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HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHIES OF DUBLIN'S PUBLIC GREEN SPACES, FROM THEIR ORIGINS TO 1756

Irene Strati

Thesis Submitted to The University of Dublin, Trinity College, for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Geography
The University of Dublin
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January, 2005

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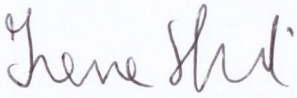

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Trinity College, Dublin

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SUMMARY

The remit of this work is to provide a model of analysis for the evolution of public green spaces in an urban environment, through space and time. The geographical region examined in this thesis is Dublin, and the time period chosen is from the origins of the city - conventionally considered to be 841- to the year 1756 with the publication of John Rocque's map of the city of Dublin. The aim of the research is to identify phases of change in the forms, functions and meanings of public green spaces, and to evaluate these in consideration of the course of relevant historical events.

A number of theories drawn from various disciplines inform the methodology used in the research, however the theoretical body informing the approach undertaken is mainly that of cultural-historical geography. This means that in the collection and elaboration of the information gathered - besides that derived from spatial and historical analysis, based respectively on the examination of cartographic and primary sources - priority is given to understanding the social processes influencing the integration of natural green areas in the urban environment. The adoption of this approach is necessary in order to comprehend how, and why, the integration of nature in the city has moulded, and has been moulded by its inhabitants through time. In accordance with the historical-geographical approach, the thesis evolves with the identification of specific phases of historical-geographical change, and its structure is based on a chronological framework.

The thesis is articulated in nine chapters, and each chapter (excluding introduction and conclusion) is marked by two particularly significant historical dates. The choice of these key dates is based upon the impact exerted by critical political events in the determination of change at a functional and/or physical level in public green spaces and is based on their contribution to the development of urbanism during the period in question. Eight places emerged as the most important public green areas in Dublin. These are: *Faithche Átha Cliath* (The 'Green of Dublin'), The Steine, The Thingmount / Hoggen Green (College Green) complex, Oxmantown Green, Fair Green, Abbey Green (Little Green), St Stephen's Green, and the green area circumjacent to the City Basin. Five historical phases have been identified as fundamental to the evolution of Dublin's public green spaces as they

came to be. Phase 1, from 841 to 1171, highlights the initial use of public green areas during the Gaelic, Viking and Hiberno-Norse period. Phase 2, from 1171 to 1536, is characterised by the effects that the arrival of King Henry II and the establishment of a system of Anglo-Norman municipality had on green spaces during the Middle Ages. Phase 3, from 1536 to 1660, represents the changes occurring in the aftermath of the confiscation of monastic possessions and the second wave of English colonisation in Ireland. Phase 4, from 1660 to 1689, contains an overview of the new set of geometric forms imposed on public green spaces during the Restoration period, and explores the changing social perceptions of their forms and functions in a pan-European environment. Phase 5, from 1689 to 1756, is mostly determined by the physical and functional expressions of forms of English/Protestant colonialist policies in public green areas. One of the key findings of this last phase also highlights how the behaviour and attitudes of particular social groups are determining agents in the characterisation of and attribution of meaning to public green spaces.

The major findings emanating from the research are given at the end of each chapter and in the concluding chapter. These range from substantiation of the important role which can be played by municipal governance in preserving urban green spaces, to exposition of the key geographical, economic and social forces shaping the evolution of public green spaces. Among the factors predicting a public green space's ability to resist 'built' urban development are: its legal status; its centrality, both in the city as a whole or as the fulcrum of single units of development; adjacency to main thoroughfares; its conformity to national and supranational aesthetic values of fashion and design; the heritage it represents for particular social groups, and the level to which a particular group may or may not identify with it; its religious-spiritual associations (if any); integration with commercial development; combination of its use with that of some other of public utility; and finally its utility for environmental protection.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Alen's reg.	*Calendar of Archibishop Alen's register, c. 1172-1534.* Ed. McNeill, C., Dublin, 1950.
Ancient records	*Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin in the possession of the municipal corporation of that city.* Eds Gilbert, J.T. and Gilbert, R.M., 19 vols., Dublin, 1889-1944.
Charter	Charter of liberties of John, lord of Ireland, to the citizens of Dublin, 1192. In Mac Niocaill, i, 78-81. Reprinted with translation as Appendix A, in *IHTA*: 31.
Christ Church deeds	*Christ Church deeds*. Ed. McEnery, M.J. and Refaussé, R., Dublin, 2001.
Cog. Gaedhel	*Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh: the War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill...* . Ed. Todd, J.H. London, 1867.
DHR	*Dublin Historical Record.* Dublin 1938-.
Extents Ir. Mon. Possessions	*Extents of Irish monastic possessions, 1540-41, from manuscripts in the Public Record Office, London*. Ed. White, N.B., IMC, Dublin, 1943.
Giraldus, *Conquest*	Giraldus Cambrensis. *Expugnatio Hibernica: the conquest of Ireland.* Eds. Scott, A.B. and Martin, F.X., Dublin, 1978.
Giraldus, *History*	Giraldus Cambrensis. *The history and topography of Ireland.* Ed. O'Meara, J.J., Mountrath and Harmondsworth, 1982.
Howden	*Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houdene*. Ed. Stubbs, W., 4 vols., London, 1868-71.
IHTA	Irish Historic Towns Atlas. Ed. Clarke, H.B. *Dublin, Part I, to 1610, Irish Historic Towns Atlas*, No.11. Dublin, 2002.
Leabhar oiris	'The *Leabhar oiris*'. Ed. Best, R. I. In *Ériu*, i, 1904, 74-112.
Metes	'Concerning the metes and bounds of the franchise of the city of Dublin', 1488 (RCB, MS C/6/1.2, fos 65-66). Reprinted in Appendix B *IHTA*: 31-2.
Misc. Ir. ann.	*Miscellaneous Irish annals (A.D. 1114-1437)*. Ed. Ó hInnse, S. Dublin, 1947.
Reg. St John	*Register of the hospital of St. John the Baptist without the New Gate, Dublin.* Ed. Brooks, E.St J. Dublin, 936.
Riding of the Franchises	'The Riding of the Franchises', 1603. Reprinted *Ancient Records*, 1: 190-8.

Song of Dermot

The deeds of the Normans in Ireland. A new edition of the chronicle formerly known as *The Song of Dermot and the Earl.* Ed. Mullally, E. Dublin, 2002.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 AIMS

The aim of this thesis is to reconstruct the changing forms and functions of public green spaces in Dublin, from the origin of the city to the year 1756, and to explore the set of different meanings that these spaces have acquired through time in the context of urban development.

The main objective of the thesis is to define the roles played by public green spaces in the evolution of urbanism through the presentation of conceptual paradigms that encapsulate phases of changes in relation to different historical settings. The broader scope of the research looks at the creation of models representing these spaces' responses to changing urban patterns, social needs and interactions through time.

Three significant and interrelated problems have arisen from the above objectives. Firstly, the choice of terminology to refer to this category of space. The terminology used is comprised of three terms, public, green and space, because they have proven to be the most flexible while at the same time the most denotatively effective for the purposes of this research. This choice was made from among a plethora of single terms conventionally used for green and/or open spaces, which have however meanings that are too specific - and thus restrictive - in the general European linguistic tradition. The range of such terms however is broad, and includes greens, commons, gardens, parks, squares, tree-lined avenues, fields and meadows, etc. Among these, the word 'green' is closest to the definition of public green spaces as it emerge from the context of the thesis, and is used frequently in the course of the work. Its use is also justified by the fact that most of the green spaces examined contain the word as part of their proper names (*e.g.* St Stephen's Green). However not all the green spaces considered could be referred to as 'green'. Hence the adoption of a denomination which is inclusive of all areas covered by vegetation, which have undergone a landscape process, and which are in theory accessible to a

wide range of the population for different sets of uses. The choice of geographical region for the research, that is to say Dublin, also makes it implicit that elements of urbanism are intrinsic to the above definition. While the whole thesis could be considered as an endeavour to create a working definition of public green spaces, so to capture in words the essence of their being, its organic, polymorphous and dynamic nature prevents the achievement of any easily packaged formulation. The difficulty of generating a single unequivocal understanding of public green space stems mainly from the notion of 'public' within it; just as with reference to issues such as 'ownership', John Andrews writes:

> *Many lawyers would reject the word 'public' in this context* [of public commons] *as either redundant, meaningless or the embodiment of a fallacy, just as they might well deny that any one piece of land can be both private and common at the same time.*
>
> (Andrews 1987: 1)

In this thesis, public green areas are those which were property of the city and thus under the jurisdiction of the municipal council, or else, before the establishment of the latter in the early thirteenth century, those spaces adjacent to early settlements which were characterised by open access and used for a set of polyvalent functions.

A second and commensurate problem has arisen from the choice of the period under examination, a period which spans more than nine hundred years. This large-scale chronological framework has allowed the identification of the main forces shaping change, and has also permitted a comparative evaluation of the importance of different social agents in the processes of integration of public green spaces with urban society (thus giving a broad scope to the research). However, the diversity of available sources coming from such different historical periods has created problems in the adoption of a uniform register for the description and analysis of such phenomena.

Finally, the intrinsic plasticity of urban green areas hinders the generation of homogeneous and generalisable sets of descriptions. However, the adoption of a multifactorial approach, examining relative historical and political influences, has been useful in developing a theoretical framework for understanding the role of public green spaces in the evolution of urbanism.

The theoretical approach taken to this work has been shaped by a number of different intellectual traditions; and the interdisciplinary nature of this topic could in

fact be the subject of several areas of research, including geography, historical geography, urban studies, sociology, environmental studies, history, history of art, gardening history and architecture. Although the production of this work has been informed by a wide range of sources, the research has been principally conducted mainly from a geographical perspective, and while consideration has been given to the broader view achievable through geography's intrinsic multidisciplinary nature, the theoretical body informing the approach undertaken has been mainly that of cultural-historical geography.

The adoption of a cultural-historical geographical approach refers implicitly to the reconstruction of place and landscape through time. At the same time it permits the development of a theoretical framework, which on the basis of an analysis of social events can be useful in the interpretation of morphological facts. In this regard, the research has considered the continuous dynamism in the evolution of public green spaces, and based its findings on the recognition that the fluidity of change was caused primarily by human agents operating through the co-ordinates of space and time.

SECTION 1: THEORETICAL CONTEXT

1.2 URBAN MORPHOLOGICAL STUDIES

From a theoretical standpoint, public green spaces are here considered to be part of the collective category of urban landscape, and as such their study has been largely approached following methods of enquiry proposed by traditional urban morphological studies within the discipline of geography. Angret Simms (2004: 55) has proposed a diagrammatic representation of the different approaches to the studies of urban landscapes since the 1960s (see Figure 1.1).

As outlined in the diagram, there are five main schools of thought giving different perspectives on the analysis of urban landscape, and the broad intellectual methodological approaches informing the current thesis have been derived from work relevant to all of the various sectors. In order of importance, the framework of this research has been shaped, by theories expounded by Classical Cultural Geography, History, Architecture (especially when applied to the study of garden history), New Cultural Geography, and partially by political considerations.

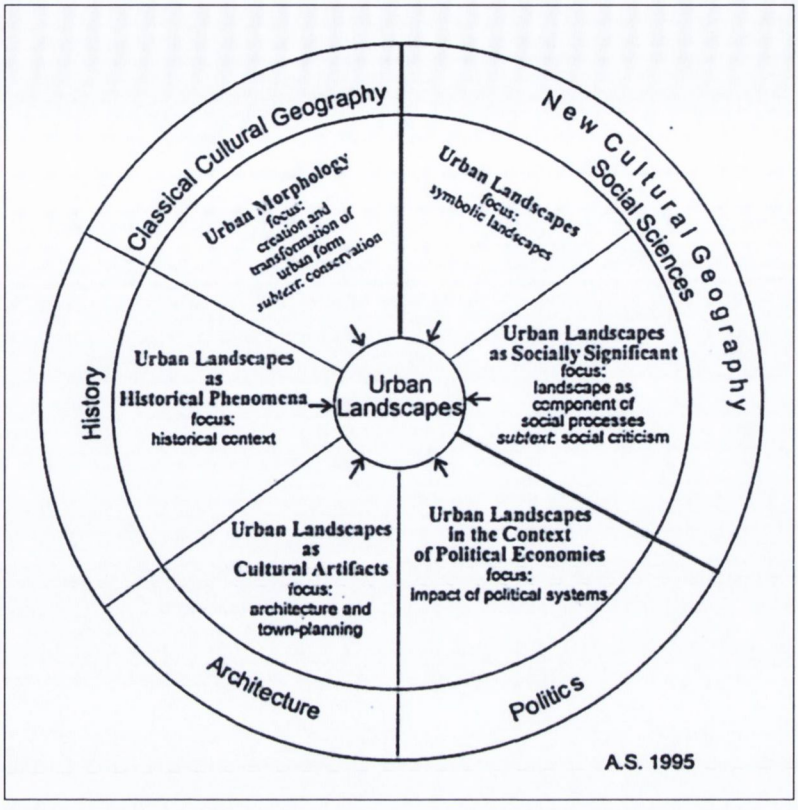


Figure 1.1 Diagrammatic representation of the different approaches to urban landscapes studies post 1960s. Source: Simms, 2004: 55.

The urban morphogenetic tradition, to which this work refers, originated with the work of Schlüter[1] (1899*a* and 1899*b*, quoted in Whitehand, 1981:2). Schlüter was the first to advocate that geographical studies go beyond merely descriptive morphography, and be approached instead via an 'explanatory morphology', based on the interdependence in geography of the fundamental aspects of form, function and development (see Whitehand, 1981: 2-4). This idea was further elaborated by Bobek[2] (1927, cited in Whitehand, 1981: 7), who established that form, function and change (or development) constituted a basic trinity of aspects, which could be used as a methodological approach to urban studies from a geographical perspective. This method was later reconfirmed and expanded through an emphasis on the importance of identifying the social forces responsible for the origin and shaping of towns, by

[1] Schlüter, O. (1899*a*) Über den Grundiss der Städte, *Z. Ges. Erdk. Berl.* (34), 446-62. Cited in Whitehand, 1981: 2.
Schlüter,O. (1899*b*) Bemerkungen zur Siedlungsgeographie, *Georg. Z.* 5, 65-84. Cited in Whitehand, 1981: 2.

[2] Bobek, H. (1927) Grundfragen der Stadtgeographie, *Geogr. Anz.* 28, 213-24. Quoted in Whitehand, 1981: 7.

those thinkers whose ideas were formed at the School of the Geographical Institute of Berlin in the 1930s.

Among these, Conzen (1981: 25) proposed an evolutionary approach to town planning. This was based on the interdependence of morphology and function and on a constant evaluation, from the very beginning of the urban morphogenetic process, of underlying economic and social forces. In particular, the theory proposed by Conzen (1981: 60) was based on the morphological analysis of the three distinct categories of town plan, building fabric, and land utilization.

Conzen, upon his later emigration to England in the 1930s, facilitated the introduction of British academics to the key features of urban morphogenetic studies as developed by the German School. These features, along with Conzen's own ideas, were reformulated by Whitehand (1981: 9) of the Birmingham School (1980s), in the following terms:

- *intensive and accurate observation of geographical phenomena both in the field and on maps*
- *the search for the process producing such phenomena and the underlying forces involved*
- *unambiguous conceptualisation of observed phenomena on the basis of these processes and forces and in readiness for testing and improvement by comparative study*
- *the devising of an appropriate cartographic expression for concepts formed*
- *finally, the maintenance of an interdisciplinary perspective on any geographical problem*

The work among others of Whitehand (1981), Slater (1990) and Larkham (Whitehand and Larkham, 1992) effectively spread Conzenian ideas throughout the English speaking world during the 1980s and 1990s. Through their publications, and the work of Simms, already begun in Dublin in the 1970s (Slater, 1990: 7), these ideas also came to constitute an important praxis of analysis for urban morphological studies in Irish Geography.

Although the Conzenian model has been adopted as the general working framework for this research, it has to be stressed that public green space is one aspect of urban morphology which is highly underplayed both by Conzen and his followers. Even when writing about the category of 'land utilisation', Conzen refers to the burgage plot and the market place, but not to public green spaces and their role in the formation of urbanism. It could be argued that the concept of the fringe-belt (intended initially by Conzen to denote the open areas of expansion of the growing

medieval town) was later used to explain the theoretical development of the 'parkland belts' of the nineteenth century, and that of the 'green belts' of the twentieth century (Whitehand, 1987: 78). However these attempts did not address the fringe-belt concept as it related to the form and function of open green areas on the fringes of the pre-medieval, medieval, and early-modern town. Moreover, to this writer's knowledge, no academic studies have been dedicated to the construction of an explanatory morphology of public green spaces which considers them as suburban and integrated urban areas, as well as in the light of their social, economic and political function in the urban environment.

In Ireland, urban morphological studies have developed mainly since the 1960s. Initial interest for town-plan analysis arose during the archaeological excavation at Wood Quay and Fishamble Street, Dublin (1961); and was then stimulated by the publication of a comprehensive collection of Irish mediaeval borough charters by MacNiocaill in 1964 (Bradley, 1990: 39). The opening up of this new area of enquiry provided a basis for the formation of the research body that lead to publication of the Irish Historic Towns Atlas.

1.2.1 Historic Towns Atlas

The 'Historic Towns Atlas' project has a European dimension. It aims to provide a collection of records of the topographical history of a number of selected towns based upon cartographic evidence, and which is corroborated by related topographical information extracted from a range of primary sources. The first such atlas was laid out in Germany in the Münster Institute (1979), whereupon the initiative then passed to several other research bodies throughout Europe (Slater, 1990: 5). In this regard, it can be considered as the first real attempt to create a base for comparative research between different European urban morphological studies. The potential of this body of information for future research, in the light also of public green spaces, is enormous.

The volume of the Irish Historic Towns Atlas dealing with Dublin (Part I, 1610 - Clarke, H.B., 2002) has proved invaluable to the initial phases of this research. The accurate topographical references on green spaces gathered from its collection of maps and index have greatly compensated for the lack of archaeological evidence, and aided greatly in the difficult interpretation of scarce early sources. This

topographical accuracy has been especially important for the reconstruction of forms and functions of green spaces in the period during which Dublin originated.

1.3 MODERN HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

While historical geographers have focussed - and continue to focus - much of their attention on the investigation of the mediaeval and pre-mediaeval past, a recently formed group of academics (Dennis, Graham, Johnson, Lester, Nash, Ogborn, Ploszajska, Powell, Seymour and Yeoh, 2000) have decided to focus their attention on the historical geographical study of modernity. This new branch of research, referred to as 'modern historical geography,' has opened a new window of geographical enquiry onto the modern period (as opposed to the mediaeval period). This period is represented approximately by the years from the sixteenth to the first half of the twentieth century, hence the relevance of their methodological approach to the second part of this thesis.

As the group's principal spokepersons have remarked, their self-designation as 'modern historical geographers' stems also from the introduction of new 'modern' approaches to the methodology traditionally used to understand and explain past landscapes (Graham and Nash, 2000: 1). The newly proposed approaches attempt to highlight points of view which demonstrate concern for a wide range of social issues in the interpretation of the landscape. Among these are relations of power, racism, feminism, colonialism and imperialism; and attempts are also made to reconstruct places of the past through the voices of minority groups. It should also be noted that the emergence of these themes is a natural consequence of the relative abundance of sources emerging from the sixteenth century onwards, especially when compared to the middle ages.

The works of modern historical geographers extend from consideration of the manner in which marginalised groups have contributed to the meanings of places, to the evaluation of places within a comparative national and international framework; and from appraisal of the way past written histories have had an influence on current interpretations of places, to issues of heritage, nationhood and identity.

1.4 NEW CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY

1.4.1 Traditional and modern theories

Many theories on the investigative methods of 'modern historical geographers' have merged with those proposed by another group referred to for the past twenty years as 'new cultural geographers'. For this reason, a categorical subdivision of areas and methodologies of enquiry could be considered captious, and some authors explicitly prefer to refer to themselves as cultural-historical geographers (see Johnson's Web pages, updated 17 February, 2004: http://web.gg.qub.ac.uk/people/staff/johnson). The nexus among the two sub-disciplines has been implicitly stressed by Cosgrove and Jackson (1987) in their definition of 'new cultural geography', which is:

> *contemporary as well as historical (but always contextual and theoretically informed); social as well as spatial (but not confined exclusively to narrowly-defined landscape issues); urban as well as rural; and interested in the contingent nature of culture, in dominant ideologies and in forms of resistance to them. It would, moreover, assert the centrality of culture in human affairs.*
>
> (Cosgrove and Jackson, 1987, quoted in Schein, 2004:15)

New cultural geography which was convened by both English and American academics emerged in the 1980s as an ensemble of new theoretical approaches to the interpretation of landscape. Denoted 'new', to mark the acquisition of a critical attitude towards and departure from the traditional cultural geography of the Berkley School which was mainly represented, and known through Sauer's work in the 1920s. The studies of Sauer and his followers had been principally oriented towards a morphological interpretation of rural areas. Their interpretation of the rural landscape was based mainly on an identification of culture as the agent of transformation of the natural environment, understandably referred to since as 'the cultural landscape' (Sauer, 1963: 343). The new cultural geographers have tended to criticise this approach, primarily on the basis that it mainly referred to - and thus justified the existence of - a 'superorganic' concept of culture (Duncan, 1980: 181) which transcends the agency of individuals and thus that of the masses, while being mainly representative of the views of dominant groups. They challenged its positivistic determining force, traditionally portrayed in descriptive and phenomenological terms, by arguing instead for a through analysis of all the possible distinct social forces taking part in the processes of landscape formation.

However, going beyond the ontological explanations of the concept of culture, its totality or multiplicity, its objectivity or subjectivity, and the dialectics which have arisen since the 1980s on the significance of its meaning when applied to landscape studies (see Schein, 2004: 12-17), it is here relevant to stress the willingness of new cultural geographers to introduce radical changes to 'the traditional way of observing, describing, classifying and mapping such cultural artefacts as houses, barns or fences in order to identify cultural regions or paths of cultural transmission' (Duncan and Ley, 1993: 11). The interest of cultural geographers has moved towards an interpretation of landscape that is more humanistic in orientation, shifting in the process from rural towards urban regions. Landscape is still seen as a cultural product, but it has been suggested that one should interpret it, or read it, as a text as well as a subtext, being thus evaluated in all its physical as well as symbolical social and political meaning.

Cosgrove (1984) has synthesized the above concept by defining landscape 'as a way of seeing'. Drawing inspiration from studying Italian Renaissance landscape paintings, he defined landscape as 'a cultural image, a pictorial way of representing, structuring or symbolising surroundings' (Cosgrove and Daniels, 1988: 1). Its interpretation, as with a work of art, requires awareness of the point of perspective of the viewer, as well as a recognition of the iconographic and symbolic elements contained within it. As with a text, a painting, or a tridimensional model, landscape can - and has to - be physically described; but in order to be understood it must also be decoded as a body of determinate signs, which may reveal a series of religious, sexual, psychological and political allegories (Mitchell, 1986: 2)

Moreover, cultural geographers, by proposing an acknowledgement of the role (or the point of view) of those writing about the landscape, in addition to that of the 'landscape maker', the painter, or the commissioner of the work - such as the patron merchant in the case of Renaissance Italian paintings (see Whelan, 1999: 34-42) - attack traditional ways of practising cartography and topography. The practice of these could in fact be interpreted as means for those in power to express their views and impose them upon 'the others'. As Duncan and Ley comment, topography can also be interpreted 'as a science of domination - confirming boundaries, securing social norms and treating questionable social conventions as unquestioned social facts' (1993: 1-2). In contrast, however, new cultural geographers have demonstrated a preoccupation with exposing the interests of dominant classes, by constantly

providing in spatial analysis an acknowledgement of the political and economic context in which a place is developed. This, when joined with a willingness to expose the 'views of the others' (Duncan and Ley, 1993: 6-7), has created the basic framework which has allowed research to move towards social issues such as gender, age, class, race, religion, exclusion, consumption, environmental history and ecology, colonialism, identity and public memory (see Duncan, Johnson and Schein, 2004).

A new element of analysis that has been introduced recently evaluates the forces that the landscape itself exercises upon those living within it. As Mitchell suggests, landscape should be interpreted not only because of what it is and what it means, but also because it is as an agent, 'an instrument of cultural power' (1994: 1-2). To wit, it has been proposed that geographical studies should include both what we have done to the environment and what the environment has done to us.

1.4.2 Comparative insights from English and European studies

Daniels, in his study on 'the political iconography of woodland in later Georgian England' (1988: 43-82), has provided ample evidence to demonstrate the power exercised by the dominant classes in landscape management through the use of planted landscape for military purposes, and the imposition of a social order through the creation of an orderly landscape design. Even though this study refers mainly to the landscape of private parklands, it has also assisted in the interpretation of public green spaces in Georgian Dublin.

Although nothing has been specifically written by new cultural/or modern historical geographers on public green spaces in an urban environment, the work of Ogborn (1998) on the modernisation of public spaces in seventeen-eighteenth century London, has furnished many ideas on approaches to similar issues in Dublin during the same period. The analysis he offers on the rise of a group of polite frequenters of designated places of recreation serves to expose the process of commodification of urban public spaces typical of the modern era. This phenomenon, which finds resonance in Dublin as well as in London and other European cities, also serves to set the Dublin experience in a European context.

A comparative framework with other European countries has also been constructed by Towner (1996), whose studies on the historical geography of recreation have brought to light a series of commonalties in the recreational use of

public spaces (including green space) in European cities from the sixteenth century onwards. In particular, he has highlighted the manner in which the rise of a modern pan-European form of elite recreation has coincided with the decline of local traditional forms of popular recreation in public spaces.

It must be noted however, that prior to Towner's work, research on recreation in public spaces had been explored in the context of cultural history since the late 1970s. Cultural historians such as Burke (1978), Isherwood (1986), and Borsay (1986) have studied the recreational use of public and public green spaces in relation to urban, political, economic and social issues. Burke in particular stressed the social problems related to segregation in public spaces, that were a consequence of the growing separation of elite and popular recreational culture. As he remarks:

> *[a] more difficult corollary is whether entertainment helped to widen the social and cultural stratification structure or, on the other hand, helped to break down that stratification and bring people together.*
>
> (Burke, 1978, already quoted in Isherwood, 1986: viii)

1.4.3 Irish studies

In Ireland, no academic work on public green spaces has yet been published under the auspices of historical-cultural geography. There is therefore, no material available for local comparative studies. Research topics and methodologies of enquiry proposed by contemporary historical-cultural geographers such as Graham (1997), Whelan (2003) and Johnson (2002 and 2003) have however been essential in providing information and ideas on Irish public space from the perspectives of local academics. Moreover, an acquaintance with their work is considered by this writer to be fundamental to the acquisition of a style and method of communication which can be integrated with other local studies.

From the works of the these authors emerges a common interest in national identity and the role of public space in the construction of such a concept. However, the research of each has adopted a different approach. While Whelan uses public statuary and the iconographic symbolism with which it is associated, Johnson has extended the research from public monuments to issues of collective memory and public heritage. Johnson's recent work has also recently focussed on the role of botanical gardens in Ireland and Britain, and on an evaluation of their significance in

terms of imperialism, emphasising the importance of green spaces in the construction of colonial urban models.

Graham on the other hand has moved from an analysis of local places to that of the island as a whole, and has thus brought discussion on national identity to a more theoretical level. When compared with the work of his colleagues, his discussion based on a search for, and interpretation of, the economic and political forces which have historically brought about cultural enmity between the Irish and the English, between Catholic and Protestant. He has also looked at the ways in which north - south spatial segregation has contributed to the perception of a cultural divide between the inhabitants of the country.

A common denominator in the above authors' analyses of the role of Irish public space in the construction of identity, is the emphasis placed on the endurance of elements of contest and resistance, either expressed through acts of vandalism against public statuary and other symbolic items, or at an ideological level when professed through marching and protest. This demands total consideration in order to fully understand the forms, functions and meanings of public green spaces, and the ways in which they affect people's behaviour.

1.4.4 Dublin studies, from historical-geography to history and architecture

Knowledge on the development of the city of Dublin has been contributed to by the works of many scholars, spanning the fields of historical-geography, history, geography, urban studies and architecture. Among the historical-geographical studies, the work of Brady and Simms, especially their collaboration, *Dublin through space and time* (2001), which contains an analysis of the city from its initial development to the present day, has provided a model of reference throughout the working process of this research. Their analysis of the broad time period addressed in this book has highlighted for this researcher the manner in which political-historical data and social issues can be evaluated and prioritised in the process of explaining topographical information. At the same time it has contributed to the call for research on public green spaces by stressing the fact that 'there are many issues still to be resolved in relation to environmental problems of Dublin's past history' (Brady and Simms, 2001: 14). In this sense this research can also be evaluated as a response to the above publication.

Edel Sheridan's (1993 and 2001) historical-geographical studies on seventeenth and eighteenth century Dublin have provided much information on contemporary St Stephen's Green and Oxmantown Green (the latter especially in relation to the development of Smithfield). These have been contextualised in an examination of the development of a series of other cultural landscapes with public character, such as market sites, streets, and river-sides, with particular attention paid to both the Corporation and private developers as principal agents of development.

Other important studies on the processes of Dublin's urban morphogenesis both during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have been provided by Nuala Burke (1972 and 1990*a*) and Maurice Craig (1992). Craig's work, *Dublin 1660-1860*, first published in the early 1950s, was pioneering in its way of approaching historical studies of this city. This new approach was based on the examination of buildings and architecture as evidence of social and political realities, thus advocating and defending studies of physical artefacts in gaining understanding of social and human urban interactions. Similarly, Edward McParland (1977, 1987, 2001) has been source of inspiration by virtue of his way of approaching the study of Dublin through public architecture while addressing issues of heritage and identity, issues which can also be applied to parks and gardens.

Finally, the findings of this research on the mediaeval period are highly indebted to the historical work of Howard B. Clarke (1998, 1990*a*, 1990*b*, 1998 and 2002) which covers issues of topography, urbanism and history with extreme acumen and accuracy, in addition to his map of mediaeval Dublin, produced for the Friends of Mediaeval Dublin in 1978, Clarke's publications also contain an abundance of references for endless research.

1.5 THEORIES ON LANDSCAPE STUDIES OF PUBLIC PARKS AND GARDENS

1.5.1 Current English approach to the use of public gardens and parks

'Why should I want to visit the gardens?
What is there in the gardens for me?'

(From a survey on the use of parks. Quoted in Crouch, 1994: 7)

The issue of identity construction in public green space has been investigated by Crouch from the perspective of cultural geography, leisure and tourism. In 1994 he

researched the current use of public parks and gardens in Britain, and gained much valuable information from a series of interviews with local users - or non-users - of public parks. In this study, he has exposed the important role played by the identification of local users - or lack of, as the case may be - with the social and architectural infrastructure of a park in the actual determination of its use. His findings suggest that it is often the case that the canons governing the way in which public green spaces are designed, reflects only the æsthetic and recreational values of a smaller, although dominant, segment of the population. As a consequence, this has often caused the psychological and often physical exclusion (principally due to access related difficulties) of other groups in society.

Crouch's findings were published by Comedia in association with Demos in a series of working papers investigating the current social use of parks in British towns (1994-95). This project involved the work of several other academics, such as Hughes, Morphet, Hoyles, Gardner, Burgess, Taylor and Collins. It consisted of the observation of 10,000 park users and the interviewing of more than 1,000 people, and has thus been considered one of the largest British surveys of its kind in recent decades (Greenhalgh and Worpole, 1995: 3). The survey, which besides individual interviews was also based on an examination of the work of regional and local planning authorities, highlighted, in the context of parks' use, issues related to identity, age, gender and also night-time use. These were studied in the context of recent demographic changes, changes in lifestyle and recreational attitudes.

One the most important results of the research highlighted that "parks are often a source of local continuity and 'sense of place' in a rapidly changing urban scene" (Greenhalgh and Worpole, 1995: 3). This emphasised the function of parks in the preservation of local and national heritage; and while exposing problems of segregation, it also stressed the importance of making parks more accessible to a wider section of the population.

Although essentially lacking historical depth, the research of Comedia/Demos, through involving local people and local authorities, can be considered a breakthrough in the traditional English way of approaching parks and 'gardens studies'. These studies have in fact, often been highly concentrated on the descriptions and histories of private gardening practices - as evidenced also by the multitude of commercial literature available on the subject - and very little concerned with their public use, in the wider sense of the word 'public'. And thus, for many

years, this subject has mainly been a realm of interest for either a few isolated academics, or alternatively, for the aristocracy, gentry, middle classes and current bourgeoisie.

1.5.2 American traditional and current theories on public parks: sentiments of democracy

In the United States, the application of a social approach - considerate also of marginalized groups - to the planning and study of public green spaces, seems to be a much older practice than in England. Although its results might be questionable, it is undoubtedly true that the American literary tradition on public parks is deeply rooted in both academic and commercial works, and its importance is demonstrated by the strength of the sentiments emerging from various academic publications.

Already in 1859, Frederick Law Olmsted, who together with Andrew Jackson Dowing designed Central Park, had written on the importance of public parks being accessible to the poorer classes as well as to the wealthy:

> *The primary purpose of the Park, is to provide the best practicable means of healthful recreation for the inhabitants of the city, of all classes, including the poor and the rich, the young and the old, the vicious and the virtuous.*
>
> (Olmsted *Description of CP: 1859*, quoted in Schulyer, 1986: 28)

On the social history of Central Park, much has been said in the famous work *The Park and the People: A History of Central Park*, written by Rosenzweig and Blackmar (1992). These two historians stress the fundamental importance that the park has had in integrating members of the various ethnic groups in New York since the city's beginnings, when the park was still a common. The problem of immigrant integration in New York is still quite controversial today, and highly evidenced by the social topography of the city's different districts. As Rosenzweig and Blackmar comment (1992: 471) 'at least in Central Park, they (New Yorkers) learned to share the park with people of different social backgrounds (Irish, Italian, Jewish, black, Puerto Rican), sometimes uneasily, sometimes quite easily'. The park's potential for social integration is fundamental in the determination of its identity as a 'public' place: and at the same time, by consolidation of their rights (through constant use) to go to the park, people of different backgrounds may concur with the construction of

its democratic character. This concept is clearly expressed by the authors when stating that 'when New Yorkers struggled to define Central Park as a public park, they also struggled over the meaning of democracy' (Rosenzweig and Blackmar, 1992: 7). This general sentiment is encapsulated by one of the final remarks of the book:

> *In the early 1990s, as in the early 1980s, CP is still "the most democratic space" in New York, if not in the United States.*
>
> (Rosenzweig and Blackmar, 1992: 530)

On the park as a place for integration and social contact, much has also been written by other American academics, two of the most significant of whom being Cranz (Architecture and Sociology), and Mitchell (Geography). Cranz, an expert in the sociology of parks, studies their societal functions (1982: 301). As a result of her work, she has written a book on the political history of public parks, *The Politics of park Design: A history of Urban Parks in America* (1982: 194). Here she exposes the needs of minorities, and for the first time in an academic work on public parks and gardens addresses the needs and concerns of the handicapped. In 'Women in Urban Parks' (1980), she has highlighted the issue of space for women in the city as well as their recreational attitudes, along with issues of prostitution, fear and crime. At the same time, her publications highlight the potential that parks have, and have had, in the development of urbanism and in the creation of a civic sense (1982: xii).

Mitchell (1995) has written an article which could be considered a milestone on the subject. Entitled 'The End of Public Space? People's Park, Definitions of the Public, and Democracy', it presents the events of a local case which serves to highlight the general rights of the homeless to use public parks, and thus broaches an argument on the meaning of 'public' and 'democracy'. By taking the example of People's Park (Berkley), he demonstrates that a public park could provide the space for demonstrating the legitimacy of homeless people within 'the public'. By emphasising the absolute essentiality of public space to the functioning of democratic politics he writes:

> *... so long as we live in a society which so efficiently produces homelessness, spaces like these will be - indeed must be - always at the center of social struggle. For it is by struggling over and within space that the natures of "the public" and of democracy are defined.*
>
> (Mitchell, 1995: 128)

1.5.3 English-European theories of landscape history and the history of gardens and parks: Hoskins, Chadwick and Panzini

Hoskins and relevant theories on the Village Green

The traditional English way of approaching the study of the landscape of parks and gardens derives mainly from the work of Hoskins, landscape historian and founder of the Centre for English Local History (University of Leicester). Although Hoskins's studies were not directly concerned with parks and gardens, but concerned instead with the rural agrarian landscape, he is still considered the founder of the method of historical enquiry which was applied in the following years to both rural and urban green areas (Benes, 1997: x). In *The making of the English Landscape* (1955), and other publications, he analysed the complex historical structure of regional morphologies, and emphasised the role of regional popular culture and its vernacular artefacts. His concerns for comparative analysis and the classification of communities also introduced a basis for what is now referred to as landscape archaeology, which covers patterns of settlement, rural society and their connections.

In 1963, Hoskins, together with Dudley Stamp submitted the first ever compiled list of village greens in Britain to the Royal Commission on Common Land. This examination of greens was consequentially published in *The Common Lands of England & Wales* (1963), and opened up a new area of geographical enquiry which was an inspiration for other academics such as Taylor (1988), Denman, Roberts, and Smith, authors of *Commons and Village Greens* (1967), and Bailey, author of *The English Village Green* (1985).

From the above authors' studies, together with more recent investigation by Panzini (1997: 13), it has emerged that the origin of greens is strictly linked to the presence of livestock in early urban settlements. The function of the green was therefore to be a communal grazing area for domestic animals. For this reason, its location was usually quite central in early settlements: as people living in the surrounding huts and cabins could then keep a vigilant watch on their stock (Taylor, 1988: 56-7), safely grouped in the one 'enclosure'. The presence of wild beasts especially at night time could have presented a serious threat to livestock, and the green surrounded as it was by dwellings or by mobile fences, would have fulfilled a protective function. As Taylor remarks (1988: 57), this typical settlement structure

can be compared to some villages in various east-African locations, where dwellings surround a central open space where animals are kept at night time.

Although the green has come to be considered as feature typical just of English villages, it was originally characteristic of villages in the first area of Saxon colonial expansion (Panzini, 1997: 13). That the green originated from the Teutonic tradition could also be inferred from the etymology of the word: *gréne* in Old English, and *grôni* in Old Saxon, from the Old Teutonic root *grô-*, whence *grow* and *grass* (*Oxford English Dictionary*, 1989). From a geographical perspective, in Germany and in other parts of Northern Europe, the traditional presence of the green can also be inferred from the typical structure of the *Angerdörfer*: nucleated villages grouped around a central green space (Bailey, 1985: 22). The Saxons, and most likely other ethnic groups such as the Angles, Jutes and Frisians, would have then introduced the 'green' to South Britain, in about the fifth century, following the departure of the Romans.

Although the study of greens in towns and cities, and that of their functions in the processes of urban morphogenesis is still a virgin area of research, the above publications have been essential in providing cues for the formulation of hypotheses on the forms and functions of the greens of Dublin during the period of the city's origins.

The list of village greens compiled by Hoskins and Dudley Stamp, and the related cartographic information have however revealed an absence of greens in villages of West England and Wales. This suggests that greens were not a feature typical of Celtic settlements (Denman, 1967: 203), and because very little has been written on the presence of greens in Ireland as a whole to date (see Kelly, 1997), the question of their origins is still open. This thesis, by investigating the use of alternative terminology, has demonstrated that places similar to greens existed in Dublin even in pre-Anglo-Norman times, and that they had similar characteristics to the English and Saxon village greens as described by the aforementioned authors.

Chadwick: setting the basis for landscape history of parks and gardens

The study of green areas in urban environments was initiated by Chadwick in the 1960s. In *The Park and the Town: Public Landscape in the 19th and 20th centuries* (1966), Chadwick set what is considered to be the standard historical approach to the study of urban parks and gardens in England, and contributed immensely to its

development in Europe and the U.S. His methodology was imprinted with the historical comparative approach proposed by the Hoskins' School; this is demonstrated by the detailed chronological, morphological and comparative analysis he conducted on the landscape of parks and gardens. The main topic of his book was concerned with an examination of landscape construction in private estate parks beginning at the end of the eighteenth century, and ran through the development of public urban parks during the Victorian period, culminating in the then (1960s) most current approaches to urban garden design of the post-war era. This work also included an overview of the biographies of contemporary English landscapers such as Switzer, Kent, Brown, Repton, Price, Paxton, Loudon, and a description of the movements they generated or contributed to, such as the picturesque, the gardenesque, and the so called Brownian landscape. At the same time, Chadwick showed a concern for the needs of the working classes in public parks during and after the English industrial revolution. By emphasising the role that public parks had (or should have had) in providing people with a healthy, recreational, and 'civilising' environment, he also addressed moral issues (see for example the arguments put forward for the use of parks in counteracting the working classes' drinking habits, 1966: 50-52). In so doing, he also drew attention to governments' responsibility to provide such urban spaces, thus causing a remarkable shift in the discourses undertaken on the history of garden landscape: from aesthetic descriptions of private aristocratic parklands, to moralistic perspectives on the role of the government in providing the working classes with recreational public space. For this reason his influence was truly groundbreaking.

Chadwick was also innovative in his approach. In comparison to Hoskins and his followers, he not only extended the area of research from the rural agrarian environment to the natural environment in urban settings, but he also extended the areas of comparative research to other countries such as France, Italy, Scandinavia and with somewhat lesser impact the U.S. However, references to other countries mainly exposed similarities and influences which were of relevance to the English case, and for such a reason Chadwick's work remains somewhat Anglo-centric.

Panzini: Pan-European dimensions in the study of public green spaces in an urban environment

The Italian Architect Franco Panzini, in collaboration with the Dumbarton Oaks Centre of Landscape Architecture at Harvard University has further expanded Chadwick's work. He did in fact move the fulcrum of the research towards a wider Eurocentric dimension and pre-nineteenth century history (from the fall of the Roman Empire onwards). Although much of Panzinin's work was based on the methodology proposed by Chadwick (and Hoskins before him), he was, however, able to expand the traditional English approach by recognising the intrinsic interdisciplinary nature of the subject and thus integrated in his work the theories and ideas of the various disciplines. These included architecture, design, urban studies, sociology, geography, history, history of art, history of literature, and cultural and social history. When considering the importance that perspectives on social issues have assumed in both the field of urban studies, cultural history, and geography since the 1980s, it is especially worthy of note that Panzini has brought the research of public green spaces into line with current academic discourse. The focus of his research has moved completely from private- to an exclusive concentration on public- spaces. His aim has been that of identifying the origins, forms, and functions of public parks and gardens in the processes of urban morphogenesis. The methodology he chose can be summarised in the following points:

- Examination of the biographies of the main parks landscapers
- Accurate topographical descriptions
- Analysis of the politics of municipal authorities and that of local and regional administrators
- Analysis of contemporary available literature (including diaries, correspondences, and recorded personal impressions of tourists and travellers)
- Examination of the social uses of public green spaces, and their relations with contemporary life styles, and fashion trends

One of the most important findings of his research has been his identification of the period between *c.* 1600 and 1650 as the general time in Europe during which the concept of 'public' began to be applied to urban green spaces (although Panzini did not consider Ireland at all in his research, this thesis will demonstrate that such an

identification was also relevant to Dublin). By concentrating his attention on the Renaissance and Baroque period, he was also able to move the focus of academic research away from the English Victorian period, which had been, and still is, the favoured period in English academia for studying the phenomenon of public parks. One of the most important aspect of Panzini's work is that while defining the evolution of public parks and gardens, he has also traced one of the most original contributions that European culture has brought to the formation of the modern occidental city (Benes, 1997: xi).

Panzini has published his book *Per i piaceri del popolo: L'evoluzione del giardino pubblico in Europa dalle origini al XX secolo* (1997) in Italian. However despite the collaboration with Dumbarton Oaks, and the fact that it has been reprinted five times, the book has not yet been translated into English. This of course has highly jeopardised the circulation of the author's findings and ideas in Anglo-American academia.

1.5.4 Comparative perspectives from Canada and England

Besides a historical overview of parks and gardens in other European countries - provided by analysis of Panzini's work (1997), and also that of other authors such as Bonnecherre and De Bruyn (1998), and Klucker (2000) - the theoretical framework of this thesis has also been influenced by work done on Canada by Dagenais, a cultural historian at the University of Montreal. Dagenais' interest is mainly focussed on public green spaces in Montreal and other Canadian cities from the nineteenth century to the present (1998; 1999; 2001*a*; 2001*b*). Although her research topic is circumscribed to a certain geographical region and a relatively short time period, the methodological approach she proposes has been fundamental to the development of this thesis. She has proposed the study of the development of public parks and gardens through an analysis of municipal and governmental politics. The importance of the municipality on this matter fully emerges in 'Inscrire le pouvoir civique dans l'espace urbain: la formation du réseau des parcs à Montréal et Toronto, 1880-1940' (2001*b*), where the author identifies that municipal power is the main shaping force behind the forms and functions of public green spaces.

Dagenais has also demonstrated that public green spaces are not only to be seen as a municipal product, but more precisely as the product of a power struggle between various public institutions and the interests of an elite of private individuals:

> *Le désir de contrôler les espaces publics, de superviser l'organisation des loisirs et des sports et la définition de certaines normes morales et de respectabilité dans ces nouveaux domaines est à la source des nombreuses luttes de pouvoir opposant élites, politiciens locaux, églises et syndicats.*
>
> (Dagenais, 2001*a*: 3)

At the same time, public green spaces are seen as agents through which dominant groups could control the moral and physical behaviour of the masses. This is an issue which was already amply explored in the studies of Victorian England's public parks, and which is partially explored in the course of this thesis.

Following the work of Chadwick, most of the English academic work on the history of landscaped parks and gardens concentrated on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with particular emphasis having being placed on private parks in the Georgian period, and public parks in the Victorian. During the 1990s, many books were published on these themes. Among these, most significant are those of Conway (*People's Park: The Design and Development of Victorian Parks in Britain*, 1991), Chambers (*The planters of the English landscape garden: botany, trees, and the georgics,* 1993), Williamson (*Polite landscape- Garden and Society in eighteen-century England*, 1995), and Daniels (*Humphry Repton: Landscape Gardening and the Geography of Georgian England*, 1999). All these works have highlighted social issues while also dealing with the history and descriptive morphology of the landscape. They have provided effectual new information and ideas, to such an extent that many of the given local analyses have been extrapolated at a theoretical level and also used in this thesis as paradigms for pre -1760s Dublin. However, these works, and others like them, have somewhat remained victims of an overgrown interest on the subject, which has resulted in saturation of the topic in published material both at an academic and commercial level.

The genius of gardening: the history of gardens in Britain and Ireland (1994), written by Christopher Thacker, stands out among recent English work. In this, the history of gardening in Britain (and to a lesser extent in Ireland) is reconstructed from Roman times. The author began his investigation by looking at archaeological sites such as that at Fishbourne in West Sussex (1994: 13), in order to interpret the Roman influence on English gardening traditions, while at the same time creating intriguing assumptions about the functions of the 'holy groves' in pre-mediaeval communities. An extremely precise investigation of archival material has also allowed the author to reveal the forms and functions of parks and gardens from

early-Norman times, and to demonstrate the extent of the horticultural knowledge from that time, thus filling the great historical and geographical lacunae left by Hoskins and Chadwick, while also revealing interesting information about the Irish case.

1.5.5 Irish gardens: 'A legacy of hatred?'

In Ireland, the literature available on the history of landscaped gardens and parks is quite scarce. However some research has been conducted on the history of gardening, that of horticulture, and on the history of private estates. Charles Nelson, botanist and taxonomist in the National Botanic Gardens at Glasnevin, pioneered research on Irish horticultural history and the history of botany in Ireland, during the 1970s (see Nelson and Brady, 1976). His work has focussed in particular on the history of the botanic gardens and was summarised and published in collaboration with Eileen McCracken in *The Brightest Jewel: A History of the National Botanic Gardens, Glasnevin, Dublin* (1987).

Terence Reeves-Smyth, archaeologist and architectural historian, in *Irish Gardens and Gardening before Cromwell* (1999), has provided a detailed history of Irish gardening, which is endowed with a profusion of botanical references and horticultural information. Beginning during prehistoric times, it continues through the early Christian period, treats the middleages, and ends in the Elizabethan and Early Stuart periods.

The history of gardening in Ireland has also received major contributions from research conducted by Lamb (horticulturist and past president of the Royal Horticultural Society of Ireland), and Bowe (architect, garden designer, and past member of the Heritage Gardens Committee of An Taisce). Their co-written *A History of gardening in Ireland* (1995) is the first comprehensive book on the development of gardening in Ireland from earliest times to the present day.

In the 1970s, Edward Malins and the Knight of Glin wrote *Lost Demenses: Irish Landscape Gardening 1660-1845* (1976). In this book, the historical development of landscape gardening through an analysis of the landscape of private demesnes was explored. Here the examination of Irish gardening traditions has been interpreted by analysing biographies of landlords who lived in these demesnes as well as the influences of various mainstream European and English movements in garden design. These movements included the baroque, with its rigid formality and

grandeur, followed by the Dutch manner, with its topiary and water works, and the enlightened ideas on gardening proposed by Alexander Pope and William Kent that had reached Ireland by way of Jonathan Swift and his circle of friends.

The work of Malins and the Knight of Glin has more recently been continued and expanded with more descriptive details by the architect Finola O'Kane. O'Kane, in *Landscape Design in Eighteenth-Century Ireland* (2004), has focussed this research on the private demesnes of the families of Molesworth, Conolly and Fitzgerald, at Breckdenston, Castletown, Carton and Frescati. The work has highlighted certain social issues in relation to gardening such as the positions of the women (Katherine Conolly, Louise Conolly and Emily Fitzgerald) and children (the nine children of Emily) of the Whig ascendancy in gardening. It has also made occasional reference to the anonymous Irish labour force, which was, in fact, 'benevolently' employed by the aristocracy in the making of their gardens. As O'Kane's quoted, Louisa found it 'extraordinary to say of Paddy workmen in general...that the Stone Cutters work and Iron works are so well finished for the sort of materials that they are done in, that it is quite pleasant'. But she did believe that she could 'do no good, but employ the poor people, which as long as one has a shilling to spare...is the best way of spending it' (L. Conolly to S. Lennox, 1 October 1783, I.A.A.The Irish Georgian Society's Uncatalogued Conolly letters. And L. Conolly to S. Lennox, 10 August 1778, I.A.A. The Irish Georgian Society's Uncatalogued Conolly letters. Quoted in O'Kane, 2004: 85).

The emphasis on gardens as spaces created solely for use by the aristocratic classes, combined with the Parliament's lack of interest in public spaces and social matters during the eighteenth century, might provide explanation for the perceived lack of interest at a national level in public green spaces. As commented upon by Malins and the Knight of Glin when writing about the historic heritage left by private demesnes:

> *The English parliament neglected many of the social and economic problems of Ireland throughout the eighteenth century, and the period has left a legacy of hatred for the Anglo-Irish heritage which lasts into our own times.*
>
> (Malins and the Knight of Glin, 1976:1)

In Ireland, the literature available on public green spaces is almost non-existent. Apart from Scott's book *A Breath of Fresh Air: The Story of Belfast's Parks* (2000) - which contains a general descriptive and historical overview of Belfast's parks through the twentieth century, seen from the perspective of a botanist and now member of the City Council - no other books of relevance have yet been published. Considering Dublin is a capital city, and contains 116 public parks (Dublin Corporation-Parks and Landscape Service Division, 2001: 24; and see relative Web pages, updated 10 December, 2004: http://www.dublincity.ie/parks) the lack of informative material on the subject reveals an enormous lacunae (at a social, environmental, and historical level) which indeed might require a lifetime of research to fill.

SECTION 2: PRIMARY SOURCES

1.6 ASSEMBLY ROLLS

One of the main sources of information for the compilation of the thesis has been the *Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin in the possession of the municipal corporation of that city* edited by Gilbert between 1889 and 1944 in 15 volumes. For the research, volumes 1 to 10 have been used. These contain a series of royal charters, governmental grants, rolls and miscellanea. The principal and most voluminous entries in the *Ancient records* are the documents recording ordinances enacted by the assemblies of the Dublin municipality, referred to as the Assembly Rolls. These begin in 1447, and are chronologically transcribed by Gilbert in sections corresponding to each of the four annual assemblies of the Council. Records of the assemblies include decisions made on public affairs, such as the paving and cleansing of the city, water supplies, customs and tolls, regulation of markets and public green spaces, and the allocation of leases and grants on the city land. Gilbert also integrates the Assembly Rolls with various documents or transcripts from the British Museum, the Public Record Offices of London and Dublin, the Royal Irish Academy, and Trinity College, Dublin. The reliability of the Ancient records has been proven by comparison with the original documents, written on sheets of vellum, which are still preserved in the Muniment Room, City Hall, Dublin (Burke, 1972: 8-9).

While Gilbert has faithfully transcribed the orthography of the original documents in Old or Middle English, providing also a glossary for the interpretation of most archaic words, he has also translated (or summarised) original Latin and Old French enactments. Consequently, he may have distorted the significance of the original terminology, and this must be taken into account in their evaluation.

1.7 SOURCES FOR THE MEDIAEVAL PERIOD

Information on the period prior to the second half of the fifteenth century has been largely derived from the records contained in the Liber Albus, or White Book of Dublin, and in the Chain Book. Both these manucripts, in membranes of vellum, contain collections of documents in Latin and Old French which have been partially summarised and translated by Gilbert into English, and published in the first volume of the *Ancient Records*. Study of the latter has provided the relevant information (from both the Liber Albus and the Chain Book) for this research.

The Liber Albus contains documents from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century. These concern municipal affairs, civic transactions in connection with lands, buildings, mills and water supplies, and charters of religious establishments in the vicinity of Dublin. It also contains in its final section, a record of the *Riding of the Franchises* (1603), which has been extremely helpful in tracing the extension of the city's jurisdiction and boundaries, as well as the landscape of green areas at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

The Chain Book was seemingly so called for having been chained to the Dublin Guildhall as a source of reference for the citizens (Gilbert, i: x). As for the Liber Albus, it was translated, summarised and published by Gilbert in the first volume of the *Ancient Records*. It contains ordinances and laws concerning civic matters, tables of customs, copies of legal proceedings and acts (both in French and Latin), a series of oaths of the Mayor, Aldermen, Freemen and other city officials, and also a section on directions for pageants on Corpus Christi day. The memoranda and copies of documents in relation to municipal affairs date from the fifteenth century, however some of the older documents were probably written in the first half of the fourteenth century. Because these documents were not originally catalogued in an exact chronological order, their dating is quite difficult, and unless expressed otherwise, they must thus be considered as additional sources of information for generic periods more than as chronological points of reference.

Information provided by the *Ancient Records* on the mediaeval and early mediaeval periods has been integrated with other documents contained in various edited sources. Among these, the deeds of Christ Church cathedral, Dublin, have been consulted for some records of administrative activity in the city. Edited with the title of *Christ Church deeds* by McEnery and Refaussé in 2001, they constitute a collection of documents from the middle of the twelfth century until the end of the seventeenth. These include royal and episcopal charters, leases and rentals, accounts, wills and administrations, and even acts of parliament.

The *Calendar of Archbishop Alen's register, c. 1172-1534*, known also as Liber Niger Alani and as Allen's Register, edited by McNeill in 1950, contains some useful documents concerning the jurisdictions of commons and pastures which reveal the importance green spaces had in the early period of the town's growth between the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries.

The Miscellaneous Irish annals (A.D. 1114-1437), edited by Ó hInnse in 1947 and containing both Irish and English versions of the various entries, have provided essential information on the existence of an early public green space in pre Anglo-Norman times, which was related to Gaelic society.

Similarly, the *Song of Dermot*, formerly known as *The Song of Dermot and the Earl*, and recently edited by Mullally as *The deeds of the Normans in Ireland* (2002), has provided invaluable information on the positions and functions of green spaces in the early period of urban morphogenesis. This *Song* is an Anglo-Norman chronicle, written in an Anglo-Norman dialect of old French, which recounts the Anglo-Norman conquest of Ireland in the 1170s. It starts with the arrival of Richard Fitz Gilbert (Strongbow) of Wales, ally of Diarmait Mac Murchada, and proceeds with descriptions of the various battles between the Irish, the Norsemen and the Normans. In the *Song*, important details are revealed on the morphology, location, and social function of a particular green place.

Other chronicles written during the early period of the town's formation include those by Howden and Giraldus Cambrensis, between the end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth. The *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houdene*, edited in Latin by Stubbs in four volumes (1868-71), contains descriptions of the series of historical events which accompanied the arrival of Henry II in Ireland, as recorded by Howden. In particular, the fascinating details contained in this Latin text have allowed a reconstruction in the thesis of the form and function

that one particular green space acquired as a consequence of the arrival of Henry II in Dublin in 1171.

The chronicles of Giraldus Cambrensis have been published in *Expugnatio Hibernica: the conquest of Ireland* (edited by Scott and Martin in 1978) and in *The history and topography of Ireland* (edited by O'Meara in 1982). These transcripts contain historical facts, as well as the personal impressions of the author, written during and after his several journeys to Ireland, between 1183 and 1204. Although Giraldus personally witnessed historical events, the reliability of his works remains highly questionable because of the multitude of personal statements, anecdoctes and mythological stories interspersed with historical events. Thus it has been useful to compare Giraldus' version of events with that of Howden, and evaluate the two in light of other current studies (see Haliday, 1881: 183; Little, 1953: 70; D. Clarke, 1977: 10; Scott and Martin, 1978: 314; Flanagan, 1989:172; Curtis, 1990: 106; Sims-Williams, 1991:48; Thacker, 1994: 23; Bradley 1992: 53; Duffy, 1997:85; and H.B. Clarke, 2002: 7).

1.8 HISTORICAL LINEAGE: THE WRITING OF DUBLIN HISTORY FROM 1577 TO 1818

After the work of Giraldus Cambrensis, it appears that nothing significant had been written on the history of Ireland, and more specifically of Dublin, until the second half of the sixteenth century. In the 1570s, the Dublin-born Richard Stanihurst compiled a *Description of Ireland* and part of the *History of Ireland* for the first edition of Holinshed's Chronicles (1577). The former was reprinted by Gilbert in the appendix of the second volume of the *Ancient records* (546-551), under the title of *Stanihurst's description of Dublin*. This has offered some interesting insights into the morphological restructuring of Dublin following the confiscation of the monastic possessions, while at the same time revealing social issues and folkloristic aspects of the use of public green spaces. Moreover, Stanihurst's work, written during the period of the second wave of English colonisation of Ireland, is also important at a socio-cultural level, because it reveals a consciousness of an Irish identity, largely based on that of the Old English ascendancy, which was seen as separate and distinct from that of the New English settlers.

Stanihurst's work was mainly based on that of his tutor at Oxford, the English Catholic martyr Edmund Campion. Campion came to Ireland in 1569, and while

staying here with Stanihurst he wrote the *History of Ireland*. Campion's *History of Ireland* was then revised and published with the same title by Dublin-born James Ware in 1633. Ware also wrote *De Hibernia et antiquitatibus ejus, disquisitiones*, which was then translated and published by his son Robert as *The Antiquities and History of Ireland* (1705). This is most interesting, because Ware's complete works were then edited by Walter Harris (who married Ware's great-grand-daughter) in two folio volumes in 1739 and 1746.

Harris concentrated his studies mainly on the history of Dublin, from the origins of the city onwards. These included an investigation of the physical descriptions of buildings and public spaces of the city, as well as reflections on the political and social life of its inhabitants. His work was published posthumously, with the title *The History and Antiquities of the City of Dublin* (1766). This book has been most useful to this research, especially Sections XV and XVI, which deal with the descriptions of the forms and functions of two public green spaces, namely St Stephen's Green and the green area at the City Basin.

The History and Antiquities of the City of Dublin was very important in creating the mould for further historical studies on the city, to the point that Harris has been referred to as the first serious historian of Dublin (Craig, 1992: 50). Despite the fact that the reliability of Harris' book might be questioned because it was mainly based on that of Robert Ware, and that it was merely a revision of the work of his father James, which in its turn was merely a revised publication of the work of Campion, Harris was still considered an authority on Dublin history by succeeding generations of amateur historians. On the basis of the generally accepted authority of his publication, and due to a lack of other significant historical works to refer to, many writers after him, especially between the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, have simply reproduced extracts of his assertions and findings without in-fact revealing anything new about Dublin's history. Among these authors, Warburton, Whitelaw, and Walsh - respectively a barrister, a priest and a barrister - are the most commonly known by writers on eighteenth and nineteenth century Dublin. Warburton *et al.*, in their *History of the City of Dublin* (1818), written in two volumes, blatantly plagiarised many parts of Harris' book. However, to their slight credit, it must be said that they also interspersed the various copied sections with interesting details on the life of Dublin's inhabitants and with

somewhat entertaining folkloristic particulars and assumptions on the social use of space.

1.9 TRAVEL GUIDES, VISITORS' DESCRIPTIONS, AND EPISTOLARY WORKS

Many of the works written towards the end of the eighteenth century on the city of Dublin - such as travel guides and collections of visitors' descriptions - followed a standard format of style and content, and in general, if an historical background was included, this seemed to have been based on Harris' findings. The content of such printed material was mainly based on morphological descriptions, with each section, or chapter, corresponding to the description of a different place. Merely descriptive details on the physical aspects of different places in the city (public green space included) were then integrated with details on their social functions and with personal assertions and comments. The personal views emerging from such work might have been more or less biased because of the political and religious status of the writer; however, even if so, these can still be considered enlightening on the ways in which at least a part of the population perceived the aesthetic character and use of certain places. Worth mentioning among these works are those of Lewis, *The Dublin guide: or, A description of the city of Dublin, and the most remarkable places within fifteen miles* (1787); Campbell, *A philosophical survey of the south of Ireland* (1777); Luckombe, *A tour through Ireland* (1788); and Ferrar, *A View of Ancient and Modern Dublin* (1796). These works have however provided some useful physical descriptions of green spaces, as well as some insights on the ways in which these were perceived by a portion of society in the late Georgian period.

The aforementioned texts of the 1780s and 1790s have been consulted - even though the period examined in this research terminates some twenty/thirty years previously - to make up for a lack of sources of similar kind in the previous decades. Along with a *Description of the city of Dublin*, written by an anonymous citizen of London in 1732, and reprinted by Gilbert as an appendix to volume 10 of the *Ancient records*, the only other similar work available for the first half of the seventeenth century was that of John Dunton in 1699. Both these works have been useful in approaching the social use of public green spaces in seventeenth century Dublin. However Dunton, an English bookseller, emerges from his writing as a highly biased, if not small-minded, commentator, and thus the reliability of his accounts

must be closely evaluated. His works consisted of an account of Ireland after the Restoration, which was then published in *The Dublin Scuffle* (1699), reprinted in 2000 together with *My Conversation in Ireland* (1699), as well as an epistolary work on his travels among the Irish 'savages', called *Teague-land, or a Merry Ramble to the Wild Irish* (1698). The latter was published in 1950 by MacLysaght as appendix to his book *Irish Life in the Seventeenth Century*, and has been recently transcribed from the original manuscript and edited by Andrew Carpenter (2002).

Other epistolary works consulted include the correspondence of Mary Delany (née Granville, earlier Mrs Pendarves), wife of Patrick Delany, clergyman and personal friend of Jonathan Swift. Mrs Delany's letters, which were edited by Day in *Letters from Georgian Ireland: the correspondence of Mary Delany, 1731-68* in 1991, provide an invaluable account of the use of public green spaces by the wealthy classes, and on the way these were perceived by the same during the eighteenth century. The importance of her writings stems also from the fact that she was highly interested in gardening, as evidenced by the comments she wrote about her own garden at Delville, Glasnevin, and from the fact that hers is the only non-current feminine voice heard in this research.

1. 10 CARTOGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

The cartographic evidence included in this thesis has been based mainly on the following maps of Dublin:

- John Speed, *Dubline, 1610*, from *The theatre of the empire of Great Britaine*, London, 1612.

- Bernard De Gomme, *The citty and suburbs of Dublin, 1673*, National Maritime Museum Greenwich; DartmouthCollection, 11. Three other maps, seemingly based on the survey of De Gomme, have also been considered. These are the maps of Dublin by Thomas Phillips (1685), Henry Pratt (1705), and Henry Mall (1714), with the latter being mainly interpreted as a schematisation of Pratt's map (see Brady, 2001: 342).

- Charles Brooking, *A Map of the City and suburbs of Dublin*, London, 1728. Full title: *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, which also contains a *Prospect of the city of Dublin* and the illustrations of some twenty buildings and statues. Among these illustrations, of particular interest are the prospects of St Stephen's Green and the City Basin.

- John Rocque, *Plan of the city of Dublin and the environs*, Dublin, 1756. Full title: *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.*

  Of these, two versions have been considered:
- Four-sheet *Survey of the city and suburbs of Dublin* (1756)
- Four-sheet *Survey of the city, harbour, bay and environs of Dublin* (1757). In this, the *Plan of the city* was re-issued as one of the sheets, in smaller scale.

On these maps, and on their value in the reconstruction of Dublin history, much has been written by various academics, namely Andrews (1973: 579-93; 1983: 205-35), Clark (1983), Kissane (1987), Clarke (1985, ii: 618-23), Burke (1990: 142-65) Ferguson (1998) and Brady (2001: 341-43). The use of these maps in this research has been essential in providing a physical representation of the public green spaces in Dublin from 1610 to 1757. For a reconstruction of the position of suburban green areas in the mediaeval period, the following map has also been of great help:

- *Dublin c. 840 to c. 1540: the medieval town in the modern city* first prepared by H.B. Clarke for the Friends of Medieval Dublin; printed and published by Ordnance Survey Ireland, Phoenix Park, Dublin, 1978. Revised by H.B. Clarke and prepared by Sarah Gearty (2002) Irish Historic Towns Atlas, Royal Irish Academy.

The dates of publication of some of the later maps - 1728 (Brooking's map) and 1756 (Rocque's map) - in providing the opportunity for a summary of the description of green spaces and their relation to the built environment as a whole, have also served in the structure of the thesis to draw lines of demarcation between one historical phase and that which followed.

The plan of Dublin in Speed's *The theatre of the empire of Great Britaine* is the oldest map of the city available. Its historical and social importance stems mainly from the fact that along with the other Irish cities represented in *The theatre,* it was drawn as part of a survey conducted during the second wave of English colonisation of Ireland. It essentially represents the mediaeval defensive structure of the town, which is enclosed by a solid structure of walls. The scale of the map is *c.* 1: 10,500, and therefore the representation is quite poor in detail. Few buildings are shown, and among these the houses and churches are all out of scale, as they should have been at least one third of their depicted size (Andrews, 1983: 211), and thus must be interpreted more for their symbolic value than for their accuracy. In this plan, no green space is depicted or marked; however, it can be derived from the close structure of the represented urban cluster that green spaces at the beginning of the seventeenth century were suburban areas outside the walls. However, as will be seen in due course, despite the presence of the walls, it is known that there was also substantial suburban development, and that in this, some green spaces occupied a special function.

De Gomme's map (1673) was mainly designed for military purposes. The chief engineer De Gomme was requested to do a survey of the city following the outbreak of the war with the Dutch, because of the possibility of foreign attack. De Gomme's plan also included the design of a citadel in the area of Ringsend, which was however never built. It is essential to note that because Thomas Phillips, military surveyor, produced a plan of Dublin in the following years (1685), which was seemingly based on that of De Gomme, and a plan for a citadel which was reprinted by Haliday under the name of De Gomme (see Haliday, 1881, Plate 4: 229), some confusion has arisen in the past on the authorship of the two maps.

De Gomme's map shows a significant extension of the city outside the walls post Speed's representation. It especially shows ample development in the area north of the river Liffey, known as Oxmantown, in which it is possible to identify the Bowling Green of Oxmantown Green. It shows additionally, that in lieu of the Pool (represented in Speed's map) the Castle Garden had been landscaped, thus giving some clues to the social standing of the practice of gardening during the Restoration period.

Another map, again based on that of De Gomme, which is revealing of the social, as well as the physical position of particular green places between the end of

the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth, is that of Henry Pratt (1705, and subsequently reproduced by Henry Moll in 1714). Both these maps, published in London, seem to have been produced for commercial purposes (Kissane, 1987: 4) and this is quite significant in the evaluation of the places represented.

Brooking's map is the first map published on its own, and is the first map to show parish boundaries. It also contains a prospect of the city, or birds eye view, seen from a northern perspective. This prospect is depicted with an abundance of scenic details and shows the urban development integrated into rural surroundings. The setting is reminescent of a pastoral scene containing extensive woodlands, among which are interspersed mills, cottages, hillocks, and open green areas.

The northern perspective is also kept in the drawing of the map, which in this regard is quite unusual. Nevertheless, the technique used is understandable when the map is considered with its complementary aforementioned prospectus. The map shows that intense development was taking place in the area of St Mary's Abbey north-east of the city, which was being developed by the Moores (Earls of Drogheda), and in the south west of the city, which was being developed by Lord Meath. It accurately represents the landscape of St Stephen's Green and the City Basin. These are sketched also in separate illustrations to the side of the plan. In this map, public green space appeared to have been almost completely integrated into the urban development.

Finally, Rocque's map - in its two versions: the *Survey of the city and suburbs of Dublin* (1756) (representative of the city area), and the *Survey of the city, harbour, bay and environs of Dublin* (1757) (representative of the larger city area) - provided accurate details on the buildings, buildings plots, streets, bridges, quays, and on the landscapes of private and public green areas. The accuracy of Rocque's map was mainly due to the fact that he was a professional cartographer, and that before creating it he had designed maps of London, Paris, and Rome. The reliability of the Dublin map has been proved by comparison with a large-scale survey of the buildings and building plots situated in the street block bounded by Essex Street, Blind Quay, Cork Hill, Dame Street, and Crane Lane, made by William Purfield in 1761 (see Burke,1972: 15).

Rocque's map shows the laying out of the north east sector of the city by the Gardiners, from Sackville Street to Mountjoy Square, and the laying out of the south-

east sector by the Fitzwilliam. The accuracy with which the property plots are divided has made Rocque's map an important key to the interpretation of early estate maps. But most of all, his map has been fundamental to this research because of the accuracy of its depiction of garden design and other green spaces and botanical features in general. The reason for Rocque's interest in horticultural matters derived from the fact that besides being a cartographer, he was also by profession a *desinateur de jardins* (Ogborn, 1998: 30-31). Thus his representations of public green areas has provided essential revelatory evidence which has shaped the development of the final part of this thesis.

SECTION 3: METHOD AND STRUCTURE

The structure of the thesis has been planned in light of the theories and standard methods of research proposed in the main study areas of historical-cultural geography, urban morphogenesis, and the history of landscape of parks and gardens; and in consideration of the primary sources which have informed the main body of facts in the research.

The work has been written taking into consideration the continuous intrinsic dynamic process behind the evolution of public green spaces. This has been evaluated in the context of the social, political, economic and architectural changes occurring in the Dublin urban environment, as well as in the context of those changes taking place in garden design, both in the rest of Ireland and in other European countries. England, because of its particular legacy to Ireland, has been accorded a special attention in this analysis.

In planning the structure, it has been recognised that changes occurring in public green spaces were determined by historical, urban and cultural changes. Thus the work analyses the functions these spaces had in society and the physical forms they assumed in different periods, depending on historical events. For this reason, in accordance with the historical-geographical approach, the development of the thesis evolves around the identification of specific phases of historical-geographical change, and the structure is based on a chronological framework.

Each chapter - or chapter grouping, as in the case of chapters 3 and 4 and chapters 7 and 8 - corresponds to a determined historical phase. Phases are defined by constancy of forms and functions of green spaces, and in this way the

crystallisation in time of specific and homogeneous sets of characteristics is allowed. Each phase is identifiable by two particularly significant historical dates marking its beginning and end. The choice of these key dates is based upon the impact that critical political events had on a significant number of places. The key dates thus correspond to the introduction of some changes at a functional and/or physical level. However, there is not always an obvious simultaneous correspondence between the dates of relevant historico-political events and changes in green spaces. More often, morphological and functional changes occurred instead after a lapse of time from triggering political events, and remained somewhat anachronistic in character compared to other architectural changes happening on the contemporary urban scene. Thus, it is difficult to identify how morphological and functional changes taking place in green spaces reflected the political, social and economic circumstances of the period under examination. The consequences of particular political measures could have had physical effects on green spaces only years afterwards, so that many public green spaces could have displayed a design which was a frozen reflection of a past age. Moreover, changes in function did not always correspond to immediate changes in form, and *viceversa*. This has occasionally created overlapping typified canons of form and function between one phase and the other. In addition, it has created phases of change valid only for some green spaces and not for others. Thus, some chapters were designed to focus only on those places manifesting clear signs of change, happening in a given period, while the overall situation in the other places was generally overviewed and updated, from one phase to another.

Despite the initial difficulty of finding historical events which had had equal repercussions in the same period of time in most of the spaces considered, the structure chosen has proven to be best in allowing a valid chronological and comparative reconstruction of public green spaces through time. An alternative approach would have involved the chronological analysis and description of each single public green place *per se*. In this case each chapter would have been characterised by the history of a single place. This simplistic structure, tourist guide style, while it would have helped to maintain unity of historical information for each individual place, would also however have increased the chance of unwelcome historical repetitions from chapter to chapter, and would have prevented the development of a valid academic theoretical comparative framework for the understanding of the process of evolution of public green spaces in Dublin City.

The work has analysed the development of eight public green spaces emerging as the principal public green areas in Dublin during the period in question. These have been identified as the most important in terms of size, social function, and location with respect to urban development. They are:

- *Faithche Átha Cliath*: The 'Green of Dublin'
- The Steyne
- The Thingmounth / Hoggen Green (College Green)
- Oxmantown Green
- Fair Green
- Abbey Green (Little Green)
- St Stephen's Green
- The green area circumjacent to the City Basin

Besides the above spaces, the text has referred occasionally to the presence of other green areas. Mention of commons, private parks, gardens and orchards, together with other open green spaces, such as meadows, woodlands, and formal tree-lined walks, has been necessary to provide a comprehensive understanding of public green space in the city.

1.13 IDENTIFIED PHASES

Ideally each chapter would have corresponded to a different phase. However it was not possible to keep that format because of the peculiarity of some periods, and therefore the structure is based on 5 phases addressed in 7 chapters (in addition to the introduction and final conclusion). Problems arose with the subdivision of chapters 3 and 4 (which together represent phase 2) and with chapters 7 and 8 (which represent phase 5). Chapter 3 is anomalous because it is mainly based on the tremendous changes at a morphological and functional level which happened in a relatively short period of time following the arrival of Henry II in 1171. The importance of these changes deserved a section of their own, but because the main changes occurred primarily in one place and for a short period of time this was not enough to justify such recognition.

The information presented in Chapters 7 and 8 has been divided mainly because of the large amount of information on different themes, which, although

similar in the two chapters, would have been too difficult to manage in a single unit without the inevitable loss of precious detail. Some significant events on the social use of public green spaces also justify a break point. However, because chapter 8 is mainly characterised by events which can be interpreted as products of events which had taken place in the period treated in chapter 7, these two chapters must be considered in the same phase in order to be fully understood.

The structure of the thesis has thus finally resulted in the following 5 phases:

- Phase 1: 841-1171. Chapter 2. Deals with the origins of public green spaces during the processes of urban genesis, while exploring the influences the Gaelic, Viking and Hiberno-Norse cultures had on green spaces and *viceversa*.

- Phase 2: 1171-1536. Chapters 3 and 4. Deals with the impact on public green spaces of the arrival of King Henry II in Dublin and with the establishment of a system of Anglo-Norman municipality and the effects this had on the way green spaces were used during the mediaeval period.

- Phase 3: 1536-1660. Chapter 5. Deals with the changes occurring in the aftermath of the second wave of English colonisation in Ireland, and with the redistribution of municipal land following the confiscation of monastic possessions. It explores how elements of novelty in urban planning give new status to the public functions and social meanings of green areas.

- Phase 4: 1660-1689. Chapter 6. Deals with a set of new geometric forms that were imposed on public green spaces during the Restoration period, and with the changed social perception of their functions in the city. European influences are evaluated in this context.

- Phase 5: 1689-1756. Chapters 7 and 8. Shows how the imposition of a stronger English/Protestant form of governance appeared in the changing landscape and use of public green areas. It demonstrates also how the behaviour of people became the prevalent factor in determining the character of public green spaces.

CHAPTER TWO

EARLY GREENS? TO 1171

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This section aims to ascertain whether -and if so in what sense- 'greens' were present in Dublin prior to the arrival of the Anglo-Normans in 1171. This part of the thesis will present the results of documentary analysis supporting the presence of public green spaces in Gaelic, Viking and Hiberno-Norse Dublin. The central theme is that of re-constructing the forms and functions of green spaces, while simultaneously constructing a conceptual paradigm of their meanings in pre-Anglo-Norman times. The process of identifying, describing and examining these spaces will also delineate links between the built and social environment, highlighting the important role played by these relationships in the creation of urbanity.

Four significant and interrelated problems arise from the above objectives. Firstly, a date of inception for the town of Dublin and thus for the origin of its greens must be determined. A second commensurate problem arises from a linguistic perspective: in what way is it correct to refer to Dublin's green spaces as 'greens' in the period preceding the Anglo-Norman introduction of the word 'green' itself? In consequence, a third problem emerges. This involves defining the erstwhile 'greens' prior to this formal/chartered introduction. Finally, a paucity of archaeological evidence and primary sources makes it difficult to paint an exact picture of the landscape prior to 1171.

Defining the exact temporal parameters of the period presents a relatively difficult task. However, a series of key events leading to the development of Dublin as an urban settlement are identified in the literature as having occurred after the year 841. For this reason, the year 841 has been chosen as a starting date. For the purposes of this section, these events may be considered to culminate in the year 1172 with the creation of Dublin as an independently administered town under Henry II's charter.

The initial section of this chapter seeks to ascertain whether, upon their arrival in the 790s, the Vikings found any areas associated with settlements in Dublin that might be designated as 'greens'. O'Floinn (1998: 131) argues that when the first raiders appeared off the Irish coast towards the end of the 8th century, 'they found a well-populated landscape inhabited by a literate, Christian society with a complex political system'. After a series of raids, a stable Viking encampment was established at the mouth of the river Liffey in 841 (Simms, 2001: 18). From then onwards written Irish sources refer to a permanent settlement in the area that was to become the core of the city of Dublin: the *longphort oc Duibhlinn* (Simms, 2001: 28-9). This Viking control was to last in Dublin until the year 980, the year which marks the end of the Norse King Amlaíb Cúarán's rule.

In brief, the period under examination can be sub-divided into three main phases:

- Gaelic or Early Christian phase, to 841
- Viking phase, 841- 980
- Hiberno-Norse phase, 980-1170

The overlapping of different phases, and the persistence of features characteristic of one phase into another are inevitable outcomes of the complexity of this initial period which saw the intersection of three different cultures in one place. In this context, one may appreciate the difficulty of generating a single unequivocal definition of the concept of a 'green', during a period when three different languages - Irish, Latin and Norse- were in usage. Three suburban spaces exhibiting characteristics similar to later greens can however be identified for this period: *Faithche Átha Cliath* (the Green of Dublin), the *Steinn* (the Steyne), and the complex *Thingmót - haugar* (Thingmount - Hoggen Green).

GAELIC PHASE

2.2 FAITHCHE ÁTHA CLIATH

2.2.1 Sources

Faithche Átha Cliath or the *green of Dublin* is first referred to in the *Leabhar Oiris* (*c.* 1030: 83-4). The *Leabhar Oiris*, or Book of Chronicles, mainly consists of an account of the battle of Brian Borúma and a short annals of events from 979 to 1027 (Best, 1904: 74). Further references to the *faithche* appear in the early 12th century *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh*, or the book of the War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill (*Cog. Gaedhel*: 155, 211, in *IHTA*: 24). In a later passage of 1171, reported in the *Miscellaneous Irish Annals*, there is mention of *faithche an baile* or the Town Green (*Misc. Ir. ann.*, 1171: 55) which appears to refer to the same place.

2.2.2 Location and earlier interpretations of sources

In the *Leabhar Oiris* (*c.* 1030: 83-4), the Green is referred to as a place of battle, located between Áth Cliath and Kilmainham. The passage of the *Miscellaneous Irish Annals*, mentioning the *faithche an baile*, also refers to a battle in the green and seems to confirm the aforementioned area of its location. It says, in full:

> *Sluaigheadh la Tigearnan O Ruairc go sochraidi h. mBriuin, 7 la Domnall mac Mail Seacloinn Crosaigh go nOirtir Midhi, 7 la Murcadh h. Cearbuill go nUirgiallaibh 7 go nIbh Meith, do dicur na ridiri a hAth Cliath, 7 na Saxanaigh do dul a coinne na nGaeidhel gu Cill Maidneann, 7 cath do tabhairt de ceile, 7 do bris arna Gallaibh ...Do fan O Ruai[r]c ar faithci an baile beacan marcsluaigh...*
>
> (*Misc. Ir. ann.*, 1171: 54)

The transcription of original version in Irish is here necessary as the translation given by Séamus Ó hInnse (1947: 55), in the Irish Annals, does not emphasise the proximity of the battlefield to the settlement of Áth Cliath, but just refers to the settlement of Dublin.

> *A hosting by Tighearnán Ó Ruairc with the forces of Uí Bhriúin, Domhnall son of Maol Seachlainn Crosach Ó Maoil Sheachlainn with the men of Oirthear Midhe, and Murchadh Ó Cearbhaill with the Oirghialla and Uí Mhéith, to drive the knights from Dublin. The English went to Ceall Maighneann to meet the Irish, and they fought a battle, in which the Galls were defeated ... Ó Ruairc remained on the green of the town with a small force of horses ...*
>
> (*Misc. Ir. ann.*, 1171: 55)

From the above passage we can see that in 1171, a battle between the Anglo-Normans and the Irish, was fought in a green area, the *faithche*, located between Kilmainham and Áth Cliath. This position seems to be confirmed, in Stephenson's (1945: 92-3) opinion, by a later medieval document. A petition by a merchant named Richard Gerrot in 1584, requested a lease, '...a parsell of the commons of this cittie, nere the ould brydge, leding to the myll of Kylmaynam' (1584, *Ancient records*, ii: 191). This passage led Stephenson (1945: 92-3) to believe that the *faithche*, eventually evolved into the common near Kilmainham. On the basis of this proximity he calls it 'the Green at Kilmainham'.

In 1881, Charles Haliday (1881: 152) postulated that the location of the Green of Áth Cliath was in the green area of the Steyne and identified the two as being the same place. The fallacy of this interpretation was firstly remarked upon by Prendergast, in 1884. As Prendergast (1884: 152) explained, Haliday's statement was referenced as being found in the 'Book of Danish Wars' (MS, TCD), but it was in fact based on the information provided by Todd while editing the manuscript of the *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh*, and translating it in *The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill* (Todd, 1867). However, the latter was published after Haliday's death and it is thus likely that he was never aware of the full interpretation of the original text and this should explain the misunderstanding. The relevant passage of the *Cog. Gaedhel* reads: 'Brian was then on the plain of Áth Cliath in council with the nobles of the Dál Cais' and 'After this the men of Mumhan and of Connacht came to the Green of Áth Cliath and made a siege and blockade round Áth Cliath (*Cog. Gaedhel* in Haliday, 1881: 150-1). However, the passage reported in full in the 1867 edition adds: 'and he (Brian) came to Cill-Maighnenn (Kilmainham) to the Green of Áth Cliath (*Cog. Gaedhel* in Haliday, 1881: 150-1).

During the period considered, the *faithche* was located south-west of the settlement cluster of *Áth Cliath*, or the 'ford of hurdle-work' (Figure 2.1).

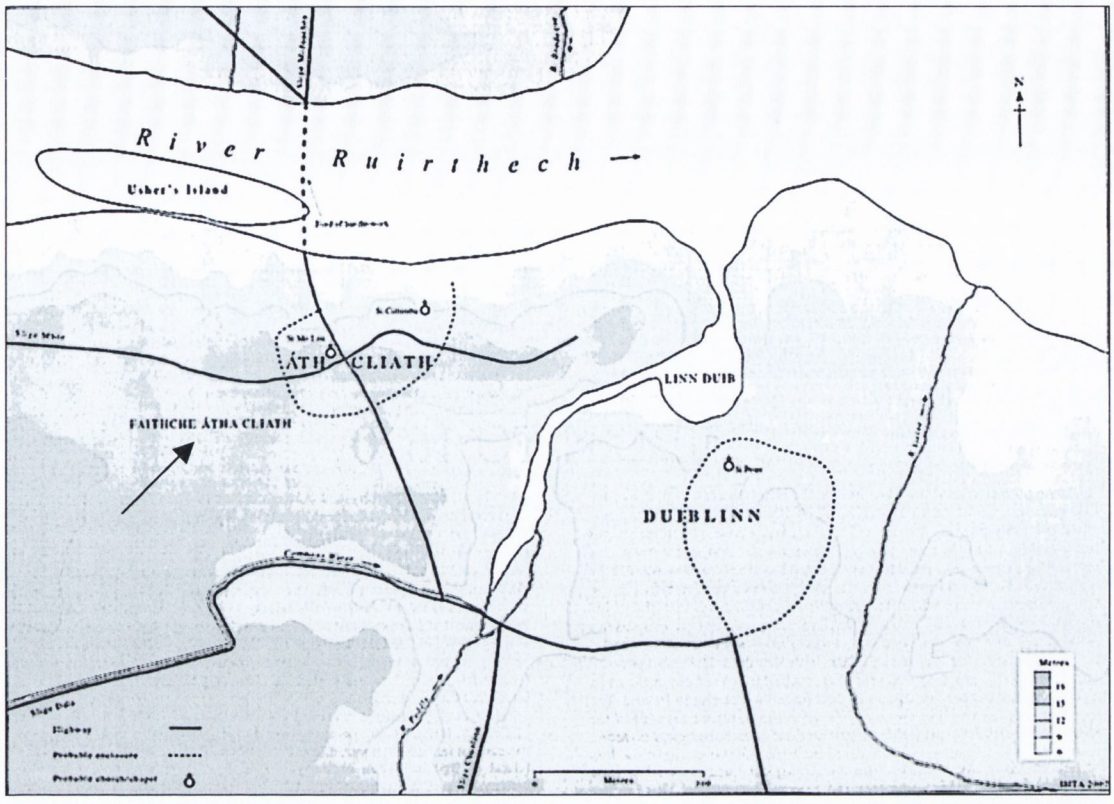


Figure 2.1 ***Faithche Átha Cliath.*** **Based on** ***Dublin, c. 840.*** **Source:** ***IHTA*****, 2002: 2.**

It is likely that this settlement, mentioned in the *Irish Annals*, comprised of a group of dwellings located in proximity to a crossing point on the river called the ford of hurdle-work. It is possible that this was the settlement of a Gaelic farming and fishing community (see Clarke, 2002: 1 and Simms, 2001: 26). As the dates of the origin of the settlement are unknown it is not possible to state for how long the green space had been in use by the postulated Gaelic community. Despite this, it is known that Kilmainham, or Cell Maignem was established before the second half of the eighth century (O'Brien, 1998: 206), and the monastic community may have used the Green since that time.

In summary, it can be stated on the basis of the available sources, that a green place, called *faithche*, was in existence prior to the eleventh century. This was located in an area east of Áth Cliath, towards Kilmainham, around the area today corresponding to Thomas Street (see Clarke, 2002: 24).

2.2.3 Origin and meaning

As explained by Kelly (1997: 368-70) in *Early Irish Farming*, and basing his assertions on law-texts of the seventh and eight centuries, the *faithche* was a common

feature of the landscape in Gaelic Ireland. As Kelly remarks, *faithche* is conventionally translated as 'green'. A landscape feature similar to the green was thus present in Ireland prior to the Viking and Hiberno-Norse phases.

It is possible to gain an insight into the characteristics of the *faithche* from Kelly's analysis of various texts. Firstly, the *faithche* was a large expanse of grass which was said to have extended 'as far as the sound of a bell or the crowning of a cock reaches' (Kelly, 1997: 368-70). It was characterised by the presence of sacred (*bile*), and other trees, and could have contained hills, roads, margins and hollows, or may have been used as a pasture land around a typical farm (Kelly, 1997: 368-70). In addition, it also functioned as place of assembly for the community (*inada airechtais*) (Kelly, 1997: 368-70). Finally, the *faithche* was used as a recreational space for horse racing and ball-games (Kelly, 1997: 368-70).

Regarding the ownership status of the green, the Gaelic *faithche* did not seem to be considered as common land. As reported in the law texts, it was part of the domain of a royal residence (as a Temair, Emain and Crúachain), and often owned by privileged persons such as kings, hospitallers, poets, or the occupants of monastic enclosures (Kelly, 1997: 368-70). The above would concur with Clarke's understanding of the *faithche* as the local lord's territorial preserve or domain (Clarke, 1990*a*: 60). In conlusion, the *faithche* differs from the later green in that it may not have been a bona-fide common, though, it did have a public function on occasions of assembly and horse-racing.

2.2.4 Form and functions

There is no information available regarding the physical aspect of the *faithche Átha Cliath*. However, considering the geological characteristics of the area (south of Thomas Street), and its low topographical level, it can be inferred that it was a plain, grassy extensive field with no physical boundaries, and was thus easily accessible to the outsiders, including foreign armies.

Simon Dick's model of Dublin (*c.* 1000), depicts a green area, presented as an open grazing ground for livestock, outside the eleventh century fortified settlement (see Plate 2.1). This illustration, positioned south-west of the settlement, may give an idea of what a green would have looked like. However, as Stephenson (1945: 92) remarks, it is not possible to say whether people used greens in Dublin as

common before the arrival of the Anglo-Normans, even though it is very likely that this was indeed the case.

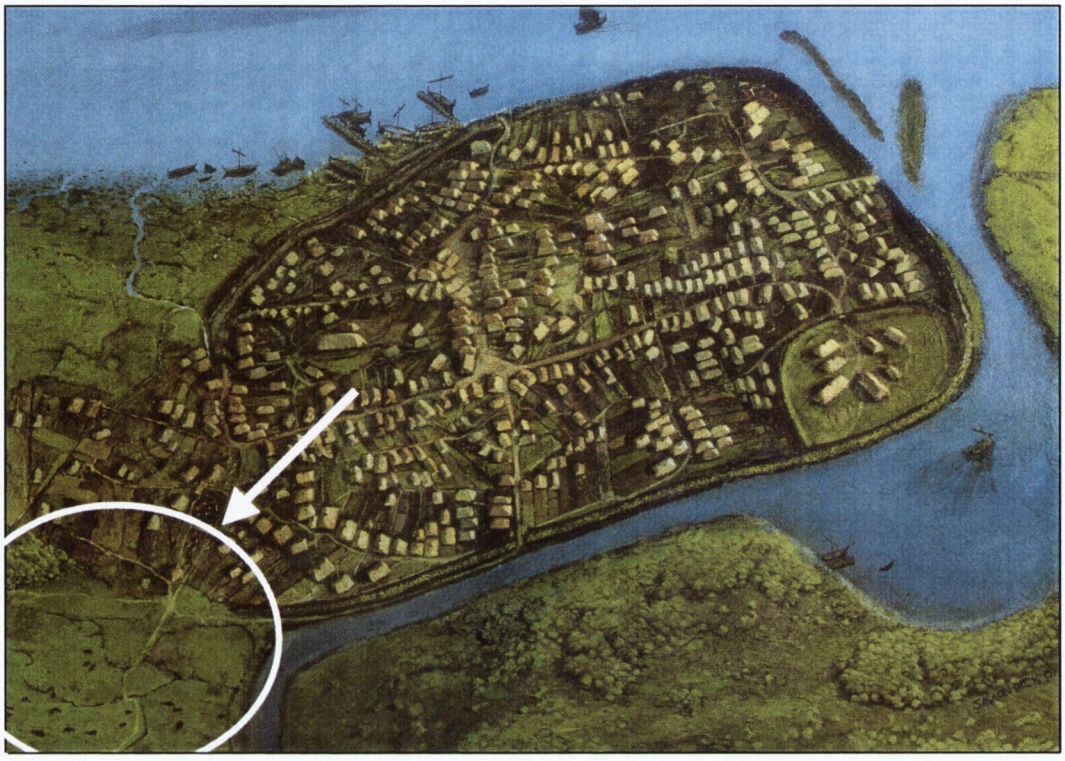


Plate 2.1 Appearance of a green or *faithche* in eleventh century Dublin. Source: Simon Dick, *Part of artist impression of Dublin, looking north, c. 1000.* NLI. *IHTA*, 2002

Moreover, it may also have functioned as a place for market and exchange transactions. This can be inferred from the fact that the settlement of Áth Cliath would have been positioned at the point of arrival of two main prehistoric routeways: the *Slige Miduachra* - coming from the North of Ireland, and ending at the alleged crossing point of the hurdle ford - and the *Slige Mhór* - coming from the West of the island and ending approximately in the area that was later to be known as Cornmarket (*IHTA*: 3).

Finally, as reported in the *Leabhar Oiris*, the *Cogadh Gaedhil ne Gallaibh*, and the *Miscellaneous Irish Annals*, it is known that the *faithche* was definitely used as an encampment site or battlefield on the occasion of sieges and battles.

VIKING PHASE

2.3 STEINE

2.3.1 Etymology and meaning: the Steine as a landing place

A Stein erent arivé
Hesculf[f] et Johan le Devé.

(*Song of Dermot*: 111, lines 2267 –68)

The above lines are extracted from the *Song of Dermot*, a Norman French poem written at the time of the conquest of Ireland. They refer to the arrival at the Steine of Hasculf Mac Torkil. The Viking King had returned to Dublin with 'the impetuous' John the Wode (also referred to in the Annals of Ulster as John of the Orkneys') to regain control over the town from Milo de Cogan (see Giraldus, *Conquest*, 77 and Haliday 1881: 149). The Steine, where they landed with their ships, refers to a tract of land on the sea shore at the mouth of the river Liffey. In a passage of *c.* 1220, the Steine is referred to as the 'sea-shore called Steyne' (*IHTA*, 2002: 24), as this was the main landing area during the Viking period.

It seems that the name Steine, with its medieval variants of Stein (*Song of Dermot*, 167-71), Steyne, Stayn, Stayne (*IHTA*, 2002: 24) derived from the the Norse *steinn*, or 'stone'. This referred to the presence of a shaped megalithic stone, later known as the Long-Stone. In accordance with Viking customs, it appears that this stone was erected to mark their first landing (see O'Donnell, 1987: 42).

2.3.2 The Long Stone

According to Clarke (2002: 3), the Long-Stone may have originally been located on a tract of slob land, separated from the 'main land' by the shallow waters of the river, at a distance of about 300m from another green area, the Thingmount. This positioning of the Long-Stone would correspond roughly with the present-day intersection between Townsend Street, Hawkins Street and D'Olier Street. In 1986, Dublin Corporation erected a commemorative granite engraved sculpture entitled 'Stein'; although, its positioning, at the junction of Townsend Street, Pearse Street and College Street is slightly removed from that postulated of the original.

The Long Stone seems to have maintained a certain importance as an urban point of reference throughout the entire medieval period, at least until the time during the seventeenth century, when the area of the Steine was heavily subdivided into different lots. As reported by Haliday (1881: 151-2) in 1602, the Earl of Anglesy was granted 'a parcel of the strand at the Long Stone of the Stein over against the College'; in 1607 the city granted in lease to James Wheeler, Dean of Christ Church, a piece of void ground at the Long Stone of the Steine (*Ancient records*, ii, 1607: 474); in 1641 a small plot near the Long Stone was rented to William Kirtly (*Ancient records*, iii, 1641: 382-3); and in 1679 a portion of ground at Lazers Hill near the Long Stone was assigned to one Michaell Christian (*Ancient records*, v, 1679: 179).

2.3.3 The Steine as a green: location and physical description

There are several references to the Steine which would indicate the possibility that from a very early stage, it was considered to be a large green suburban district outside the city walls. In the year 1577, Nicholas Stanihurst wrote under the heading 'The names of the fields adjoining to Dublin: Saint Stephans greene, Hogging greene, the Steine, Ostmantowne greene' (1577: 550). From the above it is possible to assert that in the medieval period, the Steine was considered to be a green. This green open area in Dublin was in use for over 800 years, from the ninth century to about the end of the seventeenth century. It was a large, plain expanse of grass, and it is likely to have had shrubs and trees interspersed along the inner south-west section; and it was crossed by the river Steine, called after the *steinn*, which joined the Liffey near the Long Stone. The course of this river, partially channelled under the buildings of Trinity College, is visible in Speed's map of Dublin (1610). The green area of the Steine was bordered on its north side by a tidal shoreline. These physical characteristics made it a marshy place, and it seemed to have been also suitable for pasture. For example, in 1610 it was recorded that a portion of the Steine formerly belonging to St Mary's Abbey comprised of 40 acres of pasture and marsh (*IHTA*: 24).

According to Haliday (1881: 156), during the Viking period the Steine extended into the land east of the main settlement, and would thus have comprised all the area West of the Poddle, from the shore along the Liffey to the land North of the river Dodder. It would therefore have implicitly included the Thingmount and the area later known as Hoggen Green. The lack of contemporary sources makes it

impossible to know if the Vikings had two different names for the Stein and Hoggen Green, or if the distinction between them arose with the beginning of the Anglo-Norman period. However, as will be explained when introducing the subject of Hoggen Green, it is almost certain that the Stein included as landscape artefacts both the Hoggen and the Thingmount. Therefore, the distinction between the Steine, Hoggen Green and the Thingmount in the time period considered, is somewhat captious, but it is maintained in this discussion, as it simplifies their understanding as individual places through the following centuries.

2.3.4 Function of the Steine, market activities and expansions of Viking urban nucleus

Very little is known about the functions of the Steine before, or during, the Viking period. Given the nature and position of the ground, it may have been used initially by the community living in the monastic enclosure of *Dubh Linn* first, and later by the Norse as a grazing area for domestic animals. In addition, its function as a landing place would have made it suitable for market transactions. Foreign goods coming from the sea would have been exchanged here for livestock and other local goods. This idea is supported by the Memoranda Rolls of Henry IV, in which there is a reference to 'the Stayne and Dodyr', which together with the quays, were referred to as places where merchandise – as well as people - arrived and left Dublin (cited in Haliday, 1881: 149).

The Vikings were active traders, and it is interesting to note that the word market in Irish is *margadh* and derives from the old Norse *markadr* (Doherty, 1980: 81 and Simms 2001:19). The traffic of goods from other Northern European countries under the Viking influence, made Dublin Bay a strategic trading post, making it a very favourable location for the development of a permanent urban settlement.

In Simms' (2001: 28-9) opinion, the Vikings would have established their initial settlement, a sort of a naval encampment, the *longphort*, near the pool or the *dubh linn* (north of the monastic enclosure). From *dubh linn*, the name of the permanent Viking settlement *Dyflinn* derived in the following years.

Proofs of an early thriving Viking community are provided by archaeological excavations directed by Linzi Simpson in 1999, in the area of Temple Bar West. These revealed the presence of some small structures (2.25 meters by 3 metres) -

probably dwellings – for which radiocarbon analysis suggests a ninth-century date. No sign of property boundaries were present and no hearths were found in this type of Viking habitation. According to Simms' (2001: 29-30) interpretation of Simpson's work, 'they seemed to have [had] a common cooking place outside the houses'. This observation might indicate that the members of this initial Viking community used a common central space for some of their daily domestic activities. While at the same time the large open space of the Steine, outside the encampment, would have served a wider public for both commercial activities and perhaps the grazing of domestic animals.

The flourishing trading activities brought Dublin to the acme of its Viking period under the rule of the Norse King Amlaíb Cúarán, son of Sitric II, who reigned over Dublin from 945 to 980. During this period Dublin underwent a significant expansion and began to display the urban features typical of a town (Clarke, 2002: 3; Brady and Simms, 2001: 9). A stronghold was constructed in the area roughly corresponding to the eventual location of Dublin Castle. Archaeological excavations of a stable wood construction and a defensive embankment allow the origin of the stronghold to be dated to the 950s. Doherty (1998: 304) suggests that Amlaíb Cúarán could have promoted the development and use of the Thingmount and the Steine as civic sites outside the defensive enclosure of the town.

2.4 THINGMOUNT AND HOGGEN GREEN

2.4.1 Early written references, interpretation and location of the Thingmount

One of the earliest identifiable examples of landscape architecture in Dublin was the Thingmount, although its primary function was political. The first reference to the Thingmount dates from 1241, when in a grant to one John Thurgot of the adjoining land of All Hallows' Monastery, it is mentioned as 'Thengmotha in parochia S. Andree de Thengmothe' (*Reg. All Saints*, 1241: 26). In a document of 1348, Dame Street was called Teyngmouth Street (*Christ Church deeds*, 1348: 517, 539, 636, 239) and is referred to as Tengmouth Street in another document dating from 1364 (St John deeds: 189). Also, according to Gilbert (1854-59, ii: 263), present day Dame Street was referred to as *vicus de Tengmouth* in medieval times. These and other denominations serve to indicate this place's topographical importance in the mediaeval cityscape.

While Duffy (1998: 83-5) suggests that *Thingmotte* was a district name, understood to indicate the area between Dame Street and St Andrew's church; the name Thingmount conventionally refers, in texts written after the nineteenth century, to a mound and not to the district around it (see Haliday, 1882; Little, 1953; Clarke, D. 1977; Ryan, 1990*a*; Bradley, 1992; Cregan, 1995; Ó Floinn, 1998; Doherty, 1998; Simms, 2001; Clarke, H.B. 2002). Haliday (1881: 159), basing his assertion on Scandinavian studies, was the first historian to give credit to this categorisation. However a Scandinavian origin for the Thingmount is not definitive, as it is also possible that the mound predated the arrival of the Vikings (see Doherty, 1998: 301 and Ó Floinn, 1998: 135). The paucity of primary sources, and the fact that the earliest extant references to it were made in the thirteenth century, makes a precise determination of the date of origin difficult. Even the manner in which it is referred to is contentious among certain scholars.

Duffy (1998: 82-3) remarks that the name of the mound should be 'Hogges'; and he argues that the earliest surviving mention of a mound could be backdated to 1171, when, in the *Song of Dermot*, a high place is referred to with the words *Desur la Hogges*. As *desur* means 'on top', this may signify that 'la Hogges' should be the correct name for what, after Haliday's studies, was instead called the Thingmount. However, we have here chosen to maintain in this discussion the mound's conventional denomination as Thingmount in accordance with Haliday's studies and the more recent Irish Historic Town Atlas (*IHTA*, 2002).

According to Haliday (1881: 165-6), the Thingmount was located just outside Trinity College at the end of Dame Street. The site of the mound would correspond today to the complex of buildings located between Suffolk Street, Church Lane and Dame Street. In the Viking period, it was situated on a tract of boulder clay (Clarke, 2002: 3) at the confluence of the rivers Steine and Liffey (Simms, 2001: 22), standing in an area that would later be named Hoggen Green (Figure 2.2).

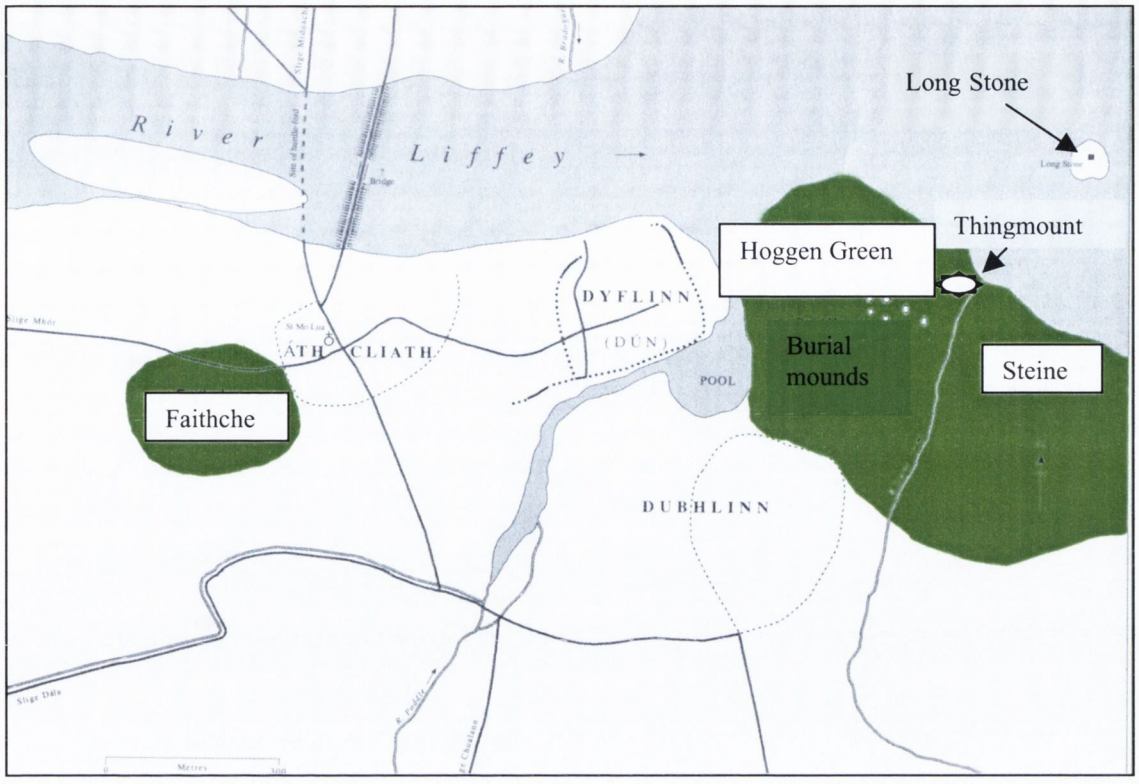


Figure 2.2 Greens of Dublin during the Viking period. Based on *Dublin, c. 1000.* Source: *IHTA*, 2002: 3.

2.4.2 Physical description of the Thingmount

An idea of the appearance of the Thingmount can be obtained from a MS map in the National Library and Haliday's subsequent reproduction (1881: 163) (Figure 2.3). This construction was essentially an earthen landscaped artefact, similar in form to a truncated cone, and probably with several layers of ascending terraces. In Little's (1953: 67) interpretation of Haliday's reproductive sketch, the dimensions of the Thingmount are estimated to have been 40 feet high and 240 feet in circumference (approximately 12m by 72m). O'Floinn (1998: 136) accepts Little's estimation for the circumference, while estimates the height at around 13m.

This landscaped mound was a rocky hill, Ryan (1990*a*: 126), cemented by interspersed earth, covered by a grassy mantle and crossed by paths from bottom to top as visible from the sketch. The measures inferred from the sketch give an area for the circular mound's base as being approximately 500 m^2.

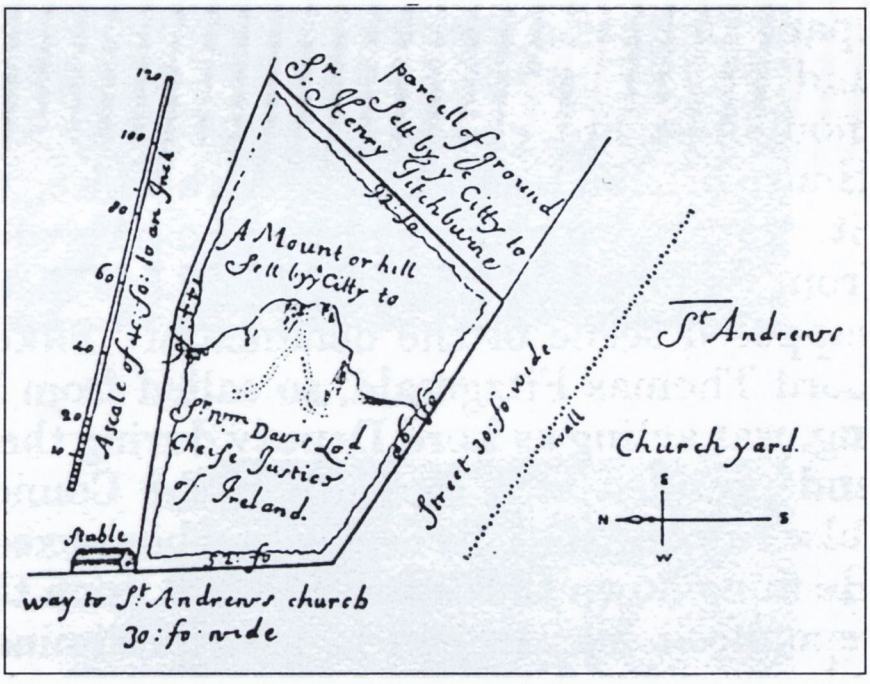


Figure 2.3 Plan of the Thingmount before levelling, *c.* 1680. NLI. Source: Haliday, 1881: 163.

We can consider, hypothetically, that a path to the top might have been constructed in a spiral manner. We can also consider that, in order for the hill to maintain soil cohesion and at the same time facilitate walkers, it might have had a maximum gradient of 15%[1] This would mean that per meter of path (or spiral) a person would ascend 15cm. We can consider too that the path, in order to allow the passage of at least one person should have been, at least, 1m in width. When combined, these data lead to the inference that in about 1 circumambulation the spiral would reach a height of approximately 12m, the mound's height in the sketch. With this assumption, and with the given data, we can from basic geometry obtain a radius for the superior circle of about 10m, making the minimum estimated area at the top of the Thingmount *c.* 300 m^2.

The second probable mathematical model to be considered is a ziggurat-style flight of steps, or several layers of ascending terraces. In this case, it is not possible to know the area of the superior circular level, as in an extreme circumstance it could have coincided with the vertex of the hill.

[1] http://www.pugliaisland.it/docs/it/sch_tec_puglia/fg/prov_fg.htm;
http://www.comune.serrapetrona.mc.it/turismo/percorsi_vernaccia.htm.

It is more likely that in reality the mound was a mixture between the spiral model and the pyramidal flight of steps (see author's computer hypothetical reconstruction, Plate 2.2). Thus, the area at the top of the mound could have ranged from a very small section, to an area of about 300 m^2, enough for example for the building of a small pavilion.

Plate 2.2 Author's hypothetical impression of the Thingmount. Based on computer aided re-elaboration of *Inferno XVI, 61-62*. Min. ferrarese, *c.* 1474-1482. Source: Fabbri 1965: 253.

At the top of the Thingmount, there was a pillar, and this in Little's (1953: 67) opinion indicates that the mound was monumental in origin and of symbolic significance. The Thingmount was also described by Davis in 1664 as the 'fortified hill near the college' (quoted in Haliday 1881: 165-6). The adjective 'fortified' suggested that the Thingmount would have been quite an imposing structure, perhaps symbolising power and strength in the society of its constructors.

2.4.3 Etymology of the Thingmount: An assembly site

The word Thingmount is an anglicisation of the Norse word Thingmót (Clarke, 2002: 3 and Duffy, 1998: 83-5). Etymological studies of Nordic languages cited by Little (1953: 66) interpret *Thing* as people and *mote* as a mound, signifying that the Thingmount was the Hill of Assembly in Viking Dublin. Evidence supporting the existence of such places like for example the *Thing* for public assemblies in the

Scandinavian world, is reflected in place-names such as Dingwall in Caithness, Thingwall in the Wirral Peninsula, Thingvellir in Iceland (Clarke, 1988: 14) and place-names like Tyndwall Hill in the Isle of Man (Little, 1953: 66).

During the Viking period, the mound was used as a place of civic assembly (Haliday, 1882;; Little, 1953; Clarke, D. 1977; Ryan, 1990*a*; Bradley, 1992; Cregan, 1995; Ó Floinn, 1998; Doherty, 1998; Clark, 2000; Simms, 2001; Clarke, H.B., 2002). This conical landscaped hill was the location for political and civic gatherings, where laws were enacted, criminal trials were persecuted, and decisions were taken on civic matters. In addition, a number of authors have suggested that the Vikings conducted executions in the environs of the mound (Haliday, 1881: 160-1; Little, 1953: 69 and Ryan, 1990*a*: 126).

2.4.4 The Thingmount and Hoggen Green as place of execution? Hanger Hoeg

Haliday (1881: 160-61) suggests the presence of another mound near the Thingmount which was used explicitly for the purpose of executions. As explained by Ryan (1990*a*: 126) this may have consisted of a rocky hill surrounded by barren ground, and was referred to as *Hanger Hoeg* in Viking terminology. However, there is no cartographic evidence to support the existence of a place of execution near the Thingmount apart from Rocque's map of Dublin in 1756. In Rocque's map, it is possible to determine that the Gallows hill was located in Gallows road (Lower Baggot Street), and was thus about 1Km east of the Thingmount, and that this would have been in use until the mid seventeenth century. It is likely that the execution site was moved south of its original position during construction works of the early-modern period (Haliday, 1881:170). The existence of such an execution site can be inferred through comparison with Unst, one of the Shetland Islands, where a similar complex - assembly site *and* place of execution - is known to have existed (see Haliday, 1881: 159).

From an archaeological perspective, no evidence in support of this hypothesis has been found, although it is definitely known that miscreants were executed there under the Anglo-Normans as reported by Harris (1766: 107) and Warburton *et al.* (1818: 170) when describing the execution of Adam Duffe O'Toole, who was burnt at the stake for blasphemy in the year 1327 at Hoggen Green.

2.4.5 The Thingmount as a sepulchre? Etymology of Hoggen Green

In investigating all the possible functions of the Thingmount, Ryan (1990*a*: 126) compares it, because of its conical shape (though smaller in scale), to Tara, Uisnech, Carman, and Tlachtga. As early as 1904, Westropp had suggested that the mound could have served as a sepulchre in a previous period; this hypothesis is supported by the fact that the Thingmount was situated in Hoggen Green. The Thingmount seems to have been surrounded by a group of *hoggan* or mounds, which lay outside the confines of the Viking settlement. Given that the word 'Hoggen' can be interpreted as a derivation of the old-Norse *haugr* (plural *haugar*), meaning 'height' in Ryan's opinion (1990*a*: 125), 'mound' in Bradley's (1992: 53) and finally 'burial mound' for Doherty (1998: 303) and Clarke (2002: 3), it seems likely that the whole area of Hoggen green was originally a cemetery of sorts. In this context, the Thingmote seems unlikely to have been a unique structure, but the most important of a group of *haugar* or burial mounds.

2.4.6 Archaeological evidence of burials in Hoggen Green

Tombs with the appearance of a high mound were a common feature in Bronze-age Ireland, and evidence of their diffusion in the greater Dublin area is given by Stout & Stout (1992: 5- 42). Their study records the presence of tombs and tumulæ in localities such as Howth, Chapelizod, Drimnagh, Clontarf and Killiney. Some authors suggest that the Thingmote could even have been a prehistoric tumulus (Doherty, 1998: 301and Ó Floinn, 1998: 135).

It is certain that the place was used (or re-used) by the Vikings as burial ground. Evidence for this is provided by archaeological artefacts discovered in the area of Hoggen Green during two different phases of construction works: the first excavation in 1646 (Ware, 1705 cited in Bradley 1992: 53), and the second in 1817 (Bøe 1940, cited in Bradley 1992: 53). During the excavation works for the foundation of the Royal Arcade – where the National Irish Bank now stands - two iron swords (preserved today in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy) with two spear heads, a shield and some silver fibulæ were found (see Haliday 1881: 155 and Ó Floinn, 1998: 136). Haliday (1881: 155) reports that the nineteenth century excavation (1817) was based in Suffolk Street, where a helmet, an urn and a sword with gold ornaments were discovered. These artefacts were evidence of grave-goods, conventionally associated with the graves of Scandinavian kings (see Clarke, 2002: 3

and Ó Floinn, 1998: 135). On this basis, Ó Floinn, (1998: 135) suggest that the Thingmount may have been a royal burial site. He estimates (1998: 142) that the minimum number of Viking burial places in Dublin is between eighty and ninety. However, evidence demonstrates that these Viking graves were often inserted into pre-existing native Irish cemeteries and so their identification is not always possible (O'Brien, 1998: 203-7). For the same reason it is difficult to ascertain the origin of the Thingmount as a sepulchre.

Haliday (1881: 153-4) suggests a Norse origin for the burial grounds of Hoggen Green. He reports that it was customary for Viking men to be buried near landing places where mounds were erected in commemoration of those with privileged status. One of these tumulæ in Hoggen Green was levelled during seventeenth century construction works ordered by the Duke of Ormond. Haliday speculates that this might have been the mound of Ivar, son of Ragnar Lodbrok, who reigned and died in Dublin in the second half of the ninth century. James Ware's (1705) description of this tumulus as reported by Haliday (1881:153-4) states:

> *In November 1646, as people were employed in removing a little hill in the East Suburbs of Dublin, in order to form a line of fortification, there was discovered an ancient sepulchre, placed S.W. and N.E., composed of eight black marble stones, of which two made the covering, and was supported by the others. The length of this monument was six feet two inches, the breadth three feet one inch, and the thickness of the stone three inches. At each corner of it was erected a stone, four feet high, and near it, at the S.W. end, another stone was placed in the form of a pyramid, six feet high, of a rustic work, and of that kind of stone which is called a millstone. The engraving given is a draught of the monument taken before it was demolished. Vast quantities of burnt coals, ashes, and human bones, some of which were in part burned, and some only scorched were found in it.*
>
> (James Ware's description of a tumulus in Hoggen Green, quoted in Haliday, 1881: 153-4)

Archaeological excavations of such artefacts clearly indicate that the Thingmount and its environs were places that were inextricably connected to powerful hierarchies during the period considered.

2.4.7 The Thingmount as inaguration site for the Irish Kings? Multiplicity of functions

The aura of power and magnificence the Thingmount must have had can be grasped when thinking that it might also have been used as an inauguration site for the Irish Kings before the Norse phase. Simms (2001: 36) and Doherty (1998: 302) suggest that Amlaíb Cúarán himself had adopted this Irish custom for his own inauguration. Moreover, Doherty (1998: 302) compares the Thingmount to the royal mounds of Tara and Clogher, and suggests that it may have been a *forad* or a 'celestial mount': the king's platform *intra* god and people.

On the same hypothesis, Little compares the Thingmount with places like Magh Adhair. Here, a residential *rath* was built upon a mote serving both as a sepulchre and as a place of inauguration for local princes. The multiplicity of functions of places like the Thingmount, or Magh Adhair, is also highlighted by Westropp (1904: 329-30) in relation to Cairn Almagaid, which was used as 'a marshalling point, a barbican, and a tomb'. Westropp wrote that it was very common for the Irish to hold their *aenachs* (or great fair and gatherings) around burial mounds, as was the case at Carman, Tailltean, and Magh Adhair. Therefore, Westropp's (1904) view is in contrast to Haliday's theories, in that Westropp postulated that the Vikings would have found the 'mote' already in use as centre of assembly for the Irish.

2.4.8 Public games? Hypothesis for an early recreational function of the Thingmount

Little's (1953: 69) research into the multiplicity of functions of these ancient mounds of the Nordic world leads him to draw comparison between them and the Greek Agora. In this sense it is suggested that the green place was not only an open space functioning as the civic core of the town, but it might also have been a place for public games and market activities. This theory on the social and recreational function of the mound for public games and social gatherings is supported by other studies of Viking culture (Haliday, 1881: 164-9 and Ryan 1990*a*: 126). Haliday remarks that: 'it was at the Thingmount that public games of the Northmen were always held' (1881: 169). Cregan (1995: 9), basing his assertions on later mediaeval uses of the Thingmount, suggests that the recreational function of this green terraced hillock outlasted all the other initial political and civic functions.

2.4.9 Location and physical description of Hoggen Green

During the Viking period the high mound of the Thingmount was located in the central eastern position of the suburban area of Hoggen Green. Haliday (1881: 194) comments on the fact that the name Hogges occurs very frequently in all areas of Viking expansion and referred generally to places containing a number of burial mounds. This reinforces the theory that Hoggen Green was a burial ground as well as a suburban green. The name 'Hoggen Green' took various different forms in mediaeval documents, being reported for example as 'Oggas' in the late 12th century; 'Hogges' *c.* 1220; 'Hogges Green' *c.* 1262; 'Hoges Green' 1328 (*IHTA*: 24) and it very likely that it was not called Hoggen Green in the Viking or Hiberno-Norse period, but simply referred to as the *haugar*.

Hoggen Green was essentially a vast field, just outside the eastern side of the main fortification. Outside the main entrance of the town, later known as Dame Gate, it occupied the area now called College Green, delineated by Trinity College on the eastern side, St Andrew's Church (currently the Tourism information Centre) Suffolk Street, Andrew Street and part of Exchequer Street on the southern side. The Green extended to the area corresponding to the Bank of Ireland and the buildings of the western portion of Dame Street on its northern side. Located east of the Poddle, the Church of St Andrew the Apostole situated to the western side of the Green was the only building present in it during the late Viking and Hiberno-Norse period. Hoggen Green, at the time considered, had the river Steyne and the land of the Steine, to the east and the river Liffey to the north. It is therefore probable that a substantial part of its northern and eastern boundaries were constituted by marshland.

2.4.10 A landing platform: a ceremonial *vestibulum*

The proximity of Hoggen Green to the estuary, and its protected location in Dublin Bay, made it one of the main landing points in Ireland. Together with the Steine, the Green was an official platform of entrance for ships arriving in the country. From a defensive point of view, the Thingmount provided a strategic position from which to view foreign fleets approaching (Haliday, 1881: 164); and from a commercial perspective, the Thingmount would have contributed to the impression of a prosperous and civilised society. The importance of the mound in this sense was enhanced by its strategic position in the North-European trading network.

The Steine, and the green field of the Hoggen surrounding the high mound, could be viewed as a sort of ceremonial vestibulum, a neutral ground for the reception of foreigners at the entrance to the walled town; and this particular function of Hoggen Green seems to have lasted throughout the entire mediaeval period (see Warburton, *et al.* 1818: 58).

2.4.11 The Green as an encampment site and a battlefield

The landing post, marked by the nearby Long Stone, seems to have symbolised not only the Viking's arrival but also their departure. In 1170 the Viking warriors were driven from Dublin to the sea following the defeat of their king, Hausculf Mac Thorkil, in a battle against the troops of the Norman, Strongbow. Richard de Clare, *alias* Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke and Striguil, had assumed the title of King of Leinster after the death of the former King Diarmait Mac Murchada. In Desmond Clarke's (Clarke, D. 1977: 9) opinion, it was in the field of Hoggen Green that 'the mail-clad warriors from both sides met' and from which the Danes were driven away. The *Song of Dermot*, tells how the Irish King Domnall Mac Gilla Mo Cholmóc, stood on the Thingmount with its assembly of men, while the Normans and the Vikings engaged in battle on the surrounding plane:

Gyl Me Olmoch aïtant
Dehors la cité meintenant
Se est cil reis pur veir asis
Old cel gent de son païs.
Desur la Hogges, desu[s] Stein,
Dehors la cité, en un plein,
Pur agarder la mellé
Se sunt iloques asemblé.
Pur agarder icel estur
Gyl Me Holmoch se sist le jor;
En une place vereiment
Se sist od sa [de] meine gent.

Mac Gilla Mo Cholmóc then
[went] outside the city at once;
this king duly stationed himself
along with the men from his own territory.
Outside the city, in an open place
On top of the Hogges,
overlooking the Steine,
they assembled to watch the battle.
Mac Gilla Mo Cholmóc stationed himself that da
To watch the battle;
in an open space, indeed,
he stationed himself with his followers.

(*Song of Dermot*: 112, lines 2315 to 2326)

In the above passage, the open place on top of the Hogges refers to the Thingmount (see Doherty, 1998: 304). These events were confirmed in Giraldus' *Expugnatio Hibernica,* when describing 'The Defeat of the Norwegians at Dublin', which states that the Vikings 'had disembarked at the Steine and having encamped

there, moved on to their assault on Dublin' *ad portam orientalem*, or at the eastern gate, where Hoggen Green was located (Giraldus, 77, lines 1-10, and also see Scott and Martin, 1978: 305, note 109).

The significance of the Thigmount in the landscape is enhanced by the epic battle at its foot, which metaphorically suggests its position of dominance over the land. The green field around the mound, borderland intra sea and town, between foreign and home-land, was the place where dynamics of power and politics took shape in the multi-faceted processes of urban development.

HIBERNO-NORSE PHASE

2.5 EXTRA MURAL DEVELOPMENT OF MONASTIC HOUSES

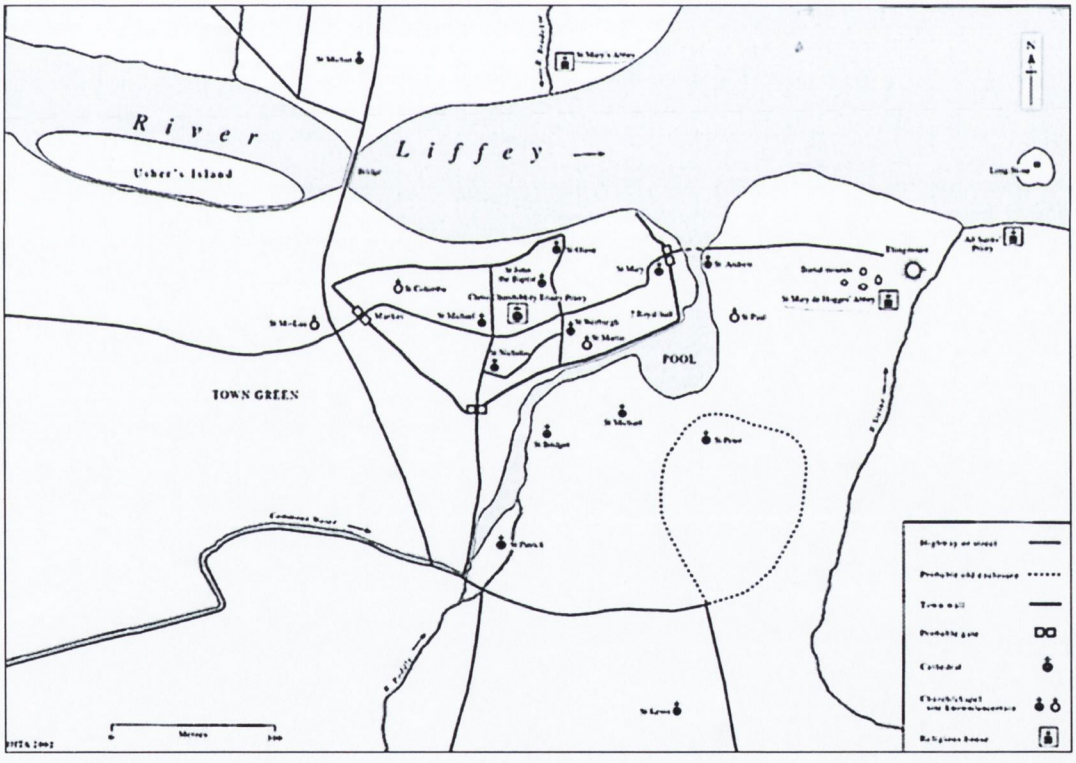


Figure 2.4 ***Dublin,* c. *1170*. Source: *IHTA*, 2002: 5.**

2.5.1 Foundation of All Saints Priory and reduction in size of the Steine

The years between 980 and 1170 are conventionally referred to as the Hiberno-Norse phase. The Viking community was still significantly present in the territory, though governance of the town alternated between them and the Irish Kings. This period saw the amalgamation of the two cultures and the conversion of the Norse population to

Christianity. In the year 1028, King Sitric Silkbeard went on pilgrimage to Rome, and soon thereafter St Olav's, following which Christ Church was founded (O'Donnell, 1987: 49). Several other religious buildings, such as St Michan's (1090), St Mary's Abbey (1139), St Mary de Hogges (1146) and the priory of All Saints (1162) were constructed during this period, resulting in a wide extra mural developmental phase (see Figure 2.4). It is of note that greens were associated with the above mentioned abbeys, *viz.*: Oxmantown Green with St Michan's, Abbey Green with St Mary (both of which will be discussed in the following chapters), Hoggen Green with St Mary de Hogges, and the Steine with All Saints' Priory, a discussion of which follows below.

All Saints Priory was founded by Diarmait Mac Murchada, King of Leinster (1126-1171) (see Ryan, 1990*a*: 124). The site chosen was in the land of Steine, in the area now occupied by Trinity College. When the monastery enclosure had been built the Steine was significantly reduced in size and became confined to the portion of land surrounding the monastery. A later document allows us to gain an idea of the locational relationship between the Priory, the river Steine, the Long-Sone and the green area of the Steine: 'Whereas the Prior and Convent of All Saints besydes Dyvelin of old times had a mill near the gate between the Green bank and the Long Stone on the Stayne ...' (*Ancient Records,* i, 1462: 313).

With the arrival of the Anglo-Normans in 1171, the green area of the Steine further decreased in size and came to indicate only that portion of land east of the river Steine and east of Hoggen Green. However, it remained large enough to still be considered and referred to as a 'field' until the seventeenth century (*Pat. Rolls Ire., Jas I,* 1604: 161 in *IHTA*: 24), confirming Stanihurst's (1577: 550) description of the Steine as a Green.

2.5.2 Hoggen Green in the Hiberno Norse period

During the Hiberno Norse period the old pagan burial ground was marked by a new religious connotation. In 1146 Diarmait Mac Murchada founded the Christian Abbey of St Mary de Hogges on the south side of the green (Clarke, 2002: 5) (see Figure 2.5). Duffy (1998: 82) argues that the curve in the street pattern along Suffolk Street and Andrew Street is likely to have reflected the alignment of the northern-western boundaries of the monastic enclosure. Its precincts, with a two-acre walled pasture (*IHTA*, 2002: 19) and garden (1540, *Extents Ir. Mon. Possessions*, 69, in *IHTA*: 19)

seem to have extended along the south side of Hoggen Green as far as the area marked today by the Provost's House (Ryan, 1990*a*: 125). As a consequence of its construction, the area of Hoggen Green, like the area of the Steine, underwent a substantial reduction in size.

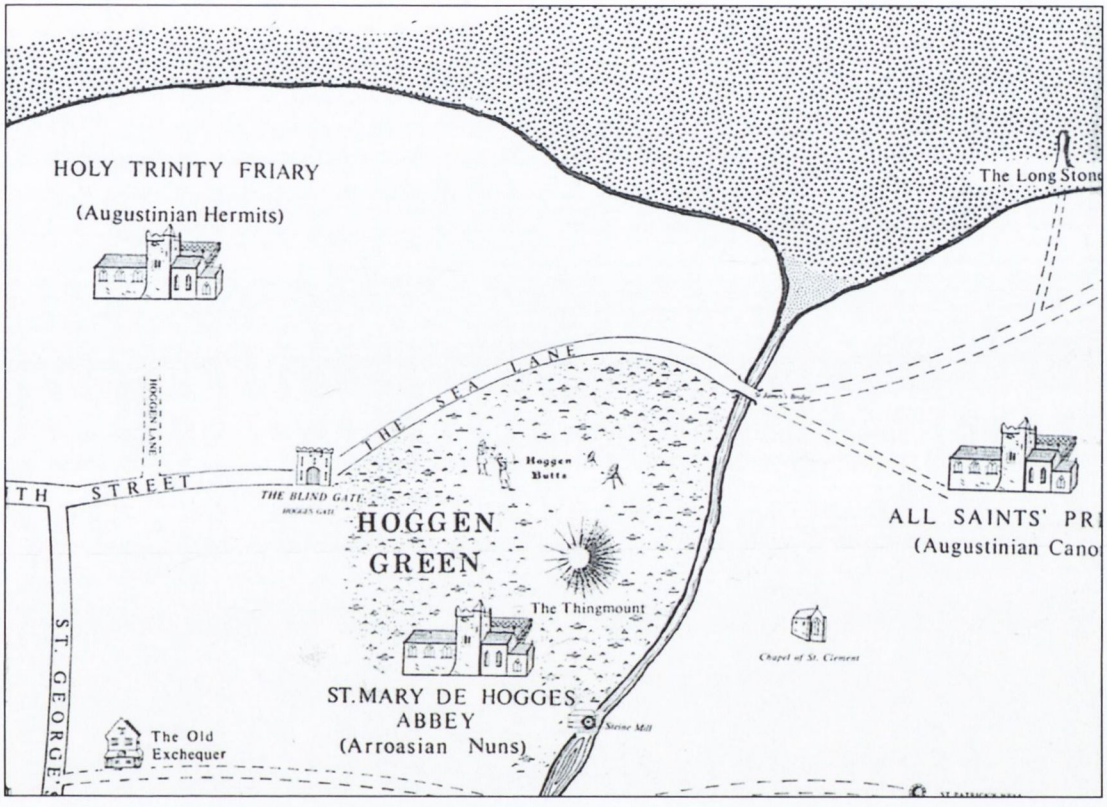


Figure 2.5 Hoggen Green and St Mary de Hogges Abbey. Source: *Dublin c. 840-c. 1540.* Prepared by the friends of mediaeval Dublin, and printed by the Ordnance Survey, 1977.

The Abbey was a nunnery for a community of Arroasian nuns, and the origins of its name - besides the historically accepted theory of its derivation from the pre-existing burial mounds – are connected to more folkloristic, though unreliable, interpretations. Harris (1766: 107) and Warburton *et al.* (1818: 87-8) describe the Abbey as being surrounded by a suburban village: the village of Hogges. The village's name, in this interpretation, derived from the religious building itself. They explain that as the abbey was a nunnery, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, the name Hogges meant the place of the virgins: 'for ogh in the Irish language signifies a *virgin*; and, removing the aspirate, H, the word by an easy corruption may pass into Hogges, as much as to say, the place of the virgins' (Harris, 1766: 107 and Warburton *et al.*, 1818: 87-8). Despite the rejection of this theory by Haliday (1881: 194) only a few decades after its publication, it is interesting to note that even with

all the various names Hoggen Green has been called in history, *e.g.*: Hogges, Hogges Green, Hoges Green, Hogges Greane and St Mary de Hoges or St Mary del Hoggys (see *IHTA*: 19 and 24), it is simply referred to as 'Oggas' in a document of the late twelfth century (*IHTA*: 24).

2.6 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, three different green areas can be mainly identified in Pre-Anglo-Norman Dublin: *faithche Átha Cliath*, the Steine, and the complex Thingmount - Hoggen Green.

The *faithche* seemed to be associated with the nearby Gaelic settlement of *Átha Cliath*, while the Steine, the Thingmount and Hoggen Green, were associated with the development of the Viking stronghold of *Dyflinn*.

Their position at opposite poles of the growing urban settlement might have contributed to the survival of the different cultural functions during the early phase of urban development. The *faithche*, on the western inland pole, was used by the Gaelic community as place of social gathering, for games, horse races or market place activities, and it is likely to have had a more rural character. The eastern, seaward area of the Steine, Hoggen Green and the Thingmount was a place with a specific ceremonial, civic, and religious connotation in the Viking world. To use Little's words (1953: 69) in his comparison of the mounds and the Greek Agora, it can be said that these spaces, in their social functions, were acting as 'focal points of territorial units'.

Moreover, as evidenced by *Leabhar Oiris*, the *Cogadh Gaedhel,* the *Song of Dermot* and *Expugnatio Hibernica*, both these spaces, the *faithche* and the area of the Steine-Hoggen Green were used as encampment grounds, and for sieges or battles, especially in those years of political turmoil from the 980s to 1171. In this sense, they constituted places of encounter and friction for different ethnic groups, where negotiations, or impositions of power, took place.

On the other hand, considering the economic importance attached to domestic animals - being trade goods as well as a means of sustenance – it is also possible to consider these places as market sites and pasture grounds. Diarmait, in the *Song of Dermot*, promises to reward those fighting at his side with *tere u herbe* - land or pasture – (*The Song of Dermot*, 64, 112 and 173, line 435). This promise

encapsulated the social value attached to land for grazing, implicitly separated and distinguished from developmental or arable land.

Returning to the initial question posed by the title of this section: 'were there greens in Dublin before the Anglo-Norman arrival', it can be finally asserted that 'yes, there were'. They were large landscaped expanses of grass, distinguishable from the surrounding arable land and wild natural landscape, because they had a proper name, specific function and/or a particular shape, as in the obvious case of the Thingmount. They were suburban landscape features, a *trait d'union* between the countryside, the sea and the centre of urban development. Their multiplicity of functions ranged from being sites typical of urban institutions - e.g sites of assembly, to sites of primary production - e.g. pasture grounds.

The greens of Dublin developed on land outside the central fortifications and were located on main points of access to the town. The *faithche* was probably located on the Slige Mhór running to the medieval door of New Gate, while Hoggen Green was located outside the western entrance, later known as Dame Gate. In this regard, Dublin's greens had, from a very early stage, a similar position to the other European suburban green areas of the medieval period. In terms of location, the greens of Dublin were close to the Latin concept of *pratum*. It is noteworthy, for example, that in Spanish the term used to define these areas, or *pratum*, is *exido*. This word derives from the Latin *exitus*, allowing the construal that the greens were located just outside the gates of the city (Panzini, 1997: 19).

Finally, the fact that only three distinct green spaces of a communal urban value are mentioned, does not preclude the possibility that other, similar places existed. It is in fact possible that Oxmantown Green and Abbey Green originated at the same time as St Michan's and St Mary's abbeys. Moreover, during the Viking and Hiberno Norse period, a green area surrounded the fortress of Dublin on all sides (except for the Liffey-side). It is therefore, possible that some of this land was used in common, as a green, by the first inhabitant of Dublin. For example, the place later to be known as St. Kevin's Common (*IHTA* 2002: 24), near the church of St Kevin, could have been in use as pasture ground from a very early period. Seemingly, the Common mentioned in James's St (*Reg. St John, c.* 1210: 8 and see *Ancient records*, 1584, ii: 191) could also have been in use from early on, and because it was located between Kilmainham and the walls of the town, might even have corresponded to *faithche Áth Cliath*. Similarly, it is very likely that the postulated ecclesiastic, or

semi-ecclesiastic, community of *Dubhlinn* use as pasture ground the nearby green space, later to be known as St Stephen's Green, five hundred years before any reference to its name appeared in written documents.

CHAPTER 3

IMPACT OF THE ANGLO-NORMAN ARRIVAL ON DUBLIN'S GREEN SPACES

c. 1171

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The year 1171 conventionally marks the beginning of the Anglo-Norman conquest of Dublin, although incursions into Irish land had started quite a few years previously. In 1171, the Anglo-Norman King Henry II granted the city of Dublin to the men of Bristol, and from an independent city state Dublin became a lordship dependent on England (Simms, 2001: 19, 39).

The arrival of families from Bristol and other parts of south England and Wales to Dublin (see Bradley, 1985) brought about a series of transformations in the territory, both in the built and natural environment. An immediate consequence of their arrival was a demographic increase and an expansion of the town in suburban areas, mainly around newly developed religious institutions. Clarke (2002: 7) identifies four distinct suburbs in the 1170s: the area around the monastic enclosure of Dubhlinn, the area around St Thomas Abbey (1176), the area of Hoggen Green and the Thingmount, and a transpontine suburb called Oxmantown (see Figure 2.4). As the city expanded outside the fortified walls, the configuration of the surrounding green spaces also underwent significant changes.

This section deals with the direct consequences of the events of 1171 on Dublin's green spaces. Two spaces in particular, Hoggen Green and Oxmantown Green became vital during this period to the creation of new urban and suburban patterns, and they are therefore examined in detail.

3.2 THE ROYAL PALACE IN HOGGEN GREEN

3.2.1 Construction of the royal palace

> *His itaque apud Waterford factis, rex Angliæ perrexit inde usque Diveline, et ibi moram fecit a festo Sancti Martini usque ad caput jejunii; ibique fecit sibi construi, juxta ecclesiam Sancti Andreæ apostoli, extra civitatem Diveliniæ, palatium regium miro artificio de virgis levigatis ad modum patriæ illius constructum. In quo ipse, cum regibus et principibus Hibernicis festum solemne tenuit die Natalis Domini.*
>
> (Howden, 1869, ii: 32)

Written by the Anglo-Norman annalist Roger de Hoveden (generally referred to as Howden) at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the above passage is an extract from his chronicles. Howden reports that King Henry II arrived in Dublin, via Waterford, and that his stay lasted for three months, from Martinmas to Ash Wednesday. A consequence of his arrival was the erection of a royal palace, *palatium regium*, which was 'constructed with wonderful skill of peeled wands according to the custom of the country' (Clarke, D., 1977: 10). This structure was located near the Church of St Andrew outside the city of Dublin, and was used for the *festum solemne*, to which Irish kings and chieftans were invited during Christmas 1171. This short-lived reconstruction briefly but significantly transformed Hoggen Green as an open green space.

3.2.2 Acceptance of the palace's existence in the academic world

References to the extant quote appear in the work of several authors: Haliday, 1881: 183; Little, 1953: 70; Clarke, D., 1977: 10; Scott and Martin, 1978: 314; Flanagan, 1989: 172; Curtis, 1990*a*: 106; Sims-Williams, 1991: 48; Thacker, 1994: 23; Bradley 1992: 53; Duffy, 1998: 85; and Clarke, H.B., 2002: 7. All of the above base their assertions about the physical existence of this palace on the information provided by Howden. As Bradley (1992: 53) argues, the reliability of Howden's description is reinforced by the fact that it was written at approximately the same time as the palace's construction.

However, it seems that Howden did not directly witness this historical event, but that he drew upon information provided by Benedict, whose records have become a primary source of reference for posterity (Stubbs, 1869, ii: 32). Curtis

(1990*a*: 106) further confirms the validity of Howden's report, citing the work of another reporter: Giraldus Cambrensis. Giraldus also refers to the event of Christmas 1171 in his *Expugnatio Hibernica*, although in describing the location where the event took place, he does not explicitly use the word 'palace', but refers to it both as *curia* and *aula* (Giraldus, *Conquest*: 96, lines 27-31). Given his choice of words, attention must be drawn though to the emphasis these words place upon the court assembly (*curia*), and the space or hall (*aula*) within which ceremonies occurred, in preference to the palatial construction itself.

3.2.3 Location

According to Howden (1869, ii: 32), the palace was situated near the Church of St Andrew the Apostle, which today corresponds to the site occupied by the buildings on the corner of South Great Georges Street and Dame Street. At that time, St Andrew's was located on the western edge of Hoggen Green by the Dam Gate.

Haliday (1881: 183-7) assumes that the palace was built on the Thingmote. Although, it is not clear if his words must be interpreted as referring to the district of the Thingmote - as implied by Duffy (1998: 85) - or to the Thingmount as a mound. Given the Thingmount's proximity to St Andrew's, and considering the advantageous social implications of having a regal construction in a place topographically higher than the other buildings, one cannot exclude the possibility that the palace could have been built there. This assumption reinforces the idea that the mound was conventionally used for the inauguration and acknowledgement of kings, as already discussed in the previous section. However, the area of ground at the top of the Thingmount seemed to have been too small for this to be feasible, so one must assume that the palace was built at ground level.

It is noteworthy from Howden's report that the Scandinavian mound is deliberately omitted as a point of spatial reference for the event. This glaring omission begs consideration of the new political and religious forces shaping the interpretation and understanding of space.

3.2.4 Physical description and interpretation of its appearance: the Garden Palace

Howden wrote that 'the royal palace was constructed with wonderful skill of peeled wands according to the custom of the country'. Desmond Clarke (1977: 10) adds that

'these were intricately interlaced rushes bound with a thin coating of lime and gleaming white'. Interpreting De Hoveden's words, we know that the building was made of wood: *de virgis levigatis*. These were possibly polished, smooth twigs and/or flexible sticks interwoven with stakes and poles. For this reason, it has been deduced that the building was made in wickerwork (Scott and Martin, 1978: 314) and has been described as a willow-wood - (O'Donnell, 1988: 3) or a wattle - palace (Flanagan, 1989: 202; Sims-Williams, 1991: 48 and Clarke, 2002: 7).

Considering that Henry II stayed in Dublin for only three months, Clarke (2002: 7) suggests that the palace must have been a temporary building, not designed to last long beyond the period of the king's visit. Sims-Williams (1991:48-9) hints that because it was neither made of stone, nor solid wood, it may have been a flimsy structure, despite the display of high craftsmanship. Ample evidence for wattle-buildings in eleventh and twelfth century Dublin is provided by Murray's studies (1979: 81-97), and it seems that it was a *more Scottorum* (custom of the Irish), to employ wood for constructions in this characteristic way, generating the admiration of contemporary Anglo-Norman annalists. Despite the temporary character of these buildings, which probably reflected the mobile structure of the Gaelic pastoral society (Foster, 1988: 16), it is certain that Henry's building must have been fairly impressive and regal in appearance for it to be called a palace. The use of the term 'palace' to designate Henry's feasting-hall, when analysed in a wider European context has imperial connotations and conveys the idea of wealth and power. In addressing Henry II's 'palace', Leyser (1979: 90-1) and Flanagan (1989: 206) also stress the imperial connotations attending the use of the word, referring to the *palatia* belonging to Charlemagne and to the Ottonian emperors.

Thacker (1994: 23), in his extensive research on the history of gardens in Britain and Ireland, refers to this palace as one of the main landscape-gardening features in Anglo-Norman Ireland. In interpreting Howden's words, he explains that the shape of the palace may have resembled a summerhouse, an arbour, or a type of winter-palace. Stressing the *gardenesque* character of the construction, he refers to it with the name of 'Garden-palace'. Also described by Little (1953: 70) as 'the king's pavilion', it was essentially used as a banqueting-hall for this occasion, its usage in line with the traditional way of hosting festivities in the Ireland of the time.

3.2.5 Functions

Records of the presence of constructions in Ireland similar to Henry II's wattle palace can be traced to the eighth century (Flanagan, 1989: 206). Feasting-halls were sometimes recorded under the name of *tech midchuarda*, literally 'house of mead circuits', or as *tech Cásca*, Easter house (Flanagan, 1989: 203). 'Easter Houses' were temporary structures traditionally used by the Irish kings to celebrate festivities during Lent and Easter 'for the entertainment of clients and the acceptance of their submission' (Flanagan, 1989: 203-4). Moreover, according to Haliday (1881: 184), it seems that it was also customary for the Norsemen to erect temporary palaces of peeled osiers to celebrate the annual Yuletide festivities. These were occasions for various forms of feasting, banqueting, games and gift-exchanges.

From this perspective, the palace described by De Hoveden would have not been a novelty introduced by the Anglo-Normans, but a feature already belonging to the Irish cultural scenario. He says that the palace was constructed *ad modum patriæ illius constructum* (after the fashion of the country), for the purpose of hosting a banquet and magnificent feast. Henry II used the palace and the occasion to receive his guests, the Irish chieftains. The festive event, which took place in Hoggen Green, became instrumental in the creation and establishment of a new government for Dublin. The banquet, as reported by Giraldus, is described in the following words:

> *Imminente vero Dominici natalis solemnitate, Dubliniam terre illius principes ad curiam videndam accessere quam plurimi. Ubi et lautam anglicane mense copiam, venustissimum quoque vernarum obsequium plurimum admirantes, carne gruina, quam hactenus abhorruerant, regia voluntate passim per aulam vesci ceperunt.*
>
> (Giraldus, *Conquest*: 96, lines 27-31)

> *As the solemn festival of Our Lords's birth drew near, the princes of that land came to Dublin in great number to view the king's court. There they greatly admired the sumptuous and plentiful fare of the English table and the most elegant service by the royal domestics. Throughout the great hall, in obedience to the king's wishes they began to eat the flesh of the crane, which they had hitherto loathed.*
>
> (translation of Scott and Martin, 1978: 97)

Not only does one note Giraldus' mention of the sumptuousness of the banquet, but ones' attention is also drawn to the significance of eating crane, a bird which was a cult object in early Celtic tradition (Flanagan, 1989: 207).

Purcell (1999: 127) suggests that the palace might have been constructed by the skilful craftsmanship of the Ostmen; while Curtis (1990*a*: 106) suggests that the building was erected by the Irish chiefs themselves, following their formal submission to Henry II, which is known to have occurred at that time. However, it seems more likely that their submission was symbolically signed not before, but during the famous banquet. They did so, in Flanagan's (1989) words 'wittingly in terms of their own institutions' (207).

Based on the information in the annals, Sims-Williams (1991: 38-47) highlights the fact that since the beginning of the eleventh century, one king submitted to another, by 'coming into his house' (*tánic ina thech*: he came into his house) and accepting a gift which eventually lead to a bond of obligation and fidelity. In Binchy's opinion, this was an ancient ritual recognising superiority that was present in many ancient societies from remote times (Binchy, 1970: 31). In this sense, the reception organised by Henry II in Hoggen Green was a standard method of obtaining submission.

According to Haliday (1881: 183) it seems that Henry II entertained the Irish chieftains not only with the banquet and the offering of presents, but also with military spectacles. The Anglo-Norman army, which had arrived in Dublin with Henry II, and estimated at 4,000 knights (see Curtis, 1990*a*: 106), would have encamped, along with the royal court, outside the walled town in Hoggen Green. Thus, the garden-palace would have been completely surrounded by soldiers, tents, horses and military features of various kinds. An additional function therefore, of the activities occurring in the palace and Hoggen Green, was to create an opportunity for the display of physical power by the Anglo-Normans. Besides Haliday's hypothesis on the organisation of military spectacles, of which, however, nothing is known from contemporary sources, the visual impact offered by this setting in the green would have been enough to create an impressive spectacle of strength and power in the eyes of the Irish kings.

3.2.6 Discussion

The construction of the palace 'after the fashion of the country', could be seen as a strategic move by Henry II: in organising the meeting-event in an ambience familiar to the Irish, it is reasonable to surmise that he would have increased the success of their participation and their consequent subjugation. On the other hand, it is possible that Henry had the palace built following the custom of the country as he tried 'to please his new vassals by showing an appreciation of native craftsmanship' (Orpen, 1968, i: 267).

Information relating to the analysis of this meeting between the Irish kings and Henry II, has resulted in many differing interpretations by various chroniclers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Flanagan, 1989: 172). However, it is most important at this point to stress that Hoggen Green was transformed physically by the presence of this palace, and that at the same time, the events which took place there during 1171-72 triggered a series of political and physical transformations of the nearby urban core.

Also relevant were the place and the time chosen for the event– 'celebrated' near the church of St Andrew, during the Christmas period, *Dominici natalis solemnitate* - the banquet served to make an other important statement, *viz.* a religious one. In addition to political motivations, Henry II's invasion seems also to have been indirectly supported by the Roman Church. Pope Adrian's will, and the promulgation of Alexander's Bulls envisaged a new programme of re-affirmation and expansion of Christianity into Ireland. In keeping with this sentiment, one may refer to Haliday's (1881: 184) observation that during the meeting of the Irish chiefs with the Anglo-Norman king, it is highly likely that neither party understood the language of the other and the only translators were probably the 'Latinier', or members of the clergy. This clergy, while accomplishing the divulgation of Roman words, also succeeded in reinforcing the power of the Christian religion over political events. Moreover, this was the sort of religious statement which would have an enormous repercussion on public festivities - and use of public spaces - in the following centuries.

While the palace constructed in wicker endured for a mere flicker of time in relative terms, its symbolic and physical impact on the landscape of Dublin cannot be underestimated. Not only was Hoggen Green, then and in the future, a site for festivity and political enactment, the events of 1171-72 were also to have long-

lasting repercussions on the development of urban values and identity in the city of Dublin. The palace, in addition to the green terraced hillock and the previously mentioned enclosure of St Mary de Hogges, symbolised both the transformative and aesthetic mastery of the inhabitants over the natural environment. In this sense, the construction of Henry II's palace, is a landmark in the development of the city of Dublin, not only from the perspective of public green spaces, but also in the formation of a new sense of urbanity.

3.3 OXMANTOWN GREEN

In the years following 1171, the Anglo-Norman settlers established themselves, their families, and their businesses, in what was then the core of mediaeval Dublin, inside the city's walls. Tradition suggests that the defeated Norsemen, who by then had already been weakened by a series of struggles with the Irish Kings, were forced to move outside the city walls. Many Norsemen had already left Ireland after the battle of Clontarf (1014), more then one hundred and fifty years previously, and many more left the country with the arrival of the Anglo-Normans. However, some, probably those whose economic resources were closely interwoven with the local economy, or those who were strongly tied by family relations with the local inhabitants, decided - and were allowed - to remain in the vicinity of Dublin, in an area called Oxmantown. Hence 1171 is conventionally considered the year of foundation for the 'New Colony of Oxmantown', as referred to by Ronan (1990*b*: 125).

Since its inception, Oxmantown has been associated with a large green area known as Oxmantown Green. The history of the Green is interlinked with that of its homonymous settlement, and an understanding of its origins cannot be separated from an analysis of the settlement.

3.3.1 Sources

The oldest references to Oxmantown date to 1192, when St Mary's Abbey is referred to as the church of St Mary of Ostmanby (1192, *Ancient records*, i: 2-3), wherein the proximity of the Abbey to Oxmantown is highlighted. The first references to Oxmantown Green appear in *c.* 1265, and do so again in 1330 in the *Christ Church deeds* (no. 578: 146). As Purcell (1999: 3) argues, one reason for the lack of earlier sources is that the term Ostmen, from which Oxmantown derives, is not used in

written documents until the 1170s and 1180s. Giraldus, in his *History*, seems to be one of the first annalists to refer to the presence of Ostmen in Ireland (Giraldus, *History*: 175). This suggests that the name was brought to Ireland by the Anglo-Normans, and explains the lack of reference to Ostmen, Oxmantown and Oxmantown Green in early Irish documents. However some historians, such as O'Corráin (1989) and Duffy (1995), consider legitimate the use of the above terminology in a pre-1170 context. As both Oxmantown and Oxmantown Green were in existence before the arrival of the Anglo-Normans, and as it is unknown what they were called before this time, there is no alternative but to refer to them as such.

3.3.2 Origins and etymology

Oxmantown means 'town of the men of the East'. According to Holinshed (1577: 277), 'east' included those areas such as Norway, which were located to the north-east of Ireland and England. In Stanihurst's (1577) words 'Osmontowne' was 'so called of certeine Easterlings or Normans, properlie the Danes that were called Ostmanni' (547). In this sense, Oxmantown Green would mean literally 'the green of the town of the Norsemen'.

The name Oxmantown is not unique in its genre, and seems to be, in this and other instances, antonomastic in its usage. As implied by Haliday (1882: 188) - when referring to 'Ostmen towns and territories' in Ireland - 'Ostmen town' was the common Anglo-Norman appellative given to towns already conquered by the Norsemen, implying therefore, that there was more than one Ostmentown or Oxmantown in Ireland at this time.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Oxmantown pre-dated the Anglo-Normans in Dublin. It consisted of a small community, living in dwellings scattered around a common place of cult. According to Purcell (1999: 149, 204), Oxmantown dates to at least the mid-eleventh century. Evidence of this is provided by the fact that the church of St Michan's, of Norse origin, was built in that area in 1095 (Cosgrave, 1932: 4). This was nearly eighty years before the City of Dublin was granted to the men of Bristol. Moreover, it seems that the initial settlement, located in and around Broad Street (Purcell, 1999: 222), was associated with an early Christian church in the site of St Michan's and with the crossing point at the ford. In this case, the date of its origin, and that of the Green associated with the settlement,

could be traced to a period earlier then the eleventh century. However a lack of archaeological or written support denies this hypothesis the evidence it would need to be epistemologically sound.

3.3.3 Location of Oxmantown Green in relation to Oxmantown.

The position of St Michan's is visible in the map of *Dublin,* c. *1170* (Chapter 2). The church, although reconstructed in 1685-86 (Craig, 1992: 41), is still present at the corner of Church Street and May Lane. This choice of location set the religious institution at the core of what was once the 'New Colony of Oxmantown' (Ronan 1990*b*: 125).

Although, as confirmed by Haliday's writings (1881), the name Oxmantown was commonly in use until at least a century ago, it does not exist on a map providing its exact boundaries, either in medieval time or later. Today its location would correspond approximately to the districts of Stoneybatter, Smithfield and Collins Barracks. Streets names such as Sitric Road, Viking Place, Viking Road, Norsemen Place, Sitric Road, Harold Road, Oxmantown Lane and Oxmantown Road remind contemporary readers of the origin of the area (see Figure 3.1).

In early medieval times, Oxmantown comprised the suburban area extending north-west of the river Liffey. This, *in primis*, has to take account of the fact that the sides of the river have changed, relative to mediaeval times, due to land reclamation over the centuries. As remarked by Simms (2001: 21), the estimated position of the original river line suggested that St Michan's was near the riverbank. Its eastern boundaries were given by the Bradogue river. Running down the area of Constitution Hill, Green Street and Arran Street, it would have joined the Liffey in the zone corresponding to modern day Chancery Place. The Bradogue separated the colony from the land of St Mary's Abbey. Although it is difficult, if not impossible, to establish the northern boundaries, Purcell (1999: 153-4) has selected Broad Street (Mary's Lane) as a conventional northern limit, although with the suggestion that in the pre-medieval period Oxmantown may have stretched as far as and beyond present day North King Street. However Burton (1845) previously maintained that the northern boundaries were clearly defined only with the construction of the North Circular Road in the eighteenth century, and would thus henceforth have included a suburban area much larger than the former. It is known that the vast green area of Oxmantown Green delimited it at the west. According to maps of the eighteenth

century (Brooking, 1728 and Rocque, 1756) the western boundaries of this Green corresponded to Infirmary Road and the Phœnix Park, but considering the lack of precise geophysical boundaries, or man-made features in the pre-medieval period, it is impossible to accurately define the western limits of the Green in the time period examined.

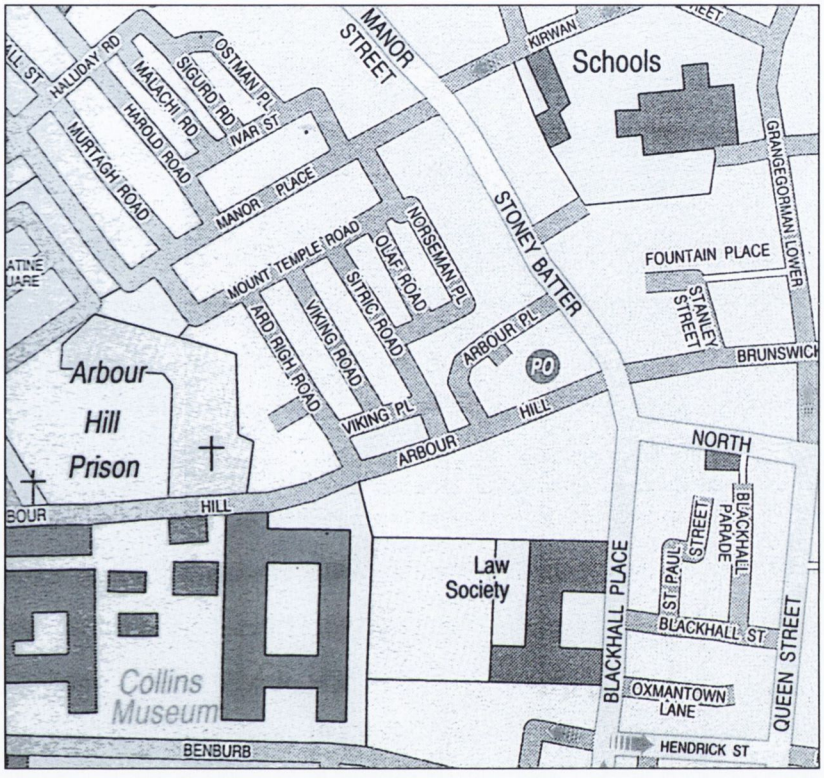


Figure 3.1 Street names of Norse derivation in the area corresponding to the district of Oxmantown. Source: Ordnance Survey of Ireland's map of Dublin, 1997.

3.3.4 Physical description

Initially the Green had an irregular form which followed the natural geophysical boundaries, and was at least clearly defined on the southern and eastern sides. From a topographical perspective, it can be described as a large plain, ascending on a hill in its north side, which is referred to at the end of the eighteenth century as 'the hill in Oxmantown Green' (1718, *Ancient records*, vii: 62). It seems that this hill and a large area of the western side of the green were originally covered with woodland.

Early reference to the presence of a wood, called Tomar's Wood, appears in the *Annals Inisfallen* in 1000, and in the *Cog. Gaedhel.* The latter reports that 'not louder in my ears would be the echoes of blows from Tomar's Wood, if seven

battalions were cutting it down, than are the resounding blows upon the heads, and bones, and skulls in both sides' (*Cog. Gaedhel*: 197-199, cited in Purcell, 1999: 41). As remarked by Purcell (1999: 41), Tomar's Wood would have referred to a pagan wood typical of the Viking period, with the name Tomar clearly hinting at the cult of Thor. However, consensus cannot be found on the exact location of this wood. While MacAirt (1988: 515) suggests that it was near Celebridge, Co. Kildare, Todd implies that it may have expanded from Drumcondra to Clontarf and, thus, would have been northeast of Oxmantown Green.

Daly (1967) reports with reference to Oxmatown (although without referencing it) that a document of 1098 notes 'he that diggeth all the day to any depth shall find the ground full of great roots' (107). This, if true, would mean that part of the pre-existing woodland had already been cleared away by the eleventh century, making implicit reference to the presence of human activities and of an early settlement. However, from later sources, it seems that a tree-zone, more or less homogeneous, had expanded from Clontarf towards the coast, and to Oxmantown, further inland. As reported by Dunton (1699*a*: 366) Clontarf's Wood was still in existence at the end of the seventeenth century, and evidence of interspersed woodlands and groves is given by Dublin's bird eyes view, produced by Brooking in 1728. It has also been noted that a wood called Salcock's Wood was located on the north bank of the river opposite Islandbridge (Ryan, 1990*a*: 33). As Cosgrave (1932: 8) reports, Sallcock's Wood designated a large wood extending to Oxmantown Green in the area later known as Quarry Lane (Annamore Road) and Cabra Road. An entry in the *Christ Church deeds* of 1578 reports that it was given on 'lease to Hugh Brady, bishop of Meath, a nook, a plot of wood containing 3 acres, parcel of the main wood called Salcock's wood, Co Dublin, situate between the gripe of a double ditch, dividing it from the main wood, on the north and the east, and the scrubby park, part of John Kelly's farm, on the south, the highway from Dublin to Little Cabra on the south-west, and the long park, in Mr Agards possession, on the north-west' (*Christ Church deeds*, no 1351: 273).

Further evidence of woodland in Oxmantown Green is given implicitly in several documents of the late Middle Ages. In one of these, there is mention of a woodcutter living in the Green in 1485 (*Christ Church deeds*, no 1072: 217); in another, in 1560, a plot on the Green was leased under the condition that the owner was 'not to cut timber or trees without the lessors' consent' (*Christ Church deeds*, no

1270: 256). As commented upon by Purcell (1999: 218), documents such as these raise the possibility of woodland management on Oxmantown Green.

It was a tradition that the valuable timber of Oxmantown, mainly composed of oaks, was shipped to England by William Rufus and used to build the roof of Westminister Hall (Cosgrave, 1932: 5; Daly, 1967: 107; and Kearns, 1989: 24). Furthermore, Hanmer (1594-1666: 97) records the legend that the wood of Oxmantown had pagan associations, and that this was the reason why no spiders would ever weave webs on the beams of Westminister Hall (cited in Purcell, 1999: 42).

Beside the woodland, which seems to have surrounded the western and northern side of the Green towards the end of the twelfth century, the Green's central area and eastern side was composed of a large grassy area, and throughout this grass there may have been interspersed various types of shrubbery: as remarked upon by Foster (1988: 6) while commenting on the destruction of forests in pre-modern Ireland, 'gorse and hawthorn really flourished when the woods were cleared'.

The Green consisted of marsh and slob-land on the Southern side. The presence of marshland was also increased by the fact that two other streams passed through Oxmantown. One ran near the site of the future St Saviour's Priory, and the other flowed along Bow Lane flanking the eastern side of the Green. In an ordinance of the year 1680-81, an order was made 'to draw the Bradogue and the other waters in the other parts of the Green into one channel, for that the last winter it was hardly passable...' (1680-81, *Ancient records*, v: 105). This would indicate that the overall land in Oxmantown Green was primarily marshland, and as such remained so for more then seven hundred years.

3.3.5 Accessibility

Three of the oldest Irish thoroughfares coming from the north of Ireland seem to have arrived in Dublin by passing through Oxmantown. Purcell (1999: 154) comments, that on Roque's map (1756), the Stoneybatter (road) is drawn as leading to Oxmantown Green and that it apparently continues across the Green as a pathway. The name Stoneybatter is implicitly reminiscent of the presence of this pre-historic 'cow-track', as *bóthar* in Irish means road and thus Stony-*bóthar* would refer to the existence of an ancient 'stony road' (Clarke, 2002: 1). The last tract of this thoroughfare seemed to have joined another important highway, the *Slighe*

Mhidúachra, before ending at the crossing point on the river Liffey. The crossing point would have been the hurdle-ford, which would seemingly correspond today with the alignment between the end of Bow Street and St Augustine Street (Clarke, 2002: 27). Daly (1967: 106) hypothesises the presence of a hostel for travellers, dating from the tenth century, in close proximity to the conjunction of the thoroughfares with the hurdle-ford. This information would further support the existence of a nodal point of arrival of highways bearing a significant traffic of goods and people.

In terms of accessibility, it is difficult to say how many and which people were free to come and go from Oxmantown - and its green - to Dublin and vice versa. Furthermore, little is known about the defensive measures adopted by the Norsemen to protect their district from outsiders during and before the twelfth century. Although it is presumable that in case of attack, by either Irish or Anglo-Norman enemies and/or common cattle-raiders, they could have had the protection of St May's Abbey, which had been founded by their ancestors (Curtis 1990*a*: 107).

3.3.6 Functions

The presence in Oxmantown of important highways' termini, contributed to the development of exchanges and commercial activities. Curtis (1990*a*: 106) points to the reasons why the Norsemen were allowed to remain in satellite position around the city by the Anglo-Normans. He writes: 'they were too valuable a race to outlaw, for they were traders, pilots, carriers, mariners and, it appears, the capitalists of Ireland at the time'. Holinshed (1577: 277) explains the concept in a more emphatic way by stating that: 'These Ostomen were not Irishmen…; but whatsoever they were, they were merchants and used the trade of merchandize'. This would imply that a great part of the area of their settlement was maintained as an open space to facilitate trading activities. The green was the largest open space in Oxmantown where trading activities must have taken place. As Purcell (1999: 184-5, 209, 278) suggests a cattle market on Oxmantown Green seems to have had a very ancient origin. The green, with its marshland, was essential in providing a common pasture for herd of cows arriving from the countryside during market days. Despite the comment of Harris (1766: 155) on the Ostmen, that 'as these mercantile people had for a long time no concern in government, it cannot be expected their actions could afford any matter for history', it is a great loss for the history of public green spaces that we lack

records explaining with any certitude the manner in which the use of the Green was regulated, and how market transactions were carried out in an open public place.

On the other hand, the Green would have functioned on a daily basis for the grazing of domestic animals belonging to the community, and it is possible that since the settlement's inception, that farms and farming related activities developed around the green area (see also Purcell, 1999: 146, 222).

The presence of woodland at the margins of the Green was essential in providing the wood necessary for construction, heating, cooking, and for many craft work activities which would have been conducted in the settlement's business district of Oxmantown Street, as identified by Purcell (1999: 184-5, 209, 218).

3.3.7 Potential users and distinctive social character of the Green

The open green space and the activities evolving around it had a particular significance in shaping an identity specific to the area. As remarked by Fagan (1986) and Kearns (1989), its importance for the traffic of domestic animals, markets and trading activities, created a typical rural-popular market culture whose heritage is still evident today in areas such as Smithfield and Stoneybatter. The social difference between Oxmantown/Oxmantown Green and the more urbanised environment, which was developing on the South side, is evident from the time of the Anglo-Normans' arrival in 1171. A reason for this could be found that in the physical separation, which when combined with the initial differences in ethnicity and language (see Curtis, 1990*a*: 108 and Simms, 2001: 39), helped to preserve and maintain its peculiar character[1].

The separation and independence of Oxmantown from the city inside the walls had already become a religious and jurisdictional matter, towards the end of the eleventh century. Previous to the Anglo-Norman arrival, the Norse Bishop Samuel tried to obtain more independence and political autonomy for the area inhabited by the Norse by making St Michan's its Cathedral instead of Christ Church. As commented upon by Ronan (1990*b*), the final aim of Bishop Samuel was to create in Oxmantown 'the new metropolis of Dublin' (125). However, after the Bishop's death in 1121, the contested archbishopric returned to Christ Church, and Oxmantown with

[1] However, as remarked by Purcell (1999: 277) earliest documents demonstrate that Oxmantown was not solely composed by an homogenous Ostman community, as the presence of Irish and Anglo-

its Green, became henceforth a mainly market suburb of Dublin, as will be further demonstrated in the following chapters.

Finally, an interpretation of Oxmantown Green's landscape in the twelfth century cannot avoid some consideration of the popular lore attached to it. An old and well-known tradition connects the story of Oxmantown Green to the legend of Robin Hood (see Burton, 1845; Cosgrave, 1932: 5; Daly, 1967: 107; and Kearns, 1989: 25). According to this tradition, Little John made a spectacular bow shot in Oxmantown Green, in the year 1189 (Cosgrave, 1932: 4). As Daly writes (1967): 'Little John, Robin Hood's Lieutenant, is associated with the Green. When the band dispersed Little John came to Dublin, where he exhibited his great skill at archery astounding the natives by shooting an arrow from the Bridge to Arbour Hill, where by the way he was reputed to have been hanged' (107). While mythology such as this shall remain outside the remit of historic rigour, nonetheless such anecdotes are useful in understanding the mentality associated with a place. They are also often valuable in interpreting the meanings of place-names. In fact a physical repercussion of this particular myth remained crystallised in the name of a hill on the Green. As Stanihurts reports, towards the end of the sixteenth century, there 'standeth in Oxmantowne Green a little hillock named *Little John's his Shot*' (Stanihurst, 1577: 51, quoted in Purcell, 1999: 265). Moreover, this legend creates a strong link between Oxmantown Green and the stereotypical imagery associated to the Anglo-Norman mediaeval forest. This could be fundamental when attempting to gain an insight into the way in which the inhabitants of Oxmantown and/or Dublin had perceived the Green and its functions in past times.

3.4 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, two different green areas underwent significant changes after the arrival of the Anglo-Normans.

The first was Hoggen Green with the construction of Henry II's royal garden palace, erected for the reception of the Irish chieftains during Christmas 1171. While the palace's presence in the green lasted only for the few months spanning from the end of 1171 to the beginning of 1172, the political repercussions of the reception

Normans living in the suburb is recorded since already the twelfth and early thirteenth century. Thus the separation between Dublin and Oxmantown has to be considered with certain flexibility.

would have had a long lasting effect on the implementation of new urban planning decisions in Dublin City during the following centuries.

The other space undergoing substantial modifications in the years immediately following 1171, was Oxmantown Green. This Green had existed already from Viking times, as part of an extensive woodland, seemingly called Tomar's Wood. However, after 1171, it saw an extremely high input of development and usage, due principally to the traditional Norse *exodus* to the settlement of Oxmantown. The functions of this Green ranged from its being a community space for domestic rural activities - such as grazing and wood cutting - to a space for a market of local and national scope. The fact that three important thoroughfares from the north of Ireland converged in Oxmantown, and the fact that the Norsemen were by tradition professional tradesmen, made the Green an ideal space for the reception of traffic of goods and people. Here, major cattle related market activities took place for the benefit both of the citizens of Dublin, as well as those of Oxmantown and the other suburbs.

The other green spaces existing since the pre-Anglo-Norman period, the *faithche Átha Cliath* and the Steine, did not manifest any immediate documented physical response to Henry II's enactments, and maintained unaltered forms and functions until the promulgation of John's charter in 1192. The next section will examine the consequences of this charter for public green spaces, following their development throughout the mediaeval period.

CHAPTER 4

THE GREENS IN THE ANGLO-NORMAN MUNICIPALITY 1171-1536

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This section aims to describe and explain the processes of transformation that occurred in public green spaces during the period 1192 to 1536. The year 1192, with the promulgation of John's Charter, can be considered as the beginning of a municipal administration in Dublin (Simms, 2001: 39); while 1536, following Henry VIII's Act of Supremacy, marks the beginning of the confiscation of the monastic possessions all over Ireland. Despite the difficulty of analysing spatial changes, that occurred over nearly three and a half centuries in a single section, the persistence of a homogeneous form of governance (Anglo-Norman) has allowed this section to be designed according to the specific categories of functions for which greens were used. The multiple functions for which different sections of the greens were used at approximately the same time, are valid throughout the entire period considered. During this period, greens maintained an almost invariable constancy of form, which reinforces the interpretation of the period as a historical-geographical unit. Hence, after a general overview of the greens' forms and origins, the structure of the section is organised around a description of their different functions, and concludes with a reflection on their social implications. Finally, the conclusion includes an overview of the general situation of public green spaces in relation to urban change, towards the end of 1536.

In 1192, John, Lord of Ireland, and Earl of Mortain, granted a charter to the citizens of Dublin: the *Charta Johannis, Domini Hiberniæ, de metis et franchesiis civitatis Dublin, et de libertatibus concessis*[1]. In many respects, this was a

[1] *Charter of liberties of John, lord of Ireland, to the citizens of Dublin*, 1192. In Mac Niocaill, i, 78-81. Reprinted with translation as Appendix A, in *IHTA*, 31.

confirmation of the charter issued by Henry II twenty years earlier. However, it seems to have had a stronger urban impact, namely: the development of municipal governance - with official recognition of the merchant guild - and a new system of land administration based on 'messuages', which were developed in and around Dublin. Moreover, the Anglo-Norman governance was largely reliant on religious institutions (see Simms, 2001: 39-40). This policy contributed to the spread of several monastic houses, especially during the first half of the thirteenth century, which, having been granted extensive liberties, were endowed with power of jurisdiction over broad tracts of land. This provision generated confusion at times in the establishment of land ownership and usage, and caused a series of conflicts between municipal and ecclesiastical authority, as was particularly evident in the case of Abbey Green. Furthermore, the arrival of the Anglo-Normans triggered off an expansion of the city outside its walls. The phenomenon of suburban expansion was so striking that it has been estimated that by the beginning of the thirteenth century, eighty per cent of Dubliners lived outside the city's walls (Clarke, 1998, quoted in Simms, 2001: 52). This also meant significant topographical changes, as large tracts of land were reclaimed from the Liffey, and other watercourses and portions of woodland around the city were cleared under the pressure of suburban development. The municipal suburbs were then divided into private properties called messuages, consisting of parcels of building land and gardens assigned to private citizens (Simms, 2001: 39-40), and large open green spaces cleared for common usage.

4.1.2 Perambulation of the city boundaries

As the city expanded outside the walls, it became evident that these could no longer be considered as the physical and jurisdictional delimitation of the city. Hence John granted 'to his citizens of Dublin, both within and without the walls there, to have their boundaries as perambulated on oath by good men of the city, under precept from his father, King Henry' (1192, *Ancient records*, i: 2-5). The aim of the perambulation was to geographically define the city boundaries, or in political terms, to define the bounds of the 'liberty' of the city. The term 'liberty' intended the legal privileges acquired by citizens living inside the area perambulated. The citizens, or freemen, had only to refer to their own municipal self-government, and were free from the authority of feudal, or, except in special cases, royal courts (Barrow, 1983:

68). As mentioned above, during the thirteenth century several liberties under ecclesiastical jurisdiction, were created both inside and outside the city's own liberty. This highly complicated the administrative work of those working for the municipality.

City functionaries performed the ritual of the perambulation yearly, and after 1229, the city functionaries became members of the town council. The town council, whose role then became preponderant not only in establishing the city boundaries, but also in their administration, was formally institutioned in that year. It consisted of a mayor, two provosts and in later years assimilated the aldermen, who were largely representatives of the merchant and other guilds.

There are various documents referring to and describing the perambulation of the city boundaries (or the Riding of the Franchises). The topographical information provided by the repetitions and changes reported in various versions of these documents, when compared in chronological order, provides a valuable tool for understanding the territory. The descriptions of the different Perambulations are a rich source of information on the appearance of the landscape in suburban Dublin. On the basis of these and other documentary sources, it is possible to construct a general description of what green spaces looked like in the period under examination.

4.2 FORMS AND LOCATIONS

4.2.1 Greens as suburban elements

At the beginning of the thirteenth century, all the greens analysed in this thesis were already in existence. These were: the Thingmount-Hoggen Green complex, which together with the land of the Steine was located on the eastern suburb; Oxmantown Green and Abbey Green on the north side of the Liffey; the Fair Green on the western side of the city walls and St Stephens Green located in a south-easterly position (see Figure 4.1).

Hoggen Green and Fair Green each had one of their sides directly adjacent to the city walls at the main gates of the town, *viz.*, Dam Gate and New Gate, which were strategic points of access for the main routes coming from the east and the west of the island. Abbey Green and St Stephen's Green developed outside the walls of the adjacent monastic enclosures. Oxmantown Green, made more accessible by the construction of a stone bridge in *c.* 1215, was then directly opposite Ostamns' Gate.

All these green areas had in common the fact that they were all part of the suburban area: there were no common green spaces inside the city walls.

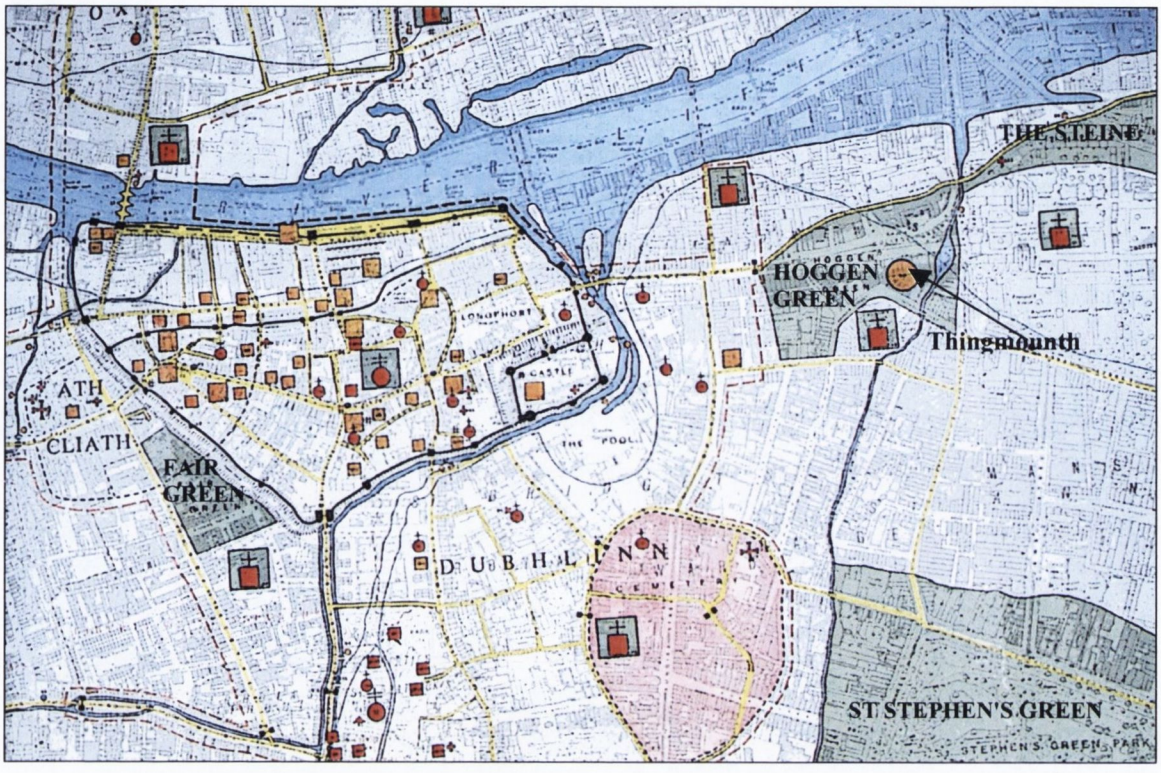


Figure 4.1 Greens in mediaeval Dublin. Source: *Dublin c. 840 to c. 1540: the medieval town in the modern city* first prepared by H.B. Clarke for the Friends of Medieval Dublin; printed and published by Ordnance Survey Ireland, Dublin, 1978. Revised by H.B. Clarke and prepared by S. Gearty, (2002) Irish Historic Towns Atlas, Royal Irish Academy.

4.2.2 Constancy and commonalty of features: the stereotypical form

It is difficult to say whether these places maintained the exact same shapes throughout the medieval period, as it might be objected that they underwent a progressive reduction of size due to suburban sprawl. However, it seems that they were all characterised by a general constancy of common features. The greens in the medieval period were large, flat expanses of grass, where few trees, and occasional shrubs might have been present. In general, they had no artificial boundaries, although, as will be discussed in the next section, some pen-folds might occasionally, and often illegally, have been present. Geophysical boundaries might have been created by adjacent hillocks, as in the case of the northern boundary of Oxmantown Green, but more often than not these consisted of the present watercourses. All the greens, with the exception of Fair Green, were bordered, or crossed, by streams of water. Oxmantown Green was flanked by the Liffey and at an early stage by the

Bradogue; the Abbey Green was on the eastern side of the Bradogue; and Hoggen Green and the Steine were bordered by the Liffey and crossed by the Steine, limiting also the western and southern flanks of St Stephen's Green. A common characteristic was the frequent presence of marshland, due to the abundance of un-channelled water and the low embankments of the main river and affluent streams.

The Anglo-Normans had implemented, since the beginning of their governance, a policy of reclamation of land from the Liffey. This brought about an extension of the city's land, and saw a temporary enlargement of the area of Hoggen Green and the Steine before development took place towards the end of the mediaeval period. As Simms (2001: 21-2) notes, the land reclamation was more effective on the south side of the river, which was more densely inhabited. As visible in Speed's map of Dublin, the North side was still characterised by extensive mud-banks near the 'Pill by the Water' at the confluence of the Bradogue and the Liffey, until at least the beginning of the seventeenth century. It is so very likely, that even the southern border of Oxmantown Green was created by a slow degradation of the land into marshland and mud-banks.

4.2.3 Location and origin of Fair Green

The origins of Hoggen Green, Steine, Oxmantown Green and Abbey Green have already been discussed in the previous sections. In addition, the thirteenth century saw the formal development of two other new spaces: the Fair Green and St Stephen's Green. Apparently, the Fair Green developed in the south-eastern part of the former *Faithche Átha Cliath*. It seems that it overlapped with the portion of the *faithche* closest to the town walls. Although the first recorded mention of a fair ground only appears in a deed of 1305, where it is called *locus nundinarum* (*IHTA*: 27), the fair had in effect taken place annually following John's authorisation in 1204 (O'Dea, 1957: 12) (see Figure 4.2).

It was initially located between the hospital of St John the Baptist, erected in 1188, and the western gate of the town, called New-Gate (see O'Dea, 1957: 12). This would correspond today to the area south east of St John the Baptist Church (between St Thomas Street and John Street) and the area of Cornmarket, outside the city walls. The fair ground was expanded towards the south of New Gate in the following century. A document of 1359 specifies that the Fair Green occupied the area between New Gate and the Franciscan Friary (1359, *Ancient records*, i: 120-1).

Today this would correspond to the area south of Bertram's court, west of Francis Street, north of Thomas Davies Street and east of Lamb Alley and John Dillon Street

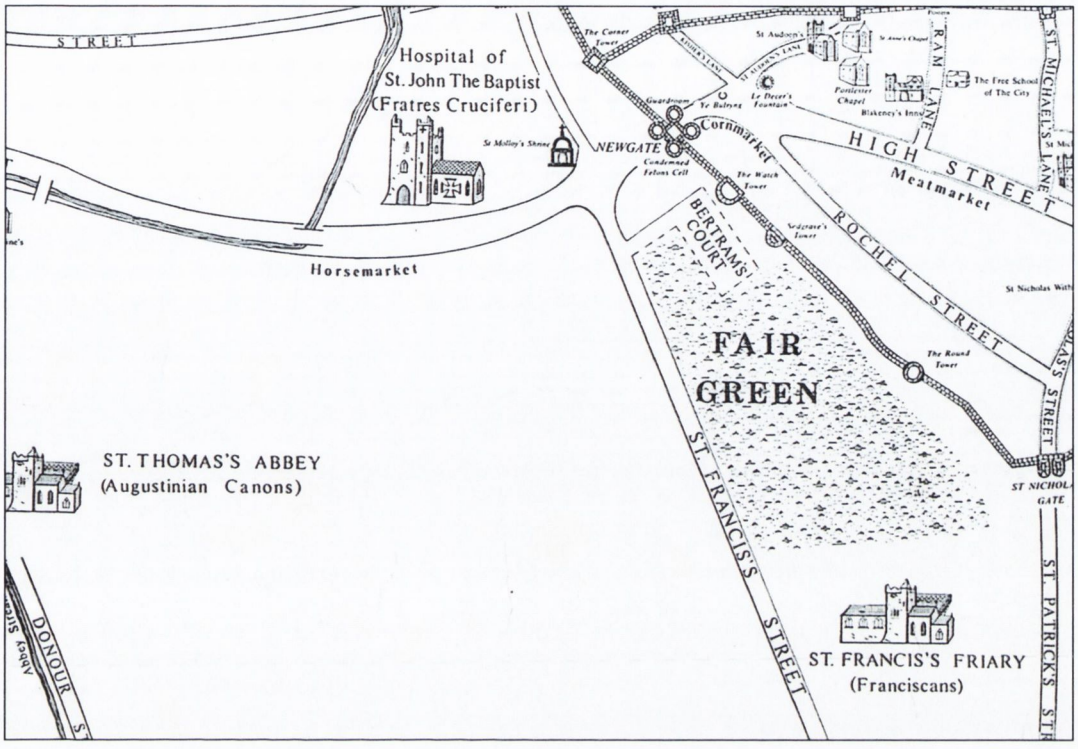


Figure 4.2 Fair Green. Source: *Dublin c. 840-c. 1540.* Prepared by the friends of mediaeval Dublin, and printed by the Ordnance Survey, 1977.

4.2.4 Location and origin of St Stephen's Green

St Stephen's Green seems to have developed concurrently with the foundation of the Leper Hospital of St Stephens, from which it derived its name. According to Gwynn and Hadcock (1970: 350), the Leper house was already in existence by 1192 in the north-eastern portion of the enclosure of the earlier Christian monastery of Dubhlinn (see also *IHTA*: 28). Today, the site of this hospital would correspond to Mercer Hospital, between St Stephens Street Lower and Mercer Street Lower. St Stephen's Green would have stretched beyond the eastern side of the monastic enclosure. It is difficult to say exactly what its northern boundaries were, because a great portion of the eastern suburb was undeveloped until the late medieval period, except for the existence, further north, of All Saint's Priory and St Mary de Hogges Abbey. However, it is probable that some forms of small private development, consisting of a few interspersed dwellings with associated messuages, did not allow the green to stretch as far as that. Similar difficulty is encountered when attempting to delineate

its eastern boundaries, as no developments - or even evident geo-physical boundaries - were present in the early medieval period. According to Clarke's map of medieval Dublin (*Dublin c. 840 to c. 1540: the medieval town in the modern city*), the green would have extended not much further than the area delimited by Leeson Street and Ely Place. Its southern boundaries were marked by the river Steine, whose course would have corresponded to that strip of land bordering the north side of Iveagh Gardens, south of the present St Stephen's Green South Street. This river also constituted its western delimitation, outside the walls of the monastic enclosure.

Although the first official mention of St Stephen's Green, as such, appears only in a document of 1244 contained in the Liber Albus (1244, *Ancient records*, i: 87-8), Clarke (2002: 7) suggests that by the end of the twelfth century the Green was already common pasture for citizens dwelling on the south side. This hypothesis could be confirmed by a line in the perambulation of the city boundaries of 1192, in which the green seems to be referred to as *pastura*:

> *...scilicet, ex parte orientali de Dublinia et australi parte pasturam quæ durat usque ad portam ecclesiæ sancti Keivini ...*
>
> (extract from Charter: 31)
>
> *...namely on the east and south sides of Dublin by the pasture grounds which lead as far as the gate of St. Kevin's-church ...*
>
> (transl. Harris, 1766: 118 and Warburton, *et al.* 1818: 90)

The trajectory of the perambulation in the above quote mentions the *pastura* as being the south-eastern boundary of the jurisdiction of the city liberties. Because it mentioned the gate of St Kevin's church, the *pastura* could have been what later become known as St Kevin's Common. But on the other hand, according to the trajectory reconstructed by Barrow (1983: 70), it could also have referred to St Stephen's Green. However, the fact that the word *pastura* is used in the charter is an implicit declaration of a municipal recognition of the existence - and necessity - of a green place as an integral and active part of suburban life. Thus, a portion of grassy land, which was already in existence as a physical entity, in this sense also acquired a chartered significance, after 1192.

4.3 FUNCTIONS

4.3.1 Pasturelands and the problem of their ownership status

The word *pastura* (from which the English 'pasture') is a late medieval Latin adoption, and derives from the Latin *pastus* (from which the Italian *pasto* or meal) and this from the verb *pascere* meaning to nourish. One of the main functions assumed by greens and other large suburban green areas throughout the medieval period, was literally that of being a *pastura*: to provide nourishment for domestic animals. Green spaces close to settlements were used for grazing even before the twelfth century. However, it was through the promulgation of charters, laws and early enactments for the specific preservation of such function, that some of these spaces were maintained as common grounds over the centuries (see Mc Cullough, 1989: 16).

In the year 1244, St Stephen's Green was granted to the City by Henry III as common pasture (Liber Albus, 1244, *Ancient records*, i: 87-8). In similar fashion, the lands of Hoggen Green and Oxmantown Green were later classified, together with St Stephen's Green, as principal pasturelands for the citizens of medieval Dublin. They maintained this function for the inhabitants of the city and its suburbs until the early modern period, and some cases even afterwards. In 1577, after the confiscation of the monastic possessions, the City reconfirmed St Stephen's Green, Oxmantown Green and Hoggen Green as its main grazing grounds (1577, *Ancient Records*, ii: 116, 120). When one combines the continuous repetition of ancient rights of usage and passage, with their later official recognition, it is understandable how a strong public character came to be associated with these places.

St Stephen's Green, Hoggen Green, Oxmantown Green, Abbey Green, Fair Green and the land of Steine were used for grazing purposes as well as all the marshland, riversides and any fertile ground which could provide fodder for domestic animals. Some other suburban open green spaces used for the same purpose, were for example the 'pasturam quæ vocatur le Irendam' (the pasture ground called the Irendam) towards Kilmainham (mentioned in the report of the perambulation of 1377-99), St Kevin's Common (*Alen's reg.*: 44-5, 233), and the Common near James street mentioned as 'Common pasture of citizens' in *c.* 1210 (*Reg. St John*: 8). Meadows, parks and gardens also served to occasionally provide nourishment for animals. This consideration stems from a simple evaluation of the importance that livestock had in mediaeval society and economy, both in rural and

urban settings. This, among others, is one of the reasons why all green places mentioned in the Irish Historic Town Atlas are grouped under the common denomination of 'primary production' sites (*IHTA*, 2002: 24).

A problem that arises when analysing urban or suburban grazing grounds is the determination of their ownership status (see Table 4.1). While the words 'parks' and 'gardens' throughout the Middle Ages have always implicitly referred to private spaces, conflicts of interest over the usage and ownership of large tracts of grazing land were not unusual between the municipality, members of the clergy and private individuals.

Category of green space	**Ownership status**
Garden	Enclosed - private – might be shared between more families
Orchard	Enclosed - private
Park	Enclosed - private
Pasture-land	Open – private or owned by the municipality but in this case often leased to privates
Meadow	Open - private or owned by the municipality/ public
Green	Open - owned by the municipality / public

Table 4.1 Ownership status of different categories of green spaces in mediaeval Dublin. (Compiled by the author).

An ordnance, for example, in Archibishop Alan's register for the year 1192 confirmed (for the Archibishop's freemen) 'the freedom of the city in common pasture and in all else' (*Alen's reg.*: 22). In the document it is not clear however which common pasture is referred to, or who the men granted such privilege were. It is very likely though that it referred to those pasture grounds included in the liberty of a large monastic house, and to those citizens, or freemen, living in the same liberty under the ecclesiastical authority of the Archbishop.

In 1213 an 'agreement' was concluded in the presence of Henry, Archibishop of Dublin, justiciary in Ireland for Henry III, between the municipality and the monks of St Mary's Abbey over the use of Abbey Green. As reported in the Liber Albus (1213, *Ancient records*, i: 170), the monks of the Abbey were granted a vast portion of land between Oxmantown and the Liffey at the price of one hundred marks per year:

> *... granted in free alms for ever to the monks all the land between the Ostman's town and the water styled Tulkan, and as far as Crohuroric, where the gallows formerly stood, and to the Avenliff, with the ground called Crinan.*
>
> (1213, *Ancient records*, i: 170)

This land comprised gardens, mills, and a 'green place, which is opposite their outside gate', which the monks – by ordnance - were to maintain 'as a common pasture' (1213, *Ancient records*, i: 170). The agreement between the City and the monks was necessary for the jurisdiction of the Green, because the ground was inside the City's liberties, as was evidenced by the boundaries traced during the perambulation. In a document of 1215, King John had granted to the citizens of Dublin all the lands belonging to the city, but, as specified in the charter, 'subject to the terms of their agreement with the monks of St. Mary's Abbey' (1215, *Ancient Records*, i: 7).

The vast power with which the Abbey of St Mary was endowed is evident also in the case of the Steine, which functioned as one of the main pasturelands during the medieval period (Stephenson, 1945: 93). As stated in a document of the early seventeenth century (1610), 40 acres of pasture and marsh in the Steine formerly belonged to St Mary's Abbey (*IHTA*: 24). The case of the Steine is complicated even further by its early subdivisions between private landlords. In 1284 the land around the Steine was granted to Radulf and Richard Clut 'with meadows, pastures, ways, fisheries, waters, ponds, mills, and all the liberties and free customs pertaining to it (*Ancient records*, i: 108-9). As reported by Stephenson (1945: 93), a patent of Henry IV (1377-1413) declared that 'James Bottiler, Earl of Ormond, granted the pasture called the Stein, near Dublin, to Robert Lughteburgh for life, the said pasture being held of the king in capite'. Private individuals, as well as members of the clergy, were allowed to hold extensive tracts of grazing land near the city walls, and this was also the case for Hoggen Green.

Although Hoggen Green is mainly to be considered as municipal grazing ground during the mediaeval period, the Liber Albus states that in 1236 'all the ground towards Hogges', between the Church of St Andrew, the church of St George and the Church of St Stephen was assigned to the brothers William and Robert Dubelday. This area, which was quite a vast section of the Green, was rented by the municipality at an annual rent of one mark of silver (1236, *Ancient records*, i: 83-4).

Because the ground remained undeveloped right through the seventeenth century, as can be seen in Speed's map of Dublin, it is very likely that the Dubeldays used their portion of the Green in the same manner as the municipality: to graze domestic animals. The fact that a portion of the Green was rented to private individuals does not necessarily imply the presence of enclosing walls or fences. It is more likely that the Green, was and remained, an open field, whose delimitations were created by nearby buildings such as the churches mentioned in the contract referred to above.

Records of the municipality mention the occasional presence of illegal pen folds in the main greens of the town (see Burke, 1972). This suggests that private individuals sometimes enforced their own interests over municipal land to the detriment of the public character of such places. This was an issue that would become particularly contentious during the re-administration of municipal lands following the confiscation of the monastic possessions and the arrival of the New-English.

4.3.2 Greens for fairs and markets

The thirteenth century generally represented a period of economic growth, when trade flourished, and markets and international fairs took place all over Europe (Simms 2001: 46). In England, the custom of holding international fairs arrived with the Norman Conquest, opening up new routes for European merchants. As pointed out by O'Dea (1958: 11), two of the most famous of these Anglo-Norman fairs were Stourbridge near Cambridge, established by Charter of King John in 1211, and Saint Bartholomew, held in London in the area of Smithfield (see also Burke, 1978: 112). Market and fair sites gradually came to play particularly important role in the economic development of mediaeval cities and had a particularly important input in economic development, while their location influenced specific patterns of urban growth. In the specific case of Dublin, unlike most medieval continental towns, there was no central open market space, such as a square. Instead, streets and suburban green areas were used occasionally for this purpose, and for the city fair.

From Viking times, Dublin was an important port and trading post, where large volumes of merchandise arrived at and departed from the banks of the Liffey. As noted by Clarke (2002: 4), the urban organisation of eleventh century Dublin resembled a Viking emporium more than it did a town. It was customary in Viking tradition to use their landing posts for commercial activities, and as already

mentioned in the previous section, the land of the Steine and Hoggen Green might then have served for this purpose.

This arrangement was to change, however, with the Anglo-Norman invasion, which brought about Dublin's transformation into a fully-fledged town, replete with a stone castle, official fair-sites and regularised trading activities. After their arrival, the district of Hoggen Green-Steine became associated with the English Government, and using Clarke's (2002) words, it 'acquired a more stable, if more intimidating presence with the establishment of the Irish exchequer towards the end of the twelfth century' (7-8). This provision further reinforced the ceremonial and political functions already associated with the area, and it would definitely have contributed to a loss of its commercial character. From then onwards, three other greens served as market sites: Fair Green, Abbey Green and Oxmantown Green.

When, in 1204, King John ordered the construction of Dublin Castle, he also authorised a fair 'at the Bridge of Saint John the Baptist' (*IHTA*: 27). Mentioned also as *locus nundidanarum* in 1305 (*IHTA*: 27), as 'lands of the city fair' in 1335 (*Ancient records*, i: 119), and as Fair Green in 1359 (*Ancient records*, i: 120-1), the fair ground corresponded to the green area adjacent to the city walls between New Gate and the Franciscan Friary. As Simms (2001: 51) notes, the Iveagh Markets, which have only recently been closed down, preserved some of the communal and economic function which had been associated with this place for nearly one thousand years.

The area near New-Gate was already one of the focal trading points in Dublin in pre-Anglo-Norman times, as it corresponded to the point of arrival of the Slige Mhór. It is generally supposed that this road brought with it herds of livestock and goods from inland regions. Not surprisingly, such an area assumed progressively greater commercial importance under the new rulers, and because of the expanding commercial activities of St Thomas' Abbey, the area along the alignment of the old thoroughfare underwent a rapid development towards the end of the twelfth century. This according to Clarke (2002: 7) created a linear suburb - Thomas Street - then extending for about one km west of Newgate.

Great abbeys, such as those of St Thomas and St Mary, seem to have had a significant degree of control over matters concerning fairs and markets. St Mary's Abbey had, and maintained, its own market space to the west of its enclosed space - the Abbey Green - throughout the medieval period (see Purcell, 1999: 188).

Moreover, it is known that two crosses stood on the Green (1213, *Ancient Records*, i: 170), although only one cross is evidenced in Speed's map of Dublin (See Figure 4.3). These, such as the high cross located south west of Christ Church Cathedral, or the cross in St Stephen's Green (*IHTA*: 20), symbolised public places of gathering, which further supports the idea of ongoing market activities.

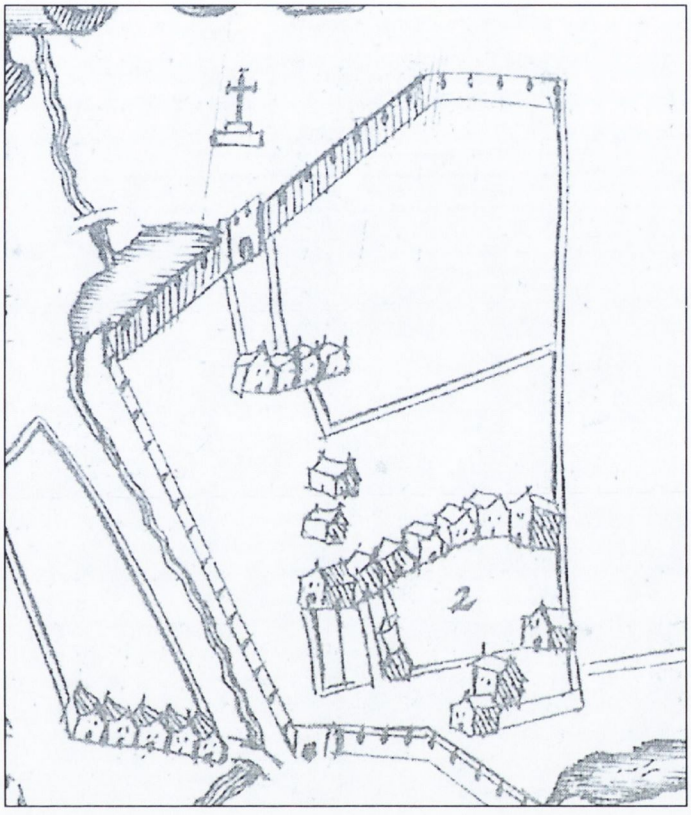


Figure 4.3 Cross in Abbey Green. Extract from John Speed's map of Dublin, 1610. NLI.

The Church extended its authority from toll collections over imported goods, to the determination of the days on which fairs would be held, which usually coincided with a Holy day or a Saint's festival (Burke, 1978: 111; Isherwood, 1986: 22-3 and see Purcell, 1999: 188). Following the original authorisation in 1204, King John extended the articles governing the fair in 1214, specifying that it would begin on the day of the 'Finding of the Holy Cross', and that it would last for eight days. In the following year, King John 'further grant(ed) and confirm(ed) to the citizens permission to hold one fair every year at Dublin...commencing on the vigil of the festival of the Finding of the Holy Cross, and to continue during the fifteen following days' (1215, *Ancient records*, i: 7). Here one is presented with an example of the manner in which an association was created between religious festivities and

commercial enterprises held during the medieval period, thus demonstrating the important position held by the Church over communal green areas and trading activities in the mediaeval setting. This is evidenced by Purcell (1999: 188-9) when contextualising the role of monasteries, especially those belonging to the Cistercian order (such as St Mary's Abbey), in the administration of fairs in many European cities between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The diffusion of this most common form of medieval public event was also seen in Dublin in the introduction of the Donnybrook fair (*IHTA*: 27), Saint Patrick's fair (*IHTA*: 27), and St James' fair (*IHTA*: 27). The location of St Patrick's fair is unknown, however the other two are known to have been located respectively in the south-eastern outskirts of Dublin (Donnybrook), and outside James' Gate, possibly in the common of St James or near the cross of St James' Street mentioned in a document of 1320 (*Ancient records*, i: 114).

There was also a fair at Oxmantown Green, although the date of its origin is not known, it is recorded that it was 'to be discountinued' in 1773, in reason of the many riots associated with it (see O'Donnell, 1971: 143). It is very likely that the fair had been held in the Green along with the cattle market from early mediaeval times.

Oxmantown Green was commonly used for market activities during the medieval period. Despite the fact that the first regularised cattle market was opened as late as 1541 (*Ancient records*, i: 411), and that both Smithfield market (1664-65) and Ormonde market (1684) were developed much later, the area was an important trading centre from very early times, as discussed in the previous section.

The construction of a stone bridge (*c.* 1215) in the early period of Anglo-Norman suburban development, undoubtedly favoured the traffic and development of the area around the Green. The bridge - called alternatively in ancient documents Ostman's Bridge, Old Bridge, or Dublin Bridge - is today replaced by Fr Mathew Bridge. It remained until the Restoration period the only point of access from the city to Oxmantown Green. Evidence for a heavy traffic in goods is given also by the custom of toll collection on merchandise, organised by the Dominicans of the Priory of St Saviour, which was founded in 1224 near the old bridge, in Oxmantown, on the site occupied today by the Four Courts (see Gwynn and Hadcock, 1970: 224).

4.3.3 Execution sites

One consequence of the new municipal provisions made for the administration of the town, was among others the erection of the City Gallows, mentioned in the 1192 Charter (Charter: 31). The site chosen for the gallows was to the east of Oxmantown Green in the area east of Constitution Hill (*IHTA*: 23), and these gallows could have corresponded to the aforementioned gallows 'at Crohuroric' (1213, *Ancient records*, i: 170). It is possible that they were originally located in the Green itself, as this, due to lack of urban development towards the end of the twelfth century, could have then stretched as far as Constitution Hill. However, following progressive development of the area north of Church Street and the reduction of the Green to the western side of Oxmantown, these gallows, referred to as Old Gallows in a document of c. 1395 (*Alen's reg.*: 231), fell progressively into disuse. It seems that their use was completely stopped by 1488 (Metes). New gallows were then erected in a south-western corner of the Green, in an area corresponding today to Parkgate Street, although the exact site remains unknown (*IHTA*: 23). The gallows are implicitly referred to as Gibbett Slade in 1488 (Metes) and Gybbett Mede in 1541 (*Extents Ir. mon. possessions*: 54). This last reference seems to suggest that they might not have been in the Green, but further west in the adjacent Ellen Hore's meadow (Conyngham Road South). From the records, the 'new' gallows seem to have been used mainly from the fifteenth to the beginning of the seventeenth century.

In a document of 1563 there is a mention of Gallows Hill (1563, *Ancient records*, ii: 27). This implies that they were then located on one of the hills bordering the western side of Oxmantown Green. Daly (1967: 107) and Kearns (1989: 26) identify the place with Arbour Hill. This assumption further complicates the identification of the exact gallows' site, because Arbour Hill is quite distant from Parkgate Street and Conyngham Road South. However, taking into consideration the relatively short life span of gallows in general, it is possible that their location was changed in the same general area over several decades of years, for a number of practical reasons that are not know.

From a social perspective, the topographical position of the gallows, high on top of a hill, strategically made the act of punishment highly visible to the general population. Moreover, the fact that a variety of country dwellers, as well as city dwellers, flocked to Oxmantown Green during markets days and festive occasions, made it a place highly suitable for revolts and riots (see Fagan, 1986: 46).

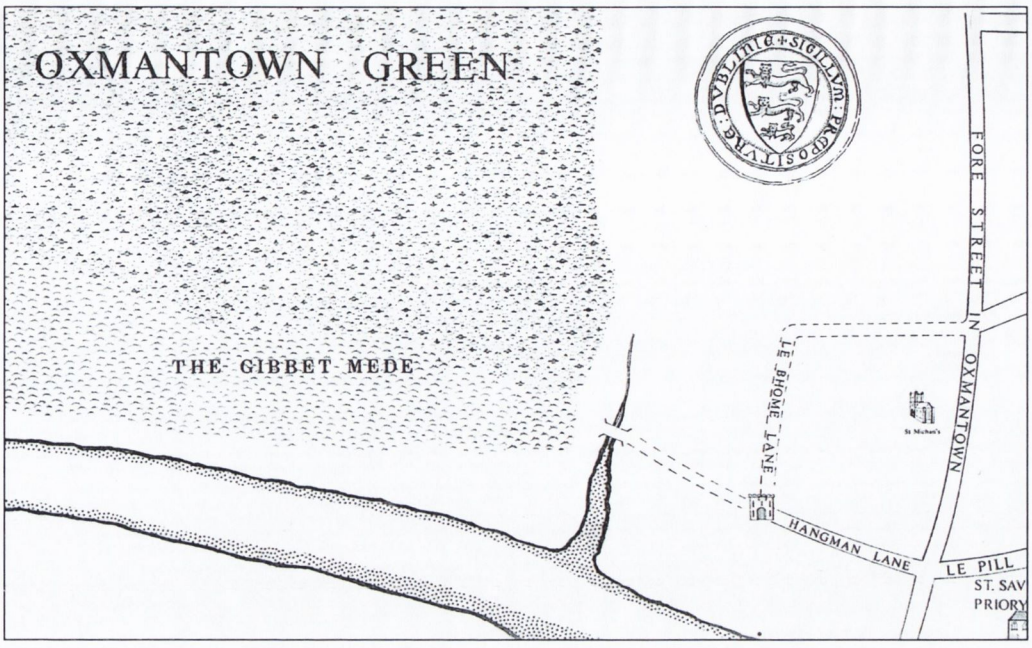


Figure 4.4 The Gibbet Mede in Oxmantown Green. Source: *Dublin c. 840-c. 1540.* Prepared by the friends of mediaeval Dublin, and printed by the Ordnance Survey, 1977.

The Green was occasionally host to episodes of violence between supporters of different political groups or factions, as testified during the recurrent riots between the Geraldine's and the Butler's in 1490s (Somerville-Large, 1988: 88). In 1493, in the aftermath of the dismissal of Kildare from office (1492), several riots took place in Oxmantown Green, and one of these fracas, in June of that year, also caused the deaths of a former mayor and other citizens (Lydon, 1998: 120). As reported by Lydon (1998: 124), 'years later, in 1534, one of Cromwell's spies reported that the ninth Earl of Kildare had been encouraged into rebellion by being told that:

> *...you shall be more esteemed in Ireland to take part against the king. For what would you have been if your father had not done so? What was he set by until he crowned a king there, took Garth, the king's captain, prisoner, hanged his son, resisted Poyining and all his deputies, killed them of Dublin upon Oxmantown Green, would suffer no man to rule here for the king, but himself?*
>
> (quoted in Lydon, 1998: 124)

The fact that Oxmantown Green and other open suburban green spaces could function as a place for the expression of social discomfort, rebellion, and riots was evident to and particularly feared by the government, especially following 'the

massacre of Black Monday' in 1209. In that year, citizens of Dublin, who had gathered in Cullen's Wood (today Ranelagh) to celebrate the festivity of Easter-Monday, were ambushed and slaughtered by an Irish clan seeking revenge against the English government for the usurpation of their lands (see Harris, 1766: 153-4). Thus, the establishment of execution sites in green spaces encapsulated a policy with which the municipality tried to strike terror into, and maintain control over, the population.

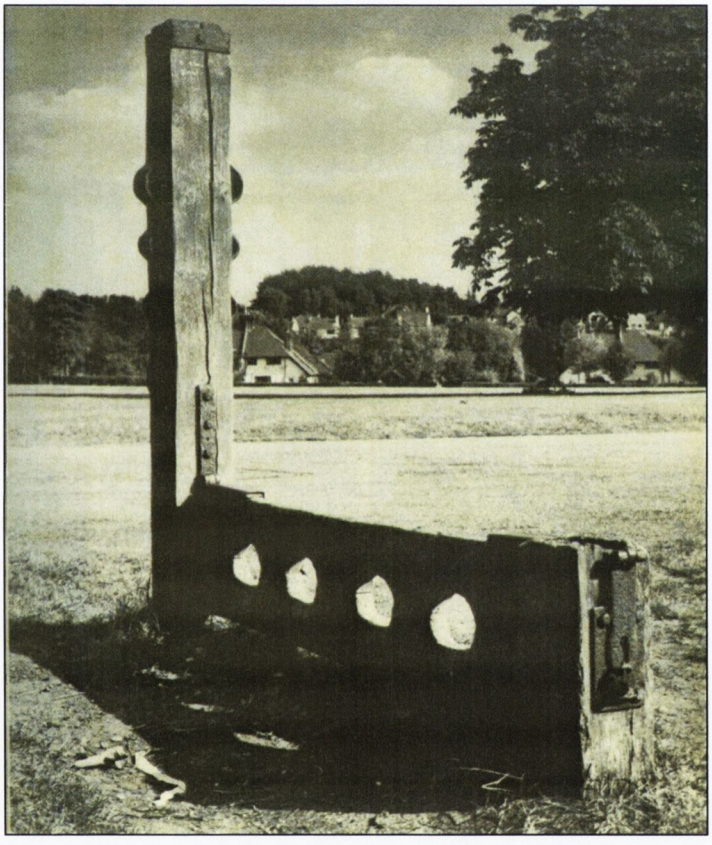


Plate 4.1 Stocks and whipping post in an English village green. Kenneth Scowen. Source: Bailey, 1985: 41.

It was common practice during mediaeval times- in Dublin as elsewhere (see Plate 4.1 showing stocks and whipping post in an English village green) - to 'decorate' public spaces, greens included, with pillory posts, whipping posts, cages, and other instruments of punishment. Moylan (1990*b*: 197-8) reports for example, that a common form of punishment under English law was to be tied naked to the end of a cart and beaten with whips whilst being dragged through the markets or other public places of the town. Minor offenders were punished in pillory, whipped

and could have had their ears cut off (Moylans, 1990*b*: 197-8). An ordnance of the late mediaeval period condemned those practising 'the horrible vice of whoredom [to] be comytted to pryson, and there remayne in irons or stockes during XXI daies, and then after to be brought forthe to the market place and pilloried two market daies ...' (1574, *Ancient records*, ii: 90). The main pillory post was located in front of Christ Church Cathedral, near the area of Cornmarket, where a 'great' cage for public imprisonment was erected in the following years (see Moylan 1990*b*: 197-8). A cage for similar purposes was also going to be erected in one of the corner of St Stephen's Green (see 1709, *Ancient records*, vi, 406 in which the existence of an old cage is implied). There was also a site of public execution at the south-eastern corner of this Green, between Upper Fitzwilliam Street and Lad Lane, where crossed the road to Baggot Rath. This according to various authors, was still in use until the first half of the eighteenth century (see Peter, 1925: 63-4; Maxwell, 1936: 174; Clarke, 1977: 73-4; Fagan,1986: 52 and Bowers, 1999: 92).

As already mentioned,Hoggen Green might have been used to carry out public executions since Viking times, and according to Harris (1766: 107), this Green was 'often mentioned by the Irish historians, as the common place for the execution of criminals' during the mediaeval period. Adam Duffe O'Toole was burnt at the stake for blasphemy in the year 1327 at Hoggen Green:

> *A.D. 1327. Adam Duffe O'Toole was convicted of blasphemy in Dublin, viz. for denying the incarnation of Christ, the Trinity in unity, for affirming that the Blessed Virgin was an harlot, that there was no resurrection, that the scriptures were a mere fable, and that the apostolical see was an imposture and usurpation, and the next year, pursuant to his sentence, was burned on Hoggin-green, near Dublin.*
>
> (Harris 1766: 107 and Warburton, Whitelaw and Walsh 1818: 170)

In conclusion it can be stated that the City used Oxmantown Green, St Stephen's Green and Hoggen Green, among other public spaces, both urban and suburban, as sites for public punishment and executions during the mediaeval period. There are no records available on the presence of gallows or gibbets in Fair Green or Abbey Green, but this does not imply that at some stage they had not been used for similar purposes. From an urban and social point of view, the fact that places of open public access displayed these instruments, and made them extremely visible to the

townsfolk, indicates the importance of communal greens both in demonstrating civic rule and in encouraging urban propriety.

4.3.4 Archery butts

Hoskins and Dudley Stamp (1963: 28) point out that a characteristic feature of common lands and greens in England and Wales during the medieval period, was the presence of archery butts (see for example Figure 4.5). This observation is also valid for both Scotland and Ireland.

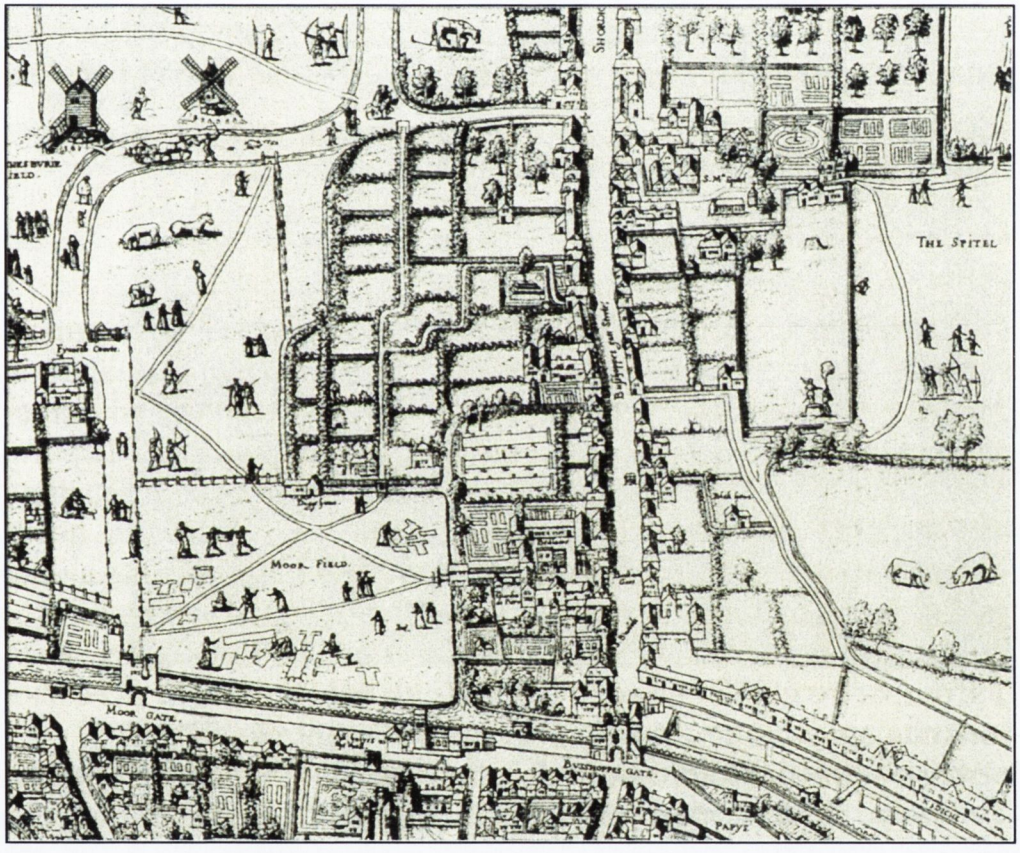


Figure 4.5 Archers in Moorfields, particular of the Copper Plate Map of London, 1559. Unknown. Source: Panzini, 1997: 15.

As Bailey (1985: 37) remarks: 'right up to the Tudor period, every fit Englishmen was required to be proficient in the use of the longbow in readiness for conscription in the national service'. Archery was initially made compulsory in England 'on Sunday and other holidays' by a statute of Edward III in 1363, and which was re-enacted several times during the following century (Hoskins and Stamp, 1963: 28). In 1425, James I enforced similar military provisions in Scotland,

requiring that all Scotsmen regularly practised archery exercises (Haliday, 1881: 167). In 1465, a statute of Edward IV ordered that every English town in Ireland should have 'one pair of butts for shooting, within the town or near it, and every man of the same town between the ages of 60 and 16 shall muster at said butts and shoot up and down three times every feast day' between March and July (cited in Haliday, 1881: 167).

Archery butts must have been present in the open green spaces surrounding Dublin since the arrival of the Anglo-Normans, as military defence was one of the main priorities for the new governance of the city. The erection of a stone castle (1204), and the enlargement and fortification of the walls (*c.* 1250) (Simms, 2001: 44), together with the archery butts in public green spaces, merely represented different forms of the Anglo-Norman militaristic infrastructure permeated in the urban environment. Lydon (1993: 93) particularly emphasises the economic importance of the investment of large sums of money by the English government in support of the army in Dublin during the mediaeval period. He highlights that when Robert de Vere was made marquis of Dublin in 1385, Richard II granted him large pecuniary resources to maintain 500 men at arms and 1,000 archers for two years (Lydon, 1993: 93). The military importance associated with archers and archery, throughout the Middle Ages, stands out when considering that gunpowder appears only towards the middle of the sixteenth century. As Evans notes, 'the effective defence of the English realm relied heavily on a citizen militia of expert archers and those in power made repeated attempts to encourage archery amongst the peasantry ' (1988: 7).

The popularity of archery among the peasantry and the lower classes in Ireland, as in England, is emphasised also by the survival of those popular legends whose plot revolves around the theme of archery, as the legend of Little John performing spectacular bow shots in Oxmantown Green seems to demonstrate. Archery butts for the population's use, existed in Dublin until the seventeenth century. These were situated in Oxmantown Green and Hoggen Green. In Oxmantown Green two archery butts were located in the area west of Smithfield (*IHTA*: 23). These butts were usually mounds of earth behind a target, designed either to stop any stray arrows or be used as targets themselves. About the butts, Barrington, in his *Observations on the Statute for the Encouragement of Archery* (1775), curiously writes 'that the butts erected for archery may have been the

occasion of some of those round hills of earth near towns which have often amused and puzzled antiquaries' (426, quoted in Haliday, 1881: 167). This comment, beyond its simplistic implication, gives the impression of a wide diffusion of archery butts in mediaeval towns in general.

Archery butts were present also in Hoggen Green. It is not sure whether the already existing mounds in the Green were used as targets (as Barrington's comment could suggest), or if butts were specifically constructed for such purposes. However, an ordinance of 1469 was decreed for their preservation:

> *No manner of man take no clay from Hogges butts upon pain of XX. Shillings as oft as they may be found so doing.*
>
> (1469, *Ancient records*, i: 329)

The archery butts seem to have been located towards the eastern part of the Green close to the walls of Trinity College (see 1604, *Ancient records*, ii: 420) and it is known that they were used until the end of the seventeenth century. In a lease of 1666-67, Hoggen Butts are described as being near the land of Tib and Tom (1666-67, *Ancient records*, iv: 403), which would have been on the northern side of Trinity College, south of the Liffey. However, their exact location and date of erection remain unknown.

As commented by Haliday (1881: 168-9), archers and city forces were periodically mustered in Hoggen Green, and during these occasions a pavilion or tent was erected for the mayor and other city functionaries to preside over the military exercises. After the development of Hoggen Green and the levelling of the Thingmount during the seventeenth century, the military function of the Green was then transferred to St Stephen's Green, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

4.3.5 Recreational function

Archery was also a form of entertainment and recreation. People would have gathered around the butts in Hoggen Green and Oxmantown Green to take part in archery spectacles during feast days (see Haliday, 1881: 167). Oxmantown Green is considered to be one of the main public spaces historically used for popular sports and games until at least the nineteenth century when it was totally built over (see

Fagan, 1986: 74-86). Tradition has it that it was also used to celebrate pagan-style festivities.

Plate 4.2 May Day festivities on an English village green. Engraving. J. Nash, 19th *c.* Guildhall Library, London. Source: Panzini, 1997: 13.

According to Daly (1967: 107) and Kearns (1989: 24), a maypole, traditionally decorated with flowers and long coloured ribbons for May Day celebrations, stood on the green until the early-modern era, 'before Puritans were in charge', to use the words of Somerville-Large, (1988: 135) (Plate 2.4 gives an impression of what it may have looked like). As this author explains, part of the May Day celebration also consisted of a parade in the Green for the ceremony of 'the Mayor of the Bullring' (Somerville-Large 1988: 88-89). Although the customs of this ceremony are not clear, it seems to be connected to the celebrations of the annual bull baiting, and would derive its name from an iron ring for fighting bulls which was located in the area of Cornmarket (see 1493, *Ancient records*, i: 379 and see *IHTA*: 29). Oxmantwon Green also functioned as an annual stage on the perambulation of the city boundaries.

The perambulation, according to the records of *De metis libertarum per novam inquisitionem*, (*c.* 1395 *Concerning the bounds of the franchises of the city by a new inquisition*, reported by Harris, 1766: 120-7 and Warburton,1818: 92-5) passed in fact through the *viridem* (green) of Oxmantown: '... inter viridem et dictum fossatum usque ad medium regalis viæ ducentis de Ostmanton usque Tulgin...'. Besides having a purely administrative function, the yearly perambulation, accompanied as it was by city musicians and by pageants representing the various guilds, also created a public spectacle for the populace to look at. Of this spectacle, still performed at the end of eighteenth century, Lewis (1787) wrote: 'Nothing could exceed the splendor made by the citizens on these occasions, they being mounted on stately steeds, superbly caparisoned, and attended by carriages, emblematically decorated' (141-2). Similarly, the perambulation passing through St Stephen's Green would have made of it a recreational space from medieval times right through to the eighteenth century. According to O'Keefe (1826), people came from every part of Ireland, Britain and the rest of Europe to participate in the spectacle offered by the city functionaries marching to the sound of trumpets in the colours of their guilds. With reference to one of these occasions O'Keefe (1826) described the marshalling of many thousands in St Stephen's Green. Barrow (1983: 71), commenting on the damage caused to the lawn during such events, highlights the significance of an ordnance upon which 'in 1753 the lessee of the herbage on the Green was allowed £12 off his rent to compensate for the expense of clearing the ground and the loss by trampling of the grass' (1753, *Ancient records*, x: 95). The fact that large amounts of money were invested in the aesthetic and recreational aspects of the perambulation is also stressed by the numerous complaints - reported several times in the Assembly Records - which were made by members of guilds, and mayors, about the costs of the perambulation, which they were forced to bear (Barrow, 1983: 69).

According to Harris (1766: 142-3) and Warburton *et al.* (1818: 108-9), it was customary for the members of the various guilds to celebrate their patrons days with processions, pageants, stage plays and 'splendid' banquets for the entertainment of the 'Lord Deputy, the nobility, and other persons of quality and rank'. A place notoriously used for these types of ceremonial functions was Hoggen Green. As reported by Robert Ware:

> *Thomas Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in the year 1528, was invited to a new play every day in Christmas, Arland Ussher being then mayor, and Francis Herbert and John Squire, bayliffs, wherein the taylors acted the part of Adam and Eve, the shoe-makers represented the story of Crispin and Crispianus, the vintners acted Bacchus and his story, the carpenters that of Joseph and Mary; Vulcan, and what related to him, was acted by the smiths, and the comedy of Ceres, the goddess of corn, by the bakers. Their stage was erected on Hoggin-green, now called College-green, and on it the priors of St. John of Jerusalem, of the blessed Trinity, and of All-hallows, caused two plays to be acted, the one representing the passion of our Saviour, and the other the several deaths which the Apostles suffered.*
>
> (Ware, R. quoted in Harris, 1766: 143 and Warburton *et al.* 1818: 108-9)

This short account of a play staged in Hoggen Green in 1528 was written by Robert Ware in the middle of the seventeenth century, and then edited by Harris in the following century. Whether this report was faithful to the 'reality', or was an event whose details had been changed in transcription, remains an open question. Harris (1766: 144) highlights some discrepancies between the date of the play and the person mentioned as being Lord Deputy of Ireland for that year. It was in fact the Earl of Ossory and not Thomas Fitzgerald who was Lord Deputy in 1528, while Thomas Fitzgerald was not appointed Lord Deputy until 1534.

Despite the historical inaccuracy of the report, the sociological significance of the event stems from the fact that outdoor recreational activities, such as plays and pageants, were a common form of entertainment in Hoggen Green in the medieval and early modern period (see Harris, 1766: 145-9). Fletcher (1996: 77), in his article 'The civic pageantry of Corpus Christi in fifteenth and sixteenth century Dublin', particularly emphasises the association of this Green with parades and pageantry, and refers to it as the 'ceremonial suburb' of the city. As the Green was effectively used for pageants, al fresco plays, archery practice and promenading, several authors agree that it was *de facto* one of the most important recreational areas in the late mediaeval period (McCullough, 1989; Burke 1972; Cregan, 1995 and Purcell, 1999). This 'reality' is further confirmed by a document of 1540, in which the Green is referred to as *viridarium*, conventionally translated as 'pleasure ground' (*IHTA*: 24). According to Harris (1766: 108), all of the north-eastern suburb of the town was then a well-known place of public entertainment, as beside the archery butts there was

also a place called Tib and Tom 'where possibly the citizens amused themselves at leisure times by playing at keals or nine-pints'.

The fact that College Green today still occupies a crucial position on the route of parades, rallies and demonstrations can be interpreted as part of its historical heritage, whose social and political character has been shaped by centuries of public usage.

4.3.6 Other uses

Besides the aforementioned, other functions related to every-day activities also characterised open green spaces in mediaeval Dublin. Although the Assembly Rolls do not contain clear entries on the regulation of dumping in the city, it can be assumed that most domestic waste, together with the waste produced by local industries - such as those concerning the butchering of animals and the tanning of their skin - would have eventually been disposed of in the city's greens. As remarked by Stephenson (1945: 99), an ordinance in 1577 forbade the deposition of refuse in the streets and narrow lanes, but allowed citizens to carry it to Oxmantown Green and Hoggen Green. In addition, the large amount of dung, which would have accumulated in green spaces, to be expected in pastureland, must also be considered. This consideration is borne out with reference to ordinances of later years, which reveal the presence of common dunghills in Omantown Green and St Stephen's Green (see 1632, *Ancient records*, iii: 221; 1653-54, *Ancient records*, iv: 59).

Oxmantown Green was also characterised by the presence of a quarry. Although its exact location is unkown, the existence of documents referring to it suggests that its presence might have had an influence in determining an aspect of the social character of the Green (see 1236, Liber Albus, *Ancient records* i: 81; 1377, Liber Albus, *Ancient records,* i: 132; 1607, *Ancient records*, ii: 481; 1614, iii: 50; 1658, iv: 151; 1753, x: 68).

The presence of watermills and fishing activities characterised those economic and social practices revolving around green areas bordering tracts of water. For example, a mill referred to as Steine Mill, was located on the river Stein, in the area of the Steine. This site today corresponds to the conjunction of College Street with College Green near the main entrance gate to Trinity College and opposite the Bank of Ireland (see *IHTA*: 26 and 1462, *Alen's reg.*, 56; *Ancient records*, i; 313). Another mill seemed to have been present on the south-eastern corner of Oxmantown

Green, in a site today corresponding to the southern portion of Smithfield, and in proximity to Hay Market (1330, *Christ Church deeds*, 578 and see also *Dublin c. 840 to c. 1540: the medieval town in the modern city* in *IHTA*).

4.4 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, during the mediaeval period, greens were used mainly for the following functions:

- Fairs and markets:
  Fair Green, Abbey Green and Oxmantown Green
- Pasturelands for grazing:
  St Stephen's Green, Oxmantown Green, Hoggen Green and Abbey Green
- Executions and public punishments:
  Oxmantown Green, Hoggen Green and St Stephen's Green
- Archery:
  Oxmantown Green and Hoggen green
- Recreational activities:
  Oxmantown Green, St Stephen's Green and Hoggen green

These functions reflected the economic and social reality of the mediaeval city, which can be presented by: the importance of domestic animals, which required the preservation of greens as places of common pasture; the development of commerce, which brought about the creation of spaces for markets and fairs; the establishment of municipal forms of control over the population, with the selection of public places for the conductance of executions and other forms of punishment; and the promulgation of military structures for the defence of the city, which included the erection of archery butts. Besides the above, the greens maintained a recreational function, which was soon to supersede all the others with the advent of modern ideas of urbanism.

CHAPTER 5

GREENS AND OTHER GREEN AREAS IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTIC HOUSES

1536-1660

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter charts the changes which took place in Dublin's public green spaces during the years 1536 -1660. The period is characterised by a complex series of political and cultural developments - both national and international - which affected the transformation of Dublin's green areas.

In 1534-35, the Kildare rebellion broke the uneasy political balance characterising the late medieval period. The rebellion triggered off a series of raids by the Gaelic Irish in territories which had been, until then, under the hegemony of a privileged group of powerful landowners. Henceforth Dublin and the Pale, historic stronghold of Anglo-Norman descendants, were the object of several attacks. This made the defence of the town one of the main urban priorities, and imposed a great financial burden upon its citizens for the greater part of the following century.

At the same time, the Reformation had begun to affect several European countries. In England, Henry VIII proclaimed himself head of the Church. One of the first consequences in Ireland of Henry's Act of Supremacy, was the confiscation of monastic lands by the crown. This process began in 1536, when the Dublin parliament acknowledged Henry as Supreme head of the Church of Ireland (Simms, 2001: 55). Another consequence was the arrival of New-English settlers ('New' as opposite to 'Old'-English, the descendants of the Anglo-Norman settlers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries). Many of these, as Canny (1987) comments, were speculators and adventurers who descended on the country allured by the prospect of obtaining free lands and investments in new commercial enterprises. This brought about a series of surveys and the creation of detailed maps for an efficient re-

organisation of territories, both in the urban and rural environment. A third consequence was the imposition of Protestantism as the official State religion. This was followed by a period characterised by various phases of persecution of Catholics. This phenomenon was particularly evident from the beginning of the seventeenth century to the Cromwellian period (1649-1658). In Dublin, the religious division - Protestants/Catholics - increased the *malaise* already existing among the three main social groups: New English, Old English and Gaelic Irish. In this context, physical exclusion and spatial segregation became common strategies to control which particular group could lay claim to public green spaces.

The general process of spatial segregation characterising seventeenth century Dublin might also include the removal of beggars, vagabonds, and swine from public spaces in general. The 'cleaning' of the streets and other public spaces was strongly enforced following the devastating pestilence of 1575-76, in which Dublin alone lost about 3,000 people, going from 9,000 to 6,000 inhabitants in the space of a few years (Lennon, 1989: 31, 96). Public health and hygiene became a priority for the administration. This priority became even greater in the first decades of the following century, when Dublin was recovering from the plague epidemic, and the population had started to grow again. Estimated at 10,000 in 1610 (Andrews, 1983: 218) and 40,000 in 1660 (Cullen, 1992: 251), problems of congestion were increasing in the urban environment.

Despite the numerous negative factors - which included a catastrophic gunpowder explosion in 1596-97 - the city's economy continued to grow, allowing much development to take place (see Sheridan, 2001: 70). The initial transposition of the Tudor style of architecture, applied both to gardens and dwellings by the New English, initiated, in a way, the 'anglicisation' of the town. At the same time, the diffusion of pan-European renaissance values in gardening and urbanism were first manifest in the city's public spaces, albeit to a limited extent. All the above factors contributed to the abandonment and destruction of rural mediaeval features and to the slow establishment of 'modern' principles in design, commerce and recreation. This chapter is dedicated to the identification of the various forces at work, and to the description of their effects, both immediate and delayed, on Dublin's public green places. Because, however, the changes occurring in public green spaces resulted from an extremely complicated web of different factors, this chapter has been structured so as to contain sections on those changes occurring in other green areas,

and in the city in general. Their acknowledgement is in fact essential for an understanding of the causes of changes in public green spaces.

5.2 CONFISCATION OF MONASTIC LANDS

1536 marks the beginning of the process of the dissolution of the Irish monasteries. It also signals the end of the monastic horticultural tradition and the loss of a significant amount of land, which until then was used for horticultural and gardening purposes. In Dublin, hectares of green land, consisting of cloistered gardens, herb and 'physic' gardens, orchards, parks, and meadows were confiscated and subdivided among a few members of powerful families, either of New or, in some cases, Old-English extraction. These acted as the new suburban developers and much of the land they had so acquired was built over in subsequent decades. The religious buildings were either destroyed - and the material used for other constructions - or converted to other uses. The table below briefly summarises the fate of those monastic houses whose involvement with green spaces is especially relevant.

Monastic house	Granted to	Year
St Thomas' Court	William Brabazon, Earl of Meath	1545
St Mary's Abbey	James FitzGerald, Earl of Desmond, and Sir John Travers, Master of Ordnance, for storing artillery and munition	1543
St Mary de Hogges	Initially assigned to Francis Cosby for a cloth-weaving project. The buildings were assigned in 1542 to James Sedgrave of Much Cabragh. The land was sold to Sir George Carew for the construction of a hospital.	1537
All Saints (All Hallows)	The Mayor, Bailiffs, Commons, and citizens of Dublin. The site was then used for the development of TCD	1539

Table 5.1 Confiscation of monastic lands related to public green spaces.
Sources: Gwynn and Haddock, 1970; O'Donnell, 1987; and Simms, 2001.

A lack of detailed maps hinders the quantification of this phenomenon in terms of built and landscaped lands, both before and after the confiscation. However, an example of the types and number of green areas until then enjoyed by religious orders is given in a document of 1539 (as reported by Elliott, 1990*b*: 70) concerning the dissolution of St Thomas's Abbey:

> *Surrender of the monastery or house of St. Thomas the Martyr, commonly called 'St. Thomas is Courte', of the order of St. Augustine, by Henry Duffe, abbot, with the consent of the convent, and of 4 castles or forts, 50 messuages, 4 mills, 1 carucate of land, 16 acres of meadow, 8 orchards, 30 acres of wood, 2 gardens, 12 acres of pasture, and 20s. rent in Dublin; the manors, lordships, and cells of St. Catherine and Kilruddery, the castle and lands of Kilruddery, Crumlin and Kilnamanagh, the churches of St. Catherine and St. James near Dublin.*
>
> (quoted in Elliott, 1990*b*: 70)

A 1634 drawing of the Great Court of Thomas Court (see Figure 5.1) seems to represent the typical layout of a mediaeval orchard. According to Landsberg (1995: 13) this was commonly marked by a rectangle, with fruit trees disposed along the enclosing walls, with either gravel or grass in the central square. This simple design would persist in the Dublin landscape, even beyond the medieval period, becoming particularly successful in the public domain during the Restoration.

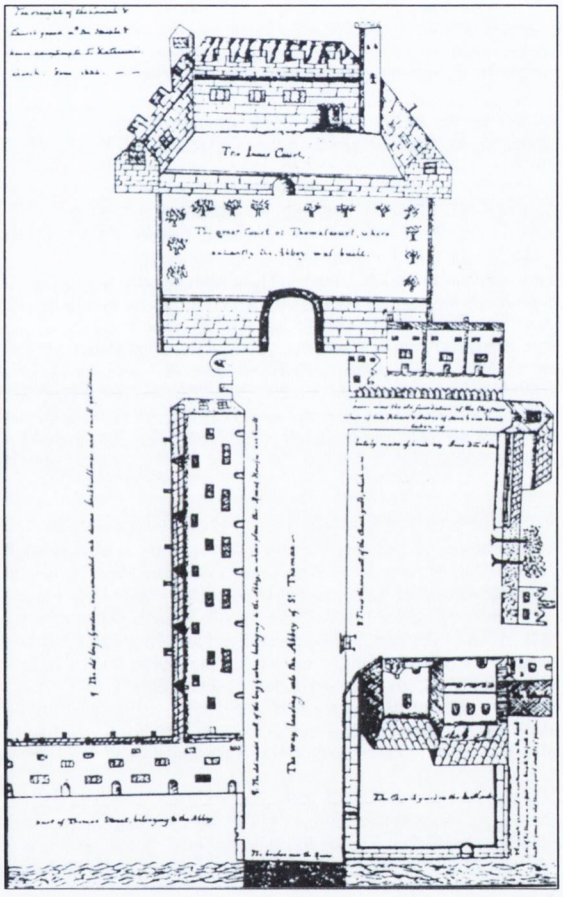


Figure 5.1 Contemporary drawing of Thomas Court, 1634. NLI.

5.2.1 End of St Mary's Abbey and the municipalization of the Abbey Green

Reeves-Smyth (1999: 113) reports that before its confiscation the Abbey had one of the largest walled precincts in Ireland, covering an area of *c*.27 acres (11ha). Today it would correspond to the area east of Green Street and Arran Street and the area north of and around Mary's Abbey (street) and Abbey Street Upper. Its walls would have had enclosed gardens, orchards, groves, beehives, pens and fishponds. Besides these,

it owned extensive possessions in the nearby countryside. However, the Abbey[1] was suppressed in 1539, and in 1542, as reported by Warburton *et al.* (1818): on 'December the 20th, An. 35th of the same king (Henry VIII - 1542) this abbey, with several messuages, and fifty acres, and eight stagns of arable, thirty acres of pasture, and eight messuages, thirty-three acres of arable, eight of pasture, and ten of common, in Clonelyff, with several other messuages, gardens, &c. were granted in capite, without rent, to James, earl of Desmond' (312).

The monks, as well as losing the Abbey's possessions, also lost the formal control they had had until then over the adjacent Green, which henceforth came under the control of the city council. In this regard, it is significant to note the increase in number of references to the Abbey Green in the Assembly Rolls from the 1540s onwards. Unlike Hoggen Green, Oxmantown Green and St Stephen's Green, the Assembly Rolls of the mediaeval period had seldom mentioned the Abbey Green, probably as a direct result of the lack of municipal authority there. The exertion of the city's rights over the Green became evident when, in an edict of 1603, it was declared that 'unfreemen' using for pasture Oxmantown Green or Abbey Green were to be obliged to pay a rent to the city (Moylan, 1946*a*: 83). The Green maintained the function of a pasture ground until the Restoration period, and as with Oxmantown Green and St Stephen's Green, was often encroached upon by the illegal construction of pens for domestic animals (see Burke, 1972). However, according to Burke (1972: 102), in 1650 a pen was legally authorised and with this a house for a caretaker who was appointed by the municipality, was also built on the Green.

5.2.2 Dissolution of St Mary de Hogges and All Saints, and their relative effects on Hoggen Green

After 1536, the Abbey of St. Mary de Hogges underwent a rapid decline and the destruction of its physical site and socio-religious character was accelerated by the fact that in a brief period of time, it passed through the hands of a variety of private developers. The land was initially granted to Francis Cosby (or Gosby), who in the 1550s tried to set up a cloth-weaving project, presumably taking advantage of the nearby mill on the River Steine (Simms, 2001: 60 and Clarke, 2002: 10). However, the attempted transformation of the area (including a portion of Hoggen Green) into

[1] Today the only remnant of St Mary's Abbey is a portion of the Chapter House in Mary's Abbey (street).

an industrial zone was unsuccessful. In 1552, the Abbey's land, together with other religious buildings, was granted to James Sedgrave of Much Cabragh, who had also possession north of the Liffey, being his home the now Dominican Convent in Cabra (see O'Donnell, 1987: 75 and *IHTA*: 19). Then the buildings of the Abbey were dismantled by order of William Brabazon, and the stones used to repair the Castle. In 1602 most of the land of Hoggen Green, together with the land of the nearby Church of St Mary's Dames, was leased to Sir George Carew, knight and Treasurer at War (*Ancient records*, ii: 390-392). Carew, appointed Lord Deputy in 1603, became one of the main actors in the development of Hoggen Green in the following years, as he planned to build a hospital on the site.

The surrounding of Hoggen Green also changed substantially because of the transformation of the All Saints' site at Trinity College. The land of the Priory of All Saints was assigned, at the request of the Corporation, to the Mayor, Bailiffs, Commons, and citizens of Dublin, 'and their successor forever', as a compensation for the large amount of money the City had to spend in military defence during the rebellion of 1534-35 (O'Donnell, 1987: 75-6). This was a 28-acre site with extensive gardens and orchards, most of which were not immediately destroyed but were seen to have been preserved through the following decades. In 1605, a deed assigned 'the College's five gardens and the great orchard' to a Harry Holland in exchange of half of their produce (Reeves-Smyth, 1999: 122 and see Nelson, 1991: 185-222). The priory had by then been transformed into a college (Trinity) by grant of Queen Elizabeth in 1592. This early action ensured that the site remained as 'a single unit', and was not divided among a series of different private developers; it is principally for this reason that it has continued to remain as such to the present day. At the same time, the presence of the college in Hoggen Green was bound to change forever the identity - and name - of this public place.

5.3 EXECUTIONS IN OXMANTOWN GREEN

In the aftermath of the Kildare rebellion, Dublin and the rest of Ireland entered a long period of instability, culminating in large scale massacres during the Cromwelliam years. As Sheridan (2001: 67) says, the seventeenth century was characterised by 'suffered unrest and rebellion against the English Government, and brutal retaliation under Cromwell'. During this period the number of revolts, persecutions and public executions increased exponentially. Lydon (1998:128) reports that as a consequence

of the 1534-35 rebellion, between 75 and 100 men were executed, and of these, Silken Thomas, tenth Earl of Kildare, and five other members of his family, were hanged, beheaded and quartered by the English.

Dublin's public green spaces became theatres of executions. The gallows were then used as a public instrument to enforce the rigid policy of repression of those individuals who threatened, even ideologically, the regime; among these were Catholic priests.

In 1605, the March Declaration, reiterating the official position in relation to religion, had declared that all Jesuits and seminary priests had to leave the country by the end of the year (Canny, 1987: 155-7). In the following decades, the persecution of Catholics greatly increased. In Dublin, public masses were forbidden and prices were put on priests' heads (O'Donnel, 1987: 85). As later Catholic propaganda was to comment, 'the age of martyrs' had begun (*Rec. Parish Holy Family*, 1940: 7 and Kearns, 1989: 26).

Figure 5.2 O'Devaney Gardens. Extract from Ordnance Survey of Ireland's map of Dublin. 1997.

In 1612, the Catholic Bishop Cornelius O'Devaney, and a curate Father Patrick Loughran were accused of treason to the Crown, of supporting Catholic rebels, and of refusing Protestantism. They were sentenced to be hanged, beheaded and quartered at the gibbet on Arbour Hill, in Oxmantown Green (Donnelly, 1912: 4

and Kearns, 1989:26). As reported by Donnelly (1912: 4), an astonished crowd witnessed the execution of their ideological leaders. This author has reconstructed the scene of the death of Bishop O'Devaney in these terms: 'The whole multitude gave one great shout of anguish, and then ensued an unbroken silence. They cut down the body very soon, cut off the head, opened the body, burned the entrails and then divided the body into four quarters' (quoted in Donnelly, 1912: 4 and Kearns 1989: 26). The executed Bishop is today commemorated in a large housing estate - O'Devaney Gardens - in an area corresponding to the west part of the pre-existing Green (see Figure 5.2). Bowers (1999: 92) reports that the Bishop of Waterford, John Atherton, was executed in similar circumstances on the western site of St Stephen's Green in the year 1640.

The names of the fields adjoining to Dublin.

"Saint Stephans greene, Hogging greene, the Steine, Ostmantowne greene. In the further end of this field is there a hole commonlie termed Scaldbrothers hole, a labyrinth reaching two large miles under the earth. This hole was in old time frequented by a notorious theefe named Scaldbrother, wherein he would hide all the bag and baggage that he could pilfer. The varlet was so swift on foot, as he hath eftsoones outrun the swiftest and lustiest yoong men in all Ostmantowne, maugre their heads, bearing a pot or a pan of theirs on his shoulders to his den. And now and then, in derision of such as pursued him, he would take his course under the gallows, which standeth verie nigh his cave (a fit signe for such an inne), and so being shrowded within his lodge, he reckoned himselfe cocksure, none being found at that time so hardie as would adventure to intangle himself within so intricate a maze. But as the pitcher that goeth often to the water, commeth at length home broken; so this lustie youth would not surcease from open catching, forcible snatching, and privie prolling, till time he was by certeine gaping groomes that laie in wait for him, intercepted, fleeing toward his couch, having upon his apprehension no more wrong doone him, than that he was not sooner hanged on the gallowes through which in his youth and jolitie he was woont to run"

Source:Stanihurst, 1577: 550-1

Exemplary executions, which have left their mark in the story of Oxmantown Green, spanned from the killing of martyrs to that of common criminals, who were routinely executed at the gallows. Stanihurst (1577: 550-1) reports, for example, an account of the execution of a legendary sixteenth century thief, Scaldbrother. According to Stanihurst, the thief was hanged on the gallows in Oxmantown Green, which - noted ironically by the author - stood immediately above the underground tunnel in which the thief would have hidden from his pursuers (see extract below).

5.4 REGULATIONS OF THE USERS OF PUBLIC GREEN SPACE: POLICIES OF EXCLUSION

5.4.1 Exclusion of 'unfreemen' and strangers

An increasing subjugation to English Laws and the redistribution of a great part of the lands among New English settlers, contributed to the exclusion and exasperation of both the Gaelic population and the Old English landlords (see Foster, 1988: 23). The Old English were comprised of those who converted immediately to Protestantism, and those who opposed an increasing dependence on England, from both a religious and political point of view. The division between the Old English, New English, and a nascent powerful merchant class - both Catholic and Protestant - made the issue of land administration particularly problematic. In Dublin, the emerging capital of Ireland, public spaces were contested both politically and culturally (Simms 2001: 65). An analysis of these places must then consider the various ways in which particular groups deliberately laid claim to public space during this period.

Since 1577, various ordinances reserved the use of Dublin's Greens to the freemen of the city. Those who were not freemen - or 'unfreemen' as they are commonly referred to in the Assembly Rolls - did not have the right to bring their domestic animals to graze in the greens.

> *Where(as) the common pasture of this cittie is daylie pastured by the cattle of such as but unfremen,...wherby the pasture of this cittie aforsaid is greatly delayed, and wilbe, unless spedie remedy therein be provided:...It is ordered that none shall with their cattle pasture the commons but free citizens...the lick order to be taken for the Comons of St Stephen and the Hoggen Greane...and who of the cittezens kepeth more cattell than he ought and shalbe alowid, he to pay yearly for the overplus to the use of the citte...*
>
> (1577, *Ancient records*, ii: 116)

Inspite of the fact that 'unfreemen' could have been residents of the city or its suburbs, they did not have the right to bring cattle onto the commons of St Stephen's Green, Hoggen Green, and Oxmantown Green, as other citizens did. The above ordinance was followed by similar enactments in the following years which demonstrate the difficulty the city council had in enforcing the aforementioned exclusions (see 1579-80, *Ancient records*, ii: 145; 1581, *Ancient records*, ii: 155). In 1600, a Mr John Shelton, alderman, was appointed 'to supervise all the cattle of foreigners or unfreemen pasturing in and about the city' (*Ancient records*, ii: 347). But this measure proved to be only partially effective, as complaints by the commons are reported again in the following years (1603, *Ancient records*, ii: 413; 1615, *Ancient records*, iii: 59). Eventually in 1609, and after several petitions by the commons, the use of St Stephen's Green was granted to the eight corporations (guilds) of the city. According to this agreement the members of the corporations could use the grazing area for twenty-one years, paying a rent to the city council of four shillings a year for each cow they kept in the green (1609, *Ancient records*, ii: 524).

During the 1620s, municipal ordinances similar to those excluding unfreemen were extended to 'strangers'. These, as well as unfreemen, are banned from the use of the city's greens.

> *...the common of Saint Stephens Green is pastured on daily by strangers, and chiefly by Mr. Pheazant, of Baggottes Rath, who keapeth four hundred or five hundred sheepe thereon daylie, the reformation thereof, by authoritie of this assemblie...order how the said Greene may be kept from the trespassing of strangers, and how some benefitt may be made thereof to the citte.*
>
> (1622, *Ancient records*, iii: 145)

The term 'strangers' referred to those who did not live in the city. They might have been people living in the adjacent countryside, as well those from other counties entering the city with their animals for market or fair days: 'strangers' also included those merchants who used green areas while waiting for their herds to be exported abroad. It is thus difficult to try to attempt an association between the 'unfreemen' or the 'strangers,' with Gaelic Irish, Old English or New English; and any identification of a group with another would result in an overtly simplistic

interpretation of reality. As the above ordnance shows, the stranger, and even the unfreeman, could have been the owner of 500 sheep, and thus a well-off farmer, such as the above Mr Pheazant of Baggottes Rath, and a character it would be difficult to stigmatise as a victim. Besides, these ordinances can be interpreted as preventive measures adopted by the city council against an overexploitation of the grazing area available to the city as a whole. In this case, the ordinances may be considered as an attempt to regularise and preserve the use of public space.

The regularisation of grazing areas extended in the following years to the creation of supervised pens, and to the destruction of those erected illegally. In 1615-16 (*Ancient records*, iii: 65), a plot of land in St Stephen's Green was leased to a Mr. William Tailor, gentleman, who was allowed to build a pen for horses and cows (see also Stephenson, 1945: 99). Again, in 1637, (*Ancient records*, iii: 338) the Assembly Rolls report a petition for the erection of another private pen on the Green. In 1649, (*Ancient records*, iii: 480) the city, intending to build a passage through the Green, ordered the demolition of all those pens and enclosures which had been illegally erected. Demonstrating that these structures were in sufficiently high numbers to hinder free passage in the Green.

5.4.2 Exclusion of squatters, beggars and other vagabonds

> *... many beggers and other vaccabondes doe most presumptiously build cottages uppon the commons and highwayes of the suburbes of the citty, and doe breed and multiplie [therein]...and that the said howses or cottadges may bee pulled downe at the citty chardge by warrant from the maior to the threasurer ...*
>
> (1635, *Ancient records*, iii: 299)

The strict control on the use of greens, or commons, in the 1630s, exacerbated the exclusion and consequential segregation of all those people who not owning any lands of their own, lived in the city public spaces. As the above ordinance demonstrates, beggars and vagabonds often constructed cabins on the greens of the city. Essentially, they were squatting on the city's common land (see Andrews, 1987: 16). These squatters would have supported themselves by utilising the resources provided by the Green: growing vegetables, grazing domestic animals, and providing for cooking and heating needs with faggots gathered from trees and shrubs.

Often built at the verge of municipal green areas wooden cottages or cabins, with annexed vegetable gardens, were a common feature in seventeenth century Dublin. John Dunton offers a picturesque description of the stereotypical way in which these dwellings were constructed: '...they raise the wall, which they make of clay and straw tempered with water, and this they call mud: which wall is raised to a sufficient height, which perhaps is four feet....then when it is wattled they cover it with heath, straw, or scraws of earth, and into this miserable place will half a dozen poor creatures creep for shelter and lodging'. The cabin's description is then followed by a general description of a garden: 'Behind one of their cabins lies the garden, a piece of ground sometimes of half an acre, and in this is the turf stack, their corn, perhaps two or three hundred sheaves of oats and as much peas. The rest of the ground is full of their dearly beloved potatoes, and a few cabbages which the solitary calf of the family that is here pent from its dam never suffers to come to perfection' (Dunton, 1699*a*: 356). The *Riding of the Franchises* (1603) describes Oxmantown Green as being surrounded by gardens. Many of these were probably the kind of enclosed green areas described by Dunton, and which would have encroached on the common Green, among which irregularly built mud cabins and pens. As Andrews (1987: 14-6) explained in his paper *The struggle for Ireland's public commons*, this type of encroachments were typical of commons and common lands throughout the country during the eighteenth century.

5.4.3 Exclusion of swine and 'hurtfull cattle'

The provisions taken by the Corporation for the administration of public spaces included a strong policy of control over the presence of *swine*. The Assembly Rolls written from the second half of the sixteenth century, until at least the 1670s, show innumerable repetitions of ordinances for 'the banishment of beggars and swine' from the city public spaces (see for example 1607-8, *Ancient records*, ii: 429). Some of these ordinances extended to the exclusion of cattle. An ordinance in 1585 tried to ban cattle from specific areas of suburban green spaces. It was ordered that 'the walking plases and other the plases on Hoggen Greane maye be kept clene, and no swyne or other hurtfull cattle be permytted to hurt the same' (1585, *Ancient records*, ii: 198). At that time a large portion of the Green - corresponding to the former 'site and precint' of St Mary de Hogges - was granted to the alderman Nicholas Fitzsymons. Fitzsymons had to sign a lease which obliged him to keep the green's

walks clean and clear from swine, cattle and foreigners: 'which walking plases he shall see made clene, and shall suffer no swyne nor the cattle or no forren to use and pasture the same' (1585, *Ancient records*, ii: 198). However - as it is specified in the final part of the lease - freemen were still entitled to use a part of the Green for pasture 'upon tradition'. In 1609 (*Ancient records*, ii: 523) the city council issued an ordinance which extended the forbidding of the entrance of cattle and swine inside the city walls.

The fact that cattle were no longer considered to be a priority in the use of greens, obviously had a tremendous impact on the history of public spaces in Dublin. As Foster remarks (1988: 20), cattle in Ireland had always represented wealth and were thus treated accordingly, and it was common to live in close proximity to farm animals, 'which often shared living quarters with their owners'. Until the seventeenth century, cattle had been the indisputable protagonists of public green spaces, but the series of ordinances issued during this century relegated them to background figures and finally to that of exiles. A document of 1674-75 (*Ancient records*, v: 38) stated that no cattle were permitted to enter St Stephen's Green[2], and this signalled the beginning of a new way of approaching the role of public green spaces in the urban environment.

5.5 EARLY MEASURES IN PUBLIC HEALTH AND CREATION OF A 'GREEN BELT'

5.5.1 Poverty, dirt and pestilence in public spaces

> *Furthermore, there are so manie other extraordinarie beggers that dailie swarme there, so charitablie succored, as that they make the whole civitie in effect their hospitall.*
>
> (Stanihurst, 1577, *Ancient records*, ii: 541)

Stanihurst describes the city of Dublin in 1577 as swarming with beggars. He says that they were so many that the whole city resembled a hospital. Until 1536, monastic houses had functioned as hospitals providing for the care of the poor and the sick. After their dissolution, the poor did not have any other choice, but to live in

[2] However cattle continued occasionally to be put at graze in the Green through the eighteenth century. Their presence was in fact sporadically recorded until 1798 (Sheridan, 1993: 106).

streets and in open green areas close to the urban environment. In this sense public space became both a hospital and a home to those rejected by society. The Corporation was then faced with tackling the problem of the removal of beggars from public spaces and of the provision of new and adequate buildings to house them. The removal of beggars, vagabonds, swine and cows from streets - and the control over their presence in green spaces - were measures taken not only to maintain public order, but also for the preservation of public health.

As Moylan remarks in his paper entitled *Vagabonds and sturdy beggars: poverty, pigs and pestilence in medieval Dublin*, episodes of pestilence were often associated with *beggars* and *swine*, 'to the mind of the citizen, poverty, pigs and pestilence constituted but a single problem' (1990*b*: 192). The first measures for public hygiene date to the end of the fifteenth century. In 1489 (*Ancient records*, i: 140) a 'cleansing of the city' of animals, vagrants, poor and mendicants was ordered because they were all classified as potential agents for pestilence. It was thought that the spread of diseases was caused by 'pestilential exhalations' of swine, dung-heaps and other 'ordure' in public spaces, which infecting the air caused the death of the inhabitants:

> *The king has been informed that dung-heaps, swine, hog-sties, and other nuisances in the streets, lanes and suburbs of Dublin infect the air and produce mortality, fevers, and pestilence throughout that city.[...] [Therefore he] commands the mayor and bailiffs to cause forthwith the removal of all swine, and to have the streets and lanes freed from ordure, so as to prevent loss of life from pestilential exhalations.*
>
> (1489, *Ancient records*, i: 139)

As Moylan (1990*b*) reports, between the 1200s and 1600s, Dublin had suffered from 18 episodes of pestilence; and in 1575-76, an extremely violent episode killed about one third of the population (Lennon, 1989: 31, 96). During these years, the garden of All Saints was set apart for the sick, and a great gate was erected and a guard set to prevent escapes (*Ancient records*, ii: 104). A great concern for 'fear of infection' and the 'danger of the contagious plague' is shown in the city records throughout the following decades (see 1604 *Ancient records*, ii: 419-20; 1606, *Ancient records*, ii: 466). Attempts to clean congested lanes from various

'ordures' were also made. An ordinance in 1616 (*Ancient records*, iii: 66) condemned those leaving waste in the streets for more than twenty four hours to pay a fine of forty-five shillings; and in 1653-54 (*Ancient records*, iv: 59) a gardener -Thomas Jones- was employed by the Corporation to remove dung and filth from public spaces. The provision of adequate places for the containment of the sick and the prevention of disease became one of the main priorities for the city's administration. While the use of the garden of All Saints as a public facilty for the confinment of lepers lasted only for a couple of years, a plan was eventually drawn up to build a hospital in the adjacent Hoggen Green.

5.5.2 Plan for the construction of a Hospital and a Bridewell in Hoggen Green

At the end of the 1590s, the Elizabethan commander Sir George Carew planned to construct a building on Hoggen Green which he intended to use either as a Hospital or a Bridewell (see Simms, 2001: 60). A deed of the *Assembly Rolls* of 1602 reports that in 'the grownd which he hath bought in the Hoggs' he had the intention 'to buyld an hospitall for the releefe of poore sicke and maymed soldiors, or for other poore folkes ..., or els a place for punnyshing of offendors such as Bridewell is in London'. (1602, *Ancient records*, ii: 390-2).

At the time the Green was a common of the city (1602, *Ancient records*, ii: 390-2); and the fact that Carew was allowed to buy a part of it highlights the power that a Lord Lieutenant had over decision making in municipal land. The land requested by Carew flanked the Liffey (1602, *Ancient records*, ii: 390-2) and was thus located in an economically strategic position. The city council tried to safeguard the city's interests by stipulating a contract with Carew which specified that the liberties and jurisdiction on this ground, as well as right of access, was to be reserved to the Mayor, Sheriffs, commons and citizens of the City of Dublin; and also that 'ther shalbe noe merchandize or goods merchantable landed or keapte within that precincte to be sould or bargained for, and that noe watergate, slippe, or other place for landing of goodes shalbe buyldid or made uppon the premisses or eny parte therof nowe or at eny tyme herafter, or eny thing els therein practised or used to the preiudize, damadge or nusans of this cittie, the merchauntes of the Trinitie Yeald, or other the incorporacions and inhabitants of this cittie...' (1602, *Ancient records*, ii: 390-2). Thus preserving the use of the quays for the city's trading activities and the interests of the merchant guild.

Alderman Philippe Conran, before Carew, had presented to the Corporation a similar petition to set aside a large plot of ground in Hoggen Green 'to erect therein a house for an hospitall' (1602 *Ancient records*, ii: 383). The land assigned to Conran, whose size is specified as being 'three score foote in leynght, thirtie foot broad', extended eastwards from the Blind Gate and southward towards the orchard wall of Trinity College. This ground seems to correspond in John Speed's map to the site marked as Bridewell.

The project for the Hospital failed: Carew's building was never used for such a purpose (see Simms, 2001: 60) and Conran's plan for the Hospital was transformed into a plan for a Bridewell. This last one was eventually built and apparently used for about a decade. However, it is not easy to identify the actors behind its final construction. In the city records of 1604 - two years after Conran's request - four different names are recorded under its construction: Doctor Challinor, John King, James Ware, and James Carroll (1604, *Ancient records*, ii: 420). Of these, Carroll became lord mayor in 1612, was re-elected twice in 1617 and 1634, and seemed to have had extensive power in the administration of the city and had various personal contacts with lord deputies and the then viceroy, Thomas Wenthworth (see *Ancient records*, iii: xxi-xxii). This might explain the Corporation's full approval of the municipal decision proposed by Wenthworth to solve the problems of health and urban congestion in 1635.

5.5.3 Fire prevention and resistance of vernacular architecture around Oxmantown Green

Urban congestion, together with the large use of wood for construction, also contributed to fire hazards in the city. In 1610, Dublin was described with a 'multytude of thatch houses in the suburbes' (1610, *Ancient records*, ii: 530); and these thatched houses were located mainly in the western suburbs of the city: Thomas Street, New Gate, James Gate, Saint Francis Street, Saint Patrick Street and in the district of Oxmantown (1610, *Ancient records*, ii: 530). In order to reduce fire hazards, several ordinances were issued by the city council during the seventeenth century, aiming at eliminating thatched houses from the urban environment (see for example 1661, *Ancient records*, iv: 198 and 1663, *Ancient records*, iv: 284). Despite numerous ordinances, a fire occurred in Oxmantown in 1638 (*Ancient records*, iii: 347), and the eradication of these traditional dwellings proved to be a slow and

difficult urban process. Luckombe (1788: 3) reports that until the end of the eighteenth century, the great majority of Dublin's inhabitants continued to live on the outskirts in huts or cabins 'constructed of mud dried', and with small vegetable gardens annexed. Their persistence in the urban landscape and the persistence of the use of native materials like wood, mud, wattle and thatch meant, according to Foster (1988: 15), that the Middle Ages in Irish architecture lasted, in many cases, until the middle of the seventeenth century.

Oxmantown represents a clear case where medieval rural architecture lasted beyond the mediaeval period. The inhabitants of Oxmantown, among others, lived in cabins or rural wooden houses with thatched roofs until the seventeenth, and in some cases until the eighteenth century (see Stokes, 1978: 56 and Sherdidan, 2001:75). The danger of fire here derived not only from the material construction of the dwellings, but also from the numerous faggots of wood gathered by the inhabitants from the woodland bordering the Green. In an ordnance of the year 1578, faggots of wood in Oxmantown were declared to be too many and too close to the dwellings, highly dangerous and thus to be eliminated (1578, *Ancient records*, ii: 134). Interestingly, one of the main shrubs used to make faggots was the furze, *Ulex Europeum* (1578 *Ancient records*, ii:134), which must have been growing in copious quantity on the hillocks surrounding the green, as it does today in the Irish countryside.

As Lennon (1988) wrote, 'Oxmantown Green provided a rustic setting for the city right into the seventeenth century' (48). Life around the green would have been essentially rural, revolving mainly around the traditional cattle-market, officially established (or simply re-confirmed) by the new municipality in 1541 (in Burke, 1972: 158; *Ancient records*, v: 222, 322, 339-41). Many of the inhabitants living on the fringes of the Green would have been involved in husbandry, trading activities, or otherwise employed in the Green's quarry. Nathaniel Burton, writing in 1845 (quoted in Kearns, 1989: 23), noted the persistence of rural features in the area by comparing the manners and behaviours of the inhabitants of Oxmantown, to those of 'their rustic neighbours of Meath'.

The cattle market, later known as Smithfield, while ensuring the presence of domestic animals in the Green, can also be considered largely responsible for the enduring display of this rural, vernacular style which characterised Oxmantown

Green. Despite the new municipal measures for the elimination of the thatched houses at its verges, this persisted throughout the following centuries.

5.5.4 1635 Act, preserving a 'green belt' for the citizens of Dublin

> *...the greenes and commons of this cittie, videlicit, Hoggen Greene, Saint Stephens Greene and Oxmantown Greene... may be wholie kept for the use of the cittizens and others, to walke and take the open aire, by reason this cittie is at present groweing very populous...*
>
> (1635, *Ancient records*, iii: 303)

On the 29th of March 1635 a revolutionary measure was introduced on the functions of public green spaces in the urban environment. It was decided that Hoggen Green, St Stephen's Green and Oxmantown Green had to be preserved from private development and kept as public areas in which the citizens of Dublin could walk and take the air. The decision, ratified at the Easter Assembly by the city council, whose mayor at the time was Carroll, was taken under the governance of Viscount Thomas Wentworth, Lord deputy since 1632. The main rationale behind the decree was the need for hygiene in the city. It recognised the necessity of leaving green spaces to contain the urban congestion created by a growing population and consequential urban sprawl. With this enlightened Act, Wenthworth preceded the series of reforms on public green spaces brought about by the Restoration period.

A measure similar to the preservation of greens in Dublin had been taken in London fifty years earlier, when it was decided to preserve the commons for 'walkinge for recreacion comforte and healthe of her Majesty People' (quoted in Rasmussen 1934: 82 and in Towner, 1996: 52). Moreover, Charles I opened Hide Park (one of the Royal Parks) to the public of London in *c.*1635 (Chadwick, 1966: 37), and thus in the same period that the public status of the greens of Dublin was officially recognised. From London, this new urban provision on public green space seems to have extended to the colonies soon thereafter: in the same year as Dublin, Boston's common was also declared to be protected from urban development (Towner, 1996: 39). Panzini (1997), in his study on the evolution of public gardens in Europe, also remarks that in many European towns, gardens and other significant green areas came to be officially considered as public in the period between *c.* 1600 and 1650 (see also Benes, 1997: xi). However, as Craig (1992: 19) and Pakenham

(2003: 9) suggest, Dublin's provision stands out in terms of urbanism for its progressiveness, as the greens then formed a kind of 'green belt' on the east, south-east and north-west of the city.

5.6 FORMS OF GREEN AREAS IN RELATION TO THE URBAN TRANSFORMATION PROCESS

5.6.1 Physical description of greens through an evaluation of Speed's map of Dublin

> *The names of the fields adjoining to Dublin. Saint Stephans greene, Hogging greene, the Steine, Ostmantowne greene.*
>
> (Stanihurst, 1577: 550)

The position of the greens with respect to the urban environment is revealed in Stanihurst's description of Dublin in 1577. Greens were not considered part of the urban environment, but merely adjacent to it; that is, they were suburban fields.

An idea of what they looked like can be gained by Speed's map of Dublin, drawn in 1610. In Speed's map, the city is represented as a core of buildings densely grouped inside the walls, and surrounded by partially developed green areas. This plan, and the position of the greens within it - despite containing the representation of developments that took place after the dissolution of the monasteries - is still highly reminiscent of the medieval layout.

Hoggen Green is represented as a suburban area outside the eastern portion of the city walls (see Figure 5.3). The walls constituted its western boundary, Carew's building delimited its northern side, and the precinct of Trinity College made the eastern delimitation. The Green is crossed by four walks which join at the main entrance of the town. Moreover, on the south-eastern corner of the Green there is a bridge over the Steine, which is here represented as partially channelled under the ground of the college. There is no sign of the recently dismantled Abbey of St Mary de Hogges, which was by then already eradicated from the landscape. The archery butts, although not represented, were located towards the south eastern part near the walls of Trinity College (1604, *Ancient records*, ii: 420), while an orchard, beside

the walls, flanked the western area in which the Bridewell was located (1602, *Ancient records*, ii: 383).

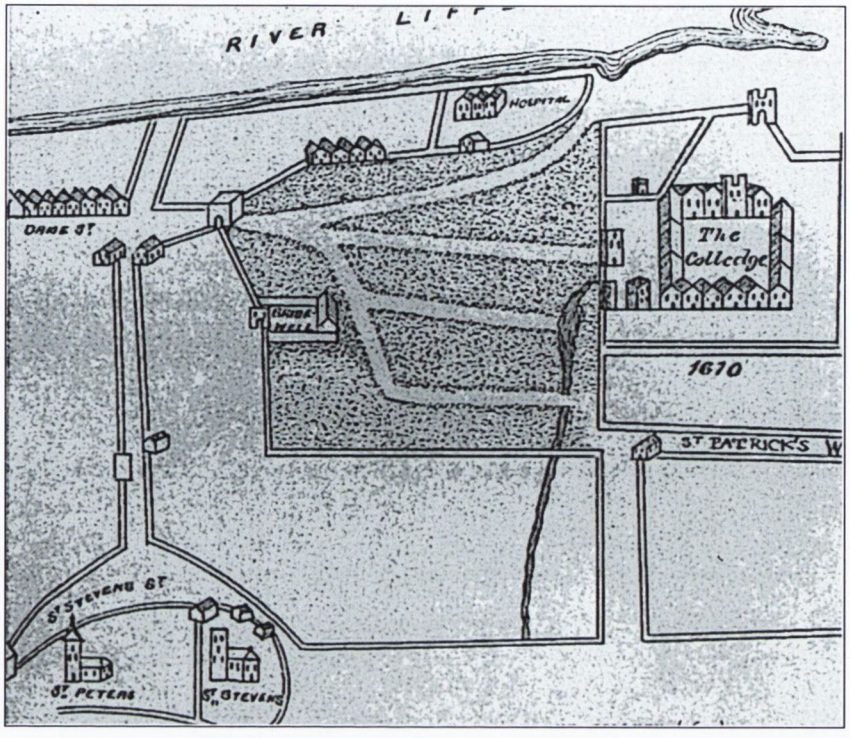


Figure 5.3 Hoggen Green. Extract from John Speed's map of Dublin, 1610. NLI.

Access to the Green from the city was through a gate called the Blind Gate (1600, *Ancient records*, ii: 348). Over the gate was a tower inhabited by a guardian. In 1600 this was a Walter Dermot who, from records, had the duty of controlling access to the city through Hoggen Green 'and he to make...stronge and fensyble levies or shuttinges for the said gate, and shall open and close the same at all howres convenyent'. The inhabitants of the city inside the walls had thus limited and controlled access to the Green. Priority, as in mediaeval time, was given to defence and to security.

Proceeding clockwise, it can be noted that there is no representation of St Stephen's Green. The lack of any development in the area surrounding it - except for St Stephen's hospital at its northern-west corner - seems to have precluded any interest in its inclusion in the map. Bowers (1999: 92) attributes the lack of any development on the west side of the Green - one of the closest to the city - to the fact that this area (today corresponding to the Royal College of Surgeons), was used, as in Oxmantown Green, for public executions.

Similarly, the old area of the Fair Green is depicted as a blank space between the recently developed Francis Street and St Thomas Court. As reference to the Fair Green had ceased to appear in 1359 (*Ancient records*, i, 119-20), it is assumable that the place and the fair within it would have disappeared by the end of the mediaeval period. It would have definitely ceased to exist with the dissolution of St Thomas's Abbey - whose monks might have been highly involved in the organisation of the fair - and the consequential early urban development of the area promoted by the Brabazon family (ancestors of the Earls of Meath) (see Elliot, 1990*b*: 75). Seemingly the commercial transactions conducted for centuries in the area would have then been regularised, from an early stage into a weekly market. As Simms (2001: 51) writes the Fair Green 'preserved some of its communal function when it became the location for the Iveagh Markets, which have only recently been closed down'.

Oxmantown Green is represented in the map as the area north of the Liffey and east of St Michan's parish, which included the church and a linear development of dwellings extending north along Church Street. Stanihurst (1577: 550), in the legend of the *Scaldbrothers hole*, provides further information on the Green. According to his description, under the Green was a cave, the entrance to which was located at its 'further' end (presumably on the undeveloped eastern side), and which extended, in a maze-like network of tunnels, for more then two miles underneath the surface.

Finally, Abbey Green was located outside the North gate of the walled enclosure of St Mary's Abbey (still present 50 years after its dissolution) and was bordered on its eastern side by the river Bradoge – today flowing under Halston Street (Cosgrave, 1932: 7); a bridge on the Bradoge would have facilitated access to the inhabitants of Oxmantown. The Green is marked in Speed's plan by a large cross, just outside the North entrance of the Abbey. As Moylan (1946*a*: 82) explains, a cross erected on the highway, also marked the entrance to the monastery of Citeaux (France), original home of the Cistercians. The cross in the Abbey Green was located in the area that today would correspond to Green Street (*ITHA*: 20). According to tradition, the presence of a cross in an urban open space indicates a centre-point of gathering for public announcements (see Clarke, 2002: 8). A document of 1213 - mentioning the presence of more than one cross in the Abbey Green - reveals their urban symbolism: 'The monks are to maintain the green place which is opposite their outside gate, as a common pasture, according to the crosses placed there and without

any obstruction'. (quoted in Moylan, 1946*a*: 83; see also *IHTA*: 24 and Burke, 1972: 58). Since mediaeval times the public character of the place was symbolised by the presence of crosses. It is thus possible that the area of the Abbey Green was used also for public gathering as well as for pasture until the seventeenth century, as the symbolism in Speed's map seems to suggest.

Besides Speed's map, an idea of the different types of forms of green areas surrounding the city can be gained from the *Riding of the Franchises* (1603). Although private green areas are mentioned here more than public ones, their description is useful in understanding the process transforming suburban green areas in the period.

5.6.2 1603 - Riding of the franchises: an insight into suburban green areas

The report of the *Riding of the Franchises* for the year 1603 (printed by Gilbert in the *Ancient records*, ii: 190-8), when compared to other versions of the Perambulation, or Riding, is one of the most detailed accounts in terms of the variety of listed places. (See Appendix 1, for a table charting the various versions of the Riding of the franchises, and showing the changes in green places and denominative terminology through time).

The route covered by members of the city council in 1603, while marking the boundaries of jurisdiction of the city, is useful in gaining an insight into the typologies of suburban green areas existing between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Typological analysis qualifies the contemporary knowledge of horticulture and the meaning of the terms adopted, which are often different from today's usage. Moreover, when this information is combined with an evaluation of all 'green' places listed in *IHTA* (24-6), it is possible to obtain an understanding of the slowly shifting process which proceeded from the mediaeval to the early-modern period, and which brought the application of some landscaped features, typical of private green places, to the public sphere.

Parks

Park	Location	Sources
Flynt's park	Grafton St W., site unknown.	Flynttys croft *c.*1230 (*Reg. All Saints*, 28). Flynts park 1530 (*Cal. exch. inq.*, 72).
small park associated with Dublin Castle	Ship St Great E., site unknown.	1318 (*Ancient records*, i, 148)
Russell's park	Stonybatter E., site unknown.	1488 (Metes), 1603 (*Ancient records*, i, 197)
Sharp's park	Stonybatter W., site unknown.	1488 (Metes), 1591, 1592 (*Chapter acts*, 71, 80) 1603 (*Ancient records*, i, 197)
Friars'mead park	St Stephen's Green N., site unknown	1530 (*Cal. exch. inq.*, 72).
Culdrehouse park, perhaps same as Culver park	South Great George's St, site unknown	1542 (*Christ Church deeds*, 1191).
park	The Coombe, site unknown	1547 (Mason, 99)
Ashe park	Francis St W., site unknown. Former property of St Mary's Abbey.	1610 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls Ire., Jas I,* 184). (*Christ Church deeds*, 1405, 1470).
park	Jame's St, outside St James's Gate, site unknown.	1603 (*Ancient records*, ii, 400)
Tirrell's park	Dame St S., site unknown. Site of Bridewell.	1604 (*Ancient records*, ii, 420)
Ankaster's park	Green St, site unknown. Former property of St Mary's Abbey.	1610 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls Ire., Jas I,* 184).
Culver-park, perhaps the same as Culdrehouse park	Location unknown,	1610 (*Christ Church deeds*, 1470).

Table 5.2 Parks existing in Dublin during the mediaeval period, to 1610. Source: *IHTA*: 25

In the *Riding of the Franchises* of 1603, and 1488 (Metes), there is mention of two parks: Sharp's park and Russel's park. These were located near the municipal boundaries of the northwest side of the city, in the area today corresponding to Stonybatter. Parks, since mediaeval times and until at least the end of the eighteenth century, were generally considered to be private enclosures for hunting animals (see Hoskins, 1988: 133). Not only they were privately owned - as were gardens and orchards - but their ownership was also closely associated with the highest levels of society. As Landsberg (1995: 13) remarks, only 'Royalty and nobility would have had all three types'. The main function of the enclosure, as Williamson (1995: 22) says was to keep the beasts in and the poachers out. Besides hunting, the park in the medieval period also served as pastureland for cattle and horses, and for the production of wood and timber. For this reason, Williamson defines the park as composed in many cases just of 'wood pasture' (1995: 22). The enclosure was of various types: wall, palisade fence, ditch, bank, and thorn hedge. The size of a standard medieval park, as suggested by Landsberg (1995: 13) was a minimum of fifteen acres.

Because of their vast size, parks are historically associated with vast countryside demesnes or large suburban estates, and this might have been the case with Sharp's park and Russel's park. Nevertheless, parks were sometimes present even in the urban environment. The *IHTA* (19) reports twelve parks existing in Dublin during the medieval period, nine of these were still present at the beginning of the seventeeth century (Table 5.2).

Some of these parks belonged to monastic houses, as in the case of Ash park and Ankaster park, owned by St Mary's Abbey. Their story is particularly interesting as it allows an understanding of the process of urban development of that area during the seventeenth century. Ankaster park is described as an enclosed pasture (1539, *IHTA*: 19); while Ash park seems to have taken its name from the presence of ash trees (*Fraxinus*), which were 'there to be planted in the number of one hundred' in the year 1592 (*IHTA*: 19). As Reeves-Smyth (1999: 118) suggests, ash groves and ash parks, mentioned in monastic possessions, were often plantations whose main aim was to provide wood for building works.

After the dissolution of the Abbey, these parks, together with the gardens, orchards and all the other properties, were leased to private individuals. Initially, Ankaster park and Ash park (with other possession) were leased to Sir Leonard Grey,

former lord deputy in 1540 (*IHTA*: 19), as a site to build for his residence. Three years later, they were granted to the 14th earl of Desmond (*IHTA*: 19). The year after, in 1544, they passed into the hands of John Travers (*IHTA*: 19). In 1569, what remained of the lands and properties of the former Abbey were granted to the Earl of Ormond (*IHTA*: 19). This fragmentation of the monastic property does not allow the fate of the two parks to be precisely determined at this stage. The last record available of Ash Parke is dated to 1610, when this place - together with the Church site, the porch, the dormitory, the vestry, the cloister, the ruinous tower, the courtyard, Shillingfoord's Garden, the house called Abbot's Lodging, the garden, the Common orchard, the granary and 4 messuages, 'all within precinct' - was granted to Thomas Hibbotts and William Crowe (*IHTA*: 19). It is not possible to say if the parks were then still used for the production of timber or as pasture grounds, neither is it possible to say exactly when and how their ground was further subdivided in plots and then re-leased to other private individuals. However, in Bernard De Gomme's map (1673) - drawn more than a century after the dissolution of the monasteries - the area is still strictly associated with the presence of parks, as its name demonstrates: 'Abby Parkes' (see Figure 5.3).

As there is no illustration and no specific individual description, it is quite difficult to have an exact idea of the landscape these parks might have had in seventeenth century Dublin. However, if taken together with the characteristics already mentioned, it might be assumed that the stereotypical park of suburban Dublin consisted of a piece of ground with a minimum size of ten to fifteen acres (approximately comparable to half the size of St Stephen's Green, which is today approximately twenty-two acres [3]). Such parks might have been enclosed by a fence, a hedge or a wall, with a ditch along it for drainage; coppice wood, for the production of timber, may also have been interspersed with plain grazing areas. The animals enclosed could have been domestic animals -cows and horses- or small herds of deer and fowl. From a legal point of view, the park, by definition, was 'the' expression of private property, strictly safeguarded by a series of physical and administrative measures against trespassers.

[3] Commissioners of Public Works (1980) *Saint Stephen's Green, 1880-1980*, Irish Printers Limited, Dublin, 20.

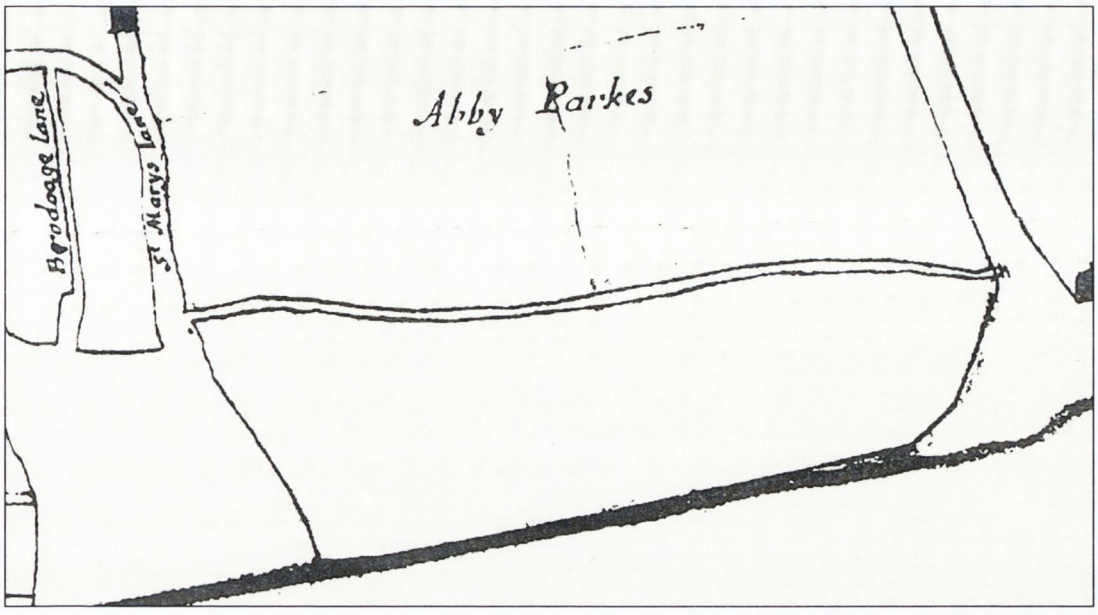


Figure 5.4 The parks of St Mary's Abbey. Extract from Bernard de Gomme's map of the city and suburbs, 1673. NLI.

Orchards

In the Riding of the Franchises of 1603, a series of orchards is recorded at the northern end of Oxmantown Green (1603, *Ancient records,* i: 197). Moylan (1990*b*: 103) reports that the lands of Grangegorman, north of the Green, 'were covered with orchards even up to the middle of the nineteenth century'. In particular, 'the Great Orchard', later known as the 'Dean's Orchard', covering part of the ground between Richmond Hospital and Richmond Asylum, was particularly famous from the fifteenth century. Another famous orchard, mentioned in the Riding of the Franchises of 1603, was the orchard of Merrion, on the south east side of the city; it belonged to Sir Thomas Fitzwilliam, created Viscount of Merrion in 1629 (1603, *Ancient records*, i: 192). Orchards, although more numerous in the cityscape than parks, were still a privilege of wealthy groups such as the gentry, clergy and nobility. This private property would have been enclosed by walls, offering trees the protection of a sheltered environment. In Landsberg's (1995: 13) general description of the medieval orchard, this ranged in size from one to four acres, or sometimes even more, and was usually laid out in regular manner - in square or rectangular shape. This design may sometimes have included 'walks' between the trees and the walls, or alternatively the trees (depending on the variety) might have been trained against the walls.

Gardens

More then a hundred gardens are recorded in *IHTA* as existing in Dublin between the medieval period and 1610. This list includes only those gardens worthy of record because of their association with a known name, but in reality there must have been many more gardens which have never been mentioned in any records and are thus impossible to quantify. In the Riding of the Franchises, several gardens are mentioned along various portions of the city boundaries, as for example an unspecified number of 'gardings belonging to the houses of Oxmanton Green'. In Metes (1488) it is reported that 'they marched southward as far as William English his house, which they passed through, mounting over the roof of another house, and passing also through several gardens until they came to the Coomb' (1488 Metes, also quoted in Harris, 1766: 127- 33). In 1603, while following the same route towards the Coombe, the city functionaries went again 'through the gardins, wherein parte of the neighbors ther dwelling mett the Maior, and welcomed him and his company, and made them drincke' (*Ancient records*, i: 193). Passages like the above, give interesting insights into the nature of the architecture of the period- 'mounting over the roof of another house' - and at the same time give clues to the social aspects of private green spaces.

Gardens in Dublin, until the beginning of the seventeenth century, were probably at the back of every house (probably heritage of the planning structure of twelfth century messuage-plots) where they would have served mainly to grow vegetables and keep domestic animals. With the exception of the castle garden, and the private gardens of a select number of the gentry and clergy, very few could afford to have an ornamental garden. In this sense, the garden was an enclosed private property, reflecting a common urban way of living, for the greater part of Dublin's inhabitants, which was still very rural.

Meadows

A fourth type of green place present in Dublin until the seventeenth century was the meadow.

The meadow, like the green, would have served to provide pasture grounds for the inhabitants of the city. Like the green, it had the irregular, accidental shape of an open space, not specifically delimited by any enclosures, and essentially composed of grassy land with no, or very few, shrubs and trees. The only artificial

landscaped process these places might have undergone, at an initial stage, was the removal of the occasional shrub or tree from their central area in order to create more space for the grazing area, and to facilitate the control of poachers or wild animals.

The meadow in Dublin was nearly always associated with the presence of a watercourse. This characteristic appears in one of the definitions for the word 'meadow' given in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (1989):

> *Originally a piece of land permanently covered with grass which is mown for use as hay. In later use often extended to include any piece of grass land, whether used for cropping or pasture; and in some districts applied especially to a tract of low well-watered ground, usually near a river.*

The most important meadows (also mentioned several times in the *Assembly Rolls*), including the meadow of Christ Church, Ellen Hoare's meadow – in the area of the King's Inns (see Warburton *et al.* 1818: 558-62 and Moylan, 1953: 82) - and the aforementioned meadow of Kilmainham (*Riding of the Franchises*, 1603: 193-6), were all located on the banks of the Liffey. The analysis of those passages referring to meadows in the Riding of the Franchises further confirm this theory. For instance, it is recorded that: '...and in that part of the meddowe of Kilmainehame, the Maior, Swoordberer and others tooke boated and passed upp the water of Aunlyffe... ' (*Riding of the Franchises*, 1603: 196). Similarly, it is recorded concerning the Abbot's meadow that: 'at the west end of the Cowmbe leading into St Thomas Courte, over which pound, at the east end of the meddowe just against the myddest therof, called the Abbot's meddowe, ther wear plancks putt over by Sir Edward Brabson's people for the Maior and his company to passe' (*Riding of the Franchises*, 1603: 194). There are similar passages in the various versions of the Riding of the Franchises mentioning the proximity of meadows to river courses, however a lack of precise information on the location of all the rivers, brooks and streams, and all the meadows (and their sizes) existing in the period considered, does not allow the quantification of these phenomena.

The *Riding of the Franchises* (1603: 195) also illustrates the social character of the meadow, describing the way in which it was used by the Lord Mayor and other members of the city council. It reports that the processions of city functionaries once arrived in 'the great meddowe of Christchurch, upon the west end of which

meddowe neer to the water of Camocke ther wear pitched severall tents for the Mayor, Sheryfes and the corporacions, and ther the Mayor and his company lighted and dyned'. The dinner set up under the tents on the Great meadow of Christ Church in the year 1603, offers an idyllic convivial scene which helps to illustrate the way in which green areas where used by the population.

5.6.3 Urban anglicisation process

As Foster (1988: 23) says, the Act of Supremacy brought about a progressive Anglicisation of Ireland, and an increasing subjugation to English Law; the urban layout of Dublin changed dramatically over this period. A great investment of resources went into the defence of the town, trenches were constructed, the city walls were repaired, and it was made compulsory for the citizens to muster in the fields to participate in military exercises. As Gilbert commented in 1623, the mayor was authorised to punish the members of the city gilds, 'who in contempt of his warrant, failed to muster in the field with their drums and colours' (see *Ancient records*, iii: xiv; and *Ancient records*, iii: 178, 215). Greens were used, as in medieval times for training 'in martial discipline', and during such occasions they became arenas for the display of power by the ruling body. These were also occasions for riots for the local population. A document of 1606-07 states:

> *Whereas the common humbly required that some good course might be laid downe in this assemblie for avoydinge of the uproare and mutynie that is like to happen betwixt the inhabitantes of Oxmanton and Thoams street uppon suche daies as they usually muster into the feildes, according the auncient custome of this cittie ...*
>
> (1606-7, *Ancient records*, ii: 473)

Beside these colonial military provisions, efforts were made by the new administration to repress Gaelic customs, both in their social and spatial expression. This was principally achieved, in Dublin as in the rest of Ireland, by introducing a new English style of living - and building - which conformed to protestant principles, and which was supposed to civilise the local population (Foster, 1988: 13, 35, 59).

5.6.4 End of popular forms of recreation in public spaces

As Canny (1987) explains, the reformers, 'fulfilling their historic role as promoters of English civility in Ireland', tried to eradicate the customs, mores and laws of the Gaelic Irish from within the Pale and the rest of Ireland. From a social point of view, some of the measures taken involved the prohibition of using public spaces for 'uncivil' games that were popular among the lower classes of society. An ordinance of 1612 (*Ancient records*, iii: 20) forbids the playing of 'stodball, coiting, tennes, cudgielles or any other unlawfull games, within any street of this cittie or suburbes', under the penalty of '[being] committed to the Newgate, there to remaine for the space of xxiiii howres without baile, and ye thalderman, deputy aldermen, or constable shalbe neglygent hein, they shalbe strictly punnished by Mr Maior'. The fact that an ordinance was issued to forbid these games from public spaces, both from the streets and suburban green areas, also demonstrates their popularity.

Similarly, in a document of 1620, there is evidence of the city council's efforts to abolish all those forms of recreation in public spaces - such as bull and bear baiting - which were not considered 'civil' and thus compatible with the new ideas of the life style in the urban environment:

> *...vaine customes lately growne in this cittie ... as bull baytinges, beare baytinges and other uncivell and unlawful games and exercises, allureing unto them from all partes of the cittie other mens prentizes and servantes, who thereby fall into much vice and idlenes, to the decaie and impoverishing of theire masters and other cittizens ...*
>
> (1620, *Ancient records*, iii: 124)

5.6.5 Application of English-style architecture

From an architectural perspective, during the Tudor period, the erection of typical wooden-beamed houses had initiated the partial reconstruction of the city. In 1620, an English visitor, Luke Gernon, impressed by the appearance of Dublin, wrote, 'the buildings are of timber and in the English form' (quoted in O'Donnell, 1987: 85). While residential buildings were reshaped and constructed according to the English fashion; public places such as markets were re-organised around the city according to the new official regulations enacted by the Corporation (see *Ancient records*, ii: ix). The emphasis which emerged from the Assembly Rolls (*Ancient records*, ii: ix) on the spatial redistribution of market sites and on the promulgation of new rules for

their administration, was a direct consequence of the adoption of English urban models as well as the prosperity in commerce which characterised the first three decades of the seventeenth century. Among the first provisions taken since the introduction of the new English administration, was the regularisation of the Smithfield cattle market in Oxmantown Green in 1541 (*Ancient records*, i: 411). Apart from this market site, which remained associated with Oxmantown Green (although physically separated in the following century), the Corporation tended to remove market activities from large open areas and confine them to different selected street districts.

At the same time, the application of an English style of architecture, economic prosperity and demographic increase contributed largely to the expansion of the city and to its growing similarity to London. In 1635, Sir William Brereton, the future Parliamentary General, wrote:

> *The City of Dublin is extending its bounds and limits very much...Here are diverse commodities cried in Dublin as in London, which it doth more resemble than any town I have seen in the King of England's dominions.*
>
> (quoted in O'Donnell, 1987: 86)

Suburban areas were developed, and villages - such as Donnybrook, Rathfarnham, Raheny, and Drumcondra - were meanwhile emerging around the City. Greens then became divided from their semi-rural context, and were integrated, by a slow process of 'phagocytosis', into the general urban sprawl.

At the same time, the English style of gardening and horticulture underwent significant change and improvement during the Tudor period in England; in 1587, William Harrison wrote, in his *The Description of England*, that the country's gardens had improved beyond measure 'within these forty years' (Harrison: 1587, quoted in Thacker, 1994: 54). The use of *knots*, gardens' mazes, topiary works, banqueting houses, and the typical *parterres à l'angleise*, began to dominate the art of gardening during the sixteenth century (Thacker, 1994: 42-56). In his *Survey of London* (1592-1603), John Stow's description of the city included a multitude of '...allies, gardens, banquetting houses and bowling places' (Stow, quoted in Thacker, 1994: 68). Moreover, the publication of books treating the specific subject of horticulture contributed to the diffusion of the new art - and science - of gardening.

Among some of the most famous treatises were Francis Bacon's *On Gardens*, published in 1596 (Galinou, 1990: 21-3), and John Gerard's *The Herbal or Generall Historie of Plants,* published in 1597 (Galinou, 1990: 219). Dr Andrew Borde wrote around the same period, the *Boke for to lerne a man to be wyse in building of his House*, where he states that the well planned [Tudor] garden should include orchard, fish pools, dovecote, butts for archery and a bowling green (cited in Evans, 1988: 16).

The diffusion of these ideas also had an effect on the design of gardens in Ireland. Initially, changes affected only the private gardens of various members of the New English aristocracy (see Reeves-Smyth, 1999: 104-24). However after a few decades, newly fashionable forms of garden design coming from England and the rest of Europe, began to be applied even to the layout of public spaces in the city.

5.7 FIRST SIGNS OF THE RENAISSANCE

Garden historians usually consider the beginning of the seventeenth century as the commencement of the 'Italian Renaissance garden' period in Ireland, and the 1650s (beginning of the Cromwellian War) as its conclusion (Lamb and Bowe, 1995: 18-20). However, as will be demonstrated in the course of the next chapter, this does not apply to public green spaces, where the renaissance phenomenon only happened once the Cromwellian War had ended.

The Renaissance movement started in Italy towards the end of the fourteen hundreds and flourished during the following century. It is characterised by the creation of many famous gardens which became models of imitation for the aristocracy across Europe. These included: the gardens of Belvedere in the Vatican, designed by Bramante for Pope Giulio II (1504); Orti Farnesiani, designed by Vignola for Pope Paul III (1549); il Giardino dei Boboli, in Florence, designed by Bartolomeo Ammannati for Cosimo I (1560); the gardens of villa Pratolino, designed for Francesco de Medici by Bernardo Buontalenti (1570); and the garden of Villa Montalto in Rome designed by Domenico Fontana (1585) (see Bonnechere and De Bruyn, 1998: 180-91). Characteristic features were flights of terraces, walks, statues, grottos, fountains and the general division of the ground into squares and rectangular shapes. Later in the century- as in the garden of Villa Montalto - the baroque style characterised by the use of oblique lines, triangular and trapezoidal shapes, was introduced (Bonnechere and De Bruyn, 1998: 180-91).

The Renaissance had a deep effect on the process transforming urbanism after the medieval period. In Italy, architect-artists like Leon Battista Alberti (1404-72) and Andrea Palladio (1508-80), while re-evaluating the aesthetic canons of the classics, promoted, among other things, the wider application of geometric principles to urban design, green spaces included. At the same time, they advocated the development of recreational places within the urban environment. Andrea Palladio wrote in 1570:

> *...e sì come nella città si aggiogne bellezza alle vie con le belle fabbriche; così di fuori si accresce ornamento a quelle con gli arbori, i quali, essendo piantati dall'una e dall'altra parte loro, con la verdura allegrano gli animi nostri ...*
>
> (Andrea Palladio, 1570, quoted in Gianni, 2002: 29)

> *...in the city, beauty could be added to the streets by beautiful buildings, and ornamented by trees, which, with their greenery, recreate our souls ...*
>
> (Author's translation)

The ideal city had to contain elements of beauty, as well as planted green areas for the recreation of the citizens. Aesthetic and recreational values thus entered the list of agents defining urbanism.

Renaissance principles in garden design spread from Italy to many other European countries. They were first applied by members of the aristocracy to their country-estate villas, and private urban residences; and only afterwards to the city's public spaces. In Ireland, those who could afford a fashionable private garden were members of a privileged elite, often of New English extraction. They would have brought their modern ideas on 'buildings and landscaping' from England, where the new canons of design and recreation had arrived sooner than in Ireland. Gardens historians usually identify the garden of Richard Boyle, the Great Earl of Cork, in Youghal, Co. Cork, as one of the first examples of Renaissance Irish gardens (Lamb and Bowe, 1995: 18). As Foster (1988: 14) remarks, Boyle was the traditional personification of the planter and a classic exemplar of the New English entrepreneurs arriving in Ireland. In this sense, the garden became a tool to impose on the Irish soil new modern 'civilising' principles typical of the English aristocracy. The garden he laid out contained all the standard elements of landscaping promoted

by the pan-European Renaissance: walled courts, fountains, parterre of rectangular beds, orchards, flights of step, terraces, series of paths, and the famous 'Earl's Walk' (Dinely, 1870: 74, and see Lamb and Bowe, 1995: 18).

Other private Renaissance gardens which were created in Ireland during the sixteenth century included that of the tenth earl of Ormonde, which, as remarked by Reeves-Smith (1999: 104), had a 'Tudor house and fashionable garden' at Carrick-on-Suir (1565); the garden of the Earl of Desmond's Castle in Newcastle West (Co. Limerick), which contained several ornamental features, including two fishponds (1583) (Westropp, 1904: 111-32, quoted in Reeves-Smith, 1999, 122); the garden at Dunluce Castle (Co. Antrim) which had flights of terraces and raised flower beds (Early 17th c.) (Reeves-Smyth, 1999: 104); and Lismore Castle, which according to Reeves-Smith is the most impressive garden remaining from this period in Ireland (1626), with topiary works, globes, standard bays, statuary, and also a *parterre de broderie* (Reeves-Smyth, 1999: 124)

5.7.1 Renaissance principles applied in Hoggen Green

In Dublin, according to the reproduction of the town in Speed's map, the castle seemed to have enjoyed a landscaped garden, designed according to Renaissance principles, from the beginning of the seventeenth century. Similarly, Chichester House in Hoggen Green had one of the first examples of an urban garden landscaped in the new fashion. This garden belonging to Sir Arthur Chichester who had been elected lord deputy in 1604 and was lord lieutenant until 1616, had a walled court, a twenty-foot wide terrace, and a banqueting house (Lamb and Bowe, 1995: 18). In 1615, Chichester became the main developer of the area of Hoggen Green, and bought Carew's building, transforming it into his private residence, Chichester House. Together with the building, he requested and obtained, presumably for the development of the garden, a part of 'wast ground' in the Green which extended for forty-five yards from the House towards the south in the direction of the Bridewell (1615-16, *Ancient records*, iii: 63).

At the same time, the section of Hoggen Green occupied by the Bridewell became part of Trinity College. At the lord deputy's request, all the ground and 'the precincte of the howse called Bridewell uppon the Hogges Green, with thappurtenances' was assigned to the Provost and Fellows of Trinity College, 'at the

yearly rent of two shillinges, to be used and converted by them onely for a free schoole' (1615, *Ancient records*, iii: 57).

The garden of Trinity College can be considered as one of the first designed gardens existing in the sphere of semi-public demesne in Dublin. Moreover, the only extant visual representation of a garden dating from this period was the bird's eye view of the Master's garden of the College (known as the Hatfield plan), depicting knots of diamonds and rectangles containing flowers, emblematic designs and (presumably) coloured sands, as observed by Reeves-Smyth (1999: 122) (see Plate 5.1).

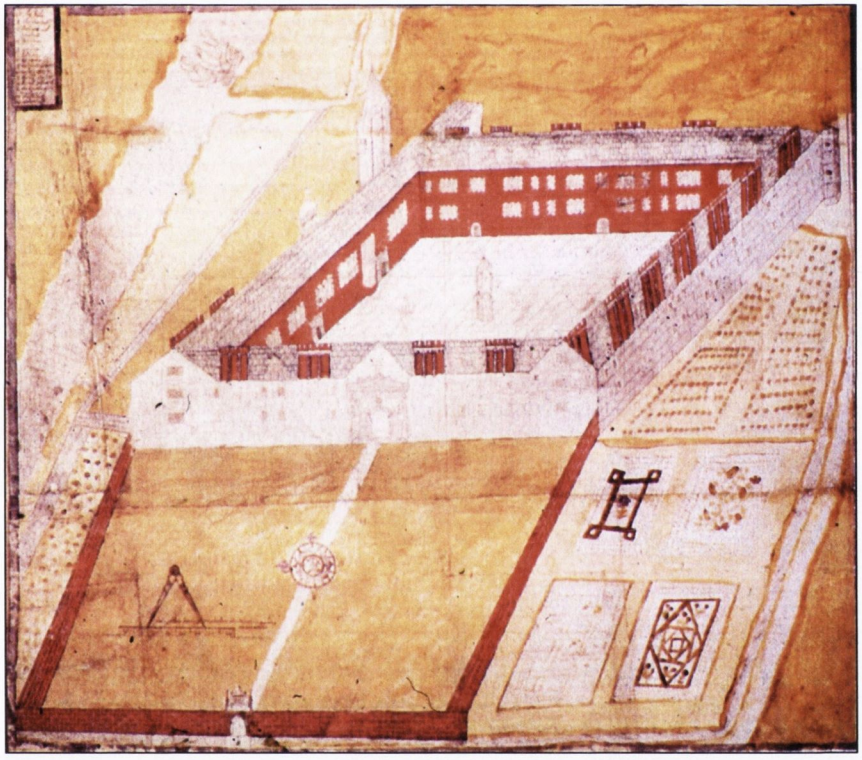


Plate 5.1 Gardens of Trinity College from the west. Hatfield House, *c.* 1592. CPM 1.6.

Principles of recreation were then also applied in the design of the public areas of Hoggen Green and Oxmantown Green. Since the end of the sixteenth century, walks had been created in Hoggen Green, and mention of their existence can be found for example in 1585, when it was ordered that 'the walking plases and other the plases on Hoggen Greane maye be kept clene ...' (*Ancient records,* ii: 198). In 1607 a document mentions the presence of a walk even in Oxmantown Green, when a John Foster, alderman, is granted permission to dig stones in the Green 'and to be sought in such a place as shall not prejudice the walk on the Green' (1607, *Ancient*

records, ii: 481). Similarly, as already discussed, the ordinance of 1634 promoted the Reservation of Dublin's Greens - including Hoggen Green - 'for the citizens to walk'.

Although 'walk' could merely mean a place of passage, their creation and maintenance can be listed among the other signs marking the introduction of renaissance principles into public green spaces; the functions of which had begun to shift towards recreation in the wider meaning of the word. Already in England since 1568, walks had been considered as a recreational feature of gardens. Thomas Hill, in his book (1568) *The Proffitable Arte of Gardening*, (in which he refers to the theories of Palladio among other authorities), when writing about London gardens, put a particular emphasis on the recreational value of walks (quoted in Thacker, 1994: 63-5)

A new recreational feature appearing in Hoggen Green at the beginning of the seventeenth century was also the bowling green. A document of 1620 states that:

> *Robart Taylor, the elder, of Dublin, marchant, complained unto this assemblie against certaine strangers who receave the benefitt and proffitt of the inrayled bowling place in the Hoggen Greene without yealding any manner of rent chardge to this cittie...*
>
> (1620-21, *Ancient records* 3: 133)

From the above document it is possible to understand that the bowling green in Hoggen Green was created before 1620. In that year, the merchant Robert Taylor, petitioned the city council for the supervision and control of the bowling green. His petition was supported by a complaint that the bowling green, being without railing, was exploited by strangers who not only made a profit out of it, but also paid no rent to the city council. Taylor remarked, in the rest of the document, that if the situation was allowed to continue and the strangers continued in their use of the bowling green, they might eventually claim it as their own property. Hence the situation was regularised by the city council and Taylor was assigned the care - and part of the profits - of the bowling green (1620-21, *Ancient records*, iii: 133). This agreement leads to the supposition that the commercial exploitation of recreational areas was another significant component of urban transformation.

5.7.2 Urbanisation of Hoggen Green: integration of a public green space in the urban environment

At the time of Lord Chichester's investment in Hoggen Green, all the land east of the city walls had begun to be developed and integrated into the urban landscape. Although some parts of the Green were still used for grazing, it started in general to lose those rural characteristics that were still associated with Oxmantown and St Stephen's Greens. The civic and ceremonial functions it had had since Viking times had finally prevailed. In the sixteenth century, Hoggen Green was still used and considered as the official place of entrance to the city. Warburton *et al.* (1818: 58) quoted from an entry in the Rolls of Chancery '...that when Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy, landed in 1565, he lay at Monck-town, and from thence removed to the house of Thomas Fitzwilliams, at Merion, from whence as he approached the city, the sheriffs of Dublin met him with sixty horse and a trumpeter, and at Hoggin–green, now College-green, the mayor and aldermen received him in their formalities'. The formal reception of Sidney in Hoggen Green, who was the appointed Governor in Ireland from 1565 to 1579, seemed to have confirmed the aura of officiality which the Green had enjoyed in previous times.

Similarly, the foundation of a university in 1592 on the eastern side of the Green, and the creation of Dame Street, built in the next few years for the purpose of joining the college to the rest of the city (Simms, 2001: 59), were all factors which contributed to the association of civic functions with the area, and to the process of urbanisation.

Moreover, it seems that following the construction of Chichester House, which in 1661 became the Parliament House (Simms, 2001: 60), the green became a desirable area for the rich to live in. As shown in the *Assembly Records*, Mr George Jones, mayor of the city, had a financial interest in the residential development of the area. A document of 1631-32 records that the city council leased to the mayor's son, also George Jones, the complex of houses built a few years earlier by his father, for ninety-nine years, at the annual rent of forty shillings (1631-32, *Ancient records*, iii; 257). The lease also specified a section of Hoggen Green, which by then had lost a substantial part of its former area. Among other personalities living in the area was James Ussher, the Lord Archibishop of Armagh, who was recorded as having a house and plot of ground in Hoggen Green (1632, *Ancient records,* iii: 260). After

the 1630s, the Green had totally lost its connotation of suburban common land and had become, unlike Oxmantown Green, a fashionable and wealthy part of the town.

5.8 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the period between 1536 and 1660 is characterised by a complex combination of political and social events which resulted in dramatic transformations in the urban and green environments. After the confiscation of the monastic possessions and the arrival of New English settlers, the city experienced the loss of a substantial amount of green land. This land was often dismembered and developed by the concurrent actions of members of the municipality, and by those of private individuals during the following decades. The Abbey Green and Hoggen Green in particular were strongly affected by the disappearance, respectively, of St Mary's Abbey and St Mary De Hogges. The Abbey Green underwent a stricter form of municipal control and was significantly reduced in size due to the partition of the lands around it. Hoggen Green, in which St Mary de Hogges was almost immediately dismantled, was initially planned as an industrial area (unsuccessfully however) and was then slowly transformed by a series of municipal developments occurring around it. Among these developments, the establishment of Trinity College on the previous site of All Saints, would be of utter importance in forging the new identity - and name - of the adjacent Green.

At the same time, the series of rebellions and political instability, together with the diffusion of a colonial atmosphere throughout the country, brought about a deepening of the social division between the Gaelic Irish, Old English and the New English. The conflict of interests over land ownership between the different groups, exacerbated by the sectarian conflict between Catholics and Protestants was reflected in Dublin, by the adoption of severe forms of control over the use - and users - of public spaces.

The effects on the greens were both political and administrative and included:

1. Political executions, as well as ordinary executions, which were carried out in Oxmantown Green and presumably in St Stephen's Green. O'Devany Gardens still commemorates the execution of Bishop O'Devaney and Father Loughran in 1612 at the Gibbet in Oxmantown Green.

2. Various social groups were excluded from the use of greens. Among these were listed 'unfreemen', strangers, vagabonds and beggars. These policies of social exclusion were part of the administrative measures taken for the regularisation of the grazing function of the greens. They also involved a control on the erection of pens, and various illegal encroachments, as well as the removal of unauthorised domestic animals such as swine and occasional cattle.

The removal of beggars from public space was part of a wider municipal planning strategy, which was aimed at the maintenance of hygienic conditions in the city, especially in the aftermath of the devastating plague of 1575-76. Several urban measures were implemented for the preservation of public health. These were made necessary also by the rise in population which characterised the first thirty years of the seventeenth century. These provisions consisted of: the cleansing of public spaces from beggars and swine; the removal of filth and dung from the streets and the use of parts of Oxmantown Green and Hoggen Green as public dumps; the creation of hospitals (see Carew's plan in Hoggen Green); the elimination of thatched houses and wooden cabins (to reduce fire risk); and finally, the preservation of a 'green belt' to tackle the problem of urban congestion.

The Act of 1635 for the preservation of Hoggen Green, St Stephen's Green and Oxmantown Green for the citizens to walk and take the air was the most significant occurrence in the history of public green spaces since mediaeval time. It marked a clear break with the more rural functions these spaces had served until then.

In Speed's map the position of the greens with respect to the urban environment is still marked as suburban, as in mediaeval times. Greens were located between the city and the surrounding countryside, and thus presented an interesting *melange* of characteristics typical of both spaces. Moreover the forms of green areas in general - as understandable from the *Riding of the Franchises* of 1603 - are characterised by the persistence of a horticultural tradition typical of the mediaeval period. On the other hand, they also started to show the first signs of pan-European Renaissance ideas on design and recreation. This was evident in the case of Hoggen Green in which walks and a bowling green were created for recreational (and commercial) purposes.

Overall, while the north side - including Oxmantown Green, Abbey Green and the Abbey Parks - maintained an aura of rurality, the south east of the city had begun to be heavily developed and urbanised; thus demonstrating a phenomenon of polarisation within the town. The north- western area was still quite undeveloped, being poor and dominated by large expanses of green areas in which domestic animals were still main protagonists. At the opposite pole of the city, the south-eastern area was becoming highly developed and designed according to more modern urban canons.

Finally, while with the end of the medieval period the south-western side of the city also saw the end of the Fair Green, the south-east side, around the area of St Stephen's Green, would be subject to major changes with the advent of the Restoration period. The next Chapter will deal with this issue among others.

CHAPTER 6

THE CREATION OF MUNICIPAL 'SQUARES' DURING THE RESTORATION PERIOD 1660-1689

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The period 1660-1689 is conventionally referred to as the Restoration period (Dickson, 1987*a*). 1660 saw the Restoration of Charles II to the throne of England, which was followed in Ireland by the return of the Duke of Ormonde from his exile in France, and by the re-establishment of an independent Irish Parliament. The following three decades were characterised by peace and relative tranquillity after the prolonged disturbances of the previous period. In 1685 the accession of James II brought an expansion of Catholic participation in political life which triggered the rise of opposition movements among Protestants towards the King. When, a few years later, in 1689, England declared war on France, the English Parliament made it an issue to ensure that its supremacy over Ireland remained unchanged. Large sums of money were then spent to send English troops to Ireland led by the protestant King, William of Orange. This event started the so called 'war of the two kings' (Lydon, 1998: 211-16) which culminated in the defeat of James by William at the battle of the Boyne. This event signalled the end of the peace of the previous twenty-nine years, and the beginning of a new series of disorders, resulting from a harshening of anti-Catholic conditions.

The relative political stability which Dublin enjoyed prior 1689 was the result of an absence of wars, relative religious tolerance, and a constancy of policy in urban governance. Dublin's governance was dominated by the powerful viceroy Ormonde, and by a city council which was better organised and controlled than in the previous decades. Governance was organised in two houses: an upper house consisting of the lord mayor and 24 aldermen, and a lower house (known as 'the commons' and presided over by two sheriffs) consisting of sheriff's peers (not more than 28) and 96

representatives of the guilds of the city (see Murphy, 1984: 22 and Sheridan, 2001: 73-4). As Sheridan remarks, the English monarchy enforced its control over the council by obliging all its members to take the oath of supremacy and the oath of allegiance. The council's members were predominantly representative of a Protestant elite, whose main interest was in preserving the privileges (land-ownership and political supremacy) they had acquired during the Cromwellian period. However - especially under James II - the council was also open to Catholic influence. Catholics of Old English origin, such as Lord Tyrconnell (Lord deputy, 1687), as well as newly enriched entrepreneurs such as Ellis, Jervis and Harstonge, contributed to urban policy making and thus to the shaping of the city and its public spaces.

This period was characterised by a booming economy, population growth (the population of Dublin grew from about 40,000 in 1660 to 58,000 in 1681 (see Cullen, 1992: 251 and Craig, 1992: 21), and by a prosperous cultural and intellectual environment which resulted in the development of art and architecture. The Dublin Philosophical Society, founded by William Molineux in 1685, encapsulated the new intellectual spirit of the period, while The Royal Hospital Kilmainham (1680) encapsulated the city architectural style, representing the 'Renaissance love of symmetry' (Craig, 1992: 60, and see also McParland, 2001: 53-70).

As Craig (1992: 3) says, the Renaissance arrived fully in Ireland with Ormonde. His ideas of architectural and governmental *grandeur* (following the French manner), when combined with the entrepreneurial-commercial attitude of the city council, brought to Dublin a substantial increase in public construction and urban development. New residential and commercial areas were developed by concomitant action of the city council and private individuals. Military spaces were reserved to ensure the defence of the town and thus the maintenance of civic order. More hospitals and schools were founded, two squares were designed, trees planted, and more gravelled walks and bowling greens made available for public recreation. All these urban changes had deep effects on the forms and functions of public green spaces.

The first part of this chapter provides a detailed descriptive analysis of the creation of two municipal squares, which changed dramatically the layout of St Stephen's Green and Oxmantown Green. The second part focuses on the identification and interpretation of the forces that shaped the above changes, it deals:

- firstly with the economic motivations of the Corporation and those of its members, and also gives an insight into other effects that the policies of the Corporation had on the municipal green spaces;
- with the colonial and military purposes driving the geometrical subdivisions of the old common areas;
- and finally with the pan-European cultural movement of the Renaissance.

The importance of the latter is evidenced in the third section of the chapter, which is dedicated to an explanation of the ways in which Renaissance ideas affected the physical layout of St Stephen's Green and Oxmantown Green. This is followed by an examination of some elements -such as 'tree planting', 'the lawn', and 'bowling'- which were still related to the application of European Renaissance ideas to urban green areas. In this section the appropriation of some of these new fashionable ideas by an English ruling elite as part of their colonial policies, and by wealthy classes in general as status symbol of their power is also remarked upon. The final section of the chapter contains an examination of the changes taking place in Abbey Green and Hoggen Green, as well as a general overview on the position of green spaces in relation to the changing urban context.

6.2 CREATION OF MUNICIPAL 'SQUARES'

The most significant events occurring in this period were the planning of two squares, in St Stephen's Green and Oxmantown Green. The importance of the planning of St Stephen's Green in Dublin urban history has been outlined by several past and recent commentators and scholars (see Dunton, 1699; Anon., 1732; Ferrar, 1796; Harris, 1766; Campbell, 1777; Wilson, 1786; Lewis, 1787; La Tocnaye, 1796-97, Luckombe, 1788; Malton, 1799; Warburton *et al.* 1818; Maxwell, 1936, Stephenson, 1945; Burke, 1972; Clarke, D. 1977; Harvey, 1949; Fagan, 1986; Cosgrove, 1988; Sommerville-Large, 1988; McCullogh, 1989; Craig, 1992; Cregan, 1989 and 1995; Osborough, 1996; Bowers, 1999; Dudley, 2000; Sheridan, 1993 and 2001). On Oxmantown Green, probably because of its disappearance in the urban environment, nothing much has been written, however attention has been concentrated on the development of Smithfield as a market square (see Warburton *et al.* 1818; Maxwell, 1936; Kearns, C.K., 1989; McCullogh, 1989; Craig, 1992; Burke, 1972 Sheridan, 1993 and 2001). It is important to note that the mainstream literature

available on the history of gardening and landscape in Ireland (Malins, and the Knight of Glin, 1976; Nelson and Brady, 1976; Lamb and Bowe, 1995 and O'Kane, 2004) do not contain any references to the creation of these new public places. Nothing either has been written at an international level on the subject.

6.2.1 The 1663 plan for St Stephen's Green

> *...that the out skerts of Saint Stephens Greene and other wast lands about this cittie, that now addeth nothing att all to pleasure or profitt, may be sett for ninetie nine yeares, or to fee farme, and a considerable rent reserved ...*
>
> (1663, *Ancient records*, iv: 257)

On the first of May 1663, a decision was taken by the city council to divide the outskirts of St Stephen's Green and other municipal 'waste lands' around the city into plots. A committee, called 'the committee for advance of the citty revenue' was created to supervise the implementation of the scheme (1663, *Ancient records*, iv: 272). A military man, Captain Robert Newcomen, was appointed to survey the ground and to supervise its division into the plots (1663, *Ancient records*, iv: 272). Seventeen acres around the Green were then selected and divided in 90 plots, as follows: 33 plots on the north side; 24 on the south; 15 on the east; 18 on the west (1664, *Ancient records*, iv: 272). The sizes of the different plots varied between the four corner-plots and the other 86 (see 1664, *Ancient records*, iv: 299-307). The first corner plot on the north side was 60 feet at front and back, and 80 feet on the other two sides. The corner plot on the east was 60 feet at front and back, 123 feet on the south side and 115.5 feet on the north side. The corner plot on the south side was triangular in shape, and measured 240 feet on the flank siding the lane from St. Kevin Street to the Green, 114 feet on the opposite side, and approximately 128 feet on the south side (the length of this was combined also with an adjoining parcel of ground south of the Green). The remaining plot at the west end corner was also triangular: 450 feet on the side flanking the highway leading from the Green to St. Stephen's street, 178 feet on the side from the Green to the College and 350 feet on the north side (1664, *Ancient records*, iv: 299-307). On average, the other 86 plots had front and back sides of 60 feet (*c.* 18 metres), while their length varied between 80 feet (*c.* 24 metres) and 525 feet (*c.* 160 metres). Of the other plots, not all were

rectangular in shape, the outlines of some more resembling irregular trapezoids. The property boundaries had to be adapted to pre-existing constructions and roads (especially on the north and west side) or to geophysical features, such as the underground river Steine, which according to Craig (1992: 20) was the likely cause for the irregular disposition of the plots, and hence of the houses built on the west side. The annual rents were fixed at one penny per foot on the east, north and west side, while it was a halfpenny only for the south side (1663, *Ancient records*, iv: 272, see also Gilbert, 1889 - 1944, iv: xvii). This was probably because the south side was a greater distance from the city centre (Sheridan, 2001: 82). Also as Dudley (Dudley, 2000: 161) remarks, the closer proximity to the recently developed Aungier estate made the plots on the western side, more attractive to speculators.

The corner-plots, being different sizes, were priced differently: north side, yearly rent of 6 shillings and 8 pence; east, 9 shillings and 11 pence; west, 13 shillings and 1 penny; south, 14 shillings and 9 pence.

The contract with the lessees specified that for every 12 shillings of rent, each lessee had to pay 10 pence for the creation of a wall around the green area and also for the paving of the roads and streets around it. If more money was needed during the works, the sum required from the lessees was to be increased consequentially, and if at the end of the works more money than necessary had been raised this would be redistributed proportionately among the lessees. It was also stipulated 'that each person shall plant (soe as they shall all grow for at least three yeares) six siccamore trees, neere the said wall' (1664, *Ancient records*, iv: 298); each lessee had to plant six sycamore trees near the wall in front of their plot, and had to monitor their growth for at least three years afterwards.

According to the contract, if the lessee had an intention to build a house on his plot he had to follow a precise architectural style: 'that they be engaged to build of brick, stone and timber, to be covered with tiles or slates, with at least two floores' (1664, *Ancient records*, iv: 299). As Craig (1992: 20) remarks, in the sixty foot length of each plot, there would have been space to build two of the houses of the time. However, as it was not compulsory to build on the rented plots, it took nearly seventy years for the residential development of the square to be evenly completed. As Sheridan (2001: 82) points out, towards the end of the 1730s the south side was still under construction.

The committee appointed to follow the works was composed of the Mayor (Willian Smith), the city Recorder (Thomas Davis), the two Sheriffs (Thomas Kirkham and William Brookes), Sir Daniel Bellingham, Knight (and subsequent Lord Major), and the following aldermen: Cranwell, Tighe, Lewis Desmineer, Cooke, Reader, Tottie. The committee also included eight members of the commons: Thomas Clarke, Thomas Jones, Nathaniel Fowkes, George Surdevile, Christopher Bennett, Luke Lowther, John Sarieant and Warner Westenra. (1664, *Ancient records*, iv: 301 and 306). The city recorder, Thomas Davis, had to keep an account of all the deeds and of the granting of the lots, while Alderman John Desmineers, treasurer, was in charge of collecting the rent-money from the lessees (1664, *Ancient records*, iv: 300-301).

The four corner-plots were assigned as follows: north side, to alderman Peter Wybrants (yearly rent of 6 shillings and 8 pence); east side, to alderman Mark Quin (yearly rent of 9 shillings and 11 pence); west side, to Sir William Davis (yearly rent of 13 shillings and 1 penny); and south side to Sir Daniel Bellingham (yearly rent of 14 shillings and 9 pence). The other plots were distributed by ballot to merchants, saddlers, clothiers, tailors, brewers, butchers, tallow-chandlers, haberdashers, vintners, goldsmiths, bakers, tanners, esquires, barber-surgeons, cutlers, coopers, masons, smiths, barbers, and joiners. Among these there were only four gentlemen and three knights. Interestingly, only the name of one woman figures among the lists of the lessees: a certain Anne Blundeville who was given plot No. 9 on the south side. Moreover, she is the only person mentioned without any association to a title and/or a profession (see 1664, *Ancient records*, iv: 302-306). Dudley (2000: 160) explains her participation in the draw of the lots as a consequence of her family's connections. Blundeville was almost certainly related to a Richard Blundeville, (d. 1664) who was a 'Clerk of the Tholsel', and married a Philip Crofts, who, together with John Totty (plot No. 18 west) was appointed to the office of 'Clerk of the Tholsel' in 1674.

Some of the lessees obtained more than one plot, such as William Yeomans (gentleman) who was assigned the plots Nos. 13-15 on the east side and No. 3 on the west side; or Joshua Allen (merchant) who obtained Nos. 4, 5 on the west side, and Nos. 7, 8 on the south side. It is significant that we find the names of members of the committee among the lessees: George Surdevile, No. 5, north side; Enoch Reader, No. 13, north side; Sir Daniel Bellingham, No. 25, north side; Nathaniel Fooukes

(spelt elsewhere Fowkes), No. 30, north side; Richard Tygh (spelt elsewhere Tighe) No. 32, north side; Warner Westenra, No. 14 south side; Lewis Desmineers, No. 16, south side; Luke Lowther, No. 20, south side; Richard Cooke, No. 21, south side; John Sargeant, No. 13, west side; and John Cranwell, No. 17 (see Appendix 2 for complete list of lessees' names).

6.2.2 The 1664-65 plan for Oxmatown Green

> *Whereas alsoe certaine of the said commons petitioned likewise unto the said assembly, shewing that such parte of Oxmantowne Greene, which lieth betweene Youngs Castle and Stoney Bater, leaving a sufficient roade, and likewise betweene Stoney Bater and the Bowleing Greene walle, and so leading towardes Hangmans lane, and adjoyning to the land lately granted to the lord Massareene, which at present yeeldes the citty noe proffitt, may be disposed for the advantage and increase of the citty revenue to the freemen of this citty, as the assembly should direct: it is therefore ordered and agreed upon, by the authority aforesaid, that the said Greene be and is heereby devided into ninetysix proportions, leaving a convenient highway and a large markett place...*
>
> (1664-65, *Ancient records*, iv: 323-24)

At the Christmas assembly of 1664, as part of the same municipal project (which also involved St Stephen's Green) a committee was appointed by act of assembly 'for the affaire of Oxmantown Greene' (see 1664-65 *Ancient records*, iv: 329-32 and 1666, *Ancient records*, iv: 385). This committee was created in order to survey the Green and to supervise its division into lots. The overall plan also envisaged that in the parcelling-out of the area 'a convenient highway' (seemingly Queen Street) and a 'large market place' (Smithfield) were to be left intact (see 1664-65 *Ancient records*, iv: 329-32).

The committee decided to divide the eastern portion of Oxmantown Green - between Young Castle (Church St Upper E.) and Stoneybatter - into 97 lots (96+the first corner plot), and to assign them subject to an initial payment of 40 shillings, and at an annual rent of twenty shillings per plot (see 1664-65, *Ancient records*: iv, 329-32). However, unlike the case of St Stephen's Green, it was stipulated 'that the committee of survey of the said Greene shall have liberty of drawing before any blanks be putt amongst the said lotts' (1664-65, *Ancient records*, iv: 324). As

remarked upon by Craig (1992: 21) the fact that the members of the committee were allowed to draw their lots before any empty spaces were included, resulted in an almost total coverage of the area by private plots. The only green portion remaining of Oxmantown Green was the western part, while the market area of Smithfield was transformed into a paved urban square (see 1664-65, *Ancient records*, iv: 329-32).

Unlike St Stephen's Green, it seems that the lots in Oxmantown Green were not drawn subject to any specific requirement to maintain constancy of size. The Assembly Rolls do not report any rules on the matter, and it seems that despite prices having been fixed for the rents, it was left to the lessees to decide between themselves on the most convenient way to apportion out the land. Exact dimensions are recorded only for the first plot, which was assigned to a George Putland. This was a rectangular plot measuring 19 yards and 2 feet on both the Smithfield side and the west side, 42 yards on the north side and the south side, which flanked the way from Church street to the Bowling Green. Mr Putland, as all the others who obtained the lots directly facing the area of Smithfield (plots from No. 1 to No. 12), was contractually obliged to provide for the erection of railings 'and to plant a rowe of trees next the pavement of the said Smithfield' (see 1664-65 *Ancient records*, iv: 329-32).

The paving and railing of Smithfield were carried out as part of the same urban plan which envisaged the subdivision into lots of the eastern portion of Oxmantown Green (see 1667, *Ancient records*, iv: 406). The paving and railing work was financed with part of the revenues obtained from the lessees, and as the Assembly Rolls report, in part by Sir Daniell Bellingham - the then Lord Major of the City - who "hath of himselfe disbursed severall summes of mony for the paveing of the Smithfield" (1666, *Ancient records*, iv: 385). Among the names of the lessees were recorded, as in the case of St Stephen's Green, members of the commitee: Enoch Reader, Nos. 7, 30, 31, 61; Richard Tighe No. 18; Richard Cooke No. 37; John Cranwell, No. 39; Luke Lowther, No. 52; William Davis No. 90; Lewis Desmineers No. 71; George Surdeville No. 43; John Totty, No. 83; Daniel Bellingham, No. 92; and Warner Westenra Nos. 96, 97 (see Appendix 6.1 for complete list of lessees' names).

The list of lessees reports four noblemen, thirteenth gentlemen, thirteen merchants and some tradesmen (see 1664-65 *Ancient records*, iv: 329-32). Many of the names appearing in the list of Oxmantown Green had already been recorded in

the list of those who had obtained plots the previous year in St Stephen's Green, these were Walter Harris, William Harris, John Desmineers, William Drayton, Joseph Stoker, Edward Briscoe, Thomas King, John Smith, John Preston, William Crosse, Owen Jones, and Samuel Saltonstall (spelled Saltanstal in the list for St Stephen's Green).

6.3 FORCES THAT SHAPED THE PLANS

The forces that shaped the plans of both St Stephen's Green and Oxmantown Green were essentially three: economic, military-colonialist and cultural.

The economic impetus stemmed from the fact that after the Cromwellian war, the city was much impoverished and in need of finding the means to increase municipal revenues (Gilbert 1894; Burke, 1972; Craig 1992; Dudley, 2000; Sheridan 2001). The act of assembly decreeing the parcelling out of St Stephen's Green begins with the following statement: '...by reason of the late rebellion and longe continued troubles of this kingdome the threasury of this cittie is cleerly exhausted and the yearly revenue thereof is reduced to little or nothing ... therefore the said commons prayed the said assembly to lay downe a course whereby the revenue of the said cittie may be increased...', hence the decision to rent the outskirts of St Stephen's Green (1663, *Ancient records*, iv: 257). The second statement reported in the records about the letting of the outskirts of St Stephens Green was 'that now (it) addeth nothing att all to pleasure or profitt' (1663, *Ancient records*, iv: 257). Similarly, for Oxmantown Green, it was stated that 'at present (it) yeeldes the citty noe proffitt' and thus it 'may be disposed for the advantage and increase of the citty revenue to the freemen of this citty' (1664-65, *Ancient records*, iv: 323-24). Hence, the first aim behind the planning of St Stephen's Green and Oxmantown Green was to generate a profit and a constant source of revenue from the city's common lands.

The planning of St Stephen's Green and Oxmantown Green figures among the general planning scheme enforced throughout Ireland by the colonialist policy of the seventeenth century planters. Andrews, in his *Plantation Acres-An historical Study of Irish Land Surveyor and his Maps*, catalogues these two Greens among the first generation of towns, villages, suburbs and streets which were planned in Ireland by planters during the second half of the seventeenth century. As he reports, the first wave of this new planning development included 'Charleville, Lisburn, Blessington,

Newtown Forbes, Lanesborough and Kilrush, as well as Oxmantown Green and St Stephen's Green in Dublin' (1985: 193). Planning, surveys, mappings and division of the lands according to rigid scientific principles were enforced by a solid military structure which was strengthened during the Cromwelliam period, and whose main purpose was the defence and enforcement of colonialist interests. From this military-colonialist perspective the land was essentially divided into two categories: profitable and non-profitable. What was non-profitable was to be made profitable, and the profitable was to be made easily controllable. By dividing land into regular geometrical shapes an easier form of control could be obtained. Moreover, by using public spaces for military exercise, spatial control could be easily extended to social control. Both the designs of St Stephen's Green and Oxmantown Green corresponded to colonialist requirements, and both the grounds were made profitable and usable for military exercise.

Finally, the cultural forces behind the plans are related to the wider phenomenon of the Renaissance, which during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had a revolutionary effect on the design and use of public space in European cities. The Renaissance in the public domain was characterised by the application of geometric principles to the design of landscape, by the creation of public squares, and by the creation and integration of recreational spaces in the urban environment. The creation of regular forms, their aesthetic appreciation and their use for recreational purposes became the new principle of urban design which could be encapsulated in the formula: 'geometry, beauty, and recreation'. Incipient signs of this phenomenon were already visible in Dublin from the beginning of the century; however, in the 1660s, with the arrival of the Duke of Ormonde and the restored peace, these signs blossomed fully in the city's public spaces. The survey and parcelling-out of the outskirts of St Stephen's Green transformed the old common into a rectangular square located in the centre of its rows of plots. The paving of the roads around the central area, and the walling and planting of trees at the verge of the Green contributed to the creation of a landscape which conformed to the new pan-European canons of urban design. Similarly, in Oxmantown Green the creation of the paved and railed square of Smithfield was an attempt to conform to the new fashionable trend. At the same time, a bowling green was also constructed in Oxmantown Green and its lay-out had a considerable impact on the Dublin recreational scene.

The above three factors had a series of collateral consequences and various other implications for the forms and functions of public green spaces; these are set out below.

6.3.1 The Corporation: private and public interests

Strategies to increase the city revenues and private involvement of the Corporation's members in the plans

> *...the committee, appointed by act of assembly for the affaire of Oxmantowne Greene, had disposed of the mony paid into the hands of Alderman John Desmineeres (being the fines of the lotts of the said Greene) for the paveing of Smithfield, for the publique good of this citty, ... and the honorable Sir Daniell Bellingham, Knight, now Lord Maior of this citty, hath of himselfe disbursed severall summes of mony for the paveing of the said Smithfield ... and for divers other good and beneficial workes now in hand, which are speedily to be effected ...*
>
> (1666, *Ancient records*, iv: 385)

The municipal development of Oxmantown Green and St Stephen's Green saw the active participation of many members of the city council. As seen from the lists of the names of the lessees, the private interests of many members of the commons and members of 'the committee for advance of the citty revenue', were deeply intertwined with the creation of the scheme, which should have been for 'the public good of this city'. Nearly all of those involved in the planning process obtained one - and in some cases more than one - plot in lease. Some also obtained plots in both greens. As reported in the entry in the Assembly Rolls quoted above, Sir Daniell Bellingham had largely contributed to the work of the paving and railing of Smithfield from his own finances. An analysis of the deeds stating the names of the lessees for the years 1666-67, demonstrates also that Bellingham was assigned - allegedly for the public good he had done - a total of 7 plots in Oxmantown Green and 14 plots in St Stephen's Green (1666-67, *Ancient records*, iv: 401- 2).

Although in lesser measure than Bellingham, all of those who obtained a plot had to contribute financially to the external fixtures of the squares. They had to contribute, with the money from their own rents, to either the paving, the erection of railings, the planting of trees, or the creation of walls, as well as the creation of

streets among their plots or the roads surrounding the square. To invest money in such works can be interpreted as a strategic form of property-market investment: the making of squares, which could be considered beautiful and fashionable on international level - following European Renaissance standards - would have increased the economic value of the surrounding plots. This, consequently, would have increased the value of any buildings which the lessees might develop on their own plots, and which they could then rent or sell at higher prices to third parties. Hence, the members of the committee had a relevant personal interest in undertaking works to turn public green places into beautiful modern squares.

For a similar reason, the city council promoted the creation of a bowling green in Oxmantown Green in 1663. The creation of an amenity area would have attracted more potential buyers/investors to the area, and this again would have raised the value of those plots already in the possession of members of the committee. Moreover, the ground for the laying-out of a bowling green was rented to Sir Richard Tighe, who was a member of the committee and already in possession of plot No.18 in Oxmantown Green and plot No. 32 on the North side of St Stephen's Green. The city concluded a contract with Alderman Tighe, between 1663 and 1664 in which he was given a large tract of ground in the Green for the laying out of a bowling green, as will be explained in the course of this chapter (1663-64, *Ancient records*, iv: 286). Although there are no records on the matter, it is likely that Tighe made a profit from the bowling green by asking for entrance fees. This move should have further attracted to the area a rich clientele, allured by the possibility of enjoying an exclusive recreational place.

Among the names of the lessees of Oxmantown Green it is possible to count some noblemen, such as Viscounts Massareene and Dungannon, gentlemen, some merchants and the members of the commitee. It was the aim of the city council to attract members of the aristocracy and other well-off citizens to the area of the old common, and so to transform the Green into a highly desirable district. A third strategic move was then implemented: to have a person of very high status live in the Green, so that others might follow. Seven acres of the western portion of the Green were offered as a gift by the city council to the Duke of Ormonde (see Burke, 1972: 138 and O'Donnell, 1971-72: 141). Of this site, Dunton (1699*a*: 388) said: 'northwest of this (the Bowling Green) is a great plot of land walled, and called the Palace Garden,'tis a piece of ground which the city gave to James the late Duke of

Ormond to build upon'. The council offered this vast portion of the Green to the Duke as an estate in which he could build a new residence. However, Ormonde even if probably acquiescent to the overall plan of the council, never built any mansion house in the grounds of the Green. In fact, the plot itself did not present any outstanding advantage in comparison to the nearby viceroy's residence building in Phœnix Park, and moreover, the Duke was probably deterred from spending his own private money in an area which, despite all municipal efforts, still had such a strong commercial character (Burke, 1972: 158).

The need for a separate commercial area in the city overlapped with the residential plan for Oxmantown Green. The interests of merchants and other entrepreneurs interested in the promotion of commerce and the creation of specific market sites, had in fact a strong influence on the development of the north side in subsequent years.

Finally, the interests of private individuals also brought a transformation to other public green areas, such as Abbey Green and partially Hoggen Green, which along with St Stephen's Green and Oxmantown Green underwent a substantial process of building development and privatisation.

The investment of the revenues in the public good: establishment of a designed market area, of a hospital and a school in Oxmantown Green

The parcelling-out and renting of part of the ground of two of the main common lands in suburban areas ensured a substantial and constant source of income through the years for the city council. This created a relative stability for the city's finances, and the possibility of planning and providing for other works of public utility such as the establishment of a market-place, a hospital and a school.

The 1664-65 plan for Oxmantown Green included also the preservation of a market space: Smithfield. The western area of Oxmantown Green had already been used as the main city livestock market since the early-mediaeval period; however, the contemporary formal establishment of a square specifically designed for commercial purposes, fitted with the new urban logic of order and efficiency (see Andrews, 1987: 12). The creation of a square in Smithfield was part of a broader urban plan, which envisaged the regularisation of all market areas and their shifting from the south to the north side. In the following years, this plan brought the establishment of other market sites, such as Haymarket, Ormonde Market, and the

new Market House (planned by Thomas Ivory on the Green in 1769 - *Ancient records*, xii: 38). These sites helped to reinforce the market culture of the area around Oxmantown Green, despite the apparently contradictory municipal efforts to make of it an elegant residential district. Moreover, on a larger scale, this urban trend also brought about the creation of a market place - known to posterity as the 'eggs-market' - on the Abbey Green, the other large green space on the north side (Warburton *et al.*, 1818: 23).

The 1664-65 plan for Oxmantown Green also envisaged that two of the drawn lots (lots Nos. 85 and 86) be used for the construction of a hospital and school. It took a few years for the implementation of this project; however, in 1670 a 'Hospital and Free School' for the relief of poor children was erected in the Green (see Lewis, 1787: 63-6). The Hospital was located in the two building lots in Queen Street, at the south-east corner of Oxmantown Green. Its construction was partially financed from the rents of plots of land both in Oxmantown Green and St Stephen's Green (see 1671, *Ancient records*, i: 55-56 and 1669-70, *Ancient records*, iv, 483 and 504) and partially through benefactors' donations (1670, *Ancient records*, iv: 492-95). This institution was later known as the Blue Coat Hospital, and successively also as the Blue Coat School. In 1773, it was totally rebuilt, and partially moved to a more central position in the Green. Although this second building is better known for its relevance to architectural studies, the importance of the erection of the original institution stems from the fact that it was 'the first charity of that kind in the kingdom', as commented on by Harris in 1766 (1766: 414). Despite Carew's attempt to build a hospital in Hoggen Green at the beginning of the century (1602, *Ancient records*, ii: 383), the hospital and school in Oxmantown Green were the first concrete provision successfully undertaken by the city council to obviate the lack of those social services and structures which monastic houses had provided to the public over the mediaeval period.

6.3.2 Military forces: landscaping for military training

> *Wood, bog, lake and mountain concealed and sustained resistance, and Elizabethan soldiers hated the terrain with vehemence.*
>
> (Foster, 1988: 6)

Since the Cromwellian war and the Act of Settlement (1652) - which saw the dispossession of lands from Catholic landowners (Canny, 1987: 219) - the presence of soldiers in the country became necessary for the new government to ensure and protect the interests of the English planters. The governors had to ensure the military protection of 'Protestant strangers' to incourage them to 'inhabit and plant' in Ireland' (Gilbert, 1894, vi: xxiv). The military presence in the country - estimated to have reached 35,000 men during the 1650s (Dickson 1987*a*: 8) - became a constant, 'and always contested', component of public space in the Irish landscape until at least the foundation of the Republic (see McParland, 2001: 125).

From that point onwards, the military need for extensive land surveys and production of detailed maps, began to transform the country. The super-imposition of geometrical patterns on irregular, wild, 'unplotted' landscapes, combined with the construction of buildings demonstrating military power, also had tremendous repercussions over the conceptualisation of public space in the urban environment.

In Dublin, the increased presence of the army - combined with the urban sprawl and the diffusion all over Europe of new architectural canons - contributed to the loss of importance of the old medieval walls, and to the creation of new military establishments, which at the same time provided both for the defence of the town and the public display of its governors' power. The construction of the Royal Hospital at Kilmainham, built as a residence for retired soldiers in the 1680s, formally marked the beginning in Dublin of a new age of public architecture (see McParland, 2001). During the Restoration period, many projects were planned in Dublin which aimed to promote and assert the military strength of the city governors. Military urban planning spanned from residential buildings (such as the Royal Hospital and a few years later the Royal Barracks), fortifications and artillery yards, to the specially adapted design of public green spaces for the practice of military exercises.

The survey of both St Stephen's Green and Oxmantown Green was assigned to a military captain Robert Newcomen, and their planning followed the new military understanding of the territory, based on surveying, measuring, mapping and the division of land in regular geometrical forms (see 1663, *Ancient records*, iv: 272). Newcomen was also employed a few years later to survey the ancient fortification of the city, while at the same time he was appointed to survey the ground granted to Ormonde: 'Robert Newcomen ...had beene imployed by the late Lord Maior of this citty to ameasure the anncient fortificacion or lyne of this citty, and alsoe in

surveighing and setting forth seaven acres of land on Oxmantowne Greene, which were granted by this honourable citty to his grace the Lord Duke of Ormonde' (1668-69, *Ancient records*, iv: 456). The appointment of military men on simultaneous issues of fortifications and green space revealed the municipal attitude to the administration of city space, which was largely based on the assertion of military power, and the prioritisation of urban security - and social control - over other public and social issues.

In the 1670s, an artillery yard was laid out in Oxmantown Green 'to exercise the cittizens in armes, for their better instruction in martiall discipline, a thing very usefull and of greate advantage and security to this citty and kingdome' (1671-72, *Ancient records*, v: 4). The artillery yard was specifically designed as a place for the training of soldiers 'in the exercise of armes' (1677, *Ancient records*, v: 139). The consequent modification of the form of the Green is evident in an ordnance of 1671, in which the commons requested the erection of enclosing walls - which were eventually built a few years later (see 1678, *Ancient records*, v: 155) - to accommodate the space to accomplish its new functions:

> *Whereas certeine of the comons preferred their petition unto this assembly, shewing that forasmuch as the Green in Oxmantowne, preserved for a walk for the cittizens and place to exercise the militia or other forces (if occasion should be), by reason of its lying open, would become a very greate annoyance to the inhabitants of this citty, but if otherwise the same were walled in and kept in decent order would be very advantageous and fitt for the ends aforesaid, the petitioners therefore prayed an order of this assembly for the incloseing and preserveing the said Greene ...*
>
> (1671, *Ancient records*, v: 139)

However, the ground of Oxmantown Green, because of all the development taking place at its fringes, was considered too small to accommodate the numerous military exercises planned by the governors. Hence, even the ground of St Stephen's Green had to be made suitable for the same purposes. In 1666, following a petition presented by the commons to the council (see below), it was decided that the ground of St Stephen's Green had to be made suitable for military exercises. In this case, because the Green had already been enclosed by walls three years previously, the main provision taken was to ensure that the ground was to be laid 'smooth and plane',

and implicitly as a merely empty space, devoid of rocks, shrubs, and trees, which in fact would be planted along its borders.

> *Whereas certaine of the commons petitioned unto the said assembly, shewing that whereas his grace the Lord Duke of Ormonde, takeing notice of the many buildings lately made on Oxmantowne Greene, which have taken upp soe much roome there that his majesties horses and foote guards and the citty militia have not conveniency to exercise as formerly, did therefore by his letter, bearing date the eleventh day of August, instant, especially recommend it to this citty to take present order that the ground upon Saint Stephens Greene lately walled in be forthwith made fitt for that purpose, as by the said letter annexed to the said petition did appeare; and the petitioners (considering it would be a worke very acceptable to his grace to comply with his desires in the premisses, and a thing which will tend much to the advantage and beauty of the citty), did therefore humbly pray that some course might be laid downe in this assembly for the laying the said ground smooth and plaine for the uses aforesaid ...*
>
> (1666, *Ancient records*, iv: 384)

Moreover, a tent, referred to as 'the great tent', was annually erected on the Green from the first of May to the end of June/beginning of July, for the mayor and the members of the corporation to attend military spectacles and to inspect the trained bands of freemen (1677, *Ancient records*, v: 138; 1678-79, *Ancient records*, v: 171; 1680, *Ancient records*, v: 199; 1683, *Ancient records*, v: 299; 1684, *Ancient records*, v: 344 and see Peter, 1925: 60). For this reason, in 1676 'the Lord Mayor of this citty, for the conveniency of the cittizens marching to Saint Stephens Green on May Day last, did order a new pavement there to be made and a gate erected, for which there is due to the workmen the summe of fourty pounds' (1676, *Ancient records*, v: 110).

The city council invested a large amount of money in adapting the use of the two largest public green spaces in the city for the above purposes. There are numerous entries in the Assembly Rolls recording the expenditure for the aforementioned works - walling, erection of gates, paving, levelling of the grounds, 'pitching of the tent' and so on- and on top of these a large sum of money was spent in enhancing the 'spectacle' aspect of the military exhibitions which were held there on special occasions (see also 1666, *Ancient records*, iv: 384). It is recorded, for example, that 'there was expended uppon Oxmantown Greene in entertayning the

Lords Justices and Council on the day that the militia of this cittie marched out in order to the takeinge of oathes of allegiance and supremacie, the summe of forty and five pounds tenn shillings, sterling' (1661, *Ancient records*, iv: 208). As the greens were common and well known public places, such occasions offered the military an 'artillery showground' for the public display of power.

Furthermore, in 1674 the Dutch engineer Bernard de Gomme planned a star-shaped fort, east of St. Stephen's Green, towards the area of Rings End (see *Ancient records*, v: 566), a few years later, in 1685, Thomas Phillips planned a fortified citadel in St Stephen's Green (McParland, 2001:139-140).

Both these expensive projects were never carried out, but they were similar to structures of the same kind being built in England, Europe, and the over-seas colonies (Sheridan, 2001: 75). Between the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth, many European and colonial towns saw an increasing integration of the military structures and public green spaces used for general recreation by the population. These were not mutually exclusive as a public green area was often the most suitable open space in the urban territory for soldiers to exercise and practice military manœuvres, and often the same public space was used by the population for recreational and/or other public activities.

Old mediaeval walls, ramparts, bastions, and other military fortifications were gradually transformed into terraced walks, public parks and gardens. This was a slow process of integration, re-adaptation and substitution of military function by recreational function which often allowed the survival of large-scale military structures. Examples of this kind of 'military-park' can be found in Paris and Perpignan (France) in Torino, Lucca, Volterra and Pesaro (Italy), Cologne (Germany), Copenaghen (Denmark) and Wienn (Austria), and over-sea for example in old colonial towns such as Quebec City and Montreal (Canada), and Melaka (Malaysia) (see also Panzini, 1997: 79-83). Browne (2000: 82-104) records the presence of several star-forts in England (such as at Earith near Huntingdon and at Queen's Sconce near Newark), and many of these were created in the aftermath of the Civil War. These military structures were considered 'fashionable' and had assumed architectural prestige, since their inception.

Although on a smaller scale, these constructions, as shown in the works of John Evelyn (see his *Kalendarium Hortense*, in Browne 2000: 82-104), and the landscape architect Stephen Switzer (see also *Iconographia Rustica*, 1718), were

built also by private individuals between the second half of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, simply as garden ornaments. These garden creations, shaped by a rigid geometry, encapsulated the new colonial values of order, control, and efficiency which, when coupled with the care of the lawn and of the bordering plants, constituted an enduring match which was to have a large influence on gardening strategies all over Europe and the colonies in the following century. The 'military garden', as alluded to by Browne (2000), was born.

6.3.3 Cultural factors: pan-European diffusion of Renaissance principles

The aftermath of the second wave of English colonisation in Ireland was characterised by substantial changes in the form and functions of public green spaces. In Dublin, not only did the imposition of the army have a dramatic impact on the grounds of both Oxmantown and St Stephen's Greens, the new ruling class also imposed a new design. The municipal plans of 1663 and 1664-65, had envisaged, the application of a distinctive new landscape model to the old commons. As Craig (1992: 19) writes, with special reference to St Stephen's Green, that the Corporation 'proposed to turn an ancient common into a municipally-owned square', and this newly developed square had attributes typical of the Renaissance style. A similar proposal was also implemented in Oxmantown Green, and although this was not wholly transformed into a square, it was so partially. Both of the designs, besides the economic and the military-colonialist aspects, also had a precise cultural explanation which derived from the pan-European diffusion of Renaissance principles, and the examination of which is the subject of the next section.

6.4 THE GEOMETRIC DESIGN AND INTEGRATION OF RECREATIONAL GREEN SPACE IN THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT

6.4.1 Physical description of St Stephen's Green

In the Assembly Rolls post 1663, St Stephen's Green is nearly always referred to as the 'green' and not as the 'square', with the only exception being an entry in 1697 (*Ancient records*, vi: 164). The old mediaeval terminology was thus maintained, although by now it was *de facto* a formal square. Its first graphic representation appears in De Gomme's map (1673) (see Figure 6.1).

It had a rectangular shape, was enclosed by a wall, and flanked by a single line of trees on each side, delimiting a large rectangular expanse of grass. The drawing also includes three protruding rectangular features - located in the centre of the west, north and east walls - which could be interpreted as gates. It emerges, from various entries in the Assembly Rolls, that the streets adjacent to the walls were paved (see 1674-75, *Ancient records*, v: 38); that the central ground was ploughed and levelled (1666, *Ancient records*, iv: 384 and 1669, *Ancient records*, iv, 468); that walks had been created (1670, *Ancient records*, iv: 510 and 1674-75, *Ancient records*, v: 38) - and presumably gravelled - between the wall and the trees; that ditches had been dug along the walls (see 1676, *Ancient records*, v: 123): and that stiles had been erected (1674-75, *Ancient records*, v: 38 and 1688, *Ancient records*, v: 483). Moreover it is recorded that the trees planted were sycamores (1663, *Ancient records*, iv: 257), and that the gates were made of wood (1675, *Ancient records*, v: 89). The need for ditches and the creation of an efficient drainage system (see 1676, *Ancient records*, v: 123), combined with the description of the Green by writers in the following centuries, seem to indicate that the ground was quite 'swampy', to use Warburton's words (1818: 459-63). This was to be a recurrent problem in the history of the Green.

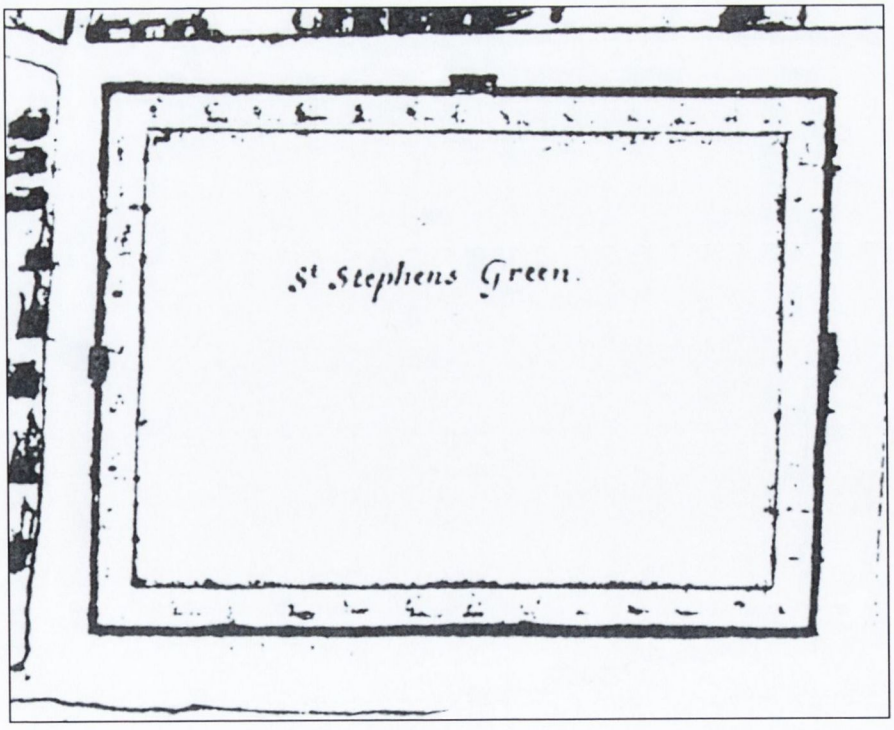


Figure 6.1 Layout of St Stephen's Green. Extract from Bernard de Gomme's map of the city and suburbs, 1673.

The perimeter of the square measured about one mile. The old common had covered an area of about sixty acres; seventeen of this were set out for the building lots, while a green area of twenty-seven acres[1] was enclosed for preservation (see Commissioners of Public Works, 1980:2; Craig, 1992: 19; Dudley, 2000: 157; Sheridan, 2001: 82). The grandiose scale can be appreciated also from the writings of commentators in the following centuries such as Ferrar (1796: 34), who wrote that the Green was one of the largest squares in Europe, and Warburton *et al.* (1818, 459-63), who affirmed that 'this square is in extent the first in the British Empire'.

The landscaping of the square was carried out over a period of about twenty years, and required the employment of several professionals - such as gardeners, carpenters, masons - as well as 'others', such as 'labourers, horses and servants' (1671-2, *Ancient records*, v: 7 and 1677, *Ancient records*, v: 129). In 1675, the professional figure of the 'green keeper' was officially created (1675, *Ancient records*, v: 69); and in the 1680s the Green was also provided with a watch-house (see 1684-85, *Ancient records*, v: 358).

The expenditures in relation to these works are recorded in numerous entries in the Assembly Rolls. Besides the initial bulk of the works, which included paving and walling, the costs also covered ordinary maintenance of the Green, such as the repairing of walls and gates, the regular pruning and planting of trees, water-drainage, and the care of the lawn. One of the most expensive undertakings was the ploughing and levelling of the ground, which in only three years (between 1666 and 1669) cost the corporation a total of 178 pounds, 14 shillings and 6 pence sterling (1666, *Ancient records*, iv: 532 and 1669, *Ancient records*, iv, 468). The overall creation of the square was one of the greatest municipal costs between 1660 and 1680; in fact the expenditure recorded for St Stephen's Green in the Assembly Rolls is extremely high when compared to the costs entered for other municipal works in other documents related to the 1660s (see also Dudley, 2000: 166).

As reported in the records, one of the reasons behind the works, apart from merely economic and military purposes, was the 'beautification' of the Green, and it is stated that the works were carried out so 'that the said Greene might be beautified and adorned for the use of the said citty' (1669-70, *Ancient records* iv: 488-89). The

[1] Today the railings around the Green enclose an area of about 22 acres (9 hectares) (Commissioners of Public Works, 1980:2).

landscaping of the Green was part of the spirit of the Restoration, which similarly affected the changes occurring in Oxmantown Green.

6.4.2 Physical description of Oxmantown Green

In 1665, a tree-lined walk was planned near the river on the south side of Oxmantown Green. This was with the express purpose of creating a walking place for the citizens of Dublin, and 'to add much beauty unto the said Greene'. The ground was levelled and planted with elm and sycamore trees, 'as may be most convenient for ornament', and was railed at each end, to keep the cattle away (1665, *Ancient records* iv: 357). This process of 'beautification' went in tandem with military necessity:

> *Whereas certeine of the comons preferred their petition unto this assembly, shewing that forasmuch as the Green in Oxmantowne, preserved for a walk for the cittizens and place to exercise the militia or other forces (if occasion should be), by reason of its lying open, would become a very greate annoyance to the inhabitants of this citty, but if otherwise the same were walled and kept in decent order would be very advantageous and fitt for the ends aforesaid, the petitioners therefore prayed an order of this assembly for the incloseing and preserveing the said Greene in such manner as the assembly should thinke fitt ...*
>
> (1671, *Ancient records,* iv: 527)

After the petition of the commons in 1671, the council approved a maximum expenditure of 50 pounds for the erection of walls and for keeping the Green in 'decent order'. However this initially recommended expenditure increased substantially as works were carried on in the following decade. By 1678, the Green was surrounded by walls and stiles - combined with a fencing system - and had an entrance gate (1678, *Ancient records* v: 155; 1678, *Ancient records* v: 160; see also 1770 *Ancient records* xii: 49). Another line of trees was planted in 1684-85 (*Ancient records* v: 534) on the west side of the Green, against the wall of the plot belonging to the Duke of Ormonde. The east side of the Green however was transformed into a paved and railed square (Smithfield) and surrounded by rows of trees between 1666 and 1667 (1666, *Ancient records* iv: 385; 1667 (*Ancient records* iv: 406). This was separated from the rest of the Green by the highway and private plots according to

the 1664-65 plans. Although the Green was not transformed into a square, but was divided into different sections which were eventually built over, these initial landscaping works sat well with the changes effected by the Renaissance in other parts of the city, and generated an increased appreciation for tree planting across the country.

6.4.3 Tree planting

A remarkable part of both the plans for St Stephen's Green and Oxmantown Green was the compulsory planting of trees. The lessees were obliged by contract to plant trees in front of their lots in order to create a row of trees on each side of the squares. The municipal provision of tree-planting in the urban environment was part of a national change in urban planning which also affected other Irish towns from the Restoration period onwards. As reported by McParland (2001: 22) in *c.* 1690, part of the ramparts of Belfast were planted with trees, and a few years later a walk from the new quay in Waterford was also lined with trees, while similar examples followed in Newry and in Cork. In the following century, nearly all Irish towns experienced similar development.

Beyond the 'aesthetic-decorative' factor, the process of tree planting stemmed from sheer economic necessity. Since the beginning of the century, an increasing need for timber - for building, heating, shipping, construction works, the making of innumerable artefacts of every-day use, and the incipient industrialisation process - had caused a dramatic deforestation of the country (see McCracken, 1971). As Lydon (1998: 203) explains, referring to initial ironworks and glassworks, 'the furnace of industry demanded charcoal and this led to the destruction of most woodland'. The cutting of trees reached a vertiginous point during the Cromwellian years, and the timber market was a great source of income for the new Cromwellian owners, who were in search of quick profits (MacLysaght, 1969: 139). In the Restoration period, because of a growing population and an expanding economy, the demand for timber further increased. Moreover, a large amount of Irish timber was exported for construction work in England, and in 1667 alone, a substantial amount of Irish timber was required for the rebuilding of London after the Great Fire (MacLysaght, 1969: 139). According to Foster (1988: 6), while at the beginning of the seventeenth century woods covered about one-eighth of the country, towards the end of the century these had almost disappeared.

All these events made it necessary to import foreign timber and the introduction of specific programmes for the planting of new trees. An ordnance of 1669-70 (*Ancient records*, iv: 490) reports that a Mr Richard Lord was employed as an agent by the city council to ensure that the lessees of St Stephen's Green planted trees and attended to their growth as stipulated in the initial contract. The final part of the same ordnance reveals contemporary thinking on the issue, and the link between the planting of trees and the marketing of timber : '... it is therefore ordered and agreed upon, by the authority aforesaid, that Mr. Richard Lord, the citty's agent, be imployed to manadge and solicite the said affaires from time to time hereafter, for that the petioners are informed that there is a greate quantity of lime trees now within this citty to be sould at reasonable rates' (1669-70, *Ancient records*, iv: 489). Although the trees in St Stephen's Green were not planted to be sold, their planting was part of the same scheme whose purpose was that of increasing the mass of timber in the country. Trees in fact had became precious goods, whose maintenance, growth and preservation was an important matter for the city council. In the 1670s, two city gardeners were allocated five pounds and forty shillings for the planting of other trees (on top of those planted by the lessees) in St Stephen's Green, and three pounds, five shilllings 'for watching the said trees' (1670, *Ancient records*, iv: 510). In 1675, the keeper of St Stephen's Green, among his other duties, had to 'preserve the trees there planted, and in any case any of them decay to plant other in their roome' (1675, *Ancient records*, iv: 69). Similarly in 1684-85, a city gardener was allocated the sum of four pounds, three shillings, and six pence for the planting of several trees in Oxmantown Green - bordering the wall of the ground assigned to the Duke of Ormande - and a further twenty trees in St Stephen's Green (1684-85, *Ancient records*, v: 354).

Dublin was a great national centre for the timber-market (import and export) and it had already been reported in the Assembly Rolls of 1637 that 'the markett of timber imported by sea is so encreased that the Woodkea, where the said timber is now landed and [solde], is daylie soe cumbred that it cannott be kept cleane, and the coales and other necessaries for the citties provision cannot soe commodiouslie bee landed ...' (1637, *Ancient records*, iii: 337). Timber was imported from several other European countries - such as Scotland, Wales, Norway, Sweden and the Baltic region- and from the oversea colonies - in particular from New England (see McParland, 2001: 13, 32).

As shown by Ferrar (1796: 56), a contribution to the involvement of Ireland in the international timber trade, and to the parallel introduction to the island of exotic species (especially conifers), was the work of the Dublin Society. The Society, since its establishment in 1685 and throughout the following century, had a great influence on the diffusion of scientific knowledge related to horticulture, gardening, agriculture and forestry. The work of the Society was also supported by the initiative of wealthy private landowners such as Sir George Rawdown and Lord Massareene, who - in demonstration of the positive horticultural/commercial spirit of the period - wrote in one of his letters that his 'greatest entertainment is planting' (letter addressed to Sir Richard Newdigate, quoted in MacLysaght, 1969: 136).

In this new commercial environment, the Irish landscape had become exploitable in every way, and thus had to be shaped - or re-shaped - in a manner that would most enhance its productivity. The clearance of woodland was also a consequence of the necessity of creating new fields for agriculture, and as noted by Dickson (1987*a*: 96), the reclamation of bog, marsh and 'mountain' can be considered as one of the great economic achievements of the period.

This fact, combined with the new administration of the land, caused in Dublin the erosion of the irregularly shaped common lands. However, economic wealth in Ireland still lay in the maintenance and extension of pasture grounds, and the economy continued to be largely based on sheep farming until at least the 1720s (Dickson, 1987*a*: 100). In some of the greens the grazing function persisted through the Restoration Period. A large part of Oxmantown Green as still shown as 'common' in De Gomme's map of Dublin, and it is also very likely that the south and east sides of St Stephen's Green were used for grazing and agriculture for a few decades after the commencement of works on the other sides (Craig, 1992: 20). In this context even the 'herbage' left to grow at the centre of the square of St Stephen's Green is to be interpreted as a horticultural commodity. Initially in 1675 'the graseing and herbage' were assigned to the green keeper, and it is reported that 'he [was] to have the benefitt of the herbage dureing the said time in consideration of his service and charge, provided he putt noe cattle loose therein' (1675, *Ancient records*, iv: 69). However, as reported in numerous entries in the Assembly Rolls, from the 1680s onwards, it was considered to be the property of the Lord Mayor (see Ferrar, 1796: 34). The importance of the herbage, which was landscaped in a squared shape was further enhanced by its æsthetic decorative function.

6.4.4 Influences of Renaissance precepts, and origins of the lawn as a central feature in the design of public green spaces

> *... there should not be any trees in the middle of the lawn, but let its surface delight in the open air.*
>
> (Albertus Magnus's precept as cited in Piero de' Crescenzi *Ruralium Commodorum Liber*,1305; quoted in Landsberg, 1995: 13)

The creation of squares, the planting of trees in straight lines, the maintenance of the lawn as the central feature, and the creation of side walks, were all elements which derived from the application of Renaissance precepts to gardening and landscaping in general. The movement originated in Italy in the fifteenth century, and from there spread to other European countries affecting the arts, architecture and landscaping until about the eighteenth century (Towner, 1996 and Gianni, 2002). The general precepts of the Renaissance consisted in the re-evaluation of classical architectural principles - based on the application of Euclidean geometry to landscaping and constructions on a grandiose scale - combined with the integration of recreational space and green areas in the urban environment. Andrea Palladio (1508-80) one of the pioneering Italian architects on the subject wrote in *De Re Aedificatoria*:

> *A city is not built wholly for the sake of shelter, but ought to be so contrived, that besides more civil conveniences there may be handsome spaces left for squares, courses for chariots, gardens, places to take the air in, and the like, both for amusement and recreation.*
>
> (Palladio, quoted in Gutkind 1969, iv: 116).

The creation of the urban square as a place to take the air for 'greenery' and recreation was one of the greatest urban achievements of the Renaissance; the idea influenced the urban structure of many European cities, and was adapted to various national contexts, being manifest in the various forms of *piazza, platz, plaza, place,* and *square.*

Originally, as early as 1260, the landscaping of green areas in squared or rectangular forms, with a central lawn bordered by rows of trees, was the landscaping model which had been advocated by Albertus Magnus in his

dissertations on landscape design included in *De vegetabilus et plantis*. This model, which emphasised the importance of the lawn as a central feature *per se*, and devoid of any other plants or artefacts, was initially applied to the landscaping of cloister gardens in monastic houses. It was then re-discovered and re-appraised at different stages in the following centuries. Already in 1305, Piero de' Crescenzi had mentioned Magnus' precepts in *Ruralium Commodorum Liber* (see Harvey, 1981: 5-8 and Landsberg, 1995: 13), and was eventually 're-packaged' as a landscaping formula for both private gardens and urban public green spaces in the Renaissance period. Finally, the green square, and the lawn within it, became a particularly successful landscaping model in English society. From the 1660s onwards, it was adopted as the modern urban artefact in the planning processes of many towns in England, in Ireland and also, in later years, in the overseas colonies.

Bloomsbury Square in London was laid out by Lord Southampton only two years earlier than St Stephen's Green (Craig, 1992: 19). Southampton developed the square creating marginal building lots to be leased. Because the lessee would have borne the cost of building and at the end of the lease, ownership would have reverted to the landlord, Southampton was able to ensure a solid profit from the scheme. Dudley (2000: 158) suggests that the Dublin planning might have been inspired by this building scheme initiated by Southampton. However, considering the short lapse of time between the origins of the two landscaped green areas and considering also the vaster scale of St Stephen's Green, it would be too simplistic to infer a direct derivation of planning of the Irish green square from the English one. It is more likely that this particular design arrived in Ireland through a combination of both English and European influences, in effect in a coalescence of economic, colonial and cultural processes.

6.4.5 Anglicisation process: a colonialist approach to landscaping

Although some traces of Renaissance design could be identified in Hoggen Green from the beginning of the century, and although Wenthworth's decision to preserve the town greens 'for the citizen's to walk and take the fresh air' dated to 1635, the Renaissance fully bloomed in Dublin's public spaces following the arrival of the Duke of Ormonde (Craig, 1992: 3). The public works and the economic investment in improving the city's public structure under the viceroyalty of Ormonde, together

with the creation of neo-classical squares and other urban features, transformed Dublin into a modern capital whose status was recognised internationally.

Renaissance ideas had been adopted and recognised as symbols of power all over Europe since the sixteenth century. Art, refinement, beauty, education and elite recreation: these were the new means available to the modern ruling classes for the expression of power. The adoption of the Renaissance style allowed the *nouveau riches* of Dublin to construct a strong identity for themselves and at the same time served to create places which marked their new status. As Towner (1996) remarks when describing the general attitude of wealth-owning classes in the time period considered, they preferred to identify with other powerful European classes, rather than with the poorer majority of people living in their own country. It is thus understandable how the creation of public landscaped green spaces and the introduction of new fashionable forms of recreation offered the gentry a great opportunity to take possession of public space, and to transform its obsolete medieval rural character into a creature of modernity. Furthermore, this was an opportunity for the upper classes to exclude and to dissociate themselves from the lower classes, which until then had used the common green areas for grazing or other popular forms of recreational activities and public festivities. As a consequence, the urban changes brought in with the Restoration, created a significant division in the use of public space, a division which had strong social repercussions throughout the following century (see Burke, 1978 and Isherwood, 1986).

Furthermore, the landscaping process experienced by public green spaces during the Restoration period can be interpreted as part of the government's need to promote order, civility and Protestant culture among the Irish (see Foster, 1988: 35). The greens geometric design was part of the broader national colonial process, which envisaged the subdivision of 'wild' Irish lands into regular plots that could be easily controlled. At a social level, the modification of the landscape can be interpreted as an attempt to modify and 'put order' into the society which lived in this space, in a process which could be called the elimination of disorder through geometry.

The 'civilising' function of the new 'ordered' green was part of those colonial strategies that included a series of changes both at cultural and social levels: the destabilisation of the Irish image abroad through English literature, the destabilisation of Irish Catholicism, of the Irish language, and of Irish habits and customs in general. As remarked upon by Lydon (1998: 220), especially after the

1641 rebellion, English writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had a remarkable tendency to criticise and despise Irish customs (see for example Sir John Temple's *The Irish rebellion*, published in 1646). Several attempts were made by the English governors to repress the 'Irish wild nature'. Ordinances were issued for the abolition of the Irish language and habits, among these an ordnance of 1657 reports:

> *by the lawes all persons of this land ought to speak and use the English tongue and habitt ... Irish habitt is worne not onelie in the streetes, and by such as live in the countrie and come to this cittie on market dayes, but also by and in severall families in this cittie, to the great discontentment of the right honorable his highness... and the scandalizing of the inhabitants and magistratts of the cittie ... swearinge, curseinge and blasphemie used ... soe it is a high provokeinge of God which may justlie cause the plague ... some rules in the same for the redresse of the said evills, such as should bee thought meete and fitt.*
>
> (1657, *Ancient records*, iv: 119)

Because the lower classes and people coming from the countryside, as mentioned above, had an opportunity to gather in the city public spaces, and thus as a group, to reinforce through practice their native customs and habits, the use of such spaces and the application of new rules to their functions became vital instruments of the governors in the creation of a new civilised society.

Furthermore, there were attempts to destroy – or keep under the strictest control - all recreational pursuits involving mass activity in public spaces, while at the same time measures were taken to obliterate popular Irish traditions, many of which were associated with old pagan rituals and popular sports and games in public spaces (see 1620, *Ancient records* iii: 124). At the beginning of the century, an ordinance was issued to forbid the playing of 'unlawful games', among which are listed 'stodball, coiting, tennes, cudgielles', in any public open space in the city on Sunday or any other 'Holy-days' (1612, *Ancient records* iii: 20). This was also the result of the diffusion of a strong form of Puritanism in England as well as in Ireland and the overseas colonies between the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. Puritanism initiated a crusade against Sunday games, pagan celebrations, and any form of public recreation which was not considered appropriate to a civilised and polite society (Kraus, 1971: 161 and Towner, 1996: 49). In Ireland, this increase in a rigid religious and civic moralism was attributed by some authors to the aftermath of

the Cromwellian campaign, to the commonwealth, and to the English Civil War (see MacLysaght, 1969: 153 and Evans, 1988: 10). Some influential Irish elements of English origin, such as David Rothe, appointed Bishop of Ossory in 1618, identified Protestantism as the instrument to 'eliminate barbarous customs, abolish bestial rites, and convert the detestable intercourse of savages into polite manners and a case for maintaining the commonwealth' (quoted in Foster, 1988: 47). All these factors combined to destroy the old mediaeval rural commons and to create, in their places new 'exclusive' recreational areas.

6.4.6 The bowling green in Oxmantown Green

The 1663-64 plan for Oxmantown Green also envisaged the construction of a Bowling Green, whose layout is represented in De Gomme's map (Figure 6.2). This Bowling Green was developed by alderman Richard Tighe. Between 1663 and 1664, Mr. Tighe obtained from the Corporation a large tract of ground in the south-eastern portion of Oxmantown Green in fee-farm for the annual amount of twenty shillings, together with the gift of 'a couple of fatt capons unto the Maior of the said citty' (1663-64: *Ancient records* iv: 286). The ground was assigned to him with the contractual obligation to use it exclusively for the construction of a bowling green: 'that the said twenty eight perches of ground shall be disposed of to noe other use but for a bowling greene; and if the said Richard Tighe ... shall otherwise make use of the said bowling greene, this grant of fee farme from that time to cease and be void ...' and, in such a case, also a penalty of one hundred pounds was to be paid (1663-64: *Ancient records* iv: 286 and see also 1724, *Ancient records* vii: 273-75). The dimensions of the Bowling Green were 'containing in length, from two pearches length of the Bridewell in the East, the full number of twenty eight pearches, and in bredth from north to south thirteene pearches' (1663-64: *Ancient records* iv: 286). As a perch is approximately equivalent to 5 meters, it can be concluded that it was located at a distance of 10 meters from the Bridewell, and that it measured 140 meters by 65 meters, giving a total surface of 0.91 hectares (about 2.25 acres).

The plan of 1663-64 also provided other physical information on the Bowling Green, such as the fact that it had to be surrounded by a wall 10 feet high and 20 inches thick (*c.*3 m high and 50 cm thick) which was to be made of either stones or bricks. Moreover, the said Tighe had to build in the same plot of ground a 'convenient house for the accommodation of gentlemen ...which shall resort to the

said Greene'. This building, located at the south-western corner of the Bowling Green was referred to in documents as 'the bowling house' (1676 *Ancient records* v: 115) and in later years also as 'the banqueting hall' (see advt. in *Dublin Intelligence* of 28 July, 1724, quoted in Fagan, 1986: 78 and also see 1724, *Ancient records* vii: 273-5).

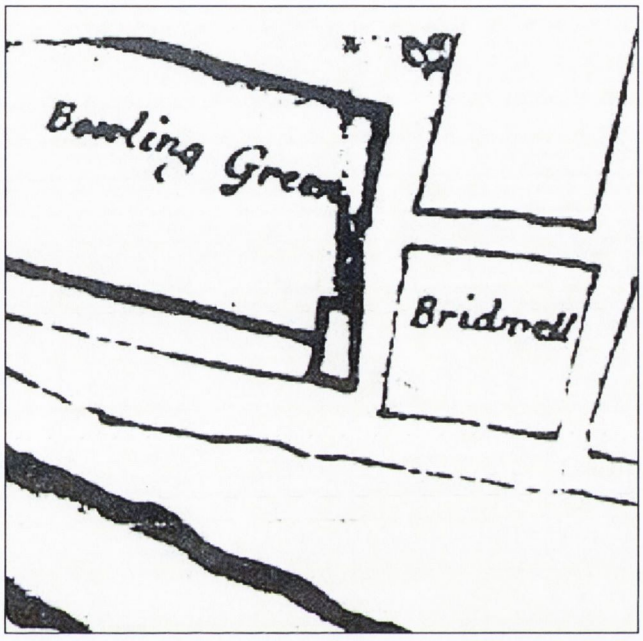


Figure 6.2 Bowling Green in Oxmantown Green. Extract from Bernard de Gomme's map of the city and suburbs, 1673.

Although at the risk of sounding self evident, it is important to note that the main characteristic of the Bowling Green was its large green levelled surface. As mentioned by some authors, when referring to seventeenth century bowling greens in general (Mac Lysaght, 1969: 160-1; Evans 1988: 16-18; and Lamb & Bowe, 1995: 22), the care of the turf must have been a difficult task, considering that sheep were banned from these places, and that lawnmowers did not exist, and thus the use of simple garden tools such as the hand roller, shears and scythe must have reached a very high level of proficiency in Dublin between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Lamb and Bowe (1995) even suggest that 'the care of the lawn', and an appreciation for its æsthetic value became of particular importance in Irish and English landscape gardening, as a consequence of its importance in the game of bowls (see also Evans, 1988: 18). The importance of keeping the bowling greens as smooth as possible, since the Restoration period, in Ireland as well in England, is

evident also by the number of contemporary books and treatises on the subject. In 1683, an English writer, Randle Holme, writing on the *Orders agreed upon by Gentleman Bowlers*, stated that 'Noe high heeles enter for spoiling the green, they forfeit 6d' (quoted in Evans, 1988: 18). Holme, in his treatise, also highlighted the difference between bowling greens and bowling alleys: 'bowling greens are open wide places made smooth and even' and 'generally palled or walled about', while bowling alleys 'are close places, set apart and made more for privett persons than publick use' (quoted in Evans, 1988: 18).

In Dublin, there were both bowling greens and alleys, with the latter having been present from St Andrew's Church in Hoggen Green since the beginning of the seventeenth century (see 1620-21, *Ancient records* iii: 133, and see also 1655-66, *Ancient records* iv: 88). A document of 1662, states that:

> *Henry, Lord Bishop of Meath, shall have a lease for the tearme of ninetie and nine years ...uppon all that the wast peece of ground, commonlie called the Bowleinge Alley, on Hoggen Greene...enclosed with a mudd wall, contayneinge in lenght, from north to south, one hundred, fiftie and sixe foote, and in breadth, from east to west, at the end thereof towards Checquer Lane, one hundred and sixe foote, bee it more or lesse, at the yearely rent of three pounds, sterling, hee, his executors, administrators, or assignes beinge engaged to lay out in buildeinge on the said ground the summe of five hundred pounds sterling, within seaven yeares after the date hereof.*
>
> (1662, *Ancient records* iv: 238)

This place was leased to Henry, Lord Bishop of Meath, in 1662, having been held previously by Robert Taylor (1620-21, *Ancient records* iii: 133), who since the 1620s, had been 'allowed to make what profitt and benefitt he can of the free use or exercise of bowling, and that he, the said Robart, shall have the chardge and care of looking and overseeing the said inrayled bowling place dureing our pleasures' (1620-21, *Ancient records* iii: 133). The Bishop seems to have converted it to other use soon thereafter, as the same place a few years later was simply referred to as the ground 'commonly called the old bowling alley' (1671, *Ancient records* v: 529), thus hinting that by that stage it had already fallen into disuse for the game of bowls, probably succumbing to the increasing importance of the Oxmantown bowling green.

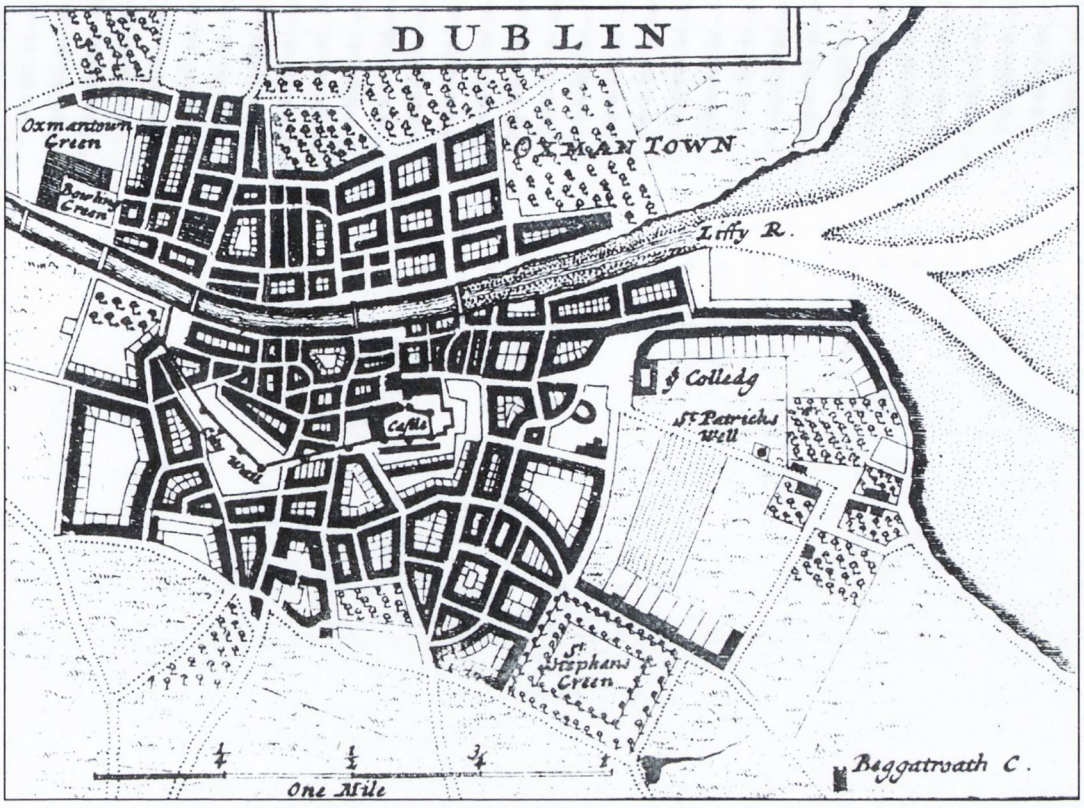


Figure 6.3 Map of Dublin by Henry Pratt, 1708. Reproduced from Henry Moll, *A new map of Ireland*, London, 1714. NLI.

The spatial importance gained by Oxmantown bowling green between the seventeenth and eighteenth century is evident from De Gomme's (1673) and Pratt's (1705) maps. In both these maps, Oxmantown's Bowling Green is drawn with a particular cartographic emphasis with respect to other urban features. In Pratt's map, and in its reproduction by Henry Moll (1714), the Bowling Green is one of the few highlighted urban artefacts of the whole city, which also the Castle, the City Wall, the College, St Patrick's Well, St Stephen's Green, and the district of Oxmantown (see Figure 6.3). Because both the maps of Pratt and Moll seem to have been produced for commercial purposes (Kissane, 1987: 4), it is evident that this site, designed in the fashion of a main tourist recreational attraction, was also considered to be a reason of pride for the capital city. Dunton wrote of this bowling green that it was comparable for its highly fashionable standards to its other European counterparts (Dunton, 1699*b*: 209) and that:

> *The Bowling-green is the only thing that Dublin exceeds or equals London in. It is a very large piece of ground well walled in, and the walls covered with fruit-trees: the southern wall has an handsome terrace walk its whole length and, for the eveness of so large a ground it much surpasses the Green at Marrowbone...*
>
> (Dunton, 1699*a*: 388)

6.4.7 An insight on the origins of the game of bowls, its symbolism, and its success among nobility and gentry.

Evans (1988) informs us that this game, which was *in vogue* among the nobility and gentry across Europe during the seventeenth century, had very ancient origins. According to this author, its origins can be dated to the early Egyptian civilisation, about 5,200 years ago. Several variants of the game had since developed in European countries, such as *Boccie* in Italy, *Boule* in France, *Quilles* in the Basque Countries, and *Kegel* in Germany (Evans 1988: 7). The game probably reached Britain as a consequence of the Norman invasion; as Evans explains, when referring to the English game, 'Bowling a ball along the ground is, however, a feature of the old German game of Kegel, played as early as the 3rd or 4th century A.D. In this case the game took on a markedly religious aspect as the target clubs or skittles were regarded as representing the Heathen and the Christian bowler, in knocking him down, was hence cleansed of sin. The game thus gained full church approval and was, in fact, played along monastic cloisters' (Evans, 1988: 7). Because the main characteristic of the British game was the rolling of bowls on a levelled green surface, the game took the name of Lawn Bowls or Bowling on the Green. It is also possible that the medieval religious symbolism of the game favoured its future diffusion and appreciation in Puritan societies. Through England, bowling spread progressively to the overseas colonies, and as Towner (1996: 39) remarks, the 'Bowling Green' and 'The Fields' were the only open green spaces available as a public amenity to the citizens of New York at the end of the seventeenth century in the aftermath of its English occupation. It is very likely that bowling became famous in Ireland because of its appreciation by the English ruling classes. These would have then set the fashionable trend for the rest of the nobility and gentry throughout the country. This appreciation would have been further reinforced through the contacts of Ireland with continental Europe, especially through the Duke of Ormonde, who had spent a long time at the court of Versaille.

The association of the nobility and gentry with bowling places emerge from the writings of contemporary writers. Sir Arthur Rawdon (1662-95), amateur botanist and owner of an extensive Renaissance garden at Moira, Co. Down, wrote that Oxmantown's Bowling Green was, simply, 'a most noble place and every evening my Lord Deputy bowls there' (quoted in Fagan, 1986: 78 and in MacLisaght, 1969: 159; also see Lamb & Bowe, 1995: 24). Similarly, Rawdon remarked about

Oxmantown bowling green: 'Alderman's Tye's new bowling green (played upon so airy ground) so fans the nobility and gentry of both sexes every day that no immoderate heat offends them or putrifies their blood' (quoted in MacLisaght, 1969: 159). Dunton, in his *My conversation in Ireland*, reports that when he visited Kilkenny Castle, he was present at a game of bowls played by the Duke of Ormonde and his guests (1699*b*; 212). Moreover, an 'honourable lady' quoted by Dunton, wrote that bowling was also played by the ladies, and considered it '... no improper recreation for ladies and where men, who are desirous to civilize themselves in ladies company, might partake with them there' (Dunton, 1699*b*: 289).

Since the arrival of the Duke of Ormonde, more bowling greens had been designed in private gardens, and as Lamb & Bowe (1995: 22) remark, 'in the Restoration period almost every Irish town and mansion had one'. Among the most important recorded are the bowling green at Kilkenny Castle (seat of the family of the Duke of Ormonde), which was created by the Duke of Ormonde together with a French garden; the bowling green in Kilruddery, Co. Wicklow, property of William Babazon (see Elliot, 1990*b*: 67); and the bowling green at Lisburn Castle, Co. Antrim, which belonged to Lord Conway (Lamb & Bowe, 1995: 20-5).

On a general social level, a result of this recreational trend was a split between the recreational activities of the higher and lower classes, and consequentially a split in the use of public spaces. As remarked by several authors, this was a phenomenon pertinent to most European countries between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries (see Burke 1978; Isherwood 1986; and Towner, 1996). The wealthy classes, all over Europe, progressively dissociated themselves from popular recreational culture which, in its anachronistic medieval forms, remained associated with the poorest districts of towns, or more often found refuge and survived in isolated countryside villages. The physical elimination of the urban spaces for mass gatherings and for popular recreational activities also ensured for the upper classes the appropriation of public land. As Towner (1996: 49) said, popular recreation was under attack 'either because of its alleged corrupting influence on the mass of people or because popular recreation could invade space reserved for others'. The creation of bowling greens can thus be interpreted as part of this process, which saw the slow transformation of an old common from its mediaeval rural popular character to a more modern exclusive public environment.

6.5 OTHER PUBLIC GREEN SPACES IN RELATION TO THE CHANGING URBAN CONTEXT

Under Ormonde's governance, serious attempts were made to transform the old common of Oxmantown Green and its surroundings into an exclusively residential district. The first step taken in this direction was the donation (mentioned previously) to the Duke of a large tract of ground, located in the western portion of the Green, for the construction of his new residence in the 1660s (see Burke, 1972: 138 and O'Donnell, 1971-72: 141). While this project never took place, its proposal - or at least its expectation - combined with the subdivision into lots of the eastern portion of the Green, and the creation of the largest bowling green in the city, contributed to the residential development of the area and the attraction to the north side of a series of private developers such as William Ellis, Humphrey Jervis, and Charles Hartstonge.

Ormonde was largely responsible for the development of the north-western part of the city, and especially the improvement of the Phoenix Park, which was adjacent to the western portion of the green. Craig (1992: 13-14) noted that the Phoenix Park, originally created as a royal deer-park, was the 'first and the greatest' of Ormonde's undertakings. It had required, by the end of Ormonde's vice-royalty in 1669, more than £31,000 for its improvement and maintenance, and it was thanks to the investments of the 1660s that the parkland - consisting of 1,752 acres - was preserved until the present time. In contrast, by the end of the Restoration period, Oxmantown Green had been dramatically reduced by concurrent actions on the part of the city council and a number of developers, to less than one third of its previous size.

It was also necessary to create new means of access to the eastern portion of the Green, mainly because the newly created plots of lands were disposed in rows adjacent to one another. A consequence of the 1664-65 plan was in fact the creation of a grid of streets, forming the contemporary street-pattern and including Smithfield itself, Queen Street (the 'convenient highway' - 1664-65, *Ancient records*, iv: 323-24), Haymarket, North King Street and Brunswick Street North (the former Channel Row) (see Mc Cullough, 1989: 40-1 see Burke 1972: 148). Moreover, in 1675, the Amory Grant provided for the planning of a highway between the river and the Green (see Sheridan, 2001: 87).

In the 1680s, William Ellis leased a portion of ground between Oxmantown Green, Park Gate and the strand from the city for developmental purposes (see Harris, 1766: 483). He also provided for the reclamation of that portion of the strand, constituting the original mediaeval southern boundary of the green, which resulted in the construction of a quay: Ellis quay. The Restoration period also saw the development of Wolftone quay, Arran quay and Ormonde quay, which were then extended into the 'pleasant promenade' of Batchelor's Walk (Craig, 1992: 27). The construction of quays was accompanied by the construction of three bridges: Essex Bridge in 1676, Ormond Bridge in 1683, and Barrack Bridge in 1704. The construction of Essex Bridge, during the vice-royalty of Lord Essex (1676), effected the integration of Capel Street, Mary Street and Jervis Street into the rest of the city, and this contributed to the residential and commercial development of the area.

The 1660s saw a substantial development of the North side, which had until then been the smallest suburb of the city, with no public or national buildings (all previously located on the south side) and which, according to Fagan (1986: 15), contained only 18% of the total number of households. This dynamic phase of building development, which started with the Restoration, increased during the following decades and lasted, in its full dynamism, until about the 1750s. McCullough (1989: 40-1) remarked that this developmental phase focussed on the twin public spaces inherited from the Middle Ages: Oxmantown Green, as seen in previous sections, and Abbey Green.

6.5.1 Harstonge and concurrent private interests in the development of Abbey Green

Abbey Green, together with Oxmantown Green and St Stephen's Green, was classified by the city council in the 1660s as being part of the 'unbuilt' land of the city. However its surroundings were by then already partially built and inhabited (see Burke, 1972: 127-28). A census taken in 1659 (see, *Ancient records* iv: 560-571) numbered those living around the site of St Mary's Abbey as 258, of whom 167 were English and 91 Irish. The census also recorded the total number of people living in the Green as being 31, of whom 8 were English and 23 Irish. This is quite a significant number considering that only a few decades earlier, this area had contained nothing but a monastic enclosure, and the Green had been used simply as a common. Nevertheless, unlike the other two commons inherited from the middle

ages, no plan was drawn up by the municipality for the landscaping and preservation of Abbey Green as a recreational area (with trees, walks, and walls), or for the subdivision of its fringes into lots to be rented by the city (see Burke, 1972: 127-8). As remarked upon by Moylan (1946*a*: 86), who refers to the Green as 'the home of lost causes', its physical status was characterised by the excessive presence of water and its low topographical level, and this was more than likely one of the main reasons for the council's lack of investment in its improvement. From the beginning, its physical condition hindered any municipal attempts to develop its sides as a fashionable residential area such as had been the case for St Stephen's Green, Oxmantown Green and Hoggen Green. Abbey Green was henceforth left in the hands of private entrepreneurs.

In the 1670s, Sir Humphry Jervis acquired twenty acres of the estate of St Mary's Abbey (Burke, 1972: 156), including the land west of the Abbey, ranging from the Bradoge to the Liffey. In just a few years Jervis had developed a great part of the area south west of the Green, and had built Essex Bridge, which facilitated access from and to the city centre.

In 1667, the land of the Abbey Green was assigned by the city to Sir Charles Hartstonge. Hartstonge, of an English father and Irish mother, belonged to that group of entrepreneurs and ambitious social climbers which had greatly influenced the urban development of Restoration Dublin. He became a member of the King's Inns in 1659, Third Baron of the Exchequer in 1680 and was nominated Baronet and one of the Governors of the Blue Coat School in 1681 (Moylan, 1946*a*: 86). He obtained the Green on payment of a rent to the city council, and built on one of its sides his own residence, which he used as such from 1675 to 1686 (Moylan, 1946*a*: 86). The ground, because of its central position among different estates, soon became a matter of contention between Harstonge and the Earl of Drogheda. The Earl, who had already been granted a large portion of land to the east of the Green, claimed more then half of it as part of his estate (Burke, 1972: 128). Harstonge, in order to defend his title to it, acted as spokesman for the city and set out to improve the soil of the green to make it more appealing and thus to prevent a possible surrender by the municipality to the demands of the Earl. The improvement he proposed was to channel the waters of the Bradoge and the other waters in the Green into a single channel; these works were continued until 1681 (Moylan, 1946*a*: 84). At about the same time, a system of streets was created around the Green. These created the

current street planning, and among these Halston Street (the different contemporary spelling of which is probably due to the difficult phonetic transposition of 'Hartstonge' Street) still commemorates the name of its original developer (see Figure 6.4).

In 1682, Viscount Lord Lanesborough and Sir Richard Ryves, were assigned two other portions of the Green, both adjacent to Hartsonge's ground. Ryves, like Hartstonge, was an entrepreneur who saw in the Restoration period an opportunity for a career and quick profit from the development of what had been until then 'unbuilt' city lands. He became recorder of Kilkenny in 1671, recorder of Dublin in 1680, was knighted in 1681, and became Second Commissioner of the Great Seal after the Battle of the Boyne (Moylan, 1946*a*: 87-8).

Figure 6.4 Halston Street and Green Street. Extract from Ordnance Survey of Ireland's map of Dublin, 1997.

There is no complete map (to this writer's knowledge) showing the exact extent and position of the lots of ground into which the Green was divided during this period. However, De Gomme's map gives an idea of the partial street development around the Green in 1673.

The function of the Green during this period is also unclear, although considering the fact that it was not used as a recreational area, it is very likely that it was still used for grazing, and partially for some market activities (see Chapter 8); however, during the Restoration period its social function had yet to be established.

In 1682, because of the high increase in the area's population, a parcel of the Green (adjoining Hartstong's holding) was surveyed for the construction of a church and churchyard (*Ancient records*, v: 244). This project, which was never

implemented, was the first of a series of failures characterising the history of Abbey Green from the second half of the seventeenth to the nineteenth century.

6.5.2 Destruction of the Thingmount, the end of an era: from Hoggen Green to College Green

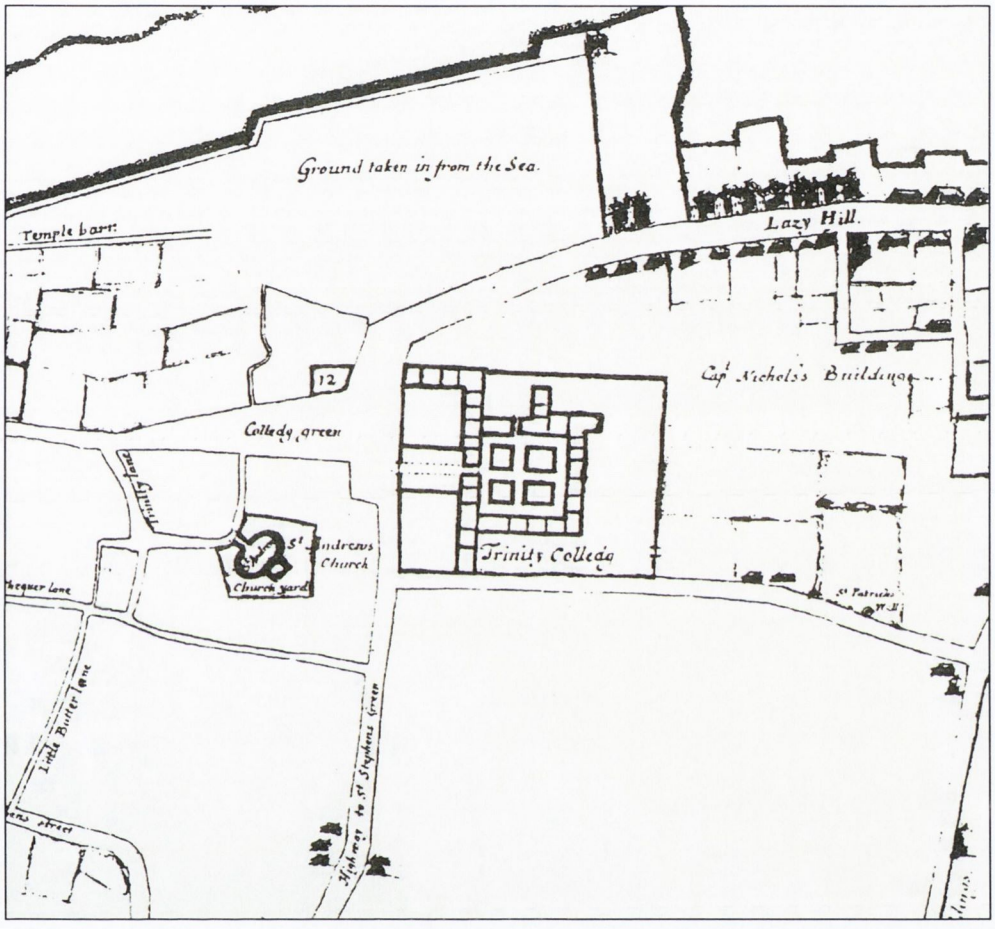


Figure 6.5 College Green and environs. Extract from Bernard de Gomme's map of the city and suburbs, 1673.

The Restoration period also witnessed a change in the 'identity' of Hoggen Green. This area succumbed to the urban importance of Trinity College, and it was now referred to in municipal documents simply as College Green (apparently it was first officially recorded as such in 1658, in a lease to a Tymothie Tyrrell, knight - *Ancient records* iv: 141), while the name Hoggen Green slowly disappeared from general use (see Figure 6.5). This change is also to be seen in the wider process of the Anglicization of placenames then affecting the whole country following the introduction of English colonial policy. Besides its nomenclature, the changes

occurring in the Green between the 1660s and 1690s also concerned its physical layout. In 1685, the Thingmount was destroyed.

Cregan (1995: 9) suggests that until then, this green terraced hillock had maintained a recreational function which had outlasted all the other initial political and civic functions. Seemingly, it had been preserved until then by municipal edicts as a place for recreation, because, according to Ryan (1990*a*: 126), citizens enjoyed climbing it to enjoy the fresh air and the panoramic view at its summit. Nevertheless, the recreational function did not justify the continuance of its existence in an area which was already by then a nerve centre in the urban streets system. In 1685, Sir William Davis, Chief Justice of Ireland, enacted an ordinance for the levelling of the Thingmount and the use of the earth so obtained to raise the level of Nassau Street, Dawson Street and Kildare Street, and the lower part of Grafton Street (Clarke, D., 1977: 6). This operation was carried out in order to make the nearby areas less liable to flooding, more level, and suited to building and other constructions. Ryan (1990*a*: 126) estimates that the earth removed from the mound enabled the raising of the low ground between College Green and St Stephen's Green by about 2-3 metres. The Thingmount in Dublin was therefore destroyed in what has been termed 'a flagrant act of vandalism of that improving age' (see Cregan, 1995: 9). The developmental priorities of the period did not take into account issues of heritage and past history, which was probably anyway being deliberately obliterated under the wave of colonialist physical assertion, the immediate practical needs of demographic increases, and the alluring adoption of modern European urban models.

Today, the only sign left in the cityscape for this once monumental hill is the name of a licenced premises in Suffolk Street: the Thing Mote[2] (Plate 6.1). After the levelling of the mound, Hoggen/College Green must have lost much of its character. Although the 1659 census (see Appendix iv, *Ancient records* iv: 560-571) recorded the number of people living in College Green as 87 (80 English and 7 Irish), 14 of which were tituladoes (see Table 6.1), the area started to lose importance as a residential district for the New English class, which had begun to shift towards the newly created fashionable areas of Oxmantown Green and St Stephen's Green. Finally, with the completion of the junction between Dame Street, Lazy Hill and the Highway to St Stephen's Green, it was largely reduced to a mere public passage way.

[2] However, despite its historical significance, the name of this premises has recently been changed (December 2004) to O'Donoghue's.

Tituladoes
Captains: - Glover, William Jones. - Cornett: Merricke. - Doctor: Robert Mould. - Gentleman: Edward Gutch. - Quartermaster: Loyd, Christopher Black, John Boudler, Cox, Richard Edwardes, Pierce Hart, Henry Jones, William Jones, Jeremy Watts.

Table 6.1 Inhabitants of College Green, from a 1659 census. Source: Appendix iv, *Ancient records* iv: 561.

Plate 6.1 Thing Mote licensed premises in Suffolk Street. Source: Strati, 2002.

6.6 CONCLUSION

During the period 1660-1690, Dublin's public green spaces underwent revolutionary changes in terms of form, function and position in the urban environment. These changes were mainly activated through the agency of three different political actors: the Duke of Ormonde, the city council and a small group of powerful private developers. The interests they pursued were those of the new English planters (and thus tied to those of England) combined with the private interests of an enriched merchant class such as Harstonge and Ryves whose dynamism was fuelled by the possibility of rapid and financially rewarding careers. Finally, a small, but not insignificant area was also developed for the public good.

The first measures taken by the city council were the 1663 plan for the formation of a residential square surrounded by building lots in St Stephen's Green,

and the 1664-65 plan for the subdivision into lots of the eastern part of Oxmantown Green. Although they consisted of two separate plans, these were part of the same urban processes. Both of the newly designed spaces, though in different ways, were characterised by a central lawn, a lateral row of trees, the creation of walks, and the erection of walls and gates.

As Sheridan (2001: 81) comments when referring to St Stephen's Green, 'the development of the green as a residential square was perhaps the single most important decision of the Corporation in the late seventeenth century'. Similarly, the decisions taken for the development of Oxmantown Green had a strong impact on the future urban pattern of north west Dublin. These plans were shaped by the agency of the Corporation and its members, and by military-colonialist and cultural elements.

The motivations of the Corporation stemmed from the fact that the rents of the lots generated revenue for the city council. Part of this revenue was invested in other public works, such as the layout of a market area, Smithfield, on the extreme eastern portion of Oxmantown Green, and the construction of a hospital and school on the same green (the Blue Coat School). The importance of this institution is enhanced by the fact that it was the first functioning institution with a public character to be erected on the ground of a public green space.

The colonialist-military reasons can be appreciated when evaluating the Dublin scheme in its national context. After the Cromwellian war, and the introduction of the plantation regime, the Irish landscape succumbed to a rigid scientific system of surveys, mapping, and subdivision into geometric plots that were ordered and more easily controllable. In Dublin, both St Stephen's Green and Oxmantown Green were surveyed by a military captain and hence made suitable - 'plain and smooth' and surrounded by walls - for military exercises.

The geometric design of the square, together with its other attributes - e.g. lawn, trees and walks - when combined with the juxtaposition of these places with a residential context, reflected, as well as a response to local necessity, a new pan-European urban trend, which consisted in the application of Renaissance principles to gardening, architecture and recreation. In particular, the tree planting was a result of the progressive reduction of natural woodland areas (see also McCracken, 1971), as well as a decorative urban process. The wealth owning classes adopted the renaissance aesthetic canons as physical symbols of distinction from the poorer

majority of the population, and the designing of public space in 'their style' was also a way to lay claim to a large sphere of the public realm. This is evident in the creation of new recreational spaces such as the bowling greens, which mushroomed in Dublin from the 1660s until at least the end of the following century.

In particular, between 1663 and 1664 a large bowling green was laid out, on commission to a private individual, in the southern-eastern portion of Oxmantown Green. Its urban (and social) importance is evident in the maps of De Gomme and Pratt, both representing it with a graphic emphasis which makes it stand out in comparison to other urban creations; so much so that in this regard, they could both be interpreted as thematic maps. Contemporary documents also reveal an association of the nobility and gentry with bowling places, the social aspect of which can be interpreted as the formation of recreational *niches d'elite* which were to largely characterise green spaces, in Dublin as well as in other European cities, in the following century (Burke 1972; Isherwood, 1986; Towner, 1996).

In conclusion, with the Restoration period, Dublin's public green spaces completely lost their mediaeval, unshaped, rural popular character and assumed a new form representing the progress of art (Renaissance) and science (both in the expanding knowledge of forestry and horticulture as well as in the application of military geometric principles). During this period, they also became a living part of the growing city; no more they were suburban areas, but an integral part of urban social living. The new forms of Oxmantown Green and St Stephen's Green symbolised in synthesis the advent of modernity in public green spaces.

Different types of changes occurred in Abbey Green and Hoggen Green. Abbey Green was never transformed into a municipal recreational area, probably because of its low-lying typography and the state of its soil, which was continually saturated with water. The only improvement the Green underwent, was the channelling of the Bradogue and other rivulets of water in the 1670s, however, it still remained unsuited to construction. In the 1680s, it was proposed to erect a church there, but this failed, and the Green was probably still used for grazing until the end of the century. It did however become one of the fulcrums of the north side developmental phase, and as this development was carried out mainly by a few private developers, it soon became a point of contention. The residential development around the Green, with the laying out of Capel street, Mary Street and Jervis Street, along with the construction of Essex Bridge, made the North side (and

its green space) more accessible to the traffic of people and goods. A consequence of this traffic was a shifting of the centre of urbanisation from Hoggen Green to the new axis of Oxmantown Green-Abbey Green.

Hoggen Green had by then lost much of its recreational, ceremonial and civic importance. The Thingmount was destroyed in 1685 to provision a levelling of the streets on the south side of the College, whereupon the Green became a sort of antechamber to the College, and a mere place of passage. The documents of the period report its change of name to College Green, thus symbolising the final extinction of its original character (and identity).

As a final general consideration, it can be stated that in the Dublin of the aftermath of monastic confiscation, and following a period of political instability, the public green square was finally introduced in the Restoration period as one of the main public urban achievements. The landscaped square offered an alternative solution to the lack of green spaces which religious communities had enjoyed until the middle of the previous century; it offered a model which allowed the integration of the old irregular suburban common - and thus 'nature' - into the urban environment, a model which could generate revenues, a solution to the implementation of early-environmental values (with the planting of trees), and a model which could enhance the international representative functions of the Capital. It also generated the possibility for the development of new recreational activities, and finally presented an opportunity for the governing classes to assert their status while promoting civility among the rest of the population.

CHAPTER 7

MILITARY ESTABLISHMENTS, GEORGIAN STATUARY AND THE NEW CITY BASIN 1689-1728

7.1 INTRODUCTION

With the aftermath of the war and the success of William III, the year 1689 represents Ireland's entrance into a period of stronger Protestant domination. The outcome of the war had tremendous consequences at various political, spatial and social levels, which persisted throughout the greater part of the eighteenth century; and the Protestant supremacy became evident in the monopolisation of the government of the country. The Parliament, when it assembled in Dublin in 1692, had become totally Protestant (Lydon, 1998: 217). In 1691, 'penal laws' were enacted to the disadvantage of Catholics and in the following years, to ensure the protection of 'the English interest' in Ireland, Englishmen were placed in all the strategic positions of power. In light of the above events, which highly changed the course of the following century, 1689 can be considered the 'true beginning' of the eighteenth century (see Craig, 1992: 71).

In the following years, a politically active Protestant Irish gentry was flanked by a cast of senior English peers who were connected with the Whig magnates, and who came to occupy viceregal offices, such as the Viscount Townshend (1716-17), the Duke of Bolton (1717-20), and the Duke of Grafton (1720-24) (see Dickson, 1987*a*: 63-64, 72). From a political point of view, the period was characterised by progressively worsening of anti-Catholic legislation, which excluded Roman Catholics and Protestant Dissenters from civil avocation, commerce and trade (*Ancient records*, vi: iii). Catholics lost much of their rights to the ownership of land: about 1,300 Catholics owned 22 per cent of the profitable land of Ireland in 1688, they owned 14 per cent in 1702, and about 5% in the 1770s (Lydon, 1998: 217). The predominance of a Protestant elite in roles concerning decision making in the

ownership and function of the land and the landscape had, since the beginning, inevitably strong consequences also in the forms and functions of public green spaces, as will be demonstrated in the first part of the chapter.

The historical significance of the year 1728 was enhanced by the death of George I in 1727, the consequential accession of George II, and the creation of a new Parliament, which *inter alia* envisaged the complete exclusion of Catholics from the right to vote in parliamentary elections (see Lydon, 1998: 220). The importance of this date stems also from the fact that it is the year of publication of Brooking's map of Dublin. This visual source serves to make an overall conclusive statement on the general design of public green spaces, and on their position in the urban environment during the first phase of the Georgian era.

This chapter is concerned with the identification and analysis of the forces shaping the changes occurring in public green spaces. Together with the Parliament-related landed aristocracy and gentry, it is possible to identify three other agents of development which were directly involved in the construction (or destruction) of these spaces. Firstly the Corporation, whose work was led by a spirit of general improvement which had been carried forward on from the Restoration period, and which brought about the construction of a new green area. Secondly the Church of Ireland, which as Craig (1992: 73) put it, 'embarked on a vigorous policy of erastian consolidation', bringing to public green spaces the erection of religious institutions. Thirdly, private developers, who continued to build on the fringes of public green spaces and were also occasionally involved in their administration. The impact of these different groups is evaluated through the text in different sections and/or sub-sections. The structure of the chapter along with the positions of the different sections within it illustrates the relative importance of the above factors.

Moreover, the changes occurring in public green spaces were also by-products of economic and demographic changes. The growth of the economy was fuelled by a population expansion. Dublin's population had increased from about 40,000 in 1660 to about 75,000 in 1710 (see Cullen, 1992: 251 and Craig, 1992: 84). Substantial population changes, due to the influx of Parliament-related landed aristocracy into the city, and significant immigration of French Huguenot and Dutch and Flemish Protestants, brought about a general change in market demands (and hence supply). This gave rise to an increased consumption of luxury items and a progressive abandonment of the use of Dublin port for the import and export of

livestock. This trend was among the main causes of the progressive loss of the rural character of public green spaces, and their acquisition of those characteristics typical of the 'commodification' process associated with the Georgian period that presaged the development of a modern capitalistic society.

Social changes were also determined by the spread of vibrant intellectual circles dominated by influential individuals such as William Molineux and Jonathan Swift. Their works (especially those of the latter) had multiple effects on the perception and meaning of public urban spaces and on the development of radical new theories. Influenced by English thinkers such as Pope, Addison, Shaftesbury and Switzer, they became physically expressed in the creation of innovative processes of landscape design.

Finally, understanding of the process of landscape design of public green spaces in Dublin also requires an insight into the history of European gardening. As Bonnechere and De Bruyn (1998: 245) have noted, from 1689 onwards, English gardens were designed following *la manière franco-hollandaise*. This consisted in the expression of the French grandeur and regal rigid formalism (prototyped by the gardens of Versailles), which was then adapted to the Dutch landscape by William III, resulting in the maintenance of a rigid symmetry in smaller sized gardens in which the ornamental part was emphasised with ample display of geometric parterres, flowers beds and topiary works. A similar style was also present in Ireland and it is reasonable to assume that the English aristocracy brought it to their Irish demesnes. However, as already seen in the previous chapter, Dutch gardening - characterised by terraces, brick walls, gravel paths and ornamental flowers pots - had already reached Ireland thanks to Huguenot immigrants even before the advent of William. According to Lamb and Bowe (1995: 27-8), at the beginning of the eighteenth century, during the monarchy of Queen Anne, this style (which can be referred to as baroque), became simpler and was characterised by 'simple parterre of panels and slopes of mown grass outlined by gravel', and was prototyped by the Queen's gardens at Hampton Court.

Moreover, a novelty of the period, in Ireland as well as in other European countries, was the creation in gardens of water features such as canals, basins, fountains, cascades, fishponds, and the use of hydraulic machines. According to Lamb and Bowe (1995: 27-9), the presence of these in Ireland was the result of

various influences, among which was the design of the gardens of Marly, the retreat of Louis XIV near Versailles.

Further changes happened from the 1710s-20s onwards, when the revolutionary ideas of liberalism penetrated the art of landscape design through the introduction of curvilinear lines, serpentines and more natural forms in opposition to the rigid geometric formalism. Many of these changes occurred only in private gardens, while public green spaces were safely maintained by the public authority in a frozen geometric status. The introduction of clear symbols of colonialist policies over substantially unchanged landscapes might suggest an explanation for such a different state of affairs among private and public greenery.

7.2 THE ROYAL BARRACKS AND MILITARY PRESENCE IN OXMANTOWN GREEN

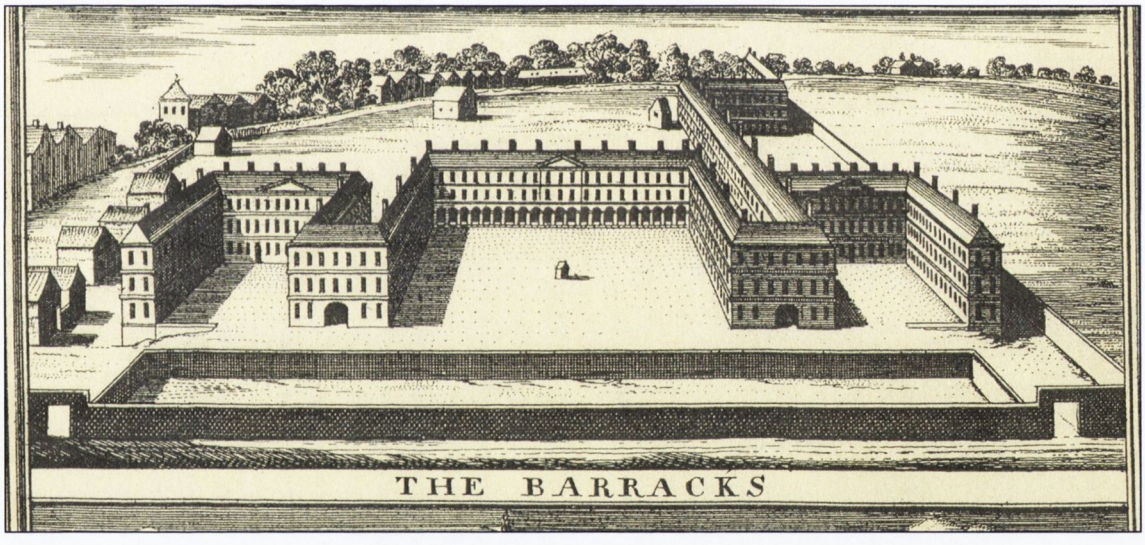


Plate 7.1 The Royal Barracks. Plate from Charles Brooking's map of Dublin, 1728. NLI.

An outcome of the Williamite wars was a renewed financial investment in military establishments throughout the country. In 1697, the Irish Parliament voted the allocation of funds for a major barracks-building programme. In 1699, it was decided to maintain a minimum of 7,000 soldiers at Ireland's expense, and between 1698 and 1701 over £ 100,000 was spent on approximately 100 barracks through the whole island (Dickson, 1987: 49-50). In September 1703, 'in his speech to both houses of parliament, Ormonde recommended the building of the Royal Barracks in Dublin' (McParland, 2001: 124). The site, which Ormonde was already negotiating for, was the west part of Oxmantown Green. Construction works, largely financed by the

crown, started a few months later, and Colonel Thomas Burgh who had served in the recent war was appointed surveyor general of the works. Burgh was the first of that group of architects who contributed to the characteristic construction of eighteenth century Dublin. The Royal Barracks was his first known building, and this was followed by various other works and consultancies, among which were the construction of the water reservoir or the new City Basin, the great Library of Trinity College and the Custom House at Essex Bridge (see Craig, 1992: 94-5).

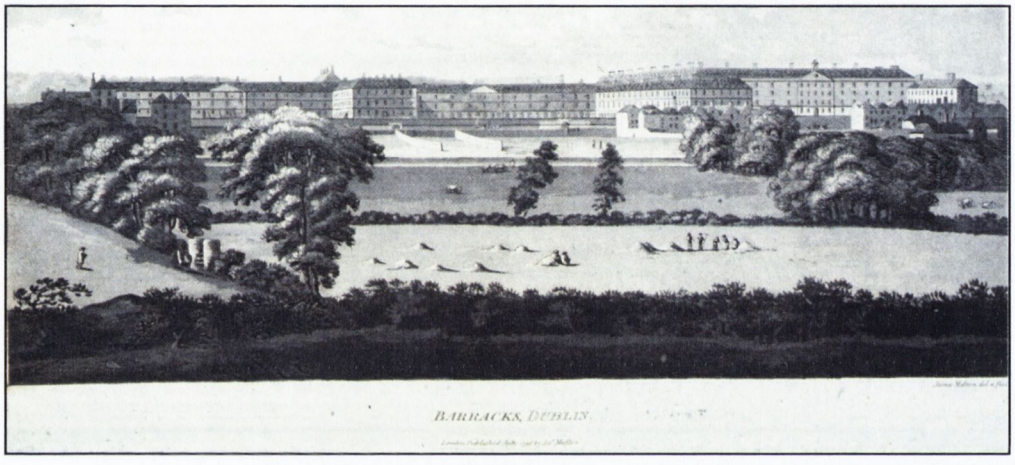


Plate 7.2 The Royal Barracks. Southern perspective. Plate from James Malton, *A picturesque and descriptive view of the city of Dublin.* 1799. NLI.

The works of the Military Barracks (now Collins Barracks) were completed in *c.* 1708 (see Plate 7.2). Following Ferrar's description, 'they consist of four large squares, capable of containing four thousand infantry and cavalry' (1807: 47), and according to Warburton *et al.* (1818: 1107) they were capable of accommodating up to 5000 soldiers. Burgh had made it the greatest barracks in Ireland, and according to Lewis (1787: 41) this was 'the largest building of that nature in the British dominions'. As 'a formidable but open citadel' it was a symbol of a new age (Dickson, 1987*a*: 49-50), an age which witnessed the creation of an urban space permeated by military presence.

The presence of the barracks in Oxmantown Green, dramatically changed both the physical space of the Green and its social character. The barracks occupied all the west portion of the Green, between Park Gate (the Phoenix Park), Montpellier Hill and the old highway between the Green and the river, which was henceforth

called Barracks Street. This caused the loss of more than one third of the green area (see Figure 7.1).

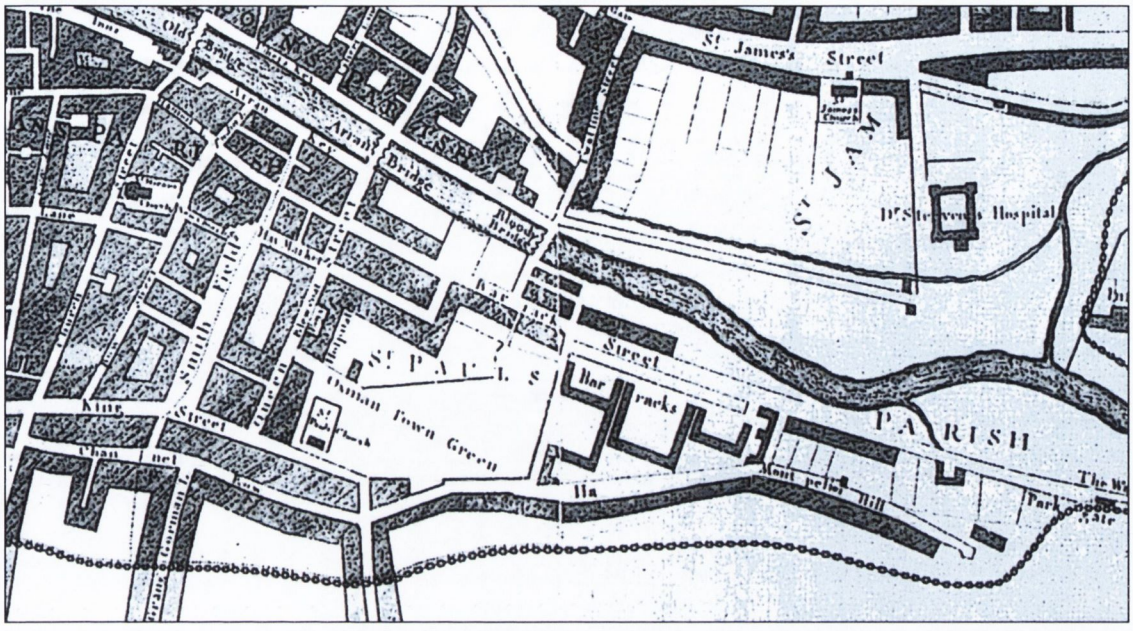


Figure 7.1 Oxmantown Green and Royal Barracks. Northern perspective. Extract from Charles Brooking's map of Dublin, 1728. NLI.

The rest of the Green, as visible in Brooking's map, was and remained almost a large expanse of grass, fringed, especially on the northern border, by sparse cottages and a series of trees. From a social point of view the massive presence of soldiers in the area must have created for the local population an atmosphere of domination and control, and the fact that the choice for this construction had fallen on Oxmantown Green was not unintentional. As will be explained in detail below, the evaluation of this choice must consider the continuity of a rural-market role which had been associated with this place since pre mediaeval times, despite the 1664-65 plan for the creation of a residential area on the eastern side of the Green and the transformation of Smithfield into an urban square.

7.3 MILITARY MARCHES AND PARADES IN PUBLIC GREEN SPACES, AND THEIR LINKS TO PUBLIC ENTERTAINMENT

The presence of soldiers in the city continued to grow in the following years, bringing with them the establishment of other military barracks around the city, including one in the area of St Stephen's Green towards the end of the eighteenth century (Warburton *et al.*, 1818: 1107). Moreover, since the 1690s the city had

experienced an increased and renewed use of public green spaces for military exercises, marches and parades, the organisation of which required great expenditure from the members of the city council. In an ordinance of 1697 for example, an expenditure of nearly two hundred pounds for the 'drawing forth at several times' of the militia in St Stephen's Green is recorded (*Ancient records*, vi: 178). The reason behind such large investments related to the enhancement of their functions as public spectacles, 'the same being a very publik thing, and for the honour of the citty, ought to be borne at publick charge' (1697, *Ancient records*, vi: 178). City functionaries, along with members of the general public, would gather to watch the marches, thus increasing the event's symbolic power. Following is a detailed description of one of these events as reported by Gilbert (*Ancient records*, vi: xii), which had been organised in honour of the Duke of Ormonde on the 12th of August 1703:

> *Accordingly, on the 12th of August, the several corporations, or city companies, marched from their respective halls to Oxmantown Green, well armed and equipped, where they paraded, and from thence they went in good order through the city to St. Stephen's Green, being led by the Sheriffs on horseback: each company had several pageants representing their trades. ... The twenty-four corporations having taken their stations in St. Stephen's Green, were followed thither by the Lord Mayor, Recorder, and Alderman, in their formalities, being attended with a company of city grenadiers:*
> *About one of the clock my Lord Lieutenant went to the Green, and at his entrance was received by the Sheriffs uncovered, on horseback, who rode on each side of his coach, and conducted his Grace to the Guild of Merchants, where he alighted, and was received by the Lord Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen:*
> *'His Grace received each company, the whole body being drawn up in two lines, and afterwards retired into the Lord Mayor's tent, where he was entertained for an hour, during which time each company fired thrice, and from thence returned to the Castle'.*
>
> (1703, *Ancient records*, vi: xii)

'The entertainment was splendid and in great order' (Gilbert, *Ancient records*, vi: xiv) and the whole event can be considered as a stereotypical example of the way in which the civic entertainment of the period was conceived by the city governors. The emphasis on the entertainment, and ceremonial aspects of military marches and parades, emerge constantly from the Assembly Rolls and also from the literature of the period. Swift, in *Gulliver's Travels* (1726), refers to military exercises and spectacles as a preponderant aspect of social life in Lilliput (see for instance pages

25-26, 36, 272). When this text is interpreted as a parody of the contemporary political and social situation in Ireland, the weight of the military presence in the contemporary public life can be appreciated.

The regular performance of military marches and parades through the city's public spaces is closely linked to the rise of other 'performative' functions assigned to the public urban sphere. These were all oriented towards the generation of symbols of power in the capital city, and adorned with epithets such as 'grandeur, glory, entertainment, honour, dignity and beauty', which amply characterised the vocabulary of contemporary Assembly Rolls. In 1696, 'the right Honorable the present Lord Mayor hath been at extraordinary expence and charge this yeare past in supporting the rights and grandeur of this citty, and more particularly in entertaineing the Lord Justices and others of the nobility of this kingdome at a publick entertainment at Saint Stephen's Greene (e.g. military spectacles) ... in support of the honour and dignitie of the magistracy of this citty this present yeare' (*Ancient records*, vi: 157). Between 1696 and 1697 a committee was formed 'for beautifying' St Stephen's Green and to make of it 'a glory to the city' (*Ancient records*, vi: 164-5). An ordinance of 1726 for the carrying on of some works in Oxmantown Green mentions as a working priority the maintenance of the 'beauty' of the same for the advantage of the public (*Ancient records*, vii: 353).

7.4 THE STATUE OF WILLIAM III AND THE NEW PARLIAMENT HOUSE IN COLLEGE GREEN

New celebratory symbols of power had been imposed since the beginning of the eighteenth century in College Green. As Craig (1992: 76) states, Protestant Ireland 'virtually deified' King William, as would befit a Roman Emperor, and the Corporation of Dublin decided in early 1700 to erect a statue in his honour in College Green, this being 'a spacious part of the city' (see Gilbert, *Ancient records*, vi: viii-xi). The statue, representing William on horseback, was executed in brass by Gringlin Gibbons of London for the sum of eight hundred pounds. Its inauguration, on the first of July 1701, on the anniversary of his Majesty's victory of the battle of Boyne (by the old calendar), is described in a contemporary account reported by Gilbert:

The Lord Mayor, with the Aldermen, Sheriffs, Masters, Wardens and Commons of the city, assembled at the Tholsell at four in the afternoon, and walked from thence in their formalities to College Green, with the city music playing before them, the two companies of grenadiers belonging to the city militia marching first to make way, and a great concourse of people following them; some time after they reached College Green, the Lord Mayor and citizens, at the entrance of the Green, received the Lord Justices (Narcissus March, Protestant Archibishop of Dublin; Henry Moore, Earl of Drogheda, and Hugh Montgomery, Earl of Mount Alexander), whom the Lord Mayor conducted through a lane made by the grenadiers to the foot of the statue, and then the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens, in the same order as they marched from the Tholsell, attended their excellencies, with a great many of the nobility and gentry, walking round the statue three several times, the nobility, gentry, and citizens being uncovered, and the kettle-drums, trumpets, and other music playing all that time on a stage erected for that purpose near the front of the statue; after the second going round, the Recorder of the city made a florid speech suitable to the occasion, celebrating his majesty's great actions and expressing their unanimous loyalty and affection to his person and government; which being ended the great guns fired a second time.

(1701, *Ancient records*, vi: viii-xi)

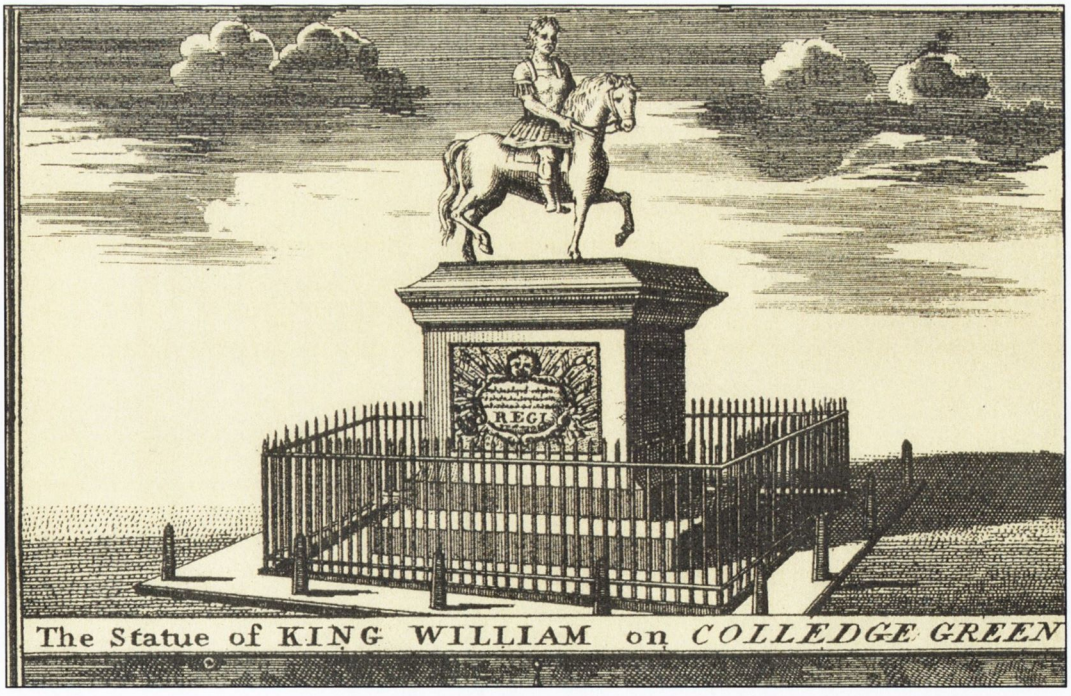


Plate 7.3 Statue of William III. Plate from Charles Brooking's map of Dublin, 1728. NLI.

The unveiling ceremony was concluded with 'fireworks, ringing of bells, illumination and bonfires' (see *Ancient records*, vi: viii-xi), adding significantly to the importance placed on the statue in the contemporary society. The importance of this monument also stems from the fact that it was the first statue erected in Dublin in commemoration of a British king. This was followed by the erection of statues of George I on Essex Bridge (1722, and placed in 1743 in the garden of Mansion House) and George II in St Stephen's Green (1758, see Brady, 2001: 236 and Fagan, 1986: 16). As Whelan comments, the statue of William was 'one of the first symbols of Protestant Dublin's allegiance to the crown' (2003: 39). However, the statue was not the only element of importance in College Green, but as evidenced by the report above, the celebratory and representative function of the whole inaugural event has also to be considered. The march of the city functionaries, the military parades, the firing of the guns, and all the other symbolic acts that were performed in College Green, were a determining factor in establishing the character of public green spaces. Because a 'great concourse of people' participated in the event, the spectacle became another occasion for the public display of power. Because these celebratory parades and marches around the statue were repeated on the occasion of the King's birthday (the 4th of November), and on the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne, they served as constant reminder to the population of the identity and military strength of their rulers. In summary, College Green and the statue within it became a focal point 'to express loyalty to the empire' throughout the eighteenth century (Whelan, 2003: 37).

The governors also expressed their power through the construction of a New Parliament House in College Green. The works for the New Parliament Houses started in 1727. The site chosen for its erection was that in which Chichester House had previously stood, and which is today occupied by the Bank of Ireland complex. Chichester House was demolished to create the necessary space for the new building, which, as described by Dickson (1987: 81), was designed in an *avant-garde* neo-classical style. Its design, which although in later years underwent some structural changes, is still amply visible today in the impressive building of the aforementioned Bank. Despite the fact that it took nearly twenty years to reach completion, the great edifice in College Green was already an exaggerated political statement already in 1730s (Dickson 1987: 82). As Craig (1992: 124) suggests, behind its construction lay a strong feeling of self-assertion by the College Green Parliament.

Both the erection of the New Parliament House and the statue of King William brought about substantial changes in College Green. It had become by then not unlike an open theatre adorned with static (architectural constructs) and dynamic (parades and marches) symbols of power. The physical setting was further transformed by recent architectural changes to Trinity College, which was now styled in a classical manner similar to the Blue Coat School (and it remained as such until 1755 when the present west front was begun). The westward expansion of the college also encroached on the space of the Green which experienced further reduction (see Craig, 1992: 75 and McParland, 2001: 149). The Green was *de facto* not even green any more, the grass coverage having been eliminated during the Restoration period, and gradually replaced by bare earth and then paving. During the period examined it had mainly assumed a representative function, its success assured by the fact that it was commonly used as a place of passage, and was now one of the city's central hubs (Figure 7.2).

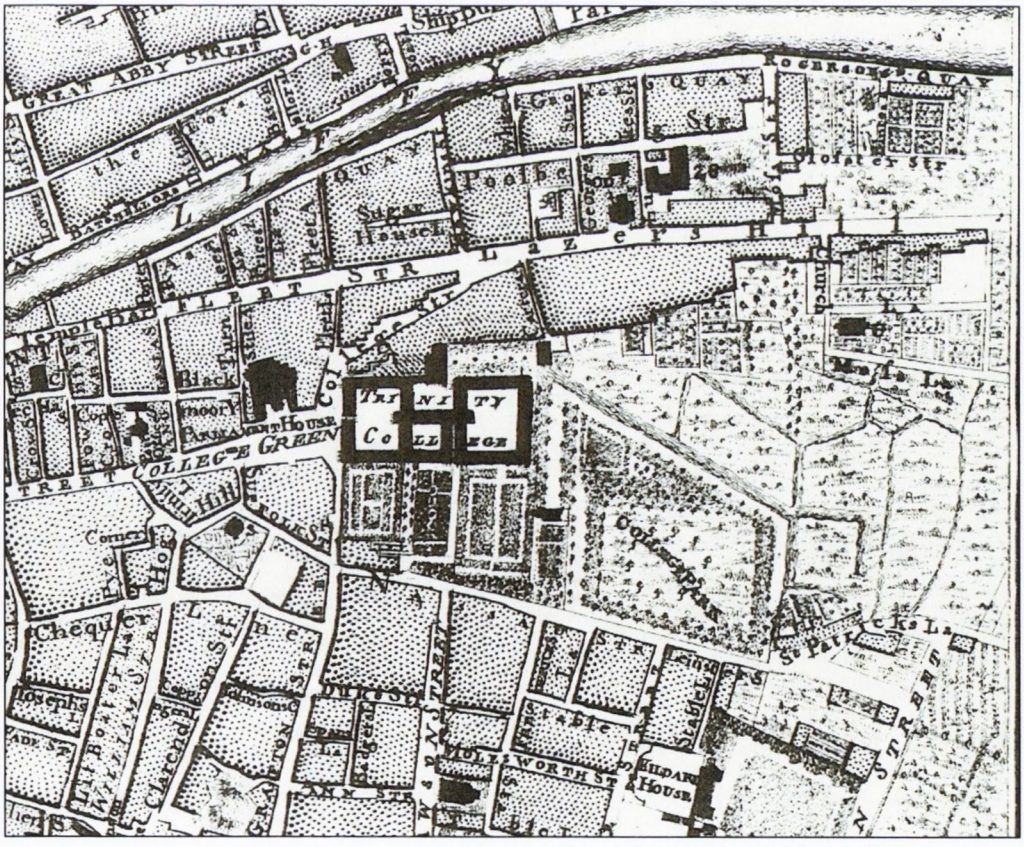


Figure 7.2 College Green and environs. Extract from John Rocque's map of Dublin, 1757. NLI.

7.5 COLONIAL ELEMENTS IN ST STEPHEN'S GREEN AND THE CREATION OF URBAN SPACE FOR CHILDREN

Besides the explicit monumental symbolism, and the use of these spaces for military marches, the enforcement of English/Protestant politics in the city public green spaces was also manifested at other more subtle levels. In 1709 it was decided that a *sine qua non* condition for obtaining the position of green keeper of St Stephen's Green was the statement of Protestant religion:

> *your honours were pleased to appoint your petitioner keeper of Saint Stephens Green, and that he does constantly attend the same, keep and preserve the trees and the walks in order, and therefore prayed such salary or allowance for his trouble as might be proper; that the petitioner be allowed the sum of ten pounds, sterling per annum, to be paid half yearly, the petitioner being obliged to look after the trees and keep them in order, and work on the said Green as occasion shall require, the salary to continue during the pleasure of the city, and to commence from such time as Mr. Mills shall certifie he begun to be imployed therein, the said salary to be allowed the treasurer on his accounts, provided allwayes the petitioner be a Protestant.*
>
> (1709, *Ancient records*, vi: 412)

This last passage lets us fully 'appreciate' the mentality of the city administrators, revealing in a broader sense their attitude towards the meaning of public green spaces in society: maintenance of good order, and that by a solely Protestant authority. As seen in later documents, green keepers also had to wear 'watch coats' when in service (1727, *Ancient records*, vii: 385 and 1730, *Ancient records*, viii: 9). The introduction of uniforms enhanced the formal representative and authoritative functions of these figures in the Green scenario. The main green keeper was to be lodged in a watch house purposely erected on the Green (although its location is unknown, it is likely that it was in one of the corners). It is understandable how these elements of authority combined with the architectural order so imposed on the landscape to serve as a vehicle for promoting control over the Green's users. These provisions were also made more explicit by the fact that a cage for the offenders of public order was made and placed by the watch house (1709, *Ancient records*, vi: 406).

The orderly landscape of St Stephen's Green is visible in Brooking's map (see Plate 7.4). The design, consisting of a rectangular lawn bordered by a walk, a row of

trees, ditches and enclosing walls, had not undergone any major changes since the Restoration period. However, the city records of the beginning of the eighteenth century reveal a renewed interest in its improvement.

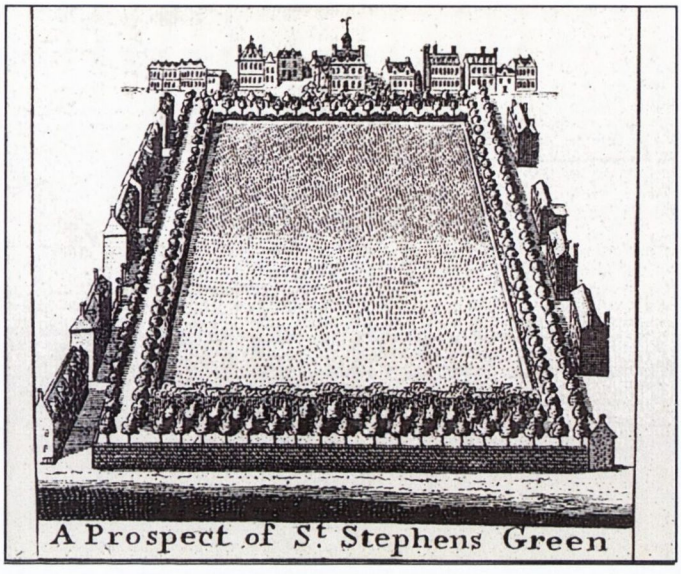


Plate 7.4 Design of St Stephen's Green. Plate taken from Charles Brooking's map of Dublin, 1728. NLI.

During and immediately after the war, the Green had suffered a period of neglect by the Corporation. Although the paving works had continued uninterruptedly throughout the 1690s (1693, *Ancient records*, vi: 35; 1696, *Ancient records*, vi: 153; 1697, *Ancient records*, vi: 178) the Green was described in 1702-3 as being in ruinous condition, with damaged trees, damaged walks, and serious problems of dampness and waterlogging (see *Ancient records*, vi: 277). The Corporation accused the 'rabble' for this state of affairs, as the populace had seemingly taken over the use of the Green during those years in which the supervision of the Corporation (engaged in post war reconstruction policy) had been weaker (see *Ancient records*, vi: 277). Because of the high cost of repairs, the Corporation in 1702-03 decided to assign the Green in lease to Edward Brabazon, fourth earl of Meath.

The Earl had requested the lease of the Green (see 1702-03, *Ancient records*, vi: 277), probably drawn by the possibility for economic exploitation of its herbage. In a record dated only a few months after the Earl's request, in which the list of the revenues of the city is reported, the rent of St Stephen's Green herbage figured among the main financial resources of the Corporation (1703, *Ancient records*, vi:

286). The city assembly consented to the request and ordered 'that the said Earl of Meath, dureing his natural life, shall have the ordering and management of the said St. Stephen's Green, and that he shall have the herbage of the same dureing the said terme, paying for the same twenty pounds per annum, provided that the citty at all times have free egress and regress for their militia companys and all other publick uses, in as free a manner as at any time they or their predecessors have used the same, and that the walks round the same at all times be open and common for any person whatsoever to walk in the same, and that no buildings be erected thereon, and that the trees, walks and other improvements made thereon be carefully preserved ...' (1702-03, see *Ancient records*, vi: 277).

After the Earl's death in 1707, the Green again came under the administration of the Corporation (see Fagan, 1986: 252). The first measure undertaken was the destruction of a stone wall and a passage (whose location is unknown) that the Earl had erected, seemingly for the purposes of access to his own residence on the Green (1709, *Ancient records*, vi: 406). Moreover, the Corporation thought it necessary to formulate a new document which re-declared the Green to be an exclusively municipal territory:

> *Whereas certain of the commons petitioned the said assembly, setting forth that...there is not on all the south side of the city any place for citizens and children to walk in but the said green, nor a proper place for the militia to draw out and exercise in, or the franchises to draw together, but in the said green, and therefore prayed the said Green might not be set henceforth, but remaine in the hands of the city ...*
>
> (1709, *Ancient records*, vi: 406)

St Stephen's Green was declared as a space for military exercises, for parades of the city companies (franchises), and as a walking area for the citizens and children of Dublin. The walks of St Stephen's Green were a famous venue for the citizens recreation, and Swift (1711), writing from London, in his *Journal to Stella*, wrote: 'Why don't you walk in the Green of St Stephen's? The Walks there are finer gravelled than the Mall' (quoted in Maxwell, 1936: 116). Many other authors in the following years wrote about the walks of the Green as a place of recreation, among these were Campbell (1777: 6), Lewis (1787: 239-40), Ferrar (1796: 28) and Warburton *et al.* (1818: 459-61).

Beside the benefits mentioned, the most important aspect of the Corporation's declaration (from a social perspective) was that for the first time in the history of public green spaces in Dublin, children were taken into consideration as possible beneficiaries of the new green arena. This is a noteworthy aspect of the history of Irish public green spaces, in that this provision was made almost two hundred years before any playground association movements. Furthermore, including children in a space designed for military manoeuvres could be envisaged as a strategic plan in which the organisation of space and the observance of a geometric order, was aimed at the creation of an improved and disciplined society.

The work of the Corporation for the improvement of St Stephen's Green extended also to the inhabited area at its fringes, not only through its paving of the four external sides around the walls, and adjacent streets, but also by bringing water pipes to the increasing number of dwellings surrounding the Green (1705, *Ancient records*, vi: 337-43).

7.6 CREATION OF A GREEN AREA AT THE NEW WATER BASIN

Much of the activities of the Corporation during this period evolved around water works: water pipes were laid down in an increasing number of districts; and a new water reservoir was created, the area around which was then transformed into a public green space.

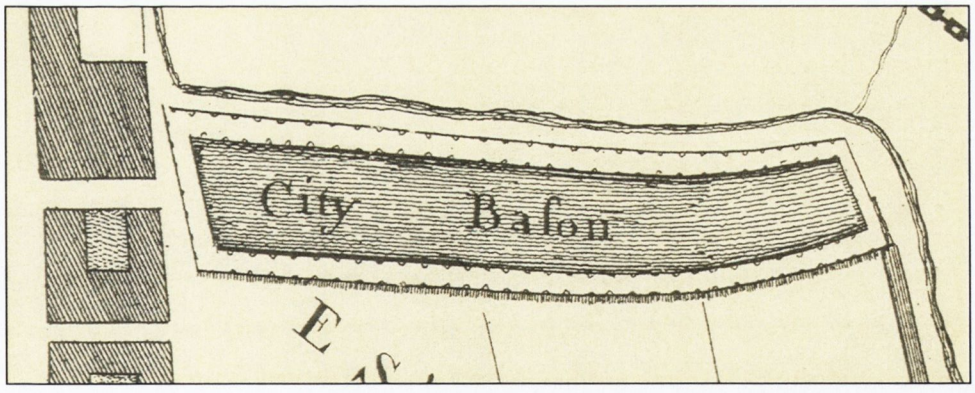


Figure 7.3 Layout of the City Basin. Extract from Charles Brooking's map of Dublin, 1728. NLI.

The water reservoir, which is commonly referred to as the City Basin, or Bason, or simply as the 'waterworks in St James's street' (*Ancient records*, vii: vii), was created between 1721-22 for the city's water supply. It was built on raised ground 'several feet higher than the adjacent fields' to create the necessary pressure

for water distribution, while a pump brought water from the river Dodder. According to Gilbert, it was capable of containing five hundred thousand hogshead of water, it measured 1210 feet in length and varied from 225 to 250 in breadth (*Ancient records*, vii: vii and Warburton *et al.*, 1818: 1070). Its shape, as represented by Brooking, was an irregular oblong parallelogram (see Figure 7.3). The sides of the Basin were landscaped following the traditional technique of the Restoration period: a long terraced walk was flanked by two rows of trees on each side. Harris's (1766: 182) and Warburton's accounts, written respectively in 1766 and 1818, inform us that the walks were gravelled, planted with quick-set hedges 'judiciously kept low not to interrupt the view' (Warburton *et al.*, 1818: 1070), that the variety of trees used were lime and elm, and that the branches of the elms were pruned in such a manner as to form an archway over the walks'. And 'as these, from the moisture of the soil, are clothed in spring and summer with luxuriant verdure, they add[ed] much to the beauty of this charming scene' (Warburton *et al.*, 1818: 1070). The basin, with the surrounding green area, was enclosed by walls, and there was only one point of access. This was from Basin Lane on the north side, which was enhanced by a somewhat 'monumental' roofed entrance with decorated stone pillars and a iron gate (see Plate 7.5).

The Basin, by offering a scenic view of the city and surrounding mountains and plains, as well as the aesthetic pleasure of the water feature framed by the 'luxuriant verdure', soon became an attractive recreational venue for promenades. 'A fashionable resort for the Dublin people' as Gilbert writes (Gilbert, *Ancient records*, vii, preface: vii), it was used as such until the end of the eighteenth century (see Harris, 1766; Warburton *et al.*, 1818; Lewis, 1787).

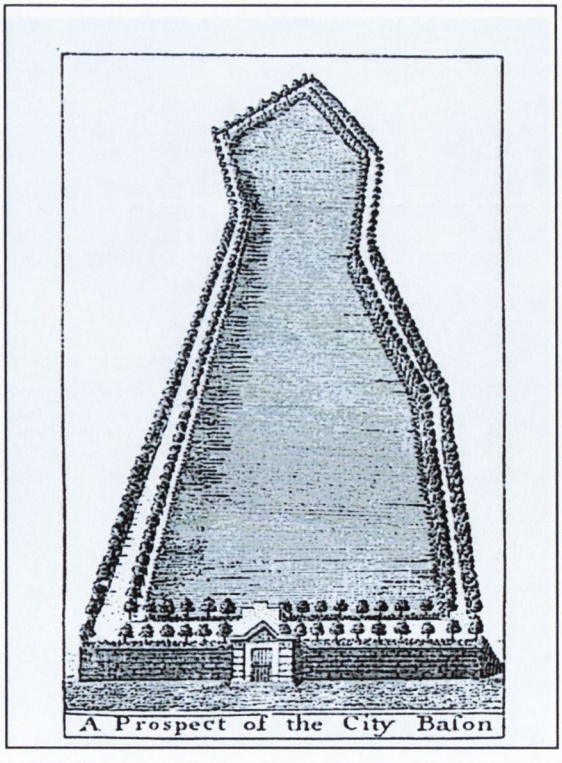


Plate 7.5 Design of the City Basin. Plate taken from Charles Brooking's map of Dublin, 1728. NLI.

The combination or integration of water features with landscaped green areas had been in vogue in Europe for quite some time, especially in Mediterranean countries. However, Bonnechere and De Bruyn (1998: 245-54), Malins and The Knight of Glin (1976, 28), and Lamb and Bowe (1995: 27-9), identify in Marly the main prototype of these type of gardens. Marly, the retreat of Louis XIV near Versailles, was designed with widespread use of formal basins, pools, canals, cascades, water-staircases and hydraulic machines.

The design of the early Georgian gardens of Ireland around the 1720s was a result of the influence of Marly's style, combined with the use of simple parterres, slopes of mown grass and gravelled walks which were in vogue in England under Queen Anne. According to Lamb and Bowe (1995: 27-9) this simplified baroque style of 'Grass, Greens and Gravel' elaborated with formal pools or canals of water is best exemplified in Ireland by two gardens. One at Dromoland, County Clare, then owned by Lucius O'Brien (husband of Catherine Keightly, a cousin of the Queen), and the second at Brackenstown, County Dublin, belonging to Lord Molesworth. The latter was designed following by consultation with Alessandro Galilei the great Italian architect and Stephen Switzer, English landscape gardener and contriver of waterworks. The garden was characterised by parterres leading to allées, a long canal, circular basins, a cascade, fishponds and hydraulic machines (Lamb and Bowe, 1995: 27-8). Other gardens of this type appeared, in the aristocratic mansions on the outskirts of Dublin at the beginning of the Georgian period, as for example the garden at Templeogue House (Co. Dublin), which according to Mrs Delany had 'artificial cascades in the Marly style with statues and urns on either side' (quoted in Lamb and Bowe, 1995: 29).

The fact that this style was adopted by the upper classes in their private gardens made its diffusion more common in the public sector and ensured its appreciation by the gentry. The construction and design of the basin turned out to be the optimum urban solution for the Corporation, which with this one move provided two public services. Moreover the provision of an amenity area which satisfied aristocratic taste could further strengthen their position in the city and the diffusion of their values among the population.

The growing presence in the city of the nobility and gentry, due to the establishment of regular Parliamentary meetings (at which aristocrats were obliged to attend), and to the general growth of the population, combined with the growing

economy, all contributed to an increased demand for amenity areas, luxury goods, for more fashionable and different styles of architecture, and for more places of recreation such as theatres and music venues. Great efforts were soon made for the improvement of St Stephen's Green, for the embellishment of the city Basin, the enhancement of College Green as an area of public entertainment (with annual parades and marches), and the provision of additional bowling greens.

7.7 BOWLING GREENS

7.7.1 Persistence of the game of bowls in eighteenth century Dublin

> *And sometimes I went to the Dublin Bowling Green (perhaps the finest in Europe) either to divert myself by playing or look on at those that did; where I have seen the gentlemen screwing their bodies into more antick postures than Proteus ever knew, as if they though the Bowl would run that way they screwed their bodies; and many times would curse it when it did not.*
>
> (Dunton, 1699*b*: 209)

In 1699, Dunton when describing his journey in Ireland, referred to Oxmantown Bowling Green as 'The Dublin Bowling Green', describing it as the finest in Europe. The public success that this bowling green had had since its lay out in 1663 is recognisable in Pratt's map of Dublin, where it is shown as occupying a position of importance in the urban landscape. The persistent popularity of the game, especially among the upper classes, is evident from the literature and correspondence of the period, and from the growing number of places for bowling around the city. References to the game of bowls are recurrent in Dunton. Dunton not only praises the game as a source of diversion, but at the same time compares it to the 'game of life' by writing:

> *I could not but reflect how like the Jack is to the World, which most men covet with the greatest earnestness, but very few obtained. And when sometimes I saw a Bowl (played by a skilful hand) lye ver near her [i.e. the Jack], it has in one small moment, by the unlucky knock of a succeeding Bowl, lain at the greatest distance from it; and others have in the same instance, been laid by the jack, that never thought of it. Just so 'tis with the things of the World; some that with toil and industry have gotten an estate, by one or other unforeseen Disaster, have in a moment lost it all; when some perhaps that never expected it, by the same accident that quite undid the other, were made rich. So*

> *fickle are Riches which, as the Wisemen tells us, make themselves wings and fly away.*
>
> (Dunton, 1699*b*: 209)

In one of the letters written to Pope by Swift, he invited his friend to 'Descend, in the name of God, to some other amusements as common mortals do. Learn to play at Cards, or Tables (Backgammon), or Bowls ... Sweeten your milk with mirth and motion', and thus enumerating bowling among the commonest past time of the period (Swift to Alexander Pope, 21 April 1731, quoted in Fagan, 1986).

Reference to bowling can also be found in the correspondence of Mrs Mary Granville, (1700-88), wife of Dr Patrick Delany, dean of Down and friend of Jonathan Swift. Mrs Delany in one of her letters remarks that her suburban garden, at Delville, on the outskirts of Dublin, had a bowling green flanked by a terrace walk and a parterre where she would entertain her guests (Delany, 19 July, 1744: 181; and see Day, 1991: 179, 189).

Some members of the nobility and gentry, such as Mrs Delany, had their own private bowling greens. And their number must have increased with the increased number of gentry living in the city. However, these recreational features were quite expensive to create and maintain, as noted by an 'honourable lady' quoted by Dunton 'the only difficulty is, there are very few bowling greens in private families, they are so chargeable to keep' (Dunton, 1699*b*: 289 and quoted also in Fagan, 1986: 78, note 14; and MacLisaght, 1969: 160). This must also explain in part the city governors' interest (supported by the upper classes) in providing bowling greens in public, or semi-public, green spaces for the citizens of Dublin.

During the course of the eighteenth century many other bowling greens were laid down in the city. On the eastern side of the park of Trinity College, a bowling green was created during the 1680s 'for the relaxation of the minds of the young gentlemen, after the fatigue of their studies' (Harris, 1766: 408 and see also Dunton, 1699*a*: 378 and Mac Lysaght 1969: 160) (Figure 7.4) Another bowling green which was frequently represented in eighteenth century maps, and described by Maxwell (1936: 115) as a popular recreational venue until at least the 1760s, was Marlborough Green. This was located near Marlborough Street, in an area today corresponding approximately to the Irish Life Centre buildings (Figure 7.5). Other bowling greens were laid out at the rear of Kildare Street (behind the now Department of Industry

and Commerce building) (see Fagan, 1986: 78) (Figure 7.6), and towards the second half of the century, in Wood Quay (Somerville-Large, 1988: 145), in the Rotunda Gardens (Parnell Square), and the Ranelagh Gardens (Daly, 1968: 293). The creation of these public bowling greens, most of which privately owned (or privately leased public ground), while contributing to the popularity of the game - at least among the upper classes - also contributed to a gradual lessening of importance of the Oxmantown Bowling Green.

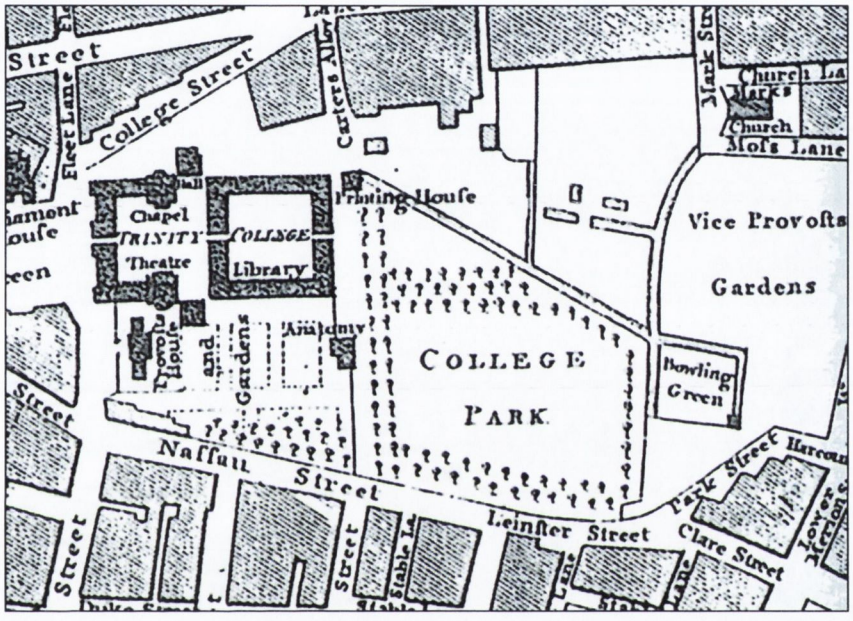


Figure 7.4 Bowling Green in Trinity College. Extract from a plan of Dublin, J. Williams, 1780. NLI.

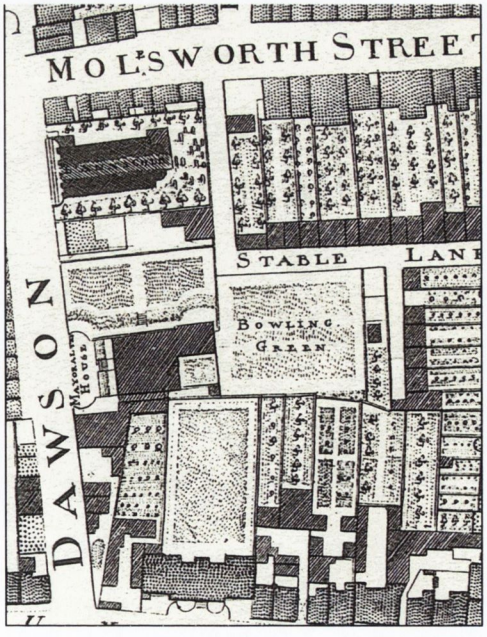


**Figure 7.5 Bowling Green at the rear of Dawson Street.
Extract from John Rocque's map of Dublin, 1756. NLI.**

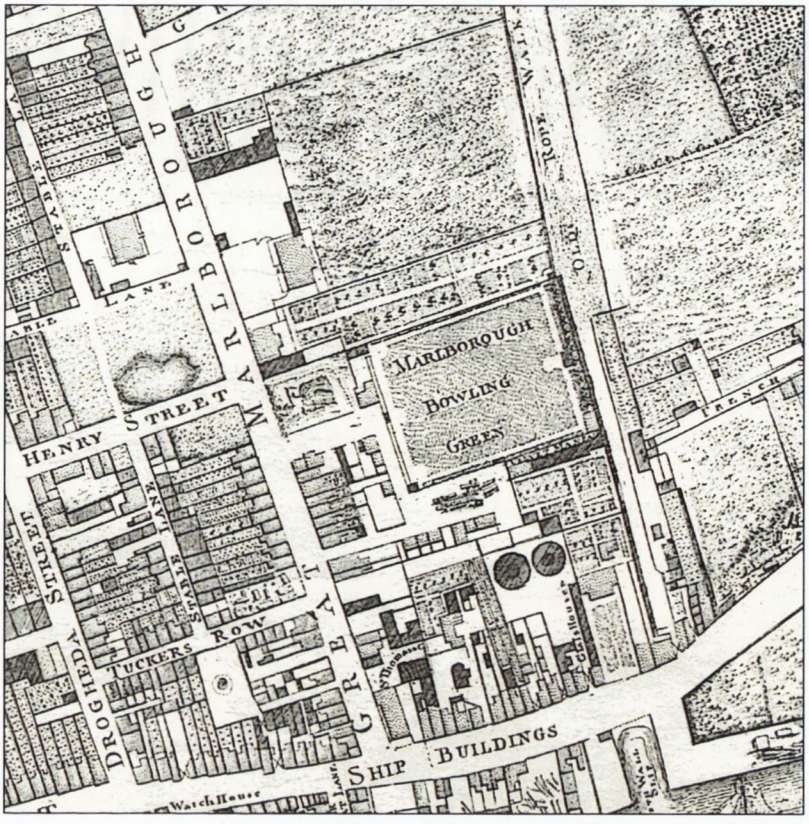


Figure 7.6 Marlborough Bowling Green. Extract from John Rocque's map of Dublin, 1756. NLI.

7.7.2 End of Oxmantown Bowling Green

In an ordnance of 1724, Mr Tighe, esquire, grandson of the late Richard Tighe, original developer of the Oxmantown bowling green in 1663, made a complaint to the Corporation about the great expenses he had had to incur for the maintenance of same, claiming 'that the same is not of any considerable advantage to the petitioner (himself), by reason of the other Bowling Greens which seem to be mostly resorted to for that use' (1724, *Ancient records*, vii: 273-5). The alleged market competition with the other bowling greens around the city indicated that the economic factor was an important component behind the creation of these recreational areas. Bowling Greens were economically exploitable through the admittance of a paying, and thus selected, public. The fact that by 1724, as stated, Oxmantown Bowling Green no longer had any economic advantage also helped hasten its demise. The Corporation, in response to a request by Mr Tighe (Jnr), annulled the clause inserted in the 1664 contract with Richard Tighe, and its 100 pounds penalty, which prohibited any form of development between the bowling green and the river (see 1723-24, *Ancient records*, vii: 250). Tighe was allowed 'to be

at liberty to build and improve the said premises' on two conditions. Firstly, that he procured from Mr Hendrix, at his own expense, two hundred feet of ground (60 metres) towards the river 'to be left open for a watering place'; and secondly, that the Gravel Walk, which extended from Queen Street to the Banqueting House in Barrack Street, was to be 'left open' for a street which had to be fifty feet wide (15 metres), and which was later named Tighe Street (see Rocque's map, 1756). Following this decision, private agreement was then made by Mr Tighe and John Hendrix for the development of the area and its surroundings. John Hendrix, former holder of the ground between the bowling Green and the river, had in the meantime sub-leased a portion of his holding, near Bloody Bridge (Rory O'More Bridge) in proximity of 'the strand opposite the Bowling Green, in Oxmantown' (1723-24, *Ancient records*, vii: 250) to another developer, William Hendrix, who at the same time had also obtained a sub-lease from Tighe of the bowling area. William Hendrick hence became the main developer of the bowling green. He sub-divided the area adjacent to the bowling green into building lots and opened a new street, Hendrick Street. This street passed through the bowling green, which in tandem with the public shift towards other bowling greens and recreational areas, brought about its final destruction (1724 *Ancient records*, vii: 275; and see Burke, 1972: 300), while the public shifted towards the use of other bowling greens around the city and other recreational areas.

7.8 FURTHER PRIVATE DEVELOPMENT AROUND THE ABBEY GREEN AND THE CHANGING OF ITS NAME TO LITTLE GREEN

In a manner similar to the development of the area of Oxmantown Bowling Green, a web of inter-related private developers brought further changes to the area of Abbey Green. The development of this Green had continued uninterrupted since the Restoration period, causing a dramatic reduction in its size. In Brooking's map, the Green is represented as a empty trapezoidal space surrounded by buildings, which was located to the south of King Street, and between (the future) Green Street, Halston Street and Little Britain Street. Its size (as calculated from Brooking's map) was approximately one fifth that of St Stephen's Green, and was thus much smaller than the original tenure of the Abbey which had once occupied a great part of the north-east of the city.

In Brooking's map the Green is not indicated by any name, but, from the eighteenth century onwards, this space was to be known as Little Green. The first legal document referring to Little Green - as such - in the Assembly Rolls dates to 1699[1] (*Ancient records*, vi: 229).

It is possible that its reduction in size, or even its comparison to St Stephen's Green or Oxmantown Green, was one of the principal reasons behind the name change. Another possible explanation for the deliberate substitution of the word 'Abbey' could have been the will of the city assembly to assert its authority over city land by erasing the ecclesiastical name. This could also be justified by an actual conflict of interest between the religious and civic institutions regarding the contemporary planning of urban public spaces. Finally, the name 'Abbey' could simply have become obsolete by virtue of the complete disappearance of the Abbey and its enclosure from the cityscape.

In the 1730s, Luke Gardiner acquired title to the former lands of St Mary's Abbey, which then became part of the development of the Gardiner estate[2], east of the Little Green. However, despite strong competition from other powerful speculators in the adjacent areas since the Restoration period, the portion of the Abbey Green originally held by Charles Hartstonge had remained for a long time in the hands of his family. In 1723, Sir Standish Hartstonge was confirmed as 'tenant to the city' in Little Green, at the yearly rent of six pounds (1723, *Ancient records*, vii: 241). The Harstonges continued to hold this place until the 1750s, when it was assigned to a certain Mr. George Kennan, merchant (1758, *Ancient records*, x: 265-7). Although there are no clear references on the use to which the Green was put during the nearly ninety years of Harstonge tenancy, they can be considered as the main developers of the circumjacent building lots and street patterns.

[1] However other authors commenting on this change report erroneously different later dates, such as 1756 for McCullough, (1989: 44) and 1727 for Moylan (1946*a*: 83).

[2] Luke Gardiner had bought the lands of St Mary's Abbey (the Drogheda estate) in 1714 from Viscount Moore, the then Earl of Drogheda, however he came into full possession of the title of these lands in 1730 (see Burke, 1972: 283).

7.9 PUBLIC BUILDINGS IN PUBLIC GREEN SPACES: THE ROLE OF THE CORPORATION

> *Whereas certain of the commons petitioned the said assembly, setting forth that there is a piece of ground belonging to this citty, scituate on the Little Green, on the north end of the Lady Reeves Garden ..., which is very propper to build a Hospitall on, for the reception of aged sick and other diseased persons; which piece of ground was, by act of assembly*[3] *in the yeare of our Lord, 1682, set apart for a church, but the same is built since elsewhere; that there are severall well disposed persons who now would contribute largely to such a work ... and therefore prayed the said piece of ground may, by act of this assembly, be appropriated to the said use of a hospitall ...*
>
> (1699, *Ancient records*, vi: 229)

Along with the work of private developers, the Corporation further developed public green spaces through the erection of buildings for disadvantaged sectors of the public. This was especially visible in the erection of hospitals in response to an increasing population, and the concomitant increase in numbers of poor and needy who occupied the city's public spaces.

In 1699, the city assembly planned the construction of a hospital in a part of Little Green that was previously envisaged for the erection of a church. The proposal discussed at the city assembly was for a hospital 'for the reception of aged sick and other diseased persons' (1699, *Ancient records*, vi: 229). The plan, which had the financial support of some private benefactors, was approved by the assembly. However, as in the case of the 1682 plan for a church, the project never materialised. Reasons for this could include the area's low topographical situation, the choice of a better location, or funding matters.

Nevertheless, the number of poor and needy was steadily increasing, and literature of the period shows concern for the rising number of poor children in the city (see Dickson, 1987*a*: 83). This concern was necessarily for the well being of the children, but also (if not only) for reasons of economy, control and order in the city public spaces. Swift in 1729, wrote *A Modest Proposal for Preventing the Children of Poor People From Being a Burden*. While Dunton, in his *Dublin Scuffle*, offers a vivid description of the 'several little children' living on Dublin's outskirts, by comparing them to 'many maggots on a dunghill in a summer's day', giving an idea

of the way children were perceived by a section of the contemporary society (Dunton, 1699*a*: 367; also see Fabricant, 1982: 33).

The problem of uncontrolled children was quite pressing, and in 1727, the Corporation established a Foundling Hospital in the old Workhouse (built in 1703) in St Jame's Street (Craig, 1992: 75). In the meanwhile the Blue Coat Hospital continued to function 'for the sustentation and relief of poor children' (Warburton, *et al.*, 1818: 426); although, as revealed by Lewis, (1787: 63-6) Warburton *et al.* (1818: 564-70), and McParland (2001: 165), its function during the Georgian period was merely to be a school for 'sons of reduced freemen' who were to be educated in a Protestant manner. The Corporation, with the aid of private benefactors, continued to financially maintain this institution through the revenues generated from the leases of the lots in St Stephen's Green and Oxmantown Green (1730, *Ancient records*, viii: 9).

The portion of Oxmantown Green standing in front of the Hospital was kept as a lawn by the Corporation, and was improved with walks which were used by the citizens of Dublin for recreation. Of this large part of what was left of Oxmantown Green, *Dunton* wrote that it was 'a field called the Hospital Green where the citizens walk and refresh themselves in the open air as you do at Moorfields' (1699*a*: 338). These walks in the Hospital Green, or Oxmantown Green, are partially reproduced as a series of curvilinear and winding tracks in Rocque's map of Dublin (see Figure 7.7).

Other institutions of public utility were also erected in Oxmantown Green. A Carpenters' Charity House stood on the north-west side of the Green until 1728 (see McParland, 2001: 72). In the same year as its demolition, the corporation of carpenters, millers, and masons appealed in the city assembly for the erection of poor houses on the north side of the Green. A committee was then created 'for a charitable design and no other' to build 'on top of the Hill in Oxmantown Green' a series of 'poor houses thereon for the use of decayed brethren and sisters of the said corporation'. The plot of ground for the construction of the said houses measured 'the front to the north, bounded by the road leading from Stony Batter to Arbor Hill, running from the west end of the late alderman Joseph Kane's ground to the east side of the second stile, 185 feet and a half in length; the west side, bounded by

[3] see *Ancient records*, v: 224.

Oxmantown Green, 60 feet in depth; the rear to the south, bounded by Oxmantown Green, 185 feet and a half in length; and on the side to the east, bounded by the said late alderman Kane's ground, 60 feet in depth'. By order of the Corporation the ground had to be enclosed by a wall built in lime and stone. Most significantly, a condition of its construction, and a condition for the approval of the project was 'that there be no doors or passages into the Green from the said improvement' (1728, *Ancient records*, vii: 415 -6). This provision created an area completely segregated from the rest of the southern portion of the Green. Consequently, the poor were deliberately kept separate from the part of the Green landscaped with the recreational walks and from the military establishment on its western side.

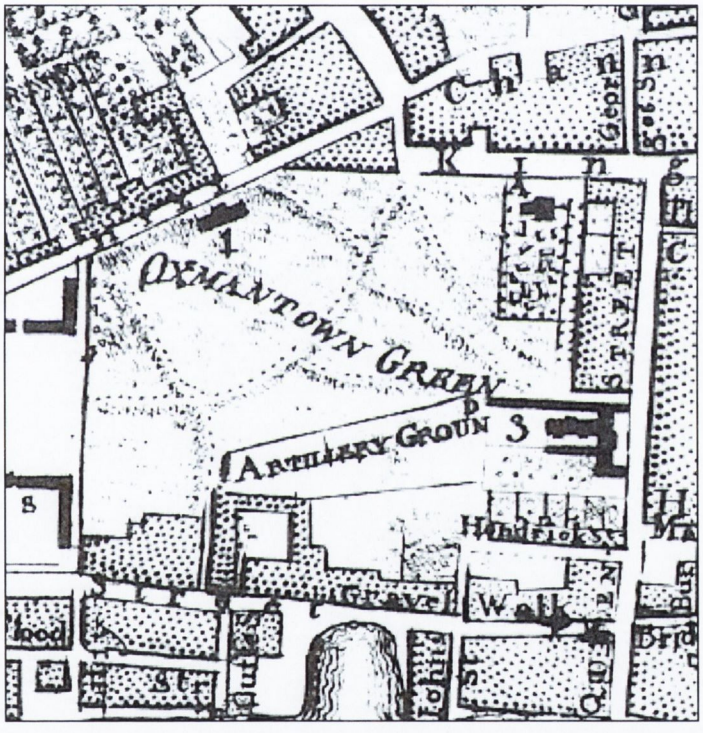


Figure 7.7 Walks in Oxmatown Green. Extract from John Rocque's map of Dublin, 1757. NLI.

7.10 THE CHURCH AS AGENT OF DEVELOPMENT IN PUBLIC GREEN SPACES

The efforts of the Corporation to adopt a policy which would contain the problem of an increasing number of inhabitants, that of poor within the city, and which would provide 'to the suppressing the growth of begging and the punishing of vagabonds

and sturdy beggars...' (1695, *Ancient records*, vi: 91), were accompanied by renewed societal efforts of the Church.

The Church had been largely in charge of the maintenance of the poor since mediaeval times, and during the period in examination, a combination of various political factors brought an increased presence of Protestant religious institutions in the city. While the large number of Huguenot immigrants had prompted the building of two French conformist churches in Dublin (1711) (*Ancient records*, vi: 444), more protestant churches were being erected around the city, and in particular, the increased number of inhabitants on the north side had brought a demand for two extra parishes. In 1697, a plan was drawn up to divide the existing parish of St Michan into three: St Michan, St Paul and St Mary (1697, *Ancient records*, vi: xv). This plan envisaged the construction of two new churches in the two public green spaces on the north side: in Oxmantown Green and Little Green.

7.10.1 Erection of a church in Oxmantown Green

After the decision of 1697, a portion of the north-eastern side of Oxmantown Green was used to build the new church of St Paul. A few years later, in 1702, another portion of the Green, adjacent to the church, was taken for the laying out of a churchyard (*Ancient records*, vi: 273). The rectangularly shaped ground occupied by the church and its yard, measured one hundred and twenty feet from east to west, and two hundred and fifty feet from north to south (see Figure 7.8).

In 1711, the construction of a chapel near the Barracks and a yard 'for burial of the dead soldiers of such regiments' (*Ancient records*, vi: 443) was requested by the Lord Lieutenant to provide the military establishment with religious services. The ground chosen was a portion of Oxmantown Green between the Barracks and the artillery yard, which according to Daly corresponded to a portion of Arbour Hill (1967: 107). The city assembly requested a rent of three shillings and four pence per annum for the lease of this ground, and required that a condition of the proposed plan be 'that no passage be allowed from the church or churchyard into the Green, and the passage from the barracks into the said Green to be shut up, with such other clauses as Mr Recorder shall think fit' (1711, *Ancient records*, vi: 443). A 'committe [had been] appointed to stake out the ground' and to survey the works, however it took more than ten years for the works to begin (1711, *Ancient records*, vi: 443 and see 1724, *Ancient records*, vii: 285-5). In one of the documents issued by the

Corporation in 1724, reporting the final regulations for the works to proceed, it was included and re-stated as a final clause 'that there be no door or passage from the said chapel or yard into Oxmantown Green' (1724, *Ancient records*, vii: 285-5). This indicated that for the Corporation it was important to prevent the use of the Green as a way of passage for the soldiers to and from the chapel, the graveyard and the Barracks in general; and at a deeper level it revealed a will to keep those areas (and the population within it) segregated and thus easier to control.

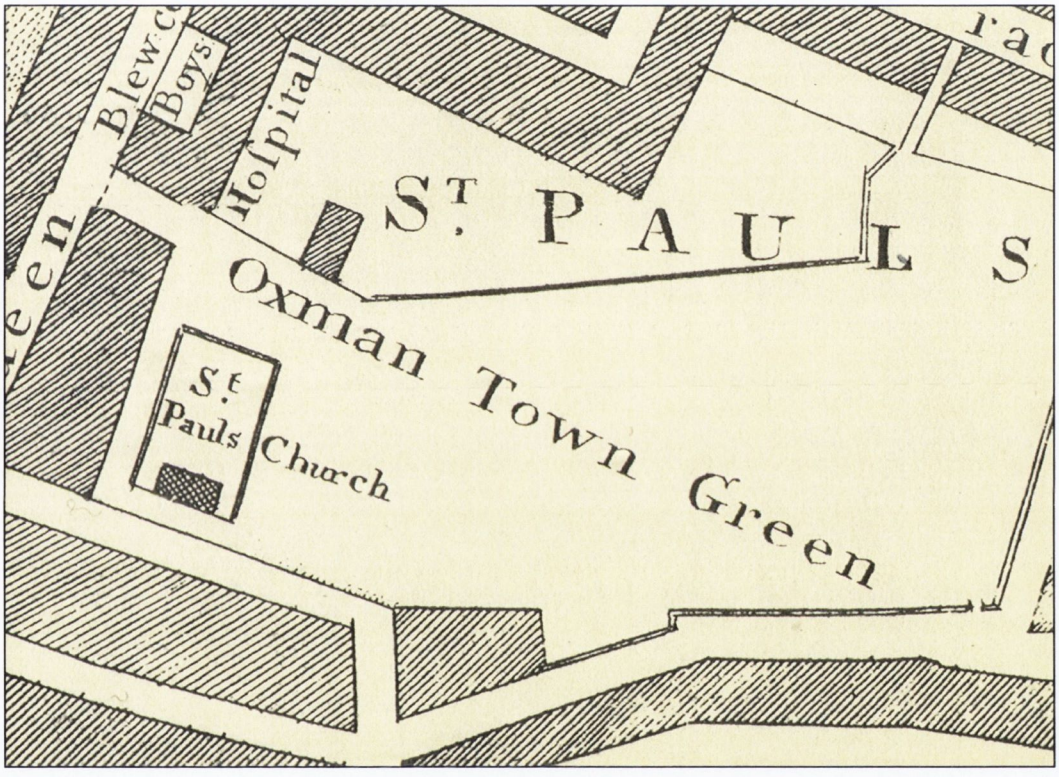


Figure 7.8 Enclosure of St Paul's Church in Oxmantown Green. Extract from Charles Brooking's map of Dublin, 1728. NLI.

7.10.2 Plan for a church in Little Green

> *His grace William, lord archbishop of Dublin, setting forth that the number of inhabitants of the parish of New Saint Michan's is so much increased, that no one church is capacious enough to receive the number of inhabitants; and therefore prayed such a quantity of the Little Green as will be sufficient to build a church on ...*
>
> (1727, *Ancient records*, vii: 378-90)

In 1727, the Protestant Archbishop William King petitioned the Corporation of Dublin to obtain a portion of the ground of Little Green for the erection of another

church. The request was based on the high increase in the number of people living in the area, 'lewd and unruly' people 'who had no place of worship' (from a report of Archbishop William King as quoted in Moylan, 1946*a*: 84).

The Corporation agreed to the Archipishop's request 'as the building a church there will tend to the service of God and the public good' and decided to grant to the Archibishop a plot of ground on the north side of Little Green in fee farm, at a rent of 2 shillings and 6 pence per annum (1727, *Ancient records*, vii: 378-9; and see 1728, *Ancient records*, vii: 407). The size of the plot, which was almost rectangular in shape, was 'in the front to King's street 130 feet, in depth from King's street to the south on the east side 144 feet, from thence to the west 120 feet to Harstonge street, and from thence to the north to King's street 80 feet'. However, the Archbishop was not satisfied with the size of the plot offered by the Corporation and a few months later he made appeal to obtain a larger portion of the Green 'located on the north side of Sir Standish Harstong's holding' for the laying out of a church yard (1727, *Ancient records*, vii: 390). The city assembly also agreed to this request and in the new contract it was re-stated that the church had to provide for enclosure of the assigned area and for the channelling of the water of the Bradoge underground "that the same be turned, covered and arched by those who may be appointed overseers for building said church, so that the same be no expense to the city ...' (1727, *Ancient records*, vii: 378-9). The Bradoge had already been partially channelled by Harstonge during the Restoration period; however the works were only completed during the eighteenth century; the river is now running under Halston street (1727, *Ancient records*, vii: 378-9 and 1727, *Ancient records*, vii: 390 see also Moylan, 1946*a*: 85).

While the ground designed for the church and churchyard was eventually enclosed with a stone wall ten years later in 1738-39, by order of John Antrobus, Doctor of Divinity, and rector of Saint Michans (1738-39, *Ancient records*, viii: 321), the construction work did not ever proceed any further. However, plans for a church in Little Green continued to be submitted on several occasions over a period of some hundred years, from 1682 (1682, *Ancient records*, v: 244) – the year of the first proposal– to 1787 (*Ancient records*, xiv: 14) – the year in which the Clergy commission finally abandoned the project. This was due to a variety of factors, among which could have been the difficulties encountered in meeting the expensive demands made by the Corporation, the dynamism of private development around the Green which had already begun to create problems of congestion (which became

paramount in the following century), and again the unsuitable topography of the Green.

7.11 THE POSITION OF GREENS IN RELATION TO THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT, AS EVIDENCED BY BROOKING'S MAP

The intense development of the area around Little Green is visible in Brooking's map (see Figure 7.9). By 1728, the north eastern sector of the city had undergone an intense period of development which was mainly being carried out on the Gardiner estate. The Gardiners, in the 1720s, had started to construct streets and buildings, among which were the residential Henrietta Street and Bolton Street north east of Little Green (see Sheridan, 2001: 93). On the south eastern side, the Green was overshadowed by the development of the Jervis estate (see map 'Spheres of influence of private landlords in 18th c. Dublin' in Sheridan, 2001: 90). While the development of the two estates focussed on the creation of large spacious central streets, such as Bolton Street, Capel Street and Jervis Street, the Green came to be a mere marginal urban feature, surrounded by narrow lanes and dense compact buildings. As a result of both the heavy development and the low topographical conditions, problems such as bad ventilation, darkness and dampness came to characterise the Green, to such an extent that towards the second half of the eighteenth century this area grew sadly to be identified as one of the most squalid in which to live (see Warburton *et al.*, 1818: 1047-56).

The lack of sanitary arrangements, and problems of congestion, were a common phenomenon in Georgian Dublin (see Maxwell, 1936: 142; Fagan, 1986: 19 and Sheridan, 2001: 80). However, the situation in some areas, such as Little Green or the Liberties was much worse than in other places.

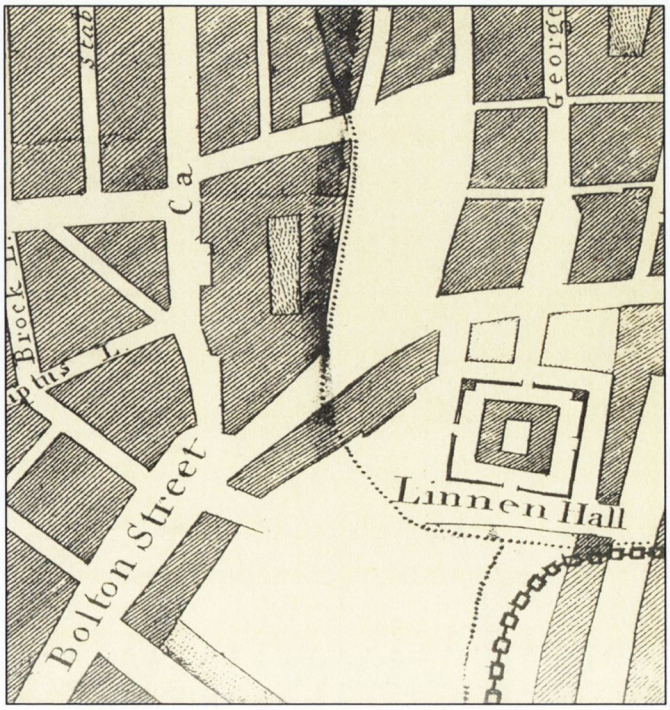


Figure 7.9 Little Green, upper central space. South is at the top. Extract from Charles Brooking's map of Dublin, 1728. NLI.

The Liberties, called the Liberties of Thomas-court and Donore, was property of the Earl of Meath, and it extended on the south-western side of the city opposite the expansion of the Gardiner/Jervis estates, where its eastern side bordered the recently created City Basin. While the Corporation tried to make an amenity area of the Basin, the core of the Liberties was mainly industrial, and the Basin came to be surrounded by substandard shanty-like constructions, with the inhabitants of which still living a semi-rural lifestyle. As reported by Warburton *et al.* (1818: 1070), the entrance of the Basin was from Basin-lane and Pig-town, 'the latter appropriately so called, from being perpetually infested with those animals, and forming by its filth a strong contrast to the salubrious air and cheerful tranquillity of the scene within' (see Figure 7.10).

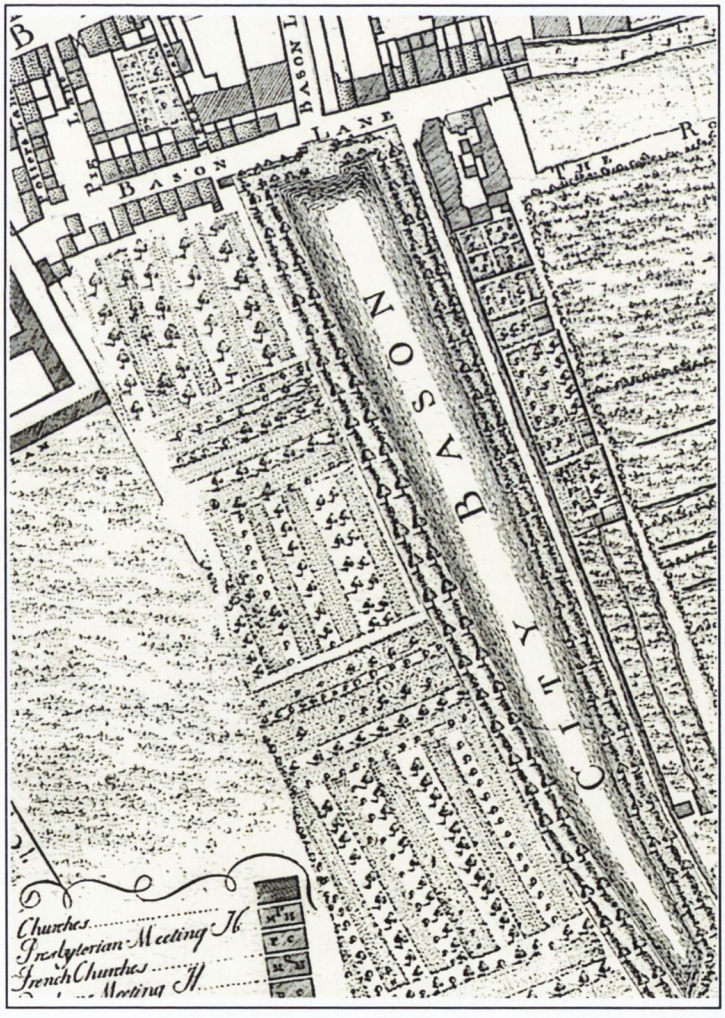


Figure 7.10 Little Green. Pig Lane and Bason Lane are in the top left-hand corner. Extract from John Rocque's map of Dublin, 1756. NLI.

Moreover, the fact that the city markets were erected (and re-established) on the south-western and north-western sectors contributed to an association of the western side with poorer people, market areas and industrial development. This consequently lead to a choice by the well-off in favour of the east side, and to a growing social and architectural divide between the western and the eastern parts of the city (see McCullen, 1992: 254-5).

Although the Assembly Rolls of the beginning of the eighteenth century recorded a high increase in the number of streets and houses in the areas adjacent to Oxmantown Green (1712-13, *Ancient records*, vi: 470; 1715, *Ancient records*, vi: 553), this area, because of the presence of Smithfield, the barracks, the hospital and the 'poor houses', fell out of favour with the aristocracy and gentry and slowly came to be inhabited by a more disadvantaged section of the population. Despite the initial efforts of the Corporation to maintain the 'beauty' of the Green for the benefit of the public (see 1726, *Ancient records*, vii: 353), the increasing lack of a 'public' which could appreciate, or identify with, contemporary landscaping techniques, eroded the motivation of the Corporation to protect the Green and its amenities from private development - as in the case of the bowling green.

On the other hand, the provision of buildings with a public function, such as the Custom House, the Parliament House, the College, and the Mansion House in the east sector of the city, combined with the development of the zone bordering the strand and the quays, contributed to create a setting which attracted more residential development.

In the decade prior to 1720, Molesworth Fields (between the College and St Stephen's Green), the property of Viscount Molesworth, was developed with the construction of Grafton Street (*c.* 1708) and South Anne Street. In the following years Kildare Street (*c.* 1723) and Dawson Street were also developed; with the latter being laid down by the entrepreneur Joshua Dawson (construction works spanned from c.1705 to c.1750) (See Harvey; 1972: 90 and Peter, 1925: 58). Dawson Street's importance was emphasised by the erection of the Mansion House in 1713, residence of the Lord Mayor. By 1728 the four sides of St Stephen's Green were also almost completed, and development continued towards the south-eastern portion of the Green with the construction of Suesey Street (Leeson Street).

In this case, St Stephen's Green, unlike Little Green and the City Basin, functioned as an urban pole about which developments took place. Its central

function, already established by its large size, the paved streets, and the 'framing' lots resulting from the 1663 plan, was now enhanced by these further building works. The Corporation's efforts to maintain the Green, making it one of Dublin's central areas of amenity, were also fuelled by the increased presence of high status residents in the area.

Among these people was Joseph Leeson, owner of a house on the Green's northern side (1712-13, *Ancient records*, vi: 473). Another was David La Touche I, who lived on the Green during the 1720s and '30s. According to Dickson (Dickson and English, 1987: 18), La Touche was a speculator who developed streets and building sites on the 'land bank' west of St Stephen's Green, and then rented the properties to various craftsmen; he also then invested in their businesses, increasing in turn the value of his holdings. By the end of the eighteenth century, La Touche's family was known to have three houses in St Stephen's Green (Dickson and English, 1987: 30). The Claytons (Robert Clayton, Bishop of Cork) were another famous family living in the Green, Pakenham (2003: 166) having referred to them as 'the most fashionable people in the Dublin of Mrs Delany's day'. Friends of Swift and the Delanys', they were instrumental in creating a vibrant social life in their circles of acquaintances, throwing a series of parties and receptions in their house on the South side of the Green (designed by Richard Cassells, and now part of Iveagh House). From the details of one of Mrs Delany's letters, (1731, from Pakenham & Pakenham, 2003: 166), in which she described a party at the Clayton's house, it can be surmised that a proficiency of luxury characterised the decoration and contents of the residence. This description suggests a type of environment particularly suited to people with a highly developed taste for 'beauty and recreation'.

It seems that the Green was used by this social grouping as part of their habitual lifestyle. Maxwell, when referring to the social life of Mrs Delany and that of her acquaintances, wrote that "for the Green itself Mrs Delany has nothing but praise, 'I think' she wrote, 'it may be preferred justly to any square in London'. She used to walk round it several times every day for the sake of her health - a pleasing relief no doubt from a surfeit of parties and ball" (Mrs Delany, 1731, quoted in Maxwell, 1936: 79).

The formal design of St Stephen's Green, with its regular geometry, was also a reflection of the aestethic values of the richer classes. This type of design, even in more elaborated forms, but still traditional and conservative, became an essential

ornamental component of the buildings that had a representative function, and with whom it was often associated. In Brooking's map, the decorative aspects of the Castle garden (Figure 7.11) were enhanced, being elaborated with parterres and circular walks centered around the castle. Similarly, the garden of the Royal Hospital Kilmainham is represented in the same map with the traditional formal landscape, rows of side trees and central lawn. In 1698, it was ordered that the garden of the Royal Hospital Kilmainham should be planted with dwarf trees, which were 'layed into the grass plots and walks'; and in 1717, further changes resulted in the provision of iron rails, walks, terraces and Elm trees (Lamb and Bowe, 1995: 23). Even the Mansion House, residence of the Lord Mayor, had a designed garden with central lawn, rows of trees, terraces, and gravel walks (1723, *Ancient records*, vii: 216). These factors undoubtedly contributed to reinforcing the acceptance and understanding of this type of ambience as the environment of the governing class.

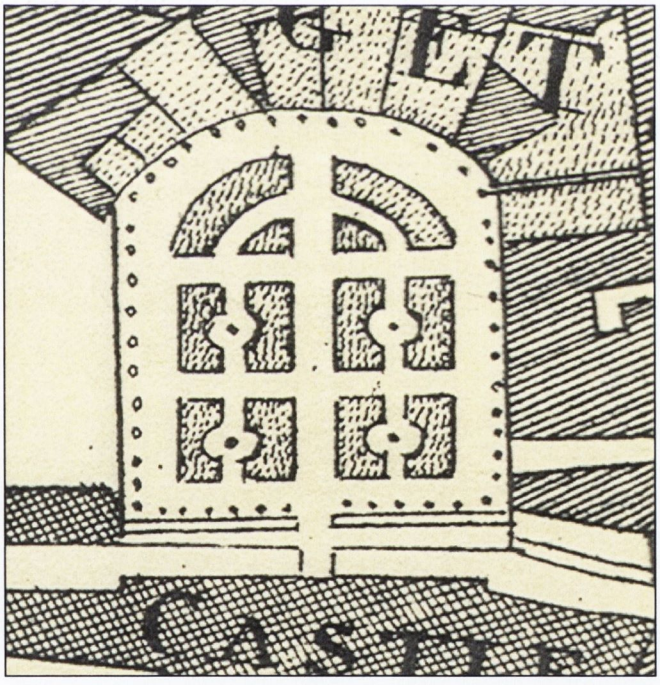


Figure 7.11 The Castle's garden. Extract from Charles Brooking's map of Dublin, 1728. NLI.

It is also interesting to note the fact that until the late 1720s, three generations of the Moody family had occupied the position of head gardener at the Mansion House, St Stephen's Green and the City Basin, (see 1719-20, *Ancient records*, vii: 113-4; 1722: 197; 1726-27: 357), and that this had perpetuated an adherence to

traditional landscaping techniques, thus ensured the preservation and repetition of the style of gardening which had been in vogue since the 1660s.

7.12 REACTION AGAINST GEOMETRICISATION[4]: BRIEF EXPLORATION OF REALITIES OUTSIDE PUBLIC GREEN SPACES

During the period under examination it is interesting to note that private gardens, contrary to public green spaces, were affected by revolutionary changes.

Firstly, there was an increased introduction to, and diffusion of, exotic tropical plants and different horticultural techniques in Ireland. These came most notably from the Netherlands, England, France and Italy. In 1694, The Dublin Philosophical Society sent several market gardeners to Holland that they might upon returning teach its members new techniques for the cultivation of fruit and vegetables. Some years later, a Huguenot, Captain Teophilus Desbrisay, founded the Dublin Florists' Club for the promotion of the cultivation of flowers (Lamb and Bowe, 1995: 26 and Nelson, 1982: 142-8). By the beginning of the century, nurseries had begun to open for business in the city, and it is recorded that in 1711, a Walter Roe -later joined by a Daniel Bullen- was among the first businessmen to open such an enterprise in Dublin (Lamb and Bowe, 1995: 29). The establishment of nurseries, combined with an increase in available literature, greatly contributed to the diffusion of plants (considered now as items of consumption) and the popularity of gardens (which could then be interpreted as 'display cabinets' for the new luxury items) in the urban environment.

The changes occurring in garden design were also the result of changes in preponderant political ideology. The atmosphere of liberalism following the 1688 revolution in England, the development of a parliamentary system, and the formation of the Whig party, favoured the development of an environment from which a new style of landscaping could emerge. This new style would counteract the superimposition of rectilinear geometry on the land, as well as the formalism of the French and Dutch garden (see Bonnechere and De Bruyn, 1998: 254; and Lamb and Bowe, 1995: 31). The rigid formalism and grandeur of the prototypical French gardens at Versailles expressed and reflected the absolute power of the monarchy and the courtly style of life (Bonnechere and De Bruyn, 1998: 222, 254), and it was

[4] Lamb and Bowe, 1995: 32.

this form of representation that the emerging radical movements in England and Ireland were trying to eliminate.

The abolition of walls (and their replacement with ditches called Ha-Ha), the use of curvilinear paths or serpentines, and a general return to more natural forms were advocated by several thinkers from the beginning of the eighteenth century. Among these were Stephen Switzer, the Earl of Shaftesbury, William Kent, Alexander Pope (Lamb and Bowe, 1995: 33; Chambers, 1993: 61; Bonnechere and De Bruyn, 1998: 259-60). Pope was one of the first to make a garden in this new natural style at his own residence in Twickenham, near London (Malins & The Knight of Glin, 1976: 37).

This style emerged in Ireland due mainly to the initiative of various intellectuals such as Joseph Addison and Jonathan Swift. In 1711-12 Joseph Addison, who lived in Dublin Castle while secretary to the Viceroy and was a personal friend of Pope, wrote a series of essays criticising and rejecting the unnatural and 'stiff' character of the formal gardens then in vogue. Similarly Swift, also a good friend of Pope and a great admirer of his garden, evinced in his works a strong interest in the abolition of constrictive superimpositions of control in gardening (see Fabricant, 1982: 14-23). According to Lamb and Bowe (1995: 32), Swift began his own garden near the Deanery of St Patrick's Cathedral around 1725, designing it with winding walks, and with trees, shrubs and roses positioned in the new informal natural style.

Acquaintances and friends of Swift soon began to adopt the new style in their private gardens. Dr Patrick Delany, Dean of Down and friend to Swift, applied the 'new manner' of gardening in his suburban demesne of Delville at Glasnevin in 1724 (see Plate 7.6). Mrs Delany was also the first to apply the rococo style of garden in Ireland (mingling the baroque order and formality with nature-inspired creativity). She is noted for having used shell works to decorate ornamental grottoes, both at Delville and in Killala, County Mayo, as well as at the palace of the Bishop of Clogher, County Cavan (Lamb and Bowe, 1995: 33).

Plate 7.6 Garden at Delville by Mary Delany, 1745. National Gallery of Ireland. Source: Day, A. 1991: 4.

An increasing profusion of large gardened demesnes in the Dublin suburbs was another characteristic of this period. The fact that more gentry and aristocracy came to live in Dublin brought about a partial transformation of the suburbs in residential areas. The formerly landed gentry tried to transplant to the suburbs a way of living more characteristic of the countryside, in effect pursuing pastoral country house ideals by attempting to re-create a sort of rural environment at the fringes of the town. Fabricant (1982: 152), when emphasising the scale of this phenomenon in early eighteenth century Dublin, refers to the 'pastoral revival' as a 'schizophrenic emulation of countryside in the city' (see Plate 7.7 for a depiction of what this may have looked like).

This new pastoral way of perceiving suburbia, which contrasts highly with the perception we have of the use of public green spaces in the city centre, was also celebrated by some of the poets of the time. In particular, James Ward, Murrough O'Connor and Matthew Concanen also tried to describe and celebrate peasant life and customs in North County Dublin, thus offering an alternative view of contemporary understandings and uses of public space (Craig, 1992: 117).

Plate 7.7 Pastoral view of Dublin from the Magazine, Phoenix Park. Plate from James Malton, *A picturesque and descriptive view of the city of Dublin.* 1799. NLI.

Matthew Concanen's (1721, quoted in Fagan, 1986: 79, 186-99) poem *A match of foot-ball: or, the Irish champion, a mock heroic poem in three cantos,* described a match of football at Sword's Green, north of Dublin in 1721. This poem serves to give an alternative perspective on the way in which public green spaces were used and perceived by the general population in the early eighteenth century. Public green spaces were used not only for military exercises, recreational walking, bowling, and occasional parades, but for popular sports and games such as hurling and football. Fagan reports that even Oxmantown Green was a popular venue for games of football and other sports until at least the beginning of the eighteenth century (Fagan, 1986: 200 and see note 31). In Concanen's poem, consisting of several stanzas, Sword's Green, referred to as 'the flow'ry Green', was described as covered by an abundance of primroses, daisies and tulips. The central part of the Green was reserved for the game, with the goals formed by two branches of willow stuck in the ground and bonded towards each other to form an arch. In the poem, the 'merry' crowd - who could presumably, have gathered just as easily at Oxmantown Green - enjoyed not only the sport offered by the athletics, but also that provided by themselves, and were seen to be dancing, laughing, chatting and meeting their lovers while waiting for the game to begin:

...The distant sun now shoots a feeble ray
and warms with fainter beams the fading day;
now cooler breezes fan the sultry glades
and waving trees project a longer shade,
when on a wide extent of level ground,
which spreading groves and rising hillocks bound,
the num'rous Crowd with wonder and delight
at once confound and entertain the sight.
Here troops of horsemen throng the varied scene,
or view the goal, or gallop on the Green;
there jolly rusticks, in their best array,
impatient for the sport, the field survey.
Tir'd with preceding mirth, the country lass
reclines her weary limbs upon the grass;
there, laid at ease, receives her lover's treats,
or make new conquests, or old vows repeats.
Some laugh and chat, some dance, while others run
but all agree to wish the sport begun. [...]

Canto I , Concanen, 1721: 186

7.13 FORMS OF RESISTANCE

Brooking's bird's-eye view (1728) imparted the north side of the river with a pastoral character, mainly suggested by an extensive wooded area framing the urban centre. Contributing to this 'green belt' were Sallcock's Wood -to the north of Oxmantown Green, in the area of Quarry Lane/Annamore Road and Cabra Road (Cosgrave, 1932: 8)- and Clontarf Wood, extending from Clontarf to the seaside. While in Brooking's depiction, the groves surrounding Oxmantown Green, interspersed with meadows and low hills, and sparsely dotted with cottages and mills, might give the impression of a peaceful pastoral scenario; it is however known that such spaces often also provided a stage for violence. Dunton for example, in describing Clontarf Wood, remarked that it was 'a fine grove.....a place where men of heat go to bleed one other in duels, and those possessed with the gentler fire of love carry their mistress to take the country air, and find their names growing on the trees' (Dunton, 1699*a*: 366).

As Kostof (1992:166) observed when speaking about the history of cities, 'the areas closest to the edge of town were (in general) the most bitterly contested'. Most of these areas were green spaces, which located between rural and urban environment, were not easy to control for urban authorities, while at the same time were of easy access to outsiders; they were therefore a potential ground for encounter - and contests - between different social groups.

The fact that Oxmantown Green was one of the largest common spaces adjacent to the city; the fact that its environs were inhabited primarily by the poor; and the fact that large groups of people gathered there during fairs, festivities, sportive events, and to attend to Smithfield market (the largest livestock market in the city), gave the Green high potential for casual violence and faction fights, as well as general revolts against the established order and its representatives.

The Government's decision to erect the Royal Barracks in the Green - the largest military structure of its kind in Ireland - must also be interpreted as an attempt to impose control, discipline and order in one of the city's hot-spots. As Fagan notes (1986: 46), fights were especially common between factions of the Protestant Liberty Boys (for the great part weavers of the Coombe) and the Catholic Ormond Boys (mainly from the area of Ormonde Market in Oxmantown Green). Among numerous reports of these riots and contests (see Fagan, 1986: 47), the *Dublin Courant* of September 1748 (3-6 September, 1748 quoted in Fagan, 1986: 47) recorded that after a 'smart engagement' (between Ormond Boys and Liberty Boys) in Oxmantown Green, three of the rioters were committed to Newgate Prison). Because of the political situation, riots in the eighteenth century had become endemic in all of the city's public spaces, and in reaction, the Government enforced strong forms of punishment. The punishment for such violent behaviour in public spaces often consisted of imprisonment or even execution.

St Stephen's Green was another prominent location for the generation of fights and rebellion. For instance, the *Dublin Intelligence* of 11 June, 1726 (cited in Fagan 1986:124) reported that riots had emerged with a great degree of violence in St Stephen's Green on the occasion of a gathering of Catholics during the celebration of the Pretender's birthday. By that stage, the Green had already been endowed with a cage for the imprisonment of public offenders (see 1709, *Ancient records*, vi: 406). Moreover quoting Fagan (1986: 52), the Green 'was the scene of many public executions in the first half of the century.'

College Green was not exempt from disorders either. The statue of King William, because of its intrinsic political symbolism and because of its location 'in the public domain', became a focal point for demonstrations of resistance (Whelan, 2003: 37). The Assembly Rolls record various episodes of physical attacks and damage to the statue. Since its erection in 1701, the statue had been 'subjected to repeated abuse and defacement', (1714, *Ancient records*, vi: 504-5) both by general

members of the public (presumably of Catholic persuasion) and by the students of Trinity College. In 1710, two students were fined 100 pounds each, made stand beside the statue bearing plaques on which it was written: 'I stand here for defacing the statue of our glorious deliverer, the late King William' and then sent to prison for six months (quoted in Craig, 1992: 77). In 1715 (*Ancient records*, vi: 541) a couple of sentinels were hired to ensure the statue's preservation, and a few years later a guard-house was set at its side. However episodes of heavy vandalism continued undeterred and incessantly until 1929 when the statue was finally blown up.

7.14 CONCLUSION

De facto, the moulding of College Green, St Stephen's Green and Oxmatown Green was largely based on the physical expression of a protracted struggle between conquerors and conquered, between people and social order, between individuals and civic institutions. The analysis of Oxmantown Green, in its relative micro-spatiality, offers a formidable example of the local embodiment of a complex combination of political and social histories over the construction and deconstruction of a green place.

In conclusion, during the period 1689-1728, the forms and functions of public green spaces were shaped by the encounter of several different forces, which were sometimes contrasting in nature.

At the most simplistic level, contrasting forces were the Protestant domination (English Governance) and the Irish Resistance (Protestant dissenters and Catholics). In these terms, the landscaping processes occurring in public green spaces can be understood generally as expressions of colonialism and forms of resistance to it.

English Governance generated the imposition of an architectural style belonging to -and thus representative of - the governing body. This was embodied by works such as the military barracks at Oxmantown Green, the statue of William III, and the construction of the Parliament Houses in College Green; all of which represent significant and straightforward political statements. The introduction of Protestant green keepers in St Stephen's Green and the continued use of public green spaces for military marches and parades are parts of the same political statements. Although these are less obvious, because expressed in a dynamic (determined by praxis of use) as opposed to static form (characterised by the imposed physical

architecture), these elements equally contributed to the creation of the colonial character of public green spaces.

The opposing force contributed greatly to dynamic elements such as riots, revolts, and acts of vandalism. These acts are identifiable for example as the numerous riots occurring as a result of encounters between Liberties Boys and Ormond Boys, occurring in all the city's public spaces. They can be presented as destructive acts of 'the rabble' in St Stephen's Green - which brought the Green to 'ruinous conditions' in the early 1690s - and as the repetitive attacks upon the statue in College Green. On the one hand, these factors had direct causal links to the destruction of some of the elements imposed by the dominant group on public green spaces. However indirectly, they brought about the subsequent imposition of instruments of control and punishment, such as the cage and watch house in St Stephen's Green and the use of the same for public executions. On the other hand, they also contributed to the creation of the overall character of public green spaces. In this sense, these elements can be considered as not only 'destructive', but also as invisible forms of architecture that sculpted the image of public green spaces in the urban and social environment.

At a deeper level, other forces at work originated in the Corporation, the Church, private developers, and economic and demographic trends. They were also a result of the changes taking place in gardening and horticulture at an international level. These factors were occasionally, and in different ways, exploited by those in power. At the same time, the above factors also achieved a certain level of (non-political) beneficial effects in the public realm; not least of which were improvements in the quality of life of Dublin's citizenry.

With the construction of the water basin, the Corporation provided the city both with a constant supply of water and a recreational green area. St Stephen's Green was maintained as another amenity area for the citizens to walk, while adding 'beauty' to the city. The city assembly also tried to provide more public institutions for less advantaged people; of these, the Carpenters Charity House and the 'poor houses' were erected on Oxmantown Green, while the rents of the lots of Oxmantown Green and St Stephen's Green continued to finance the Blue Coat Hospital.

The problems accompanying an increasing population (and especially the related increase in poverty), were also managed by the pastoral care of the church.

This made provision for the erection of St Paul's Church, a chapel and a graveyard in Oxmantown Green; and at the same time brought forward plans for another church on the Little Green.

While private developers largely influenced the way in which the city was built during the eighteenth century, they also influenced public green spaces, albeit indirectly. This is evident in the case of Abbey Green - now called Little Green - which was hindered from any successful development mainly because of its marginal position between the two emerging great estates of Jervis and Drogheda. The loss of importance of this Green as a central node of urban development was a determining factor in its decline, and in that of its immediate surroundings. Moreover, the fact that the city was being created largely by private developers operating in disconnected large scale estates was also the cause of the lack of a suitable road system which could have made the different public green spaces more easily accessible. These influences were also the cause of the creation of segregated urban sections with quite different urban and social characters. While Little Green, the City Basin and Oxmantown Green came generally to be surrounded by poorer living conditions, St Stephen's Green came to be fully integrated in a wealthy area.

The economy of the city saw an important decline in livestock based market activities. This implied a progressive disappearance of the grazing of animals on the greens. At the same time an expanding market for luxury products brought about a higher demand for recreational facilities, and the establishments of more bowling greens around the city. This increased demand was also prompted by demographic changes, caused by greater migration to the city and by the immigration of Huguenots and Protestants from the Netherlands.

This last factor also contributed to the arrival in Ireland of a new style of gardening, which envisaged the use of more natural and curvilinear forms. Significantly, the new style became an instrument for the physical expression of radical theories which were antagonistic to the established order. However these changes only took place initially in the private gardens of those intellectuals and their circles of friends who could afford it, without altering the original shape of public green spaces.

The Governors, through the work of the Corporation, had maintained and imposed a frozen status on the design of public green spaces, which thus continued to retain their original 1660's design and which was mainly based on the

superimposition of a rectilinear geometry on 'grass, greens and gravels'. The maintenance of this traditional form of landscape by the city authority can be interpreted as an attempt to maintain and ensure the pre-established social order.

As a final comment on the significance of public green spaces at a social level, it is of paramount importance to note the fact that 'children' were included among the envisaged users of St Stephen's Green in the 1709 ordinance. This is significant, as it is the first time that a public recreational space for children is found in the history of public green spaces in Dublin.

CHAPTER 8

WALKS AND SPACES TO WALK-
PEOPLE MAKE PUBLIC GREEN SPACES
1728-1756

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The period 1728-1756 constitutes the final phase of analysis of this research. It is characterised by the continuation in green spaces, or in some cases the disappearance of elements which had already emerged - to various degrees - in the previous periods. These include the construction of hospitals and market areas in connection with green areas, the erection of statues, disappearance of the grazing function, and the laying out of public walks. It concludes with the introduction of new forms and functions in public green spaces.

Despite the fundamental absence of new features, the extent to which some of the old features flourished, or waned, had now reached such a level, that it is possible to demarcate of the period as a single unit of analysis. The period's distinctiveness is most markedly illustrated by the preponderant presence of people: they became protagonists in the green urban scene as never before, and physical dimensions became subservient to social use.

From a political perspective, this was not a period of great change. The stability of the parliamentary system contributed to the strengthening and independence of a Parliament, whose sittings were biennial at the recently built Houses of Parliament in College Green. Members of Parliament had greatly contributed to the consolidation of power by the landlord-gentry ascendancy, and to the consolidation of English-Protestant culture in fields such as religion, language, education, architecture, horticulture and gardening (see *Ancient records*, ix: xxxiv). As Dickson writes, with reference to horticulture and gardening practices throughout the country, it was assumed by those in government 'that persons of recent English origin, or simply protestants, would be more inclined to divide and enclose land,

[and] plant orchards and gardens' (Dickson, 1987*a*: 105). Part of this chapter is dedicated to the evaluation of the maintenance and enforcement of English authority in gardening design and recreational matters.

From an economic point of view, the period was characterised by a certain dynamism which favoured the regulation of market activity and the creation of new market places in the city such as in Little Green. However, economic friction between Ireland and England were the cause of occasional riots and upsurges of discontent, as will be traced throughout this chapter (see *Ancient records*, viii: xii). In addition to this, undercurrents of resistance generated by a general discontent among the lower classes often gave rise to riots and disturbance of the city's public peace.

For the above reasons, the energy of the Corporation during those years was mainly channelled towards the prevention and control of riots, and towards the repression of other 'nuisances' which could have hindered the maintenance of public order in the urban environment, both socially and physically. This included attempts to eliminate what seems to have been a conspicuous and large amount of refuse and dirt in the city. This was accomplished through the creation of a 'cleansing of the streets' committee, which was also in charge of the herbage of St Stephen's Green. Attempts were also being made to eliminate domestic animals from the inner greens of the city, and to adopt stricter forms of control over the movement patterns of the poor. The problems presented by poor and disadvantaged people was also tackled by private individuals through the erection of hospitals, whose construction affected in some ways the layout of public green spaces.

The layout of public green spaces can be appreciated from Rocque's map, which encapsulates all the urban changes which had taken place until this point, and which placed a special emphasis on the design of gardens. The most striking feature of the map is the large number of walks and places to walk, a subject which constitutes the main aspect of this chapter.

Rocques' map also reproduces some of the new elements which were in the process of being introduced to Dublin's public green spaces at the time of its production; these included for example, the New Gardens in Rutland Square (now Parnell Square), which had originated in the 1750s. These Gardens opened up the era of the pleasure garden, best exemplified by the London Vauxhall and Ranelagh gardens. Moreover, the creations of Rutland Square, followed by Merrion Square (1762), and Fitzwilliam Square (completed early in the nineteenth century), were

seminal to the phase of the Georgian Square, which marked a turning point in the entire history of public green spaces.

Along with the creation of new squares, the total structure of the city underwent other drastic changes, mainly due to the fact that in 1757 the Wide Street Commissioners were established for the widening of existing, and the opening of new streets.

Finally, the end of this period was also marked by the death of George II in 1760, which brought about the end of the existing parliamentary system. The accession of George III was followed by the introduction of a new form of governance, and by a change in the structure of the Corporation, which had until then remained. In 1760, an Act of Parliament liberalised the election procedures, enabling the commons to participate in the choice of lord mayor, aldermen and sheriffs (Dickson, 1987*a*: 128 and Sheridan, 2001: 74), and these changes brought further repercussions in the management of the city's public lands.

8.2 THE CITY AT GLANCE, AS EVIDENCED BY ROCQUE'S MAP

Rocque's map of Dublin, in both the 1756 version, which covers the larger suburban areas, and that of 1757, which simply illustrates the central part of the city, gives a broad and detailed representation of the physical layout of public green areas at the end of the period under consideration. From the maps it can be seen, that apart from a meticulous display of horticultural details, which was probably due to the fact that Rocque had started his career as *desinateur de jardins* (Ogborn, 1998: 30-1 and see Weitzman, 1975, 469-80), there had been very little change in the design of public green spaces since Brooking's map in 1728.

8.2.1 Erection of hospitals and charitable institutions in connection with public green areas

Although the construction of the New Gardens off Great Britain Street had only recently began in the 1750s, and although their use as fashionable recreational spaces would evolve mainly in the following decades these gardens were also the product of some social and institutional changes occurring during this period. These gardens, and the concert room associated with them, were constructed as part of the Rotunda Hospital complex (opened in 1757) as a means of financing the Hospital itself through the charging of admission tickets. Of the gardens Campbell wrote in 1777:

> *... this is the Vauxhall, Ranelagh and Pantheon of Dublin. Nay, it is something more than all these, it is a polite place of public resort on Sunday evenings ... On these nights, the rotunda and gardens are prodigiously crowded, and the price of admission being only sixpence, everybody goes.*
>
> (Campbell, 1777: 26-7)

The complex was mainly planned, and initially financed, by a private benefactor, Dr Bartholomew Mosse, as a charitable institution for lying-in women, and as such it was the first maternity hospital in the British Isles (Sheridan, 2001: 95). As Craig (1992: 136) commented, the founding of hospitals as charitable institutions was a social and urban phenomenon that characterised eighteenth century Dublin from about 1715 to 1815.

In 1734, Mrs Mary Mercer privately sponsored the erection of Mercer's Hospital, 'a hospital for lunatics, and persons afflicted with cancer, king's evil, leprosy, falling sickness, etc.' (*Ancient records*, viii: xii and see O'Donnell, 1987: 104), on the north-western corner of St Stephen's Green, off Mercer Street, probably on the site of the old leper house of St Stephen (see Simms, 2001: 51 and Clarke, 1998: 53). A year later, Swift gave to the City a large sum of money to build a hospital 'for the support of lunatics and idiots' in Oxmantown Green (see Lewis, 1787: 242 and McParland, 2001: 81 and also see 1735, *Ancient records*, viii: 183). In his petition to the Corporation it was stated that he had settled 'his whole fortune' to this charitable project which according to Lewis consisted of eleven thousand pounds (1787: 242):

> *Doctor Jonathan Swift, Dean of St Patrick's, setting forth that he having by his last will and testament settled his whole fortune to erect and endow an hospital for the support of idiots and lunatics, and being advised that a plot of ground in Oxmantown Green would be a convenient place whereon to erect the said hospital, and therefore prayed to have the said plot of ground granted to him ...*
>
> (1735, *Ancient records*, viii: 183)

The convenience of using Oxmantown Green for the erection of a public institution was also highlighted by the presence of another charitable institution, the 'Carpenters Widows', on the north west corner of the Green.

8.2.2 The unchanged designs of Oxmantown Green, City Basin, and College Green

As Rocque's map reveals, Oxmantown Green had not undergone any major structural changes in the years since Brooking's map. The only features worth mentioning are the sets of serpentine walks, which as witnessed by Dunton in 1699 (1699*a:* 338), had been in existence since the end of the previous century.

Similarly, the city basin and the green walks around it were still portrayed exactly as in Brooking's map (Figure 7.10). College Green, having completely succumbed to development and paving, was reduced to the role of anteroom to the College and to a mere connection point for converging streets.

The map also reveals a side lane called Hog Hill, which although not reported by Brooking, is significant as it seems to be the only place name that reminds us of the existence of Hoggen Green (see Simms, 2001: 52). Today even this street name has disappeared and the only sign there remaining of this Green is over the door of a licensed premises in Moss Street (see Plate 8.1).

Plate 8.1 Hoggen Green licensed premises in Moss Street. Source: Strati, 2002.

8.2.3 Green Market

On the north side, Little Green was portrayed as almost physically unchanged, although, in the previous twenty years it had suffered a partial reduction in size. This was due to the ongoing changes in market regulations and to the relocation of some market places throughout the city, which, among other things, had created a market on the south side of the Green.

In 1735, the Herb and Root Market was removed from Ormond Quay to Little Green (1735, *Ancient records*, viii: xvi and 1763, *Ancient records*, viii: 219). The new market place is identified in Rocque's map as 'Green market' (see Figure 8.1). This decision, besides reducing the open green area, also brought about the paving of the road on its southern side, thus further urbanising the area (1735, *Ancient records*, viii: xvi and 1763, *Ancient records*, viii: 219).

Market activities taking place in the Green grew in the following years with the erection of a New Market House on the site (1768) (see 1768, *Ancient records*, xi: 413 and 1769, *Ancient records*, xii: 38). The south side of Little Green eventually became one of the most important hubs in the network of Dublin's market activities, with a reputation for the sale of butter, poultry and eggs (*Fairs and Markets Rep,* xix, 1854-1855 and see Maxwell, 1936: 283 and Moylan, 1946*a*: 90).

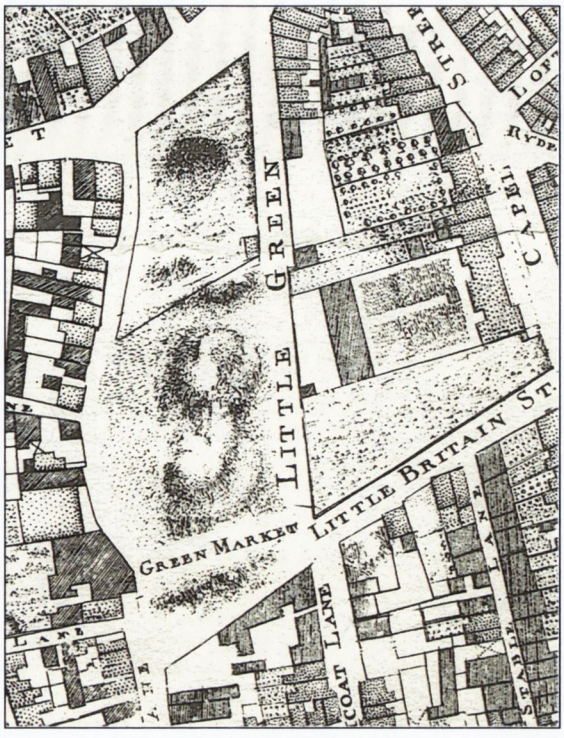


Figure 8.1 Green market in Little Green. Extract from John Rocque's map of Dublin, 1756. NLI.

Writing about the markets and shops in the city, Warburton *et al.* (1818) stated that: 'these shops are generally supplied from the wholesale markets, which are held every day early in the morning, at the Little Green, near Newgate, where convenient markets have been recently built for the sale of fruit, poultry, and eggs. Eggs are in exceeding great abundance in Dublin, and are to be had in vast numbers in every obscure street, either in shops or exposed in baskets. In the market which supplies these shops (Little Green) 200,000 eggs is not an uncommon sale in one day....' (23).

The development of market activities and businesses caused Little Green, already under pressure from the heavy development of the estates on its eastern and southern sides, to be further encroached upon by another series of narrow streets and lanes on its northern and western sides, as is visible in Rocque's map.

8.2.4 The end of Little Green

Rocque's map also shows that part of the ground in the northern half of the Green which had in 1738-39 been enclosed by a stone wall (*Ancient records*, viii: 321) by order of John Antrobus, rector of Saint Michans, when the plans for the church construction were still under consideration. The rest of the Green, held until then by

Sir Standish Hartstonge and Mr George Kennan, was finally returned to the Corporation in 1758 (*Ancient records*, x: 265-7) when Kennan, in agreement with the municipality, sold 'all his right, title and interest therein' to the City, for the sum of £450 (1758, *Ancient records*, x: 265-7). That year can be considered as the official end of Little Green as an open space.

Once the City became owner of this tract of green land, a committee was created to sell it by public auction (1761, *Ancient records*, xi: 10). In 1761, it was decided to rent that part of Little Green enclosed by the stone wall, to Columbine Lee Carré, esquire, in trust for James Dexter, esquire, at £60, a year (see also Moyans, 1946*a*: 88). Dexter bought the ground in 1762 with the intention of building a Marshalsea, which was eventually built by the Corporation during the years 1788 to 1804 (1788, *Ancient records*, xiv: 59). The Marshalsea was flanked by Newgate prison, which had been on the Green since 1767 (*Ancient records*, xi: 389), and by a Sheriffs'prison, which had been completed in 1794 (see Moylan, 1946*a*: 91).

The Sheriffs' prison still exists today being used as a Garda Siochana station. While Newgate was eventually demolished in 1893 (see Daly, 1967: 104). The site where it stood has only lately been converted into a small park - St Michan's Park - whose greenery is the only contemporary reminder of former Abbey Green and Little Green.

8.2.5 St Stephen's Green: a statue of George II 'plac'd in the centre of a marshy fen'

On the south side of the city, St Stephen's Green was endowed with a new central ornament, the statue of George II[1] (erected between 1756 and 1758, and shown - although probably during the construction phase - in Rocque's map). The planning of the statue had started in 1752 -1753 (see *Ancient records*, x: vii and 82-3), the design having been entrusted to Van Nost the younger for a sum of 1,000 pounds (1753, *Ancient records*, x: xii and see Warburton, *et al.* 1818: 6). Its equestrian posture has been compared by McParland (2001: 194) to the 'Aurelian pose which Louis XV had adopted for Jean-Baptiste Lemoyne's statue erected in 1743 in the Place Royale at Bordeaux'. Moreover, in the same regard, the author noted how the placing of the

[1] The statue was blown up in 1937 (McParland, 2001: 195)

statue in the middle of the square related to contemporary French design techniques for urban public spaces.

However, apart from the statue and the addition of two perpendicular sets of walks leading to it (at the end of the period under examination), the Green had essentially maintained the simple geometrical structure which it had since 1664. A detailed description of which is reported by Harris in 1766:

> *This is a most extensive square, one of the largest in Europe; being an English mile in circumference; situated at the east end of the city. It was levelled and laid out in walks for the recreation of the citizens in the year 1670. It is enclosed by a low wall, with entrances from every quarter by gates and turn-stiles at proper distances. The outer walks are gravelled and planted with trees on each side, and divided from the other by a fosse, which serves for a drain to carry off the water, from the walks and the green. The inside is a spacious lawn, at the centre of which is a curious equestrian statue of his late majesty king George II, by van Nost.*
>
> (Harris, 1766: 480-81)

The efforts of the Corporation during the previous thirty years had been mainly concentrated on the maintenance of the Green as such. In 1733 (*Ancient records*, viii: 94), a committee had been appointed for repairs in the Green, and ordinary works included the gravelling of the walks, the care of the trees, the repair of the walls, and the cleaning of the ditches, with the latter also referred to in the Assembly rolls as 'ha-ha' (see 1739; *Ancient records*, viii: 347; 1740-1-2; *Ancient records*, ix: 11; 1752, *Ancient records*, x: 21; 1755, *Ancient records*, x: 162; 1756, *Ancient records*, x: 211-2). Between 1737 and 1738 (*Ancient records*, viii: 280), Robert Moody, the city gardener, had reported to the committee that many of the trees, including fir trees, were dead and decayed. As a consequence, many of the trees were cut down and replaced by newer saplings. Furthermore, the committee decided to erect palisades on each side of the green walks and to lay down pavement at the entrance gates. Other, common regularly repeated works included 'the splicing, laying down, pruning and securing of the hedges' (1752, *Ancient records*, x: 21; see also 1755, *Ancient records*, x: viii; 1755, *Ancient records*, x: 182). Despite the efforts expended by the Corporation on drainage works, and in the setting up of 'ha-ha on either sides of the walk to secure the green and preserve the beauty of it' (1756,

Ancient records, x: 211-12), one of the major recurrent problems of the Green remained the marshy condition of its ground (1755, *Ancient records*, x: 182 and 1756, *Ancient records*, x: 211-12). This is referred to as 'marshy fen' in a poem, entitled 'The *Beau Walk*, in *Stephen's-Green*' attributed to Thomas Newburgh and published in 1769:

'Mid Trees of stunted Growth, unequal Roes,
On the coarse Gravel, trip the Belles and Beaus,
Here, on one Side, extends a lenght of Street,
Where Dirt-bespattering Cars and Coaches meet.
On t'other, in the Ditches lazy flood,
Dead Cats and Dogs lie bloated; drench'd in Mud
But lo! a Statue from afar salutes your Eyes,
To which th'Inclosure all Access denies.
So distant, whose, or whom, no Eye can ken,
Plac'd in the Centre of a marshy Fen.

(Extract of the poem 'The *Beau Walk*, in *Stephen's-Green*' in *Essay poetical, moral and critical* published in 1769, attributed to Thomas Newburgh, reprinted by McParland, 1987: 187)

condition of the surrounding roads described as having 'Dirt-bespattering cars and Coaches' (McParland, 1987: 187 and see also 1756, *Ancient records*, x: 212), and there is particular emphasis on the marshy conditions of the place. This impression of the drainage problems of the Green is further reinforced by comments of Harris, who however made more positive remarks on its 'swampiness'. He reported that it attracted an enormous number of snipe during the winter months, the presence of which created a unique and original landscape, 'an agreable and most uncommon circumstance, not to be met with, perhaps, in any other great city in the world' (Harris, 1766: 481).

8.2.6 Herbage, Animals and Cleansing of the Streets

The herbage of the Green had been used until then as the Corporation's Grazing, especially for the city horses (1742, *Ancient records*, ix: 67). Although, during the previous century, the grazing function of the Green had slowly yielded to other uses, and although the Corporation was effectively making efforts to move domestic animals towards the suburban fields[2], the herbage had still maintained a certain degree of importance due to its economic value. Its value can be appreciated when

reading that during the works for the erection of the statue, in 1758, the herbage had been damaged, and that Mr Richard Bryan was subsequently allowed the sum of £15 in compensation (1758, *Ancient records*, x: 317). Mr Bryan had been assigned the herbage of St Stephen's Green by 'public cant' in 1749 for the sum of 76 pounds (*Ancient records*, ix: 313). Although it was customary for the city to assign the herbage to private individuals by 'public cant', the members of the Corporation continued to reserve free access to the Green for themselves (and their animals). An ordinance of 1748 established that the herbage was to be assigned to a John Farrange 'for his horses to graze', along with the benefit of the city stables under condition that he 'shall repair and make good at his own expense all damages which his horses, by grazing in said green, shall or may do to the hedges or ditches thereof, and shall not at any time lay there a greater quantity of dirt than what may be sufficient to manure the same'. Moreover, it was established in the contract 'that the city shall, during the term aforesaid, have free liberty of ingress, egress and regress into the said green, whenever they shall think proper, and likewise into the artillery yard, with men, horses and carriages, and for the effectual performance of the said work, and the several particulars in his proposals mentioned' (1748, *Ancient records*, ix: 277) (see Plate 8.2).

Attempts to control domestic animals in the city, and attempts to confine them in specifically designed areas (possibly suburban) emerge from various entries in the Assembly Rolls. The issue of the herbage, and that of domestic animals, was interlinked with the wider issue of the 'cleansing of the streets', for which a committee had been at work since the 1740s (*Ancient records*, ix: ix). Its main aims were the collection of city refuse, much of which derived from animal dung, the control of domestic animals in the city public spaces, and the control and management of the St Stephen's Green herbage. The concerns of the Corporation regarding the city's hygiene conditions derived from reports, such as that in a 1739 entry, recording that 'Several persons in the city of Dublin keep swine, and permit them to wander about the streets, where they feed on dead dogs, cats, rats, and such like food ...' (1739, *Ancient records*, viii: 357). Between 1741 and 1742, among the rules for 'the cleansing of the streets', it was stated that the 'horses and cattle not owned by the city had [to be] been kept in the city fields and stables' (1741-42,

[2] An ordinance of 1742 report that the city horses grazing in St Stephen's Green were to be removed to the fields at Donnycarney (*Ancient records*, ix: 67)

Ancient records, ix: ix). An impression of the impact that the presence of animals still had in eighteenth century Dublin can be gained from Rocque's map of Dublin, where 14 Stable Lanes (eight of them near St Stephen's Green) can be counted, along with streets name such as Cow Lane, Bull Lane (south-east of Little Green), Red Cow Lane, Duck Lane (near Smithfield market), Dunghill Lane, Dog and Duck Yard (north of Thomas street), Pig Lane (at the City Basin), Goat Alley, and Little and Great Ship (sheep) Street (near the Castle) etc.

Initially 'the entire work of cleansing of the city' was assigned for a total remuneration of 1,000 pounds to a single individual, probably at the head of a small workforce, who in the year 1747 was John Farrange, who incidentally also received the herbage of St Stephen's Green (*Ancient records*, ix: xxiv). However, only three years later, it was realised that the work was too much to be handled by a single person, and it was decided to divide the city into nine districts and to assign each of them to the management of different people, while the herbage of St Stephen's Green was to be assigned 'by public cant, to the fairest and best bidder' for periods of one year (1750, *Ancient records*, ix: 344 and see also 1750, ix: 301-2; 1750, ix: 355; 1751, ix: 381; 1751, x: vii; 1752, x: 21).

8.3 RIOTS AND RECREATION; RABBLE AND THE WELL DRESSED MAN

Finally, the efforts of the Corporation revolved around the control of people in public green spaces. As stated in the Assembly Rolls, it was one of the duties of the green keepers in St Stephen's Green to 'keep [the] passage free from beggars and other nuisances' (1767, *Ancient records*, xi: 378-9). Moreover, a wood cage in one corner of the Green served for the temporary confinement of those disturbing the public peace (see 1709, *Ancient records*, vi: 406). From several repetitive entrances in the Assembly Rolls it appears that a high frequency of disorders constituted a large part of the utilisation of public spaces, both green areas and streets, in eighteenth century Dublin.

> *... the peace of this city hath been of late greatly disturbed by many idle and disorderly people gathering together in multitudes in several parts of this city, and committing many riots, outrages and irregularity therein.*
>
> (1737, *Ancient records*, viii: 263)

The disorders catalogued in the Assembly Rolls ranged from the simple wandering about of beggars, prostitutes, and idle people, to large gatherings for popular recreational activities, demonstrations against official authority, and actual full-scale rebellions.

An entry of 1734 recorded people throwing 'squibs and stones' at the members of the Corporation during the Riding of the Franchises (1734, *Ancient records*, viii: xiii). In 1759, it was recorded that there were 'riotous and tumultuous crowds in and about College Green where several members of both Houses of Parliament received unheard of insults and indignities' (*Ancient records*, x: xxviii). Riots were also generated in public green spaces by confrontation between different factions, such as the longstanding conflict among Protestant Liberty Boys and the Catholic Ormond Boys mentioned previously. According to Fagan (1986: 46), in 1748 the feud among the two groups reached its acme on the occasion of two particularly violent episodes in the Phoenix Park and Oxmantown Green. The zone of Oxmantown Green was especially notorious for disorder (see Chapter 4), the majority of which occurred regularly in Smithfield Market. In the Assembly Rolls, expressions of concern over violent behaviour in Smithfield were frequently repeated in entries stating for example 'that the peace and quiet of this city hath of late been greatly disturbed by a great number of idle, wicked and disorderly persons resorting in and about Smithfield, - there making tumults and riots ...' (1738, *Ancient records*, viii: 315-6; 1741, *Ancient records*, ix: vii; also 1741, *Ancient records*, ix: 31).

Tumults and riots also arose during May Day gatherings in Oxmantown Green, where one of the greatest maypoles of the city used to stand (see Fagan, 1986: 49 and Daly 1967: 107). The extent of violence during these pagan-style festivities was such that in 1755 the Lord Mayor issued a warrant to forbid the gathering of people during these occasions. This municipal decision was also supported by the clergy, which warned 'Catholics, would risk excommunication if they took part in May Day tumults and riots' (Fagan 1986: 49). Among the preventive measures taken, according to Daly (see Daly, 1967: 107) was the decision to knock down the maypole in the Green.

Similarly, the municipality tried to eliminate, or at least contain, the problem of disorders associated with bonfires. In 1742, an ordinance forbade the lighting of bonfires on Mid-Summer Eve and Saint Peter's Eve (see Fagan 1986: 49). These measures highlight the efforts of the municipality to gain the favour of not only of

the Church, but also that of the gentry, the aristocracy, and the rising middle-class, who according to contemporary newspapers, often complained about the use of public space by the 'rabble'. In a letter to *The Hibernian Journal*, a citizen advocated that the then Magistrate, should 'put an entire stop' to bonfires in the city for the 'safety and tranquillity of the public', because, 'at these bonfires the behaviour of the rabble is not only brutal, but even dangerous .... It is impossible, My Lord, to avoid them on a rejoicing night, for they are in almost every street, lane, or alley; and the rabble about them extend themselves on both sides of the way, so that a person can hardly pass ... and a well dressed Man can hardly pass by them without an insult...' (1771, *H.J.*, 1, no. 56, from Monday October the 7th to Wednesday October the 9th, 281).

The attempts to eliminate any form of popular recreational event had also extended to the staging of public fairs in the city. In 1737-38 an order had been issued to discontinue the annual fair in St James' street, commonly called 'James' Fair', a fair which had been held annually on the twenty fifth day of July since early mediaeval times (1737-38, *Ancient records*, viii: xix).

Municipal attacks on popular forms of recreational activity constituted only a minor aspect of a whole set of strategies devised to prevent disturbances` of the public peace.

The most obvious forms of control ranged from the offering of rewards for the capture of notorious rioters, and the issuing of warrants against idle, vagabond, and disorderly persons (1737, *Ancient records*, viii: xviii; 1739, viii: 354-5; 1740, viii: xxiii; 1752, *Ancient records*, x: ix), to the increasing of the number of constables in the city, and the erection of additional guard-houses, watch-houses, wood cages, and prisons. In 1739, the city of Dublin was subdivided in 24 wards and four constables were assigned to the control of each ward (1739, *Ancient records*, viii: 354). The work of these constables was supported, if not superseded, by the constant surveillance of parishioners and the clergy.

> *The minister, church wardens and parishioners of the parish of St. John's parish, Dublin, setting forth that some part of said parish is greatly infected with numbers of idle, lewd women, strolling about at unseasonable hours, which occasions frequent quarrels and riots, to the great disturbance of his Majesty's peace, and therefore prayed to have a small piece of ground allotted, of eight feet square, on the Wood Key, adjoining the watch house of St. John's parish, in order to*

> *fix a cage of wood there, to confine such idle strollers and night walkers till they may be brought to justice in the morning, whereby such idle persons will be better secured, and more effectually discouraged, from creating disturbances, and thereby the peace of the city greatly preserved.*
>
> (1732, *Ancient records*, viii: 57)

A wooden cage had already been erected in St Stephen's Green, and in 1732, another wooden cage for the confinement of 'idle, lewd women, strolling about at unseasonable hours' was set up in Wood Quay, adjacent to the watch house of St John's parish (*Ancient records*, viii: viii). In 1733, a new Guard House was erected in Werburgh Street, (1733, *Ancient records*, viii: x); and in 1771 a Watch House was also set up in Little Green before the construction of New Gate Prison had been completed (see Moylan, 1946*a*: 86).

Other simple forms of physical control that could be seen, consisted in the creation of segregated spaces where for example public green and walking spaces were railed in, and whose gates were closed at night. In 1737, two walks in Oxmantown Green, one leading from King Street to St Paul's Church, and the other from the Blue Coat Hospital to the same Church, were railed in to prevent 'idle and wicked persons' using them for recreational activities considered inappropriate by the religious community.

> *The minister, church wardens and parishioners of the parish of Saint Paul, setting forth that disorderly, idle and wicked persons game at dice, long bullets, foot ball, etc., as well in the time of Divine Service, as at other times in Oxmantown Green, to the dishonour of God, whereby the walks, windows, trees, and walls of Saint Paul's Church are very much abused, and the parishioners put to a great expense from time to time in repairing the said mischiefs, and begged leave at their own expense, to rail in the two walks that join the said church, the one walk fronting King street, and the other thence towards the Blew Boys' hospital ...*
>
> (1737, *Ancient records*, viii: 241)

The level of control exercised in public green spaces was also conditioned by the proposal of other 'proper' social activities for the masses. According to Somerville-Large (see 1988: 191), a great public mass took place in the open space of Oxmantown Green in 1749. This event could be seen as having symbolically

crowned sustained efforts to create the 'right' religious infrastructure in place of the old pagan green of Oxmantown.

8.4 WALKS AND PLACES TO WALK

Plate 8.2 Beaux Walk in St Stephen's Green. Plate taken from near the north-west corner of the Green. James Malton, *A picturesque and descriptive view of the city of Dublin.* 1799. NLI

> *Certain of the commons, setting forth that the trees planted in the walks of St Stephen's Green are not only withered and decayed, but too much overshadow the said walks, remain wet after rain, and incommode the citizens who walk there for their recreation ...*
>
> (1746, *Ancient records*, ix: 217)

Along with the provision of physical forms of the above mentioned control in public green spaces, and the explicit forbiddance of determinedly 'disorderly' social activities, the Corporation also made provision for increasing the number of adequate public spaces for 'appropriate' types of recreation, such as promenading. Walks and places to walk, which were often associated with public green areas, became instrumental in providing Georgian society with what was considered to be a socially acceptable type of recreation. In this period, more than in preceding times, the

function of public green space in the city revolved around its social use, and people, more so than design and physical features became issue of attention in the Assembly Rolls (1746, *Ancient records*, ix: 217).

8.4.1 List and general description

From Rocque's (1757) map of Dublin, it is clear that walks had become a prominent part of the cityscape by the mid-eighteenth century. The walks marked in this map are: Lord Galway's Walk, the Gravel Walk, St. James's Walk, Beaux Walk, French Walk, Leeson Walk, Monks Walk and the Batchelor's Walk. These, together with the City Basin, the Phoenix Park, the Royal Hospital, and the Strand, were the established places to walk in the city (see Table 8.1 for names and today's corresponding locations).

	Names	**Corresponding location today**
WALKS	Lord Galway's Walk	Heuston Station
	Gravel Walk	Wolfe Tone Quay and Blackhall Place
	James's Walk	Still nominally in existence
	Batchelor's Walk	Still nominally in existence
	Beaux Walk	St. Stephen's Green
	French Walk	St. Stephen's Green
	Leeson Walk	St. Stephen's Green
	Monks Walk	St. Stephen's Green
PLACES TO WALK	The Strand	Amiens Street
	Trinity College Park.	Unchanged
	Phoenix Park	Unchanged
	Kilmainham's Royal Hospital	Unchanged
	City Bason (sic.)	Only the street name remaining: Basin St. Lower & Upper
	Oxmantown Green	Wolfe Tone Quay and Blackhall Place. Street name remaining: Oxmantown Road.
	St Stephen's Green	Unchanged

Table 8.1 Formal walks and places to walk. Source: John Rocque's map of Dublin, 1756. NLI. (Compiled by the author)

Although one might point to the fact that the inclusion of walks and tree lined avenues in Rocque's map could be the result of the author's professional background in garden design -as Ogborn (1998: 30) remarks when considering the horticultural details in Rocque's map of London- it must also be considered that the significance of walks and places to walk in the Dublin of the time is supported by contemporary literature and by numerous entries in the Assembly Rolls. It is also possible to reconstruct a general standard description of the stereotypical walk using these sources.

Typically, the designed walk was characterised by a gravel path, which was either tree-lined or bordered by hedges, and was often surrounded by railings, walls, or palisades (1752, *Ancient records*, x: 36; 1737, *Ancient records*, viii: 280 and see Lewis, 1787: 40). Linear ditches, which flanked the walking area enabled efficient water drainage. Favoured trees included elm, sycamore and willow[3] (1736, *Ancient records*, viii: 205; 1729, vii: 441-64, and also 1746, ix: 217) Examples of looped walks contained within a larger green space can be seen in Brooking's (1728) 'prospect' of St. Stephen's Green and the City Basin, where tree-lined walks ran parallel to perimeter walls and/or railings (1752, *Ancient records*, x: 37) and gave shape to a central lawn.

Designed walks had been present in Dublin since the beginning of the seventeenth century, the first gravelled walk being recorded in Oxmantown Green in 1607 (*Ancient records*, ii: 481). Their importance, in the light of urban expansion and demographic growth, had been legally recognised by Wentworth's Act in 1635 which ensured the preservation of the city's greens (*Ancient records*, iii: 303). During the Restoration period, the creation of tree-lined walks had begun to be considered important, by reason of their qualification as 'beautiful' and 'ornamental' to the city:

> *Whereas certaine of the commons petitioned unto this assembly, shewing that whereas there is a peece of wast ground lying between the Bowleing Greene on Oxmantowne Greene and the highway by the river Annaliffy, which yeeldeth noe profit unto this citty, but is fitt for with filth and noisomness, and forasmuch as the said ground is fitt for no use to make it beneficial unto the citty other then by the levelling thereof and planting it with trees, which would make a convenient walking place for the inhabitants of this citty, and add much beauty unto the said Greene...and that William Harve do cause a stone walle*

[3] Willows were used especially at the City Basin. See for example: 1736, *Ancient records*, viii: 205 and also 1729, *Ancient records*, vii: 441-464

> *to be made on the outwarde parte of the said ground from east to west of fower foote high to hold upp the earth, and that he doe levell the said ground and plant the same with elmes and sickamore trees, as may be most convenient for ornament, and also railes* (rails) *each end for the keeping forth cattell from the said walke.*
>
> (1665, *Ancient records*, iv: 357)

During the Georgian period formal walks received renewed attention from the Corporation, and acquired a new fashionable status which was favoured by the prevailing economic circumstances, governmental stability, and thriving contacts and exchanges with England and other countries. The literature of the time offers ample evidence of the fame attained by certain places to walk in those years.

In 1732, an English visitor reported that the places to take the air in Dublin were the Bason, 'surrounded by pleasant green walks', the Deer park (Phoenix Park[4]), the Strand, and Stephen's Green (Anon., 1732: 527). Of the latter, he wrote, 'St Stephen's Green is a mile about, is in a manner a square, the walks being wide and smooth; in good weather the quality of both sexes make a gay appearance, resembling the English quality in the Mall in St James Park' (Anon., 1732: 527) (see Plate 8.3). The City Basin was described by Harris (1766: 482) as 'the pleasantest, most elegant and sequestered place of relaxation the citizens can boast of'. The recreational value of places adjacent to water is also evident from people's use of the Strand, which although not strictly associated to any designed green area, seemed to have been much appreciated. Its use as a place for promenading, riding, and coach tours had already been emphasised by Dunton in one of his letters; wherein he states that in the Strand, 'every evening the gentry in their coaches or on horseback make their tours as you do in Hyde Park' (Dunton, 1699*a*: 366) Lewis highly praised the walks in St Stephen's Green while stressing their social value as creators of 'a great resort of company',

> *... in the walks may be seen in fine weather a great resort of company; the Beau-walk in particular, being considered in the same light here, as the Mall is in St. James's Park, London, the scene of elegance and taste.*
>
> (Lewis, 1787: 239-40)

[4] The Phoenix Park, established as a Royal Deer Park by the Duke of Ormond, opened to the public only in 1745.

Plate 8.3 St Jame's Park, London, *c.* 1783. Thomas Gainsborough, New York, The Frick Collection. Source: Bonnechere & De Bruyn, 1998: 234.

8.4.2 Comparative perspective from English towns

Two striking factors emerge from the impression of contemporary authors. Firstly, the repetitive comparisons and noted similarity with walks and places to walk in London, and secondly, the fact that these places are very much praised for their elegance and that of their frequenters.

About the first point, it has to be considered that in London and in other English towns, the provision of places for promenading originated and became a widespread urban phenomenon in about the same period as in Dublin. As Corfield (1972: 293) and Borsay (1986: 130-1) explain, the creation of public walks in England is to be interpreted as 'one part of the increasing provision of fashionable public space that accompanied the urban cultural renaissance of the later Stuart and early Geogian periods' (Corfield, 1972: 293, and Borsay, 1986: 130-1). In his article 'The rise of the promenade: the social and cultural use of space in the English provincial town *c.* 1660-1800', Borsay states that by the middle of the eighteenth century, the public walk was an established feature of many English towns. Henceforth, when considering the proximity and political influences of England over

Ireland, finding comparisons between the most appreciated walks of both capital cities in contemporary literature becomes quite understandable.

As to why public walks became particularly successful urban features a few hypotheses can be advanced. The political stability ensured by a homogeneous form of governance allowed investment in the public sector, and directed the Corporation's attention to artistic, aesthetic and recreational matters. This was evident from a number of urban factors. Among these was an emphasis on ornament and decoration in the architecture of the period, such as the famous plaster works and rococo ceilings in many of the wealthy houses, among which are worth mentioning those decorated by Cassel around St Stephen's Green (see Craig, 1992: 130 and O'Donnell, 1987: 104-6). In addition to this, there was a visible effort to provide more recreational spaces in the city. These included tree-lined walks and avenues, as well as theatres and music halls; the most important of the latter being the new Music Hall opened in Fishamble Street in 1741. Municipal efforts in setting up amenable walking places reached such a point, that in 1766 four hundred trees, thirty feet high, were ordered to be planted in the newly created walks along the canal (1766, *Ancient records*, xi: 322). Furthermore, this desire to create more viable and amenable walking places resulted in Gardiner's creation of Gardiner's Mall between *c.* 1748 and 1750 (see Craig, 1992: 104 and Sheridan, 2001: 93). This mall, located in the middle of Sackville Street (Upper O'Connel Street) contained potted topiary works, which were regularly spaced along its railings so as to enclose a wide rectangular central area in which citizens could promenade.

8.4.3 Congested and dirty streets

The process creating urban spaces to walk also reflected the need for clean and effective places of passage; and although the city had expanded enormously in the previous two centuries, its central structure lacked cohesion with suburban areas. Many districts had in fact been separately developed by private entrepreneurs, with the consequence that there was an absence of a single overall plan for the development of the city as a whole; although some districts in the south-eastern part of the city were anchored by St Stephen's Green (McCullen, 1992: 256). With the exception of Wenthworth's Act to preserve a green belt in 1635, no plan had ever been laid down for the development of an even network of streets to facilitate the movement of people.

Places to walk recreationally were relatively scarce until the first half of the eighteenth century. Before the intervention of the Wide Streets Commission, Dublin's streets were extremely narrow, mostly unpaved, and commonly used as open sewers for the dumping of rubbish. Carriages were a common feature on these narrow streets, creating many problems for pedestrians, and traffic concerns have been found in corporation records dating from as early as 1628. One such entry, for example, denounced the fact that 'carres' running at high speed in the streets 'have hurt many children, and putt some in danger of death' (1628, *Ancient records*, iii: 215-6). Between the end of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century streets were also portrayed as being 'congested' with too many unlicensed hackneys (Sheridan, 2001: 77). In a report that finds some resonance with the Dublin of the twenty-first century, Maxwell (1936: 92) notes that in the eighteenth century, the streets were alive with traffic, 'so much so, indeed, that there were actually more hackney coaches in Dublin in proportion to its size than there were in London, and that in the centre of the town, sedan chairs were almost as common as about St. James's'.

Dublin also experienced a continuous population change, increasing by nearly fifty thousand inhabitants in the years between Brooking's (1728) and Rocque's map (1756), going from about 90,000 to 140,000 inhabitants (see Sheridan, 2001: 68, and tables and graphics in Craig, 1992: 341). Demographic increases, rising traffic problems, and the narrowness and unhygienic conditions of the streets, were all contributing factors in the development of specific places to walk.

Tree-lined green walks can be interpreted as by-products of the urbanisation process, as their creation stemmed from a desire to counteract the negative aspects of urbanisation. Borsay (1986: 132), when analysing the rise of walks in English towns, maintains that in their creation could be found expressed a psychological need to re-create a pseudo-rural context in the congested urban environment. Similarly in Dublin, the creation of green walks was a means to reproduce in the city those healthy, pastoral environments typical of the countryside.

8.4.4 Commodification of urban space

When analysing English walks, some of which were enclosed by railings and accessible only at specific times, Borsay remarks that they 'were commercial enterprises and a stiff admission could be charged, and porters deployed, to keep out

the lower ranks' (Borsay, 1986: 132). This symbiosis between economic factors and the creation of recreational spaces became especially evident, in English towns as well as in Dublin, during the Georgian era; put simply, a growing market for recreation was part of the expansion of an international network, which along with the import of exotic and luxury goods from the colonies, and increased travel, contributed to the creation of an appreciation - and thus a market - for mobility, touring and leisure space, where elite society could meet and share similar tastes. As Ogborn (1998: 35) and Porter (1994: 168) write when referring to eighteen century London, 'public spaces were made and animated by a culture of sociability driven by the commercialisation of leisure'. In the Georgian period, this was visible in Dublin and London in the creation of privately owned public spaces like music halls, theatres and pleasurable gardens: for example the New Gardens in Dublin and the Vauxhall and Ranelagh Gardens in London. Although the New Gardens in Dublin (privately owned and characterised by entrance fees) functioned as a famous recreational venue in the second half of the eighteenth century more than in the period under consideration, the creation and public appreciation of designed green walks can be interpreted as part of the process preluding their commodification. Clearly, the level of appreciation and consequent demand for these spaces reached such high level in society that it became effectively possible to exploit them economically.

Moreover, the creation of designed walks can also be interpreted as forming part of urban economic strategies to increase property values in determined areas. These landscaped green spaces, once levelled planted and enclosed, quickly acquired an attractive and fashionable aura, not only because they were in vogue in other European cities, but because they also had a 'profitable' economic function. While they provided ornamentation for the city and recreation to the gentry, they also served to augment the economic value of nearby plots of ground.

8.4.5 Formal walks as a means for the acquisition of status

As Sheridan's (2001: 143-156) study on the patterns of social topography of eighteenth century Dublin demonstrates, landscaped walks tended to be located in wealthy areas, far from the dark and filthy lanes of poorer districts such as the Liberties or Little Green. Residents living around the designed green areas and the most fashionable walks were, for the most part, very affluent (Sheridan, 2001: 156).

Walks and walking places were mainly located in areas easily accessible to the nobility, gentry and wealthier merchant class. St Stephen's Green had four walks: the Beaux walk on the north side, the French walk on the east side, the Monks' walk on the west, and Leeson's walk on the south side (see Plate 8.2). These walks were located in one of the richest residential areas of Dublin, which extended to the zone south-east of the Liffey, and included the Dawson, Molesworth and Fitzwilliam estates, where Merrion and Fitzwilliam Square were also laid down in the following years.

The frequent use of walks by an 'elegant' public is inferred from several references available in the literature of the time, and by studies of several authors referring to the same phenomenon in a wider European context (see Sheridan, 2001; Towner, 1996; Borsay; 1986; Isherwood, 1986). Their attractive quality derived mainly from the fact that besides the purely recreational aspect, the function of the formal walk was mainly social. As Borsay states, the public walk served for the pursuit and acquisition of status (Borsay, 1986: 130-3). The status of the individuals parading could be displayed by set codes of behaviour, in effect demonstrating the level of refinement of one's education, and also by the display of material wealth, symbolised by the clothes one wore, one's jewellery, and a plethora of other accessories such as sticks, umbrellas, handbags, hats and wigs. Parading along these designed corridors, where people could acknowledge each other's status, also created opportunities for social advancement, especially for those belonging to the middle class. This concept is well encapsulated by Borsay (1986: 131) when referring to public walks as the epitome of 'marriage markets'. In this regard, walks were central to the construction of social and cultural bonds among the elite in eighteenth century Dublin.

8.4.6 Vision of the city as a theatre: Spaces of segregation or integration?

Among the aristocratic classes, walking to see and be seen became a powerful way to manifest and assert social status in conformity with prevalent European ideas on urbanism and recreation (Towner, 1996: 41-3). The idea of creating spaces for the express purpose of walking is intimately connected with the post-renaissance and post–baroque visions of the 'city-as-theatre'. Here the citizens became actors, and the open urban place, aptly adorned with designed greenery, was a stage for their performances (see Isherwood, 1986: 50). At the same time, recreational walking

became for the 'leading class' a way of confirming that they shared, or were willing to share, a common culture pertinent to an aristocratic and progressive European class, more so than with the popular rural culture of the lower classes in their own country.

As Isherwood (1986: 55) explains when discussing eighteenth century Paris, one of the principal reasons for the decline of popular traditional forms of recreation in the urban environment - such as city fairs, celebration of ancient pagan festivities, and rural sports and games - was the development of more exclusive places of entertainment, such as the specifically designed places to walk. Similarly in Dublin, as in other European cities, the diffusion and success of formal walks was a phenomenon which brought about the end of more traditional and popular types of recreation. The development of walks was related to the aspirations of the ruling classes to implement post-Renaissance European aristocratic models with which they could identify, which at the same time could provide them with a means to dissociate themselves 'from the perceived barbarism of plebeian life' (Borsay, 1986: 132). The newly created walks and their usage marked a clear break with the popular rural culture which had been associated with green areas since medieval times. The series of ordinances emitted during the first half of the eighteenth century that had attempted to prevent May day gatherings, bonfires, and other 'disorderly' popular recreational activities, like the fair of St James, were all factors which contributed to the extinction of this type of recreation in the city. These factors, when summed with the railing, walling, and introduction of closing times for the designed public green areas, as well as the fact that these were located in zones of the city not immediately accessible to lower classes, were all signs of the willingness of the ruling class to take full appropriation - through constant use of the space and by choosing designs attractive to their taste - of the public space in the city. As a consequence, in Dublin 'as in London', wrote Maxwell 'the public spaces of entertainment were open to all except the poorest' (Maxwell 1936: 114).

From a social point of view, the Georgian era in Dublin signalled the end of traditional popular recreation in open public spaces. Mass participation in the development of recreational values in the urban environment was highly limited by strict forms of architectural control. This was the end of the city-fair and of the market-culture associated with it, the end of the common lands, and the end of gatherings in open public places on occasions of traditional festivity. As result of

this, Maxwell (1936: 144) has argued that 'one of the few urban spaces left for the consolation of the poor was the ale-house, the consumption of spirituous liquor, betting and gambling'. In fact, the construction of landscaped walks and green spaces in the city occurred in tandem, and at the expense of space for the recreational activities of the poor. So, although one can see that the modern era saw an increased willingness to actively construct more places of recreation, it was also host to a trend which actively created spaces of segregation.

As Burke (1978, quoted in Isherwood, 1986: viii) says when addressing this growing separation of popular and elite culture in eighteenth century Europe: 'its more difficult corollary is whether entertainment helped to widen the social and cultural stratification structure or, on the other hand, helped to break down that stratification and bring people together'.

Perhaps paradoxically, these green places, though perceivable as ostentatious and exclusive, also had great potential for social integration. This happened in three ways. Firstly, green spaces became a platform upon which the aristocracy came into regular social contact with the increasingly important middle-class merchant. Secondly, integration was possible between men and women, a prerogative which had been lacking in many other recreational activities (See Towner, 1996: 15). As the London visitor wrote in 1732, he was very impressed by these Dublin walks, where 'in good weather the quality of both sexes make a gay appearance' (Anon., 1732: 528). Lastly, the fact that children had also been designated as official users of these spaces since the beginning of the century (1709, *Ancient records*, vi: 406) was a sign of an incipient integration between different genders and ages.

8.5 FIREWORKS AND CONCLUSION

In conclusion, during this final period of analysis, public green spaces were characterised primarily by changes at a functional level more so than by those occurring at a formal, physical level. While the design techniques and general landscape remained essentially the same as had been in the previous period, a new emphasis on the social use of public green areas emerged, and this became a predominant aspect of their characterisation.

The few physical changes that occurred did not involve the appearance of any new features, but consisted in the repetition, although to varying degrees, of phenomena which had already characterised previous phases:

- The erection of hospitals and other charitable institutions in connection with green areas. These included Swift's 'hospital for lunatics' and the 'Carpenters' widows' in Oxmantown Green, Mercer Hospital, which was in close proximity of St Stephen's Green, and the Rotunda Hospital (erected in connection with the New Gardens, in Parnell Square).
- The creation of market areas. Green market was created on south side of Little Green, followed by the erection of Marshalsea, New Gate prison, and Sheriff's prison on its north side, with the consequential disappearance of the Green
- The erection of statues. George II's equestrian statue was placed in the centre of St Stephen's Green in 1758.
- The grazing of animals. A municipal 'committee for the cleansing of the streets' was created for general cleansing of public spaces, for the management of the herbage of St Stephen's Green, and to prevent, or at least contain, the presence of domestic animals in the city public green spaces. This presence was however already very limited when compared to previous phases.
- The laying of more public green walks around the city

Rocque's map gives a comprehensive representation of the state of public green spaces in 1757. In the map, the numerous walks, places to walk, and associated green areas are drawn with extreme accuracy. Rocque's representation of urban space encapsulates feelings of positivity, prosperity, self assertion, and an appreciation for entertaining details which captured the spirit of inhabiting and living spaces characteristic of Georgian society in London as well as in Dublin (see also Ogborn, 1998: 31 and Weitzman, 1975: 469-80).

From the Assembly Rolls and contemporary literature, it is possible to understand that public walks, and green areas associated with these, became like an open theatre, especially for the entertainment of wealthy individuals who paraded and performed in their best clothes and behaviour. While these places served for recreation, they were also used as a means to reinforce one's social status through the establishment of various social networks, the most obvious of which being maritally oriented. This 'theatre' also provided a means to reinforce the 'whole group' status in society by corroborating the identities of its members through the observance of unequivocal - and uniform - codes of appearance and behaviour. While this process also created a connection with other wealthy classes across Europe, it also mediated

a split between the use of public spaces among the wealthier and lower classes (see Isherwood, 1986; Borsay, 1986; Panzini, 1993; Towner, 1996). So, while forms of popular recreation lost a considerable degree of importance in public green spaces, the new forms of modern recreation, mostly attractive to a moneyed public, had begun to thrive.

A fundamental aspect of this pan-European type of recreation was that it was often related to commercial activities, such as the charging of admission for entry to gardens, and walks, concerts, balls, and public spectacles. However, while the 'pleasure gardens' had already successful colonised urban space in many European countries since the beginning of the eighteenth century (Tivoli, Ranelagh, Vauxhall, Champs-Élysées) (Panzini, 1993: 99), in Dublin the signs of this phenomenon were still emerging, and only really blossomed from the second half of the century. One of these emerging and pioneering signs, already existing pre-1756, was undoubtedly the elaboration of fireworks displays in public green areas.

Fireworks displays were regularly used in Georgian Dublin as a form of celebration for what were considered to be the most important public events (see Maxwell, 1936: 91). As McParland (2001: 17) comments, fireworks can be considered as part of all these public celebrations (international peace, royal birthdays, proclamations, coronations, and the riding of the franchises) which constituted the 'theatre of government'. This along with the 'theatre of the ruling classes', dominated much of the functions characterising public spaces of the time, in Dublin as in othe European capitals (see Bonnechere & De Bruyn, 1998: 234).

In 1748, on the occasion of the celebrations at the end of the war of the Austrian secession (promulgated by the treaty of Aix La Chapelle, and signed by Britain, France and Spain), grandiose fireworks spectacles were organised in two of the most famous green spaces of London and Dublin. In London, 'over ten thousand rockets and twenty-one thousand other fire works' (quoted in Ogborn, 1998: 236-38), were set off in Green Park close to Buckingam House. While in Dublin, St Stephen's Green was chosen as the venue for the celebrations (Plate 8.4). For this occasion, the surveyor general Arthur Jones Nevill was instructed 'to prepare a more magnificent set of fireworks than has ever been exhibited before in this kingdom' (quoted in Mc Parland, 2001: 17). For its preparation £500 was assigned to Nevill, and the Corporation made provision for the selling of tickets to the public. A certain Peter Wingfield, goldsmith, was paid £3 5s.6d. for engraving a copper plate to

commemorate the event and for printing the 1,850 tickets (1750, *Ancient records*, ix: 338 and 1750, *Ancient records*, ix: xxix).

Plate 8.4 The Green set for the fireworks display to celebrate the treaty of Aix La Chapelle in 1748. Source: *Universal Magazine*, London, 1749.

While the high cost of the display revealed the importance that recreation had achieved among the functions of public green spaces, its occurrence is also useful when attempting to encapsulate an intrinsic contradiction of Georgian society, where open green spaces for such 'frivolous' and luxurious activities coexisted with the indigence and squalor of dirty dark lanes (see Ogborn, 1998: 236-8 and Fabricant 1982: 24-5). In London, a polemic arose on the fireworks spectacles, as they came to be considered by a portion of the public as a 'shameful waste of money', especially in the aftermath of the increases in taxation to fund the war, and in light of the building works needed to cope with the growing population (Ogborn, 1998: 236-8). In Dublin no voices of dissent were recorded, despite the similarly striking contradictions between available funding for the primary needs of the majority and the recreational spending of leading classes. Ironically, it is however thanks to the latter that preservation was ensured for some public green spaces while not for others. It is in

fact necessary to mention that 'the magnificent' fireworks spectacle could also be interpreted as an act of coronation, enthroning a Green that had been regent since the period of the Restoration. In this light, St Stephen's Green was provided by the authorities with a metaphorical ticket for successful survival in the urban development of the following centuries. While all the other public green spaces analysed in this thesis had, or would, disappear under the encroaching forces of building development, St Stephen's Green is the only public green space remaining from the founding of the city to today.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

This final chapter further highlights the ways in which the research has filled substantial lacunae in academic studies. The key findings are presented under the subheadings of the five identified phases of development. Under each of these the main data are presented in a chronological order. The principal events which have occurred, and the main forms and functions which public green spaces have assumed during these different phases are also schematically summarised in separate sub-sections for each phase. Section 9.3 presents a final diagram (Figure 9.1) showing the life span of public green areas, from their first referenced mention, to their disappearance (if so) in the process of urban development. Finally, Figure 9.2 presents a distribution map of Dublin's public green spaces, from the origins of the city to 1756.

9.1 CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE WORK TO ACADEMIC RESEARCH

The final scope of the research was that of integrating diverse approaches - geographical, historical, architectural, sociological and political- in order to create an evaluation of the apparent dichotomy that exists between green areas and urban landscapes. The study of the changing forms and functions of public green spaces in Dublin from the origin of the city to the year 1756 has served as a case study. This case study serves to create a model of integration for public green spaces in different types of society, while taking into account various circumstances of historical development. In this context, it is hoped that key findings might later serve as models for other case studies of public green spaces in other cities and in other historical periods. The case of Dublin has turned to be particularly interesting, not only for its colonial multifaceted background, but because almost nothing has ever been published before on the subject.

This research, while drawing together theories from various disciplines, has in fact addressed a conspicuous gap in Irish literature in the fields of geography, historical geography, urban studies, sociology, environmental studies, history, the history of art, garden history, and architecture. No academic study has yet paid attention to this area of research from an historical perspective. Landscape studies in Ireland have traditionally considered 'green areas' as part of the rural and not as part of the urban environment. Studies have been done on private gardens but nothing on public green spaces as a category of space *per se*. The importance of this work is further highlighted by the fact that in the international literature available (mainly coming from continental European or North American academia) Dublin's public green spaces are never mentioned, either as terms of comparison, as urban examples, or even with reference to the æsthethic attributes of their design. This is easy to recognise when considering the global knowledge that the governance of various capital cities have been able to construct around their main parks -*e. g.* Central Park, Hyde Park, Parc Güell, or Parc de la Villette. In stark contrast, nothing comprehensive has ever been published on St Stephen's Green.

On the other hand, the general international literature existing on the topic of parks and gardens in other countries, when not merely addressing the topic from a descriptive perspective (as is typical in the sphere of architecture and garden history), concentrates on them either as single unit of historical development, or when parks and gardens are treated as a collective category of spaces, treats them only from the perspective of present times.

Two comments must be made on the above statement. Firstly the fact that research topics conventionally refer only to specific categories of space, *e. g.* parks and gardens, and not to 'public green spaces' as a broader and more straightforward category of space. The fault with this system of research is that the conceptual meanings of the words 'park' and 'garden' can be ambiguous when applied to different historical-geographical contexts. Second, it has to be stressed that studies on the current situation of public parks and gardens are often based on surveys, statistical quantitative analysis, and examination of current and local political forces. This type of approach hinders an understanding of the processes of repetitive and determined patterns of action exerted by the forces moulding public green spaces. The principal fault of this system stems from its short-sightedness; it does not aid in preventing repetition of 'past mistakes', nor does it aid in the creation of optimum

strategies for the development of future models. Apart from technological innovations and artistic creativity -which can sometimes be considered aside from historical explanations- any research which effectively aims at an understanding of the social implications of public green spaces cannot preclude a study on the history of their development.

Among all the various intellectual traditions which have informed this work, the main theories which have shaped the research derive from studies in urban morphogenesis and cultural-historical geography. The formers have provided the necessary methodological framework for examination of public green spaces in the general town plan analysis. The examination of these spaces has in fact focussed on the understanding of their relationship with the built environment, highlighting the important role they played in the creation of urbanity. At the same time theories drawn from cultural-historical geography have allowed an understanding of the social issues related to the changes taking place in public green spaces and the ways these have affected society. In other words, this research highlights how the integration of nature in the city has moulded, and has been moulded, by its inhabitants.

9.2 KEY FINDINGS IN IDENTIFIED PHASES

The structure of the thesis has aimed to reflect the development of the main phases undergone by public green spaces during those nine hundred years of Dublin history. Eight public green spaces have emerged from the available sources as main public green areas in Dublin. These were: *Faithche Átha Cliath* (the 'Green of Dublin'), the Steyne, the Thingmounth/Hoggen Green (College Green) complex, Oxmantown Green, Fair Green, Abbey Green (Little Green), St Stephen's Green and the green area around the City Basin.

Besides the above spaces, the research has referred occasionally to the presence of other green areas, such as commons, meadows, woodlands, private parks, gardens, orchards, and formal tree-lined walks. Their inclusion in the work has proven essential in forming an overview of the processes of integration of green space in the city, and in the evaluation of the changes taking place in their public expression.

Five main phases of development have been identified. Each phase has encapsulated a standard set of forms and functions possessed by public green spaces

in specific historical periods. As already mentioned in the introduction, each chapter would, ideally, have corresponded to a different phase. As also mentioned previously, it has not been possible to observe this format because of the peculiarity of some periods and the importance of historical events to their analysis. The main findings in each phase are outlined below:

9.2.1 Key findings, phase 1

Phase 1: 841-1171, chapter 2. This phase has examined the origins of public green spaces in Dublin, highlighting the mutual influences which existed between landscaped nature and urbanism in the proto-town of Dubhlinn/Áth Cliath. Three different green areas have been identified: *faithche Átha Cliath*, the Steine, and the complex Thingmount - Hoggen Green.

The first documented reference to the *faithche* dates to *c.* 1030, however evidence demonstrates that its origins might in fact be brought back to an undefined earlier date towards, if not before, the second half of the eighth century. This green area was located on the western developmental pole of the settlement of *Áth Cliath*, supposed to be a Gaelic farming and fishing settlement. It also seems to have been positioned at the point of arrival of two main prehistoric routeways: the *Slige Miduachra* - coming from the North of Ireland, and ending at the alleged crossing point of the hurdle ford - and the *Slige Mhór* - coming from the West of the island and ending approximately in the area that was later to be known as Cornmarket. It was most likely used by the Gaelic community as place for social gathering, games, horse races, trading activities, and the grazing of livestock. Its form was that of an irregularly shaped open field, likely characterised by a large expanse of grass, a few interspersed shrubs, and marginal trees. The only landscape process it might have undergone during this time could have been the removal of central trees to facilitate grazing functions, and thus it presented in essence a rural form.

Its main contribution to the development of urbanism derives from the fact that its inferred position at the arrival point of two main prehistoric routeways would have made it suitable for market transactions, and thus for the encounter of different social groups coming from outside the close-knit community. This would have enhanced the possibility of cultural, as well as commercial, exchanges; these exchanges in their turn would have favoured the transition from a rural type

settlement to larger scale architectural arrangements better adapted for human interaction.

At the opposite pole of expansion from *Átha Cliath* was the Viking encampment established at the mouth of the river Liffey in 841 (Simms, 2001: 18). This was followed by the creation of a permanent settlement, the *longphort oc Duibhlinn*. Towards the sea, at the eastern part of the settlement, was the area of the Steine, Hoggen Green and the Thingmount.

The etymologies of these place-names reveal a common Norse origin. However the lack of written sources of information from the Viking world, restrain demarcation of a clear date for the beginning of their usage. Although chronologically the first documented references now available date from *c.* 1192 for the Steine, the late 12th century for Hoggen Green, and 1241 for the Thingmount, it is not discounted that the Thingmount could have been a prehistoric tumulus originating in a much earlier period.

The Thingmount -a mound approximately 12m high with several layers of ascending terraces- was one of the earliest examples of landscape architecture in Dublin. Besides its function as a sepulchre, as shown by archaeological findings, and which imply an ancient use in religious and funerary rites, it was also possibly used as an inauguration site for Irish and Norse kings. In addition, it is accepted by numerous scholars that the Thingmount was also used as a place of civic assembly by the Vikings.

The area of Hoggen Green, in which the Thingmount was located, was similarly used as a burial site. These interments seemed to have been marked by small earthen mounds, and their construction would thus have brought significant changes to an otherwise flat landscape. It is possible that this area was also used for public executions. This inference could be justified by the fact that the persecution of criminal trials, along with decisions taken on political and legal matters seemed to have taken place on the Thingmount.

The area of the Steine, west of Hoggen Green, was characterised by a large expanse of grass delimited by the river Liffey on the north side and the river Steine to the east, making it a wet and marshy place. It was the main landing area during the Viking period, and in light of its position one can hypothesise that it was used for market transactions.

The contribution of these places to the creation of urbanity stems from their ceremonial, civic, and religious connotations as well as from the trading activities and obvious grazing functions. In contextualising the role of burial grounds, such as the Thingmount and Hoggen Green, it might be asserted, with reference to Mumford (1961: 15) - who contended that 'the city of the dead antedates the city of the living'- that its presence constituted one of the necessary bricks upon which a civil base could have been constructed in the nascent city of Dublin. The fact that this landscaped green area hosted rituals concerned with burial, civic governance, and executions, highlights the important role it had to play in the development of a social and urban nucleus; its metamorphosis from place of burial to place of governance can be seen as reflecting changes in the social environment which was developing around it.

Finally, it has to be remarked that both the *faithche* and the area of Hoggen Green/ Steine were used as battlefields. This was an outcome of their public character, being large-scale places of open access, and also an outcome of their interposition between the approach of attacking forces and the settlements. The combination of these two factors made them areas of encounter for different ethnic groups, both 'insiders' and 'outsiders'. Accounts of these encounters which were often belligerent in nature, clearly manifest the ways that social struggles behind the determination of power relationships on the governance of the settlements would be a salient aspect of the relationship between public green spaces and urbanism.

9.2.2 Key findings, phase 2

Phase 2: 1171-1534, chapters 3 and 4. This phase is characterised by the effects that the Anglo-Norman governance had on public green spaces, and is constituted by two main historical periods. The first corresponds to chapter 3, and is especially defined by the impact of King Henry II's arrival on two public green spaces. The second period is characterised by the effects derived from constant and stable forms of governance, which through the creation of a municipal system ensured a homogeneous organisation of public green areas throughout the Middle Ages.

The arrival of Henry II caused the construction of a royal palace in Hoggen Green. This has been described as a temporary structure in wickerwork, in which the formal declaration of subjugation of the Irish chieftans to the Anglo-Norman King was signed. While the palace's presence in the Green lasted only for a few months,

from the end of 1171 to the beginning of 1172, the political repercussions of the events hosted within its perimeter had a longlasting effect on the history of the City.

The second immediate consequence of the Anglo-Norman arrival was the *exodus* of the Norse population from the core of the urban centre (now conquered by the Anglo-Normans) to the settlement of Oxmantown. The green area west of this settlement came to be known in written document (*c.* 1265) as Oxmantown Green. It has been noted that three important thoroughfares from the north of Ireland converged in Oxmantown, and that one of these ran along the eastern side of the Green.

The Green was characterised by an irregularly shaped expanse of grass, which was verged on its northern edge by extensively wooded hills, and on the south side by the Liffey. Its functions ranged from being a community space for domestic rural activities such as grazing and wood cutting, to that related to trading. The latter thrived thanks to the commercial skills of the Norsemen and to the Green's proximity to the intersection of the thoroughfares with the river's crossing point. The commercial dynamism, which increased in the following century, came to be one of the main characteristics of the Green, and was fundamental for the supply of goods to the urban nucleus growing nearby.

Apart from these initial important events which were essentially determined by substantial migration movements occurring in a short period of time (*e.g* the Anglo-Normans to Dublin and the Vikings to Oxamntown), the following four hundred years were characterised by a homogeneous constancy of forms and functions of public green areas. The main factor influencing this state of affairs was the creation of a municipal administration consequential to the promulgation of Henry's and John's charters, which were formally institutionalised with the creation of the town council in the year 1229.

Following the promulgations of the charters, three other green areas, besides those mentioned in the previous phase, began to acquire importance. The first was Abbey Green, whose earliest mention dates to 1213, and whose development is correlated with that of St Mary's Abbey, north of the Liffey. The second was St Stephen's Green, firstly mentioned in *c.* 1250 as 'citizen's common pasture'; it was located south-east of the Liffey, just outside the Hospital of St Stephen. Thirdly, Fair Green, referred to in 1305 as *locus nundinarum*, or fair ground; it developed outside the city walls, south-west of New Gate. It is also remarkable that documented

references to the *faithche* stop abruptly in the year 1171, probably meaning that it was called by a different name under the Anglo-Normans. This fact outlines the problems which have arisen from a linguistic perspective, especially when analysing Dublin's initial period of development, which was characterised by the superimposition of four different cultures and languages. The initial ambiguity of translation existing between the terms *faithche*, *pastura*, *viridem* and 'green', has further justified the adoption of the general denomination of 'public green space' as a term of reference in the thesis.

Municipal governance, besides ensuring that the town had five suburban public green spaces, referred to as 'green' (and as *pastura* and/or *viridem* in the Latin documents), also ensured the arrangement of determined functions for different public green areas. St Stephen's Green, Oxmantown Green, Hoggen Green and Abbey Green were used for grazing; Fair Green, Abbey Green and Oxmantown Green for fairs and markets; Oxmantown Green, Hoggen Green and St Stephen's Green for executions and public punishments; and Oxmantown Green and Hoggen Green for archery training. Favourite places for general recreational activities seem to have been Oxmantown Green and Hoggen Green.

These functions, which became regular both through municipal enactments and praxis of use, reflected the economic and social priorities of the mediaeval town. They can be synthesised as: the importance of domestic animals, which required the preservation of greens as places of common pasture; the development of commerce, which brought about the creation of spaces for markets and fairs; the establishment of municipal forms of control over the population, through selection of public places for executions and other forms of punishment; and the promulgation of military structures for the defence of the city, which included the erection of archery butts.

9.2.3 Key findings, phase 3

Phase 3: 1536-1660, chapter 5.

This period was the most complex to analyse, however two principal factors lay behind the difficulty of discerning the various forces at work. The first was the local situation, characterised by the confiscation of the monastic possessions and the arrival of New English settlers. The second was the infiltration of new ideas on urban planning from continental Europe. Both of these factors brought about a rearrangement of physical space as well as the introduction of new meaning for

public green spaces. Of the two forces, the first was most prevalent, while the other was much slower to emerge, being more comparable to an undercurrent. So the main changes occurring in this period were at a functional level; and although the physical forms of public green spaces in general remained essentially characterised by large expanses of grass and irregularity of form, most also experienced varying amounts of reduction in extent.

Significant changes in the area of public green spaces were:

1. reductions in size due to encroachments of both animal pens and buildings
2. municipal adoption of severe forms of control over the use of public green spaces, which resulted in exclusion of 'unfreemen', strangers, vagabonds and beggars.
3. the promulgation of an Act (1635) for the preservation of a 'green belt' for the citizens to walk in and take the air.

Minor events were:

1. increases in the number of public executions.
2. early plans for the erection of hospitals and other buildings of public utility in public green spaces. This was to tackle a function which had until then been performed by monastic houses.
3. first signs of modifications to the landscape for the purposes of recreation began to appear.

Specific changes were:

A significant reduction in the size of Abbey Green due to encroachment of private developments from surrounding lands formerly belonging to St Mary's Abbey. A reduction in size of Hoggen Green caused by private development in the land formerly belonging to St Mary de Hogges. The character of this Green was also changed by Sir George Carew's plans for the erection of a hospital, and by the transformation of the All Saints site into Trinity College. Moreover, a bowling green and a set of walks augmented the recreational character of the green.

St Stephen's Green and Oxmantown Green continued to be used as pasture lands, and while the latter's role as a site for public execution was strengthened, they both remained almost unaltered in shape thanks to the 1635 Act for their preservation.

Fair Green and Steine seem to have succumbed to private development. However a small portion of the Fair Green remained public and was used for market activity. This designation probably gave rise to the Iveagh Market in a later period.

Regarding the position of green spaces with respect to the urban environment, it has to be remarked that while most remained suburban, encircling the town as a 'green belt' thanks to the 1635 Act, the period also witnessed the partial integration of Hoggen Green within the town. This was principally due to an eastward expansion of governmental and public buildings, and to early urban development of the area.

The most significant event of the period and in the history of Dublin's public green spaces up to 1756, is the Act of 1635. While preserving three main greens to tackle the problem of urban congestion, and ensuring that the town and its citizens had a recreational area (following Renaissance precepts in town planning); the Act marked a watershed in breaking with the more rural functions these spaces had served, and heralded the town's entry into a new era of modernity.

9.2.4 Key findings, phase 4

Phase 4: 1660-1689, chapter 6.

Phase 4 was characterised by revolutionary changes in terms of form, function and the positioning of public green spaces in the urban environment. The most important events of the period were the enactments of the 1663 plan for the formation of a residential square surrounded by building lots in St Stephen's Green, and the 1664-65 plan for the subdivision of the eastern part of Oxmantown Green into lots. These plans resulted in the imposition of a geometrical design (*e.g.* the creation of rectangular shapes) onto the two main greens in the town. While in Oxmantown Green this application resulted in the generation of Smithfield Square and its market activities, the formal changes occurring in St Stephen's Green caused the area to become *de facto* the main publicly owned recreational area in the city. The forces behind these projects were fed by:

1. the necessity for the Corporation to create stable sources of revenue. While part of these revenues satisfied the private interests of the members of the City Council, part was also invested in other public works, such as the construction of a hospital and school on Oxmantown Green (the Blue Coat School).

2. the colonialist-military considerations which resulted from the introduction of the plantation regime in the aftermath of which the Irish landscape had been subjected to a rigid scientific system of surveys, mapping, and subdivision into easily controllable geometric plots. As well as being shaped into squares, St Stephen's Green and Oxmantown Green were also regularly used for military exercises.
3. a new pan-European urban trend which consisted of the application of Renaissance principles to gardening, architecture and recreation. A salient by-product of this phenomenon was also the urban importance acquired by the Oxmantown Bowling Green following its construction in 1663-1664. Tree planting in these areas also stemmed from economic and environmental necessity, especially in view of the disappearance of natural woodlands.

Hoggen Green had lost much of its importance as an urban public green area by the end of the seventeenth century. This was firstly because the Thingmount had been destroyed in 1685, and its soil used to level Nassau Street and other recently formed streets; and secondly because it had capitulated to the westward expansion of Trinity College. The increasing importance of the college had also precipitated the green's renaming as College Green (as firstly documented in 1658), and its relegation to a mere place of passage and anteroom to the College.

Finally, Abbey Green did not undergo any significant changes, probably because of its low-lying topography and the damp state of its soil. Despite the efforts of Sir Charles Hartstonge to improve the area by channelling the Bradogue and other streams in the 1670s, the area still remained unsuitable for construction.

From an urban perspective, the public green spaces inherited from the mediaeval period were now completely integrated in the urban environment. As such, they also lost much of the rural character that they themselves had inherited from the mediaeval period, along with a substantial diminution of their grazing functions. Military use, aesthetic attributes and recreation now moderated their 'positions' in society.

9.2.5 Key findings, phase 5

Phase 5: 1689-1756, chapters 7 and 8.

This last phase was characterised by two main periods of examination, the first going from 1689 to 1728, and the second from 1728 to the final year addressed by this thesis. The first period was mainly determined by events which represented the outcome of the Battle of the Boyne, and thus an increased assertion of English/Protestant governance in the city. The second period represents a stage of assessment, when political stability and economic growth permitted developments in the fields of decorative arts and recreation, developments that were seminal to the quintessence of Georgian Dublin.

The effects on public green spaces during these periods were threefold. The first could be seen in the establishment of military/colonialist architecture in the Greens, *e.g.* the Royal barracks in Oxmantown Green (completed in *c.* 1708), the statue of William III in College Green (1701), that of George II in the centre of St Stephen's Green (1758), and the repetitive use of St Stephen's Green and Oxmantown Green for military marches and parades. The second was represented by the creation of more bowling greens in the city, and by the layout of formal walks in connection with public green areas. Recreational walking came to typify a set code of common values shared by wealthy classes which brought new meaning to the social use of public spaces. These now became places for the display of individual (as well as governmental) power, where people could form and reinforce their social status by networking with people of similar or higher status, and by adopting the then conventionally accepted pan-European symbols of power. These adoptions ranged from self-decoration, with for example fashionable attire and accessories, to conformity to sets of predetermined etiquette and conduct.

The response of lower classes to this theatre of colonialism with its more or less frivolous acts of performance, manifested itself in riots, acts of vandalism and rebellions. This characterised a fundamental aspect of public green spaces which cannot be underestimated when evaluating them in terms of national heritage, as the question 'heritage of whom?' then spontaneously arises.

Finally, a certain degree of benefit to the larger public was achieved through the construction of a new green area at the water basin (1722) near St Jame's Street, two more hospitals and charitable institutions in Oxmantown Green, and through the establishment of a market site in Little Green. The change of name from Abbey

Green to Little Green, referenced to the year 1699, was another example (as already seen with the *faithche*, and Hoggen Green) of the shift in dominant forms of control over space. In this case the substitution of 'Abbey' with 'Little', while referring to the obvious attribute of size, also signalled the willingness of the city council to confirm that their decisional power over the Green was superior to that of the Church.

Religious authority had made several attempts to build a church in Little Green, and applications for planning permission range over a period of almost one hundred years, yet without success. However in Oxmantown Green, plans for the erection of St Paul's Church with its annexed churchyard were successful in 1702.

Finally, one of the main key-findings of the phase concerns an ordinance of 1709, wherein 'children' were included among the envisaged users of St Stephen's Green. This is significant, as it is the first time that a public recreational space for children is mentioned in the history of public green spaces in Dublin; and it is even more significant when one thinks that it happened two hundred years prior to any playground association movements. This last issue also leads to reflection on availability in the past of recreational space, not only for those of different economic or social status, but also for groups of different gender and age. While, for example, it is known that since the early eighteenth century, public green spaces were considered to be one of the few open recreational spaces suitable for women (at least during daytime); it is also worth knowing that for the other end of the age spectrum, none of the municipal documents examined contained reference to geriatric considerations with respect to recreational space.

9.3 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

It is impossible to imagine the process of urban development in Dublin without its public green spaces. Public green spaces constitute an essential part of the history of urbanism, and their importance as morphogenetic and social agents has been fundamental to this story. While the expanding city has shaped public green spaces, these spaces have likewise shaped the city in a mutually dynamic process. This status has been determined by the struggle of variously contrasting forces, and has often resulted in the disappearance of public green spaces under the pressure of public (hospitals, schools), religious (churches and graveyards), and private (either commercial or residential) developments. The disappearance of some of these spaces

is indicated in Figure 9.1 below, which charts the fates of the public green spaces examined.

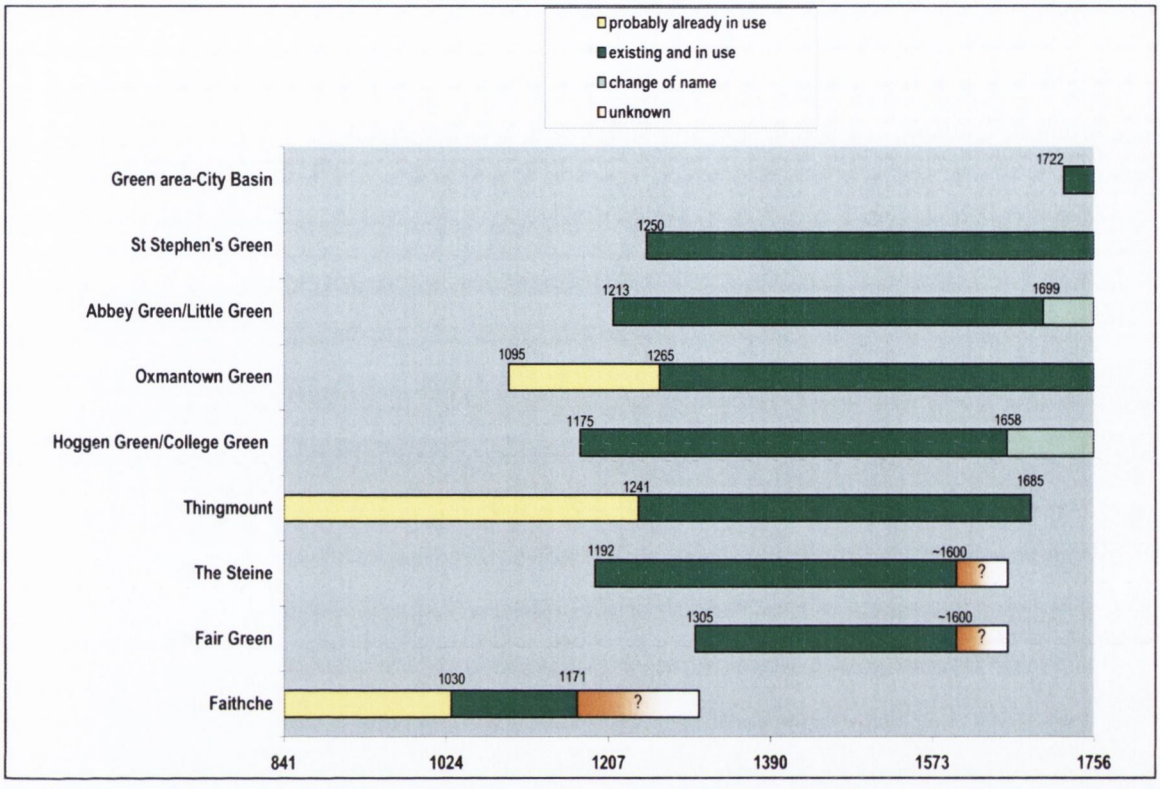


Figure 9.1 Timelines of selected public green spaces: Dublin, 841-1756. (Compiled by the author)

On the other hand, common factors that guaranteed a public green space's survival were found to be:

1. municipal investments in the preservation of aesthetic and/or recreational functions of the area. These investments became successful especially when combining the use of the area for important public celebrations, and thus, while publicising it, also relating it to issues of heritage and civic pride. These investments were also realised when the area was considered to be the fulcrum of a development project, and was thus important in raising the economic value of adjacent properties.
2. centrality of position and vicinity to main routeways were essential factors in determining the success of a green area. Although on this point it must be remarked that Hoggen Green/College Green, in becoming the main node in the

nascent traffic network of seventeenth century Dublin, succumbed to paving and became a victim of its own central positioning; this is because newly developed streets crossed the green, instead of being adjacent to it.

3. duplex use of the area for other public functions (as in the case of the green area at the water basin)
4. early use of the area for environmental protection. This was to be already evident in the tree-planting process of the seventeenth century.

Overall, public green spaces contributed to urbanism, society and the environment in a multiplicity of ways. From a social perspective, while the initial public green areas provided the first inhabitants with nourishment for their livestock, they were also host to, and permitted, religious rituals, assemblies and market exchanges. These latter three provided the basis for the development of the spiritual, civic and economic values underlying urban society. Moreover, the use of public green spaces for battles, military actions, executions, fights and other expressions of violence, was important in the establishment of power relationships by various social groups in the governance of the town. Their design -changing from irregular to geometric forms in about the seventeenth century- also signalled that the landscaping of public green spaces was a reflection of a pan-European common heritage in artistic and early environmental values. Finally, the recreational aspect of public green spaces has probably been the most important in the development of the city, as its acknowledgement signalled the passage of urban priorities from the defensive military function of the mediaeval town to that of the modern city.

It is this writer's opinion that from a social perspective, measurement of the degree of modernity and civility attained by urbanism could be contributed to significantly by analysis of the typologies of recreational human interactions, which go beyond merely commercial, working, and power relationships. These typologies are indicative of the capability of the individuals in a society to share the same space in a harmonious manner. In this context, one could claim that public green spaces have been fundamental to the growth of urbanity, in that they were the only recreational spaces in the city not privately owned (as opposed to theatres, restaurants, private bowling greens, ballrooms etc.) and which were accessible to the widest range of the population (including the non-moneyed public).

As highlighted in the various chapters, these spaces were often subject to rules (both written and unwritten) which created segregation and exclusion. However, when compared to other public spaces in the city, they were still the most democratic spaces available to the majority of the population. In these places, people of different ethnicity, religion, age, gender, and economic status had a chance to meet for recreational and other purposes which went beyond the mere capitalist interactions of urban life. In fact, a lesson can be learnt from these 'mistakes' of the past. If public green spaces were managed with a true interest in the improvement of general quality of life, their potential to alleviate social and individual psychological tension through the integration of minorities and majorities, as well as the integration of nature with the built environment, could be enormous.

Besides their purely social function, it is essential to highlight the fundamental functions performed by public green spaces in determining the processes of urban morphogenesis, especially their roles in shaping the forms of the surrounding built environment. The two main open green areas during the Gaelic, Viking and Hiberno-Norse period were located outside the first settlements, one inland and the other seaward, thus acting as buffer zones, as *vestibula* or main 'reception' areas for foreign forces. Their positions at opposite poles of the settlement complex determined and facilitated the internal growth of the proto-town while providing the means for its outward expansion.

Later, during the mediaeval period exploitation of both Oxmantown Green and Abbey Green created the conditions wherein development could thrive in the central area north of the Liffey. South of the river, the presence of St Stephen's Green and Fair Green - located respectively in south-easterly and south-westerly directions, from the urban core - forced development in a 'T-shape' along south-central and east-west axes. The eastern axis of urban development then came to coincide with Hoggen Green. While this space was thus the first to be fully integrated with the urban environment, it was also one of the first to succumb to urban development during the early of the seventeenth century; this was primarily because of its position, but also probably *in lieu* of its ancient civic function.

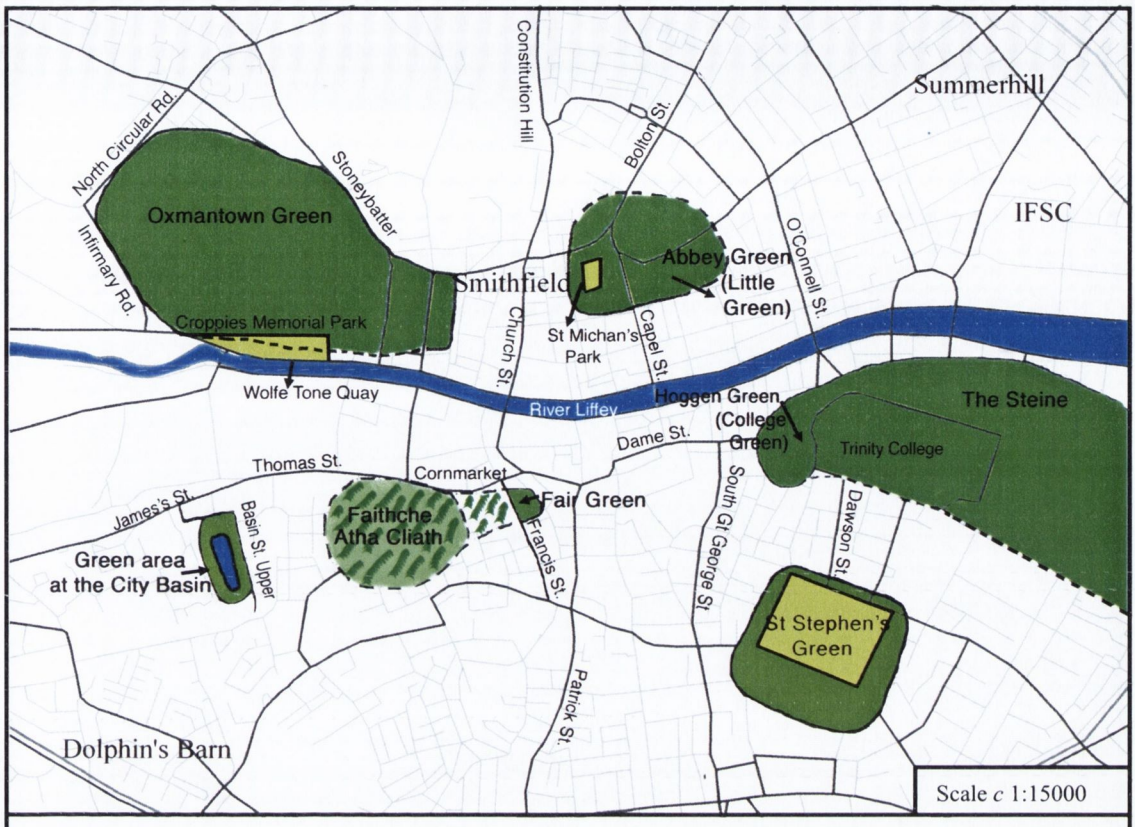
With the exception of the above mentioned Hoggen Green, and of Fair Green which in its turn came to be integrated in the urban zone (probably by virtue of its important commercial function, which would have determined the development of more streets around it) the other greens had remained essentially semi-rural suburban

areas. Their marginal positions to the urban core emerge from Speed's map in 1610. It was only in the 1660s that St Stephen's Green and Oxmantown Green came to be partially integrated with the urban environment. While the process of their integration began with their reshaping into rectangular geometrical forms; once created, these also influenced the development of the residential buildings and the streets around them. This is particularly evident with the creation of the four streets surrounding St Stephen's Green and the nearby Dawson and Kildare Streets, whose construction was consequential to the initial transformation of St Stephen's Green into a square. It can be said that St Stephen's Green functioned as an anchor for the districts and private estates that mushroomed in its surroundings between the end of the seventeenth and the end of the eighteenth centuries. Such a focal position is one of the main reasons for the successful survival of this Green to the present day.

9.4 CONSIDERATIONS FOR THE FUTURE

Today Dublin counts 116 public parks, and their preservation will require successful rebuttal of infrastructural encroachment in the future. This research has highlighted the key factors that have contributed to the survival of public green spaces in the urban environment over a period of centuries. Among these, two factors have emerged as vital: the civic power of the municipality and its strategy in town planning management, and the acquisition of a consciousness on the part of the public regarding their rights to use public green spaces. In this, the creation and divulgation of historical knowledge on the common 'public green heritage' shared by people is fundamental.

This research has provided a model for the examination of additional phases in the development of Dublin's public green spaces. It is also hoped that the model developed in this thesis will at a later stage be used for international comparative research, in order to further explore common features of the landscaped natural environment in its integration with urbanism, and in the process optimise the existing model.



Legend:

_____ Boundaries for which strong primary evidence exists

- - - - - - Hypothetical boundaries

Still existing today

Estimated maximum extent

n.b. The area of the Faithche is in a lighter green with coloured dashed lines to indicate that it is not possible to know its exact extent.

Figure 9.2 Distribution of Dublin's public green spaces, origins of the city to 1756. Base: Map of Dublin, OSI Discovery 04, Ordnance Survey, Ireland, 2004.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

CHANGES IN DENOMINATIVE TERMINOLOGY FOR GREEN PLACES THROUGH VARIOUS VERSIONS OF THE PERAMBULATION FROM 1192 TO 1766

(Compiled by the author)

1192	*c.*1395	1488	1603	1766
			'green mear'	
			'the orchard diche of Merryon (strongly fensed with trees and thornes)' (*Sir Thomas Fitzwilliam's)*	
				'garden *Red-house*'
			'meddowe'	
		'meer'	'diche of blacke sally and hathornes'	
		'the green…of Smothi's-court'	'the green of Smothe's Courte'	'the fields to Simons-court'
			'meddowe'	fields
				garden (*Mr. Roberts')*
				fields
				Garden *house ..of the Currant-tree*
				fields (*Mr. Leeson's)*
'pasturam quæ ducit usque ad portam ecclesiæ sancti Keivini ….'*by the pasture grounds which lead as far as the gate of St. Kevin's-church*	'pastura quæ ducit usque ad portam Sancti Keivini'….*the pasture leading to the port of St. Keivin*		'St. Stephin's green'	Stephen's green
				garden (*J. Swift's)*
		'the chancellor's orchard', or Huggar-place	'the Chauntors orchard'	
		orchard (*Thomas Swetickby's)*		
				the willow-trees
			'gardin'	garden *malt-house*
		gardens	'gardins' *drinks stop*	
		William English, his house & garden	'gardin' (*William Englysh's)*	
				fields
		several gardens	'gardins'	garden *Red-house*
	'per medium prati'		'Abbot's meddowe (in the mydst …great ould hathorne bonding the franches)'	hospital fields
			'small plott of pasture – Talbot's land'	
	'pasturam quæ vocatur le Irendam'		'the great leasure called the Iron Damme'	

	'pratum'	*'the prior of Christ-church his land'*	'great meddowe of Christchurch *they pitched several tents to dine'*	
				Deer-park (*Dog-kennel*)
		'meadow'	'meddowe'	
		'a ditch of small thorns'		
		'Ellen Hore's meadow'	'Ellen Hoare's meddowe'	
			'great hathorne tree'	
			'meddowe of Kilmainehame'	
			'Buyshe of hathorne (ould time)'	
		common	common	
				Mr. Brownlow's-fields
		Sharp's park	'Sharp's parke'	several gardens
		Russel's park	'Russell's parke'	
		Barnes-end	Grange Gorman *banquet*	*Grange-gorman-lane*
			'garding'	
		the orchard belonging to the church of the Holy Trinity		gardens *Finglass-road*
			orchards	gardens *Drumcondra road*
				garden *well*
		gardens of the green	'gardings *of* Oxmanton Green'	gardens *Ballybough*
	'viridem …de Ostmanton'			
			'green mear'	
			'some parkes inclosed'	
			'parke'	

A list of sources is given in the following page.

SOURCES:

1192: Charter. *Charta Johannis, Domini Hiberniæ, de metis et franchesiis civitatis Dublin, et de libertatibus concessis* (i.e. *The charter of John, Lord of Ireland, concerning the bounds and franchises of the city of Dublin, and of the liberties granted thereto*).
Sources:

- Charter. Charter of liberties of John, lord of Ireland, to the citizens of Dublin, 1192. *In*: Mac Niocaill (1950), i, 78-81. Reprinted with translation as Appendix A, in *IHTA*: 31.
- Reprinted by Gilbert (1889): 1192 –Royal Charters and Grants, iv, *Ancient records*, i, 1-6.
- Reported, with Latin version, in the extract of the Black Book (Folio 221), *Calendar of Archibishop Alen's register, c. 1172-1534*. Transcribed and reprinted by Harris (1766: 116-120) and reprinted in Warburton, *et al.* (1818: 90-105).

1327: Gilbert (1889) Liber Albus *Ancient records*, i: 156-8. No Latin version given.

***c.* 1395:** *De metis libertarum per novam inquisitionem* (i.e. *Concerning the bounds of the franchises of the city by a new inquisition.)*
Compiled after an inquisition done in the reign of Richard II, to supply at the lack of precise definition of all the boundaries in the original charter.
Sources:
Lib.Niger Arch. Dub.: 222. Harris (1766: 120-7) and Warburton, *et al.* (1818: 92-5).
c. 1395 (*Chartae*, 97; *Alen's reg.*, 231-2), mentioned only in *IHTA*: 12

1378-9: Charter – title unknown
Sources: included in Malton (1794: 6-7) mentioned in Barrow (1981: 80).

1455-57: Riding of the Franchises
Sources: Gilbert (1889) 1455-57, *Ancient Records*, i: 285-294. Quoted in Barrow, 1981: 68.

1488: Metes - Riding of the Franchises
Sources: extract from the White Book of Christ-Church, Dublin (Folio, 65), 1488. Reprinted by Harris (1766: 127-33) and mentioned by Warburton, *et al.* (1818: 97).
1488, Metes 'Concerning the metes and bounds of the franchise of the city of Dublin', 1488 (RCB, MS C/6/1.2, fos 65-66). Reprinted in Appendix B *IHTA*: 31-2.

1603: *Riding of the Franchises*
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APPENDIX 2

Names of lessees in St Stephen's Green and Oxmanton Green (Extracts from: 1664, *Ancient records*, iv: 299-307 and 1664-65 *Ancient records*, iv: 329-32).

St Stephen's Green:

St Stephen's Green: North side Rates

No. 2 – John Lovett, saddler
No. 3 – Hugh Kennedy, clothier
No. 4 – Sir George Gilbert, knight
No. 5 – George Surdevile, tailor
No. 6 – Thomas Graves, clothier
No. 7 – George Stoughton, merchant
No. 8 – John Smith, merchant
No. 9 – Hugh Kennedy, clothier
No. 10 – Peter Ward, brewer
No. 11 – John Harrison, slater
No. 12 – John Fletcher, merchant
No. 13 – Enoch Reader, alderman
No. 14 – William Whitshed, merchant
No. 15 – William Harris, haberdasher
No. 16 – John Warren, tallow-chandler
No. 17 – Timothy Grollier, vintner
No. 18 – Joseph Stoker, goldsmith
No. 19 – Phillipp Burges, butcher
No. 20 – Matthew Nulty, tailor
No. 21 – James Barlow, gentleman
No. 22 – William Drayton, baker
No. 23 – Thomas King, tailor
No. 24 – Robert Meade, malster
No. 25 – Sir Daniel Bellingham, knight
No. 26 – Hugh Price, merchant
No. 27 – Edward Twells, tailor
No. 28 – Thomas Waterhouse, alderman
No. 29 – Robert Arundell, tanner
No. 30 – Nathaniel Fooukes, tailor
No. 31 – John Dutton, merchant
No. 32 – Richard Tygh, alderman
No. 33 – Grant to Robert Newcomen, gentleman

St Stephen's Green: East side

No. 2 – John Burniston, esquire
No. 3 – William Phillipps, brewer
No. 4 – John Hicks, barber-surgeon
No. 5 – Henry Woodfall, tailor
No. 6 – Edward Briscoe, brewer
No. 7 – John Desmynieres, alderman

No. 8 – Elias Best, vintner
No. 9 –12 – Francis Brewster, merchant
No. 13 – 15 – William Yeomans, gentleman

St. Stephen's Green: South side

No. 2 – John Nicholas, merchant
No. 3 – Andrew Lloyd, merchant
No. 4 – Owen Jones, merchant
No. 5 – Hugh Leeson, butcher
No. 6 – John Preston, alderman
Nos. 7,8 – John Allen, merchant
No. 9 – Anne Blundevile
No. 10 – Josua Allen, alderman
No. 11 – Richard Burne, cutler
Nos. 12, 13 – Arthur Eccles, gentleman
No. 14 – Warner Westenra, merchant
No. 15 – Samuel Saltanstall, merchant
No. 16 – Lewis Desmineers, alderman
No. 17 – Edward Briscoe, brewer
No. 18 – Robert Brady, tailor
No. 19 – William Crosse, merchant
No. 20 – Luke lowther, cooper
No. 21 – Richard Cooke, alderman
No. 22 – William Devine, baker
No. 23 – James Browne, mason
No. 24 – George Putland, smith

St. Stephen's Green: West end

No. 2 – Francis Brewster, merchant
No. 3 – William Yeoman, gentleman
No. 4,5 – Joshua Allen, merchant
No. 6 - Richard Brooking, barber
No. 7 – William Thurgood, chandler
No. 8 – John Beston, merchant
No. 9 – William Anderson, joiner
No. 10 – Oliver Welch, gentleman
No. 11 – Christopher Johnston, gentleman
No. 12 – Richard Lord, goldsmith
No. 13 – John Sargeant, merchant
No. 14 – Christopher Elliston, clothier
No. 15 – Thomas Sharpe, baker
No. 16 – George Hulett, vintner
No. 17 – John Cranwell, alderman
No. 18 – John Nicholls, merchant

Lessees in Oxmantown Green:

Oxmantowne Green

No. 2, 63 – Hercules Langford, esquire
No. 3 – Thomas Walker, baker
No. 4 – Rice Phillipps, vintner
No. 5 – Oliver Walsh, gentleman
No. 6 – John Desmineers, alderman
No. 7, 30, 31, 61 – Enoch Reader, alderman
No. 8 – George Hulett, vintner
No. 9, 16 – Thomas Taylor, gentleman
No. 10, 15 – John Wells, gentleman
No. 11, 12 – John Greene, carpenter
No. 13 – Robert Mead, merchant
No. 14 – Christopher Thorncastle, gentleman
No. 17 – John Stone, tanner
No. 18 – Richard Tigh, alderman
No. 19 –Minard Christian, merchant
No. 20 – Thomas Springham, merchant
No. 21 – Robert Shipley, cooke
No. 22, 50 – Edward Briscoe, brewer
No. 23, 24 – William Crosse, gentleman
No. 25 – John Preston, alderman
No. 26 – Amos Ogden, gentleman
No. 27 – Noe Lott
No. 28, 47, 55, 56, 58 – John Bridges, gentleman
No. 29 – Thomas King, tailor
No. 32, 84 – John Forrest, alderman
No. 33 – John Alexander, cordwainer
No. 34, 35 – Thomas Allwin, tanner
No. 36, 38 – John Forrest, alderman
No. 37 – Richard Cooke, alderman
No. 39 – John Cranwell, alderman
No. 40 – Richard Byrne, cutler
No. 41 – William Hill, upholstrer
No. 42 – Anthony Derry, glover
No. 43 – George Surdevile, tailor
No. 44 – Daniel Hutchenson, alderman
No. 45 – William Harris, haberdasher
No. 46 – Richard Brookeing, chirurgeon
No. 48 – Peter Ashenhurst, gentleman
No. 49 – William Fullam, merchant
No. 51, 59 - Christopher Elliston, clothier
No. 52 – Luke Lowther, distiller
No. 53 – John Bysse, chief baron, exchequer
No. 54 – Peter Wybrants, alderman
No. 57 – Walter Harris, merchant
No. 60 – Philip Castleton, merchant
No. 62, 73 – John Fletcher, merchant
No. 64 – John Gardner, cordwainer

No. 65 – Samuel Saltonstall, merchant
No. 66 – Owen Jones, merchant
No. 67 – George Stoughton, merchant
No. 68 - Arthur Eccles, merchant
No. 69 – Robert Hughes, gentleman
No. 70 – Edward Tweles, tailor
No. 71 – Lewis Desineeres, alderman
No. 72 – George Southwick, watchmaker
No. 74 –Richard Palfry, gentleman
No. 75 – Christopher Gernon, cordwainer
No. 76 – William Griffin, baker
No. 77, 82 – John Eastwood, brewer
No. 78 – John Smith, merchant
No. 79, 80 – Viscount Dungannon
No. 81 – William Bell, chirurgeon
No. 83 – John Totty, alderman
No. 85 – Viscount Massareene
No. 86 – Henry Woodfall, tailor
No. 87, 88 – The Free School
No. 89 – Charles Lemon, gentleman
No. 90 – Sir William Davis, recorder
No. 91- William Devin, baker
No. 92 – Sir Daniel Bellingham
No. 93 – William Drayton, baker
No. 94 – William Dodson, gentleman
No. 95 – Joseph Stoker, goldsmith
No. 96, 97 – Warner Westenra, merchant

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