of the populace was heightened for large areas of the city were as yet untouched by improvement.

References and Footnotes

1. 21st and 22nd Geo. III, chap.xvii; 32nd Geo.III, chap.xxx, section xxxv.

2. 17th and 18th Geo. III, chap. xlix.

3. Anc. Rec., XIV, 156-158; Minutes, C.W.S., IX, 274-77:

4. 23rd and 24th Geo. III, chap. xxxviii.

5. 11th Geo. III, chap. vi; 11th and 12th Geo. III, chap.xxxviii; 23rd and 24th Geo. III, chap. xxxi.

6. 30th Geo. III, chap. xx.

7. 31st Geo. III, chap. xLv.

8. Minutes, C.W.S., II, 94: 16 June 1772; 11, 95: 18 July 1777.

9. Minutes, C.W.S., passim.; list of Commissioners as on 13 March 1789 on flyleaf, Book IX.

10. Minutes, C.W.S., XXVI, 6 April 1814.

11. Minutes, C.W.S., passim.; 'Elevation of the West front and plan of the Square laid out on the rising Ground near George's Church, the Estate of the Right Honourable Luke Gardiner ...', surveyed by Thomas Sherrard, 1787, Dublin Corporation Maps, P.R.O.I. Plan of the Royal Circus with alterations by Thomas Sherrard, Iveagh Maps, M 2574, P.R.O.I. The signifance of Sherrard's work as surveyor is noticed in J.H.Andrews, 'The French school of Dublin land surveyors', Irish Geography, V, No. 4 (1967), 287-88.

12. P.R.O.I., Dublin Corporation Maps, 'A Plan of Cavendish Street and the corner of Great Britain Street, surveyed and laid out in lotts by Thomas Sherrard, 1787': also elevations of the fronts of Cavendish Street and Great Britain Street.

13. Minutes, C.W.S., VI, 226.

14. Minutes, C.W.S., X, 316: 13 April 1792.

15. Minutes, C.W.S., XIV, XIX, XXI.

16. Minutes, C.W.S., II, 99: 11 Feb. 1778.

17. 21st and 22nd Geo. III, chap. xvii.

18. 23rd and 24th Geo. III, chap. xxxi.

19. 30th Geo. III, chap. xix.

20. 32nd Geo. III, chap. xxx.

21. 30th Geo. III, chap. xix, sections xx and xxiii.

22. 21st and 22nd Geo. III, chap. xvii.

23. 30th Geo. III, chap. xix.

24. 39th Geo. III, chap. liii.

25. 23rd and 24th Geo. III, chap. xxxi; 40th Geo. III, chap.Lxi, sections v and vi.

26. V.T.H. and D.R. Delany, The Canals of the South of Ireland (Devon, 1966), 29-31; 77-79

27. Minutes, C.W.S., X, 308-9; 2 April 1792; X, 322: 20 April 1792; XI, 100: 31 Aug. 1792; XI, 185-88: 1 Feb. 1793; XI, 279: 10 May 1793.

28. William Chapman, Observations on the advantages of bringing the Grand Canal round by the Circular Road into the River Liffey: addressed to the Rt.Hon. and Hon! the Commissioners appointed by Parliament for making wide and convenient the streets in Dublin. (Dublin, 1785) 1-29.

29. N.L.I. Gardiner Deeds, Articles of Agreement for sale of part of the South Lotts between Lord Mountjoy of the first part; John Bowes Benson and Richard Benson Esqrs. of the second part and the Company of Undertakers of the Grand Canal, 23rd Dec.1790.

30. 29th Geo. III, chap. xxxiii; Delany, Canals of the South of Ireland, 79-80.

31. Minutes, C.W.S. IV, 52: 23 March 1792. The date of the survey which Sherrard was ordered to copy is not recorded.

32. N.L.I. Gardiner Deeds. Luke Gardiner to Richard Moland, lease of lives renewable forever of part of the Lordship of St.Mary's Abbey from Sept. 1774 in which is recited 'an agreement in writing' 11th July 1770 by which Moland agreed to surrender part of the premises demised by Charles Gardiner to Moland and 14th Geo. III, 'An Act to enable Luke Gardiner ... to make leases for long terms of parts of his estate ...', which also enacted that the agreement of 11 July 1770 should be binding. Lease from Luke Lord Baron Mountjoy to Robert Burton of ground in Rutland Street, recites surrender of lease to Gardiner 4 April 1791: by the lease of 6 April 1791 part of the original premises was leased to Burton. Similar lease dated 20 May 1791 from Luke, Lord Baron Mountjoy to John Cash of two lotts of ground in Rutland Street and two lotts of ground in Belle Street, contains recital as in lease to Burton. Deed of assignment and surrender of four acres of land between Great Britain Street and Mecklenburgh Street by which John Cullen for 10/- paid by Mountjoy and in consideration of 3 leases to be made by Mountjoy in compensation, yields a piece of ground in St.Martin's Lane, now Mecklenburgh Street...; Other deeds in the same collection record similar transactions.

33. Minutes, C.W.S., X, 65-66: 25 March 1791; X, 244: 2 Dec. 1791.

34. N.L.I. Gardiner Deeds. The clauses by which obnoxious trades were excluded are found in deeds of building sites on Gardiner Street, Gardiner Place, Florinda Place, Margaret Place, Synott Place, Great Charles Street, Drumcondra Road and the site of Sherrard Street.

35. N.L.I. Gardiner Deeds. Rt.Hon.Luke, Viscount Mountjoy to William Speer, Esq. lease of lots of ground on the east side of Mountjoy Square; leases to Alderman Samuel Reed, to David Peter; to John Lyons, merchant tailor; to James Lecky of lots of ground in the Royal Circus.

36. Part of Gardiner Street was to be built within 8 years, and part adjacent to Drumcondra Road within 14 years. The time limit in Gloucester Street, Rutland Street and Belle Street was extended to 20 years. (Gardiner Deeds, N.L.I.)

37. N.L.I. Gardiner Deeds, indentures of leases granted by Warren.

38. N.L.I. Gardiner Deeds, Articles of Agreement between the Rt.Hon.Luke, Lord Baron Mountjoy, James Lecky, David Peter, John Lyons, Samuel Reed, John Darley and Nicholas Le Favre relative to the Royal Circus, 16 July 1792.

39. Minutes, C.W.S., X, 200: 16 Sept. 1791, plan returned to Verschoyle unapproved; X, 213: 21 Oct. 1791, plan approved.

40. P.E.O. 'Letterbook, Fitzwilliam Estates: 1796-1820', p.2.

41. P.E.O. Map No. 23, Pat and John Roe, 'A Map of that part of the Estate of the Rt.Hon.Richard, Lord Viscount Fitzwilliam, within the Circular Road, 1789'; maps nos. 23 and 24, are later copies of this map.

42. P.E.O. Letterbook, 1796-1820, p.23, letter to Mr.Brown dated 28 Feb. 1797.

43. Letterbook, 1796-1820, passim.

44. P.E.O. Indenture of Lease: Right Hon.Richard, Lord Viscount Fitzwilliam to Mr. Joseph Courtney: Lease of 200 feet of ground in Fitzwilliam Square for 150 years from 29 Sept. 1791 at yearly rent of £105. This indenture is printed on parchment: its format suggests that the terms were standard conditions on the Fitzwilliam estate at that time.

45. 17 and 18 Geo. III, chap. xlvi, and 21 and 22 Geo. III, chap.xii authorised the Archbishop of Dublin to make leases for any term not exceeding 40 years of part of the farm of St. Sepulchre's then in occupation of the Right Hon. John Scott. N.L.I. Longfield Maps, City of Dublin, 21 F 88 (113), Map of Harcourt Street with proposed widening house plots and details of leases (undated) 21 F 88 (114), 'Survey of part of the Farm of St.Sepulchre ...' by Brownrigg. 1782.

46. On Gandon's life and work see The Life of James Gandon ... from

Ctd.

46. materials collected by his son.

47. Unless otherwise stated the following paragraph is based on Curran Dublin Decorative Plasterwork.

48. M. Wall, 'The Catholic Merchants, manufacturers and traders of Dublin, 1778-1782', Reportorium Novum, II, No. 2 (1960), 298-323. Some indentures of leases granted to Edward Byrne are among the Gardiner Deeds, N.L.I.

49. The following paragraph is based on E. McParland, 'Francis Johnston, architect, 1760-1829', Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society, XII, nos. 3 and 4 (1969).

50. Minutes, C.W.S. II, 92-4: 16 June 1772, Memorial to be presented to the Lord Lieutenant states that 'Dame Street which is the only passage from ... the Castle to the Parliament House is a most narrow and inconvenient street ...'. Activities of the Commissioners ceased from 1772 to 1777 and a similar memorial was presented to the Lord Lieutenant in July 1777, Minutes, C.W.S. II, 95.

51. Minutes, C.W.S. I, 109: 28 July 1761. Purfield was not required at this time to plan an improved approach to the House of Parliament, but to open a new street from the bottom of the Lower Castle Yard towards College Green. Two unsigned plans based on this idea are among the Dublin Corporation Maps, P.R.O.I. Commons' jn. Ire., VIII, 567, 2 June 1772, plan submitted by David Latouche and Col. Burton for widening Dame Street, Palace Street and Church Lane and opening a new street from the lower Castle Yard to the Round Church. Jury Valuation map of Dame Street and environs, surveyed in 1778 by Patt Roe; Jury Valuation map with a new street plan superimposed, surveyed in 1778 by Patt Roe; Dublin Corporation Maps, P.R.O.I. The idea of opening a new entrance to the lower Castle Yard originated with the Commissioners in 1761.

52. Minutes, C.W.S., VI, 84: 28 Feb. 1785.

53. The following three paragraphs are based on the Minutes, C.W.S. 1782-1785.

54. Minutes, C.W.S., IV, 65: 17 May 1782.

55. Minutes, C.W.S., V, 193: 16 July 1784.

56. Minutes, C.W.S., VI, 88; 11 plans and surveys of Dame Street made in the 1780s are among Dublin Corporation maps, P.R.O.I. Some are unsigned; one dated 1786 is by Thomas Sherrard and it was Sherrard who fixed the lines and levels of executed plans.

57. Minutes, C.W.S. VI, 88.

58. Minutes, C.W.S. VI, 84.

59. Minutes, C.W.S. VIII: 3 March 1788.

60. Minutes, C.W.S. IV, 192: 14 Oct. 1782, Samuel Sproule agreed to supervise demolition and the erection of new houses. Minutes,V, 74: 26 Sept. 1783, Sproule reported conspicuous irregularity in new houses and alterations were ordered by the Commissioners. On 18 March 1785 one Tarrant was appointed superintendent of buildings by the Commissioners, Minutes, C.W.S. VI, 98.

61. Minutes, C.W.S. VI: 5 March 1787.

62. Minutes, C.W.S. IX, 4: 20 March 1789.

63. Minutes, C.W.S. IX, 7: 27 March 1789; IX, 22: 13 April 1789; IX, 148-51: 29 Jan. 1790.

64. Minutes, C.W.S. XIV, 4 May 1798; XV, 17 Aug. 1798.

65. Minutes, C.W.S. II, 101: 27 April 1778; IV and V, passim.

66. Minutes, C.W.S. VI, 21 Jan. 1785; VI, 4 March 1785.

67. Minutes, C.W.S. VII, 7 July, 9 Sept., 15 Sept., 20 Nov. and 27 Nov. 1786.

68. Minutes, C.W.S. VI, 228: 20 Dec. 1785.

69. Minutes, C.W.S. IX, 185: 5 April 1790. and IX passim.

70. Minutes, C.W.S. XI, 184-5: 1 Feb. 1793, reasons for adopting a new plan for Westmoreland Street. Further plans and discussions in XI - XIV, passim. 6 plans of the site of Westmoreland Street are among Dublin Corporation maps, P.R.O.I., including the extension due south of Sackville Street and the final plan which is reproduced in Plate XXIV. A copy in S.P.O. (Carton 56, no.2) is entitled 'Map of the proposed avenues from the Houses of Parliament to Carlisle Bridge' by Thomas Sherrard, 1795'. The copy in P.R.O.I. has been damaged and has neither title, date nor signature.

71. Minutes, C.W.S. XV, 25 May 1799.

72. Ibid.; elevations of the proposed 'piazza' by Henry A. Baker, Dublin Corporation Maps, P.R.O.I.

73. Minutes, C.W.S. XV, 261-64: 4 July 1799 - 6 July 1799.

74. New elevations for Westmoreland Street approved and signed 1st August 1799, Minutes, C.W.S. XV; further elevations prepared after objections made during the month of August, approved 30 Jan. 1800, Minutes, C.W.S. XVI; elevations for Westmoreland Street. signed Henry A. Baker, Dublin Corporation maps, P.R.O.I.

75. This paragraph is based on Minutes, C.W.S. VI - X, passim.

76. Minutes, C.W.S. V, 142: 25 June 1784; V, 190 -222: 16 July 1784.

77. Minutes, C.W.S., IX, 52: 3 June, 1789, improvements were suggested by proprietors.

78. Minutes, C.W.S., IX, 202.

79. Minutes, C.W.S., X, 16.

80. Minutes, C.W.S., X, 17-18.

81. Minutes, C.W.S., X, 283.

82. Minutes, C.W.S., IX, 235-36.

83. Minutes, C.W.S., X, 7, 10.

84. Minutes, C.W.S., XI, 122-25.

85. Minutes, C.W.S., XI, 7.

86. Minutes, C.W.S., XI, 151, 154-55; XV, 264: 6 July 1799

87. Minutes, C.W.S. XIV, 154; 11 August 1797.

88. Minutes, C.W.S., XV.

89. Minutes, C.W.S., XIV.

90. Minutes, C.W.S., XV.

91. Minutes, C.W.S., IX, 174: 9 March 1790.

92. Minutes, C.W.S., IX, 327: 26 Nov. 1790.

93. Minutes, C.W.S., IX, June - Sept. 1790; X, 225: 11 Nov. 1791.

94. Memorial of Gustavus Hume Esq. in Minutes, C.W.S., IX, 257: 30 July 1790.

95. Minutes, C.W.S., XV, 254-57: 28 June 1799.

96. Minutes, C.W.S., XI, 73-74: 20 July 1792.

97. Minutes, C.W.S., XI, 103; XIII, 70-71.

98. Minutes, C.W.S., IV, 54: 18 April 1782; XV, 20 Dec. 1798; XV, 9 May 1799.

99. Minutes, C.W.S., VI.

100. Minutes, C.W.S., IV, 14 Oct. 1782.

101. Minutes, C.W.S., VI, IX, passim.

102. Minutes, C.W.S., XII, 119.

103. Minutes, C.W.S., IX, 5: 20 March 1789. Various surveys among Dublin Corporation Maps, P.R.O.I.

104. Minutes, C.W.S., XI, 185: 1 Feb. 1793; XIV, 182-4, 28 Sept. 1797.

105. Minutes, C.W.S., VI, 237-38. 3 Feb. 1786.

106. Minutes, C.W.S., VI, 83: 25 Feb. 1785; IX, 29: 24 April 1789.

107. Minutes, C.W.S., VII, 45: 18 August 1786; VII, 77: 8 Sept. 1786.

108. Minutes, C.W.S., IX, 179-80: 24 March 1790.

109. John Summerson, Heavenly Mansions: and other essays on architecture (London, 1949), 88-107.

110. Minutes, C.W.S., XI, 70: 13 July 1792; Thomas Sherrard surveyed and laid out Mountjoy Square in 1787 before the Commissioners were authorised to control private development by 30th Geo. III, chap. xix (1790); dated copies of Sherrard's survey in Dublin Corporation maps, P.R.O.I. and N.L.I. 16 G 14 (1).
See Plates XXVI and XXVII.

111. N.L.I. Gardiner Deeds, Indenture between Alderman Samuel Reed and Rt. Hon. Charles John, Viscount Mountjoy, surrender of premises in the Royal Circus, Eccles Street and Elizabeth Street.

112. Copy of printed plan and elevation of the west front of Mountjoy Square 1787 in Dublin Corporation Maps, P.R.O.I.; N.L.I. 16 G 14 (1).

113. N.L.I. Gardiner Deeds, Indenture of Lease from Rt. Hon. Luke, Viscount Mountjoy to William Speer, Esq., 2 building lots on east side Mountjoy Square for lives renewable forever, £212-10-0 p.a. rent.

114. P.R.O.I. M 2574/12 Iveagh Map collection includes an undated, unsigned plan of the Royal Circus with dimensions of streets and building lots, reproduced in Plate XXVIII.

115. Articles of Agreement, Gardiner Deeds, N.L.I. The following paragraph is based on the same document.

116. N.L.I., Gardiner Deeds.

117. Minutes, C.W.S., X, 200.

118. P.R.O.I. Maps nos. 23, 24, 25.

119. Minutes, C.W.S., X, 72.

120. Minutes, C.W.S., X, 213; X, 318.

121. P.R.O.I. Indenture of lease to Joseph Courtney of ground in Fitzwilliam Square, 1791.

122. 31 Geo. III, chap. xlv; Minutes, C.W.S., XI, 23.

123. 31 Geo. III, chap. xlv.

124. Minutes, C.W.S., X, 242.

125. Minutes, C.W.S., XI, 70.

126. Undated plan of the Grand Canal Harbour and adjacent streets, Dublin Corporation Maps, P.R.O.I. Indenture of lease from company of Undertakers of the Grand Canal to Sir James Bond, Bart., of certain premises at the Canal Harbour for 990 years at annual rent of £100, 12 Nov. 1802. C.I.E. Muniments, Kingsbridge, Dublin, Box No. I, No. 1. (Contains description of warehouses, wharfs, and drawbridge).

127. Minutes, C.W.S., XIV, 308: 12 April 1798; XIV, 322-25: 27 April 1798; XV, 42: 1 Nov. 1798.

128. C.I.E. Muniments, Kingsbridge, Dublin. Indenture of lease from the Undertakers of the Grand Canal to George Whitley, Hotel Keeper, of the Hotel at Portobello. (Schedule attached); Minutes, C.W.S., VIII, IX.

129. Untitled, undated plan of the Grand Canal Docks, Dublin Corporation Maps, P.R.O.I. Articles of Agreement re sale of land, Gardiner Deeds, N.L.I. Grand Canal Deeds No. 1, Conveyance from Lord Mountjoy to the company of Undertakers of the Grand Canal with Map attached: Survey of Docks and South Lotts, County of City of Dublin, C.I.E. Muniments, Kingsbridge, Dublin.

130. Minutes, C.W.S., XIII, 8 Jan. 1796, elevations of lock houses approved by the Commissioners.

131. Minutes, C.W.S., XI, 185-88: 1 Feb. 1793.

132. Minutes, C.W.S., XI, 293-94: 31 May 1793.

133. Conveyances of land acquired for part of the site of the canal are the only remaining records in C.I.E. muniments; two unfinished, undated plans of the harbour at Broadstone are among Dublin Corporation maps, P.R.O.I.

134. Report on Manufactures, 1784; Murray, Commercial Relations between England and Ireland, 264-65, citing evidence of the Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer and table of manufactured goods, dated Nov. 1790, P.R.O.I. This document appears to have been destroyed in 1922.

135. Gill, Ir. linen industry, 195-220.

136. Murray, Commercial Relations between England and Ireland, 267-68. Petition to the Irish House of Commons, 1793, Commons' jn. Ire. XV, i, 135, 205.

137. Murray, op.cit., 277 citing correspondence of Temple to Townshend, 3 Feb., 1783, P.R.O.I. (pre-1922); Report on Manufacturers, 1784.

138. Murray, Commercial Relations, 80-81.

139. Dublin Directories, 1780, 1800.

140. Lynch and Vaizey, Guinness's Brewery in the Irish Economy, 3-45; Dublin Directories.

141. Whitelaw, Essay on the Population of Dublin, 1798, includes a summary of the census. The MS census, 2 large volumes, were destroyed in P.R.O.I. in 1922.

142. Wall, 'Catholic Merchants, Manufacturers and traders of Dublin', Reportorium Novum, II (1960), 298-301.

CHAPTER XV

CLASSICAL DUBLIN

In 1800 Dublin was a 'splendid and luxurious capital'[1] which could 'rank with the very finest in Europe for extent, magnificence and commerce'.[2] A great transformation had given the city the distinctive air of an eighteenth century capital and yet much remained to be done. The monumental core was not yet complete: new streets had been opened and elevations approved but many sites remained unbuilt on. Large areas of the city, as yet untouched by the improvers, were a striking contrast to the splendid quarters which had been created during the previous quarter of a century; although plans had been formulated for some of these areas, their implementation had not yet begun. Building on residential streets and squares was almost at a standstill, owing to an economic recession, and the more ostentatious buildings had not yet been executed. After 1800 the city continued to develop but it lost some of its distinctive character. The purpose of this chapter is to depict the city as it was developing at the end of the eighteenth century and to indicate the morphological significance of the year 1800.

The principal documentary evidence for the years about 1800 are the records of the Wide Streets Commissioners and Whitelaw's census which was made in 1798. The records of the Commissioners contain no comprehensive survey of the city made in or about the year 1800 for the map completed by Thomas Sherrard in 1797[3], which was a comprehensive large-scale survey showing all details of the ground-plan, has unfortunately not survived. However, even without this map it is possible to identify the city's structure and to visualise the extensive changes made during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, particularly those of the central area. The census of population made in 1798 complements the evidence of the Commissioners, for Whitelaw has recorded the state of the older parts of the city as well as statistics of population and housing for each parish.[4] Whitelaw's essay was written to draw attention to the condition of the poorer classes and his prose descriptions refer only to the older parts of the city. These were a complete contrast to the new development which lay east of the Castle, for the western half of the city had become more congested and continued to decay. Moreover,

TABLE V

Population: 1798

Parishes and Deaneries	Total Population	Percentage of		
		Upper & Middle Classes	Servants	Lower Classes
St. James	6,104	11	5	84
St. Catherine	20,176	9	5	86
St. Luke	7,241	4	3	93
St. Nicholas Without	12,306	6	2	92
St. Nicholas Within	1,121	28	12	60
St. Audoen	5,191	21	9	70
St. Michael	2,599	9	2	89
St. John	4,142	16	4	80
St. Werburgh	3,629	32	10	58
Christ Church	233	15	3	82
St. Patrick	2,081	6	2	92
St. Bridget	8,009	34	10	56
St. Peter	16,063	34	20	46
St. Anne	7,228	45	27.5	27.5
St. Andrew	7,682	37	11	52
St. Mark	8,692	15	5	80
St. Paul	9,904	19	6	75
St. Michan	18,092	14	6	80
St. Mary	16,654	33	17	50
St. Thomas	8,562	34	20	46
St. George	5,096	36	34	30
TOTAL	170,805	22	10	68

Based on statistics in Whitelaw, Essay on the Population of Dublin, 1798 and in Warburton, Whitelaw and Walshe, History of Dublin, II, Appendix I and II, from the manuscript census made in 1798 by Rev. James Whitelaw.

the character of new development expressed hardening class distinction which were typical of the late eighteenth century. In this chapter Whitelaw's census and its implications are first discussed; the salient characteristics of the older parts of the city are then described, and this is followed by a discussion of the principal sources of employment. The port and estuary are considered next, and the residential suburbs and the new monumental core are finally described. Projects undertaken by the Wide Streets Commissioners during the nineteenth century were almost all planned during the eighteenth century and so these are considered in outline in order to understand the city envisaged by eighteenth century planners.

Population

Whitelaw's census records a total population of 170,805 in the city in 1798. (Table V) The returns record only the population of the area within the Circular Road which still enclosed almost the whole built-up area; although some new suburbs had developed outside it they were neither extensive nor thickly populated; those who lived in public buildings and in institutions were not included. Totals are recorded for each parish and three categories of persons are distinguished, namely, the upper and middle classes, servants, and the lower classes. Although in some ways this classification is not satisfactory it does reveal a very significant demographic structure and anlysis of the returns reveals a pattern of distribution which correlates with some aspects of urban morphology. Whitelaw has not explained the basis of his classification and so the index by which people ranked as middle rather than lower, and upper rather than middle class is a matter for conjecture. Social status in eighteenth century Dublin seems, in fact, to have depended largely on wealth but it seems unlikely that Whitelaw could have used income itself as an index since incomes were not publicly recorded. The classification was probably based either on occupations, or on standards of living reflected in the nature of residences, or in a combination of both. Occupation seems to have been the sole index for the second category which comprised servants who formed one tenth of the population; these seem all to have been domestic servants employed by the upper and middle classes. Although there were some servants in all parishes the proportion was inconsiderable in the

poorer parts of the city while it increased markedly in the residential neighbourhoods of the east; indeed, the proportion of servants in the parishes of St.Anne and of St.George is quite striking.

More than one fifth of the total population ranked as upper and middle classes, comprising the gentry, merchants and employers of various kinds. This category would also have included skilled craftsmen such as stuccodores. As people accumulated wealth during the eighteenth century they had tended to dissociate themselves from active participation in most aspects of industry and commerce. Those of the first category who lived in the poorer parts of the city were probably middle-class industrialists who actively participated in trade or industry. On the other hand, it should not be thought that of those living in the eastern residential districts none were thus actively engaged, for dissociation of residence from place of work had developed and people seem to have travelled from the eastern suburbs to places of business in the centre and in the west. Although the nature of speculation had changed, some of the upper classes had continued to speculate in lands and houses and, according to Whitelaw, owners of poor tenements in the western districts lived themselves in the eastern suburbs. Owners of breweries and master-builders also lived in the eastern suburbs suggesting that wealth was the key to status.

The lower classes, the majority of the population, must have included a wide variety of persons ranging from employees of various kinds and small self-employed manufacturers to the destitute: indeed the range is so wide that it is scarcely possible to suggest a positive index by which people ranked as lower rather than middle class and it is in analysing this category more than any other that one would wish for an explanation of Whitelaw's criteria. Both middle and lower classes must have included employees: those of the lower classes would probably have been engaged in menial occupations those of the middle classes probably engaged in mental rather than manual work but in many cases the distinction would not have been clear Both classes also included employers and here the distinction could have been between the self-employed and others. The occupational distinction is not clear and this again suggests that class-distinctio

PARISHES · 1800

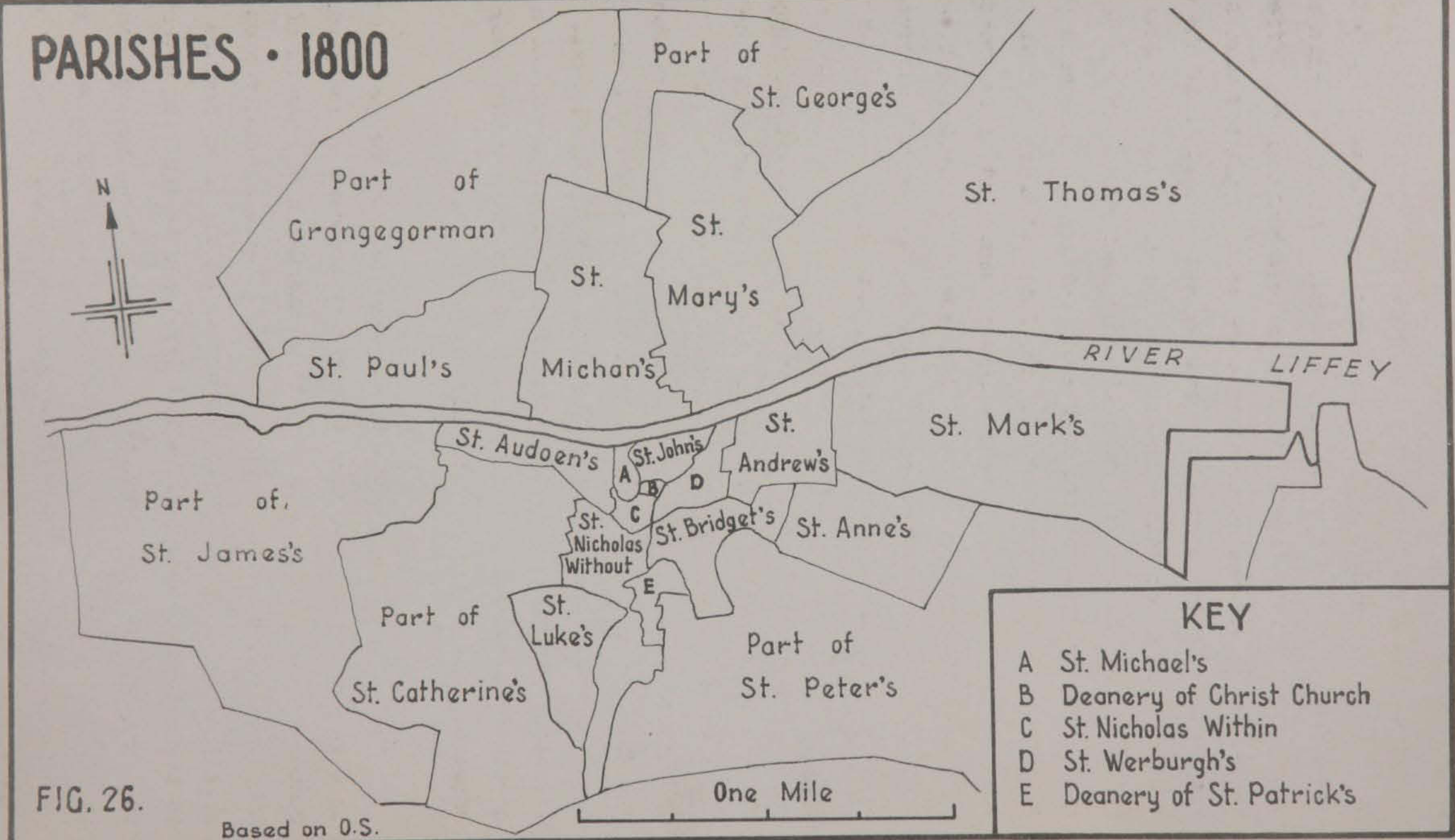


FIG. 26.

Based on O.S.

made by Whitelaw were based on standards of living reflected in the nature of residences.

Analysis of the proportion of each of Whitelaw's categories in the various parishes reveals a striking contrast between the eastern half of the city and the western. About one third of the population of the eastern parishes on both banks of the Liffey ranked as middle and upper classes and each parish had also a high proportion of servants. The highest proportion of the upper classes was in the south-eastern parishes of St.Anne and St.Andrew (Fig.26) and these comprised residential suburbs which had developed since the beginning of the eighteenth century; these were paralleled by the north-eastern parishes of St. Mary, St.Thomas and St. George where the proportion was only slightly less. It is interesting to note that the older parishes of St.Werburgh and St.Bridget, which had many upper-class residents during the seventeenth century, had apparently retained their status, for more than one third of their residents were of the first category. The proportion of servants, however, was less than half that of the eastern suburbs, suggesting that in these parishes, the middle classes were probably more numerous than the upper. In most of the eastern parishes the upper and middle classes together with their servants were more than half the population, rising to a maximum in the parish of St.Anne in the south-east and in the parish of St.George in the north-east. In the older parishes of St.Werburgh and St.Bridget, which had a considerable number of the upper and middle classes but fewer servants, the proportion was only slightly less.

The contrast in the population structure of the western parishes is very striking. Here more than eighty per cent of the population ranked as lower classes, rising to a maximum in the parish of St. Luke while the adjacent parish of St. Nicholas Without had only slightly less. The highest proportion of the lower classes were in the weaving quarters which had developed in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries: in St.Luke's parish the proportion is quite striking. A high proportion of the lower classes was characteristic also of two of the parishes in the old walled city - St. Michael's and St. John's - and of the parish of St. Michan which comprised the old nucleus of settlement on the north bank. In the

eastern parish of St. Mark the proportion of the lower classes was equally high: in fact, the demographic structure of this parish was not all characteristic of the eastern sector of the city for the proportion of the lower classes paralleled that of the south-western parishes. This structure derived in part from the commercial character which was already established before the Restoration and in part from proximity to the port. In the parishes of St.Paul and of St.Audoen the proportion of the lower classes was less than in any of the other western parishes; the proportion of servants was small, suggesting that those of the first category were predominantly middle class. The demographic structure of the parish of St.Paul probably reflects the presence of the market on Smithfield, the principal source of employment in the north-western suburbs, while the population structure of St. Audoen's suggests that the earlier tendency towards creating an upper-class residential suburb on Usher's Quay still influenced the area, although to a relatively slight degree.

In the original census returns Whitelaw recorded the size and nature of dwellings but the published summary does not include such details. Returns of population for each street combined with the number of inhabited and of waste houses permits calculation of the average number of occupants per house. However, in order to be meaningful, these statistics should be related to the size and character of houses for the number of inhabitants per house in many streets in the eastern suburbs was similar to those in the western but the size and character of the houses were very different: whereas in the eastern suburbs many houses seem to have been single-family dwellings, in the western, tenements and one-storey cabins were typical, and average numbers of occupants per house do not reflect this difference. Averages may be meaningful for terraced houses of equal size and similar character, especially in the newer residential streets, although even in these the number of occupants per house could have varied greatly. They are far less meaningful for streets where there were large houses and small, ranging from seventeenth century mansions to one-storey cabins, and this variety was typical of many of the older streets. Averages are probably fairly representative of actual conditions in the eastern parishes but they cannot be thought to indicate meaningful patterns of

distribution in the rest of the city since the size of houses varied so much. Some overcrowded houses which Whitelaw cited as representative of living conditions among the lower classes are discussed below.

Whitelaw also recorded the density of persons per built-up acre in each of the parishes. In calculating the extent of the built-up area he excluded from the total only relatively large open spaces, namely, on the north bank of the Liffey, the site of the Blue Coat School in St. Paul's parish, Rutland Square in St. Mary's parish, and Mountjoy Square in St. George's parish. South of the Liffey he excluded Merrion Square, St.Stephen's Green, the site of Leinster House and Lawn, and the grounds of Trinity College. In the central area the site of the Castle, the Castle gardens and the old Custom House and quay were excluded and in the west, the Tenters' Fields and the Grand Canal Harbour and adjacent stores. All these were fairly extensive open spaces. In St.Audoen's parish three acres of 'waste ground' of unspecified location were also excluded and this seems rather an anomaly for there must have been similar other parishes: otherwise the nature of the excluded spaces suggests a certain consistency in Whitelaw's calculations. Since the sites of streets and alleys, gardens and yards are included as part of the built-up area, densities reflect the physical character and the age of buildings, for streets and gardens varied in size and width in the different phases of development. The greatest density was in the parish of St.Michael where there were more than four hundred persons per acre while the adjacent parishes of St. John and St. Werburgh had only slightly less; although the parish of St. Werburgh had a relatively high proportion of the upper and middle classes, most of it was included, together with the parishes of St. John and St. Michael, in the traditional 'Liberties' which are discussed below. Average densities in the surrounding parishes ranged from two to three hundred persons per acre: these included the parish of St. Bridget which had a high proportion of the upper and middle classes, and the parishes of St.Luke and St. Nicholas Without which had the highest proportions of the lower classes in the city. Outside these densely occupied inner suburbs, numbers of occupants per acre ranged from under one hundred to two hundred: here again there was no correlation between demographic characteristics

and the number of occupants per acre, for numbers were similar in the upper-class parish of St.Anne, in the predominantly commercial parish of St.Paul, and in the parish of St.James which had a high proportion of the lower classes. The pattern of density of occupants per built-up acre reflects the growth-pattern of the city rather than localised demographic characteristics. The densely occupied central core corresponds broadly to the old, walled city and its medieval suburbs, the inner suburbs to seventeenth century development, and the outer suburbs to eighteenth century residential development. Wide streets, stable lanes and long rear gardens were characteristic of the eastern suburbs; relatively wide streets and medium sized back gardens or yards characterised the older, inner suburbs while narrow streets, lanes and small yards or back gardens characterised the central area.

While numbers of occupants per acre correlate with the pattern of urban growth, the demographic structure indicated by Whitelaw's classification reflects the city's morphological structure and its functional structure in so far as functional zones had emerged. The classification suggests that the most significant division was that between the lower and the middle classes. Class distinctions are reflected in the emergence of new, segregated residential suburbs in the eastern parishes which had the highest ratios of the upper and middle classes. The high proportion of the middle classes in the north-western parish of St.Paul reflects the prosperous commercial character of the area. High proportions of the lower classes characterise the parishes in the area traditionally known as the 'Liberties'. Whitelaw's classification suggests, in fact, that there was a Dublin of the rich and a Dublin of the poor and this is reflected in the contrasts between the eastern and the western halves of the city.

The 'Liberties'

'Although the part of the city where the well-to-do people live is perhaps as beautiful as anything similar in Europe' wrote De Latocnaye in 1797, 'nothing anywhere can compare with the dirt and misery of the quarters where the lower classes vegetate. They call these quarters the "Liberties of Dublin" '[5] The term

'Liberties' had a distinct connotation in Dublin which it has retained even to the present time. Derived from medieval franchise, the term had been applied to districts whose residents had certain rights and privileges such as freedom from tolls and taxes. The medieval Liberty of the city of Dublin had become the county of the city by 1600 and it was the adjacent independent Liberties of Thomas Court, of St.Patrick and of St.Sepulchre which were known as the 'Liberties' in the seventeenth century: their significance lay in their independence of municipal jurisdiction. By the end of the seventeenth century the Liberties had become a thriving industrial centre: by 1720 poverty rather than industry characterised the area and during the eighteenth century the term 'Liberties' gradually became synonomous, in local parlance, with the poor, congested, working-class suburbs of the south west. The significance of medieval Liberty boundaries was gradually obscured as districts merged, principally through 'infilling' or building on open spaces, and this brought congestion followed by decay. Such conditions extended through the south-western suburbs, through the central area on the south bank, and even east of the Castle into George's Lane (now South Great George's Street) and adjacent laneways. The district known as the 'Liberties' when De Latocnaye visited the city was therefore not coterminous with any of the medieval Liberties: it comprised most of the city on the south bank west of the Castle and included part of the medieval walled city, the county of the city, and the adjacent independent Liberties of Thomas Court and of St. Sepulchre. The district is still locally known as the 'Liberties'.[6]

The street-plan in the Liberties had scarcely extended since the beginning of the eighteenth century although the population had continually multiplied. Domestic buildings constructed to house the increasing population were mostly small houses and cabins in alleys, lanes and courtyards. The older houses had gradually been sub-divided: some were now derelict; most were densely occupied tenements in various stages of decay. Congestion had been induced by very high rents for Whitelaw's enquiries revealed that

> a single apartment in one of these truly wretched inhabitations rates from one to two shillings per week and to lighten this rent two, three, and even four families become joint tenants. As I was usually out at very early hours on the survey I have frequently surprised ten to sixteen persons of all ages and

> sexes in a room not fifteen feet square, stretched on a wad of filthy straw swarming with vermin, without any covering save the wretched rags that constituted their wearing apparel.

Whitelaw found that landlords of such horrifying premises generally lived in another part of the city, deriving an income from such tenements without ever interfering except to collect the weekly rent. Indeed, the conditions under which rents were usually collected showed no regard for humanity. In a garret of one house,for instance, Whitelaw found the entire family of a shoemaker, seven in all, lying in a fever completely untended. Seeing that this apartment had not ever a door Whitelaw learnt that, when the tenant was unable to pay the week's rent because of his sickness, the landlord had taken it away the previous Saturday in order to force him to abandon the apartment. For want of any alternative but the gutter, the sick and wretched family remained in that house in which Whitelaw enumerated thirty-seven persons: out of the entire house which should have been taken down as a public nuisance the proprietor made a net profit of more than thirty pounds per annum from rents which he exacted regularly every Saturday.

Individual cases such as this give a better idea of the appalling conditions than average densities in the poorer quarters. One might wonder, however, if the cases described by Whitelaw were occasional and particularly bad examples of overcrowding and decay or whether they were really representative? Whitelaw himself claimed that the cases he described were but instances out of a thousand, and it should be remembered that his essay was written after he had made the census and had personally visited the places he described. Moreover, as rector of St. Catherine's church in Thomas Street he had ample opportunity to observe the conditions of the poorer classes. His census was made and his essay written in order to expose the truth and neither exaggeration nor misrepresentation would have served his purpose. The statistics show that most instances of apparent overcrowding were in the western and south-western suburbs where the greatest numbers of occupants per house were generally in alleys of small houses and in courtyards which may have had one or more large houses but which more probably were lined with

small houses or cabins. In Lime Kiln Yard off Thomas Street, for instance, there were ninety-two persons in three houses; in Meeting House Lane nearby, there were 171 persons in eight houses. In eleven houses on the west side of Ardee Street there were 161 persons. In Thomas Court there were 909 persons in fifty-four houses and in Little Thomas Court 187 persons in eleven houses. In Tripilo twenty-two dwellings housed 351 persons and in Pimlico forty-five housed 512. In these old streets houses probably dated from the early eighteenth century or even earlier and the ground plans seen on Rocque's map suggest that most of them were small. Adjacent alleys and lanes seem to have been even more crowded. In Jackson's Alley off Pimlico, for instance, 128 persons lived in eight houses; in Miller's Alley off Thomas Court there were 138 people in seven; and in Scanlon's Alley off Hanbury Lane seventy people lived in three houses. All these streets were in St. Catherine's parish where the Rev. Whitelaw was rector.

Throughout the Meath Liberty and the Liberty of St.Sepulchre Whitelaw frequently found from thirty to fifty individuals in a house. In Braithwaite Street, for instance, in what must have been an early eighteenth century weaver's or merchant's dwelling there were fifty-six inhabitants. The average number of occupants per house in this street was only twelve but the total number was 367, suggesting that some houses must have been much larger than average or else that some houses were grossly overcrowded while others may have had a reasonable number of occupants. In Plunkett Street there were ninety-two inhabited houses: thirty-two contiguous ones contained 917 inhabitants, an average of 28.7 to a house: in fact, the density was so great that a second enumeration was made in order to check its accuracy.

In Schoolhouse Lane off High Street, in July 1798, the entire side of a house four storeys high fell into an adjoining yard where it destroyed a herd of cows. Whitelaw descended the remaining ruin

> through the usual approach of shattered stairs, stench and filth. The floors had all sunk on the side now unsupported, forming so many enclosed planes; and I observed with astonishment that the inhabitants, above thirty in number, who had escaped destruction by the circumstances of the wall falling outwards, had not deserted their apartments. I was informed that it had remained some months in this situation

> and that the humane landlord claimed and actually received for it the usual rent.

The average number of occupants per house in this street was more than thirty but some houses seem to have been more crowded than others: in three houses on the west side of the street, for instance, there were 132 persons and in nine on the east side of it there were 224. There is no record of the number of rooms in the houses.

Sanitary conditions matched the general state of the houses: if anything they must have been more appalling, for according to Whitelaw

> the degree of filth was inconceivable except by such as have visited those scenes of wretchedness. Into the back yard of each house, frequently not ten feet deep, is flung from the windows of each apartment the ordure and filth of its numerous inhabitants from whence it is so seldom removed that I have seen it on a level with the windows of the first floor and the moisture that after heavy rains oozes from this heap, having frequently no sewer to carry it off, runs into the street by the entry leading to the staircase. One instance out of a thousand will be sufficient: in the summer of 1798, near Castle Market, ... I was interrupted in my progress by an inundation of putrid blood alive with maggots which had, from the adjacent slaughter yard, burst the back door and filled the hall to a depth of several inches. By the help of a plank and some stepping stones which I procured for that purpose (for the inhabitants without any concern waded through it) I reached the staircase. It had rained violently and, from the shattered state of the roof, a torrent of water made its way through every floor from the garret to the ground. The sallow looks and the filth of the wretches who crowded around me indicated their situation though they seemed insensible to the stench which I could scarce sustain for a few minutes.

It was in the garret of this house that Whitelaw found the shoemaker's family referred to earlier. The evidence is insufficient to identify its precise location; however, since it was in the vicinity of the Castle Market, it had probably been built about the time the market was established at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Although living conditions in most tenements were horrifying, landlords were not all lacking in decency, for there were some who

> though they pay considerable rents for these tottering mansions themselves, show humanity to their lodgers and take some pains to render them, I cannot say more cleanly, but somewhat less filthy. The number of these, however, are I fear comparatively few and not one of them that I know of has reached that degree

> of cleanliness essential to health and comfort. I found also among poor lodgers many, who having seen better days, were compelled by necessity to hide from the world in these resceptacles of wretchedness. These had not assimilated with the scene; their apartments bespoke a recollection of former decency which even poverty could not obliterate; and from the bitterness of their complaints they seemed unhappily alive to their situation.

Most of the inhabitants seemed apathetic, being somewhat conditioned to the dreadful conditions. That human beings could exist, let alone maintain their self-respect and dignity in an environment such as that described by Whitelaw is difficult to imagine.

Places of work were mingled with crowded residences throughout the 'Liberties'. 'Why brothels, soap manufacturies, slaughter houses, glass houses, lime kilns, distilleries, etc. are suffered to exist in the midst of a crowded population' exclaimed Whitelaw, 'I shall not presume to enquire.' A further source of insalubrity were the numerous herds of cows which were kept in the back yards of houses in the 'Liberties': these were fed only on greens and decayed vegetables, the refuse of the vegetable market. No effort was made to clear the dairy-yards regularly and vast quantities of dung ware allowed to collect. Whitelaw remarked that 'unless they burst their enclosures and flow into the street, which sometimes happens, there is .... no existing law that enables the magistrate to interfere, however great the nuisance'. Commercial activities also evoked Whitelaw's censure, particularly those of Thomas Street where no less than fifty-two out of 190 houses were licensed to sell raw spirits and they remained open all day and all night. There must have been similar premises in other streets and their influence on the population was not uplifting.

The insanitary conditions produced frequent epidemics of fever and, although voluntary hospitals were numerous, they could not cater for the needs of all the poorer people when fever raged and this occurred with increasing frequency towards the end of the century. In 1802 a government grant financed building a new Fever Hospital and House of Recovery on Cork Street: it was opened in 1804.[7] Some hospitals founded during the eighteenth century also received grants from the government. The various institutions relieved distress for those who were admitted: as yet, however, there was no

constructive effort to improve the lot of the populace who remained outside institutions. The lot of the gentry was very different: although some were philanthropists, most were concerned almost solely with luxurious living.

The north and north-west

Whitelaw did not describe any case of extreme penury on the north bank: this does not necessarily suggest that there was no poverty in these districts but it does suggest that conditions were not as bad as those of the south-west. The most congested places seem to have been near Church Street. The general prosperity of the district seems to have derived principally from the markets and associated activities while the linen trade seems to have brought affluence to the neighbourhood of the Linen Hall. Bowden remarked that 'Dublin can boast a market of flesh, fish and fowl superior to any other capital in Europe ...'[8]: this was probably the Ormonde market which lay east of Church Street. Smithfield market seems to have been at least as prosperous: writing in 1802, Hely Dutton[9] observed that it was much too small for the increasing business which was transacted there. On many market days there was scarcely room to move and hay cars were frequently obliged to stand in adjacent streets. Some of the congestion derived from disorder, however, for cattle gathered at random close to the houses and there seems to have been no effective and orderly control of activities. Dutton advocated enlarging Smithfield, opening it northwards as far as Brunswick Street and southwards as far as a stable lane in West Arran Street, but his suggestions were not adopted. These markets, the principal source of prosperity in the north and west, are still the largest commercial concerns there today. Decisions made in the post-Restoration phase of development, when the markets were transferred to the north bank, have thus had far-reaching consequences.

Industry

Most of Dublin's industries thrived during the last two decades of the eighteenth century. They were scattered throughout the built-up area, except in the newer residential suburbs and commercial arteries, and most of them were still located in

residential premises. Building and ancillary industries were probably the largest source of employment. Before the Union there were almost a thousand employed in stone-cutting, including stone-sawyers, polishers and labourers: such was the pressure of business that most of them were obliged to work overtime for three or four months every year and the trade was increasing so rapidly that men might expect to find employment in it for their sons also. Stone-cutters' premises were mostly in the eastern part of the city, principally in streets near the North Strand. Business flourished also for carpenters, masons, bricklayers and slaters.[10] The furniture industry had grown and it provided employment for upholsterers, carvers, gilders, brass-founders, wire-workers, furniture painters, Spanish leather dressers, fringe-makers, and many others. Moroever upholsterers who used locally produced materials, silks, linens and cottons, helped to foster the textile industry.[11]

Coachmaking in Dublin reached its zenith in 1800 when there were more than forty coachmaking factories in the city and several which specialised in mail and stage coaches. The coach of the Lord Mayor reflected the high quality of local workmanship for it was thought not to have been surpassed by any civic or state coach in Europe'. Coach-making factories were mostly in the outer suburbs, in streets laid out during the eighteenth century, and there were factories also in Whitefriar Street, in Bow Lane and in Cuffe Street: their location reflected the comparatively recent foundation of the industry. Some family groups developed, such as the Dodd family of whom James had a factory in North Earl Street, Thomas in Jervis Street and Francis in Marlborough Street. There were about two thousand hands in all, employed in making cars, gigs and chaises as well as coaches.[12]

The glass industry had made a remarkable recovery, after the removal of export duty, and some Irish glass was even imported to England by high ranking families. A wide range of glass was produced, including Irish plate, flint, enamel, frosted, crown, stained window glass, bottles and green glass. The largest glass works were in Abbey Street and in Marlborough Street and these factories were being removed to new premises on the North Wall

in order to permit complete redevelopment of the environs of the Custom House.[13]

Brewing, distilling, milling and sugar-refining had all increased. Most of these were in the western suburbs, particularly around Thomas Street,[14] and some very large concerns had emerged. The largest, the Phoenix, was on the north side of St.James's Street and the premises extended northwards to the Liffey.[15] Guinness's brewery, by now the second largest, was on the opposite side of the street. The third largest was on Ardee Street and was said to occupy the site of the brewery of Thomas Court.[16] Although breweries and distilleries had increased in size and had become prosperous their work force had not increased.

Apart from building and its allied industries the textile industry was the largest source of employment. In 1800 there were ninety woollen factories employing almost four thousand skilled workers and a further thousand labourers. This industry, once the greatest source of wealth in the city, had made less progress than others after the removal of trade restrictions, owing principally to competition from manufacturers in Britain whose progress had not been fettered during the decades when trade restrictions were enforced. The Dublin industry lacked skill and capital, but all demands of the home market for coarser materials were met, and some finer materials were locally produced.[17] Local specialisation, which had emerged during the second half of the seventeenth century, had persisted and most of the woollen industry was in the south-western suburbs. Clothiers' premises were mostly on the Coombe and on adjacent streets such as Weavers' Square, Newmarket, Summer Street, Braithwaite Street, Ardee Street and Pimlico, and there was a marked concentration on Chambre Street.[18] The cotton industry had developed rapidly, using imported cotton yarn, making mixed stuffs as well as high quality printed cottons; more than twenty thousand persons were employed, while eleven bleach greens within five miles of the city employed three hundred persons. Most cotton works were in the south-western suburbs, in Ardee Street, Francis Street, Cork Street and Cole Alley.[19] The linen industry had recovered rapidly after the American war and the trade in Dublin had increased accordingly:

however, bleaching and dyeing, the only branches of the linen industry then carried on in Dublin, had not developed significantly. The rope industry grew, profiting from being able to supply cordage for ships more cheaply than English manufacturers once trade restrictions were removed. The only branches of the silk industry which had survived at the end of the century were the making of handkerchiefs, modes, peelings and ribbons.[20] Although many silk weavers' and dyers' premises were still on Spittal Square and in its vicinity, others scattered through the city were more numerous. There were some on Grafton Street, Park Street, Dame Street, and on the north bank, on the Inns' Quay, Mountrath Street and Hendrick Street.[21] Such wide scattering reflects the character of the industry for these were small concerns located in single rooms, mostly in the more congestedparts of the city.

Although industries in general had recovered rapidly after trade restrictions had been removed they did not regain the importance which the woollen industry had attained at the end of the seventeenth century. Those which prospered during the last two decades of the century were responding to demands created by the luxurious living of the upper classes and by the resurgence of the building industry which was largely induced by speculation. Once these demands decreased, industrial decline and consequent unemployment set in rapidly again.

Trade

The city's predominantly commercial rather than industrial character was reflected in exports and imports which were neither manufactured nor processed in Dublin. Exports consisted largely of linen, provisions and corn. Although the linen industry was based in the north of Ireland and direct exports from the north to Britain had increased during the later decades of the eighteenth century, trade passing through Dublin had also increased and almost twenty million yards of cloth were received in the Linen Hall in 1799.[22] Linen drapers tended to concentrate in the vicinity of the Linen Hall but they were also scattered through the city except in the newer suburbs: one draper even had his premises in Molesworth Street where the Speaker of the House of

Commons lived.[23] Although the linen trade had increased, its relative significance in the export trade had diminished, owing principally to the increase in the provisions trade since the late 1750s.[24] Large quantities of butter and cheese, beef and mutton, pork and bacon were exported and this was reflected in Dublin's thriving markets. The corn trade grew, particularly after Foster's corn law was passed in 1784. Exports of corn, particularly oats and oatmeal, increased fourfold in value during the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the continuing importance of this branch of trade during the nineteenth century is reflected in the construction of the Corn Exchange on Burgh Quay about 1817. The only other significant exports were also typical of an agricultural rather than an industrial economy, for instance tallow, hogs' lard, horns and hides. Although Dublin had a long-established tanning industry it does not seem to have benefited from the growth of trade for large quantities of raw hides were exported, including calf, goat, kid, lamb, rabbit and otter skins and both tanned hides and dressed skins were imported from Britain.

The growth of the building industry was reflected in quantities of slates, bricks and lead imported from England, in building stones from England and marble from Italy, and in large quantities of wood from England, Norway, Denmark, and the Far East. The coal trade had increased and Dublin was easily the largest centre of import in the country: coal was almost exclusively the domestic fuel of the capital and large quantities were also required for the city's industries. Public coal yards had been instituted in an effort to counteract fluctuating prices which resulted from the irregular arrival of fleets of coal boats. Large quantities of sugar were imported and Dublin's twenty refineries supplied most of the provinces. Wine came from France and England and, since the mid-century, Dublin had dominated the country's wine trade. Other imports largely supplied the luxury trade created by the upper classes, and to an increasing degree the capital city dominated this trade, its merchants gradually ousting provincial interests and extending their operations into all four provinces.

The Port and Estuary

Extensive improvements had been made in the port during the last quarter of the eighteenth century and plans approved during the 1780s were gradually completed during the nineteenth century. Siting the new Custom House downstream on the north bank of the Liffey had had important repercussions for it had enabled the construction of Carlisle Bridge, which, in turn, led to the formation of the new city core which is discussed below; the new bridge had reduced to a half the berthing space previously available for sea-going vessels and this prompted making new quays, wharfs and docks further east. Meanwhile extensive improvements had been made at the mouth of the estuary through the construction of the canal harbour and docks.

Quayside changes made between Carlisle Bridge and the new Custom House are indicated on Plate XXV. When the bridge was constructed, buildings on the north bank had extended to an irregularly aligned quay wall between Union Street and a small dock which was no longer adequate for sea-going vessels. On the south bank, buildings had extended to the Quay wall between Hawkins Street and White's Lane while west of Hawkins Street there was but a narrow passage along the waterfront. Although plans for improvement had been approved during the 1790s work on the quays had been delayed owing to shortage of funds to purchase property on the site of the proposed new quays and little had been achieved by 1800. After the Union plans were gradually implemented: work on the south quay began in 1805 and the new quay, Burgh Quay, was completed in 1815 when Sweetman finally relinquished his brewery on the waterfront.[25] Already in 1800 open quays - George's Quay City Quay and Sir John Rogerson's Quay - extended eastwards from White's Lane to the Marine School while the South Wall extended thence to Ringsend at the mouth of the estuary. The western end of the northern quay had been improved when Lower Sackville Street was opened for this had involved only the demolition of some houses and the realignment of buildings along the waterfront. A quayside iron-yard at the foot of Great Marlborough Street still obstructed the waterfront and the old dock west of the Custom House remained: a further intake from the river was required in order

to open a wide, regular quay through these premises. A new quay wall was completed by the Ballast Board in April 1814; old houses which then remained near the waterfront were then demolished and Eden Quay, finally opened and levelled as far as the Custom House, was given to the Paving Board in November 1815.[26]

When the Custom House was built a new quay, seventy feet wide, had been constructed to the south of it, extending eastwards to the mouth of a new dock. Although this was the only new dock completed by 1800 it was very little used, probably owing to the lack of a tide-entrance basin which would have prevented ships from lying aground at low tide on their way to the basin.[27] The construction of new Revenue Stores and docks to the east brought further extensive changes during the early decades of the nineteenth century: ground lying between the North Wall and Sheriff Street, extending eastwards from the North Strand to Common Street, was valued for the Revenue Commissioners in 1809 and two large docks, sugar stores, tobacco stores, and a large timber yard were subsequently constructed on the premises.[28] The North Wall extended eastwards from the new dock to the eastern extremity of the North Lotts, providing extensive potential berthing for shipping. Sporadic building along the waterfront during the second half of the eighteenth century had left a narrow, irregular thoroughfare which claimed the attention of the Wide Streets Commissioners: under their direction the line of building receded seventeen feet. Some proprietors co-operated fully with the Commissioners while statutory powers were invoked to oblige others to conform to the general plan.[29]

The most extensive changes near the mouth of the estuary resulted from the extension of the Grand Canal to the Liffey during the 1790s. The very size of the canal harbour (Plate XXXVI) indicates the significance of this development which was completed in 1797. The first harbour on the Grand Canal had been constructed near the western suburbs and it served a thickly populated industrial district; the canal extension connected this district to the Liffey enabling transportation of exports and imports by canal to the port. The Grand Canal also carried a good inland trade and, by 1800, there were 400 boats regularly employed and

their number was continually increasing. Extensions of the Royal Canal, which were constructed about the same time, had less impact on the life of the city or on the configuration of the estuary. Indeed, the contrast between the new canal harbour on the south bank and the mouth of the Royal Canal east of the new Custom House is quite striking. The Royal Canal encircled the new north-eastern residential suburbs and the canal harbour was at the Broadstone, north of the Linen Hall, districts skirted by the Royal Canal were neither thickly populated nor industrial and potential traffic was much less than on the Grand Canal. In 1800 the Royal Canal extended inland no further than Kilcock, twenty-one miles from the city, and on it there were no more than thirty-one boats regularly employed. In these circumstances, that a canal harbour comparable to that on the south was not constructed at the junction of the Royal Canal with the Liffey is not surprising.[30]

Improvements made already in the port by 1800 consisted largely of new structures - walls, quays, wharfs and docks - for little progress had been made either in improving the channel or in repairing the old quay walls. Although a permanent fund for such repairs had been created in 1786 and augmented in 1792 by levying special rates on property owners and on vessels, the attention of the Ballast Board seems to have been directed almost solely to the new works required by the Revenue Commissioners and by the Wide Streets Commissioners. Regulations made in order to relieve congestion on the quays and thereby improve them, were largely ignored. Many of the older quay walls were in a dangerous condition. The river needed to be dredged and deepened for it was, in fact, so shallow that the flukes of anchored ships were dangerously near the surface, often causing much damage to shipping. Immense quantities of sharp stones had been allowed to accumulate near the quays and wharfs, and along the North and South Walls, and these often damaged ships, especially at low tide. Although, early in the eighteenth century, the mouth of the Liffey had been deepened when the North and South Lotts had been enclosed, the bar at the mouth of the estuary still obstructed shipping. Since the time for crossing the bar was short, ships were often

PLATE XXXII



see appendix

Gandon's Custom House

compelled to ride at anchor in the bay awaiting the tide and in stormy weather many were grounded on the North and South Bulls.[31]

Gandon's Custom House (Plate XXXII) was an oblong quadrangle in gleaming white Portland stone, surmounted by a large cupola and a copper dome. A pedimented centre-piece distinguished the principal front which faced south to the river while the simpler north front faced a new crescent of buildings on Beresford Place. The general impression of the Custom House was one of spacious simplicity and no expense had been spared in its construction.[32] This was the forerunner of a series of new public buildings in the city but it remained unsurpassed: indeed, as a Custom House, it seems to have been unsurpassed in Europe. Writing in 1791, having visited all the principal cities of Europe, Bowden declared that 'the new Custom House lately built here exceeds infinitely anything I have seen'[33], while Malton declared that on the whole it was acknowledged to be the most sumptuous building of its kind in Europe.[34] Special standards were laid down by the Wide Streets Commissioners for new buildings on the quays between the Custom House and Carlisle Bridge. Plans for Eden Quay had been approved in 1790 and elevations with stone-built shop fronts were probably designed about the same time.[35] Despite delay in completing the quay, standards laid down in 1790 were maintained in the development: in leasing building sites on the eastern end of the quay in 1811, for instance, the Commissioners required that new buildings be exactly similar to those already constructed. Some builders observed all the conditions of sale; others began to build only in brick and in order to achieve the desired effect of uniformity the Commissioners were obliged, in 1813, to pay the extra cost of stonework.[36] Elevations approved for Burgh Quay were private terraced houses. Although the designs were more utilitarian than those of the north bank, the principle of uniformity was maintained even when buildings were used as warehouses, as happened in the case of James Connolly who was obliged to simulate dwelling houses by inserting glazed windows in warehouses he constructed near the western end of the quay.[37] Special elevations were designed for the lots at the corner of Burgh Quay and Hawkins Street which had a semi-circular frontage, and in Hawkins Street four-storeyed houses were constructed according to the designs of the builders.[38] In the street block west of Hawkins Street, the central site with seventy feet frontage to Burgh Quay and to Poolbeg Street was acquired, in 1817, by

PLATE XXXIII



VIEW OF THE LAW-COURTS, LOOKING UP THE LIFFEY, DUBLIN.

see appendix

the proprietors of the Corn Exchange; adjacent buildings were terraced houses of equal height with the Exchange but there was no attempt to make a unified, monumental frontage.[39]

Quayside development between Carlisle Bridge and the Custom House reflects the contrast between the aspirations of the Wide Streets Commissioners and their achievements. The Commissioners envisaged opening wide thoroughfares along both banks of the river, lined with buildings of a similar standard to those actually executed on Eden Quay; Burgh Quay, on the other hand, was more typical of what they actually achieved. The more utilitarian aspect of their plan, the opening of wide thoroughfares, was gradually achieved during the first two decades of the nineteenth century and, in general, building standards were similar to those of Burgh Quay. The greatest waterside irregularity in 1800 was on the south bank between Aston's Quay and Essex Bridge where the old Custom House Quay was scarcely higher than the level of high tide and four feet lower than the adjacent quays. A new wall built by the Ballast Board enabled a further intake from the river, buildings on the waterfront were demolished, the level of the old quay was raised and the new quay, Wellington Quay, was opened between 1815 and 1817.[40] Crampton Quay had already been opened c. 1809 and Merchant's Quay widened c. 1810.[41] The new Courts of Justice, designed by Gandon, were the principal distinction of the upper quays: they were, in fact, the only significant public buildings on the waterfront above Carlisle Bridge and, as Bowden remarked, they seemed 'more calculated for ornament than for use'.[42] (Plate XXXIII).

The Residential Suburbs

The residential suburbs (Fig. 27) were almost as extensive as the rest of the built-up area and their size clearly reflects the potent influence of the upper and middle classes as determinants of growth during the late-eighteenth century. Their location indicates the significance of the Gardiner and Fitzwilliam estates in the development of the late-eighteenth century city: most new upper-class residential streets were on these two estates and conditions of tenure imposed by the Landowners ensured a high-class residential character which was maintained during the first half of the nineteenth century. The southern residential area extended south and east from

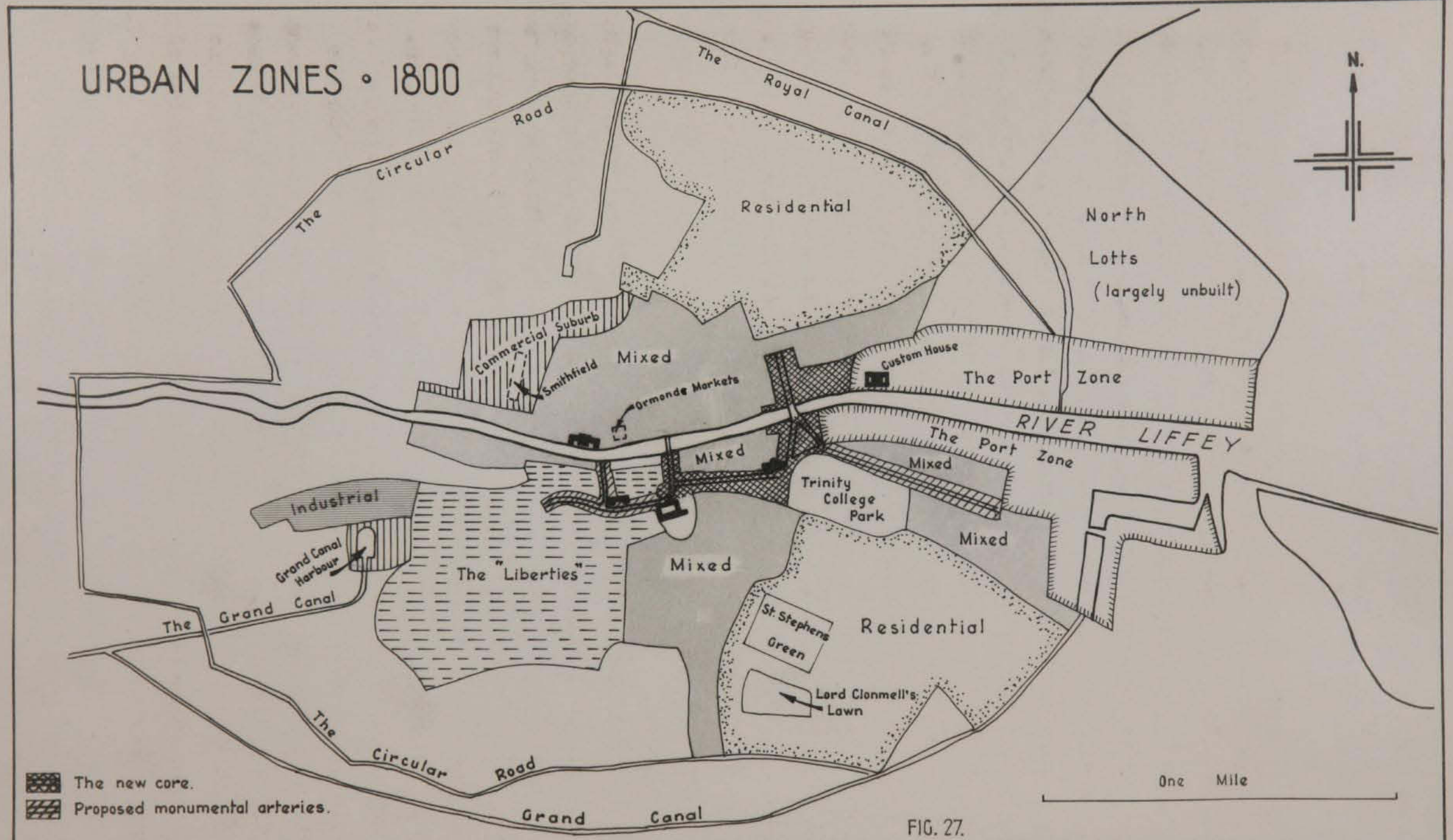


FIG. 27.

see appendix.

St. Stephen's Green and Dawson Street to the South Circular Road and the northern from Dominick Street and Henrietta Street to the North Circular Road. The two districts were parallel in plan and in general character; they were separated by the port zone and were connected by the new commercial arteries which radiated from Carlisle Bridge.

In the southern suburbs there were three residential squares, St. Stephen's Green, Merrion Square and Fitzwilliam Square. St. Stephen's Green, the largest, was still fashionable for its residence comprised fifteen members of the House of Lords including the Lord Primate of Ireland, the Earls of Meath, of Milltown, and of Mount Cashel, many peeresses, members of the lesser gentry and seventeen members of parliament.[43] The number of peeresses, occupiers of houses on the Green, who were listed as sedan-chair owners in 1788 suggests that the change which usually came with the passing of a generation in Dublin's residential suburbs had already begun in St. Stephen's Green and the younger gentry were apparently being attracted to the newer residential suburbs. Most of the houses on the Green were large mansions built during the 1760s and 1770s and the irregularity then noticed by visitors to the city was still part of its charm. The Green still retained its social status during the nineteenth century.

The prediction made by Lord Kildare in the middle of the eighteenth century had been realised in Merrion Square which, from its inception, had attracted the gentry. In 1800 its residents included five members of the House of Lords, many of the lesser gentry and twenty-six members of parliament. Terraced housing lined three sides of the square and the Duke of Leinster's lawn opened onto the fourth. Writing in 1796, John Ferrar thought that there was not, perhaps, in Europe a range of better buildings than from Clare Street to Mount Street:[44] this was the northern side of Merrion Square where the first storey of most houses was built of stone. On the eastern and southern sides most houses were of red stock bricks, regularly aligned and equal in height but not uniform in character. Indeed, this lack of uniformity was one of the charms of Merrion Square which was probably the most exclusive residential quarter of Dublin during the nineteenth century and even today its external character remains relatively unchanged.

By 1796 only four houses had been constructed on Fitzwilliam Square and building was at a standstill owing to the economic recession of the 1790s.[45] Although the time-limit for building had not been observed lessees were not penalised as they might have been according to the terms of the leases: rents were remitted to those who had begun to build provided they had invested well in the property, by sinking vaults and building range-walls, for instance. When, during the nineteenth century, the houses were eventually built, the standards laid down in the original leases were observed and the square gradually assumed its intended character. Throughout the nineteenth century Fitzwilliam Square was among the best residential areas in the city. A number of new houses on Fitzwilliam Street were already occupied in 1800 and further construction was in progress. Houses had not yet been built on sites in Leeson Street that had been leased early in the 1790s. Many houses had been built on Baggot Street but speculators had difficulty in selling or leasing them and most were two years' ground-rent or more in arrears. On Mount Street only Grant and Crossthwaite had built since 1791: it was they who had purchased ground in order to open the street from Merrion Square to the canal and they had successfully leased their houses. This suggests that the influence of Merrion Square extended along Mount Street, making it residentially desirable, and it was probably this which made it easier to lease new houses on Mount Street than it was on Baggot Street, and on streets to the south. By 1797 most speculators on the Fitzwilliam estate seem to have been in debt. When the estate agent demanded arrears of rent a lessee replied: 'Eject me if you will, I will be glad to get rid of my bargain'.[46] So many of them were in debt that the agent feared that all might seek remission of rents and he advised Lord Fitzwilliam to remit rents only of those who had already actually invested in building. The ultimately successful development of the Fitzwilliam estate can probably be attributed to wise estate-management as much as to speculative builders.

Although many new streets had been opened in the north-eastern suburbs Henrietta Street and Sackville Street had both retained their social status. Before the Union there were five members of parliament and four members of the House of Lords living in Henrietta Street and residents of Sackville Street included eight members of parliament and seven members of the House of Lords. Between these streets lay Rutland Square with its pleasure gardens, Rotunda, and the new Assembly

Rooms. The Rotunda gardens continued to attract people of various social classes but, as De Latocnaye remarked 'people only mix with and speak to members of their own circle.'[47] The Rotunda and Assembly Rooms catered only for the upper classes and they were still the principal recreational centre of the city. The Rotunda had been improved by raising the outer, circular wall to the level of the adjacent new buildings on Cavendish Row and adding ornamental figures in Coade Stone. The new Assembly Rooms, constructed during the 1780s, consisted of a ballroom, a tearoom and a refreshment bar on the ground floor and supper rooms and dressing rooms on the upper floor.[48] This complex of buildings gave the north-eastern suburbs a distinction possessed by no other part of the city. The fact that the new assembly rooms had so recently been constructed is a clear indication of the continuing importance of the Rotunda in the social life of the upper classes.

Three sides of Rutland Square were lined with upper-class houses; the fourth, opposite the Lying-in Hospital, was part of Great Britain Street where commercial activities were intermixed. If ownership of a private sedan-chair may be considered an index of social status - and it seems, in fact, to have been - then Rutland Square was the most fashionable residential district in the city for twenty-nine of its residents were listed as licensees in 1787, a number greater than in any other street or square, and a proportion which must have been greater for houses were more numerous in the other residential squares. In the same year, for instance, twenty-three licensees were listed in St. Stephen's Green while eighteen were listed in Merrion Square and seven in Merrion Street. By 1800, the improvement of Rutland Square was almost complete and the garden of the Lying-in Hospital was encompassed by iron pallissades surmounted by globes. Lamps had also been erected by the residents who were taxed fro 1785 onwards to finance lighting the square and keeping railings and lights in repair:[49] houses with thirty feet frontage had one lamp, those with thirty to forty feet frontage had two, and those with more than forty feet frontage had three. Visitors to Dublin were much impressed by Rutland Square: Bowden, for instance, thought it 'a most delightful and elegant situation. ..... At night the effect of the globes is truly magnificent'. But he did not fail to notice the blemishes which

still marred the neighbourhood for the beauty of the square was 'greatly eclipsed by a clumsy old house at the corner of Granby Row. .... Unnecessary and superfluous improvements are making on one side of the Lying-in House while the other lies totally neglected.'[50] The blemishes noticed by Bowden were largely a heritage of early-eighteenth century building. Rutland Square retained its fashionable status throughout the ensuing century.

New streets on Gardiner's estate extended north and east from Rutland Square to the Circular Road. By the end of the eighteenth century most building on Mountjoy Square seems to have been complete although not in the form first envisaged. The idea of a monumental west front had been abandoned and housing was not dissimilar to that originally planned for Fitzwilliam Square. Mountjoy Square attracted the gentry and in 1802 its residents included the Earl of Roden, Lord Ventry, the Dean of Down, some of the lesser gentry, and men who were prominent in public life such as Jeremiah D'Olier, John Beresford and Alderman John Carleton.[51] Although Mountjoy Square retained its status during the first half of the nineteenth century, it then gradually deteriorated. Plans for the Royal Circus had not yet been realised in 1800: although the streets had been laid out early in the 1790s, building does not seem to have even begun, probably owing to the economic recession of the later 1790s which had also inhibited development on the Fitzwilliam estate. Had the plans for the Royal Circus been implemented it would have been the most expensive complex of residential buildings in the city and consequently the most exclusive. By attracting the upper classes, its construction would probably have made the north-eastern suburbs the principal upper-class residential district. After the Union plans for monumental buildings on the Circus were abandoned and the street-plan was altered by Thomas Sherrard; the south-eastern approach was extended northwards to intersect Eccles Street, cutting right across the oval Circus, and the distinctive character of the street-plan was thus destroyed.[52] Small red-brick houses were built on the new street, now Berkeley Road, and in its vicinity during the nineteenth century and part of the former Circus became the site of the Mater Hospital: not a vestige of the eighteenth century plans for this district has significantly influenced the modern city.

New streets had been opened to the south and east of Mountjoy Square. The extent of the proposed development, combined with Mountjoy Square and the Royal Circus, was striking. Bowden remarked that 'this quarter of the metropolis surpasses infinitely the rest for improvements. In its vicinity alone there are as many streets laid out as would form a little city.'[53] During the nineteenth century building on these streets was completed as successfully as on Mountjoy Square: it should be noted that for them no monumental frontages had been planned and that the type of housing originally envisaged proved to be economic to build even when more utilitarian standards were adopted during the nineteenth century. Moreover, the extended time-limit for building on these streets - twenty years on Gloucester Street, for instance - enabled builders to delay until there was a renewed demand for housing.[54]

The character of the residential suburbs derived from tenurial conditions imposed by the ground-landlords, from initiatives taken by the residents, and from class-distinctions which were characteristic of the eighteenth century. Clauses in leases on the Gardiner and Fitzwilliam estates ensured that no obnoxious trades could be carried on in the new residential streets. Obnoxious trades seem to have been those which produced either unpleasant odours, or unpleasant noises, or both, for excluded trades including melting of tallow, sugar-boiling, cork-burning, founding, tanning and similar activities. Shops were prohibited on the residential squares and principal streets on the Fitzwilliam estate; although shops were not actually prohibited by the terms of leases on the Gardiner estate the principal streets seem initially to have been entirely residential. The improvement of the central area in the residential squares was planned and financed by the residents and was authorised by statute. In Mountjoy Square and Fitzwilliam Square the ground landlord had reserved the central square for future ornamentation by the residents. No such provision had been made in Merrion Square and it had been necessary for the residents to purchase the interest of tenants and sub-tenants of the central area before it could be enclosed; improvement was, therefore, the result of initiatives taken by local residents. A permanent fund was created for each square by levying a special tax, three shillings per foot frontage on Merrion Square and five shillings on Fitzwilliam Square, Mountjoy Square, and on St. Stephen's Green. Each square was surrounde

by railings on a stone base and within the enclosure a lawn, shrubs and ornamental trees were planted. Merrion Square had been improved by the end of the eighteenth century; improvement of Mountjoy Square began in 1802, of Fitzwilliam Square in 1813, and of St. Stephen's Green in 1814.[55]

Piped water had already been provided in the new residential areas during the 1770s and mains were laid and sewers constructed in the new streets which were opened subsequently. Sanitary conditions in the rest of the city were a contrast, for residents of the older streets had cess pools instead of sewers and the conditions which resulted from inadequate sanitary provisions in congested areas have already been described. Although some houses in the older streets had piped water, most residents depended on public conduits. In the new suburbs, streets were paved and footpaths with stone kerbs had been constructed at the expense of adjacent property owners: paving the older quarters seems to have been totally neglected until the paving board was reconstituted under Major Taylor's supervision in 1802.[56]

The location of the Rotunda has already been noted. Proximity to the residential suburbs must undoubtedly have been a key factor in its continuing success. Most social functions were now held in private houses, most public places of entertainment had declined and they no longer adequately reflected the luxurious living of the gentry which had greatly increased since the mid-century. Private theatricals had become fashionable, and this took toll of the public theatres of which only one, Crow Street, remained open during the 1790s. Social gatherings or 'routs' in private houses seem to have been the principal means of entertainment: De Latocnaye remarked[57] that these might well be called 'déroutes' for

> where a house might comfortably entertain twenty persons sixty are invited and so in proportion. I have seen routs where from vestibule to garret the rooms were filled with fine ladies beautifully dressed but so crushed against each other that it was hardly possible to move ....

It was on such entertainment and on running houses in the new suburbs that most of the income of the upper classes was spent. Bowden[58] observed that

> a gentleman of fortune who lives within the bounds of it is now



THE PARLIAMENT HOUSE, DUBLIN.

London Published March 1st 1798 by J. Walker & Co. Paternoster Row.

see appendix

> almost a rarity: and as to those of a middling rank, even of professions, manufacture, trade and business of every sort, they are awkwardly aping the vanities, luxuries and extravagancies of their superiors, to the ruin of their domestic affairs and levelling of destruction and order .... for one carriage .... kept fifty years ago ... there are one hundred now. ... A person of those days of £500 a year would as soon have thought of purchasing a kingdom as of keeping a carriage. What a contrast in the temper of the times'.

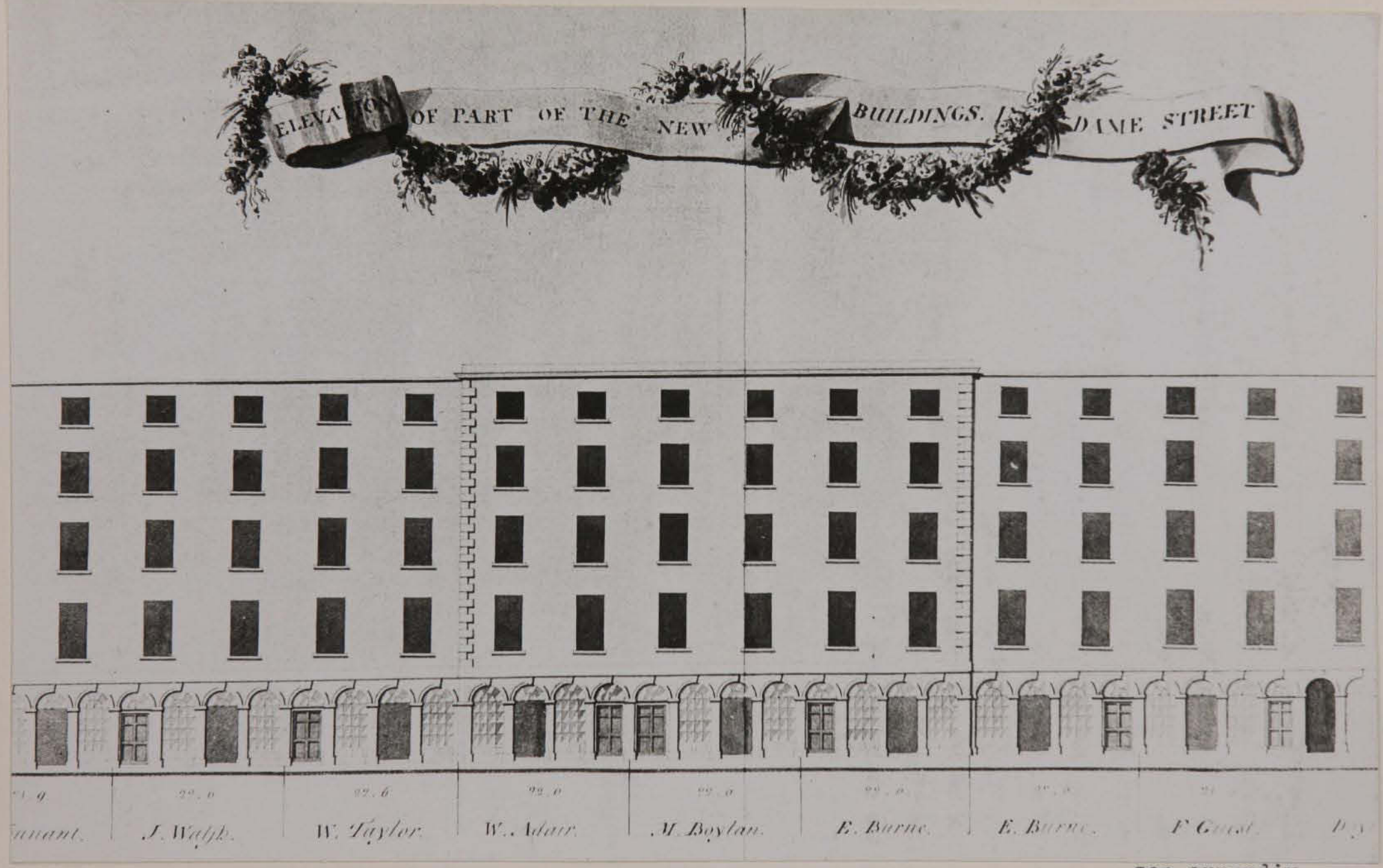
Luxurious living had become the hallmark of the late-eighteenth century and it was reflected in the growth of the residential suburbs, in the nature of most industrial expansion, and particularly in the way of life of the upper classes. The residential suburbs were distinctive in street-plan, housing, amenities and in social status. Their location, however, on either side of the port zone, was anomalous. In other European cities residential districts of the wealthy were not usually near the port but at the opposite end of the city and the environs of the port were usually occupied by the working classes. In Dublin, the location of the residential suburbs was but the culmination of trends rooted in early seventeenth century local differentiation of land use: to have reversed these trends would have demanded measures more radical than those required to create the new city core.

The monumental core

The central focus of the city was still the Castle. It had been renovated and extended by the mid-century but it must now have seemed rather unimposing, having been surpassed by new public buildings constructed during the late eighteenth century. To the west lay the old core which comprised the medieval city and suburbs and these were almost untouched by late eighteenth century improvements although plans had already been formulated to open main arteries through them. To the east a new city core had been created by opening new avenues focused on the House of Parliament, thereby changing the city's orientation, character and pattern of circulation. The House of Parliament on College Green was the largest and most distinctive of the city's buildings (Plate XXXIV): its character and its significance in the town-plan reflected the increased importance of Parliament in the life of the country. This great building, designed in a blend of styles by three successive architects, was 'the noblest structure Dublin had to boast': indeed Malton held that it was 'no

hyperbole to advance that this edifice in the entire is the grandest, most convenient and most extensive of the kind in Europe'.[59] Neighbouring buildings were also magnificent structures. The monumental west front of Trinity College closed the vista at the eastern end of College Green. To the west of the House of Parliament a block of new buildings extended along Dame Street from Foster Place to Anglesea Street: dominating it was Daly's Club House, 'the most superb gambling house in the world'.[60] Though smaller than the House of Parliament or Trinity College the elevation of this block towards College Green equalled its neighbours in magnificence: the Club occupied only the central portion and it was flanked by buildings designed in a style which made the whole appear one monumental building, an architectural innovation which was typical of late-eighteenth century street-design in Dublin.[61] West of Anglesea Street the Commercial Buildings had been constructed during the 1790s for the merchants and traders of the city. East of the House of Parliament the large triangular site bounded by Westmoreland Street, D'Olier Street and College Green had been taken by the Bank of Ireland, and Sir John Soane had been commissioned to design the new building. Construction had not yet begun in 1800 however, and the plan was abandoned after the Union. The new bank would have been as magnificent as any of the city's new buildings for the designs, now in the Soane Museum, depict extremely ornate and imposing Corinthian elevations.[62]

This group of monumental buildings was the focus of the new city core. It included accommodation for the principal activities of the ruling class - politics, gambling and commerce - a strange mixture yet symptomatic of the times. Radiating from the core were new commercial arteries in which important innovations of street-design in which the ground floor was designed to accommodate shops. The creation of the new commercial core had involved cutting some new primary streets through built-up street blocks and some piecemeal redevelopment of main arteries. Where new streets were opened the Commissioners seem generally to have succeeded in imposing approved elevations on builders, as in Westmoreland Street and D'Olier Street which gradually assumed their intended appearance. Where redevelopment was piecemeal, as in Dame Street and Lower Sackville Street, the Commissioners were less successful in achieving the desired uniformity of frontage. The most enduring feature of the project, the street-



see appendix

Elevation of the new buildings in Dame Street

plan, successfully created a new pattern of traffic circulation in the city.

Plate XXXV illustrates part of a range of buildings constructed on the south side of Dame Street, the earliest of the monumental facades. Rustic quoins projected slightly at either angle, of the end and middle blocks, giving the appearance of a simple, unified palatial building. Shop windows occupied every alternate stone arch on the ground floor. This range extended eastwards from South Great George's Street to Trinity Street; similar elevations were intended for the north side of the street but the Commissioners did not succeed in completing the project. In 1800 old buildings on the north side of Dame Street still extended westwards from Fownes Street, projecting irregularly southwards past the line of frontage planned for the improved street. Although these buildings had been valued in 1785 and were valued again in 1801 as a prelude to intended compulsory purchase,[63] there does not seem to have been any extensive, unified redevelopment on the north front of Dame Street west of Fownes Street as there had been on the south front during the 1780s. Buildings were reconstructed or refronted from time to time and Sherrard ensured that the shop-storey was constructed in cut stone in a style similar to those already constructed on the south side of the street. Builders did not always co-operate in executing the plans nor did the proprietors maintain the approved elevations unchanged as they were bound to do by the terms of building leases. By 1812 it was evident that the north side would never correspond fully to the uniformity which had been achieved on the south side for several houses had been constructed without stone fronts. The Commissioners then acceded to the petition of one John May and approved a simpler elevation which he had prepared.[64] Difficulty in achieving the Commissioners' objective in Dame Street derived basically from the piecemeal nature of the project for the Commissioners exercised effective control only over buildings erected on building-lots leased by them, although statutory powers authorised them to enforce approved elevations when houses were being reconstructed in other parts of the street. To complete the redevelopment of Dame Street as originally envisaged would have required the co-operation of a number of ground landlords and of their tenants in order to reconstruct the frontage

of each street-block as a unit. As it was, the street seems to have had a rather motley appearance throughout the first quarter of the nineteenth century and, although a regular alignment was gradually achieved, the street-facade never assumed the plain regular monumental appearance which had been envisaged in 1785.

Similar monumental features were introduced in the new streets north of the House of Parliament. In designing buildings for the west side of Lower Sackville Street in 1789 Gandon had developed a palatial facade, following the precedent set in Dame Street, and although the Commissioners had simplified Gandon's designs the buildings retained a unified monumental character with shops on the ground floor. By 1800 property on the site of Lower Sackville Street had been acquired by the Commissioners; by 1802 the new street had been opened and new buildings on the west side were gradually constructed according to the approved elevations. The older buildings remained on the east side where the street alignment had not been changed and these were gradually replaced during the nineteenth century. To achieve uniformity of frontage on the east side of Sackville Street proved to be almost as difficult as on the north side of Dame Street although the alignment of Sackville Street was more regular. In 1804, for instance, one Luke Duff reconstructed a three-storeyed house of sixteen feet frontage, flanked by buildings which were also three storeys high. Since the site was too small for a building similar to those on the west side of the street Sherrard was ordered to furnish an elevation as nearly similar to those already built on the west side as the extent and location of the site would permit:[65] the Commissioners thus recognised the impossibility of imposing complete uniformity and other modifications were subsequently allowed. In 1811, for instance, one Michael Maley was authorised to have four openings in his frontage on Sackville Street instead of three, provided similar openings were made on his frontage on Abbey Street, and in 1812 permission was given to builders in Sackville Street to introduce iron balconies as had been done already in some neighbouring houses.[66] Despite such minor alterations the Commissioners continued to insist on maintaining standards and the cost of stone work was borne by them from time to time.

The Commissioners seem to have been more successful in implementing

plans for Westmoreland Street and D'Olier Street than for any other streets in the city. Designs in the monumental mode by Henry Baker, a pupil of Gandon's, were approved for Westmoreland Street in 1799: these elevations were more ornate than for neighbouring streets even though the plan for a colonnade was abandoned. The most remarkable features of the final elevations were wide, angular glazed shop-fronts on the ground floor; stone-work was in granite and brick-work in best red stocks.[67] These elevations were first executed in the short range from the corner of the House of Lords to Fleet Street just after the turn of the century.[68] The corner lot of Westmoreland Street and Aston's Quay was taken by the Ballast Board and a special elevation for this building was drawn by Sherrard.[69] In 1802 the Commissioners annulled the treaty they had made with the Bank of Ireland and Sherrard laid out the ground for building, leaving Fleet Street open through the site to D'Olier Street. Elevations executed on the east side of Westmoreland Street and in D'Olier Street were similar to those designed by Baker and the buildings erected between the House of Lords and Fleet Street served as prototype. All building sites in Westmoreland Street had been leased by 1804.[70] An interesting entry in the minutes of the Commissioners suggests that building probably proceeded rapidly and that the Commissioners recognised Sherrard's significant role in the project for on 21 June 1805 it was resolved that 'a perspective view of Westmoreland Street be taken from Carlisle Bridge to be granted by this Board to Mr. Sherrard and that a proper artist be employed to draw same'.[71] The view has unfortunately not survived. Buildings on Aston's Quay were similar to those in Westmoreland Street. Elevations for the corner of D'Olier Street and Burgh Quay, approved in 1812, corresponded to the Ballast Office, completing the symmetrical development.[72]

Special elevations had been designed for main arteries leading east and west from the monumental core. Great Brunswick Street (now Pearse Street) was intended to be the principal approach from the Grand Canal Docks to the House of Parliament. On the north bank spacial standards were applied to Lower Abbey Street and to the southern end of Gardiner Street. Improvements west of the Castle would have introduced ornamental stone fronts on Castle Street, High Street and Winetavern Street. However, none of these plans had

been implemented by 1800. The improvement of these streets began early in the nineteenth century, but, by 1818 many building sites on them were still vacant owing to the heavy expense of constructing the first storey in stone: in order to expedite building the Commissioners decided at that time to modify the regulations for building. Builders were no longer required to construct shops in these streets; those who preferred to build private houses with basements and areas were permitted to recede from the general line of frontage under the supervision of the Board. Consistent standards were still maintained, however, for elevations were still submitted to the Commissioners for approval and all houses were required to be not less than four storeys high.[73]

These new commercial arteries were conceived and executed at a time when nothing similar was being built in England. Summerson recalls[74] that

> up to the Napoleonic period a shop-front was never considered either as part of the facade of which it formed the base or as part of a consistent architectural panorama at street level. The designed shopping street belongs to the Regency and after, and even then such streets were modest affairs, often mere passages situated at the edge of big residential districts.

Dublin's designed shopping streets were far from being 'mere passages'. Both width and design merited for them the status of principal streets in the capital city. Since the idea of designed shopping streets was not derived from England it seems reasonable to assume that it was derived from the continent but the precise source remains a puzzle. The only comparable contemporary development was that planned by the French Revolutionary artists and it seems unlikely that the Commissioners could have been influenced by these plans which were executed under Napoleon I and completed by Haussmann.[75] The notion of unified monumental facades had been successfully developed in Paris during the seventeenth century and formally linked monumental squares were characteristic of French town-planning of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. If, as Abercrombie suggests, the greatest Parisian schemes, including those of the nineteenth century, originated in plans made during the reign of Louis XIV, then it seems likely that the French Revolutionary artists who, among other things planned the Rue de Rivoli, and Dublin's Commissioners

who planned the colonnades for Westmoreland Street and other monumental commercial arteries, were probably inspired from the same source. It also seems likely that the Commissioners looked to Rome, to Fontana's arteries and to the colonnaded shops of the Renaissance. The similarity between the unexecuted plans for a shopping colonnade in Westmoreland Street and the Rue de Rivoli is quite striking: in fact, it invites further investigation of the question of influences and derivations to see where the ideas of the Commissioners originated. Their great achievement was the successful adaptation of ideas and principles to an existing situation and the formation of monumental arteries derived from this ability. The commercial character of Dame Street had already been well established; once the idea of opening a completely new street eastwards from the Castle had been abandoned, its status of principal thoroughfare from the Castle to the House of Parliament merited special ornamentation; and from this the notion of monumental commercial arteries seems gradually to have evolved. Whatever influenced their thinking, the Wide Streets Commissioners seem to have been ingenious innovators.

Conclusion

Two centuries of sustained development had reached a climax in the formation of Dublin's monumental core. It was the dominant element of the town-plan for it had changed the city's orientation and its pattern of circulation; it had also emphasised the inherited contrast between the east and the west, for the new north-south thoroughfares linked the segregated residential suburbs, dissociating them from centres of commerce and industry. The eastward trend of development had culminated in the formation of the modern port and the construction of the canal harbour had completed the transformation of the estuary. Although many industries were thriving they had as yet left little morphological imprint on the city for they were scattered through most of the built-up area; nor had they relieved the penury of the mass of the people. Indeed, the heightened contrast between the residential suburbs and the congested, decaying 'Liberties' was as characteristic of Dublin as the new public buildings which brought it fame.

The year 1800 was a 'watershed' in the development of Dublin for

in that year a major period of city building ended. Each of the three periods of urban growth which have been identified in this study was a stage in the creation of a modern capital city: in 1800 Parliament was removed to Westminster, Dublin's status was reduced to that of a provincial city and a new era began. It should not be thought, however, that all progress ceased at the turn of the century for only those plans which derived from Dublin's status of capital city were modified or abandoned and trends which had developed during the eighteenth century continued to influence the city's morphology, as indeed they continue to even at the present time.

Finally, it may be asked why the Dublin of 1800 can be called 'classical'. During the European Renaissance urban art had developed slowly, fusing adaptations of ancient classical features with new forms. At first, classical concepts had been revived in designing individual buildings; then concepts of organised symmetry had been applied to neighbourhoods; and finally, the city was regarded as a unit to which classical concepts were applied as a whole. The movement reached a climax in seventeenth century France, in the formation of unitary cities of modern classical design. Three main elements characterise French classical town plans, namely, organic unity derived from the convergence of thoroughfares on a central point, monumental vistas, and uniform street façades with some architectural distinction. Each of these features can be identified in classical Dublin. Newly opened thoroughfares converged on the House of Parliament from which the city's principal street led westwards to the Castle, itself the focus of planned thoroughfares which had not yet been opened. Some striking monumental vistas graced the centre-city area: the Royal Exchange on Cork Hill, the west front of Trinity College on College Green, and the portico of the House of Lords facing Great Brunswick Street. Since the mid-century uniform street-façades had been imposed on builders in most new streets, monumental unity had been achieved on the south side of Dame Street, and the evolution of controlled streetscapes had reached a climax in the colonnaded elevations planned for Westmoreland Street. Classical features were almost solely in the eastern half of the city but this was not inconsistent with classicism, for classical planners made no

provision for populace. Moreover, as indicated above, classical planning had not come fully to fruition in Dublin for some schemes formulated by the Wide Streets Commissioners had not yet been implemented and monumental domestic building planned by private developers had not been executed. Although all the objectives of urban improvers had not been attained Dublin had nevertheless already assumed a classical character in its public buildings, in some private buildings, in monumental street design, and in the organic unity of the town plan which was centred on twin foci, the Castle and the House of Parliament.

Refences and Footnotes

1. Barrington, Historic Memoirs of Ireland, I, 7.

2. Malton, View of Dublin, 1.

3. See above, page 11.

4. Whitelaw, Essay on the Population of Dublin, includes a summary of the census returns which are published in slightly more detail in Warburton, Whitelaw and Walsh, History of Dublin, I, Appendix. Whitelaw's MS was destroyed in the P.R.O.I, in 1922.

5. De Latocnaye, A Frenchman's Walk through Ireland, translated from the French of De Latocnay by John Stevenson (Dublin, Belfast, 1917), 18.

6. Unless otherwise stated the following seven paragraphs are based on, and quotations in them taken from, Whitelaw's Essay.

7. A Report upon certain Charitable Establishments in the City of Dublin which received aid from Parliament (Dublin, 1809).

8. Charles Topham Bowden, A Tour through Ireland, (Dublin, 1791), 64.

9. Hely Dutton, Observations on Mr. Archer's Statistical Survey of the County of Dublin (Dublin, 1802), 55-56.

10. N.L.I. MS 13,629 (8), Report of the stone cutters of the city of Dublin on the decline in their trade between the Act of Union in 1800 and April 1832.

12. Report from the select committee on industries (Ireland) together with proceedings of the Committee, minutes of evidence and appendix (London, 1885), appendix No.2, pp. 733-34, 'A report of

Ctd.

12. the coach-making trade and its vicissitudes previous to the Act of Union with Great Britain down to the present time' (includes a list of names and addresses of coachmakers in Dublin in 1799).

13. Report on ... Industries (Ireland), 1885, appendix no. 5, Irish Industries: Schedule of manufacturers to the Act of Union .... 1800; Minutes, C.W.S., XIV, 5: 19 August 1796; XV, XVI, passim.

14. Dublin Directory, 1800.

15. Edward Wakefield, An Account of Ireland, statistical and political (2 vols., London, 1812), I, 744-45.

16. William P. Coyne, ed., Ireland, Industrial and Agricultural (Dublin, 1902), 474.

17. N.L.I. MS 13,629 (3), Memorial addressed by the artisans of the woollen business to the Committee of the Catholic Board appointed for the promotion of Irish manufactures ... including a list of the average number of persons employed in each branch of the woollen manufacture (except stuffs, hosiery, carpets) from 1800 to 1820 with their weekly wages. N.L.I. MS 13,629 (6), Report of the Committee appointed by the National Trades Union to enquire into the state of the woollen trade in Ireland (c.1832).

18. Dublin Directory, 1800.

19. N.L.I. MS 13,629 (7), Report on the decline of the cotton trade in the city of Dublin since the Act of Union and of its condition in April, 1834, with names and details of employers in 1800 and their subsequent progress.

20. Murray, Commercial Relations between Ireland and England, 264; Wallace, Manufactures of Ireland, 185, 198-99.

21. Dublin Directory, 1800.

22. Joseph Archer, Statistical Survey of the County Dublin (Dublin, 1801), 82.

23. Dublin Directory, 1800.

24. The two following paragraphs are based on N.L.I. MS 364, Abstract of Irish exports and imports in the year ended 25 March 1800; R.I.A. MS 24 H 13. Abstract of exports and imports for 1782 to 1795: R.I.A. MS 24 H 14, An abstract of exports and imports from and to Ireland of bread, corn, hair powder, meal and starch from the year 1764 to 1795; Cullen, Anglo-Irish Trade, 46-59, 120, 126.

25. Minutes, C.W.S., XIX, 270: 17 May 1805; Ibid. XXVII, 220: 29 March 1815; and books XIX to XXVII, passim.

26. Minutes, C.W.S., XXII, 126: 9 May 1810; Ibid., XXVI, 181: 20 April 1814; Ibid., XXVII, 66-67: 15 Nov. 1815; and books XXII to XXVIII, passim.

27. Reports on the Improvement of Dublin Harbour, 1800-1802, made to

Ch.

27. the Directors General of Inland Navigation in Ireland (Dublin, 1802), 15.

28. Minutes, C.W.S., XXI, 321-27: 15 Nov. 1809; XXVI, 122-24: 16 March 1814; Dublin City, sheet 18, first edition, 6-inches to the mile, 1838.

29. Minutes, C.W.S., XVII, 43: 9 July 1801; XIX, 25: 26 Jan.1804; XIX, 73-74: 20 April 1804; XXI, 321-27: 15 Nov. 1809.

30. Delany, Canals of the South of Ireland, 51; Archer, Statistical Survey, 118.

31. 26th Geo. III, chap. xix; 32nd Geo.III, chap.xxxv; 40th Geo.III, chap.xlvii; Reports on the Improvement of Dublin Harbour, 5, 13-15.

32. For a structural comparison of the Custom House and the Four Courts see Craig, Dublin, 250-55.

33. Bowden, Tour in Ireland, 5-6.

34. Malton, View of Dublin, unpaginated notes.

35. Minutes, C.W.S., XXII, 126: 9 May 1810.

36. Minutes, C.W.S., XXIII, 279: 28 Aug. 1811; XXV, 271: 28 July 1813; XXV, 302; 1 Sept. 1813.

37. Minutes, C.W.S., XIX, 270: 17 May, 1805; XX, 41-44: 28 March 1806.

38. Minutes, C.W.S., XIX, 313-14: 6 Sept. 1805.

39. Minutes, C.W.S., XXVI, 91-2: 16 Feb 1814.

40. Minutes, C.W.S., XXVII, 205: 8 March 1815; XXVIII, 281: 10 July 1816, and XXXVII, XVIII, passim.

41. Minutes, C.W.S., XXI, 264-5: 5 July 1809; XXI, 236: 24 May 1809; XXII, 82, 14 March 1810.

42. Bowden, Tour of Ireland, 40; cf above, no. 32.

43. Dublin Directory, 1800; A List of the Proprietors of Licences for private Sedan Chairs 25th March 1788. (Dublin, 1788); unless otherwise stated residents of the late-eighteenth century in each residential square have been identified from these two sources.

44. John Ferrar, A view of ancient and modern Dublin with its improvements to the year 1796 (Dublin, 1796), 73.

45. Unless otherwise stated the following paragraph is based on 'Letterbook of the Fitzwilliam Estate : 1796-1820', P.E.O.

46. Entry made in March, 1797, Letterbook, P.E.O.

47. De Latocnaye, Walk through Ireland, 24.

48. Kirkpatrick, The Book of the Rotunda Hospital, 95-96.

49. 23rd and 24th Geo. III, chap.lvii.

50. Bowden, Tour in Ireland, 27; 45-46.

51. 42nd Geo. III (Loc.) chap.xxxiv.

52. P.R.O.I. M 2574/12; N.L.I. Gardiner deeds.

53. Bowden, Tour of Ireland, 9-10.

54. N.L.I. Gardiner deeds.

55. 31st Geo. III, chap.xlv; 42nd Geo.III (Loc.), chap.xxxiv; 53rd Geo III (Loc.), chap.clxxxv; 54th Geo. III chap.cxcvii.

56. Municipal Corporations Report, I, 72-74.

57. De Latocnaye, Walk through Ireland, 20.

58. Bowden, Tour in Ireland, 87.

59. Malton, View of Dublin, unpaginated notes.

60. Bowden, Tour through Ireland, 18.

61. Elevation for the block lying between Foster Place and Anglesea Street, Dublin Corporation maps, P.R.O.I; cf E. McParland, 'The Wide Streets Commissioners: their importance for Dublin Architecture in the late 18th-early 19th century', Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society, XV, No.1 (Jan - March, 1972), 1-27.

62. Curran in Hall, Bank of Ireland, 456, citing Soane Museum, drawer XIV, set 5; drawer XV, set 2 (7 designs).

63. Minutes, C.W.S., XVI, 263: 22 Jan 1801.

64. Minutes, C.W.S., XXIV, 66: 26 Feb. 1812.

65. Minutes, C.W.S., XIX, 72: 20 April 1804.

66. Minutes, C.W.S., XXIII, 149: 24 April 1811; XXIV, 123: 2 Apr.1812 XXV; 15: 21 October 1812: Elevations for Sackville Street signed by Thomas Sherrard are in the Dublin Corporation Map Collection, P.R.O.I; they were probably derived from Gandon's elevations which have not survived.

67. Elevations for Westmoreland Street, Dublin Corporation Maps, P.R.O.I, reproduced in McParland, Bulletin Geo.Soc., XV (1972), plates 12 and 13. These elevations appear to have been drawn by Thomas Sherrard although designed by Baker.

68. Minutes, C.W.S., XVIII, 236: 4 April 1803.

69. Minutes, C.W.S., XVIII, 341: 27 Oct. 1803.

70. Minutes, C.W.S., XIX, 41: 9 March 1804.

71. Minutes, C.W.S., XIX, 302: 21 June 1805.

72. Minutes, C.W.S., XXIV, 93, 106-7: 11 March, 25 March 1812.

73. Minutes, C.W.S., XXX, 210-11: 25 Nov 1818.

74. John Summerson, Georgian London (London, 1962), 265.

75. P. Abercrombie, 'Paris: Some Influences that have shaped its Growth', T.P.R., II (1911), 309; 'The era of Architectural Town Planning: a study of certain influences at work during the Renaissance', T.P.R., V (1914), 197-212.

Chapter XVI

CONCLUSION

In 1600 Dublin was still in many respects a medieval city: small in size, enclosed by walls, and surrounded by lands on which patterns of land-use and systems of tenure precluded urban expansion. Its population is thought to have numbered about five or six thousand and so, in a continental context, it merely ranked as a small town, for continental cities with populations of 10,000 were then considered small. The population of London was ten times greater than that of Dublin, that of Paris fifteen times greater, and that of Rome twenty times greater. Even Edinburgh was larger than Dublin, for its population numbered about 8,000.

By the end of the eighteenth century Dublin had been transformed: a central area which bore no relation to the medieval core had been established, the modern street-plan within the canals had evolved, the Liffey had been walled in its course through the city, extensive reclamation had reshaped the estuary, and the nucleus of the modern port had been established. Moreover, it had grown at a rate faster than any west European capital. It had become the second largest city in the British Empire and ranked eighth among European cities. Although still much smaller than London or Paris, Dublin, the capital of a small, poor island, had become more populous than Rome. When one considers that in 1800 there were only sixteen European cities with over 100,000 inhabitants, the change in Dublin's size and status seems even more remarkable.

The main reason for the transformation of Dublin between 1600 and 1800 was its role as a capital city. Capital cities were growing larger in most European countries at this period, partly as a result of economic progress and partly for political reasons connected with the centralisation of government. In Ireland where government was in the hands of an alien minority, this trend towards metropolitan centralisation was particularly strong. In the seventeenth century it was the presence of the viceroy and his court, together with the various offices of the executive, that acted as the main stimulus to growth: in the following century it was the emergence of parliament

as an effective organ of government, culminating in an almost independent parliament in 1782. Initially, centralised government encouraged urbanisation merely by creating a demand for residential building; later a sense of colonial national consciousness developed among the ruling class, finding expression first in individual buildings and then in schemes of redevelopment through which the street-plan was rationalised and a monumental core was formed with the House of Parliament as a focal point. But in Dublin late eighteenth-century magnificence was less a reflection of increasing national wealth than it was in other European countries; it was more the physical manifestation of a sense of colonial national pride among a small ruling minority which was alien in origin and which represented neither the country at large nor even the local urban community.

Already in 1600 Dublin was the principal port in Ireland and during the two ensuing centuries its trade grew and diversified. Both exports and imports reflected the fact that the city's economy was largely commercial rather than industrial for, although weaving and other industries flourished during the second half of the seventeenth century, development was stunted in the ensuing period by statutory trade restrictions. Exports were largely textiles and agricultural products, for the seventeenth century wool trade was succeeded by linen, which passed through Dublin, while trade in provisions developed from the mid-seventeenth century. Imports reflected the growth of the building industry for throughout the period large quantities of wood were imported and during the eighteenth century other building materials - slates, bricks and stones - were imported in increasing quantities. Other imports included large quantities of coal, textiles, and a wide range of luxuries. Existing links with the continent were maintained during the seventeenth century while trade with Britain grew and, during the eighteenth century, became overwhelmingly dominant. Meanwhile, Dublin's hinterland grew until it extended to all the provinces.

The composition and rate of growth of its population was one of Dublin's most unusual features. During the first half of the seventeenth century the Irish were periodically excluded from the city, as they had been in medieval times, and at the Restoration more than three-quarters of the population was of English birth or origin.

Immigration of protestant merchants and craftsmen was then encouraged by legislation and the population was augmented by an influx of Huguenots, Quakers and other immigrants. After the Williamite wars, new immigrants - disbanded soldiers, merchants and others - settled in Dublin and at about the same time dispossessed Irish began to migrate from the countryside. From the beginning of the eighteenth century a large standing army was maintained and its presence touched most aspects of city life, creating employment and thus increasing the population; in fact, the barracks built to house the Dublin regiments was reputed to be the largest then in Europe. Following restrictions on trade imposed by Parliament early in the eighteenth century, weavers and merchants, who were mainly protestants, began to emigrate. Meanwhile, migration from the countryside continued and, during the eighteenth century, those of Irish birth and origin gradually formed, for the first time, the majority of the population. Although a wealthy Irish middle class gradually emerged, they lacked political power, for they were excluded from public life on grounds of religion, and so a minority of alien descent continued to dominate the city. In Dublin, trade was a means of fusing the different segments of the community together, for immigrants and migrants alike engaged in commerce and during the second half of the eighteenth century social divisions based on religious allegiance gradually receded.

The growth of Dublin was promoted for political reasons. The physical pattern of this growth was determined by availability of land for building and this, in turn, was determined by patterns of land-ownership and tenure. Medieval Dublin had been surrounded by monastic land. After its seizure by the crown such land was later granted to private individuals and its subsequent development was determined by the new landowners and their lessees. The medieval system of tenure had persisted almost unchanged in Dublin until the beginning of the seventeenth century. Tenurial changes introduced at that time in response to demands of speculators, first on the municipal estate and then on private estates, tended to give the occupier of property more secure tenure through longer terms of years, through the right of reversion, or through leases for lives renewable forever. These changes gradually made land-holding more significant than landownership in determining the character of development,

unless the landlord imposed conditions in leasing the property. While such tenurial changes tended, on the whole, to give more rights to tenants, an anomalous situation developed through building leases granted for long terms of years. Initially, building leases were granted either for short terms of years or for the life of the tenant, and on expiry of the lease, the site together with all buildings and improvements reverted to the lessor. At its inception this method of development did not appear to be inherently unjust for buildings were not usually substantial and they generally retained their value only for the term of the lease. Consequently, reversion to the landlord did not involve any great financial loss to the lessee. With the passage of time, leases were granted for longer terms of years, for buildings were more substantial and required greater capital investment, and some complexities developed. In fact, some terms of years were so long that they expired only in the twentieth century and, although accumulated payments of ground rents, for land leased so long ago, far exceeded the potential outright purchase price of even the best building sites, the ground-landlord might still claim all buildings on the property on expiry of the lease. In the period under consideration, however, long terms of years attracted speculators and thus promoted domestic building.

The form and extent of urban development was determined by public and private agents. Throughout most of the period there was no central control of urban growth, for the jurisdiction of the city council was limited to the county of the city and its direct control of development was effective only on its own estate. The morphogenetic significance of the municipal council is indicated by plans for St. Stephen's Green and for Oxmantown Green and even more by the improvement of the estuary which was undertaken by the Ballast Board under the direction of the city council. The extent of reclaimed land, its location and its subsequent use, all reflect the efficacy of the Ballast Board.

Before the middle of the eighteenth century the principal morphogenetic agents were private developers and the significance of their work can scarcely be overestimated. Few were hereditary

landlords; most were speculators who acquired property for building. During the seventeenth century most speculators were officials of the state or of the city. A new class of speculators comprising merchants, financiers, builders and craftsmen, emerged towards the end of that century and it was principally they who built eighteenth century Dublin. Throughout the period, by far the greater part of domestic building was intended to provide residences for the gentry and such building had to attain certain standards in order to be profitable. On the other hand, the extent of private investment in works which could not be expected to give immediate and direct financial return to the investor was quite extraordinary, especially during the seventeenth century when extensive tracts were reclaimed, bridges built, and numerous new streets opened at the expense of the private developers. During the eighteenth century, when public funds were created for the work of the Ballast Board and of the Wide Streets Commissioners, private investment remained important, for private developers continued to build quays and to open new streets as well as to build houses . Moreover, renovation of the city under the control of the Wide Streets Commissioners would not have been possible had not private investors engaged in speculative building under the conditions laid down by the Commissioners. The projects of the Commissioners were partly financed by the scale of building sites, and takers of these financed paving the streets and making footpaths, drains, and sewers, as well as building. Capital investment by private developers during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries still benefits the city for, although seventeenth-century buildings have long been demolished and eighteenth-century buildings are fast disappearing, an important heritage remains in the street-plan, quays and reclaimed land.

In each generation there was one or more individuals who made a significant contribution to the morphogenesis of Dublin. Throughout most of the period such people seem to have succeeded best when working independently, for few schemes undertaken co-operatively on a voluntary basis succeeded. Early in the seventeenth century Newman demonstrated the feasibility of reclamation by successfully enclosing the Poddle-Liffey confluence and thereby provided a site for the Custom House and wharfs. His contemporary, Mayor Carroll,

envisaged walling the Liffey eastwards to Ringsend, a project which was gradually realised by later generations. After the Restoration many important developers emerged. Aungier developed the first, planned upper-class residential suburb, Ellis developed the north-western suburb, while in the south-west, local industrialists promoted the establishment of a regular market, authorised by royal charter, and promoted concomitant urban development. The most striking individual of this generation was Humphrey Jervis, for it was largely through his initiatives that the north bank east of the medieval nucleus of settlement developed. Jervis planned a new street-system, undertook extensive reclamation, bridged the Liffey, and, during his mayoralty, arranged the transfer of the principal city markets to the north bank. The most prominent developers of the next generation were Dawson and Eccles, each of whom planned residential suburbs. Campbell, their contemporary, extended the north-eastern street-system along lines established by Jervis and leased extensive sites for building: he is less well known to later generations than other developers, probably owing to his status of employee. The most outstanding individual of the entire period was Luke Gardiner, the elder, whose influence seems to have pervaded all aspects of urban development. His total contribution to the development of Dublin - in terms of public service, enabling finance consolidation of reclamation schemes, and planned development of his own estate - is unequalled, much less surpassed. Wealth was the key to power for Luke Gardiner for it enabled him to acquire vast property: it was his innate ability as planner and developer, however, which enabled him to give Dublin a considerable legacy whose morphogenetic significance can scarcely be overestimated. None of Luke Gardiner's schemes for urban improvement were undertaken in conjunction with public bodies. His grandson, the second Luke, worked both in his private capacity of estate owner and as a Commissioner.

The Wide Streets Commissioners, established in 1757, were undoubtedly the most significant morphogenetic agents of the entire period, and yet their projects would not have been so effective had not the work of earlier developers been so well planned. The scope of the Commissioners was limited, for they were authorised only to open new streets and to control elevations of buildings in new

streets. After 1790 they were authorised to require private developers to submit plans and elevations for approval before opening new streets or extending existing ones. In effect, this extension of their powers constituted them a central authority with limited functions. But streets could not be opened unless funds were available to purchase property on the site of proposed improvements. Royal and parliamentary grants, augmented by a tax on imported coal, were never sufficient for projects under consideration and plans were usually modified owing to economic considerations.

The significance of the Commissioners derived as much from their individual interests and talents as from their statutory powers for many were local landowners who had a vested interest in improvement, some were patrons of the arts, and most were influential people. Their primary aim was the improvement of the approaches from Essex Bridge to the Castle and then from the Castle to the House of Parliament on College Green. As the work progressed, their vision was enlarged to view the city as a unit for which they planned a monumental core with wide, straight arteries leading to it from the east, west, north and south. Their plans were clearly influenced by classical concepts of urban design and were probably influenced by recent city building in Europe, which had largely been executed through the will of autocratic rulers. Without the power, status or finance of such rulers the Commissioners attempted to rationalise the town plan, a task more difficult than building a new city. After 1800 the Commissioners' expenditure was curtailed by the United Kingdom Parliament and nineteenth century projects were more utilitarian although no less enduring as elements of the townscape than earlier projects. The transformation effected by the Commissioners during the brief period in which they worked relatively freely with extended powers is an eloquent testimony to their efficacy. The persistence with which modified forms of plans made during the closing years of the eighteenth century were gradually implemented during the nineteenth century is a testimony to their spirit of civic pride.

Despite the lack of centralised control the operation of public and private agents was to a large extent complementary and the city developed in a relatively coherent manner. The street system

records the high standards which were adopted both by the municipal council and by independent private developers. Before the Restoration the only recorded control of the street-plan was the city council's requirement that new or improved streets be thirty feet wide; it was also the city council which first planned extensive new tracts of streets and building lots. Other innovations of street-design were introduced by private developers. It was Aungier who opened what was in its day the widest street in Dublin; Dawson's main street, opened a half a century later, was seventy feet wide, and enlargement of street-widths culminated in Luke Gardiner's plan for Sackville Street with its tree-lined mall. The need to correlate new development with existing streets was recognised by many independent developers, for Aungier, Dawson, Molesworth, and others integrated their development so well that subsequently, only minor street-alterations were necessary on their estates.

The need to rationalise the street-plan during the eighteenth century derived principally from the need for a bridge in the eastern sector, from the fact that streets of medieval origin were not wide enough for increasing wheeled traffic, and, to a much lesser degree, from the irregular articulation of independently planned projects. High standards of street design were being applied in all the newer suburbs when the Wide Streets Commissioners were established; moreover, certain features of the townscape - Essex Bridge and the Castle, Sackville Street and the House of Parliament - determined the main areas of redevelopment and these existed already when the Commissioners were established. This does not diminish the significance of the Commissioners: their great achievement was to rationalise the town-plan by piercing new arteries through built-up areas, opening new vistas, thus helping to create new patterns of circulation, and to provide for the future needs of an expanding city. Their principal legacy to posterity was a street-network adapted to wheeled traffic.

While the city was expanding street facades gradually changed as notions of regularity and symmetry evolved. That this did not result in complete uniformity of residential buildings over wide areas may

be attributed to the nature of speculative development for few speculators built extensive tracts and houses built by one usually differed at least in detail from those of adjacent developers. From the beginning of the seventeenth century the city council exercised a simple form of control by specifying the number of storeys and the type of building materials to be used on the municipal estate. During the first half of the century such control was only exercised sporadically and in any case extended only to a fraction of the city. After the Restoration the city council attempted to control in a general way the character of new neighbourhoods through clauses in leases for the lots on St.Stephen's Green and on Oxmantown Green. More specific controls were introduced early in the eighteenth century by speculators such as Hendrick who required that uniform buildings be constructed in new streets, but as yet such streets lacked architectural pretension. Palladian design was introduced to Dublin during the 1730s and from this time large houses which were architecturally distinctive and were enduring features of the townscape, were constructed in the better residential areas. Each of these was individually designed and initially there was no effort to correlate them into a balanced, unified street-panorama. Control of facades in an entire street was first exercised successfully by the Wide Streets Commissioners in opening Parliament Street where uniform, utilitarian standards were imposed on all builders. A designed street-panorama was first developed on Palace Row, north of the Pleasure Gardens, through the initiative of Lord Charlemont whose mansion formed the centre-piece of the row of buildings. The evolution of architectural street-design culminated in monumental facades which gave a row of individual buildings the appearance of a single large mansion. In Dublin, the first of these, with shops on the ground floor, was built on the south side of Dame Street. Monumental frontages were designed for shopping streets and residential blocks alike during the late eighteenth century and although few were actually constructed in Dublin, the notions of order and symmetry were widely applied, being reflected in the alignment of streets and frontages rather than in unified or uniform facades.

The makers of early-modern Dublin were not working in isolation and their achievements must be viewed in a broader context for they

had not only assimilated new ideas but also proved to be ingenious innovators. Throughout the period close contacts were maintained with London which undoubtedly exercised a sustained formative influence on Dublin. However, although designs, architects, approval for projects, and even finance came from London, ideas were not all derived from this one source. Notions of urban improvement were introduced to Dublin from the continent after the Restoration, initially through the return of Ormonde and his entourage, and then through an intermittent influx of immigrants, through the diffusion of publications during the eighteenth century, and through craftsmen who were invited to Dublin by the gentry. Even more significant was the direct influence of returned travellers who had visited both Britain and the Continent, for it was largely they who introduced innovations, planned improvements, and adapted them to the local situation.

Physical characteristics of urban design may indicate the source of ideas but not all derivations are easy to trace. Formal squares were developed in London from about 1630 when Covent Garden was built and its plan was probably derived from Parisian squares of earlier date, such as the Place des Vosges which was constructed about 1600. The earliest comparable schemes in Dublin were the city council's plans for Oxmantown Green and for St.Stephen's Green which were formulated during the 1660s. Unlike Covent Garden, these Dublin schemes did not include designs for individual buildings, although some general controls, exercised through clauses in leases, were intended to maintain certain minimum standards of building. The derivation of the Dublin plans is unknown and St.Stephen's Green, in particular, remains a puzzle. It entirely lacked the characteristic architectural distinction of the French Royal Places, which were lined with monumental buildings. Although planned for a small city, it was much larger than London's squares and was possibly even the largest residential square in Europe. It may have been influenced by the successful residential development of Bloomsbury Square and St.James's Square, London, in 1661-62. From about this time in Dublin, external influences seem gradually to have fused, with continental influences dominant during the second quarter of the eighteenth century, while Dublin's late eighteenth-century suburbs

seem to have been modelled on London, except on the Gardiner estate where plans and facades were inspired by John Wood's schemes for Bath.

Improvements planned by the Wide Streets Commissioners seem to have been unique. Only two European cities have experienced a comparable transformation and neither paralleled the work done in Dublin. Rome had been improved in stages by the popes and the work was completed during the sixteenth century by Sixtus V and Domenico Fontana: new thoroughfares had been opened, monumental vistas had been created, and the various quarters had been linked into a unit. Fontana's work had an incalculable influence on European town planning and it probably influenced the Commissioners, although the redevelopment of Dublin was not modelled on that of Rome. Neither was it modelled on Paris, for schemes to improve the built-up areas of that city were formulated by the Commission des Artistes only in 1793 and they were not implemented until the nineteenth century. The Wide Streets Commissioners must, indeed, have been innovators, for the creation of a new city core through total redevelopment of a densely built area was a unique phenomenon, and Dublin's new designed shopping streets appear to have had no contemporary parallel either in Britain or in Europe. The work of the Commissioners reflects the spirit of independence and of national pride which inspired them: had the work they planned during the last two decades of the eighteenth century been completed, Dublin might have surpassed European cities, not in size, but in beauty.

The year 1800 marked the end of an era in Dublin's history. Henceforth practical considerations took precedence and the more ostentatious plans were modified or abandoned. Development nevertheless continued, following established trends until about the middle of the nineteenth century: the eastern residential suburbs were extended ; the new arteries were completed, although not in the form first envisaged: the city expanded beyond the Circular Road; and yet the misery of the poorer quarters was almost unrelieved. The Great Famine increased the influx of rural migrants and congestion and decay then spread into new areas, notably into part of the residential suburbs of the north-east. The twentieth century dawned

on an enlarged city of widespread contrasts. Ostentatious eighteenth century luxury had been replaced by complacent, comfortable, Victorian respectability and both were diametrically opposed to the living conditions of the vast majority of the population. Decay had almost reached a climax and renewal brought structural and social change which is characteristic of the twentieth century.

The contemporary city is evolving rapidly, for changes which would once have taken centuries are now accomplished in decades. The requirements of contemporary living tend to create a different form of urban environment and yet, although the pace of life has accelerated and the manner of living has changed, most requirements of urban dwellers remain basically the same. Moreover, both agents and modes of contemporary growth and renewal differ little in essence from those of earlier times: then, as now, speculation was the primary operative force but now there is a more sophisticated public morphogenetic system through which activities of developers are controlled. A role comparable to that of the Wide Streets Commissioners is filled by the local planning authority whose scope is wider and those task more complex. Post-medieval tenurial changes culminated after three and a half centuries in the Landlord and Tenant (Ground Rents) Act (1966) which imposed on landowners the compulsion to sell freehold interest, thereby inaugurating a new tenurial era. Although urban forms are changing, the legacy of the past remains, both as visible components of the townscape and as invisible but very significant controls derived from past patterns of landownership and systems of tenure. The right to purchase freehold interest has made it possible to change inherited patterns and modern planning authorities can control the nature of change. Analysis of post-medieval urban growth is nevertheless more than an academic exercise made to satisfy curiosity about the past. Through such analysis the source of contemporary problems and patterns of distribution can be identified, the process of growth through which they evolved can be elucidated, relict features of the townscape can better be understood, trends rooted in the past can be identified, and the sum of this knowledge can provide a more enlightened basis on which to plan controlled development of the future.

Appendix

Notes on Illustrations

Figures

Unless otherwise stated maps are based on the Ordnance Survey.

1. The Site of Dublin c.1600

The coastline is based on Gomme's survey (1673) and on identifiable landmarks mentioned in Corporation reclamation leases cited in Chapter IV. Contours are based on the Ordnance Survey twelve-inch maps of Dublin City, revised edition of 1907, and on changes in ground level which are known to be later than 1600 and are recorded by the Geological Survey and by Dublin Corporation, cited in chapter II. The Ordnance Survey contours have been adapted to the probable situation in 1600 by Mr. H. Batt, Chief Draughtsman, City Engineer's Department, in co-operation with the writer. Anomalies near the upper Coombe probably derive from the mill stream of the Abbey of Thomas Court and may date from as early as the twelfth century.

2. Surface Geology

The extent of the 'intake' is derived from the coastline of 1600, as defined above, and the coastline shown on the first edition of the Ordnance Survey. Other features are based on the Geological Survey of Ireland, Dublin, Sheet 18, edition of 1912 (Drift Edition, 1915).

4. The Liberty of St.Patrick c.1600

Based on surveys of the Liberty of St.Patrick, 1741-1825 by Roger Kendrick, Marsh's Library, and a map compiled by Thomas Drew, published 1 Dec. 1890. Drew identified the sites of the medieval buildings from ruins which remained in 1900. The Cathedral is the only one of the illustrated buildings which now remains. The site of the Archiepiscopal Palace of St.Sepulchre is now occupied by Kevin Street Garda Barrack. The pattern of landownership c.1600 is derived from Kendrick's survey for the Cathedral dignitaries' title to the property had remained unchanged from 1600 until the date of Kendrick's survey.

6. Parishes c.1600

Based on Brooking's map (1728) and derived from 17th and 18th Charles II, chapter vii, 9th William III, chapter xvi, 6th Anne, chapter xxi. Although the ecclesiastical parish of St.Andrew had been suppressed at the Reformation, it was still recognised as a distinct administrative unit, as indicated by statistics cited in chapter V; the parish was officially re-created by 17th and 18th

6. (Continued)

Charles II, chapter vii. No other seventeenth century changes made prior to 1697 are recorded. Sections which were detached from older parishes in order to create new parishes in 1697 and in 1707 are delimited in the statutes and from this evidence the boundaries of parishes, other than St. Andrew's, which existed prior to 1697 have been reconstructed.

7, 12, 17, 18. Estates

Estates mapped in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have been correlated with the Ordnance Survey. Title to property has been traced back through the eighteenth and seventeenth centuries in order to map the illustrated estates.

9. The Eastern Suburbs, 1600-1660

Compiled from an undated seventeenth century survey of Hoggen Green and eighteenth century lease-maps of Hoggen Green and Lazy Hill, N.L.I. 16 G 16 (6, 7, 45); a survey by James Ramsay, 1721, Dublin Corporation maps, P.R.O.I.; and based on Rocque's map, 1756. These surveys indicate the location and extent of holdings on the municipal estate which were leased for building during the first half of the seventeenth century, cited in chapter IV. Jury Valuations of the Wide Streets Commissioners suggest that ground lying east of St. George's Lane was the property of Christ Church: complete analysis of the extant Jury Valuations may reveal its precise location.

11, 16, 21, 23, 27. Land Use and Urban Zones

Urban zones are areas which had a measure of homogeneity derived principally from the character and density of buildings and partly from a tendency towards local specialisation of land-use. Functions were not mutually exclusive except in the late eighteenth-century residential suburbs. Domestic buildings of earlier times combined residential with industrial or commercial functions, although some were solely residential. The 'Liberties' (Fig. 27) comprised densely occupied, decaying, working-class areas.

13. The south-eastern suburbs, 1660-1691

Based on Rocque's map (1756) and compiled from evidence for the Aungier estate which is cited in chapter VI, and the survey of St. Stephen's Green reproduced in Falkiner, Blue Coat School to face page 43.

14. The north-western suburbs, 1660-1691

Based on Rocque's map and compiled from the survey of Oxmantown

14. (Continued)

Green reproduced in Falkiner, Blue Coat School to face page 44 and evidence cited in chapter VI.

25. Surveys of the Wide Streets Commissioners, 1758-1800

Three types of surveys distinguished are valuation surveys which extended outside the immediate environs of the proposed improvements and were made on behalf of the Commissioners before redeveloped streets were planned; surveys made on behalf of the Commissioners to enable them to control minor improvements and to correlate development in areas where they did not envisage major redevelopment schemes; and plans submitted for approval by private developers after the powers of the Commissioners were extended in 1790. Surveys made on behalf of the Commissioners during the nineteenth century have not been mapped. The nature and extent of projects implemented by the Wide Streets Commissioners and of private development are indicated in the text

PLATES

I. Survey of Thomas Court, 1634

Manuscript inscribed 'The Draught of the Church with the steeple and house adjoining to St.Katherine's church, done 1634', redrawn from the original (N.L.I. 16 G 16 (35)) by L. Collins, Dublin Corporation. This is the only evidence of the style of residential building in the area during this period and it is not possible to verify its authenticity. According to an inscription on the survey most of the houses were constructed in 1633 and, if so, the style does not seem to parallel contemporary development in England.

II. Burnyates's House

Extract from a lease map inscribed 'This is a plott of a parcel of ground lying between the east side of the way leading from College Green to St.Stephen's Green and the house and garden of Mr. Burnyates, surveyed ... this 17th Jan. 1680, Jo.Green, City Surveyor', Dublin Corporation maps, P.R.O.I. The dimensions on Green's various surveys of leaseholds on the municipal estate correlate accurately with large scale maps of the Ordnance Survey and it may be assumed that his picture of the house is at least broadly correct. Since the survey was made when a lease (of unknown length) was expiring it may be assumed that the house was built much earlier in the century. It was probably contemporaneous with the mansions on Hoggen Green.

III. The Great Market Place

Undated, unsigned map on parchment, probably of the late 1670s, M.E.O.

IV. The Tholsel

From 'Observations in a voyage through the kingdom of Ireland', by T.D. [Thomas Dineley, 1680-81] , N.L.I. MS. 392.

V. The Royal Hospital

From Charles Brooking's'Map of the City of Dublin ... 1728'

VI. Trinity College

From N.L.I. MS 392. Tentative key:

A. The Hall, surmounted by a turret to the west of which was the kitchen

B. The chapel, adjoining a steeple which had been part of the Monastery of All Hallows

C. The Library

D. The Provost's Lodging

E. Sir Jerome Alexander's buildings

F. The pump

G. The garden

H. The Provost's garden and orchard

SS. The first Court

T. The chapel door

This key was suggested by F.Elrington Ball (R.S.A.I.Jn., XLIII (1913), 275 - 309). The writer has found no evidence which would indicate need for revision.

VII. The Blue Coat School

From Brooking's map, 1728. This building, the original Blue Coat School, stood on the west side of Queen Street, on the site of its intersection with Blackhall Place.

VIII. The North Lotts, 1717

Reproduced from Anc. Rec., VII, Plate II. A copy of this map was attached to each of the deeds of land leased for reclamation: surviving deeds are inaccessible at present and so an original map cannot be produced. During the late eighteenth century the map was reprinted with the addition of the Royal Canal.

IX. Double-gabled House

Redrawn by L. Collins from The Irish Builder, XXII (1880). The ornate doorway is probably of later date than the original structure.

X. Gabled House in Marrowbone Lane

Redrawn by L. Collins from Dublin Penny Journal, I (1833). According to the date-stone this house was built in 1713; it was demolished in 1813.

XI. The Castle

Brooking's illustration (1728) shows the four principal towers and the medieval entrance-gate. The arcaded range, constructed by Sir William Robinson during the 1680s, was rebuilt by Thomas Burgh about 1710-1716. (Cornforth, Country Life, CXLVIII (1970), 284, 286.) This view faces south. cf. Plate XVII.

XII. The Custom House

From Brooking's map, 1728. Gabled houses flank Burgh's Custom House, cf Houses in Plates IX, X, XVI, and contrasting styles in Plates I and II.

XVI. College Green, 1753.

'A Prospect of the Parliament House in College Green,Dublin', No. 5 of a series of 'Six Views of Dublin','J. Tudor delin., T. Mason, sculpt.', published in 1753. This is an undated modern reproduction dedicated to J.T. Gilbert, print no. 388 in R.E. Elmes, Catalogue of Irish Topographical Prints and Original Drawings: National Library of Ireland (Dublin, 1943). Note gabled houses of various sizes and styles, the irregular frontage and irregular skyline. cf. Plate XXXV.

XVII. The Great Court Yard, Dublin Castle

By James Malton, Views of ... Dublin (1799). Although Malton's view of the Castle was made in 1791 it is relevant for the mid-century for the Castle buildings were reconstructed between 1730 and 1753 on the site of the medieval castle, following precedents set by Robinson. Craig, citing the Knight of Glin, suggests that the new buildings were probably designed by Pearce. (Cornforth, op.cit., 286-87; Craig, Dublin (1969 edition),xviii) The view faces west; cf Plate XI.

XVIII. Kildare House, later known as Leinster House.

View by James Malton. The building was known as Kildare House in the mid-eighteenth century. No structural alterations were made during the remainder of the century.

XIX. Plan of the Houses and Yards between Essex Street and Dame's Street

by Will.Purfield, June 6th, 1761, Dublin Corporation Maps,

XIX. (Continued)

P.R.O.I. Essex Street lies north of Dame Street. The site of Parliament Street is shown cutting through the street-block bounded by Dame Street and Essex Street. Analysis of the Jury Valuations of the Wide Streets Commissioners for this area showed that the eastern boundary of plots nos. 8, 9, 10, 31 and 30 was a significant property boundary. Analysis of leases recorded in the Assembly Rolls showed that this was the site of the north-eastern city wall and the semi-circular projection on plot no.9 was the site of Bysse's tower which is described in chapter III. Purfield's plan illustrates the first project undertaken by the Wide Streets Commissioners: it also indicates the significance of surveys made for the Wide Streets Commissioners as a key to the identification of medieval topography.

XX and XXI: Extracts from 'An Accurate Survey of the City and Suburbs of Dublin by Mr. Rocque with additions and improvements by Mr. Bernard Scalé to 1773'. Both plates show part of Rocque's map and part of the half sheets added by Scale to illustrate development in the east: a crease, seen as a line running through both plates, indicates the joining of the sheets.

XXII. Capel Street, Essex Bridge and Parliament Street.

View by James Malton. Note the bow-window in Capel Street; cf. the regular frontage on Parliament Street where building had been controlled by the Wide Streets Commissioners. The roof of the Custom House is seen east of Essex Bridge. cf. Plate XII.

XXIII. Rutland Square and the Assembly Rooms

by James Malton. Typical upper-class terraced housing built in the second half of the eighteenth century is seen on the east side of Rutland Square. This plate is not a true illustration of the streetscape in 1775, however, for the circular wall of the Rotunda had been raised and the adjacent assembly rooms had been built before Malton's picture was made.

XXIV. Plan of Westmoreland Street and D'Olier Street

Extract from an unsigned, undated plan superimposed on a survey of the site by Thomas Sherrard, Dublin Corporation Maps, P.R.O.I. A similar plan entitled 'Map of the proposed avenues from the Houses of Parliament to Carlisle Bridge' by Thomas Sherrard, 1795, is in S.P.O. (Carton 506, no.2)

XXV. Plan of the new streets between Carlisle Bridge, Sackville Street and the new Custom House

Extract from an untitled, unsigned, undated plan, probably by Thomas Sherrard, c. 1790, Dublin Corporation Maps, P.R.O.I.

XXVI. Plan of Mountjoy Square, 1787

Extract from 'Elevation of the West Front and plan of the Square laid out on rising ground near George's Church, the Estate of the Right Honble Luke Gardiner, and now to be let for building', surveyed and laid out by Thomas Sherrard, No.60 Capel Street,1787. Copy among Dublin Corporation maps, P.R.O.I., and in N.L.I. 16 G 14 (1) cf. Plate XXVI.

XXVII. Proposed Elevation of the West Front of Mountjoy Square,1787

Extract from 'Elevation ... and plan ... ' by Thomas Sherrard, Dublin Corporation maps, P.R.O.I. and N.L.I. 16 G 14 (1). cf. monumental frontages in Plates XXIX and XXXV

XXVIII. Plan of the Royal Circus.

Undated, unsigned plan, probably of the late 1790s, Iveagh map collection, M 2574/12, P.R.O.I. Post-Union alterations on an attached sheet are by Thomas Sherrard. The surveyor of the original plan is unknown. The fact that Sherrard was working on the Gardiner estate both before and after the Royal Circus was planned suggests that he may also have designed the Royal Circus but there is no evidence to support this view.

XXIX. Elevation of the East Front of the Royal Circus

Elevation signed by T.Cunningham, Dublin Corporation maps, P.R.O.I. cf. monumental frontages in Plates XXVII and XXXV.

XXX. Plan of part of the Fitzwilliam Estate

Extract from a 'Map of that part of the Estate of the Rt.Hon. Richard, Lord Viscount Fitzwilliam within the Circular Road ..... surveyed in 1798 by Pat and John Roe', P.E.O.

XXXI. Plan of the Grand Canal Basin and environs

Extract from 'A Map of part of the City of Dublin near the Grand Canal .... showing the improvements and approaches made and those proposed ...', Dublin Corporation Maps, P.R.O.I. Surveyor's name and date are illegible: since the proposed new street on the site of Crilly's yard is shown, the map probably dates from c.1798 (Minutes, C.W.S., XIV).

XXXII. Gandon's Custom House

View by James Malton. cf. contemporary buildings in Plates XXXIII and XXXV and the old Custom House in Plate XII.

XXXIII. House of Parliament College Green

View by James Malton, showing the new extensions in Foster Place, the West Front of Trinity College and houses on College Street, prior to redevelopment. cf. Plates VI and XVI for earlier views of College Green and Plate XXXV for contemporary buildings on the south side of Dame Street.

XXXIV. View of the Law Courts, looking up the Liffey, Dublin

Malton's view shows the unimproved quays on the south bank of the Liffey where buildings extended to the waterfront. The exposed rock was probably part of that known traditionally as Standfast Dick.

XXXV. Elevation of part of the south side of Dame Street

'Elevation of part of the New Buildings in Dame Street', signed 'A. Baker delint., May 17th, 1785', Dublin Corporation Maps, P.R.O.I.

XXXVI. A Plan of the City of Dublin as surveyed for the use of the Divisional Justices to which have been added plans of the Canal Harbour and its Junction with the Grand Canal, the Royal Canal, and every projection and alteration to the present time, 1797'.

This map, published in Malton, 'Views of .... Dublin, was probably specially commissioned and the surveyor's name is not known; it is more detailed than contemporary Directory maps which were published on approximately the same scale.

List of Sources

The following list is a guide to the sources used in the present work. It is neither a formal bibliography of the subject nor of any part of it. Only the sources cited in the text are listed except in section C, II, b, which includes works on architecture, urban studies and some historical studies from which general information has been derived. Maps have been classified separately even though this entailed repeating the names of some repositories; the principal published general maps of the city which have been used are listed separately. Pictorial evidence has not been listed separately, for the illustrations used in the work are included in the collections and publications listed below. Titles which appear on documents are written in inverted commas. Unless otherwise stated all repositories are in Dublin.

Synopsis

A. Maps

I. Collections
II. Published Maps: General Maps of the City

B. Manuscripts and Typescripts

C. Published Works:

I. Contemporary: (a) Records
(b) Other contemporary writings

II. Modern: (a). Dublin
(b) Other works

A. Maps

I. Collections

British Museum, London

'Exact survey of the City of Dublin and part of the harbour, anno 1685', (K. Top. LIII, 8)

'An Exact Survey of the City of Dublin and part of the harbour below Ring's End' 1685 , (K. Top. LIII, 9)

A survey of the city of Dublin and harbour T. Phillips, 1685 , (K. Top. LIII, 10)

Coras Iompair Eireann

Map Book of the Grand Canal, by John Brownrigg, 1787.

I. Collections (ctd.)

Dublin Corporation

Muniment Room, City Hall

'A Book of Maps, the Estate of the Honble City of Dublin, begun in the year 1786' by Thomas Mathews, City Surveyor, 2 MS vols. 1786 - 1780.

'Atlas and Rental of the Estates of the Hon. Corporation of Dublin, arranged and partly surveyed by Arthur Neville, 1829'.

'Rental of the Estates of the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of Dublin as arranged and laid down on Ordnance Maps, 1867, by Francis Morgan, Law Agent'.

Miscellaneous pre-Ordnance Survey maps.

City Engineer's Department, Castle Street

Sections and plans of old city sewers, 328 maps, mostly by Parke Neville, late nineteenth century.

Most of the Corporation's collection of historic maps is lodged in the Public Record Office of Ireland (see below)

National Library of Ireland

A survey of the city of Dublin and harbour in 'Rules, orders and directions for regulating the office of the Ordnance in Ireland together with exact surveys of the chief harbours, forts and fortifications ... performed by Thomas Phillips, anno 1685' (M 2557)

Dublin city maps (miscellaneous)

Estate maps

Longfield maps

National Maritime Museum, Greenwich

Dartmouth Collection

'A ruff draught of Dublin Bay per Thomas Phillips', no. 10.

'The city and suburbs of Dublin from Kilmainham to Ringsend ... 15th November, 1673' Sir Bernard de Gomme , no. 11.

Marsh's Library

Maps of the Liberty of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, 1741 to 1825, by Roger Kendrick.

I. Collections (ctd.)

Meath Estate Office, Kilruddery, Bray, Co. Wicklow

Estate maps by William Armstrong, 1845 - 1850.

Miscellaneous maps

Modern estate maps delimited on copies of the Ordnance Survey

Pembroke Estate Office

Estate maps by James and Edward Cullen, 1696 1731.

Estate maps by Jonathan Barker, 1762 - 1764.

Miscellaneous maps

Public Record Office of Ireland

Dublin Corporation maps

Corporation lease maps

Miscellaneous maps

Surveys, plans and elevations of the Wide Streets Commissioners

This collection of some 700 documents was in disorder although it had been catalogued during the late nineteenth century. Owing to lack of storage space in the City Hall the collection was transferred to the Public Record Office but it is expected that custody will be resumed by the Corporation when the new municipal offices are built. The collection was sorted and related to the existing catalogue by the writer who found that the collection was incomplete. Reference numbers have not been cited since not all the maps and drawings bear a catalogue number.

Iveagh maps, M 2574, M 2575

State Paper Office

'Map of the Proposed Avenues from the Houses of Parliament to Carlisle Bridge' by Thomas Sherrard, 1795 (Carton 506, no. 2)

II. Published Maps: General Maps of the City

Speed, John 'Dublin, 1610', inset on the map of 'The County of Leinster' in Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain (London, 1611)

Brooking, Charles 'A Map of the city and suburbs of Dublin and also the Archbishop and Earl of Meath's Liberties, with the bounds of each parish, 1728'.

Rocque, John 'An exact survey of the city and suburbs of Dublin in which is expressed the ground-plots of all public buildings, dwelling houses, warehouses, courtyards, etc. 1756', 4 sheets.

II. Published Maps (ctd.)

Scale, Bernard 'An accurate survey of the city and suburbs of Dublin by Mr. Rocque with additions and improvements ... to 1773', 4 sheets and 2 half sheets.

Directory Maps, published with Wilson's Dublin Directory (18th century).

Ordnance Survey

Dublin City, scale of six inches to the mile, 1844 edition, sheet 18:

scale of five feet to the mile, first edition, 1847-48, 33 sheets:

scale of twelve inches to the mile, revised edition, 1907-8, 4 sheets:

scale of 25.344 inches to the mile, 1911 edition, sheet XVIII.

Geological Survey of Ireland: Dublin, sheet 18, edition of 1912 (Drift edition, 1915)

B. Manuscripts and Typescripts

Coras Iompair Eireann

Deeds of conveyances and expired leases of property on the Grand and Royal Canals.

Dublin Corporation, Muniment Room, City Hall

Assembly Rolls

Deeds

Minutes of the Wide Streets Commissioners, 1758 - 1850

Friends' Meeting House Historical Library, Eustace Street

D 4 'A Book for the recording of the last wills of friends deceased ..... 26th of the 6th, 1684.'

D 5 A Book of Wills, 1721 - 1772

D 10 Minutes of Men's Meetings, 5 Dec. 1671 - 12 June 1864

D 12 List of Deeds

S 1 A Journal of the life and action of Anthony Sharpe

S 3 Anthony Sharpe, his book.

Deeds

Meath Estate Office

Abstracts of leases, 2 vols

Abstracts of leases granted by Bernard Browne

Miscellaneous deeds and documents
Schedule of deeds, 2 vols

Meath Estate Office (ctd.)

Schedule of leases and maps of the Earl of Meath's Dublin estates, 1910.

National Library of Ireland

Abstract of Irish exports and imports for the period 1764 - 1823, 24 vols. (MSS 353 - 76)

Drogheda Papers (D 21,596 - 21,629)

'Dublin Directories, 1751 - 1760' by H.S. Guinness (Typescript), (MS 4268).

Gardiner Deeds (an unsorted collection, 5 crates)

'Observations in a voyage through the kingdom of Ireland, being a collection of several monuments, inscriptions, draughts of towns, castles, etc. T.D.' Thomas Dineley , (MS 392)

'Valuations of St. Kevin's Parish (including St. Peter's), 1667 - 1723' (MS 5230)

O'Connell Papers, Reports on Industries (MS 13629)

Pembroke Estate Office

Deeds

Letterbook of the Fitzwilliam Estates, 1796 - 1820.

Public Record Office of Ireland

Deeds of property formerly belonging to the Usher family (D 20,447 - 53)

Luke Gardiner's Will (T 11145)

Miscellaneous Dublin Deeds (D 16,268 - 303)

Miscellaneous Manuscripts, transcripts by W. Monck Mason (M 2549)

Miscellaneous Records, transcripts by W. Monck Mason (Phillips's MS 17044)

Transcripts of grants made to Sir Garret Moore and heirs in 9th James I and 15th Charles I (M 2530)

Transcript of Hearth Money Roll, Co. Dublin, 1664 (Exchequer (Revenue) 189[a])

An enrolment of the number of hearths etc. in the city of Dublin and suburbs thereof, 1663' Revised date, 1665 , (Exchequer (Revenue) 14)

Dublin Corporation Records

Deeds of expired leases

Jury Valuation Books of the Wide Streets Commissioners, 1789 - 1817

Registry of Deeds

Lands Index: City of Dublin

Consolidated Parties Index

Registry of Deeds (ctd.)

Miscellaneous memorials

Royal Irish Academy

Abstracts of Exports and Imports for 1782 to 1795 (MS 24 H 13)

An Abstract of Exports and Imports from and to Ireland ... from the year 1764 to 1795 (MS 24 H 14)

Ballast Office: 1708 1712 (MS 3 C 24)

St. Patrick's Cathedral

Register of Leases of St. Patrick's Cathedral, 1660 - 1689

St. Peter's Parish Church (of Ireland)

Vestry Minutes, 1736 - 1807

Trinity College Library

Captain South, 'An Account of the Houses and Hearths in Dublin for .... 1695/6, 1696/7' (MS I, i, 2, fol. 83)

Deeds

Dublin Parish Records, transcripts by W. Monck Mason (MSS 2062, 2063)

Archbishop's Registry

'A table of the several parishes in the city of Dublin and Liberties thereunto adjoining in the year 1733' (no. 30)

'The state and condition of the popish chapels in Dublin both secular and regular, 1749' (no. 18 (10))

C. Published Works

I. Contemporary

(a) Records

Acts and Statutes made in a Parliament begun in Dublin, 12 Nov. 1715 and continued in various sessions until September, 1725 (Dublin, 1725) in which private acts not listed in the general series are recorded.

An Account of the proceedings and state of the fund of the Corporation instituted for the relief of the poor and for punishing vagabonds and sturdy beggars in the county of the city of Dublin (Dublin, 1774)

A Census of Ireland, circa 1659, with supplementary material from the poll money ordinances, 1660-61, ed. S. Pender (Dublin, 1939)

A List of Claims as they are entered with the Trustees at Chichester House on College Green, Dublin, on or before 10th August 1700 (Dublin, 1701)

I. Contemporary (a) ctd.

A List of the Proprietors of Licences for private Sedan Chairs, 25th March 1788 (Dublin, 1788)

'A note of the whole circuit of the city walls, from the tower called Bermingham's tower of the castle unto the east gate called the Dames gate of the said city, according to the direction of the right honourable the Lord Deputy' 1563, State Papers, Ireland, vol. cxxi, no. 73, P.R.O., London, published in Anc. Rec., II, Appendix II, 551-57.

Calendar of Ancient Deeds and Muniments preserved in the Pembroke Estate Office, Dublin (Dublin, 1891)

Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin in the possession of the municipal corporation, ed. Sir J.T. Gilbert and Lady Gilbert (19 vols, Dublin, 1889-1944)

Calendar of the manuscripts of the Marquess of Ormonde, preserved at Kilkenny Castle (I.M.C., new series, 8 vols, 1902-20)

Calendar of State Papers, domestic series, 1700-2, 1703-4 (London, 1924, 1937)

Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland, 1660-1772 (London, 1905)

Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland, 1669-70, with addenda 1625-70 (London, 1910)

Chartuleries of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, ed. J.T. Gilbert (2 vols, Rolls Series, 1884-86)

Court Book of the Liberty of Saint Sepulchre within the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Dublin, 1586 - 1590, ed. H. Wood (Dublin, 1930)

Extents of Irish monastic possessions, 1540-1541, from manuscripts in the Public Record Office, London, ed. N.B. White (I.M.C., Dublin, 1943)

Guide to Irish Quaker Records, 1654-1860, ed. with introduction by O. Goodbody (I.M.C., 1967)

Historical and Municipal Documents of Ireland, ed. J.T. Gilbert (Rolls Series, 1970)

Inquisitionum in officio Rotulorum Cancellariae Hiberniae .... repertorium (2 vols, Dublin, 1826-9)

Irish Patent Rolls of James I: facsimile of the Irish record commissioners' calendar prepared prior to 1830, with foreword by M.C. Griffith (I.M.C., Dublin, 1966)

Journals of the House of Commons of the kingdom of Ireland ... 1613 - 1800 (19 vols, Dublin, 1796-1800)

I. Contemporary (a) ctd.

Municipal corporations (Ireland), appendix to the first report of the Commissioners (report on the city of Dublin, part I), 25 , H.C. 1835, xxvii, 79-198; part II , 26 , H.C. 1836, xxiv, 297-496.

Observations on the state and condition of the Poor under the institution for their relief in the City of Dublin, together with the State of the Fund, published by order of the Corporation (Dublin, 1775)

Precedents and Abstracts from the Journals of the Trustees of the Linen and Hempen Manufactures of Ireland to the twenty-fifth of March, 1737 (Dublin, 1784)

Parish Register Society of Dublin: Publications

The Registers of St. John the Evangelist, Dublin, 1619-1699, ed. J. Mills, vol. I (Dublin, 1906)

The Registers of baptisms, marriages and burials in the collegiate and cathedral church of St. Patrick, Dublin, 1677 - 1800, transcribed by C.H.P. Price, ed. J.H. Bernard, vol. II (Dublin, 1907)

The registers of the church of St. Michan, Dublin, 1636 - 1700, ed. H.F. Berry, vols. III & VII, Dublin, 1907)

The Register of the parish of St. Peter and St. Kevin, Dublin, 1669 - 1761 with preface by J. Mills, vol. IX (London, 1911)

The Register of St. Nicholas Without, Dublin, 1694-1739 with preface by J. Mills, vol. X (Dublin, 1912)

Marriage entries from the Registers of the parishes of St. Andrew, St. Anne, St. Audoen and St. Bride (Dublin) 1632 - 1800, ed. D.A. Chart, vol. XI (Exeter & London, 1913)

Marriage entries from the Registers of the parishes of St. Marie, St. Luke, St. Catherine and St. Werburgh (Dublin), 1627 - 1800, ed. A.E. Langman, vol. XII (Exeter & London, 1915)

Huguenot Society of London: Publications

Registers of the French conformed churches of St. Patrick and St. Mary, Dublin, ed. J.J. Digges La Touche, vol. VII (Dublin, 1893)

Registers of the French non-conformist churches of Lucy Lane and Peter Street, Dublin, ed. T.P. Le Fanu, vol. XIV (Aberdeen, 1901)

I. Contemporary (a) ctd.

Rental of the Estates of the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of Dublin as arranged and laid down on ordnance maps by Francis Morgan, Law Agent (Dublin, 1867), revised by Edmund W. Eyre (1884)

Report from the Committee appointed to enquire into the state of the manufactures in this kingdom and what may be necessary for the improvement thereof, and also into the quantity and value of the exports and imports of Ireland, Commons' jn. Ire., XI, Part I (1783-85), appendix, cxxv - ccvii.

Report of the Commissioners of his Majesty's Revenue relative to the situation of a new Custom House, Commons' jn. Ire., IX, Part 2(1773-78), appendix cccliii - ccciv.

Report from the Committee of the whole House appointed to take into consideration the Report of the Commissioners of his Majesty's Revenue ... re. the site of the new Custom House, Commons' jn. Ire., IX, Part 2 (1773-78), appendix cccviii - cccxv.

Report from the select committee on industries (Ireland) together with proceedings of the committee, minutes of evidence and appendix, H.C., 1885, ix.

17th Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records of Ireland (Dublin, 1885)

57th Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records of Ireland (Dublin, 1936)

Report on the Manuscripts of Lord de L'Isle and Dudley, preserved at Penshurst Place, I (H.M.C., London, 1925)

Report upon certain Charitable Establishments in the City of Dublin which received aid from Parliament (Dublin, 1809)

Report to the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Councillors of the city of Dublin on the sewerage of the city and proposed plan for improving same (Dublin, 1853)

Reports on the Improvement of Dublin Harbour, 1800-1802, made to the Directors General of Inland Navigation in Ireland Dublin, 1802)

St. Patrick's Hospital, Dublin: Charters and Bye-Laws: also copy of the will of the founder, the very reverend Doctor Jonathan Swift, late Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin (Dublin, 1931)

Captain South, 'An Account of the Houses and Hearths in Dublin for ... 1695/6, 1696/7', 'An Account of the number of people in the .... city of Dublin ..... 1695/6', Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society, XXII (1700-1), 518-22; also in Anc. Rec., VI,

I. Contemporary (a) ctd.

575-78, citing Southwell MSS.

The statutes at large passed in the parliament held in Ireland .... 1310-1800 (20 vols., Dublin, 1786-1801)

'Towers of the Castle of Dublin', 1585 , State Papers, Ireland, vol. cxxi, no. 74, P.R.O., London, published in Anc. Rec., II, appendix IV, 558-61.

Wilson's Dublin Directory, published annually 1751-53, 1760 -

(b) Other contemporary writings

Anthologia Hibernica: or monthly collection of Science, Belles Lettres and History (Dublin, 1793-94)

Archer, J. Statistical Survey of the County Dublin: with observations on the means of improvement, drawn up for the consideration and by order of the Dublin Society (Dublin, 1801)

Barrington, J. Historic Memoirs of Ireland (2 vols., London, 1835)

Boate, G. Ireland's Natural History (London, 1652)

Bowden, C.T. A Tour through Ireland (Dublin, 1791)

Brereton, W. Travels in Holland, the United Provinces, England, Scotland and Ireland, ed. E. Hawkins (Chetham Society, Chester, 1844); also published in Falkiner, Illustrations, 363-407.

Brooke, H. An Essay on the Ancient and Modern State of Ireland with various important advantages thereunto derived under the .... reign ... of ... King George II (Dublin, 1795)

Bush, J. Hibernia Curiosa: A letter from a gentleman in Dublin to his friend at Dover in Kent giving a general view of the manners, customs, dispositions etc. of the inhabitants of Ireland ... collected in a tour through the kingdom in the year 1764 (Dublin, 1769)

Campbell, T. A Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland in a series of letters to John Watkinson, M.D. (London, 1779)

Carte, T. An History of the Life of James, Duke of Ormonde (2 vols., London, 1736)

Castle (Cassel), R. An Essay towards supplying the City of Dublin with water (Dublin, 1735)

I. Contemporary (b) ctd.

Chapman, W. Observations on the advantages of bringing the Grand Canal round by the Circular Road into the River Liffey: addressed to the Rt. Hon. & Hon. the Commissioners appointed by Parliament for making wide and convenient the streets in Dublin (Dublin, 1785)

Delany, M. The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs. Delany; with interesting reminiscences of King George the Third and Queen Charlotte, ed. Lady Llanover (3 vols., London, 1861)

Dobbs, A. An Essay on the Trade and Improvement of Ireland (Dublin, 1729)

Dunton, J. 'John Dunton's Letters', from Rawlinson MSS, D 71, Bodleian Library, Oxford, published in Mac Lysaght, Ir. Life ... after Cromwell, appendix B, 375-90

Dunton, J. The Life and Errors of John Dunton, citizen of London (2 vols., London, 1818)

Dunton, J. The Dublin Scuffle: being a challenge sent by John Dunton, citizen of London to Patrick Campbell, Bookseller, in Dublin ... also some account of his conversation in Ireland ... but more especially in the city of Dublin (London, 1699)

Dutton, H. Observations on Mr. Archer's Statistical Survey of the County of Dublin (Dublin, 1802)

Faulkner, G. The Dublin Journal, 1730-32, 1750-56, 1775-82, 1800 (Weekly publication)

Ferrar, J. A View of ancient and modern Dublin with its improvements to the year 1796 (Dublin, 1796)

Freeman's Journal, The Issued weekly, 1760 -

Gernon, L. 'A Discourse of Ireland, anno 1620' in Falkiner, Illustrations, 345-62.

Harris, W. The History and Antiquities of the City of Dublin (Dublin, 1766)

Jouvin de Rochefort, A. 'Ireland under the Restoration' in Falkiner, Illustrations, 413-6, reproduced from an English translation in The Antiquarian Repertory, compiled by Francis Grose and Thomas Astle (First edition, 1779; new edition, 1809), IV, 588ff; original source, identified by Falkiner, Albert Jouvin de Rochefort, Le Voyageur d'Europe: ou sont les voyages de France, d'Italie et de Malte, d'Espagne et de Portugal, des Pays-Bas, d'Allemagne et de Pologne, d'Angleterre, de Danemark et de Suede (3 vols., Paris, 1672)

Latocnaye, De Rambles through Ireland by a French

I. Contemporary (b) ctd.

Emigrant, translated from the French ... by an Irishman (2 vols., Cork, 1798), reprinted as A Frenchman's Walk through Ireland, translated from the French by John Stevenson (Dublin, Belfast, 1917)

Lloyd, E. A Description of the City of Dublin, by a citizen of London who lived twenty years in Ireland (London, 1732), reprinted in Anc.Rec., X, 519-29; attributed to Lloyd by Maxwell, Dublin under the Georges, 252.

Loveday, J. of Caversham. Diary of a Tour in 1732 through parts of England, Wales, Ireland and Scotland (Privately printed for the Roxburghe Club, 1890)

Luckombe, P. A Tour through Ireland wherein the present state of that Kingdom is considered: and the most noted cities, towns, seats, buildings ... described (Dublin, 1780)

Malton, J. A picturesque and descriptive view of the city of Dublin in a series of the most interesting scenes taken in the year 1791 (London, 1792-99)

Petty, W. Tracts: chiefly relating to Ireland (Dublin, 1769)

Petty, W. The Economic Writings of Sir William Petty together with Observations upon the Bills of Mortality more probably by Captain John Graunt, ed. C.H. Hull (2 vols., Cambridge, 1899)

Pool, R. and Cash, J. Views of the most remarkable public buildings, monuments and other edifices in the city of Dublin, delineated by Robert Pool and John Cash, with historical descriptions of each building (Dublin, 1780)

Robinson, C. The case of the Exclusive Liberty claimed by the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's, Dublin, stated for public consideration (Dublin, 1757)

Rutty, J. A History of the Rise and Progress of the people called Quakers in Ireland from the year 1653 to 1700, written by Thomas Wright, revised and enlarged by John Rutty (2nd edition, London, 1800)

Semple, G. A Treatise on Building in Water (Dublin, 1776) reprinted as Hibernia's Free Trade: a Plan for the General Improvement of Ireland peculiarly adapted to a Free Trade (Dublin, 1780)

Sidney, H. 'Sir Henry Sidney's memoir of his government in Ireland', The Ulster Journal of Archaeology, III (1855), 93-106.

Stanihurst, R. 'Description of Dublin, 1577', extracted from Chronicles ... collected by Raphael Holinshed

I. Contemporary (b) ctd.

(London, 1577 and 1586), published in Anc. Rec., II, Appendix I, 537-51.

Stokes, T., ed. Pococke's Tour in Ireland in 1752 (Dublin, 1891)

Swift, J. Irish Tracts, 1728-1733, ed. H. Davis (Oxford, 1955)

Twiss, R. A Tour in Ireland in 1775 (London, 1776)

Vallancey, C. A Report on the Grand Canal or Southern Line (Dublin, 1771)

Wallace, T. An Essay on the Manufactures of Ireland (Dublin, 1798)

Warburton, J., Whitelaw, J., and Walsh R. History of the city of Dublin from the earliest accounts to the present time (2 vols., London, 1818)

Whitelaw, J. An Essay on the Population of Dublin: being the result of an actual survey taken in 1798 (Dublin, 1805)

Young, A. A Tour in Ireland: with general observations on the present state of that kingdom: made in ... 1776, 1777, and 1778 and brought down to the end of 1779 (2 vols., London, 1780)

II. Modern

(a) Dublin

Andrews, J.H. 'The French school of Dublin land surveyors', Irish Geography, V, No. 4 (1967), 275-92.

Ball, F.E., ed. 'Extracts from the Journal of Thomas Dineley or Dingley, esq., giving some account of his visit to Ireland in the reign of Charles II', R.S.A.I. Jn, XLIII (1913), 275-309.

Berry, H.F. 'The Water Supply of ancient Dublin', R.S.A.I.Jn, XXI (1891), 557-73.

Berry, H.F. 'The records of the Dublin Guild of Merchants known as the Guild of the Holy Trinity, 1438-1611', R.S.A.I. Jn., XXX (1900), 44-68.

Berry, H.F. 'The records of the Feltmakers' Company of Dublin, 1687-1841: their loss and recovery', R.S.A.I.Jn., XLI (1911), 26-45.

Berry, H.F. 'Minute book of the corporation of Dublin known as the "Friday Book", 1567 - 1611', a commentary, R.I.A. Proc., XXX, C (1913), 492-500.

II. Modern (a) ctd.

Berry, H.F. History of the Royal Dublin Society (London, 1915)

Berry, H.F. 'The Merchant Tailors' Guild: that of St. John the Baptist, Dublin, 1418-1841', R.S.A.I.Jn., XLVIII (1918), 19-64.

Butler, B.B. 'Lady Arabella Denny, 17)7-1792', Dublin Hist. Rec., IX (1947), 1-20.

Butlin, R.A. 'The population of Dublin in the late seventeenth century', Irish Geography, V, No. 2 (1965), 51-66.

Carey, F.P. 'The Medieval Parish of St. Stephen's', Dublin Hist. Rec., VI (1944), 63-73.

Cornforth, J. 'Dublin Castle', Country Life, CXLVIII (1970), 284-87, 342-45, 458-61.

Cosgrave, E. Mac Dowel 'On Two Maps, dated 1751 and 1753, of the Essex Bridge District, Dublin', R.S.A.I.Jn., XLVIII (1918), 140-49.

Craig, M. Dublin 1660-1860: a social and architectural history (Dublin, 1952; revised edition, 1969)

Curran, C.P. 'Cesare Ripa and the Dublin stuccodores', Studies, XXVIII (1939), 439-49.

Curran, C.P. 'Dublin plaster work', R.S.A.I.Jn., LXX (1940), 1-56.

Curran, C.P. 'Michael Stapleton, Dublin Stuccodore', Studies, XXVIII (1939), 439-49.

Curran, C.P. The Rotunda Hospital, its architects and craftsmen (Dublin, 1945)

Curran, C.P. 'The architecture of the Bank of Ireland' in F.G. Hall, The Bank of Ireland: 1783-1946 (Dublin, 1949)

Curran, C.P. Dublin decorative plasterwork of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (London, 1967)

Donnelly, P.J., ed. Remains of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin: their exploration and researches A.D. 1886 (Dublin, 1887)

Drew, T. 'Plan of St. Audoen's Church, with explanatory notes', Ir. Builder, IX (1867), 7.

Drew, T. 'The ancient Chapter House of the Priory of the Holy Trinity, Dublin', R.S.A.I.Jn., XXI (1890), 36-43.

Drew, T. 'Surroundings of the Cathedral Church of St. Patrick de Insula, Dublin', R.S.A.I.Jn., XXI (1891), 426-32.

II. Modern (a) ctd.

Dublin Historical Record, The 1939 -

Duhigg, B.T. History of the King's Inns (Dublin, 1806)

Evans, E. 'Hearth money roll, Dublin, 1666', Ir. Builder, XXXVII (1895), 272.

Falkiner, C.L. 'The Phoenix Park: its origin and early history, with some notices of its royal and viceregal residences', R.I.A. Proc., VI, C, Part 3 (1801), 465-88; reprinted in Falkiner, Illustrations, 41-73.

Falkiner, C.L. 'Some illustrations of the commercial history of Dublin in the eighteenth century', R.I.A. Proc., XXIV, C, Part 3 (1903), 133-52; reprinted in Falkiner, Illustrations, 186-206.

Frazer, W. 'Half-timbered houses in Dublin and Drogheda', R.S.A.I. Jn., XXI (1891), 367-69.

French, E.J. 'Dublin Street Names', R.S.A.I.Jn., LVIII (1928), 157-58.

Gandon, J. The Life of James Gandon, esq., with original notices of contemporary artists and fragments of essays, from materials collected and arranged by his son, James Gandon, esq., prepared for publication by the late Thomas J. Mulvaney, esq. (Dublin, 1846; facsimile reprint, London, 1969)

Georgian Society Records of Eighteenth Century Domestic Architecture and Decoration in Dublin, The (5 vols., Dublin, 1909-11)

Gilbert, J.T. A History of the City of Dublin (3 vols., Dublin, 1854-59)

Goodbody, O. 'Anthony Sharpe, a Quaker Merchant of the Liberties', Dublin Hist. Rec., XIV (1955), 12-19.

Goodbody, O. 'The walls of Dublin', Dublin Hist. Rec., XVII (1962), 126-42.

Guinness, H.S. 'Dublin Trade Guilds', R.S.A.I.Jn., LII (1922), 143-63.

Gwynn, A. 'The origins of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin', R.S.A.I.Jn., LXXIX (1949), 110-25.

Gwynn, A. 'The early history of St. Thomas's Abbey, Dublin', R.S.A.I.Jn., LXXIV (1954), 1-35.

Haliday, C. The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin (Dublin, 1882: photolithic facsimile of 2nd edition 1884 with introduction by B. O'Riordain, I.U.P., 1969)

II. Modern (a) ctd.

Hall, F.G. The Bank of Ireland: 1783-1946 (Dublin, 1949)

Harvey, J. Dublin: a study in environment (London, 1948, revised edition, 1972)

Hogan, M.F. 'Notes on St. Mary's Abbey', Dublin Penny Journal, II (New Series, 1904), 145.

Holden, F.J. 'Property Taxes in old Dublin', Dublin Hist. Rec., XIII (1953), 133-37.

Hughes, J.L.J. 'Dublin Castle in the seventeenth century: a topographical reconstruction', Dublin Hist. Rec., II, (1940), 81-97.

Irish Builder, The, first issued as the Dublin Builder, I - VIII (1859-66), continued as The Irish Builder, IX - (1867 -); series of articles on Dublin in XXVIII (1886) - XL (1898)

Kirkpatrick, T.P.C. The History of Doctor Steevens's Hospital, Dublin: 1720-1820 (Dublin, 1924)

Kirkpatrick, T.P.C. The Book of the Rotunda Hospital: an illustrated history of the Dublin Lying-in Hospital from its foundation in 1745 to the present time, ed. H. Jellett (London, 1913)

Leslie, J.B. 'Calendar of leases and deeds of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, 1660-89', R.S.A.I.Jn., LXIV (1934), 177-202; LXV (1935), 34-73.

Little, G.A. Dublin before the Vikings (Dublin, 1957)

Littledale, W.F. The Society of King's Inns, Dublin: its origin and progress, and the present results of its assumed control over the legal profession in Ireland (Dublin, 1895)

Longfield, A.K. 'History of the Dublin wall-paper industry in the eighteenth century', R.S.A.I.Jn., LXXVII (1947), 101-20.

Longfield, A.K. 'The manufacture of "Raised Stocco" or "Papier Mache" papers in Ireland, c.1750-70', R.S.A.I.Jn., LXXVIII (1948), 55-62.

McNeill, C. 'The Hospitallers at Kilmainham and their Guests', R.S.A.I.Jn., LIV (1924), 15-30.

McNeill, C. 'Hospital of St. John Without the New Gate, Dublin', R.S.A.I.Jn., LV (1925), 58-64.

II. Modern (a) ctd.

McParland, E. 'The Wide Streets Commissioners: their importance for Dublin Architecture in the late 18th - early 19th century', Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society, XII, nos. 3 & 4 (1972), 1-32.

Mahaffy, J.P. An Epoch in Irish History: Trinity College, Dublin, its foundation and early fortunes, 1591-1660 (London, 1903)

Maher, J. 'Francis Place in Dublin', R.S.A.I.Jn., LXII (1932), 1-14.

Mason, W.M. The History and antiquities of the Collegiate and Cathedral Church of St. Patrick near Dublin from its foundation in 1190 to the year 1819 (Dublin, 1820)

Maxwell, C. Dublin under the Georges: 1714-1830 (First edition, London, 1936; revised edition, 1956)

Maxwell, C. A History of Trinity College, Dublin: 1591-1892 (Dublin, 1946)

Mills, J. 'Notes on the Manor of St. Sepulchre, Dublin, in the Fourteenth Century', R.S.A.I.Jn., IX (1889), 31-41; 119-26.

Neville, P. Report on the capabilities of the river Dodder to afford a supply of water for the use of the city of Dublin and the suburbs (Dublin, 1854)

Neville, P. Report to the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Councillors of the City of Dublin on the sewerage of the city and proposed plan for improving the same; also on the general state of the Public Works under their control (Dublin, 1835)

O Conbhui, C. 'The lands of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin', R.I.A. Proc., LXII, C, no. 3 (1962), 21-84.

Otway-Ruthven, J. 'The Medieval Church Lands of Co. Dublin', Medieval Studies presented to Aubrey Gwynn, ed. J.A. Watt & others (Dublin, 1961)

Ronan, M.V. The Reformation in Dublin: 1536-1558 (London, 1926)

Ronan, M.V. 'Anglo-Norman Dublin and Diocese', Irish Ecclesiastical Record, XLV (1935), a series of articles.

Ronan, M.V. 'The Poddle river and its branches', R.S.A.I.Jn., LVII (1927), 39-46.

Ronan, M.V. 'The Poddle River (1803-1829)', R.S.A.I.Jn., LXXVII (1948), 5-10.

Simms, J.G. 'Dublin in 1685', I.H.S., XIV (1965), 212-26.

II. Modern (a) ctd.

Stockwell, La Tourette Dublin Theatres and Theatre Customs: 1637-1820 (Kingsport, Tennessee, 1938)

Strangways, L.R. 'Dublin Street Names', R.S.A.I.Jn., LIX (1929), 67.

Stubbs, J.W. The History of the University of Dublin from its foundation to the end of the eighteenth century, with an appendix of original documents (Dublin, London, 1889)

Stubbs, W.C. 'The Weavers' Guild, the Guild of the B.V.M., Dublin, 1446-1840', R.S.A.I.Jn., XLIX (1919), 60-88.

Tenison, C. Mac Carthy 'Notes on some old Dublin Bankers', Journal of the Institute of Bankers in Ireland, II (1900), 98-100; 'The Old Dublin Bankers', Ibid., II, III (1900-1), a series of articles in 11 parts.

Wall, M. 'The catholic merchants, manufacturers and traders of Dublin, 1778-1782', Reportorium Novum, II, no. 2 (1960), 298-323.

Webb, J.J. Industrial Dublin since 1698 and the Silk Industry in Dublin (Dublin & London, 1913)

Webb, J.J. The Guilds of Dublin (Dublin, 1929)

Wheeler, H.A. and Craig, M.J. The Dublin City Churches of the Church of Ireland: an illustrated handbook (Dublin, 1948)

(b) Other works

Abercrombie, P. Town and Country Planning (London, first edition, 1943; 3rd edition, 1959)

Abercrombie, P. 'Paris: Some Influences that have shaped its growth', T.P.R., II (1911), 113-23; 216-19; 309-20.

Abercrombie, P. 'The Era of Architectural Town Planning: a study of certain influences at work during the Renaissance', T.P.R., V (1914), 195-213.

Adshead, S.D. 'An introduction to Civic Design', T.P.R., I (1910), 3-17.

Argan, G.C. The Renaissance City (London, 1969)

Beckett, J.C. The Making of Modern Ireland (London, 1966)

Clark, W.S. The early Irish stage: the beginnings to 1720 (Oxford, 1955)

Connell, K.H. The Population of Ireland: 1750-1845 (Oxford, 1950)

II. Modern (b) ctd.

Conzen, M.R.G. Alnwick, Northumberland: a study in town-plan analysis, Institute of British Geographers Publications, no. 27 (London, 1960)

Coyne, W.P., ed. Ireland. Industrial and Agricultural (Dublin, 1902)

Cullen, L.M. Anglo-Irish Trade: 1660-1800 (Manchester, 1968)

Curtis, E. A History of Medieval Ireland from 1086 to 1513 (Dublin, 1923)

Delany, V.T.H. and D.R. The Canals of the South of Ireland (Devon, 1966)

Dickinson, R.E. The West European City: a geographical interpretation (London, first edition, 1951, revised edition, 1961)

Edwards, A. Trystan 'On the influence of Town Planning upon Architectural Style', T.P.R., V (1914), 268-78.

Falkiner, C.L. Illustrations of Irish History and Topography mainly of the seventeenth century (London, 1904)

Fletcher, B. A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method (17th edition, revised by R.A. Cardingley (London, 1963)

Gill, C. The Rise of the Irish Linen Industry (Oxford, 1925, reprinted 1964)

Grubb, I. Quakers in Ireland: 1654-1900 (London, 1927)

Hayes-McCoy, G.A. Ulster and other Irish Maps c.1600 (I.M.C., 1964)

Hiorns, F.R. Town-building in History (London, 1956)

Houston, J.M. A Social Geography of Europe (London, 1953)

Howell, R. 'Hearth Tax Returns', Short Guides to Records No. 7, History, XLIX, No. 165 (1964), 42-45.

Kearney, H.F. Strafford in Ireland, 1633-41: a study in absolutism (Manchester, 1959)

Kidson, P., Murray, P. and Thompson, P. A History of English Architecture (London, 1962, 1965)

Kinahan, G.H. Economic Geology of Ireland: Journal of the Royal Geological Society of Ireland, XVIII (1885-89)

King, W. A Great Archbishop of Dublin: William King, D.D., 1650-1729: His autobiography, family, and a selection from his correspondence, ed. Sir Charles Simeon King (London, 1906)

II. Modern (b) ctd.

Lavedan, P. Histoire de l'Urbanisme: Renaissance et Temps Modernes (Paris, 1941)

Lecky, W.E.H. A History of Ireland in the eighteenth century (5 vols., London, 1916)

Longfield, A.K. Anglo-Irish Trade in the sixteenth century (London, 1929)

Longfield, A.K. 'Anglo-Irish Trade in the sixteenth century as illustrated by the English Customs Accounts and Port Books', R.I.A. Proc., XXXVI, C, No. 16 (1923), 317-32.

McGeehan, M. 'The catholics of the towns and the quarterage dispute in eighteenth-century Ireland', I.H.S., VIII, no. 30 (1952), 91-114.

MacLysaght, E. Irish Life in the seventeenth century: after Cromwell (First edition, Dublin & Cork, 1939; second edition, 1949)

McParland, E. 'Francis Johnston, architect, 1760-1829', Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society, XII, Nos. 3 & 4, (1969)

Memoirs of the Geological Survey of Ireland, no. 112: The Geology of the country around Dublin (Dublin, 1903)

Mumford, L. The Culture of Cities (London, 1940)

Mumford, L. The City in History: its origins, its transformations and its prospects (London, 1961)

Murray, A.E. The History of Commercial and Financial Relations between England and Ireland from the Restoration (London, 1903)

O'Brien, G. The economic history of Ireland in the seventeenth century (Dublin & London, 1919)

O'Brien, G. The economic history of Ireland in the eighteenth century (Dublin & London, 1918)

O'Connor, W.A. History of the Irish People (London, 1886)

Orpen, G.H. Ireland under the Normans (4 vols., Oxford, 1911)

Pevsner, N. An Outline of European Architecture

Pilsworth, W.J. 'Census or poll tax', R.S.A.I.Jn., LXXIII (1943), 22-24.

Sadlier, T.U. Sir Edward Lovett Pearce (Dublin, 1910)

II. Modern (b) ctd.

Sadlier, T.U. 'Richard Castle, Architect', R.S.A.I.Jn., XLI (1911), 241-45.

Simington, R.C. 'A "census" of Ireland c. 1659', Analecta Hibernica, XII (1943), 177-78.

Sitte, C. City Planning according to Artistic Principles (London, 1965)

Smiles, S. The Huguenots: their settlements, churches, and industries in England and Ireland (First edition, 1868; sixth edition, London, 1889)

Strickland, W.G. A Dictionary of Irish Artists (2 vols., first edition, Dublin & London, 1913; facsimile edition, I.U.P., 1968)

Summerson, J. Georgian London (London, first edition 1945, revised edition 1962)

Summerson, J. Architecture in Britain: 1530-1830 (London, first edition, 1953; fifth revised edition, 1969)

Summerson, J. Heavenly Mansions and other essays on architecture (London, 1949)

Symonds, R.W. The Present State of Old English Furniture (London, 1921)

Town Planning Review, The: The Journal of the Department of Civic Design at the School of Architecture of the University of Liverpool, I - (1910-), issued quarterly.

Wall, M. 'The Rise of the Catholic middle class in eighteenth-century Ireland', I.H.S., XI (1958), 91-115.

Wedgwood, C.V. Thomas Wentworth, First Earl of Strafford, 1593 - 1641: a revaluation (London, 1961, 1964)

Westropp, M.S.D. 'Notes on the Pottery Manufacture in Ireland', R.I.A. Proc., XXXII, C, no. 1 (1913), 1-27.

Westropp, M.S.D. Irish Glass: An Account of Glass-making in Ireland from the sixteenth century to the present day (London, 1921)

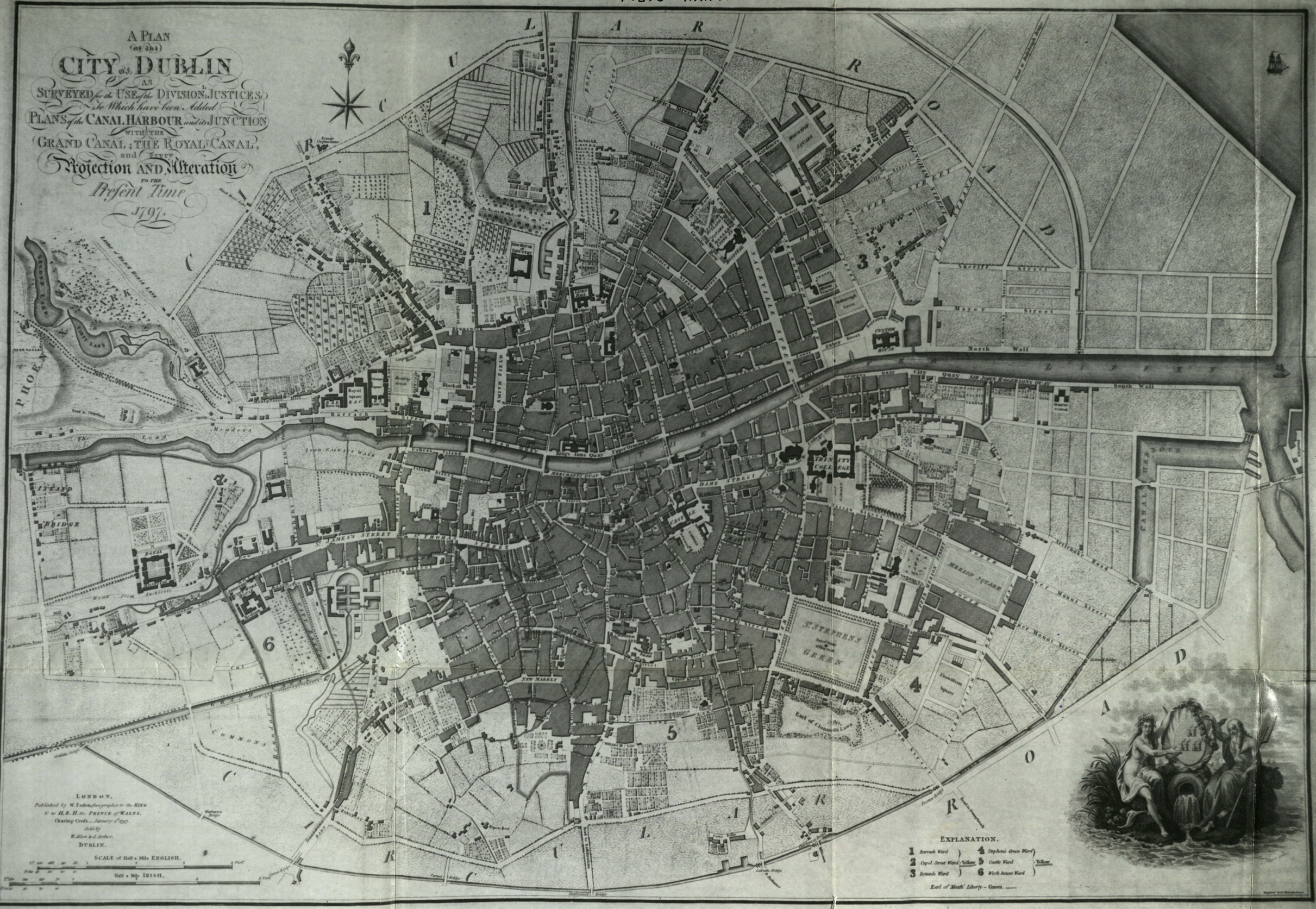
Wilkinson, G. Practical Geology and Ancient Architecture of Ireland (London, 1845)

Wilson, P. 'The Forgeries of Robert Ware', Irish Book Lover, IX (1918), 100-1.

TRINITY COLLEGE
9 JAN 1973
LIBRARY DUBLIN

Plate XXXVI

A PLAN (of the) CITY of DUBLIN AS SURVEYED for the USE of the DIVISION of JUSTICES. To Which have been Added PLANS of the CANAL HARBOUR and its JUNCTION WITH THE GRAND CANAL; THE ROYAL CANAL, and Every PROJECTION AND ALTERATION TO THE Present Time 1797.


CIRCULAR ROAD
NORTH CIRCULAR ROAD
SOUTH CIRCULAR ROAD
1
2
3
4
5
6
Royal Barracks
Phoenix Park
Island Bridge
Royal Hospital Kilmainham
Barrack
Meadows
Lord Galway's Walk
James's Street
Bridge
Commons
New Market
Smith Field
Blackall St.
Sackville Street
Mayor Street
Sheriff Street
North Wall
City Quay
Sir John Rogerson's Quay
South Wall
Trinity College
Dame Street
Merrion Square
St. Stephens Green
Fitzwilliam Square
Earl of Clanwilliams Lane
Dorset Street
Upper Mecklenburgh Street
Upper Gloucester Street
Upper Sackville Street
Upper Abbey Street
Upper Dorset Street
Upper Dominick Street
Upper Temple Street
Upper Frederick Street
Upper Gardiner Street
Upper Rutland Street
Upper Buckingham Street
Upper Sheriff Street
Upper Mayor Street
Upper Clarence Street
Upper Sir John Rogerson's Quay
Upper Ormond Quay
Upper Bridge Street
Upper Arran Quay
Upper Church Street
Upper Queen Street
Upper Ormond Market
Upper Mary Street
Upper Abbey Street
Upper Denmark