



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

Copyright statement

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

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

Liability statement

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

Access Agreement

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

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

Architecture and Aspiration:

Building Dublin's Victorian suburbs

Submitted for the degree of Ph.D

Susan Galavan

**Volume 1
Text**

**Submitted to The University of Dublin
Trinity College**

October 2013

Declaration

I declare that this thesis has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at this or any other University and that it is entirely my own work.

I agree to deposit this thesis in the University's open access institutional repository or allow the library to do so on my behalf, subject to Irish Copyright Legislation and Trinity College Library conditions of use and acknowledgement.



10847.1

Summary

The project is an interdisciplinary investigation of Victorian domestic architecture in Dublin, within the broader context of the nineteenth-century city. The study is centred on the developments and acquisitions of three prominent developers: Michael Meade, William Carvill and John Crosthwaite. Amongst their extensive list of works they executed schemes of grand semi-detached Victorian residences in some of the most imposing streets of the south Dublin suburbs. The houses which they developed around their homes provide focus for the examination of the planning, design, execution and consumption of these prolific building forms in Dublin.

The sources for this study are wide ranging. Original historical maps, drawings and deeds are examined in detail, and merged with material evidence in the form of measured drawings and photographic surveys. Primary research examines some of the protagonists behind the buildings, from the builders who constructed them, to the individuals who occupied them, while original design drawings for suburban housing in Dublin throw new light on the functional requirements of the Victorian suburban house. Genealogical data, wills, lease memorandum and directories also form an important primary source for the work. The chief sources for the historical aspect of this study are the collection of estate papers in the National Archives of Ireland and the lease memorandums in the Registry of Deeds. Original estate maps, drawings and correspondence illuminate the nature of building procurement and development control in Victorian Dublin. Building accounts and quantity surveyors' papers highlight other important information such as the sourcing of materials. The property valuation records in The National Library of Ireland and The Valuation Office also provide information on properties and their occupants/owners.

By examining the planning, design, execution and usage of a cross-section of buildings in different sectors, this thesis is the first comprehensive analysis of nineteenth-century house typologies in Dublin. It provides a clearer understanding of some of the processes involved in creating these structures, from the provision of infrastructure and local services, to issues of land tenure and building control. Relating these findings to the domestic architecture which emerged there, the study reveals the degree to which house forms were influenced by these factors, as well as some of the changing trends of the time. It shows how domestic building typologies evolved over time, as they adapted to their new suburban contexts. Previous building models have formed an important part of the discussion, while comparisons with British typologies show that the domestic building aesthetic in Dublin has its own distinct character. This project further illuminates the buoyant market for domestic architecture in nineteenth century Dublin, thereby adding to the growing literature that seeks to set aside negative generalised views of the post union city.

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to thank the Irish Research Council for the Humanities and Social Sciences, who awarded me a postgraduate scholarship between 2009 and 2012, for which I am very grateful.

I owe my biggest debt to my supervisor Professor Christine Casey, whose unrelenting enthusiasm, drive and attention to detail, along with her patience and encouragement have sustained me throughout the last four years. I am also grateful for the invaluable input and advice received from Professors David Dickson and Murray Fraser, as examiners of this doctoral work.

Central to this thesis is the execution of detailed surveys on a wide range of Victorian house properties in Dublin. I would like to acknowledge the generosity and enthusiasm of the owners and occupiers of these houses, who opened their homes and offices to enable me to carry out this fieldwork. A particular note of thanks to Seamus MacCrosain and Max O'Flaherty, who provided me with photographs during conservation works in Ailesbury Road. Marcus McQuiston was also very generous in granting me access during construction on his house in 2010, providing me with a rare opportunity to examine at close hand some wonderful Victorian building materials. Thanks too to Thomas J. O'Neill, for sharing his many years' experience of a wide variety of historic buildings in Dublin. I am very grateful to Deirdre McEvoy, who was most generous in granting me access to her genealogical work on the Carvill, Meade and Crosthwaite families. I would also like to thank Dublin's librarians and archivists who assisted me in my research over the past four years.

This thesis presented many challenges, and the advice and support of fellow researchers and friends has been enormously helpful during the last four years. I am particularly indebted to Dr. Ciarán Wallace, in indulging many discussions on nineteenth-century

urban history and his generosity, advice and encouragement along the way. Thanks too to Colleen Thomas and Caroline McGee, my companions throughout this process, who were particularly supportive during the last year of final write-up. Ciarán, Colleen and Caroline also provided very helpful feedback on final drafts, as did Siobhán Hayes and Kathleen Fahy. The postgraduate community at Trinity has been a great source of support, in particular Martina Salvante, Tara Kelly and Melanie Hayes. I am also grateful to all my friends, both inside and outside Trinity's walls, who continued to express interest in the progress of the work during the last four years. Special thanks to the ever wise Siobhán O'Hare, whose project management skills kept me motivated during this crucial past year, and to Portia Reynolds and Triona Stack for their positivity and encouragement along the way.

My family has been the greatest support to me during these last four years, and indeed throughout my life. I would like to firstly thank my brother Colin, for his support and encouragement, from the first moment I returned to postgraduate study. To my sister Barbara, always the calm and insightful mentor and my sister Gráinne, who at a moment's notice provided me with the perfect haven in the sunny south-east. Finally, this work is dedicated to my parents, to whom my gratitude knows no bounds: my mum Monica Galavan, for her unrelenting faith in my abilities and her enthusiasm on the completion of each milestone and to my late father Dan Galavan, a gentle soul who first ignited my passion for history.

Contents

Declaration	-
Summary	i
Acknowledgements	iii
List of tables	vi
Abbreviations	vii
Introduction	1
Chapter 1	‘Merchant princes’: the Meade, Carvill and Crosthwaite families
	13
Chapter 2	Land tenure, building control and local government
	39
Chapter 3	Nineteenth-century suburban house typologies
	89
Chapter 4	Building materials
	135
Chapter 5	Financing speculative building in the Dublin suburbs
	171
Chapter 6	Spatial organisation
	207
Conclusion	245
Bibliography	255

List of Tables

Table	Title	Page
Table 1:	Comparative analysis of terraced housing schemes.	112
Table 2:	Comparative analysis of semi-detached plot widths.	125
Table 3:	Cost of bricks.	149
Table 4:	Linear foot rents in Northumberland Road, 1865-1888.	176
Table 5:	Linear foot rents in the southern suburbs.	177
Table 6:	Ground rents related to select properties.	178
Table 7:	Sale prices for houses at Crosthwaite Park East.	195
Table 8:	Overall costs related to building area.	200
Table 9:	Yearly gross and net rents, 1881-1900.	202
Table 10:	Gross rents, building areas & costs, 1864-1876.	203
Table 11:	Comparative analysis of dining room sizes.	221

Abbreviations

Acc. No.	Accession number
Griffith Valuation, Donnybrook	Griffith Valuation, County of Dublin, County Health District of Dublin, Electoral District of Donnybrook, [i.e. Ward of Pembroke, east and west], valuation lists.
Griffith Valuation, Kingstown	Griffith Valuation, County of Dublin, County Health District of Dun Laoghaire, Electoral Division of Kingstown, valuation lists.
Griffith Valuation, Rathfarnham	Griffith Valuation, County of Dublin, County Health District of Dublin, Electoral Division of Rathfarnham, valuation lists.
IAA	Irish Architectural Archive
KT	Minutes of Kingstown Township
mem.	Memorandum/a
NAI	National Archives of Ireland
NLI	National Library of Ireland
OS	Ordnance Survey of Ireland
PEP	Pembroke Estate Papers
PKS	Patterson Kempster & Shortall Collection
PRONI	Public Record Office of Northern Ireland
RD	Registry of Deeds
Thom's	Thom's Dublin Street Directory

Introduction



Map 1: OS 1837: Dublin

At the dawn of the Victorian age, Dublin was a comparatively small city, clustered around a medieval heart, its municipal boundary marked by a series of roads and canals built the century before (**Map 1**). Dublin's Georgian city was essentially complete, with its grand squares and streetscapes of red-brick terraces. The influences of the Fitzwilliam and Gardiner estates had ensured that development had focused to the east of the city, both north and south of the river. But on the west side, large tracts of undeveloped land lay, dotted with market gardens and suburban villages. During the Victorian period that followed, Dublin's population increased by over forty-three per cent, as these marshy areas were transformed into new residential suburbs.¹ Built for a rising middle class, new forms of house building emerged out of green fields, establishing a template that would continue to endure for over one hundred and fifty years. This thesis aims to examine the planning, design, execution and usage of these prolific buildings in the south Dublin suburbs.

¹ Mary E. Daly, *Dublin, the deposed capital, a social and economic history 1860-1914* (Cork, 1984), p.3. Calculated from Table 1 (Dublin Population, 1685-1911), population growth in Dublin city and suburbs from 1831 – 1901.

It has been estimated that 35,000 houses were built during Queen Victoria's reign in Dublin, extending across a large geographical area from the city to the surrounding county.² Today these residences continue to command some of the highest prices in the city, the majority of which are protected structures under current conservation legislation. The high values placed on Ailesbury and Shrewsbury Roads, two of the most expensive streets in the country, are due to the high quality houses which were constructed there during the nineteenth century. However, despite the high monetary and historic values that we place on these buildings, little architectural research has been carried out on these structures. The historiography of Dublin's architecture tends to focus mainly on the eighteenth-century city, while considerably less attention is paid to its larger nineteenth-century urban fabric.³ Two of the seminal works on Dublin's urban history stop short of describing the city's nineteenth-century development.⁴ Other studies have focused on period's notorious tenement buildings, a highly controversial phenomenon of the time.⁵ Christine Casey's *Dublin* (2005) deepens our knowledge of the city's built environment, but the study is restricted to development within the canals, in order to address the city in detail.⁶

Our knowledge of the architecture of Victorian Dublin is therefore concerned more with its museums and banking houses, than with the housing that emerged in large numbers outside the municipal boundary.⁷ The story of the newly emerging suburbs is told primarily through the prism of the social, political and economic history of the nineteenth-century city. The foundation for this was laid by Mary E. Daly in her pioneering work *Dublin: the deposed capital* (1984), which analyses the 'complex interaction of social, economic and political forces at a critical period in the history of

²Mary E. Daly, 'The growth of Victorian Dublin' in Mary E. Daly, Mona Hearn & Peter Pearson (eds.), *Dublin's Victorian houses*, (Dublin, 1998), p. 3.

³ Examples include: Dublin City Council, *The Georgian squares of Dublin* (Dublin, 2006); Christine Casey (ed.), *The eighteenth-century Dublin town house* (Dublin, 2010); Gillian O'Brien & Finola O'Kane, (eds.); *Georgian Dublin* (Dublin, 2008) & *Portraits of the city: Dublin and the wider world* (Dublin, 2012).

⁴ Maurice Craig, *Dublin 1660-1860* (Dublin, 1980) & Niall McCullough, *Dublin an urban history, the plan of the city* (Dublin, 2007).

⁵ Joseph Brady & Annagret Simms (eds.), *Dublin through space and time, c. 900-1900* (Dublin, 2001), Jacinta Prunty, *Dublin slums: 1800-1925, a study in urban geography* (Dublin, 1998),

⁶ Christine Casey, *Dublin*, (New Haven and London, 2005).

⁷ Frederick O'Dwyer, *The architecture of Deane and Woodward* (Cork, 1997); Eve Blau, *Ruskinian Gothic, the architecture of Deane and Woodward, 1845-1861* (New Jersey, 1982); Peter Pearson, *The heart of Dublin* (Dublin, 2000); Michael O'Neill, *Bank architecture in Dublin* (Dublin, 2012).

Ireland's major city'.⁸ Her chapter on the growth of the nineteenth-century suburbs reveals how the character of each district was determined by its location, its population and the development policies enacted there. Seamus O'Maithu focused on the role of the township in *Dublin's Suburban Towns 1834-1930* (2003), illuminating how development in areas like Rathmines and Rathgar was shaped by local government.⁹

In recent years, there has been an increasing amount of literature focusing on particular Dublin suburbs, such as Deirdre Kelly's publication on the area of Rathmines¹⁰ and Peter Pearson's study of the Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown County.¹¹ These, along with others, have provided valuable accounts of the broad social and architectural characters of different suburban districts.¹² Daly and Pearson came together with Mona Hearn to produce *Dublin's Victorian Houses* (1998), the first study to address the nineteenth-century suburban house as a typology of its own.¹³ The work was aimed at the house owner, providing an overview of the historical, social and economic factors which influenced the development of the house type, including conservation and maintenance advice, and research methods for investigating domestic architectural history. Hearn's study of Victorian domestic life is particularly insightful as to the manner in which house property was inhabited during the nineteenth century.¹⁴ Valuable and interesting though the above histories are, they nevertheless contain little analysis of form or plan type. In addition, those involved in the creation and consumption of these buildings, from the builders and financiers, to the buyers and occupiers, is also a story only partially told. This thesis aims to break new ground by addressing this gap in Irish architectural historiography.

⁸ Daly, *Deposed capital*, p. 17.

⁹ Séamas Ó Maithú, *Dublin's suburban towns 1834-1930* (Dublin, 2003).

¹⁰ Deirdre Kelly, *Four Roads to Dublin: a history of Rathmines Ranelagh and Leeson Street* (Dublin, 1995).

¹¹ Peter Pearson, *Dun Laoghaire Kingstown* (Dublin, 1981) & *Between the mountains and the sea*, (Dublin, 1998).

¹² Examples include: Ken Finlay and Tom Roche, *Blackrock, Dun Laoghaire and Dalkey: along the coast from Booterstown to Killiney* (Donaghadee, Co. Down, 2003); Hazel P. Smyth, *The town of the road, the story of Booterstown* (Bray, 1971); Colum Kenny, *Kilmainham, the history of a settlement older than Dublin* (Dublin, 1995); Patrick Healy, *All roads lead to Tallaght* (Dublin, 1985) & *Rathfarnham roads* (Dublin, 2005); Joe Curtis, *Harold's Cross* (Dublin, 1998); Liam Clare, *Victorian Bray: a town adapts to changing times* (Dublin, 1998); Arthur Flynn, *A history of Bray* (Gloucestershire, 2004).

¹³ Mary E. Daly, Mona Hearn & Peter Pearson (eds.), *Dublin's Victorian Houses*, (Dublin, 1998).

¹⁴ See also by Mona Hearn: 'Domestic servants in Dublin, 1880-1920' (Ph.D thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 1984) & *Below stairs, domestic life remembered in Dublin and beyond, 1880-1922* (Dublin, 1993).

Challenges arise in researching prolific building types, which were constructed in large numbers across an extensive geographical area. Some advances have been made in recent years with the emergence of unpublished theses, which focus on a particular suburban street, or housing development. Susan Roundtree's work on Mountpleasant Square in Ranelagh and Anne Lavin's study of Leinster Square in Rathmines are examples of how form, function and historical context can be successfully combined to consider characteristics of particular developments in specific contexts.¹⁵ Eve McAulay's doctoral thesis is wider in scope, and examines the role of Lord Pembroke in developing suburban land on his estate, the 'largest single tract' to emerge outside the city in the nineteenth century. McAulay has shown how land tenure and building control varied within the estate, determining the quality and scale of development which emerged there.¹⁶ Of particular interest to this study are the names of some of the builder-developers who were responsible for erecting speculative housing in the newly emerging streets of the estate. Through an external analysis of some suburban house forms, McAulay discovers their origins in a familiar typology in the city: the eighteenth-century townhouse. This pioneering work was used as a springboard for a detailed study of Northumberland Road, where the analysis extended to investigations of plan typology.¹⁷

Turning to the wider international context, it has been recognized that the historic North American suburb was remarkably different to its English counterpart in terms of chronology, house typology, ownership patterns and local government.¹⁸ American historians and geographers have tended to dominate the field of suburban studies, where the focus has been on theoretical concerns, rather than the characteristics of the built form that emerged there. In contrast, British historians have

¹⁵ The following unpublished theses are of relevance and were completed as part of the Master of Urban and Building Conservation (M.U.B.C.) in University College Dublin: Susan Roundtree, 'Mountpleasant Square' (1991), Anne Lavin, 'Leinster Square (with Prince Arthur Terrace) Rathmines, an early suburban speculative terraced housing development 1830-1852' (1995), Rob Goodbody, 'An early nineteenth-century street at Carysfort Avenue, Blackrock' (2005), Patricia Brady, 'Variations on a theme, a study of the villa style houses on Leinster Road, Rathmines' (2006) & Caitriona Noonan, 'Residential development and the making of streets in late nineteenth-century Dublin city' (2007).

¹⁶ Eve McAulay, 'The origins and early development of the Pembroke Estate beyond the Grand Canal 1816-1880' (Ph.D. thesis, Trinity College, Dublin, 2003).

¹⁷ Susan Galavan, 'Northumberland Road, the story of a Dublin street 1833-1888' (M.A. thesis, University College Dublin, 2008).

¹⁸ Martin Cherry, 'Historic suburbs: research review' (unpublished English Heritage report, 2008), pp 20 & 25.

taken a more pragmatic approach, the catalyst being H.J. Dyos's *Victorian suburb: a study of the growth of Camberwell*, which was published in 1961.¹⁹ This was a groundbreaking work, investigating the expansion of one London suburb during its most rapid period of growth in the nineteenth century. The study based its findings mainly on the records of speculative house builders and carried out a forensic examination of their operations, from the acquisition of capital and land, to the provision of materials and services. Analysis of the built form extends only to a 'tentative appraisal of the general character', but the study pioneered an interest in the complex processes involved in speculation. Other enquiries followed suit, providing primarily an economic and social context for the rise of suburbia, right into the twentieth century.²⁰ Since Dyos's pioneering work of the 1960s, other changes have taken place in the study of the speculatively built suburbs. The discipline of architectural history has expanded, attracting writers in areas as diverse as sociology, engineering, architecture, art and planning. This has led to a 'thirst for new methods', as scholars have become increasingly interested in architectural context and the detailed processes involved in building creation.²¹ Donna J. Rilling's work on Philadelphia is focused on the latter regard, venturing in to an understudied area of architectural history: the construction trades.²² Rilling carries out an impressive examination of the city's construction industry in the early Victorian period, discussing a wide range of issues from land tenure, to raw materials and the development processes employed by their master builders.

Scholarship on English domestic architecture is inevitably dominated by the large country mansion, while the smaller suburban dwelling receives less attention. Thus, as in the case of Dublin, we rely on isolated accounts of particular developments which emerged in the English suburbs. Several studies have pointed to the significance of Bedford Park: a garden suburb laid out in the 1870s on the outskirts of London,

¹⁹ H. J. Dyos, *Victorian suburb, a study of the growth of Camberwell* (Leicester, 1977).

²⁰ Examples include: R. G. Rodger, 'Speculative builders and the structure of the Scottish building industry, 1860-1914' in *Business History*, xxi, no. 2 (1979), pp.226-246 & *Housing in Urban Britain 1780-1914* (Cambridge, 1995) & Derek Fraser (ed.), *Municipal reform and the industrial city* (Leicester, 1982).

²¹ Marvin Trachtenberg, 'Some observations on recent architectural history', in *The Art Bulletin*, lxx, no. 2 (1988), p.212.

²² Donna J. Rilling, *Making houses, Crafting capitalism: builders in Philadelphia, 1790-1850* (Philadelphia, 2001).

consisting of 500 houses situated along winding roads. The dwellings are mostly detached in form, with some semi-detached and terraced typologies and were designed by the Arts and Crafts architect Norman Shaw.²³ When the German architect Hermann Muthesius observed the development in 1904, he saw an 'inexhaustible variety' in the design, juxtaposing a range of materials such as terracotta, brick and tile in the Queen Anne style.²⁴ He considered the scheme central to the history of the English house, as the springboard for the smaller modern home to come. Stefan Muthesius was the first to deepen our understanding of suburban house typologies, when he examined the smaller nineteenth-century terrace.²⁵ The author takes an ambitious broad ranging approach, by analyzing a wide sample of buildings that demonstrate a rich diversity of form, materials and surface articulation. Nevertheless, there appear to be no studies of the suburban semi-detached house type in England which match what Stefan Muthesius did for the terraced form.²⁶

Since the last decade of the twentieth century, a burgeoning interest in material culture has been fuelled by interests in anthropology, archaeology and social history. Defined by Toby Barnard as the 'historical meanings and significance of "things"', studies in material culture have impacted on the analysis of domestic architecture.²⁷ While in Dyos's time the aesthetics of a Victorian house were not seen as important, today they are viewed as cultural artefacts in their own right, as a product of the abstract socio-economic processes of speculative development. In addition, how people lived in such houses has also become culturally significant, through the pioneering work of Mark Girouard and others on the social history of architecture.²⁸ A number of studies therefore look beyond the Victorian façade to the interior: Helen Long's *Victorian Houses and Their Details* (2002) draws attention to the range of architectural detailing and decorative schemes contained within, while the relationship between domestic space and lifestyle is the focus for Marion Lockhead's *The Victorian Household* (1964).²⁹

²³ Andrew Saint, *Richard Norman Shaw*, (New Haven and London, 2000).

²⁴ Muthesius, Hermann, *The English House*, (London, 2007), i, p.137.

²⁵ Stefan Muthesius, *The English terraced house* (New Haven & London, 1982).

²⁶ Cherry, 'Historic suburbs', p. 32.

²⁷ Toby Barnard, *A guide to sources for the history of material culture in Ireland* (Dublin, 2005).

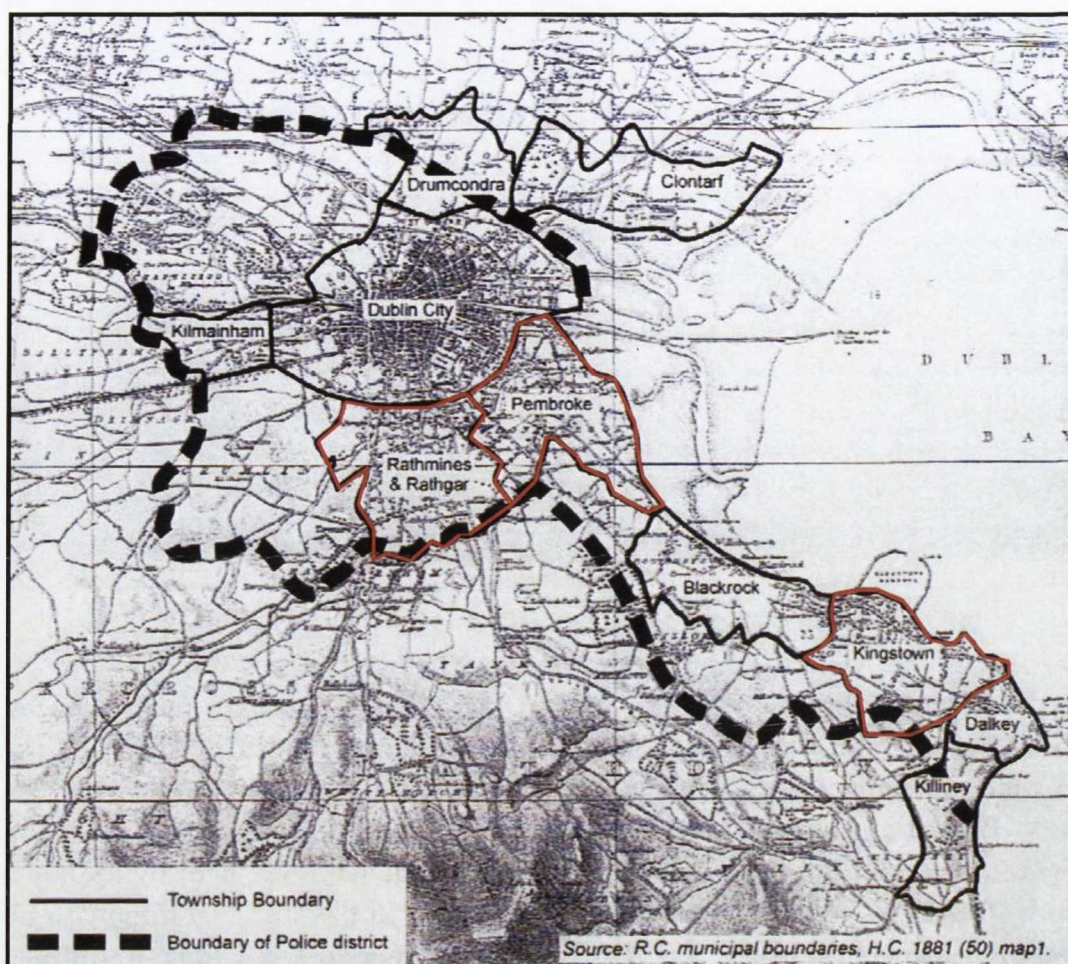
²⁸ As noted by: Peter Borsay, 'Why are houses interesting?', in *Urban History*, xxxii, no. 2 (2007), p.346.

²⁹ Helen Long, *Victorian houses and their details* (Oxford, 2002) & Marion Lockhead, *The Victorian Household* (London, 1964).

Finally, there is a large body of literature with an emphasis on conservation, interior design and social history, providing a general overview of the building type, which is aimed primarily at the contemporary house owner.³⁰

It has been shown therefore that the story of Dublin's Victorian domestic architecture has been told either through the broader lens of the city's urban history, or by narrowly focused studies of particular developments. This thesis aims to bridge the gap between these two viewpoints, by widening the focus of research to a range of house types across a larger geographical area. Due to the scale of speculative house building, a mine-sweeping, big picture approach would not enable a thorough investigation of the building type. Thus, a bow-and-arrow approach has been chosen as the best option in terms of deepening understanding and adding a series of pieces to the larger jigsaw, which will hopefully be amplified by subsequent scholarship. To do this, the thesis is centred on the developments and acquisitions of a small interrelated group of prominent developers: Michael Meade, William Carvill and John Crosthwaite. The aim is to provide a coherent account of various aspects of their speculative building activity, such as funding, the sourcing of materials and the management of their property portfolios.

³⁰Examples included: Linda Osband, *Victorian Gothic house style* (Devon, 2003); *Victorian house style* (Devon, 2001); Amanda Laws, *Understanding small period houses* (Wiltshire, 2003); Ian Alistair Rock, *The Victorian house manual* (Somerset, 2005); Alan Johnson, *How to restore and improve your Victorian house* (Devon, 1984); Helena Barrett & John Phillips, *Suburban style, the British home, 1840-1960* (London, 1993).



Map 2: Dublin city and the independent townships, showing the extent of the Metropolitan Police District. Royal Commission to inquire into Boundaries and Municipal Areas of Cities and Towns of Ireland, Report, Part II [C 2827], H.C. 1881, p. 57.

Each of these three developers was active in different parts of the south suburbs during the 1860s, 'a decade of record growth'³¹ in the region. Six miles south of the city was the busy commercial port of Kingstown, where John Crosthwaite was speculating by the beginning of the decade (**Map 2**). By the mid-1860s, Michael Meade was building in the Pembroke estate south-east of the city, while further west William Carvill was constructing houses in Rathgar. The study is therefore not geographically based, which permits a comparative analysis of local conditions, such as the availability of materials, building control and land tenure, which ultimately influenced the character of domestic architecture. Significant contextual material relating to the work of some associates and neighboring developers will also be included, to create a meaningful context for analysis. The buildings range in quality from the modest to the prestigious, providing another

³¹ Daly, *Deposed capital*, p. 166.

opportunity to demonstrate differences in costs, acquisition and architectural form. Analogous to a section cut through nineteenth-century speculative building activity, these schemes, along with other associated projects and acquisitions, form the basis for investigation.

Dublin's Victorian suburbs are characterized by a range of domestic building typologies, but the main types are terraced and semi-detached in form. This thesis aims to carry out a formal analysis of these two typologies, to enrich our understanding of why these new house forms evolved in such numbers during the nineteenth century. While the average developer built on a modest scale of two to four plots, these prominent merchants speculated in larger numbers, exemplified by the twelve semi-detached properties built by Meade in Ailesbury Road, or the scheme of forty-two terraced dwellings developed by Crosthwaite in Kingstown. The developments are typical of early forms of suburban house building in Dublin, which enables us to analyse the degree to which they were influenced by previous building models. Built over a number of years, this study investigates how these new typologies then evolved during the course of the nineteenth century and to what degree they were influenced by the stylistic trends of the time. This project will further illuminate the buoyant market for domestic architecture in nineteenth century Dublin, thereby adding to the growing literature that seeks to set aside negative generalised views of the post union city.³²

This thesis aims to enrich our understanding of some of the processes involved in creating these Victorian residences. It explores the extent to which the developers were involved in construction, and if they were they responsible for the infrastructure which supported their developments, such as the roads, paths and sewers. Victorian houses are the result of the interaction of various trades, a complex synthesis of materials which are coordinated to form one coherent structure. The study will draw on current conservation practice to analyse the types of materials used in Victorian house construction, investigating their sources and how they were transported to site. Additionally, this study will consider whether these structures were merely products of

³² For example: Stefanie Rains, *Commodity culture and social class in Dublin 1850-1916* (Dublin, 2010).

their particular locations in terms of their materials, or if speculators turned to foreign markets for their supply.

Although examples exist for American and British contexts, there has been no research to date in Dublin which has explored the operations of specific speculative builders in a sustained manner. Before Dyos completed his work on Camberwell, London's suburban builders were similarly mysterious. As Summerson observed: 'We live in an environment which we have not made and which was unknowingly prepared for us by the dead skulls and finger-bones in the cemeteries; and of being, in spite of ourselves, formed or inflected by it.'³³ This thesis aims therefore to begin to address this gap, by highlighting some of those responsible for the funding, building and driving of development in Dublin's Victorian suburbs. Under consideration will be the extent to which developers were motivated by financial gain, how they funded speculative house building and to what degree the practice was profitable. The analysis will assist in the contextualization of the work of Meade, Carvill and Crosthwaite by assessing how they fit in to the broader picture of speculative building activity in Dublin.

The traditional art historical approach to architectural history tends to consider a building as a work of art relating to established styles, somewhat disassociated from human usage. Architecture is however much more than surface embellishment: it is a three dimensional practical organization of space, a reflection of the lifestyle of the occupiers and skills of its creators. This thesis aims to broaden the traditional scope by examining the entire architectural process, from an exploration of the overall building form to an examination of the spatial relationships and functional divisions within. The analysis will also extend beyond the Victorian façade to the interior world contained within, to establish the relationship between the organization of the houses and the lifestyle of their occupants. These results will be interwoven with considerations of function and historical context, to create a fully rounded examination of the building type. This opens the field to a new range of ideas, aesthetic effects, technical solutions, social formulations and specialized traditions which brought about the domestic architecture of the Dublin suburbs.

³³ Dyos, *Victorian suburb*, p.3.

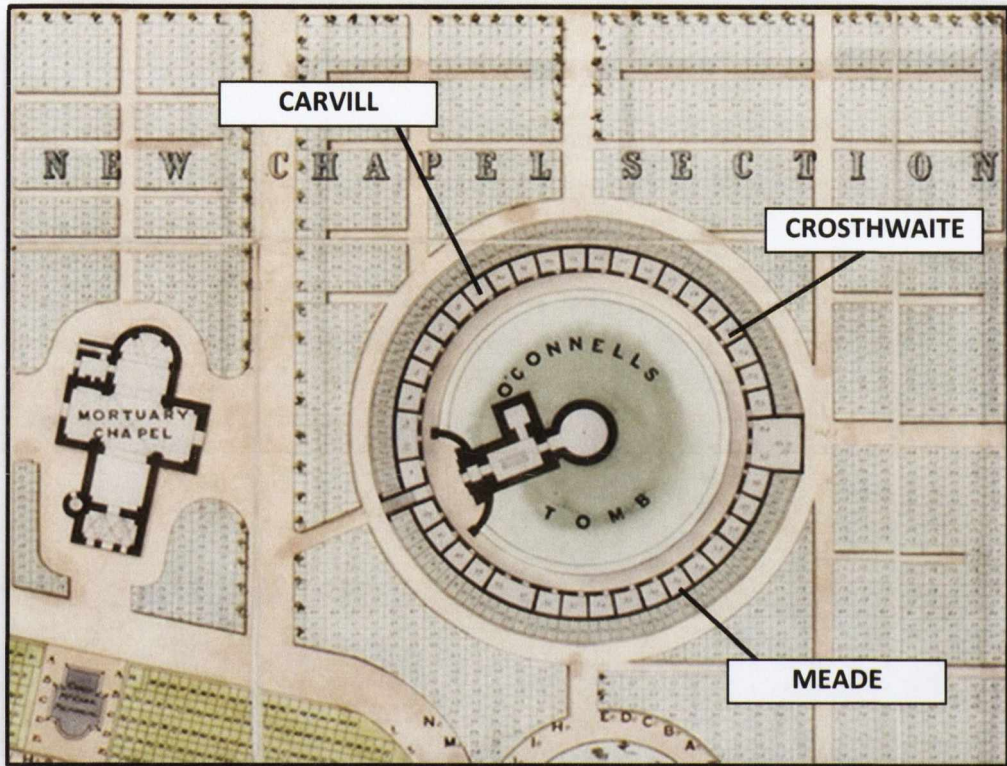
This research will build on recent developments in architectural history practice by taking an interdisciplinary approach, crossing the disciplines of history, history of art, architecture and the history of design and construction. Primary sources for the study of Dublin's suburban development are poor by British standards: while a number of builders' records formed the basis for the study of the London suburb, there is no equivalent source to draw on for the analysis of suburban Dublin. In addition, as most of the census and wills records were destroyed in the Civil War in 1922, this thesis therefore relies on alternative documentary evidence, including nineteenth-century drawings and surveys, contemporary secondary material, quantity surveyors' accounts and valuation records. A key primary source is *The Dublin/Irish Builder*, the most important Irish building trade journal of the time, which provides important insights into a wide range of perspectives on nineteenth-century building in Ireland. The lease memorandums found in The Registry of Deeds provide important data on lessees and lessors, and on the manner in which house property was exchanged. As the memorandums do not often provide the details of such lease agreements, the discovery of some original deeds in private collections has enriched the discussion. The records of the Pembroke estate and the Kingstown Township prove fruitful resources for an analysis of building control and land tenure, while noteworthy personalities are pursued in contemporary newspaper coverage. British Parliamentary Papers produce important insights into the complex relationships between the landowners, speculators and administrative authorities at work in Dublin's Victorian suburbs.

An integral part of the research has been the fieldwork analysis of the buildings, and the production of a series of scaled drawings of terraced and semi-detached typologies. Contemporary architects' drawings are a rarity, but the discovery of some important contract documents for developments in Rathmines (Northbrook Road), Rathgar and Shrewsbury Road justifies their inclusion here. These documents have never been examined before and they throw new light on the functional requirements of the Victorian house, as well as the design intent of their architects and clients. This material will be related to the fieldwork analysis to form the basis for the formal analysis of the buildings, which enables comparisons to be made between and within the two typologies. This primary architectural research has been dovetailed with other historical

evidence, to produce a penetrating analysis of suburban domestic architecture in the Victorian period.

The thesis follows a logical path, from broad contextual issues, to more detailed analyses of particular aspects of Victorian house building. Chapter 1 considers the lives of the three core developers, and particularly the role that domestic architecture played in their rise to *nouveau riche* status. Of particular significance is the Meade family, whose work spans the entire Victorian building period, from the challenges of the post-famine era to the beginning of the twentieth century. Chapter 2 examines the characteristics of each geographical area and outlines development before, during and after these merchants began building in the green fields near their homes. It explores the role of land owners and local government in shaping the nineteenth-century suburban landscape and investigates to what extent they were responsible for the provision of infrastructure. Chapter 3 analyses the two main suburban house forms: the terrace and semi-detached typologies and makes some comparisons with their British counterparts. A key resource for the domestic builder was a ready supply of building materials and this forms the basis of discussion in Chapter 4. It considers the main materials of brick, stone and timber and the degree to which the houses were products of their particular locations. The subsequent chapter deals with the acquisition of capital, a driver of speculative building development. The final chapter enters the lives of the occupants of the houses and the minds of the architects who sought to negotiate the various boundaries between the different constituents of the household in order to deliver their clients' requirements.

Chapter 1



‘Merchant Princes’: The Meade, Carvill and Crosthwaite families

1.1 Introduction:

In the north Dublin suburbs, a 171 foot high round tower soars above the extensive grounds at Glasnevin Cemetery (1.1). The tower marks the burial place of Daniel O'Connell, 'the great liberator', whose tomb is encircled by a series of burial vaults, surmounted by tall Celtic crosses. This is the O'Connell circle, the final resting place of some of the city's most prominent citizens, a 'who's who' of Catholic middle class Dublin (p.12: chapter cover plate). They are the industrialists and wealthy merchants, the lord mayors and town commissioners, who presided over and shaped the Victorian city. Most striking of all is the figurative memorial to the Meade family, crowned by a Carrara marble statue of St. Michael, the family's patron saint (1.2). On the opposite side of the circle is the monument to John Crosthwaite: a Celtic cross made almost entirely of white Carrara marble (1.3). Nearby is the Carvill family cross, carved in limestone with its edges stitched with ornate Celtic knots and spirals (1.4).

The three individuals interred here – Michael Meade, William Carvill and John Crosthwaite, all played an important role in the development of Dublin's nineteenth-century suburbs. Part of a rising Catholic middle class, they developed high quality housing schemes in different parts of the newly emerging suburbs. The level of architectural sophistication displayed in their houses, the quality of materials and craftsmanship, is testament to the wealth and status of their creators. This chapter will examine the output of Meade, Carvill and Crosthwaite through sixty years of building development in Dublin. A chronological approach has been taken to demonstrate the gradual consolidation of the three families' interests, as well as providing links to the wider economy. This chapter therefore provides the context in which to situate their work, forming the basis of the analysis to follow.

1.2 Beginnings

Born in Dublin to a Catholic family in 1814, Michael Meade first appeared in the records in the 1840s as a carpenter and builder in Townsend Street, to the north of Trinity College (1.5).¹ By 1843, he was insolvent, but must have recouped his losses fairly quickly, as within two years he was back in business at the same address. During the years of the famine that followed, Meade was active politically, campaigning for Catholic rights and for a repeal of the Union. In 1848 he moved premises to nearby Great Brunswick Street, the location of many firms in the building trade. Meanwhile, six miles south along the coast John Crosthwaite had built the Royal Victoria Baths in Kingstown (now Dun Laoghaire 1.6 & 1.7), offering open-sea bathing and hot and cold baths of salt and fresh water.² He remained proprietor there for many years and in 1849 he acquired the Woodpark estate, in the hills above the town.

The same year, William Carvill arrived home from Canada, where he had spent his early career in the iron and shipping trades. Carvill was originally from Rostrevor in County Down, where his older brother Francis was one of the foremost self-made entrepreneurs in Newry, having introduced shipbuilding to the town.³ In 1836 William Carvill emigrated to St. John in New Brunswick, one of three maritime provinces located on Canada's eastern seaboard. William's younger brother George following four years later; as young men they engaged in the iron and timber trades in St John, but it wasn't long before they began to launch ships from there.⁴ The first of these was named after William's future wife. 'Eliza', a barque of 120 tons, was launched with five crew in 1838, but four years later his vessel 'New Zealand' was carrying over five times the tonnage, manned by twenty-four men.⁵ Since the early 1800s, timber merchants had been turning to the abundant Canadian forests as a source of lumber for European markets. A major centre for the trade was New Brunswick, where most villages and towns could boast of at least one saw mill manufacturing boards, planks and shingles. European merchants

¹ *Freeman's Journal*, 28 Oct. 1843.

² Peter Pearson, *Between the mountains and the sea* (Dublin, 2001), p. 127.

³ Old Newry Society, *The book of Newry* (Newry, 2008), p.118.

⁴ *Ex. Info.*, Deirdre McEvoy, genealogist: *Saint John Globe*, 18 Dec. 1884 and *The Daily Telegraph*, (St. John), 25 July 1884.

⁵ *Journal of the House of Assembly of the province of New Brunswick*, [p. cxcviii], Jan.-Mar. 1839 & [p.cxxiv], Jan. – Apr. 1843 (<http://eco.canadiana.ca>) (28 Aug. 2012).

capitalized on this market demand: ships carrying lumber eastwards across the Atlantic could return with passengers bound for North America.⁶ By the time Carvill arrived in St. John in the 1830s, Ireland and New Brunswick had been linked commercially for at least forty years, due to the transatlantic timber and emigrant trade. Back in Newry, Francis Carvill built the town's first ship 'The Mary Anne' in 1845 and during the worst years of the famine, he remained the main emigration agent in Newry, sailing numerous vessels between Ireland and North America (1.8 & 1.9). As Laxton maintains, the trans-Atlantic voyage was often perilous, and many ships made the journey only once during the Famine period. However Francis Carvill's ship, aptly named 'The Brothers', made a voyage every year from Newry to New York, a total of ten Atlantic crossings during the Famine years (1.10).⁷ It is likely that he was engaged in trade with his brothers William & George, who also operated as timber and shipping merchants on the Canadian side (1.11 & 1.12).⁸ However William Carvill did not have his sights set on remaining in British North America and in 1849 he returned to Ireland.⁹ Although separated by great distances, he remained in partnership with his brother George, who became one of St John's wealthiest citizens, residing in a large detached house on Waterloo Street (1.13).¹⁰

Not until the 1850s is there evidence of a connection between the Crosthwaite and Carvill families. Shortly after William Carvill's return to Ireland in 1850, he married John Crosthwaite's only daughter Eliza Maria in Kingstown.¹¹ As part of the marriage settlement, Crosthwaite entrusted over twenty-eight acres of his estate at Woodpark in

⁶ An example are the Cork Quaker merchants J & T. Carroll and Harvey & Deaves. They were importers of timber and ships from Canada, but were also involved in the emigration business before the Famine. Richard S. Harrison, *Merchants, mystics and philanthropists: 350 years of Cork Quakers* (Cork, 2006), p. 193.

⁷ Edward Laxton, *The famine ships: The Irish exodus to America 1846-51* (London, 1997), p.23.

⁸ They appear to have been in business by 1857: a notice dating from October of that year announced the sale of a ship and its cargo named 'Emerald Isle' in Queenstown. The ship had been built in New Brunswick and the advertisement directed buyers to apply to William Carvill in St John's Quay in Dublin, or Francis Carvill in Newry. *Ex. Info*, Deirdre McEvoy, genealogist: *Freeman's Journal*, 1 Oct. 1857.

⁹ *Ibid.*, *Saint John Globe*, 18 Dec., 1884 and *The Daily Telegraph* (St John), 25 July 1884.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, *The Daily Telegraph* (St. John), 24 Sept. 1883 & 25 July 1884 & (<http://website.nbm-nmb.ca/Transition/english/details.>) (25 February 2013).

¹¹ *Belfast News-Letter*, 12 Feb. 1850.

Kingstown, and another twenty-one acres nearer the city in Rathgar.¹² Soon after the marriage John Crosthwaite became a town commissioner for Kingstown, a position that he would continue to hold for almost thirty years.¹³ By 1850, Michael Meade, as yet unrelated to the Carvills and Crosthwaites, was operating a building business from his premises in Great Brunswick Street. It appears in Henry Shaw's *Dublin Pictorial Guide* of 1850, as a three-storey two-bay property, beside that of his fellow builders Cockburn & Sons (1.14).¹⁴ In 1853 Meade moved to number 17 Westland Row, which he shared with the architect John J. Lyons, who had been involved in drawing the streetscapes for Shaw's Dublin guide.¹⁵ Lyons had just set up office and would prove an important contact for Meade, as founder of the building trade journal *The Dublin Builder*. Meade's earliest recorded project was the Turkish Baths at Lincoln Place in 1858, followed by two houses in Rathgar designed by the architect James Rawson Carroll, a young architect who had recently set up practice in Great Brunswick Street, in the same building that Meade had occupied a few years before. Meade began to benefit from a golden age of church building, as the lifting of anti-Catholic legislation enabled the clergy to commission major works to cater for a burgeoning laity.¹⁶ Gradually, he built up an ecclesiastical clientele, commencing with the Passionist Monastery at Mount Argus for the renowned architect James Joseph McCarthy (1.15).¹⁷ Meade also began work on the first of many public works: in 1858 he broke ground for a new building to the rear of the Four Courts, designed by James Higgins Owen, architect to the Board of Works.

As Meade's firm continued to expand, William Carvill was busy setting up a business of his own. During the early 1850s he established himself in the city as a corn merchant at number 38 Sir John Rogerson's Quay (1.16).¹⁸ Commuting from Kingstown

¹² RD, 1850, vol. 15, mem. 236 & NAI, Family and estate papers, maps and rentals, Copy of original lease from 18 Aug. 1863, ground in Rathgar, William Carvill to William Todd (Acc. No. 1146/3/2).

Curiously, the Woodpark lands appear to have been transferred back to Crosthwaite two years later. RD, 1852, vol. 12, mem. 74.

¹³ *Thom's*, 1851-1880. In order to qualify as a commissioner, Crosthwaite would have been required to either occupy a house worth at least £20 per year or to own a property worth at least £70 a year.

¹⁴ Henry Shaw, *The Dublin pictorial guide & directory of 1850* (repr. Belfast, 1988).

¹⁵ IAA, Dictionary of Irish Architects 1720-1940, Michael Meade.

¹⁶ Brendan Grimes, *Majestic shrines and graceful sanctuaries, the church architecture of Patrick Byrne, 1783-1864* (Dublin, 2009), p. 2.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* The original architect was Patrick Byrne but McCarthy took over the commission in 1859.

¹⁸ *Thom's*, 1853.

in 1853, he and his wife Eliza were residing in a house at lower Clarinda Terrace. Carvill also began work on the property in Rathgar which stood on an elevated site above the meandering Dodder River. It consisted of an assembly of structures, including a mill-race, a calico mill and a medium-sized early-Victorian house. He replaced the existing industrial structures with a saw mill and began to adapt the house as his own residence (1.17).¹⁹ However, as Carvill pursued business interests in Dublin, he continued to work in partnership with his brother George in Canada. In 1853 they were among those campaigning for the extension of the port of St. John in New Brunswick, to facilitate the shipping of lumber from their saw mill. In the summer of 1857, *The Belfast News-Letter* proudly announced the launch of a new ship from St. John: '....a splendid ship, of about 1,000 tons burthen, called the William Carvill, after one of our enterprising merchants, who at present resides in the mother country.'²⁰

Throughout 1859, the merchants William Carvill and Michael Meade published advertisements side by side, auctioning off a wide range of timbers arriving on separate ships from Canada (1.18 & 1.19). Due to a post-Famine rise in construction activity, timber imports had been rising in recent years, and in 1859 Dublin imported almost twice as much lumber as Belfast.²¹ Meade was in the process of building a saw mill of his own at numbers 152-162 Great Brunswick Street that year, on a large plot adjoining the terminus of the Dublin and Kingstown railway (1.16). A carpenter by trade, it was a natural choice for Meade, but it would also provide him with an important material resource for his growing building empire. The extensive sawing, planing and moulding mills were built to house 'powerful machinery' to process timber for building.²² The saw mill must have been a conspicuous sight in the city – its 150-foot-high chimney was reported to be 'the tallest structure of its class in Dublin.'²³

¹⁹ Dublin City Council, Planning records, conservation report by Thomas C. McGimsey Architect, Nov. 2007, p.4 (planning application ref. 1020/08).

²⁰ *Ex. Info.*, Deirdre McEvoy, genealogist: *Belfast News-Letter*, 22 May 1857 & *Canadian News and British American Intelligence*, 10 June 1857.

²¹ Andy Bielenberg, *Ireland and the industrial revolution: the impact of the industrial revolution on Irish industry, 1801-1922* (London & New York, 2009), p.197.

²² *Freeman's Journal*, 13 July 1859.

²³ *Dublin Builder*, 1 June 1862.

1.3 The Housing Boom

By 1859, the outskirts around Dublin were in the course of rapid transformation:

Passing to the south side we find the same steady march in the path of improvement which has so long characterized Rathmines, Rathgar, Roundtown, &c., where villas, single and semi-detached, terraces, &c., are springing up with an almost fairy-like rapidity, and the green sward speedily gives way to macadamized roads and populous thoroughfares, justifying the supposition that there is a universal move in that direction.²⁴

Throughout the house building boom of the 1860s, Meade's business continued to prosper.²⁵ In 1862, *The Dublin Builder* announced that he was in the process of rebuilding two houses in Eustace Street for the solicitor Mr Pickering.²⁶ The designer was William Caldbeck, who had trained under the eminent architect William Deane Butler and who was also working with Meade on a new Italianate premises at numbers 24/25 Grafton Street (1.20). Ecclesiastical work continued to thrive, and during this period Meade worked with the architects Pugin & Ashlin on a cathedral and four Catholic parish churches. Ashlin was the son of a Cork merchant and had received a privileged education in Belgium and England. In 1860, he went into partnership with the London architect Edward Welby Pugin and opened a Dublin office to run the Irish side of the practice.²⁷ With a predominately Roman Catholic clientele, Ashlin soon became the leading ecclesiastical architect in Ireland, completing more than sixty church and cathedral projects throughout the country. One of these was the Church of Saints Augustine and John on Thomas Street in Dublin, which Meade began work on in 1866 (1.21). It remains one of Dublin's most conspicuous buildings, and has been described as

²⁴ *Dublin Builder*, 1 Jan. 1859.

²⁵ Dublin's housing market went through a series of peaks and troughs during the nineteenth century, but 'the most sustained housing boom' took place during the 1860s. Mary E. Daly, 'The growth of Victorian Dublin' in Mary E. Daly, Mona Hearn & Peter Pearson (eds.), *Dublin's Victorian houses*, (Dublin, 1998), p.16.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 15 Jan. 1862.

²⁷ IAA, Dictionary of Irish Architects 1720-1940, Pugin & Ashlin.

‘the most original Victorian Gothic church in Dublin.’²⁸ Two years later, the foundation stone was laid for Pugin & Ashlin’s largest commission: St. Colman’s Cathedral in Queenstown, Co. Cork (1.22). Meade was involved in the first phase of the project, but when the design was significantly altered he refused to negotiate the contract and left the site. Thereafter, work on the cathedral was carried out in a piecemeal fashion and did not reach completion for another fifty years. O’Dwyer declares it as ‘one of the grandest and certainly the most costly Irish ecclesiastical building of the Victorian era.’²⁹ Other collaborations included parish church commissions in the expanding Dublin suburbs, such as the church of St. Patrick in Monkstown (1861-66) and the church of the Sacred Heart in Donnybrook (1863-66).

During this time, Meade became involved in one of the largest public works projects in Ireland: Ennis Lunatic Asylum (1863-66) designed by the Limerick architect William Fogerty (1.23). This enormous complex of buildings was built in an Italianate style and was Fogerty’s largest commission. It cost £35,000 to construct and was so large it was said ‘one would imagine this establishment could accommodate all the indoor and outdoor idiots, madmen, women, and children in the whole kingdom of Ireland.’³⁰ As work began on the asylum, Meade was appointed to build the Dublin cattle market in Prussia Street by Dublin Corporation. The facility would become the biggest cattle market in Europe, serving the needs of the ever-growing populations of Ireland and Britain.³¹ Operations continued unabated at Meade’s Saw Mills in Great Brunswick Street, providing many of the raw materials for his building contracts. Advertisements boasted of ‘First class Workmen, selected from the Regular Carpenters of the City’ who manufactured doors and windows, staircases, shutters and even green houses. It reported that only the best seasoned timber was used and that goods were ‘forwarded to all parts of the Kingdom’ (1.24).³²

²⁸ Christine Casey, *Dublin* (New Haven and London, 2005), p.627.

²⁹ Frederick O’Dwyer, ‘A Victorian Partnership-The Architecture of Pugin & Ashlin’, in Royal Institute of the Architects of Ireland, *150 Years of Architecture in Ireland* (Dublin, 1989), p.55.

³⁰ Quoted in Brendan O’Donoghue, *The Irish county surveyors, 1834-1944* (Dublin, 2007), p.89.

³¹ Liam Clare, ‘The Dublin Cattle Market’, in *Dublin Historical Record*, lv, no.2 (2002), p.180.

³² *Freeman’s Journal*, 28 Apr. 1862.

William Carvill's timber business was also expanding, as he continued to receive shipments from around the world. The majority of cargo came from Canada, but increasingly trade extended to new colonies in Central America and East Prussia.³³ In addition to his business as a corn merchant on Sir John Rogerson's Quay, he operated a timber yard in the Custom House Docks.³⁴ On arrival in Dublin the lumber was auctioned off at his dockland premises, while the remainder went for processing at Rathgar.³⁵ He continued to alter Rathgar House, his large Victorian property adjoining the mills: a layer of Italianate embellishments was added to the exterior, including a bracketed cornice in granite and the addition of single paned windows framed with elaborate surrounds.³⁶ New streetscapes also began to emerge in the fields surrounding Rathgar House. By 1865 Carvill had erected eight semi-detached houses: to the north were the first four dwellings of Rostrevor Terrace (after his birth place of Rostrevor in Co. Down), while to the east were two pairs of houses on a new road named Orwell Park (1.25).³⁷

Lord de Vesci, one of the principal landowners in Kingstown, described John Crosthwaite as having 'speculated very largely in property in the township.'³⁸ In 1860 *The Dublin Builder* noted that 'six houses of a very superior class, with handsome oriel windows carried up two storeys in height, and filled with plate glass, are being erected by Mr Crosthwaite at Kingstown.'³⁹ By 1865 two terraces were complete, each with sixteen houses facing each other across a common green area called Crosthwaite Park (1.26)⁴⁰ and this development is a fine example of a seaside Victorian terrace, with broad stucco mouldings and decorative entrance doorcases. The 1860s also saw Michael Meade acquiring sites for house building. In 1862 the company was in the process of building eight houses and a villa in Bray for William Dargan, the railway entrepreneur.⁴¹ Dargan was 'the great figure of the Irish Railway Age' and was responsible for the development of practically every such project in the country, including Ireland's first line

³³ *Ibid.*, 6 & 7 May 1862.

³⁴ *Thom's*, 1861-70.

³⁵ *Thom's*, 1860-65. He also continued to operate as a corn merchant at 38 Sir John Rogerson's Quay until at least 1865.

³⁶ McGimsey, conservation report, p. 5.

³⁷ OS, 1865, Rathgar & RD, 1866, vol. 32, mem. 270. In 1866 No. 6 Rostrevor Terrace was demised to a Thomas Daniel, who was living in the house.

³⁸ Mary E. Daly, *Dublin: the deposed capital, a social and economic history 1860-1914* (Cork, 1984), p. 195.

³⁹ Peter Pearson, *Dun Laoghaire, Kingstown* (Dublin, 1981), p.100.

⁴⁰ OS 1865, Kingstown & *Thom's*, 1865.

⁴¹ Irish Architectural Archive, Dictionary of Irish Architects 1720-1940, Michael Meade.

from Kingstown to Dublin in 1834. An enthusiastic supporter of Bray, Dargan determined to make it the 'Brighton of Ireland'⁴² and it seems that by 1862 development there had been 'literally gigantic; houses here, there, everywhere' with 'hotels of monster form' catering for the crowds arriving during the summer season.⁴³ Meade's Bray houses were designed by the architects Lanyon, Lynn & Lanyon who had recently set up partnership in Belfast and Dublin.⁴⁴ In 1863, buoyed by his burgeoning building business, he acquired a seaside terrace in Sandymount and moved in to one of the houses with his family the following year.⁴⁵

Meade then turned his attention to Ailesbury Road, a new thoroughfare that had just been opened up, created by the Pembroke Estate to connect Donnybrook with Sydney Parade Station.⁴⁶ Extending for over a mile in length, Meade was the first to build there, acquiring a prime corner site of over two acres on the junction with the Merrion Road. A testimony to his growing success, is the grandiose Italianate villa which he built for himself in 1865 (1.27). Its most striking feature is the seven-storey tower said to be modelled on Osborne House, Queen Victoria's country retreat on the Isle of Wight. A spiral staircase rises through the campanile, affording views from the city to the sea and the Wicklow mountains. As De Breffny and Ffolliott have noted, suburban houses of this scale were a rare sight in Ireland, where there was always a good selection of Georgian properties on the market.⁴⁷ Meade was clearly determined to put his stamp on the new suburbs, and he continued to acquire plots next to his mansion on Ailesbury Road. By 1870, the Meades had completed no less than ten semi-detached houses there, providing the catalyst for future development (1.28).⁴⁸ Catering to an elite class, they were let to high-ranking professionals, or those in the upper levels of the public

⁴² Maurice Craig, *Dublin, 1660-1880* (Dublin, 1980), p.302.

⁴³ *Dublin Builder*, 1 Jan. 1862

⁴⁴ Irish Architectural Archive, Dictionary of Irish Architects 1720-1940, Michael Meade & Lanyon, Lynn & Lanyon. Other residential contracts by Meade included houses in Kingstown for a Mr. P. Madden and the Countess of Glengall's mansion in Cahir. *Irish Builder*, 1 June 1862.

⁴⁵ Private collection, original assignment from June 1947, premises in Sandymount, Miss Mary Monica Meade to John Joseph Shaw & *Thom's*, 1864.

⁴⁶ Eve McAulay, 'The origins and early development of the Pembroke estate beyond the Grand Canal 1816-1880' (Ph.D. thesis, Trinity College, Dublin, 2003), p.217.

⁴⁷ Brian De Breffny & Rosemary Ffolliott, *The houses of Ireland: domestic architecture from the medieval castle to the Edwardian villa* (London, 1975), p.216.

⁴⁸ *Thom's*, 1870.

service.⁴⁹ These high-quality residences have ensured that Ailesbury Road remains one of the most valuable streets in Dublin today.

By 1870 William Carvill had involved himself in a variety of businesses in Ireland and abroad. The partnership with his brother George had dissolved in 1869, but he continued to receive shipments of timber from Canada. In May of that year he prepared to auction off over 31,084 pieces of spruce deals and 12,000 sawn laths arriving from St. John New Brunswick.⁵⁰ Throughout the 1870s Carvill continued to acquire more property, mainly in his home of County Down but also in Dublin.⁵¹ He and his wife lived on a forty-six acre estate in Rathgar⁵² and were parents to nine children, the eldest of which was a daughter named Catherine.⁵³ In December 1870 the Meade and Carvill families were formally connected, when Catherine Carvill married Michael Meade's son at a ceremony in Rathfarnham. The two families had much in common: each were part of a rising Catholic merchant class, and had used their trade to speculate around their homes. Catherine was the eldest child of a Crosthwaite/Carvill union, and her marriage to a Meade marked the convergence of the three families. Each side brought two properties to the marriage: Joseph Meade entrusted two houses on Ailesbury Road and Catherine Carvill conveyed Nos. 13 and 14 Rostrevor Terrace (1.29 & 1.30).⁵⁴ The Carvill properties were the last two houses on the terrace and had been completed fairly recently.⁵⁵ The newlyweds moved in to No. 153 Rathgar Road, a three bedroom terraced house nearby which Joseph's father had built c. 1858-59 (1.31).

⁴⁹ *Thom's*, 1875-1885. Most of the occupants were solicitors, but other residents included an army colonel, a land agent and a county court judge.

⁵⁰ *Freeman's Journal*, 4 May 1870. He also may have been the same William Carvill manufacturing 'Dublin Pale Ale' from a premises in Belfast. *Ibid.*, 12 Aug., 1870.

⁵¹ RD, 1870-79, William Carvill. Out of a total of twenty-one deeds registered by him throughout the 1870s, eight relate to land in Dublin.

⁵² The Ireland CMC Genealogy Record Project, property owners Dublin county circa 1870: Carvill is listed as the owner of 46 acres at Rathgar House, Orwell Road, Rathgar (www.cmcpr.net) (10 Jan. 2010).

⁵³ *Ex. Info.*, Deirdre McEvoy, genealogist: Carvill family tree.

⁵⁴ RD, 1871, vol. 1, mem. 140.

⁵⁵ *Thom's*, 1870 & 1875.

1.4 Meade & Son

After his marriage, Joseph Meade began to have a more active role in the expanding building empire. In 1871 he became partner in his father's firm and the company was renamed 'Meade & Son'.⁵⁶ Working from the saw mills in Great Brunswick Street, Joseph began to acquire property in the city. In 1872, the Pembroke Estate wrote to him for the third time about rent due on a holding in Denzille Street and the following year he was party to a mortgage on a number of properties in Dublin and Wexford: two plots on the Portobello Estate, numbers 10 and 12 Crosthwaite Park and thirty-five acres of ground in Kellystown, County Wexford.⁵⁷ The 1870s was certainly Meade & Son's busiest period in terms of building activity, beginning with the laying of the foundation stone for the new Gaiety Theatre in South King Street (1.32)⁵⁸. The inspiration for the project came from the Gunn brothers, who had run a music business nearby on Grafton Street. They appointed C. J. Phipps, the eminent theatre architect who designed a 2,000 seater auditorium on the site.⁵⁹ The building was completed in a record five months, with 'workmen labouring through the nights by torchlight'.⁶⁰ The *Irish Builder* considered the design too utilitarian but expressed confidence in the calibre of the builders: 'the contractors are Messrs. Meade and Son, of Great Brunswick-street' it announced, 'there is little doubt but the builder will carry out his contract according to design and specification.'⁶¹

The Catholic Church continued to be a lucrative source of work for Meade & Son. By 1870 the firm had completed five ecclesiastical projects for Pugin & Ashlin.⁶² Although the partnership had been dissolved in 1868, Ashlin carried on under his own name, enjoying a highly successful practice. Throughout the 1870s he continued to collaborate with Meade, as they worked together on at least three new church projects. The largest of these was the Church of the Annunciation in Rathfarnham, not far from

⁵⁶ IAA, Dictionary of Irish Architects 1720-1940, Joseph Meade.

⁵⁷ RD, 1871, vol. 20, mem. 17.

⁵⁸ *Irish Builder*, 1 July 1871.

⁵⁹ IAA, Dictionary of Irish Architects 1720-1940, Charles John Phipps. Phipps went on to design other concert halls in Ireland, including the Grand Concert Hall in Dublin and the Theatre Royal and Opera House in Cork.

⁶⁰ Douglas Bennett, *Encyclopaedia of Dublin* (Dublin, 1991), p. 108.

⁶¹ *Irish Builder*, 1 Nov. 1871.

⁶² Irish Architectural Archive, Dictionary of Irish Architects 1720-1940, George Coppinger Ashlin.

Carvill's saw mill. *Meade & Son* also began to break ground for some key buildings in the growing suburb of Kingstown, including the new town hall (1.33) and St. Michael's Hospital (1.34). As townships all over Britain expanded to fulfil the desires of a rising middle class, civic building had emerged as symbols of urban pride and identity. The inspiration for the town hall came from John Crosthwaite who, as we have seen, was now related to Michael Meade by marriage. Crosthwaite was by this time chairman of the township and in his campaign for a new civic building he put up £20 in prize money for the best design.⁶³ The competition was won by the Dublin architect John Loftus Robinson, who had recently set up practice in Great Brunswick Street. Built in the style of a Venetian Gothic palace, the building is a reflection of the wealth and confidence of the township. Meade and Robinson worked together next on St. Michael's Hospital, but the project was more functional in design, built to 'meet the wants of the poor in Kingstown'.⁶⁴ The Sisters of Mercy who commissioned the project engaged Meade a number of years later to build the new Jervis Street Hospital in Dublin. Towards the end of the decade, Meade and Robinson worked together again on two more schemes: a new wing to the male orphanage in Glasnevin and a new laundry and Magdalen asylum at Glasthule.

Although Meade's firm was busy with civic projects in Kingstown, they continued to be involved in domestic building. The Dublin Artisans' Dwellings Company was established in 1876 by members of the Dublin Sanitary Association. The company was made up mainly of Dublin's Unionist business elite and became the 'only sizeable semi-philanthropic housing body in Ireland' which aimed to build housing for the working classes.⁶⁵ *Meade & Son* were the first contractors to get involved, and constructed a housing scheme in Buckingham Street, designed by the Belfast-born architect Sir Thomas Drew as a 'model tenement block'.⁶⁶ As his building business expanded, Michael Meade became increasingly involved in land deals. The agent of the Pembroke estate continued to write to him frequently, requesting overdue rent on

⁶³ Pearson, *Kingstown*, p.107.

⁶⁴ *The Architect*, 20 Nov. 1875.

⁶⁵ Murray Fraser, *John Bull's other homes, state housing and British policy in Ireland, 1883-1922* (Liverpool, 1996), p.71.

⁶⁶ Daly, 'The growth of Victorian Dublin', p.45.

various leases in the Pembroke Estate. In 1873 he was in arrears on a total of six properties there: four in Ailesbury Road and two in Sandymount.⁶⁷

Meanwhile, tragedy struck for the Carvill and Meade families. In 1875 William Carvill's wife (daughter of John Crosthwaite) died at the age of forty-six, leaving behind nine children aged between eleven and twenty-four. The eldest was Catherine, married to Joseph Meade and living in Rathgar Road (1.31). They too experienced tragedy in the period, losing three of their five children between 1876 and 1879. The first was Elizabeth, a 'dearly beloved daughter' who died of bronchitis at fourteen months, followed by two boys: Michael (infant) and Joseph (aged three and a half). In addition, two of Joseph's brothers and a two of Catherine's siblings died during these years. Premature deaths such as this were not unusual during the period; Sir Charles Cameron, Dublin chief health and medical officer, lost five of his eight children early in life.⁶⁸ Frequent outbreaks of disease transcended class divides and were often related to poor sanitary provision.

By 1880 Catherine and her husband Joseph Meade had moved from Rathgar, to one of the Meade houses at number 19 Ailesbury Road. Soon Joseph began speculating in another street closer to the city, at Northumberland Road (1.35). Also located in the Pembroke estate, this thoroughfare had been one of the first to be opened up in the new suburbs and was largely complete by the time Meade entered the scene.⁶⁹ Finished by 1885, his scheme is in the High Victorian Gothic style and displays a high degree of architectural sophistication.⁷⁰ His mark is proudly displayed in the signature Meade monogram, 'MM', which is cast in terracotta on the front gable (1.36). With this first set of houses, Joseph Meade was instrumental in creating the most successful architectural composition on the road. He also continued to acquire property in other growing suburbs: in 1882 for example, he sold an interest in a holding at Brennans' Terrace,

⁶⁷ NAI, PEP, Letter books, vol. 18, p.578, John E. Vernon to Michael Meade Esq., 15 Feb. 1873, (Acc. No. 97/46/3/18).

⁶⁸ Daly, 'The growth of Victorian Dublin', p.10.

⁶⁹ RD, 1882, vol. 6, mem. 76.

⁷⁰ *Thom's*, 1885, Northumberland Road.

Bray's earliest and most complete seafront terrace.⁷¹ He was then resident at a property there named 'Bella Vista', which probably served as a seasonal home.

Building work at *Meade & Son* seemed to slow down during the 1880s, reflecting the general depression in the construction industry, since the agricultural recession of 1879.⁷² For the first time property deeds began to appear under the company name, rather than that of the family. A deed dated 1884 refers to a number of allotments in Donnybrook, consisting of over two acres with houses, mills and offices.⁷³ In addition, large parts of the Meade saw mills were sold off to the adjoining railway company, possibly forming part of a compulsory purchase agreement.⁷⁴ *Meade & Son* were also involved in number of commercial building projects in and around the city centre. During the rebuilding of number 110 Grafton Street for the house agent James H. North, the neighbouring building collapsed, resulting in a lawsuit against both Meade and North (1.37). The firm was also involved nearby at numbers 96-100 Grafton Street (now Weirs) when they built a block of new shops for Dublin Corporation (1.38).

By 1880 Meade had laid out approximately £30,000 in building on the prestigious Pembroke Estate.⁷⁵ However, John Vernon continued to write to the firm about overdue rents on their holdings, which by 1884 had amounted to 'a large sum' of over £459.⁷⁶ This did not seem to affect their standing in the township however; that year Michael Meade was elected vice chairman of the Pembroke Commissioners,⁷⁷ while his son Joseph was a Justice for the Peace and a guardian of the South Dublin Union.⁷⁸ In 1884 tragedy struck the Meade and Carvill families again. In April of that year Joseph's wife Catherine died, followed five months later by the death of their two and a half year old daughter. The causes of death are not known but Joseph Meade was left with three

⁷¹ RD, 1882, vol. 19, mem. 87 & National Inventory of Architectural Heritage, Bray, Brennan's Terrace (www.buildingsofireland.ie) (13 Mar. 2011).

⁷² Daly, *Deposed capital*, p. 61 & Bielenberg, *Ireland and the industrial revolution*, p. 161.

⁷³ RD, 1884, vol. 50, mem. 75 & RD, 1885, vol. 47, mem. 66.

⁷⁴ RD, 1885, vol. 51, memorandum 277 & 278.

⁷⁵ McAulay, *Pembroke estate*, p. 217.

⁷⁶ NAI, PEP, Letter books, vol. 20, p.795, John E. Vernon to Meade Messrs. M. & Son, 5 Jan. 1884, (Acc. No. 97/46/3/20).

⁷⁷ *Freeman's Journal*, 19 June 1884.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 4 August 1882.

remaining children between seven and twelve years of age. That year he was elected a member of Dublin Corporation as alderman for Trinity Ward.⁷⁹

1.5 The passing of the founding fathers

The 1880s also saw the passing of the older generation, with the deaths of William Carvill (1884), John Crosthwaite (1884) and Michael Meade (1886). Carvill and Meade died in their seventies but Crosthwaite had reached a ripe old age of ninety. He died at his residence at Crosthwaite Park and his funeral was attended by the Carvill and Meade families. The obituary revealed the full extent of Crosthwaite's standing in the township:

The deceased was a Catholic, and took a leading part in all the affairs of Kingstown for the past thirty years. Mr. Crosthwaite was eight times elected chairman of the Kingstown Town Commissioners, the position being rendered vacant by his death. It was during his term of office that the foundation stone of the magnificent town hall and courthouse was laid in 1878. Mr. Crosthwaite was also a J P for the county of Dublin, and one of the oldest, if not the very oldest, inhabitants of Kingstown.⁸⁰

Joseph Meade must have been a trusted confidant of Carvill and Crosthwaite, as he was appointed executor of both wills.⁸¹ He was also appointed guardian of Carvill's two youngest sons, who were under twenty-one at the time of their fathers' death. William Carvill died with assets worth in excess of £44,687, a substantial fortune for the time, and similar to that of his father-in-law John Crosthwaite.⁸² The news reached New Brunswick in Canada, where local newspapers announced the death of the former St.

⁷⁹ Dublin City Archives, Lord Mayors Biographies, Joseph Michael Meade (Acc. No. R1/01/07).

⁸⁰ *Freeman's Journal*, 19 July 1884.

⁸¹ NAI, Calendar of all grants of probate, 1885, William Carvill. John Crosthwaite was also appointed executor of William Carvill's will, but Crosthwaite predeceased Carvill by five months.

⁸² NAI, Card index, copy of original grant of probate of William Carvill, Rathgar House, Dublin, dated February 1885. (Acc. No. T6875).

John merchant, 'proprietor of the well-known Rathgar Mills' in Dublin.⁸³ Carvill's will stated that a 'considerable portion' of his assets consisted of shares in ships, which had fallen in value by the time of his death. It appears that he did not wish his children to carry on his business, as he instructed the gradual winding down of the timber firm.

In May 1886, Michael Meade died in his mansion in Ailesbury Road after a long illness. *The Irish Times* paid tribute to the 'eminent builder and contractor', who had erected many churches and public buildings in the city.⁸⁴ *The Freeman's Journal* was equally complimentary:

For more than thirty years the deceased was the head of an extensive and important business as a builder and contractor, which he carried on with energy, prudence, and success, realising as the reward a handsome fortune. Mr. Meade was held in the highest esteem for his sterling qualities, and his influence and purse were at all times cheerfully given to the promotion of the popular cause and the interests of charity and religion.⁸⁵

Michael Meade died with assets worth over £32,442 (equivalent to 477 times the yearly salary of a building labourer) and quite the achievement considering Meade's humble beginnings as a carpenter.⁸⁶ Although his wealth was less than that of Crosthwaite and Carvill, this was about to change with the next generation. His valuable house property in the Dublin suburbs was absorbed in to his will and his children were to receive the rental income for the remainder of the lease term.⁸⁷ His son Joseph inherited the building firm at the age of forty-seven and thereafter his business and political career continued to soar. In that year he was elected to Dublin Corporation as alderman for the Trinity Ward. Building was in a depressed state during the 1880s and the firm completed

⁸³ *Ex. Info.* Deirdre McEvoy, genealogist, *Saint John Globe*, 18 Dec. 1884 & *The Daily Telegraph* (St. John), 19 Dec. 1884.

⁸⁴ *Irish Times*, 26 May 1886.

⁸⁵ *Freeman's Journal*, 26 May 1886.

⁸⁶ NAI, Calendar of all grants of probate, 1887, Michael Meade.

⁸⁷ St. Michael's House Archive, copy of will and three codicils of Michael Meade, dated 11 Jan. 1883.

few projects, but the saw mills in Great Brunswick Street continued to operate (1.39).⁸⁸ Joseph Meade continued to speculate in the Pembroke estate and in 1887 he acquired a second plot on Northumberland Road, beside the red-brick terrace he had completed two years previously. He also married for the second time: his wife Ada was the daughter of the late Thomas Willis of Ormond Quay. Willis had been a well-known apothecary, a purveyor of medicines and campaigner for better social and sanitary conditions for the working classes.⁸⁹ His daughter was eighteen years of age when she married Meade, who was thirty years her senior. By this time he was in the process of completing a second scheme on a plot at Northumberland Road, intended for their marriage settlement (1.40).⁹⁰

After his father's death, Joseph and his family moved to the family home, St. Michael's on Ailesbury Road (1.27). By this stage, he had become an important business and political figure in the city and in 1887 was elected to the board of the Hibernian Bank.⁹¹ Two years later, as High Sheriff for Dublin City, he could be found selling a large site on Grand Canal Quay for a considerable £14,000.⁹² The position of High Sheriff was one favoured by high-ranking nationalists and Meade's election marked his rise through the hierarchy of local government. In January 1889, some members of the Pembroke Town Commissioners proposed him to the board, and although the motion was not passed, the chairman was anxious to elect the builder, since he had 'such a large stake in the township'.⁹³

In the summer of 1890, Dublin Corporation proposed Alderman Joseph Meade for the office of lord mayor (1.41). Meade was praised by the chairman for his 'great intelligence and industry' in a report carried by *The Freeman's Journal*: 'Alderman Meade and his family had been connected with the city for a number of years. He was a large employer, a merchant prince, respected by the citizens of all classes, and in his

⁸⁸ Daly, *Deposed capital*, p. 61 & Bielenberg, *Ireland and the industrial revolution*, p. 161.

⁸⁹ Thomas Willis, *The hidden Dublin, facts connected with the social and sanitary condition the working classes in the city of Dublin* (Dublin, 1845).

⁹⁰ RD, 1887, vol. 7, mem. 199.

⁹¹ *Freeman's Journal*, 15 Feb. 1887.

⁹² RD, 1889, vol. 50, mem. 6.

⁹³ *Freeman's Journal*, 22 Jan. 1889.

opinion the Council could make no better selection for the office of Lord Mayor.⁹⁴ Joseph Meade appears to have been a successful and popular mayor. During his first year in office, he presided over many important developments in the city, such as the introduction of electric lighting, improvements in drainage and plans for a new fish and vegetable market. The following year the Corporation praised him for his skills as a public speaker and this, combined with his 'sound practical judgment', rendered him most deserving of a second term of office. In January 1892, the Right Honourable Meade began the second year of the mayoralty, 'with the entire approval and good wishes of every section of his fellow-citizens'.⁹⁵ Soon afterwards, he was awarded with an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws at Trinity College Dublin. When the university celebrated its tercentenary later that year, Meade commemorated the occasion by holding a grand reception and ball in the Mansion House.⁹⁶ The year 1892 must have been a busy one for the mayor, as he went on to contest Stephen's Green in the Parnellite interest but was narrowly defeated by Mr. Justice Kenny, a Catholic unionist lawyer who later went on to serve as solicitor-general for Ireland.⁹⁷

Building work at *Meade & Son* continued to be relatively quiet during the mayoralty years, despite the upturn in the economy in recent years.⁹⁸ Meade continued in his role as trustee of a number of estates, including those of Mary Gray, William Carvill and John Crosthwaite. He continued to acquire property in the city and in 1890 he bought the leasehold on five Georgian properties on Lower Mount Street (1.42).⁹⁹ Correspondence with the Pembroke Estate increased during this period, and in 1893 the agent gave him permission to build eight houses on the Strand Road in Sandymount.¹⁰⁰ Towards the end of the decade Meade turned his attention to Merrion View Avenue, a

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 8 July 1890.

⁹⁵ *Irish Times*, 2 Jan. 1892.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 6 July 1892.

⁹⁷ *Freeman's Journal*, 6 July 1892.

⁹⁸ This seems to have occurred towards the end of the 1880s. Daly, *Deposed capital*, p. 63 & Bielenberg, *Ireland and the industrial revolution*, p. 161.

⁹⁹ He also sought leaseholds on four adjacent houses, but Lord Pembroke was unwilling to part with them due to 'complications of title'. RD, 1890, vol. 21, mem. 241 & NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 22, p.291, Fane Vernon to The Rt. Hon. The Lord Mayor of Dublin, 15 Jan. 1892 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/22).

¹⁰⁰ NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 22, p. 590, Fane Vernon to The Rt. Hon. J. M. Meade (Acc. No. 97/46/3/22). It appears this scheme never came to light.

narrow road behind his home on Ailesbury Road. Lord Pembroke gave him permission to build ten new cottages there, providing he widen the roadway to forty feet.¹⁰¹

In 1893, Joseph Meade stepped down from the mayoralty and resumed his role as alderman for the Trinity Ward. That year, he was honoured with the ultimate distinction, with his appointment to the Privy Council.¹⁰² Meade's commercial expertise kept him eagerly sought after as an advisor on various boards: among his many roles he was chairman of the Hibernian Bank and Dublin Master Builders' Association as well as director of Boland's Mills and numerous other public companies.¹⁰³ His work as Lord Mayor was recognised in 1894, when the city's Aldermen and Councillors gathered at his mansion in Ailesbury Road. The officials made reference to his 'dignity and strict impartiality' and his 'practical knowledge and business capabilities'. To mark the occasion Sir Charles Cameron, the chief health and medical officer of Dublin, presented Mrs Meade with a tiara of diamonds and a marble bust of her husband by the artist Thomas Farrell (1.43).¹⁰⁴

1.6 Slum landlord

In 1894, Joseph Meade purchased eight properties on Henrietta Street, one of the city's most important Georgian streets.¹⁰⁵ Built for the elite in the early eighteenth century, the mansions are of an overwhelming scale, some double the width of a standard Georgian townhouse. Numbers 3, 4 and 5 are palatial in size and were occupied respectively by Owen Wynne (M.P. for Sligo), Baron Farnham and the Rt. Hon. John Ponsonby.¹⁰⁶ Meade's purchases equated to the whole of the north side of the street and he proceeded to strip out many of the original features such as grand staircases and valuable chimneypieces, turning the buildings to tenements (1.44). In

¹⁰¹ NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 24, p. 659, Fane Vernon to The Right Hon. J. M. Meade, 20 July 1899 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/24).

¹⁰² *Freeman's Journal*, 28 Jan. 1893.

¹⁰³ *Irish Times*, 16 July 1900 & *The Times*, 4 Jun. 1888.

¹⁰⁴ *Irish Times*, 19 Oct. 1893.

¹⁰⁵ RD, 1894, vol. 36, mem. 89.

¹⁰⁶ *Ex. Info.*, Melanie Hayes, Ph.D. candidate, Department of the History of Art and Architecture, Trinity College, Dublin (19 March 2013).

doing so, the builder transformed himself into 'one of the most notorious slum landlords of the late nineteenth century'.¹⁰⁷

While converting Georgian mansions for the poor, Meade continued building villas for the rich. By the close of 1894, Charles Ashworth had completed drawings for him on Shrewsbury Road, just north of his villa on Ailesbury Road. Ashworth was architect to the Dublin Artisan's Dwelling Company and although there is no record of previous collaborations, he and Meade were certainly acquainted.¹⁰⁸ By 1900 Shrewsbury House was complete, a fine detached six-bedroom residence on the junction with the Merrion Road (1.45). Four adjacent semi-detached houses followed, also designed by Ashworth (1.46). It seems that Meade was slow in developing these sites as John Vernon, agent to the Pembroke Estate agent wrote to him frequently about lack of progress during this time. By the turn of the century Joseph Meade's property empire was worth a substantial fortune, amounting to £60,000 in Pembroke and Rathmines and £50,000 in Dublin city.¹⁰⁹ The building firm was engaged on a number of housing projects, including the Guinness Trust tenements and eighty-three houses in Rialto for the Dublin Artisan's Dwellings Company. They were also commissioned to carry out £18,384 in additions to The National Gallery, which had been designed by Thomas Newenham Deane.

For all his status and acclaim, Meade appears to have been a slum landlord, and the nine mansions that he presided over in Henrietta Street produced a substantial annual rent of £1,500. Debate continued to rage in the council chambers on the state of the poor in Dublin city, who inhabited insanitary and overcrowded houses such as those in Henrietta Street. The controversy reached the House of Commons, where it was reported that Meade '...was the owner of a considerable number of the tenement houses complained of, and which the Corporation were desirous of sweeping away'.¹¹⁰ As Mark Crinson has shown, several leading Dublin councillors were known to be slum

¹⁰⁷ Peter Pearson, *The heart of Dublin* (Dublin, 2000), p. 361.

¹⁰⁸ Charles A. Ashworth of 2 Ballsbridge & 42 Dame Street made three visits to Lord Mayor Meade at the Mansion House in 1891. NLI, Visitors' book of Alderman Joseph Meade, Lord Mayor of Dublin, 27 Jan. 1891- 2 Aug. 1892 (Acc. No. Ms. 19,707, acc. 3383).

¹⁰⁹ *Irish Times*, 26 Jun 1900.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

landlords and the former lord mayor was one of them.¹¹¹ Yet Meade was also known for his philanthropy, and was a founder of the association for the housing of the very poor.¹¹² How then do we equate the philanthropic endeavours of Joseph Meade with his notoriety as a slum landlord? Hypocrisy is certainly suggested in a cynical cartoon which appeared some years after his death. During a visit to a Dublin slum, a public health inspector queried the identity of the landlord (1.47):

.....and being told he is the eminent philanthropist who represents the Kill-em-all Ward, he wearily remarks that his eyesight is growing worse each year, then retires to make room for the doctor, coroner and undertaker. And Public Health goes to sleep again, and the Slum-Owner takes the chair at a large and influential meeting for 'the better housing of the poor', and makes his audience weep with his heart-rending description of life in the tenements.¹¹³

Joseph Meade died at home suddenly in July 1900 at the age of sixty-one. Expressions of sorrow were heard from all quarters and he was hailed as one of the city's 'leading merchants and noblest citizens'.¹¹⁴ The funeral was reported to be one of the largest in living memory in the city, attended by the highest ranks of the professional and commercial class. In the streets around his villa on Ailesbury Road, long lines of carriages awaited the gentlemen who queued along the avenues to his house to leave their cards.¹¹⁵ When the hearse left St. Michael's and proceeded along the Merrion Road to Glasnevin Cemetery, thousands of people lined the route, where *The Irish Times* reported: 'most of them (gentlemen) raised their hats as the hearse passed, while the presence of so many ladies indicated their respect for the memory of Alderman Meade'.

¹¹¹ Mark Crinson, 'Georgianism and the Tenements, Dublin 1908-1926', in *Art History*, ix, No. 4 (Sept. 2006), pp 625-659.

¹¹² Daly, *Deposed capital*, p. 285.

¹¹³ *Ex. Info.*, Ciarán Wallace, *The Leprechaun Cartoon Monthly*, Oct. 1907.

¹¹⁴ *Irish Times*, 18 July 1900.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

Shortly after Joseph Meade's death, a total of 122 properties in his estate were put up for auction in James H. North's premises in Grafton Street. The auction showed the extent of his landholdings, which were located in major city streets such as Lower Mount Street, Lower Merrion Street and South William Street, as well as properties in the areas around the saw mills at Great Brunswick Street, Westland Row, Holles Street and Wentworth Place. The sale included a total of thirty-five houses in the Dublin suburbs, including two properties in Kingstown, seven in Rathmines and seventeen in the Pembroke estate. Bray was also represented, where four 'newly-built houses' were advertised and a house named 'Cloonada' on Bray Esplanade. The latter was described as 'a large and handsome residence, built by the late Right Hon. Dr. Meade for his own occupation and finished so as to leave little to be desired',¹¹⁶ now The Esplanade Hotel (1.48). An examination of the Registry of Deeds show that all of these 122 properties were sold after Meade's death.¹¹⁷ His son William completed any outstanding contracts and gradually wound down the timber and building empire. With some nine hundred employees, the closing of the firm led to a dramatic increase in unemployment among building workers in the city.¹¹⁸ In 1905 the family villa in Ailesbury Road and its business premises in Great Brunswick Street were finally sold off, ending sixty years of the Meade building legacy.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 14 Nov. 1900.

¹¹⁷ RD, 1900-1909, Ada W. Meade. A total of fifty-three Meade property indentures were registered between 1900 and 1903.

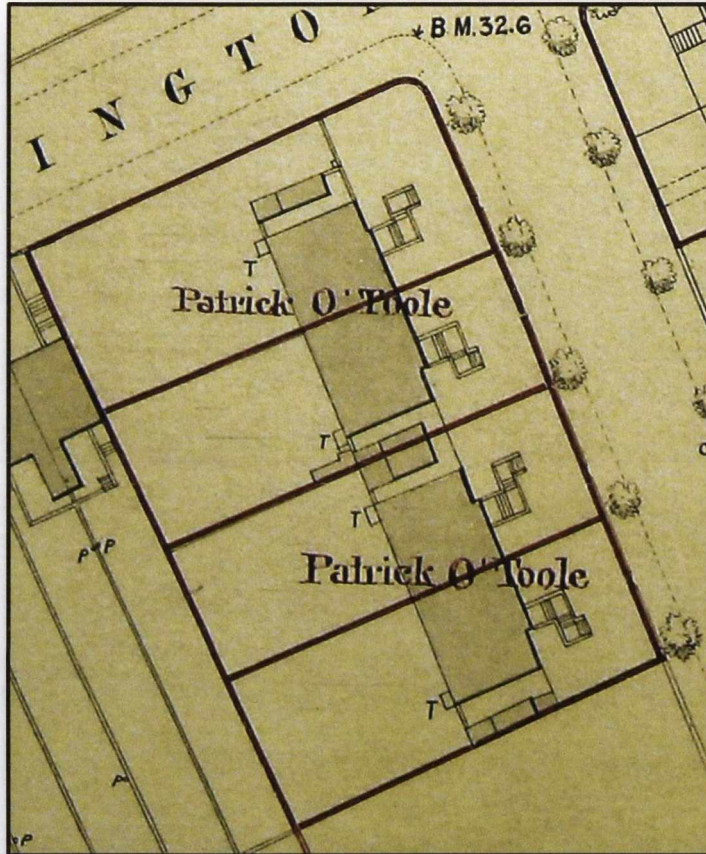
¹¹⁸ *Irish Times*, 16 July 1900 & Daly, *Deposed capital*, p. 63.

1.7 Conclusion

A strong work ethic and an entrepreneurial spirit brought success and wealth to the Meades, Carvills and Crosthwaites. Emerging in the post-Famine period, Michael Meade began in the carpentry trade, forging new opportunities in a rapidly advancing city. William Carvill worked in the iron and shipping trades in Canada, before returning to Dublin to set up a timber business of his own. Meanwhile John Crosthwaite was in business in the port of Kingstown, and remained town commissioner there for over thirty years. By the time of the house building boom of the 1860s, all three men were perfectly positioned to begin carving out new streetscapes in empty fields beyond the canals. The rows of houses which they built close to their homes, were a means of amassing wealth and financial security and these grand Victorian residences form some of the most imposing streets of the Dublin suburbs.

Of the three families, the Meades were the most successful, forming one of the largest building empires in the city. Joseph Meade built on his father's success and continued to expand the business, while forging a formidable political career of his own. As builder to the rich and slum landlord to the poor however, Joseph Meade was also an opportunistic capitalist who benefitted from both sides of the economic divide. He died as a new century dawned, leaving behind an estate worth over £89,000, including over 122 properties in the city and surrounding county. The wealth and influence amassed by the Meades, Carvills and Crosthwaites, are reflected in the high quality buildings they constructed in Dublin's Victorian suburbs.

Chapter 2



Land tenure, building control and local government

2.1 Introduction

Of the various periods of expansion and contraction experienced by Dublin's building industry in the nineteenth century, the 1860s has been defined as its 'most sustained housing boom'.¹ It was during this period of growth that John Crosthwaite, Michael Meade and William Carvill began building speculative houses in the Dublin suburbs. By the time the east and west sides of Crosthwaite Park were complete in Kingstown, William Carvill had begun building houses in Rathgar, while further eastwards Michael Meade had signed leases for plots in the exclusive Pembroke estate (2.1). Before examining these buildings in detail, this chapter aims to examine the particular contexts in which the developments emerged. Each suburb differs in the manner in which it was planned, which impacted on the type of housing built there. What were the factors that prepared Dublin's suburban landscape for the building boom of the 1860s? How did land ownership and local government contribute to the planning of these new suburban districts, and who was responsible for the provision of local services, including the laying of roads and the provision of infrastructure? As well as analyzing the roles of administrative structures, this chapter will consider some of the individuals who influenced suburban development, such as merchants, developers and architects. Through an investigation of the legal template, infrastructure and planning of these areas, this chapter provides a contextual framework for the architectural analysis to follow.

When Queen Victoria came to the throne in 1837, much of Dublin's hinterland was characterised by green fields, dotted with market gardens and suburban villages. During the course of the nineteenth century, new streets were carved out in these primarily rural areas, transforming them to new residential districts. Land owners were the gate keepers to speculation, as they were responsible for releasing land for building. But they also influenced the planning and development of the new suburbs, as it was either landlords or their lessees who dictated the width of roads, the layout of plots and the provision of parks.² Landowners came in two main guises: the landed family and the private individual. Of the former, a large tract of land belonged to Lord Pembroke, whose estate extended from Merrion Square, southwards along the coast to Blackrock and

¹ Mary E. Daly, 'The growth of Victorian Dublin' in Mary E. Daly, Mona Hearn & Peter Pearson (eds.), *Dublin's Victorian houses*, (Dublin, 1998), p.16.

² *Ibid.*, p.26.

inland to Mount Merrion. The Earl of Meath and Lord Palmerston had stakes in nearby Rathmines, while Lords Longford and de Vesci held most of the ground in Kingstown. The other type of landowner was the private individual, who was often a businessman investing in his locality. A major driving force of development in Rathmines was Frederick Stokes, an English property developer and founder of the township, while the railway entrepreneur William Dargan in his vision for 'The Brighton of Ireland' laid out a seafront esplanade, Turkish baths and a substantial terrace of houses in the seaside town of Bray. The diverse architectural character of each new suburb reflects the varying degrees of control imposed by landowners.

By the mid nineteenth-century, most ground in Ireland was controlled by a small minority of property owners, who managed their estates in various ways. Many of the richest and most extensive lands were located in the province of Leinster, where estate landlords held almost total control.³ In Dublin, these large-scale property owners tended to retain the full 'freehold' ownership, but they often leased ground for building by the means of a leasehold agreement.⁴ When the lease term was complete the land, (which had increased in value by the addition of buildings) would revert to the landlord, which he could then rack-rent to another lessee. By operating in this way, the 'lords of the soil' increased the value of their estate, but they also transferred most of the profits from building to speculative developers, who could either benefit from the rental income during the lease term, or sell on their leasehold interest to a third party. It was this form of land tenure which had controlled the development of Dublin's principal residential areas during the eighteenth century, by the Gardiner and Fitzwilliam estates to the east of the city.⁵

³ Patrick J. Duffy, 'Irish landholding structures and population in the mid-nineteenth century', in *The Maynooth Review*, iii, no. 2 (1977), pp 5 & 15.

⁴ Leasehold grants were more common in Ireland than in Britain: 'The result was a rapid growth in Ireland of leasehold tenure to an extent never experienced in England, a generalisation that remains true to this day in respect of urban land'. J.C.W. Wylie, *Irish land law* (West Sussex & Dublin, 2010), p. 24.

⁵ Nuala T. Burke, 'Dublin 1600-1800: a study in urban morphogenesis' (Ph.D. thesis, Trinity College, Dublin, 1972), p.359 & 407.

By the 1840s, Dublin's municipal boundary was marked by the canals, beyond which the majority of its suburbs remained outside the city's control.⁶ These areas were controlled by a number of local authorities, which provided infrastructure on a fragmentary basis.⁷ Deficiencies such as unmaintained roads and lack of basic services such as lighting, water and drainage continued to remain the norm and Ó Maithú has discussed the frustrations this brought to residents, landowners and builders alike.⁸ With the passing of the Lighting of Towns (Ireland) Act in 1828, suburban areas were granted powers to establish local authorities to provide basic services such as public lighting, policing, surfacing and the cleaning of streets. The first Dublin suburb to take advantage of the act was Kingstown, which formed a township in 1834. Other areas closer to the city followed suit, including Rathmines in 1847 (extended to include Rathgar in 1862) and the Pembroke Township in 1863 (see p.7, **Map 2**). The degree to which these services were carried out varied between, and within the townships.

2.2 The Pembroke estate

2.2.1 Development and building control

In the context of Dublin's development, the Pembroke estate was home to 'one of the grandest, most coherent and comprehensive suburban building campaigns of the nineteenth century'.⁹ Several studies have pointed to Lord Pembroke's reputation for strict regulation, where tightly controlled building leases were granted, under relatively short terms of 99 to 150 years. Mary Daly argues that their administration was 'typical of the great English aristocratic housing estates, such as the Duke of Westminster's Belgravia, in insisting on high standards, even if this meant that the estate gained less revenue in the short-term'.¹⁰ However McAulay has revealed that this rigour was not applied to all parts of the estate, as the extent of regulation depended on the value of

⁶ Stefanie Jones, 'Dublin reformed: the transformation of the municipal governance of a Victorian city, 1840-1860' (Ph.D. thesis, Trinity College, Dublin, 2001).

⁷ Dublin city and county was controlled by three bodies: Dublin Corporation, the grand jury of the city and the grand jury of the county, 'none of which were perceived to be responsive to the needs of the suburbs'. Matthew Potter, *The Municipal Revolution in Ireland* (Dublin, 2011), p.89.

⁸ Séamas Ó Maithú, *Dublin's suburban towns, 1834-1930* (Dublin, 2003), pp. 23-28.

⁹ Eve McAulay, 'The origins and early development of the Pembroke Estate beyond the Grand Canal 1816-1880' (Ph.D. thesis, Trinity College, Dublin, 2003), p. 1.

¹⁰ Daly, 'The growth of Victorian Dublin', p. 28.

land being developed. The eastern sector along the coast was prone to flooding and was valued less than the higher ground west of the Shelbourne Road. Consequently, the estate administered tighter controls over the more prestigious western side, while ground on the eastern sector was characterised by minimum regulation. Naturally, these differing levels of building control had a significant impact on the character and rate of building within the estate.¹¹ A comparison of the leases acquired by Michael Meade on both sides of the estate corroborates these findings, while at the same time revealing much about the detail of such agreements.

The original leases for Meade's houses in Ailesbury Road are an example of the strict control imposed on development in the western sector. The Meade family signed three leases for plots on the south side of the road in 1865 (2.2). The first was for the large corner site of over two acres on the junction with the Merrion Road, which covenanted the lessee to build 'one good and substantial dwelling house'. In addition, leases were granted for two adjacent plots: one to Michael Meade and another to his son Joseph, who was aged twenty-six at the time. Each leaseholder was covenanted to build 'two good and substantial dwelling houses' in each plot, but curiously Michael Meade was given 2 years to build his houses, while his son was given only 18 months.¹² All five properties were complete within three years, as they appear in Thom's directly of 1868: Meade's villa 'Mount St. Michael' (1.27), together with four semi-detached dwellings adjacent (2.3).¹³

It was the specifics of this building lease that determined the architectural character of the road: building lines were to remain continuous throughout, with all properties set back 70 feet from the footpath.¹⁴ While only one dwelling was permissible on the large corner site, semi-detached dwellings were stipulated for the adjacent plots.

¹¹ McAulay, 'Pembroke estate', pp 87 & 172.

¹² St. Michael's House archive, original lease from Sept. 1865, piece of ground on the south side of Ailesbury Road, The Earl of Clanwilliam & Marquis of Ailesbury & Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery & Michael Meade & RD, 1866, vol. 20, mem. 131-3. Perhaps this provided Joseph Meade with the incentive to complete his houses sooner: they are the first properties to appear in Thom's 1867 directory, but his father's houses were not shown complete until 1868. *Thom's*, 1867 & 1868.

¹³ *Thom's*, 1868.

¹⁴ Setbacks in Ailesbury Road appear to have been greater than other newly emergent streets at the time: the largest recorded set back is in Clyde Road, where the building line is 52 feet from the street.

The lease stipulated that the houses were to be 'no more or less than two storeys high over an elevated basement storey', with 'projecting or cantilever' roofs. The street boundary was to be finished with iron railings on a cut stone plinth, while the entrances were to be framed with iron entrance gates and piers (2.4). A clear width of ten and a half feet was specified for the footpath to Ailesbury Road, but the path on the Merrion Road side was to be wider by eighteen inches.¹⁵ As for the boundary running back from the street to the front facade, neither walls nor wooden fences were permitted (2.5). Lord Pembroke insisted on a high standard of finish on Ailesbury Road: the most expensive materials were to form the street elevations, with cut granite and 'the best stock bricks' to the front, slates and 'the best lead' for the roof.¹⁶

Soon after the first four houses were finished in 1868, Michael Meade signed a lease for the next adjacent plot.¹⁷ Here he was covenanted to complete 'six semi-detached or three pairs of good and substantial dwelling houses', and within two years these were constructed and awaiting their first tenants.¹⁸ There are some subtle variations that differentiate this scheme from Meade's earlier houses: although similar in terms of the overall volume and materials used, canted bay windows have been added to the rear facades, differences that are clearly marked out on the deed map attached to the 1868 lease (2.6). Prospective leaseholders were required to submit an outline of their plans to the estate for approval, as Vernon explained in 1878: 'The usual course is to submit a rough tracing (in the absence of completed plans) and on this being approved of, a memorandum of agreement signed by the proposed lessees or on their behalf= (*sic*) possession of the ground is given.'¹⁹

¹⁵ This clause was probably inserted to maintain the front boundary in a continuous line along the street, as the roads and paths were already laid out when the Meades began building.

¹⁶ Red brick is specified to the most visible facade to the street, while a cheaper stock brick is specified to the more oblique side elevation. Notably, Meade's detached villa adjacent is bound to the same specification, yet this dwelling has two primary facades: one to Ailesbury Road and the other to the Merrion Road. Under the terms of the lease therefore, Meade was bound to finish the facade to Ailesbury Road in red brick but could have faced the Merrion Road side in a cheaper stock brick. However, he chose to finish both sides in 'the best red bricks'.

¹⁷ St. Michael's House archive, original lease from Mar. 1868, piece of ground on the south side of Ailesbury Road, The Earl of Clanwilliam & Marquis of Ailesbury & Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery & Michael Meade; RD, 1869, vol. 24, mem. 136.

¹⁸ *Thom's*, 1870. On this occasion Meade was given two years to build six houses, whereas previously he had been bound to complete two dwellings within the same period.

¹⁹ NAI, PEP, Correspondence, Vernon to Thos. Trench, 14 October 1878 (Acc. No. 1011/2/5/ii).

The 'memorandum of agreement' discussed here was in effect an agreement to lease, but the full leasehold title was not signed until the building was completed to the estate's satisfaction.²⁰ Although the submission of plans was not a necessity, a certain level of detail was expected from this 'rough tracing' referred to here. John Vernon returned a drawing of a holding in Sandymount to Meade in 1864, remarking that it was 'not sufficiently accurate for details', being merely an enlargement of the Ordnance Survey map.²¹ Proposals appear to have been carefully examined, as in some cases Vernon was found requesting changes to the design.²² When architect Frederick Morley submitted plans for houses in 1895, a block layout plan, sketch plans and a general specification outlined his proposed works in Londonbridge Road. The estate agent confirmed his approval of the scheme, on the proviso that Mr Davis erect a light iron railing, instead of a wall to the sides of the plot.²³ In addition to proposals for new buildings, documents were also submitted for many smaller structures, including stabling, garages, gate lodges and additions to existing dwellings.

Vernon could also be found requesting 'a short specification of the proposed materials', before permitting speculators to build.²⁴ Detailed drawings and specifications were more likely produced where a formal contract was signed, binding a builder to complete the works according to the contract documents. This level of detail was not always available however: in 1860, one correspondent explained that he had employed a gentleman named 'Gibson' for many years but he 'did not enter so specifically with him into details as I would with a stranger'. His builder was in the process of preparing a tender based on a 'rough specification', but in the meantime he was anxious to proceed with the works. He gave an indication of the proposed sizes of rooms, ceiling heights and materials in his letter to Vernon, confirming that the data had been abstracted from the plans and

²⁰ *Report from the select committee on town holdings*, H.C. 1886 (213-Sess. 1), evidence of Mr. John L. Robinson, p.30, para. 937, (henceforth cited as *Town holdings*, 1886). 'An agreement to grant a lease under certain conditions is first signed, containing the above and many other stringent provisions, and the leases are not perfected until the houses are completed to the satisfaction of the surveyor'.

²¹ NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 15, p.301, Wm. Carter to Michl. Meade, 23 Aug. 1864 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/15).

²² NAI, PEP, Plans elevations etc., plans, specifications and letters regarding houses on Londonbridge Road, 15 June 1895 (Acc. No. 1011/8/12).

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 24, p.103, Fane Vernon to The Rt. Hon. J.M. Meade, 22 Apr. 1898, (Acc. No. 97/46/3/24).

specifications, which he conceded: '...though it may not be all that either of us could desire will satisfy you that the proposed building will be both substantial & respectable.'²⁵

Building leases in the Pembroke estate also included penalties for non-compliance with the terms of the agreement. Although Michael Meade was given two years to finish his first pair of houses on Ailesbury Road, they appear to have taken about three years to complete.²⁶ One of the covenants stipulated a penalty of £40 on top of the existing rents for this one year delay. The letter books do not indicate if a fine was imposed, but they do show Meade's tardiness in paying rent on his various leaseholds in the estate. By 1873 he was in arrears on a total of six properties: four in Ailesbury Road and two in Sandymount. Despite this shortfall, Vernon signed a lease with Michael Meade for a plot on the north side of Ailesbury road in 1877, for another pair of houses.²⁷ Similarly, when his son Joseph signed a lease for sites on nearby Shrewsbury Road twenty years later, he was bound to complete the buildings within one year. When two years had passed the agent wrote to Joseph Meade, as he had not even begun building on the holdings. The builder was asked to take the matter seriously in hand, by having the houses completed within the current building season. The agent remained conciliatory in tone however: 'I need not say that Lord Pembroke would not wish to stand too strictly on his rights on this point, especially when dealing with a gentleman whose family have spent, and who is at present spending elsewhere, large sums in building on his lordship's Estate...'.²⁸

Leaseholders of a lesser status than the Meades were not granted the same flexibility. Vernon wrote to a speculator in Elgin Road in 1865, who had signed an agreement to lease a plot of ground for building, but within five months the developer

²⁵ NAI, PEP, Correspondence, W. M. MacCarty to J.E. Vernon, 10 May 1860 (Acc. No. 1011/2/9).

²⁶ *Thom's*, 1867 & 1868. There are two Ordnance Survey maps extant for Ailesbury Road, both dated 1865. The larger scale map (2.10: scale 1:2500) was surveyed before any development occurred on Ailesbury road, but the smaller scale map shows the completion of five of Meade's houses at the junction with the Merrion Road (2.3: scale 1:1056). As Meade's lease agreement indicates a commencement date of September 1865, it is likely that the houses were in construction at the time of the Ordnance Survey.

²⁷ Private collection, copy of original lease from Sept. 1877, piece of ground on the north side of Ailesbury Road, The Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery & Michael Meade Esq.

²⁸ NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 24, p.492, Fane Vernon to The Rt. Hon. J. M. Meade, 7 Mar. 1899, (Acc. No. 97/46/3/24).

was unable to fulfil the covenants of his agreement. Vernon cancelled the lease, but was not slow to express his anger:

In doing so I cannot forbear pointing out to you the grave inconvenience which arises upon an Estate such as this, from a person thus entering into terms without fully considering how far they are in a position to carry them out, thus preventing the agent of the Estate from letting the ground to others, and leaving builders to infer that there is some real objection to the ground in question.²⁹

A comparison of the lease granted in Ailesbury Road with that of other parts of the estate, reveals the differences between agreements in the eastern and western sides. In 1863, Meade acquired Belvedere Terrace in Sandymount, a scheme of seven terraced houses on the Strand Road (2.7). The development had been carried out in a piecemeal fashion: the first four houses had been built in the 1840s, but the terrace took another twenty years to reach completion. Alexander Graham, a builder of Westland Row,³⁰ acquired the lease on the holding in the 1860s, where he was bound to the following conditions:

...in a good workmanlike manner.....three good and substantial dwelling houses of the best materials of their several kinds well roofed and covered with slates not more or less than two stories high over the basement and that the front of the said houses shall range with the other houses in Belvidere Terrace....³¹

²⁹ NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 15, p.585, John E. Vernon to R. W. Meade, 29 Apr. 1865 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/15).

³⁰ The ground was subject to two separate agreements: the first was assigned by Hannah Bourne in 1859, who covenanted Graham to build 'two substantial dwelling houses' within three years (one at either end of the development) and 'of a similar style and value to those of the houses at present built thereon'. The Bourne agreement was granted on the condition that Graham obtain a reversionary lease from the Pembroke estate, and this was granted to him in 1861. This later lease permitted him to construct three (rather than two) houses within a two year period. Private collection, Copy of original lease from Mar. 1859, premises on Sandymount Strand Road, Hannah Bourne & William Eckersley & Alexander Graham; Copy of original lease from September 1861, ground and premises at Sandymount, The Earl of Clanwilliam & Marquis of Ailesbury & Lord Herbert & Alexander Graham.

³¹ Private collection, Copy of original lease from Sept. 1861, ground and premises at Sandymount, The Earl of Clanwilliam & Marquis of Ailesbury & Lord Herbert & Alexander Graham.

The main difference between these building standards and those in the western sector, is the manner in which building form and materials are determined.³² The Strand Road houses are to be constructed with 'the best materials of their several kinds', but with the exception of a slate finish to the roof, there are no further specifics. While an overall height is determined, there are no references to projecting roofs or elevated basement storeys, as stipulated in the western sector. Furthermore, at Ailesbury Road the lease map carefully illustrated the details of the building in ink, but the Strand Road map seems to be the 'rough tracing' in pencil, referred to by Vernon in 1878 (2.8). Graham was required to spend a minimum of £500 in completing the terrace, equating to an approximate outlay of £166 per house. These differences in building control had a profound impact on development on the east and west sides of the estate, which will be explored further in Chapter 3.

Although Lord Pembroke was reluctant to part with full ownership of his land, this did not deter speculators from attempting to acquire freehold property in the estate. In 1887, the estate agent was in receipt of a request by Joseph Manly, residing at 'Aberdeen House' in Clyde Road. The property had been erected by the builder Gilbert Cockburn in the early 1860s, who had obtained the original leasehold title from Lord Pembroke. Cockburn must have subsequently sold his lease on to Manly, as by 1887 he was resident there, and desirous of being an owner in fee simple. The agent acquiesced to granting a 'lease in perpetuity', providing that the existing lease was surrendered and a fine of £150 was paid.³³ A perpetual lease was equivalent to a part sale, part lease³⁴ which would effectively grant a freehold interest, enabling Manly to vote in parliamentary elections.³⁵ Compared to the standard building lease, perpetual leases also provided lessees with a greater incentive to invest in their holdings and John Vernon referred to this when he

³² Although there are other covenants in this agreement which are similar to that specified in leases in the western sector, such as those prohibiting commercial uses, and the requirements to maintain and insure the property.

³³ NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 20, p.348, Fane Vernon to Joseph Manly, 13 Dec. 1887, (Acc. No. 97/46/3/21).

³⁴ *Ex. Info.*, Melanie Hayes, Ph.D candidate, Department of the History of Art and Architecture, Trinity College Dublin, 15 December 2012.

³⁵ Wylie, *Irish land law*, p. 26. John Vernon confirmed in 1886 that Lord Pembroke had granted a 'lease for ever' to the Royal Dublin Society for their premises in Merrion Square, and that perpetuities were generally granted to schools and churches in the estate. *Town Holdings, 1886*, evidence of Mr. Vernon, p.174, para. 4911.

made a similar concession to Michael Meade in 1884, on the purchase of a site in Donnybrook:

Lord Pembroke is not desirous of selling any of his property and it was only with a view of giving you in the place of inferior lease perpetuity and so enabling you to make a large outlay on premises which can be made very valuable, that I mentioned the sale.³⁶

2.2.2 Infrastructure

Vernon required a degree of security before expending large sums in the provision of infrastructure, as he explained in 1879: 'If builders will tell me they will build I will lay out the roads, but not until then'.³⁷ Applying this principle to Ailesbury Road, what is the evidence that this was the case in this newly laid out thoroughfare? The first correspondence emerged in the opening months of 1863, when Vernon confirmed his intention to open a new line of road, to connect Donnybrook with Sydney Parade station.³⁸ The area was characterized by green fields and market-gardens and 'various pretty seats and villas',³⁹ in a primarily rural landscape. The building of Donnybrook Church, begun by Meade that year, must have provided the impetus for development at its western extremity. When the foundation stone was laid in June 1863, *The Dublin Builder* added that 'a fine road is about to be made across to the Booterstown-road, across the Bishop's Fields, which now form part of the Pembroke's property' (2.9).⁴⁰ It was to connect to the existing Merrion road, the main coastal route from the city to Kingstown, with a later extension to Sydney Parade station, recently opened to serve the Sandymount district.⁴¹ It took about two years to complete the first section of the road (2.10), as *The Dublin Builder* announced in March 1865:

³⁶ NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 20, p.838, John E. Vernon to Messrs. Meade & Son, 6 June 1884, (Acc. No. 97/46/3/20).

³⁷ Mary E. Daly, *Dublin, the deposed capital* (Cork, 1984), p.160.

³⁸ McAulay, 'The Pembroke estate', p. 217.

³⁹ *Thom's*, 1861.

⁴⁰ *Dublin Builder*, 15 June 1863.

⁴¹ *Thom's*, 1861 & *Freeman's Journal*, 30 Aug. 1862 & *Irish Times*, 3 July 1868.

The new road leading from the Rock Road to Donnybrook has been thrown open to the public. It is in one direct line, about an English mile in length, and perfectly level. The pathways on each side are wide and well kerbed. The ground adjoining is to be let for building, and should handsome terraces be erected in uniformity, the road will ultimately become a real ornament in Dublin, and form a delightful promenade.⁴²

While Meade's men were busy raising a church facade at the western end of Ailesbury Road, he was the first to develop sites at its eastern end. Six months after the road was opened, the Meades acquired the plots on its south side, at the junction with the Merrion Road. Michael Meade waited another seven years before developing the north side of the road, where by 1879 he had built another pair of houses (2.11).⁴³

By 1879 Vernon boasted that in the twenty-six years since the beginning of his agency, over £40,000 had been spent on the construction of new roads in the estate. The period had seen the laying out of over twenty-six miles of roadway, including the Burlington, Raglan, Gilford and Elgin Roads which he claimed were all kerbed, sewered and planted at the sole expense of the estate.⁴⁴ This was corroborated by the evidence of the architect and engineer John L. Robinson, who reported on the work carried out by the estate in 1886: 'Mr Vernon takes fields, he makes roads through them and lets out the plots to the best advantage. He sewers them, paves them, and plants them, and then hands them over to the township commissioners, who maintain them'.⁴⁵ Robinson also added: 'he plants along the margins of the streets, and converts them into boulevards'.⁴⁶ It appears that the Pembroke estate was known for constructing high quality roads. The Municipal Boundaries Commission reported in 1881 that they were 'more recently made and constructed in the best and most improved manner, and many of them are kept up

⁴² *Dublin Builder*, 15 Mar. 1865.

⁴³ RD, 1879, vol. 16, mem. 193.

⁴⁴ *Municipal Boundaries Commission (Ireland), Part I, Evidence, with appendices. Dublin, Rathmines, Pembroke, Kilmainham, Drumcondra, Clontarf, and also Kingstown, Blackrock and Dalkey*, [C.2725], H.C. 1880, evidence of John Edward Vernon, p. 178, para. 4655 & evidence of Mr. A.H. Robinson, p. 184, para. 4894 (henceforth cited as *Municipal Boundaries, Part I, 1880*). Notably, most of the roads referred to were located in the western side of the estate, with the exception of Gilford Road in Sandymount.

⁴⁵ *Town holdings, 1886*, evidence of Mr. Robinson, pp 39-40, para. 1145.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p.34, para. 989.

at the cost of the landlord'.⁴⁷ There was a sequence to how this infrastructure was provided, as Vernon explained in 1879: 'All of our footpaths are kerbed where there are buildings.....Some of the rural roads with fields on both sides are not kerbed, nor do they require it till houses are built on it.'⁴⁸ The kerbing referred to here is usually executed in granite, which provides a hard-wearing edge to the footpath. If what Vernon claimed is true, the estate would have been characterised by many unfinished and unsightly paths, as speculation tended to occur sporadically, and on a modest scale. As evident from *The Dublin Builder*, Ailesbury Road was laid out fully kerbed, before any building development occurred.

Roads and footpaths were laid down by the estate 'from time to time'⁴⁹, but the provision of drainage proved to be more problematic. In 1865, the year Meade acquired plots on Ailesbury Road, *The Dublin Builder* reported that 'thorough and effective system of street drainage had been carried out' in a large part of the city.⁵⁰ Despite this achievement, enormous challenges were still posed to sanitary authorities. All city sewers emptied in to the nearest river course, and the Liffey was reported to be effectively a 'foul and open sewer'⁵¹, emitting an 'intolerable stench' which at one stage threatened the closure of the Four Courts.⁵² While these were the difficulties found in municipal areas, greater problems awaited dwellers in undrained areas, outside the city boundary. Serious health hazards were posed to residents there, where most sewage was collected in cess pools, which eventually found its way to local streams and rivers.⁵³ A quarter of houses in the district consisted of 'wretched habitations', and a large open drain ran across a large portion of the district, from the Shelbourne Road to the Dodder River.⁵⁴

⁴⁷ *Municipal Boundaries Commission (Ireland), Part II, Report. Dublin, Rathmines, Pembroke, Kilmainham, Drumcondra, Clontarf, and also Kingstown, Blackrock and Dalkey*, [C.2827], H.C. 1881, p. 26. (henceforth cited as *Municipal Boundaries, Part II, 1881*).

⁴⁸ *Municipal Boundaries, Part I, 1880*, evidence of John Edward Vernon, p.180. para. 4731.

⁴⁹ *Municipal Boundaries, Part II, 1881*, p.11.

⁵⁰ *Dublin Builder*, 15 Aug. & 1 Oct. 1865.

⁵¹ *Irish Builder*, 1 Aug. 1870.

⁵² *Municipal Boundaries, Part I, 1880*, evidence of John Edward Vernon, p. 179, para. 4686.

⁵³ Ó Maithú, *Dublin's suburban towns*, p. 97.

⁵⁴ *Municipal Boundaries, Part I, 1880*, evidence of Mr. A. H. Robinson, p. 184, para. 4881.

As the suburbs continued to expand, the sanitation problem was compounded by the inadequacies of drains installed within property boundaries. The Dublin Improvement Act of 1864 compelled owners to keep their houses in repair, requiring them to connect a 'well-trapped house-drain' to the nearest sewer.⁵⁵ Not all house builders were competent however, and it appears that 'ignorance of the principles of under-drainage' was the main cause of defective house construction. Some sewers were 'constantly stagnant and overflowing', due to inadequately sized and incorrectly laid pipework.⁵⁶ Cesspools were commonly built too close to wells, contaminating the local water supply and leading to outbreaks of disease. The *Dublin Builder* concluded in 1864: 'We do not exaggerate in stating that we have known whole districts rendered objectionable to live in from this cause alone'.⁵⁷

Clearly, a proper system of main drainage was urgently required for the suburbs, a feat that London had achieved in 1868. However the issue was the subject of much dispute in Dublin, between the corporation and the townships for many years. It was not until 1877 that the Pembroke and Rathmines joint drainage board was formed, enabling both districts to begin planning their own system of mains drainage.⁵⁸ By 1879 the project was complete, involving the drainage of 3,300 acres of land and cost approximately £105,000, transforming what Vernon claimed had been 'all a series of cabbage gardens flooded by the Swan stream, conveying the sewerage of the Rathmines district in the winter'.⁵⁹ In the meantime, sewers were provided on an ad-hoc basis, to attract development to the estate. In 1869 Vernon referred to the road widening and sewer works recently carried out in Sandymount, which were already enticing speculators to the area: 'The effect of the drainage upon this low lying land has already become very apparent, and although (*sic.*) the work is far from complete, I have already had applications for building plots on that portion of the road which has been widened...'⁶⁰

⁵⁵ *Irish Builder*, 15 Sept. 1865.

⁵⁶ *Dublin Builder*, 15 Mar. 1864.

⁵⁷ Ó Maithú, *Dublin's suburban towns*, p. 98.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p.101.

⁵⁹ *Municipal Boundaries, Part I, 1880*, evidence of John Edward Vernon, p. 178, para. 4659.

⁶⁰ NAI, PEP, Statements of accounts, Report for the year ended 25 March 1869, p.3 (Acc. 2011/5/2).

The works referred to here were the laying of the new Gilford Road, the widening and sewerage of Park Avenue, and works to the 'main sewer of the district'.⁶¹ But even in this case where a main sewer was in place, there were problems in disposing of the waste. Sandymount was a low-lying coastal district, with a fall of just eighteen inches to carry the sewage to the outfall at Blackrock.⁶² Vernon later conceded that before a proper pumped system of main drainage he had been: 'utterly unable to meet the complaints' of some residents in the estate.⁶³ The issue was compounded by problems of flooding, despite improvements such as the Swan River culvert and the embankment of the Dodder, completed by 1867.⁶⁴ His 1869 report also referred to the recent high tides and heavy winds which had '...laid under water a considerable portion of our low level district, doing a great deal of damage...'.⁶⁵ Other areas had to make do without a main sewer: in 1879, just before the completion of the main drainage works, one Pembroke commissioner reported: 'As a matter of fact, we are in a transitory period; we are changing from cess-pools to sewers, and are taking time to do it.'⁶⁶

Lord Pembroke continued to assert control over his estate, by ensuring that his agent John Vernon, remained chairman of the Pembroke Township since its foundation in 1863.⁶⁷ Mr A.H. Robinson, township secretary since 1870, and acquainted with the district since 1860, claimed that on its foundation the township was characterised by poorly finished and unsewered roads, with only about forty-eight public lamps, and no street crossings.⁶⁸ The water supply was very inadequate: some parts were supplied by the canal, while the Sandymount area had to make do with imported barrels of water.⁶⁹ This all began to change in the following years: between 1863 and 1878 the district's population increased by 10,000 and over 1,000 dwellings were built to house new

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁶² *Municipal Boundaries, Part I, 1880*, evidence of John Edward Vernon, p. 180, para. 4724.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, para. 4723.

⁶⁴ Ó Maithú, *Dublin's suburban towns*, p.101.

⁶⁵ The Swan culvert was used to carry sewage from streets in the area, as well as functioning as a storm water outlet, before the completion of the main drainage scheme in 1879. NAI, PEP, Estate, Dublin Main Drainage 1875-77, Correspondence, Letter from Richard Hassard C.E. to Vernon re: construction of new sewer, 28 July 1876. (Acc. No. 1011/4/35).

⁶⁶ *Municipal Boundaries, Part I, 1880*, evidence of Dr. E. P. Wright, p. 188, para. 5045.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, evidence of John Edward Vernon, p. 178, para. 4660. In 1879 Vernon confirmed that the Pembroke Township consisted of 1,592 acres of land, 76% of which belonged to the Earl of Pembroke.

⁶⁸ *Municipal Boundaries, Part I, 1880*, evidence of Mr. A. H. Robinson, p. 184, para. 4873.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, para. 4876.

suburban residents.⁷⁰ The township spent £18,000 on waterworks for the district, laying over twenty-two miles of mains pipes supplied by Dublin Corporation, drawing water from the Vartry River.⁷¹ By 1879, thirty-three public fountains were in operation, and every road was fitted with 'numerous' fire hydrants to extinguish fires and to help water the streets.⁷² The laying of roads appear to have been beyond the commissioners remit, as Vernon confirmed in 1871: '...since the passing of the Pembroke Township Act in 1863 the Commissioners have never made one Perch of new Road, every new Road made through the Township having been made at the sole expense of the Earl of Pembroke.'⁷³

Vernon also confirmed that every road laid out by the estate was handed over 'fully kerbed' to the township,⁷⁴ who had thirty-seven men and seven horses at its disposal to repair and scavenge the roads, with private lanes being the responsibility of building owners.⁷⁵ Robinson reported the laying of 18,400 square yards of 'superior asphalte' to the footpaths, as well as the installation of over three hundred public lamps and numerous street crossings.⁷⁶ With the passing of the Irish public health acts of 1874 and 1878, townships were given greater responsibility for sanitary services and Pembroke was also involved in the construction of sewers.⁷⁷ Although it is sometimes difficult to establish where the work of the estate stopped and the township began, there must have been a considerable amount of collaboration. When the Swan stream was culverted in 1867 the works were carried out by the Pembroke Township, to which Lord Pembroke contributed over one third of the cost.⁷⁸

In 1879, Michael Meade appeared before the Municipal Boundaries Commission, as an 'extensive builder and contractor' and a Pembroke commissioner. In his evidence, he confirmed that he sat on Pembroke board about eighty days in the year, reporting: 'I

⁷⁰ *Municipal Boundaries, Part II, 1881*, p. 11.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p.12 & Ó Maithú, *Dublin's suburban towns*, p. 90.

⁷² *Municipal Boundaries, Part I, 1880*, evidence of Mr. A. H. Robinson, p. 185, para. 4927 & 4937.

⁷³ NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 18, p.17, John E. Vernon to unknown, 22 Apr. 1871, (Acc. No. 97/46/3/18).

⁷⁴ *Municipal Boundaries, Part I, 1880*, evidence of John Edward Vernon, p. 180, para. 4731.

⁷⁵ *Municipal Boundaries, Part II, 1881*, p. 12.

⁷⁶ *Municipal Boundaries, Part I, 1880*, evidence of Mr. A. H. Robinson, p. 184, para. 4897-99.

⁷⁷ Robinson also reported in 1879 that 933 yards of sewers had been constructed by the commissioners in the previous year. *Ibid.*, p. 185, para. 4926.

⁷⁸ NAI, PEP, Statements of accounts, Report for the year ended 25 March 1869, p.2 (Acc. 2011/5/2).

consider there is no township in this or any other country can be better managed'.⁷⁹ However, despite these claims, it appears that not all parts of the estate experienced such high standards, as per the evidence of Alderman Harris, who complained that Wellington Road was 'in a positively dangerous condition' that year.⁸⁰ He claimed that a horse had broken both his knees after a fall there in recent days, due to a perilous ridge in the middle of the road. He added that the sides of Waterloo Road were in a very bad condition, lamenting that Leeson Street was impassable in wet weather. Vernon conceded that although the roads and sewers in the township were not as perfect as he could wish, they were 'better than the county roads on the one side, and the town roads on the other'.⁸¹ It seems that the eastern coastal sector was particularly neglected, where in Sandymount the Dodder River was described as a 'pestilential stench', and an outfall sewer from Londonbridge Road was said to emit a stink, which was worse than that from the Liffey. One property owner in the area claimed that the higher 'fashionable' end of the township received more attention, but the lower end was abandoned to 'night soil and all kinds of filth'.⁸² Complaints made to the township were unheeded, unless they were made by those 'who happen to have the good fortune to live in the "flash" parts of it'.⁸³

Adding to the complex relationship between landlord and township control, was the issue of other authorities with responsibilities for public services. Most of Lord Pembroke's ground was located outside the municipal boundary, and in some areas the Grand Jury were responsible for the county roads and bridges.⁸⁴ At Ailesbury Road, no less than four administrative bodies were responsible for local services in the area: Lord Pembroke, the Pembroke Township, the County Grand Jury and Dublin Corporation. Located at the outermost edge of the estate, the county/township boundary cut the road in two, leaving one half under control of the township and the other under the grand jury (2.12). Part of a large landowning elite, grand juries were known to be some of the most corrupt bodies in the country, as they tended to serve their own interests, rather than

⁷⁹ *Municipal Boundaries, Part I, 1880*, evidence of Mr. Michael Meade, J.P., p. 188, para. 5058.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, evidence of Alderman Harris, p. 72, para. 1786-1787. Harris also claimed that public lamps in the township were extinguished at an earlier hour than in the city (about midnight or one o'clock in the morning). *Ibid.*, para. 1792-93.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, evidence of John Edward Vernon, p.179, para. 4718.

⁸² *Ibid.*, evidence of Mr. John Hogan, p.189, para. 5087-89.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, para. 5100.

⁸⁴ Ciarán Wallace, 'Local politics and government in Dublin city and suburbs, 1899-1914', (Ph.D thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 2010), p.78.

those of the cess-payers. They appointed two district surveyors to the County Dublin area, who selected tenders for roadworks and supervised the works. In 1867 the agent of the Pembroke estate wrote to the secretary of the Pembroke Township, requesting that the commissioners take in charge the land to the rear of Ailesbury Road, between the Merrion Road and the township boundary:

It has been kept in repair, at the expense of the Estate, since it was completed, and is now in good condition. The position between the Township boundary and Morrison's monument, has already been taken up by the County, and is being repaired by a Contractor under the supervision of the County Surveyor. The remaining portion, extending from Merrion Road to Sidney Parade Station, shall be maintained by the Estate for some time longer.⁸⁵

It seems therefore that the land on the township side was to be maintained by the estate until the commissioners took it in charge, while the other side was maintained by the County Surveyor. This was further compounded by the involvement of Dublin Corporation, who shared the cost of maintaining the adjoining Merrion Road with the grand jury. The inadequacies of both parties to maintain the road led to reports of 'shoddy work and incomplete repairs' and it was known to be notorious for its bad condition.⁸⁶ This unequal division of responsibilities impacted on the provision of services: in 1879 Michael Meade confirmed that half of Ailesbury Road was lit by gas lamps, and the other half not at all.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 16, p.635, Carter to John Hill, 7 Dec. 1867 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/16).

⁸⁶ Wallace, 'Local politics', p. 78.

⁸⁷ *Municipal Boundaries, Part I, 1880*, evidence of Mr. Arthur H. Robinson, p. 279. para. 41-42.

2.3 The Kingstown estate

2.3.1 Development and building control

Just as Meade's developments illuminate the standard of building control and infrastructure on the Pembroke estate, John Crosthwaite's scheme performs a similar role at Kingstown, six miles south of the city (2.1). As noted, the first dwellings at Crosthwaite Park consisted of thirty-two houses in two terraces, which were completed by 1865 (1.26). This was also the year of Dublin's International Exhibition and the majority of foreign visitors arrived by sea at Kingstown:

From Dublin to Bray,....the coast presents a series of towns or villages, which bear the same relation to Dublin that Ramsgate, Margate, and Brighton bear to London. Beyond them rise beautifully wooded hills, sprinkled with villas, and the whole scene is as it were closed in by a lofty and many-tinted range of mountains...⁸⁸

When this tourist guide was published in 1865, it claimed that Dublin's coastal district had been transformed from 'a state of nature' to 'suburban magnificence'.⁸⁹ Kingstown had been the first district in County Dublin to take advantage of the Lighting of Towns (Ireland) Act, 1828, having established a township in 1834, the year of the opening of Ireland's first railway there, which ran to the terminus in Westland Row (2.13). The coming of the railway helped to boost the population in the area: between 1841 and 1851 Kingstown's inhabitants grew by 43%.⁹⁰ It was during this period of growth that John Crosthwaite had first emerged in 1844, as resident of Victoria Cottage beside Marine Terrace, overlooking the sea.⁹¹ This was one of many housing developments along the coast at Kingstown, and one guide book reported in 1846 on: 'the beautiful terraces lining the shore, backed by spires..'.⁹² Crosthwaite had erected the nearby Royal Victoria Baths a few years earlier

⁸⁸ William F. Wakeman, *Tourists' guide through Dublin and its interesting suburbs, specially (sic.) suited to the visitors of The International Exhibition* (Dublin, 1865), p.2.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁹⁰ Daly, *Deposed capital*, p.176.

⁹¹ *Thom's*, 1844.

⁹² Jasper Robert Joly, *Dublin and its environs: with a map of the city and numerous illustrations engraved on wood* (Dublin, 1846), p.161.

(1.7, 2.13 & 2.14),⁹³ and in 1849 he acquired the Woodpark estate in the hills above the town.⁹⁴ Within two years he was elected town commissioner for the Kingstown Ward, a position he held for almost thirty years.⁹⁵

In 1860 *The Dublin Builder* marvelled at how the 'genius of steam-that modernizing giant -' had transformed Kingstown from a poor fishing village into 'a great highway between this and the sister kingdom'.⁹⁶ Trains running every half hour brought commuters from the city in just fifteen minutes, where they could board powerful steamships to England (2.15). As a major port resplendent with natural beauty, Kingstown had attracted much development in recent years, where it was in the course of rapid transformation in 1860:

An important and populous business town - with outskirts thickly studded with princely mansions, handsome ecclesiastical, hotel, club, and other buildings, and a noble harbour to boot, with outstretched piers and quays, containing an area of some 250 acres, wherein the stateliest craft afloat may ride-has sprung into existence.⁹⁷

Mr Reilly, chairman of the Kingstown Township described the changes taking place in this rapidly rising town. With a population of 21,000 it was expanding fast: 370 houses had been built there in the preceding three years and another eighty were 'on the stocks'.⁹⁸ The rate of house building had increased: forty units had been built in 1857 but within two years the numbers had tripled to 120 houses. However, as a consequence land values and rents were on the increase, and in the previous seven years rentals had almost doubled in the township. O'Reilly was surprised at this rise in house building, considering what he termed as 'the impediment to building speculations arising from short leases'.⁹⁹

⁹³ Pearson, *Between the mountains and the sea* (Dublin, 2001), p. 127. By 1863 he was proprietor of Salthill baths in Monkstown, which had been built by the railway company. *Ibid.*, p. 193 & *Thom's*, 1863. To encourage seaside commuters the railway offered special reduced tickets, which gave free bathing rights at this facility. Daly, *Deposed capital*, p.175.

⁹⁴ RD, 1850, vol. 15, mem. 236.

⁹⁵ *Thom's*, 1851-1880.

⁹⁶ *Dublin Builder*, 1 June 1860.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ Daly, *Deposed capital*, p.176.

⁹⁹ *Dublin Builder*, 1 June 1860.

The major landowners in the area were Lords Longford and de Vesci who together owned 1,200 acres of land which they leased out generally for forty-one year terms.¹⁰⁰ Compared to the Pembroke estate which leased ground on 'liberal terms', he claimed that Kingstown's landlords increased rents by as much as a shilling a foot on renewal. O'Reilly praised the enterprising and industrious inhabitants of the town, who despite these challenges continued to speculate in house building.¹⁰¹

As Mary Daly has noted, many 99 year leases were granted in Kingstown in the opening decades of the nineteenth century, with little control on development. In the 1830s many of these agreements were bought back by the ground landlords, who imposed strict regulations on building. This, Daly claims, is the explanation for the variety of housing standards in the estate, from the 'higgledy-piggledy streetscape' of York Road, to the elegance of the Longford and de Vesci Terraces (2.16 & 2.17).¹⁰² She points to Belgrave Square in Monkstown at the western extremity of the estate, which began in the 1840s and attributes the uniformity of the terrace to the building lease, which specified the width of each house, the distance from the road and the overall house design (2.18).¹⁰³ Laura Johnstone's recent work on the De Vesci papers illuminates the extent to which the ground landlords were involved in house design at this time. Developers were bound to submit drawings to the landlords' agents for their approval, whose primary concern was the overall building form, including the unity of the terrace, the parapet line and the colour of the facade.¹⁰⁴ Indeed, such was their concern for the aesthetics of the second part of Longford Terrace (built by 1856) compared to its earlier section (built by 1842),¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, & Daly, *Deposed capital* p.194.

¹⁰¹ This continued to be a problem for leaseholders in the estate, evidenced by the discussions which surfaced at Kingstown Town Hall in 1882. The commissioners criticised the 'Lords of the soil' for their treatment of Mr. George Smith, a lessee in Clarinda Park. Smith had built a house there 'at considerable cost', but he sought a renewal of his lease to secure his property, as it was due to expire in twenty years' time. Lords Longford and De Vesci confirmed that they would grant him a renewal of his lease, by doubling the annual ground rent to £12, during the unexpired term. The rent would then rise to £30 on renewal of his lease. Smith complied with the terms, but the commissioners harshly criticised the actions of the estate landlords. *Irish Times*, 14 Dec. 1882.

¹⁰² Daly, 'The growth of Victorian Dublin', p.29.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p.32. Daly adds that a sketch of the door and window design was attached to the deed, which she says was also common to the Pembroke estate lease. However, none of the original Pembroke estate leases found include such a sketch, or make any reference to it in the text.

¹⁰⁴ *Ex. Info.*, Laura Johnstone, Ph.D candidate, School of Architecture, University College Dublin, 24 January 2013.

¹⁰⁵ Pearson, *Between the mountains*, p. 190.

that they paid for the raising of the road in front to enable the parapets to align continuously (2.19).¹⁰⁶

As the western end of the estate continued to take shape, other squares began to emerge at the eastern end, close to the Glenageary Road. Clarinda Park emerged from 1849 on a large elevated site behind the main George's Street (2.20). During the eighteenth century this area had been covered by a 24 acre parcel of land called Kilnagashaugh, a rocky outcrop suitable only for the grazing of sheep.¹⁰⁷ It was only a matter of time before developers began maximising on the sweeping views that the site commanded of Dublin bay. From 1849, the first of three housing developments began to emerge next to the Glenageary Road, beginning with Clarinda Park which had a number of developers including P.W. Bryan,¹⁰⁸ a wealthy wine merchant and James Carson, a civil engineer (2.21 & 2.22). The site was bound to the south by Tivoli Road (part of a medieval route linking the castles of Monkstown and Bullock) and to the east by the Glenageary Road, which had been laid out by Lords Longford and De Vesci in the early nineteenth century.¹⁰⁹ The variety of house types is a reflection of the square's long gestation over twenty-one years, but the predominant typology is a terraced two-bay house, rising to two-storeys over a basement (2.23).¹¹⁰ John Crosthwaite was also involved in development there, where from 1857 'Crosthwaite Terrace' emerged, comprising three large houses facing the sea.¹¹¹ This development is distinct from other housing on the square as it is a storey higher, from which an 'extensive sea view' was advertised in 1862 (2.24).¹¹²

¹⁰⁶ Ex. Info., Laura Johnstone.

¹⁰⁷ Pearson, *Between the mountains*, p. 137.

¹⁰⁸ *Irish Times*, 7 Mar. 1863, & James J. Gaskin, *Varieties of Irish history from ancient and modern sources and original documents* (Dublin & London, 1869), p.130. Bryan traded from Number 75 Upper George's Street, the main commercial street in Kingstown, close to Clarinda Park.

¹⁰⁹ Pearson, *Between the mountains*, pp 135-6.

¹¹⁰ Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown County Council, Conservation Division, report on architectural conservation areas in Dun Laoghaire, pp 3-4 (www.dlrcoco.ie/conservation/ACA_CLARIDAPARK.pdf) (10 Oct. 2011).

¹¹¹ Griffith Valuation, Kingstown, 1855-1859, vol. 2, p. 204 & *Thom's*, 1857.

¹¹² *Irish Times*, 9 June 1862.

By 1863, Clarinda Park was still in the course of formation, as reported in *The Irish Times* that summer: '...Mr Bryan, with his usual enterprise, has commenced the erection of several buildings in Clarinda Park and Clarinda-avenue (*sic*). The project will, no doubt, prove remunerative, owing to the fact that our town is rapidly increasing in wealth and importance'.¹¹³ While the scheme continued to evolve, the fields to the southern side of Tivoli road also began to develop, beginning with Royal Terrace from 1859 (2.20 & 2.25). Francis J. Nugent, a prominent local businessman and Kingstown commissioner had acquired the land in two lots from Lords Longford and De Vesci in 1830.¹¹⁴ Royal Terrace was built between 1859 and 1866, using the same template as Clarinda Park: two-storey over basement terraces two bays wide (2.26).

As Royal Terrace and Clarinda Park continued to take shape, ground was being broken nearby in another field off the Glenageary Road (2.20). Construction on Crosthwaite Park began from the Tivoli Road end, running in a southerly direction over a period of five years (2.27).¹¹⁵ John Crosthwaite had acquired the land from Lord De Vesci and the Earl of Longford in 1861, and proceeded to lay out the roads and plots to prepare his site for development. This was confirmed by the architect John L. Robinson (architect of Kingstown Town Hall) in 1886, when he reported: 'A man in Crosthwaite Park took a large field, and laid out roads. It was not the lords of the soil did it, he laid out roads, built terraces, and let them, and sold them'.¹¹⁶ The east side is similar to the predominant house type at Clarinda Park and Royal Terrace: a two-bay, two-storey over basement structure (2.28), but curiously, the west side is one storey higher (2.29). When the first houses at Crosthwaite Park were put up for sale in 1861, sea views were an important marketing tool for the vendors:

¹¹³ *Irish Times*, 27 June 1863.

¹¹⁴ Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown County Council, Conservation Division, report on architectural conservation areas in Dun Laoghaire, p.8 (www.dlrco.ie/conservation/royal.pdf) (10 Oct. 2011) & Griffith Valuation, Kingstown, 1855-1859, vol. 3, p.332a.

¹¹⁵ *Thom's*, 1861-5 & Griffith Valuation, Kingstown, 1855-1859, vol. 3, p. 332h, 332i & 332j.

¹¹⁶ *Town Holdings, 1886*, evidence of Mr. Robinson, p. 50, para. 1443. This evidence is corroborated by that of Mr. Stewart, agent to the Kingstown estate, who confirmed that Mr Crosthwaite was the man who leased the ground and laid out the roads at Crosthwaite Park. *Ibid.*, Evidence of Mr. Stewart, p.201, para. 5405-5406. Stewart added that he could not think of a single road made in the district, either by the county or the township since 1804, except for the 'sub-roads inside the leaseholds' made by those developing ground. *Ibid.*, p.200, para. 5372-73.

TWO FIRST-CLASS NEWLY-BUILT DWELLING HOUSES, situate at WEXFORD TERRACE, Crosthwaite Park, Kingstown. The Houses contain every accommodation for Families of respectability, are well supplied with water, and command expansive views of Sea and Mountain Scenery, and will be Sold subject to the small ground rent of £18 15s per annum.¹¹⁷

While this study has benefited from the original leases found for the Pembroke estate, the same cannot be said for John Crosthwaite's development in Kingstown. In the absence of original leases we must rely on the memorials found in the Registry of Deeds.¹¹⁸ They show that the land was acquired by Crosthwaite in 1861, in two ninety-nine year leases from the 'lords of the soil', who imposed a minimum spend of £500 per house.¹¹⁹ The memorials do not provide details of any other conditions that might have been attached to the lease, which makes it difficult to establish what control, if any, the landlords might have imposed on the design of the square. What the memorials do reveal, is that John Crosthwaite did not construct the majority of the houses, but instead sub-contracted the work out to local developers. On the east terrace, builders Patrick Kelly of Glathule and Edward Roche of Sandycove took at least four plots each, while three adjoining houses were developed by a Peter Joseph Moran (2.30).¹²⁰ In some cases, Crosthwaite signed a sub-lease with a contractor prior to building, but in others the agreement was signed when the house was complete. This was common practice in Irish cities and towns during the nineteenth century:

¹¹⁷ *General Advertiser*, 15 June 1861. 'Wexford Terrace' refers to the first seven houses on the east side of Crosthwaite Park. Griffith Valuation, Kingstown, 1855-59, vol. 3, pp 332i & 332j.

¹¹⁸ Lease memorials were available for twelve out of sixteen houses on the east side, equating to 75% of the properties. On the west side, memorials for only four houses were uncovered, equating to 25% on this side.

¹¹⁹ RD, 1861, vol. 30, mem. 105 & 112.

¹²⁰ According to evidence obtained from the Griffith Valuation, it appears that 'M. Roche' was involved in the building of Number 2 Crosthwaite Park East (possibly a relative of Edward Roche, who built Number 4 next door). Number 14 was built by a Mr. Alcock and a Mrs Duncan the adjoining Number 16. Griffith Valuation, Kingstown, 1885-59, vol. 3, p. 332i. Numbers 26 & 28 were held by Crosthwaite in yearly tenancy agreements. NAI, Card index, Corrective affidavit of Ada W. Meade Coffey, 16 Oct. 1922 (Acc. No. T15625).

When the builder had built the house or houses, he got a lease from the landowner and then sold the house or houses by making sub-leases for fines and at sub-rents which, added together, exceeded the head-rent. Thus the ultimate purchaser, who had paid for the house by way of a fine (i.e., a capital sum), held nevertheless under a sub-lease only.¹²¹

The most complete collection of lease information relates to the east side of Crosthwaite Park, where developers generally took four plots each. In agreeing to sub-lease a plot from John Crosthwaite, speculators were subject to the covenants of his original head lease to the 'lords of the soil'. When builder Edward Roche leased his second plot on the east terrace in 1864, he was subject to the minimum outlay of £500, as specified in Crosthwaite's original head lease. However another condition bound him not to 'alter or vary the style elevation or appearance of the house and premises' without Crosthwaite's consent in writing.¹²² This suggests that a coherent design was behind the development of the terrace, which was most likely approved by the ground landlords. It was the building leases which determined the planning and design of Belgrave Square in Monkstown in the 1840s, which is remarkably similar to Clarinda Park, Royal Terrace and Crosthwaite Park, which emerged twenty years later (2.31). Lord Longford's reference to Crosthwaite in 1865 (as the east and west sides of Crosthwaite Park were nearing completion), suggests that the landlords paid close attention to developments on their estate: 'Mr Crosthwaite's buildings are progressing most favorably (*sic*)' and himself full of smiles.'¹²³ Mr Stewart, agent to the Longford estate confirmed in 1886 that Crosthwaite had acquired seven or eight leases in total in Kingstown.¹²⁴ This indicates that in addition to his developments at Crosthwaite Park and Crosthwaite Terrace, he was involved in at least three other developments in the district.

¹²¹ Wylie, *Irish land law*, p. 1054.

¹²² RD, 1864, vol. 11, mem. 287-291. These memorials relate to Numbers 4,18,20,22 & 24 Crosthwaite Park East.

¹²³ NLI, De Vesci papers, Letter from the 4th Earl of Longford to the 3rd Viscount de Vesci, 24 Oct. 1865 (MS 39,014/2/5344).

¹²⁴ *Town holdings, 1886*, evidence Mr. Stewart, p.201, para. 5401.

Among the developers at Crosthwaite Park was Peter Joseph Moran, a local architect and engineer. Moran had many strings to his bow, appearing at this time also as an auctioneer and surveyor. His office was located nearby at a house named Stone View, around which Clarinda Park developed from 1849. In 1861, just as his houses in Crosthwaite Park were rising out of the ground, Moran advertised his architectural services to speculators in the area. He could supervise 'Works of every description' for a fee of 2½ but he could include plans at 'the shortest notice' for a cost of 5%.¹²⁵ He was most likely involved in the construction of the Victorian squares surrounding his office and in 1862 a newly erected house at Clarinda Park South was reported to be built 'in a superior manner under architectural supervision.'¹²⁶ Moran's hand is certainly evident in two of the houses he built on Crosthwaite Park East, which will be explored further in Chapter 3.

After the initial boost to Kingstown between 1841 and 1851, the population growth appears to have slowed down in subsequent years. A contributing factor appears to have been the steady increase of train fares, which priced many commuters out of the housing market and by 1871 there were 186 vacant houses in Kingstown.¹²⁷ The area was connected to Dublin by 'well appointed steamboats, by omnibus, and by railway, the trams running every half an hour between 6am and 11pm'.¹²⁸ However, according to one report, only about a third of Kingstown residents were regular commuters to the city.¹²⁹ By 1865 the east and west sides of Crosthwaite Park were complete, but almost one third of the houses were lying vacant. Over the following five years, on average 20% of the properties remained empty, particularly on the taller west side.¹³⁰ It is difficult to establish whether this is reflective of a recessionary slump of 1866-67, or the seasonal nature of house occupation.¹³¹

¹²⁵ *Irish Times*, 28 June 1861.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 10 May 1862. Records indicate Moran's involvement in two other building works in Ireland: a proposal for an esplanade at Kingstown and improvements at Courtown harbour in Wexford. IAA, Dictionary of Irish Architects 1720-1940, Peter Joseph Moran (www.iarc.ie) (2 Jan. 2013).

¹²⁷ Daly, *Deposed capital*, p. 176.

¹²⁸ Wakeman, *Tourists' guide through Dublin*, p.2.

¹²⁹ *Municipal Boundaries, Part I, 1880*, evidence of Mr. R. J. Ennis, p. 285, para. 70.

¹³⁰ *Thom's*, 1865-1870.

¹³¹ Mr John Donnelly, Town Clerk of Kingstown stated in 1886 that Kingstown's population was subject to considerable fluctuation, increasing by approximately 6,000 in the summer months. *Town holdings, 1886*, evidence Mr. Donnelly, p.14, para. 416.

Within two years of the completion of the east and west sides of Crosthwaite Park, a third terrace had begun to develop close by. Entirely disconnected from the other two sides, by 1867 the first four houses at Crosthwaite Park South were complete (2.27). Notably, the memorials refer to a minimum outlay of £800 per house, a substantial increase on that specified for the previous terraces, of £500.¹³² The end plot (now demolished) followed the example of the east and west sides, by locating the entrance in the gable, facing the main road. By 1868 John Crosthwaite was resident there, having moved from his seafront property next to the Royal Victoria baths. After this initial spurt of development at Crosthwaite Park South, the remaining six house sites lay vacant for at least seven years. Construction had resumed by 1875 when two houses were added, with the remaining four dwellings completing the terrace three years later (2.32).¹³³

2.3.2 Infrastructure

Compared to Lord Pembroke who laid out many roads in his estate, Kingstown's ground landlords were not as proactive in the development of their suburban land.¹³⁴ Many of the town's main roads had been laid out by the estate towards the end of the eighteenth century, to serve ground leased in 1804. When the estate bought back large parts of their land in 1837, they spent about £12,000 in providing roads for some of their most valuable housing schemes, such as the Longford and De Vesci Terraces noted previously.¹³⁵ According to John L. Robinson, town commissioner and architect for the town hall, Lord De Vesci had since then 'laid out only two or three new roads for the development of his property',¹³⁶ which included Knapton and Marlborough roads.¹³⁷

¹³² RD, 1872, vol. 35, mem. 36 & 37.

¹³³ *Thom's*, 1868-1878.

¹³⁴ Daly, *Deposed capital*, p.195. Robinson also stated that De Vesci only provided drains on roads that were due to be taken in charge by the township.

¹³⁵ James R. Stewart, agent to the Kingstown estate reported that the main roads in Kingstown were laid out by the estate between 1792 and 1803. New 99 year leaseholds were then granted in connection with these new roads in 1804. When the estate bought back 'a considerable portion of the undeveloped part of the suburbs' in 1837, it spent about £12,000 in laying out the roads to serve the following developments: Longford and De Vesci Terraces, Vesey Place, the Hill and Crescent, all located in Monkstown at the western end of Kingstown. *Town Holdings, 1886*, evidence of Mr. Stewart, p. 194, para. 5216, 5225-6 & p. 195, para. 5228 & p.205, para. 5515.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, evidence of Mr. Robinson, p. 34, p. 991-2.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 39, para. 1143.

In 1861, the grand jury relinquished their control of the roads and bridges to the Kingstown Township.¹³⁸ Crosthwaite was elected chairman of the township eight times, and had a leading role in all its affairs, including the erection of the new town hall by Michael Meade in 1880 (1.33).¹³⁹ Ó Maithú maintains that commissioners were mainly concerned with the maintenance of roads and the regulation of building, and this is corroborated by an examination of the township records.¹⁴⁰ Mr Doyle, Kingstown's engineer, confirmed that all house building plans were submitted to him for approval.¹⁴¹ In March 1859, for example, the board discussed an application by a Matthew Ryan, who had submitted a plan for a building he was about to erect in Sandycove. The commissioners considered the scheme too close to the road and instructed that it be set back at least 6½ feet from the front boundary.¹⁴² Another entry confirms that in a meeting chaired by John Crosthwaite in 1868, a plan submitted by a Mr Dowling was approved for new buildings at a corner of Clarinda Park.¹⁴³ No reference was made to the detailed finish and layout of the buildings however, which appears to have been beyond the commissioners' control. They were certainly empowered to prohibit structures that were already in place: in 1848 a Mr Connell was found erecting a structure fifteen feet beyond the existing building line, and was instructed to alter it so that it aligned with the adjoining houses.¹⁴⁴ Applications were received for smaller alterations, such as those proposed to a house in Adelaide Street in 1871. John Crosthwaite chaired the meeting, confirming his permission to lower the entrance gate there, in line with other properties on the Royal Marine Road.¹⁴⁵ Crosthwaite had based his decision on an inspection he himself had made of the premises, which indicates the hands-on role employed by commissioners.

Like Crosthwaite, many commissioners were property developers, who had a vested interest in the township's development. The developers of the other two terraced housing schemes off the Glenageary Road were also town commissioners: namely P.W. Bryan (Clarinda Park) and F. J. Nugent (Royal Terrace). Commissioners were concerned

¹³⁸ Ó Maithú, *Dublin's suburban towns*, p. 38.

¹³⁹ *Freeman's Journal*, 19 July 1884.

¹⁴⁰ Ó Maithú, *Dublin's suburban towns*, p. 77.

¹⁴¹ *Irish Times*, 9 Apr. 1877.

¹⁴² KT, LA4/4, 18 & 22 Mar. 1859 & 5 Apr. 1859. It appears that Ryan had already carried out some of the works, as he was paid compensation of £3 for making these alterations to the building.

¹⁴³ KT, LA4/119, 15 May 1868.

¹⁴⁴ KT, LA4/3, 17 Nov. 1848.

¹⁴⁵ KT, LA4/119, 20 & 27 Apr. 1871. The township engineer Mr. Doyle was directed to carry out the work.

with the maintenance of paths and roads in the township, as evidenced by the order made in 1865 to complete 100 feet of granite kerbing at Royal Terrace.¹⁴⁶ In 1867 the Road and Lighting Committee ordered 200 tons of stone and fifty tons of sand and gravel, for the surfacing of township roads.¹⁴⁷ Much of the stone was sourced locally, primarily from outlying areas such as Shankill and Loughlinstown. John Crosthwaite was also involved in the supply of materials for infrastructural works: in 1866 the board discussed his provision of sand for kerbing at Glasthule, and for his own development at Crosthwaite Park.¹⁴⁸ This issue resurfaced a number of years later, when an inquiry alleged Crosthwaite's appropriation of township materials.¹⁴⁹ A number of witnesses were examined, including the Town Clerk who confirmed that Crosthwaite could not procure asphalt elsewhere, and so 'took a little of that being used in the township for private use'. Although Mr Doyle, Kingstown's engineer professed his ignorance on the matter, accusations of collusion between him and Crosthwaite ensued.¹⁵⁰

Commissioners responded to requests by ratepayers to carry out infrastructural works in their locality. In 1862, the township surveyor was ordered to gravel the pathway at Royal Terrace East, in response to a request by one of their residents, a Mr Browning.¹⁵¹ A similar application had been made to the roads committee, following complaints by residents of Bombay Terrace due to the lack of kerbing in front of their houses.¹⁵² In some cases both township and developer carried out works: in 1867 the board passed a motion to complete two copings at Crosthwaite Park and Tivoli Road. Commissioner Crosthwaite was to supply the stone, but the township was to provide both stone and labour.¹⁵³ Ratepayers were expected to share the cost of development: in 1867, one building owner was subject to half the cost for flagging the path in front of his house on Upper Georges Street.¹⁵⁴ In 1863, a proposal was put forward to flag the entire township, with the costs being divided equally between the ratepayers and the township.¹⁵⁵ Other concerns

¹⁴⁶ KT, LA4/5, 2 Oct. 1865, pp 373-376 & LA4/119, 5 Sept. 1867.

¹⁴⁷ KT, LA4/119, 5 Feb. 1867.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 7 May 1866.

¹⁴⁹ *Irish Times*, 7 Apr. 1877.

¹⁵⁰ Fifteen years earlier, the town surveyor was also accused of stealing stone from the commissioners yard, leading to his suspension. KT, LA4/20, 10 Oct. 1864- 28 Oct. 1864.

¹⁵¹ KT, LA4/5, 19 Dec. 1862.

¹⁵² KT, LA4/4, 29 July 1859.

¹⁵³ KT, LA4/119, 5 Sept. 1867.

¹⁵⁴ KT, LA4/119, 5 Feb. 1867.

¹⁵⁵ *Dublin Builder*, 15 Aug. 1863.

included the provision of adequate road crossings, which enabled long skirted ladies to negotiate the muddy streets. Due to complaints of insufficiently wide crossings in 1862, the board proposed five new crossings four feet wide each, including one at Royal Terrace and two at Crosthwaite Park.¹⁵⁶ It seems they were constructed in stone, as the board subsequently accepted a tender for £60 from John Long for 'five Granite Crossings', on the condition that they were sourced in 'either Dalkey or Bullock Quarries'.¹⁵⁷ In 1868, a number of kerb stones lying at Crosthwaite Park were to be used to complete a crossing on the east side of the square.¹⁵⁸ Although the crossings have disappeared since, granite kerbing is still in existence today at Crosthwaite Park (2.33).

While the east and west sides of Crosthwaite Park were built over a period of five years, Clarinda Park's slow progress was a source of frustration to residents. In 1863, *The Irish Times* published a letter from a resident of the south side of the square, lamenting the bad state of the roads and footpaths there.¹⁵⁹ Signing their name 'stuck in the mud', they claimed that despite the payment of £100 in rates, little had been done to make or repair roads on any side of the development. By this time Clarinda Park had been in construction for at least fourteen years, and wouldn't reach completion for some time to come. Reportedly, the coast road was: 'a canal of mud, and the footway but little better, both being made of yellow clay'. An appeal was made for the surfacing of the roads and pathways, but the township defended their position, arguing: 'The Commissioners, however, cannot do everything at once. New houses were being erected, and the roads are probably torn up by the concourse of heavily laden waggons..'. Now that the houses were finished, they assured their readers that they would carry out the improvements, as soon as the first spell of dry weather.

Notably, the resident of Clarinda Park had requested broken stones for the completion of the road, rather than a more superior asphalt finish. This is a reference to the macadam (crushed stone) finish found in the Rathmines Township, which generated

¹⁵⁶ *Freeman's Journal*, 29 Nov. 1862. Other references to crossings include: KT, LA4/119, 6 Mar. 1867, 5 Mar. 1868 & 14 Sept. 1871.

¹⁵⁷ KT, LA4/4, 24 Aug. 1860.

¹⁵⁸ KT, LA4/119, 6 Feb. 1868.

¹⁵⁹ *Irish Times*, 15 Jan. 1863.

mud in winter and dust in summer.¹⁶⁰ It would explain why unpaved streets such as these required such constant maintenance, and the many references to the 'scavenging' and watering of streets. *The Irish Times* were in receipt of another letter in 1865 from William Semple, also resident on the square, who lamented: 'Last week we were nearly smothered, and on Saturday the clouds of dust compelled us to close up our windows or the furniture would be destroyed'.¹⁶¹ Semple claimed that while adjoining streets were watered twice a day (due to a commissioner residing there), nothing had been done to make or repair the road in Clarinda Park. Although his complaints to the township forced them to send around a cart, it gave 'a miserable watering', passing over only one quarter of the required surface area. The town hall was in receipt of many similar letters of complaint, but clearly the commissioners were struggling to maintain services: by 1864 only five watering carts were serving the whole of the Kingstown Township.¹⁶²

Apart from the management of roads and paths, commissioners were preoccupied with the effective drainage of the township. In 1864, one developer at Clarinda Park was given permission to run a drain from the rear of the south terrace. On the lodgement of a £1 deposit, Bryan was allowed open a sewer on to the Sallynoggin Road.¹⁶³ This appears to have been standard practice, as other developers were found depositing the same amount 'as a guarantee for the due performance of the work'.¹⁶⁴ Once the town surveyor was satisfied with the works the deposit was refunded, as in the case of Mr Tedcastle, who was permitted to open the public sewer to carry waste water from a well on his premises.¹⁶⁵ However, while the township retained the necessary powers to provide a main drainage system, they did not always have the means to carry them out. Complaints were frequently received from ratepayers regarding the lack of cleansing, lighting and draining in their areas. In 1866, Crosthwaite chaired a meeting of the Roads Committee, where 'nuisances' at Eden Park were discussed: '...where Mr Collum

¹⁶⁰ Ó Maithú, *Dublin's suburban towns*, p. 81.

¹⁶¹ *Irish Times*, 15 June 1865.

¹⁶² Glenageary Road (near Crosthwaite Park) appears to have been particularly bad in this regard. KT, LA4/120, 19 July 1864. Another example is the letter received from inhabitants of Longford Terrace in 1860, 'complaining of the want of water on the roads in that locality'. LA4/4, 20 July 1860.

¹⁶³ KT, LA4/119, 30 Sept. 1864.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 25 Aug. 1864.

¹⁶⁵ KT, LA4/119, 21 Nov. 1864.

built 6 houses the sewers which run in to a dry ditch adjoining Mr Murkin's property where it remains uncovered to soak away as best it can.'¹⁶⁶

Other reports emerged of open sewers in the township, leading to attempts to install 'proper stench traps' to the drains to prevent noxious smells.¹⁶⁷ Accounts of sewage discharging on to the sea shore were another source of embarrassment, especially in light of Kingstown's role as a tourist resort.¹⁶⁸ Most importantly, these deficiencies had a detrimental impact on the health of suburban residents and in 1866 a cholera epidemic led to 127 deaths in the township.¹⁶⁹ A particular black spot was the low-lying village of Glasthule, deemed an 'Irish Plague Spot' where a 'rudely-constructed sewer' ran in to a stream used for drinking and washing.¹⁷⁰ In a meeting of the board in 1865, it was reported that £3,000 was required to fund sewers there, but the commissioners were not legally empowered to strike a rate for this amount.¹⁷¹ They proposed an application to the Attorney-General, so that amendments to the relevant legislation could be made. Even when the main drains had been constructed in Kingstown by 1886, the outfall sewer exited on to the foreshore at Monkstown, resulting in extensive pollution there.¹⁷²

Although no specific references have been found to the provision of sewers at Crosthwaite Park, it is probable that the example at Clarinda Park was followed, where developers ran drains from the houses to connect to the main sewers.¹⁷³ By 1877, Crosthwaite was reporting as follows: 'Every house in Crosthwaite Park is well sewered. All the money that could be had out in Kingstown would not improve the sewerage there'.¹⁷⁴ Three months later, the board considered a proposal to provide a sewer there

¹⁶⁶ KT, LA4/120, 25 May 1866.

¹⁶⁷ KT, LA4/4, 10 June 1859.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 2 Sept. 1859 & Ó Maithú, *Dublin's suburban towns*, p. 102.

¹⁶⁹ Ó Maithú, *Dublin's suburban towns*, p. 97.

¹⁷⁰ *Dublin Builder*, 1 Sept. 1862.

¹⁷¹ *Irish Times*, 5 Sept. 1865.

¹⁷² *Town holdings, 1886*, evidence Mr. Robinson, p.55, para. 1585. Although the rates were sufficiently high in the town, the commissioners were reluctant to fund a larger sewer to carry the effluent further out to sea, without a financial contribution from the estate landlords.

¹⁷³ As noted, a developer at Clarinda Park was found connecting a drain to the main sewer at Sallynoggin Road in 1864. It appears that at least part of Tivoli Road was also sewered, as that year a ratepayer deposited £1 with the township to open a drain from his house in to the main sewer there. KT, LA4/119, 8 June 1864.

¹⁷⁴ *Irish Times*, 9 Apr. 1877.

at a cost of £140.¹⁷⁵ It was to serve the four remaining houses that were planned at Crosthwaite Park South, to be paid either by striking a 'retrospective sewer rate' or by obtaining a loan for drainage works. Crosthwaite argued that the proposal was in line with what the township would soon be compelled to do: to provide sewers in advance of house building.¹⁷⁶ Town commissioner Edward Roche voted in favour of the proposal, which was eventually carried by the board. Roche was a local builder who had leased plots from Crosthwaite in the early 1860s and built four houses in Crosthwaite Square East. In 1890 advertisements for lettings in Crosthwaite Park South confirmed that the main drainage in the estate had been reconstructed 'on the newest sanitary principles' under direction of the engineer W. G. Strype, who would provide lessees with a certificate for the works.¹⁷⁷

The first reference to the building of Crosthwaite Park appeared in the winter of 1860, when *The Dublin Builder* reported that the first six houses were emerging out of the ground. John Crosthwaite's builders must have begun to break ground for the scheme the previous summer, as evidenced from an entry from August 1859, giving him permission to draw water from a large public pump nearby, for building purposes.¹⁷⁸ The privilege was withdrawn two months later: the pump had run 'perfectly dry' due to it being used so frequently by builders in the area.¹⁷⁹ Crosthwaite Park was one of three housing developments in the course of erection at this time: Royal Terrace and Clarinda Park were also in fruition close by. It appears that he continued to make use of the facility: in February 1860 Crosthwaite's men had a key for the pump 'from which water is constantly taken'.¹⁸⁰ As for the water supply to the individual houses, in 1862 a notice referred to the 'good supply of hard and soft Water' at Number 8 Crosthwaite Park East.¹⁸¹ The most likely source for this was a local well, as prior to the provision of a supply from Vartry Reservoir in 1871, Kingstown relied on the sinking of wells for its water supply.¹⁸² By the

¹⁷⁵ *Freeman's Journal*, 11 July 1877.

¹⁷⁶ This is probably a reference to the Irish public health act of 1878, which tightened sanitary regulations as well as making the townships the statutory sanitary authorities. As Ó Maithú explains: 'all houses were to have privy accommodation, either a water or an earth closet, and all houses were to be built with drains; sewage was to be purified before being discharged into streams. Ó Maithú, *Dublin's suburban towns*, p.82.

¹⁷⁷ *Irish Times*, 3 Sept. 1890.

¹⁷⁸ KT, LA4/4, 5 & 26 Aug. 1859.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 24 Oct. 1859.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 3 Feb. 1860.

¹⁸¹ *Irish Times*, 23 Aug. 1862.

¹⁸² Ó Maithú, *Dublin's suburban towns*, p. 86.

time of the municipal boundaries commission of 1879 however, the entire Kingstown Township was served by a supply from Dublin Corporation.¹⁸³ All residents drew water from the system during the day, but the pressure was reduced at night 'in order to check the enormous consumption'. The system did not have the capacity to pump to houses in higher districts during the night, such as in Vesey-place in the hills above Monkstown.¹⁸⁴ As town commissioner, Crosthwaite was clearly in prime position to advocate other improvements at his development. At a meeting of the board in 1865 he argued for better lighting in the area surrounding Crosthwaite Park. By this time the east and west sides of the square had just been completed, and Crosthwaite claimed that gas lamps were extinguished 'at an early hour in the night, instead of being allowed to remain lit until day dawn'.¹⁸⁵ In anticipation of the financial implications for the township, he confirmed that residents would be willing to contribute to the cost.

Kingstown's development went through distinct periods of expansion and contraction during the nineteenth century. The greatest period of growth occurred from the 1830s, prompted mainly by the opening of the railway and the re-leasing of ground by the estate landlords. The following twenty years saw the emergence of some of the district's highest quality housing developments, such as De Vesci Terrace, Belgrave Square and Longford Terrace. As prime seafront sites were increasingly built upon, speculators turned to the vacant ground in the less developed district to the eastern end of the town. An initial surge of building saw most of Royal Terrace, Clarinda Park and the east and west sides of Crosthwaite Park complete by 1867. However, the relatively slow progression of Crosthwaite Park South thereafter, is a reflection of a reduced housing market in the 1870s. The demonstrably strong demand for medium to large terraced housing that was palpable in the mid-century, was markedly reduced in the final twenty years of the nineteenth century. Property values continued to decrease due to the impending expiration of leases in 1903,¹⁸⁶ and this combined with the town's continued sanitary neglect and its associated diseases, weakened Kingstown's appeal. As rail fares continued to rise, commuters could turn to attractive alternatives closer to the city, such as the leafy

¹⁸³ *Municipal Boundaries, Part I, 1880*, evidence of Mr. R. J. Ennis, p.284, para. 24.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, para. 28, 30 & 34.

¹⁸⁵ *Irish Times*, 1 Dec. 1865. It seems that the lamps were installed by builders on the square. Two years previously Crosthwaite had asked the builder Mr. Roche (who had built four houses on the east side) to 'point out an eligible site for a lamp-post at Crosthwaite Park'. *Ibid.*, 7 Mar. 1863.

¹⁸⁶ *Town holdings, 1886*, evidence Mr. Donnelly, p.13, para. 384 & p.17, para. 480.

suburbs of the outer Pembroke estate and greater Rathmines, which were all well served by trams by the 1870s. Although the rapid decline experienced by Kingstown from the 1880s was a reflection of a wider economic depression in the Dublin area, it was said to be felt more in Kingstown than in other Dublin suburbs.¹⁸⁷ Between 1881 and 1891, Kingstown's population reduced by 5%, while other suburbs next to the city increased in size: Pembroke by 4.47% and Rathmines by a larger proportion of 12.29%.¹⁸⁸

2.4 Rathmines and Rathgar

2.4.1 Development and building control

In 1837, the year Queen Victoria came to the throne, Rathgar was described as a suburban village nestled among country fields, interspersed with the odd quarry and 'several ranges of pleasant houses and numerous detached villas... (2.34).¹⁸⁹ Located one and a half miles south of the city, it was not nearly as developed as its neighbour, the 'considerable village and suburb' of Rathmines.¹⁹⁰ The Ordnance Survey map showed a reasonable density of development along the Rathmines Road, described by Lewis as: 'extending in a continued line of handsome houses, with some pretty detached villas, for about one mile and a half'.¹⁹¹ The district continued to grow, as the next Ordnance Survey of 1843 illustrates (2.35). To the south was the Rathgar Road, leading to the outlying suburban villages of Rathgar and Roundtown (now Terenure) (2.36). Here the densities dropped, with terraced houses springing up on a more sporadic basis. Beyond the village of Rathgar was country proper: the Dodder River marked the southern boundary of the area, which meandered across the landscape, dotted with an assortment of mills, factories and quarries. Since the eighteenth century, the waters of this river had been diverted through several millraces to power machinery for the milling of grains, the sawing of timber and the manufacture of fabrics.

One of the principal villas in Rathgar belonged to Patrick Waldron, who along with Messrs Dodd and Carton was in the business of textile printing. On this twenty-five acre

¹⁸⁷ Daly, *Deposed capital*, pp 176 & 193.

¹⁸⁸ Wallace, 'Local politics', p. 89.

¹⁸⁹ Christopher Ryan, *Lewis' Dublin, a topographical dictionary of the parishes, towns and villages of Dublin city and county* (Cork, 2001), p. 229.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.232.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*

site Waldron ran an 'extensive bleaching-green, with printing works' adjoining the Dodder River (2.36).¹⁹² The linen trade was an important industry in Ireland during this time and many families were involved in the bleaching of linen, or the spinning of flax into yarn.¹⁹³ Bleaching greens were a common sight, as lands of up to 30 acres were required to spread the fabric out to dry. The Ordnance Survey map indicates the presence of 'Rathgar Calico Printing Factory': a large building close to the road and the river (2.37). A field adjacent marked 'Drying Green' was protected from flooding by a long dyke, the latter which is still in existence today.¹⁹⁴

In contrast to Pembroke and Kingstown, the growing suburbs of Rathmines and Rathgar were not dominated by the estate landlord system. Certainly Lord Meath, Lord Palmerston and Lord Longford all held stakes in Rathmines, but they tended to release ground on long leases of up to 999 years (compared to the 99 to 150 year leases discussed to date).¹⁹⁵ Long leases relinquished control to smaller speculative developers, but ground landlords in Rathmines also tended to impose little restrictions on building.¹⁹⁶ Waldron's site in Rathgar was previously it was in the hands of Charles FitzGerald, who along with the existing mills and dwelling house, gave him free use of the water channel which ran in to the Dodder River.¹⁹⁷ His factory employed 300 men, who operated a 30-horse power engine and a water-wheel to manufacture muslin, calicos and silks. Perched above on the elevated site was his residence Rathgar House, whose main entrance faced away from the factory (2.38). The lands below also contained a mill pond ten metres deep: a body of water used as a reservoir to power the water-powered mill adjacent. Operations at the factory ceased in 1842,¹⁹⁸ and in the early 1850s Waldron was in the process of building a new road (shown marked) to continue towards Churchtown (2.37).¹⁹⁹ In March 1851, he sold twenty-five acres of his estate to John Crosthwaite of Kingstown, and this holding formed part of the marriage settlement of Crosthwaite's daughter Eliza Maria to William

¹⁹² *Ibid.*

¹⁹³ Aghadowey Linen Bleaching Greens, Co. Londonderry, Ireland, excerpts from the book Aghadowey by Rev. Thomas H. Mullin (Belfast, 1972) (http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~nirldy/aghadowey/ag_linen.htm) (17 December 2012).

¹⁹⁴ Christopher Moriarty, *Down the Dodder* (Dublin, 1991), p. 116.

¹⁹⁵ Ó Maithú, *Dublin's suburban towns*, p.26 & Daly, *Deposed capital*, p.153.

¹⁹⁶ Daly, 'The growth of Victorian Dublin', p.30.

¹⁹⁷ NAI, Family and estate papers, maps and rentals, Copy of original lease from 18 Aug. 1863, ground in Rathgar, William Carvill to William Todd (Acc. No. 1146/3/2).

¹⁹⁸ F.E. Dixon, *The history of Rathgar* (Dublin, 1991), p.4.

¹⁹⁹ RD, 1852, vol. 8, mem. 296.

Carvill.²⁰⁰ Patrick Waldron died the following year at the age of eighty, willing that the remaining lands at Rathgar be sold soon after his death. By this time William Carvill had returned from Canada, leaving his younger brother George in charge of their shipping and timber business.

By the time William Carvill moved in to Rathgar house c. 1853,²⁰¹ the district contained less than half the houses of Rathmines, having sprung up only in the previous 20 years.²⁰² We have seen how Waldron, the previous owner of the Carvill lands, built a bridge over the Dodder and a new road extending towards Churchtown. Being outside any city or township boundary, Rathgar remained under the control of the grand jury, whose inefficiencies often left residents and landowners carrying out basic services for themselves. Infrastructural works were also carried out as part of specific developments: when the site for the new Zion church was sold to the north of the Carvill lands in 1859, the purchaser was required to complete 350 feet of new road fronting the church.²⁰³ Sir Robert Shaw of Bushy Park House nearby was at this time considering opening a road through his demesne, 'to meet this and present desirable villa lots'.²⁰⁴ Meanwhile, infrastructural deficiencies such as unmaintained roads and lack of services such as lighting, water and drainage continued to remain the norm. Despite these challenges the area continued to grow, and as Carvill expanded his saw mill business he must have been watched its development with interest.

Michael Meade was also part of this story, as in the summer of 1859 he was constructing four houses in Rathgar.²⁰⁵ Two of these were for a Henry Todd, a wealthy city businessman and proprietor of Todd Burns, a large drapery firm with stores in Dublin,

²⁰⁰ NAI, Family and estate papers, maps and rentals, Copy of original lease from 18 Aug. 1863, ground in Rathgar, William Carvill to William Todd (Acc. No. 1146/3/2). Some of this land was assigned over to merchant James Miley of Eden Quay in 1852 for the use of the trustees. & RD, 1852, vol. 12, mem. 75.

²⁰¹ *Thom's*, 1853.

²⁰² Ó Maithú, *Dublin's suburban towns*, p.22.

²⁰³ P.H. Browne & D.R.C. Hilliard, *Zion Church Rathgar: a brief account of its history, 1861-1961* (Dublin, 1961), p. 8. The site was purchased in fee simple for £150.

²⁰⁴ *Dublin Builder*, 1 Dec. 1859.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 1 June 1859.

Cork and Limerick.²⁰⁶ The company had been established in 1834 with Gilbert Burns, a nephew of the Scottish poet Robert Burns. Todd joined with a number of businesses in 1852 to found the Mountjoy Brewery and the Dublin and Glasgow Steam Packet Company.²⁰⁷ The Rathgar houses were designed by the young architect James Rawson Carroll, who had recently set up practice in Great Brunswick Street. The scheme was most likely part of Oakland Villas, consisting of two pairs of semi-detached houses on his estate on the Highfield Road (2.39).²⁰⁸

Despite various attempts throughout the 1850s to extend the boundary of the neighbouring township, it took a number of years before the bill was finally passed. In 1862 Rathgar was amalgamated with Rathmines, including the Carvill lands which sat right on the edge of the newly defined district (2.40). Henry Todd had been one of the promoters of the bill and was elected a commissioner for the new Rathgar ward.²⁰⁹ Since the late 1850s Rathmines had witnessed a house building boom, being described by *The Dublin Builder* as 'virtually a wing of the city'.²¹⁰ In 1861, it was reported that seventy houses had been built within the previous year, with demand still exceeding supply, and rents on the increase.²¹¹ The following year it continued to highlight the emergence of populous districts around the city and in particular around Rathgar, Rathmines and Harold's-Cross, where: 'Villas detached and semi-detached, cottage residences, and terraces in various designs and styles here stud the soil, and the several roads and approaches seem to have been laid out with much judgement'.²¹²

²⁰⁶ Ó Maithú, *Dublin's suburban towns*, p. 66. & Maurice Craig, 'The account-book of William Caldbeck, Architect', in *Architectural History*, vii (1984), p.423.

²⁰⁷ Reggie Redmond, *The history of Oakland Rathgar* (Dublin, 2008), p.19.

²⁰⁸ Griffith Valuation, Rathfarnham, 1855-1864, vol. 1, p.126 & 193 & *Dublin Builder*, 15 Aug. 1861. Henry Todd appears in Griffith Valuation as immediate lessor of seven properties on the 'Old Rathgar Road'. Four of these are named collectively as Oakland Villas, two of which are in progress in May 1859 at a cost of £900 each. The second pair appear in the valuation books in September 1861 which appear to relate to an entry in *The Dublin Builder* from 1861: '...Mr. Hugh Kelly, builder, who is also completing two other houses at Oaklands, Rathgar, for Mr. Henry Todd; Mr. Ferguson, architect.' *Dublin Builder*, 1 Aug. 1861.

²⁰⁹ Ó Maithú, *Dublin's suburban towns*, p. 66.

²¹⁰ *Dublin Builder*, 1 Dec. 1860.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, 1 Mar. 1861.

²¹² *Ibid.*, 1 Jan. 1862.

Not all domestic architecture was thriving in the Dublin suburbs. In 1860 *The Dublin Builder* noted the 'sudden rage for cheap houses' with surveyors, valuers and auctioneers involved in speculation.²¹³ Some houses were built without the use of an architect or master builder, leading to a wide range of problems, including defective drainage, bad materials and rising damp. Sub-standard housing was a recurring theme in the journal, where it continued to lament the 'scamp work' carried out by 'jerry' builders, who used the cheapest materials in house construction. Other articles pointed to the practice in other cities, such as in London and Glasgow, while some houses in Belfast were reported to be 'built by fools'. However where an experienced architect was used, it was immediately apparent and in 1864 *The Dublin Builder* confirmed that there were 'many splendid specimens of their skill in Rathmines, Rathgar, Dundrum, and some few even in Kingstown...'²¹⁴

Following its amalgamation with Rathmines, the value of land in Rathgar doubled in value over the following seventeen years.²¹⁵ Henry Todd was one of three commissioners of the Rathgar Ward, who were all wealthy city businessmen, and having witnessed the improvements in Rathmines, were 'anxious if possible to take advantage of it'.²¹⁶ Henry Todd resided on a 14 acre estate called Oakland House located just north-east of the Carvill lands (2.41 & 2.42: present day St. Luke's hospital). He ran the drapery firm with his brother William Todd, who was the owner of sixteen houses in nearby Leinster Road when he was elected to the first board of Rathmines commissioners in 1847.²¹⁷ In 1863, a year after the township was extended to Rathgar, William Todd bought a lease on a six acre field from Carvill, and within two years he had built a new residence named Orwell House, designed by the architect William Caldbeck (2.42).²¹⁸

²¹³ *Ibid.*, 1 Jul 1860.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 15 Mar. 1864.

²¹⁵ Ó Maithú, *Dublin's suburban towns*, p.66.

²¹⁶ *Municipal Boundaries, Part I, 1880*, evidence of Mr. John H. Evans, p. 112, para. 2427. Evans was one of the first Rathmines commissioners in 1847. By the time he gave evidence to the commission, he had been secretary to the Rathmines & Rathgar Township since 1862.

²¹⁷ Ó Maithú, *Dublin's suburban towns*, p. 48 & *Freeman's Journal*, 11 Feb. 1863. The board consisted of twenty-one members: eighteen for Rathmines and three for Rathgar. A number of board members were involved in building on Leinster Road, including the township's founder Frederick Stokes and its secretary John Evans. Ó Maithú, *Dublin's suburban towns*, p.80.

²¹⁸ IAA, *Dictionary of Irish Architects 1720-1940*, Orwell House. This house has since been demolished.

2.4.2 Infrastructure

As in Kingstown, many commissioners had vested interests in involving themselves in local government: when the township was formed in 1847, at least half of the board members were speculative builders.²¹⁹ Commissioners were empowered to lay out new roads and buildings, as well as provide public services such as lighting, cleansing and sanitary services. New regulations determined minimum street widths, requiring buildings to be set back at least thirty feet from the centre of the road.²²⁰ Research to date indicates that developers here also laid out the new roads and paths, which were then adopted and maintained by the township.²²¹ An example is the commissioner Michael Murphy, who developed seventy acres of land at Kenilworth Square, proclaiming: 'I cut the whole thing out for building, arranged the plots, and laid out the roads'.²²² In 1860 *The Dublin Builder* described the emergence of Brighton Square in Rathgar which was developed by the estate agent Mark Bentley, a future township commissioner:

....an extensive tract, presenting some 3,000 feet of building frontage, has been laid out most advantageously by the proprietors, Messrs. Bentley, who have constructed new roads, both main and minor, conveniently communicating with Garville-avenue, Leicester-road, &c., and an important field for operations is being opened up.²²³

The bye-laws stated that the roads were to be property gravelled and sewered and the paths properly constructed before they could be adopted by the board. The costs were negotiated with the township, but in many cases the builders of the roads were also members of the board, which has led to some speculation as to the 'scope for mutually beneficial deals'.²²⁴

²¹⁹ Ó Maithú, *Dublin's suburban towns*, p.47.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.78. An examination of some of the Ordnance Survey maps for Rathgar reveals that streets were constructed with greater setbacks than the minimum of thirty feet. Buildings on the main Rathgar Road average 73 feet 9 inches from the centre of the road, while Rostrevor Terrace measures 65 feet 7 inches, and secondary roads like Frankfort Avenue average 52 feet 5 inches. OS 1882.

²²¹ Daly, *Deposed capital*, p.154.

²²² *Municipal Boundaries, Part I, 1880*, evidence of Mr. Michael Murphy, p. 133, para. 3208.

²²³ *Dublin Builder*, 1 Apr. 1860.

²²⁴ Ó Maithú, *Dublin's suburban towns*, p. 78.

Henry Todd would not live to see the great changes that were about to take place in Rathgar. In 1863 he died 'in the prime of his life', at forty-five years of age. The following year his estate was put up for sale, comprising ten lots in Rathmines and Rathgar, including eight houses and a number of building sites.²²⁵ Oakland villas formed part of the sale and the advertisements boasted that they were: 'commodious first-class dwelling-houses.... and command from the rear a splendid view of the Dublin mountains.'²²⁶ Other houses included the adjoining 'Georgeville' and 'Mountain View', which were in place at least twenty years. A number of vacant lots were available and were described as: 'admirable building ground' suitable for the building of 'splendid villa residences', while a house and lands in Rathmines (St. Kevin's) was also up for auction. It was claimed that all the properties were in 'constant communication by car and omnibus', and that a proposed new railway station was about to increase their value.²²⁷ Commuters at this time were reliant on the horse-drawn omnibus, but it would be another eight years before the horse-drawn tram would ply through the south Dublin suburbs.²²⁸

As Henry Todd's estate went up for sale, his neighbour William Carvill continued to expand his timber trade, while in partnership with his brother George in Canada. By the time the first four houses at Rostrevor Terrace emerged in 1865 (2.43 & 2.44), the area was developing rapidly, with a population of 1,180:

RATHGAR, ...is now one of the most pleasing outlets of the metropolis, studded with handsome terraces or detached villas, and several pretty avenues diverging from the centre,...Close to the cross-roads are extensively-worked quarries of calp limestone, which is chiefly raised by blasting.²²⁹

These changes are reflected in the Ordnance Survey of that year, showing Rathgar Road and its tributaries developed in lines of terraces set back uniformly back from the street

²²⁵ *Freeman's Journal*, 9 & 11 Feb. 1863.

²²⁶ *General Advertiser*, 3 Sept. 1864.

²²⁷ This would appear to refer to the proposed Dublin Rathmines, Rathfarnham and Rathcoole railway line, which never came to pass. Daly, *Deposed capital*, p. 174.

²²⁸ Daly, 'The growth of Victorian Dublin', p. 20.

²²⁹ *Thom's*, 1865.

(2.42). The area's expansion was aided by developments in transport. Visitors to Dublin's 1865 International Exhibition were told: 'Omnibuses ply from the Bank and Nelsons Pillar to Glasnevin, Donnybrook, Clontarf, Sandymount, Rathmines and Rathgar', and if tourists procured an outside seat on a tram, they could enjoy 'a good view of suburban localities'.²³⁰ Trams from Rathmines proceeded through Rathgar village and onwards to Terenure, leaving commuters only a ten minute walk from Rostrevor Terrace. Advertisements continued to appear in *The Dublin Builder* for building ground in the area, offering leases for 999 years in an area they claimed was 'unquestionably the best in the suburbs of Dublin'.²³¹ While Carvill built the houses without building leases,²³² they closely resemble those emerging at the same time in the Pembroke Estate.

William Carvill must have had a good view of progress at Rostrevor Terrace, from the first floor of his villa to the south of the site. The 1865 Ordnance map shows the road completed only as far as the first four houses, while the adjacent field awaits development (2.43). The first few years saw the greatest spurt in building: by 1868 twelve houses had been built there, but it took another three years to add the last two dwellings.²³³ A surveyor noted in the Griffith Valuation books that the first house enjoyed 'a good prospect', indicating the views afforded by its elevated location (2.44: this comment relates to Number 1, shown here on the right).²³⁴ Carvill was the likely builder of the road and paths at Rostrevor Terrace, which he would have been required to complete to the township's satisfaction.²³⁵ This is corroborated by Samuel H. Bolton, a builder and Rathmines commissioner for nine years, who reported in 1879: '....it is one of the rules of our Board that if any gentleman takes a piece of ground to speculate on it for building purposes, he makes the drains, and makes the roadway, and kerbs it to the satisfaction of our engineer, before we take it off his hands....'²³⁶

²³⁰ Wakeman, *Tourists' guide through Dublin*, p.81.

²³¹ *Dublin Builder*, 1 Jan. 1861.

²³² NAI, Card index, copy of original grant of probate of William Carvill, Rathgar House, Dublin, dated February 1885. (Acc. No. T6875). Carvill stated in his will that he had built valuable houses on his lands in Rathgar without having obtained 'any formal lease of the building sites from the trustees thereof'.

²³³ *Thom's*, 1865-1875.

²³⁴ Griffith Valuation, Rathfarnham, 1864-1875, vol. 1, p. 210.

²³⁵ This road was adopted by the Rathmines & Rathgar Township and urban district council in 1894. Ó Maithú, *Dublin's suburban towns*, p.79.

²³⁶ *Municipal Boundaries, Part I, 1880*, evidence of Mr. Samuel H. Bolton, p.131, para. 3116.

It seems however that once a road was adopted by the township, commissioners still struggled to fund their continued maintenance. An example is the Rathgar Road, the main thoroughfare from Rathmines which was reportedly used daily by thousands, and especially on Sundays. In 1879, after seventeen years of township control, there were still no raised crossings at the main street intersections, forcing walkers to 'wade over the road in mud'.²³⁷ As O'Maithú as found, most roads in Rathmines were finished in macadam: a finish of crushed stone which generated mud and dust, being almost impossible to clean.²³⁸ A better finish was found on roads served by trams, as the transport company was required to pave the central portion of the road under the tracks. At the sides, the inferior macadam finish was a source of much complaint in the township, even where stone crossings were introduced. While only a third of the paths were finished in the superior asphalt found in Pembroke, a cheaper tar was used for the remaining fourteen miles.²³⁹

The 1865 map also shows that Carvill was involved in the formation of other schemes on his estate, as a new road had been laid out to the east of Rathgar Saw Mill, serving two semi-detached houses named Orwell Park (2.43). These dwellings had been built by Carvill a number of years earlier, but they had formed part of a sub-lease of the adjoining field to his neighbour William Todd in 1863 (2.45).²⁴⁰ By the time of the Ordnance Survey of 1865, a young Bram Stoker was residing in one of the Orwell Park houses, while attending Trinity College Dublin.²⁴¹ As a prominent township commissioner and city merchant, Todd paid a substantial £2,800 for the land and buildings with the intention to continue developing sites there. However, it took some time for this plan to come to fruition, as in the following seventeen years only another four houses were built on the road (2.46).²⁴² The first of these was a large detached dwelling named Woodhurst, built to house the family of his deceased brother Henry Todd (2.47). On the south-eastern corner of the field a property named Orwell Bank emerged, which was occupied by a

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, evidence Mr. John Beveridge, p.11, para.223.

²³⁸ Ó Maithú, *Dublin's suburban towns* p.81.

²³⁹ *Municipal Boundaries, Part I, 1880*, evidence of Mr. Henry Johnston, p. 145, para. 3614, 3619 & 3737. According to the city engineer Parke Neville, there were also private roads in the townships which did not require as much maintenance, as they were used only by residents. *Ibid.*, evidence of Mr. Parke Neville, p. 27, para. 631.

²⁴⁰ RD, 1863, vol. 28, mem. 47 & NAI, Family and estate papers, maps and rentals, Copy of original lease from 18 Aug. 1863, ground in Rathgar, William Carvill to William Todd (Acc. No. 1146/3/2).

²⁴¹ *Thom's*, 1865.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, 1865-1880.

minister from the Presbyterian Church in Rathgar.²⁴³ William Todd also developed a pair of semi-detached houses on the north side of the road: he was reported to have built Number 6 Orwell Park in granite 'regardless of expense, at a cost of over £3,000' (2.48).²⁴⁴

Before the completion of the main drainage system towards the end of the 1870s, residents in Rathgar faced similar challenges as their neighbours in Pembroke. In 1879, six years after the completion of Rostrevor Terrace, the drainage in the area was reported to be 'very bad'.²⁴⁵ Commissioners had been promising to provide a system of main drainage in the district for a number of years, but in the meantime the main Orwell Road remained unsewered. Rostrevor Terrace was drained by a private drain at the rear which ran down to the River Dodder below, and this indicated on the Ordnance Survey map of 1882 (2.49). With effluent emptying into local rivers, residents in Rathgar had much in common with their Sandymount neighbours, who were subjected to the 'pestilential stench' of the Dodder River. In nearby Zion Road, reports emerged of a 'disgraceful nuisance', where neither a sewer nor a cess pool was provided.²⁴⁶ Problems of water supply further compounded the issue: although a new waterworks had been completed in 1863, the system was not sufficiently pressurized to pump to the higher levels at Rathgar²⁴⁷ and with sanitary facilities located generally on the upper levels, this had implications for the supply of water closets and cisterns in dwellings.²⁴⁸ A new pumping station built in 1872 had brought water to the district, but residents remained without a supply from between at least ten in the evening until six the next morning.²⁴⁹

1880 saw the death of William Todd and his remains were conveyed from his home at Orwell Park to Mount Jerome Cemetery.²⁵⁰ *The Irish Times* reported that over

²⁴³ NAI: Family and estate papers, maps and rentals, original fee farm grant dated 10 Mar. 1878, ground and premises known as Orwell Bank, William Todd to the trustees of Christ Church Rathgar. (Acc. No. 1146/3/3). William Todd was a Presbyterian and this was most likely his local church. *Irish Times*, 13 Sept. 1881.

²⁴⁴ *Irish Times*, 23 Apr. 1888.

²⁴⁵ *Municipal Boundaries, Part I, 1880*, evidence of Mr. Mark Bentley, p. 167, paras. 4418-4419.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, para. 4437.

²⁴⁷ Ó Maithú, *Dublin's suburban towns*, p. 88.

²⁴⁸ *Municipal Boundaries, Part I, 1880*, evidence of Mr. Charles Dawson, p. 60, para. 1523 & *Ibid.*, evidence of Mr. John H. Evans, p. 116, para. 2633.

²⁴⁹ *Municipal Boundaries, Part I, 1880*, evidence of Mr. Henry Johnston, p. 146, para. 3653.

²⁵⁰ *Irish Times*, 2 Aug. 1880.

one hundred and fifty carriages followed in line to honour 'the most eminent and honoured of our merchant princes'.²⁵¹ In December 1882 his estate was put up for sale, consisting of nineteen lots: twenty-five houses in Rathmines, Rathgar and Dublin city (2.50).²⁵² The auction included sixteen houses in Leinster Road in Rathmines: a terrace of fourteen two-storey properties, claiming to be 'desirable residences, never unlet, and as an investment offer security rarely equalled' (2.51). The remainder of the auction was concerned with the six acre site that Todd had sub-leased from William Carvill in 1863 (2.52), showing the four houses at Orwell Park (Lots 15 & 16), along with the three dwellings added by Todd in the 1870s (Lots 14, 17 & 18). These latter houses were reported to be 'newly and unusually well built residences' in a locality 'remarkable for healthfulness, affording rural attractions, with immediate access to the City'. A new road had just been opened through the site to Rathmines (marked Dartry Road), served with 'a good new main sewer'. At the southernmost point of the plot was a 'pretty Cottage Residence' known as Rialto Cottage, let at £30 per year, while Orwell Bank was subject to a separate 'peppercorn' rent agreement with the church. The remainder of the land was sub-divided in to building plots which were reported to be: '...the choicest sites in Rathgar District for building Rus-in-urbe residences, being elevated, commanding charming views, within easy reach of two lines of Tramway and Railway Station, at the same time quite in the country'.²⁵³ This plan was clearly commissioned to illustrate the potential for speculative development on the Todd property. The agents stated that an 'eminent architect' had inspected the land, who confirmed that the site was 'unusually attractive as Building ground', with the potential to produce over £431 of annual revenue. A new circular road was shown, sweeping back to meet the main Orwell Road, which was to enable development of the site at the rear.

Despite these ambitious plans for the south side of Orwell Park, the site developed along quite different lines. Reflecting the depressed state of building during this time,²⁵⁴ only one property was sold in the auction of 1882: Number 12 Leinster Road in Rathmines. However the following year, the four houses built by Carvill (Numbers 1 to

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 13 & 17 Sept. 1881.

²⁵² NAI: Family and estate papers, maps and rentals, original executor's sale catalogue dated 5 Dec. 1882, rental and particulars of the estate of the late William Todd (Acc. No. 1146/3/5).

²⁵³ It is not clear which station the document is referring to, but at this time there were numerous proposals for railway schemes. Daly, *deposed capital*, pp 174-5.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

4 Orwell Park), were sold to a gentleman named Orlando Beater for £2,240.²⁵⁵ Beater was the chairman of Arnott & Co. Ltd. in Dublin, one of the main 'monster houses' in the city and a competitor of Todd Burns & Co.²⁵⁶ Orlando Beater was also a member of the Rathmines board and a close associate of Frederick Stokes, the township's 'kingpin'.²⁵⁷ Between 1873 and 1879 he had been a resident of nearby Rostrevor terrace, and by 1875 his son George Palmer Beater appeared in the directories as an architect.²⁵⁸ George Beater was involved in quite a few commercial projects in the city, including alterations to his father's premises in Henry Street. Records of his domestic work remain sparse but where they do emerge, they tend to be of detached villas in the Rathmines and Rathgar area.²⁵⁹ Shortly after his father bought the Orwell Park properties in 1883, George Beater leased a vacant plot on the south side of the road (2.53). The circular road scheme had been abandoned by this stage, substituted by wider and deeper plots running towards the river. Within two years, George was involved in the erection of two fine detached houses there (2.53: sites marked in blue), alongside two more dwellings, one leased to Frank Winsor and another to J.H. Elvery.²⁶⁰ Despite this initial spurt of house building, the Orwell Park ground appears to have been adversely affected by the 1880s recession, as the ground lay vacant for another ten years when in 1894 Beater acquired the large triangular site on the south-west corner (2.53, marked in green). It appears that George Beater was involved in the management of the estate, as evidenced from a rough outline of the plots dating from 1895 which bears his initials (2.54).²⁶¹

William Carvill's will referred to the large sums of money that he had spent in building 'valuable houses upon the Rathgar property' which he had acquired in his marriage settlement of 1852.²⁶² He instructed that some of his properties were to be sold

²⁵⁵ NAI, Family estate papers, maps and rentals, map of estate of William Todd of Orwell Park, County Dublin, dated 1905 (Acc. No. 1146/3/24).

²⁵⁶ *Irish Architectural Archive*, Dictionary of Irish Architects 1720-1940, George Palmer Beater.

²⁵⁷ Ó Maithú, *Dublin's suburban towns*, pp 55 & 67.

²⁵⁸ *Thom's*, 1873-1878.

²⁵⁹ *Irish Builder*, 15 Mar. 1879 & 15 Aug. 1881.

²⁶⁰ *Thom's*, 1885.

²⁶¹ NAI, Family and estate papers, maps and rentals, rough map of lots at Orwell Park, dated c. 1895 (Acc. No. 1146/3/12). The notes on the map read as follows: 'Wm Todd decd. Rough map showing portions of ground held under lease of 18 Aug. 1863 still in trustees hands. We have not got the copart (*sic*) conveyance of Lot No. 14. Has Rialto cottage been leased and if the latter where is the lease?'. This appears to bear Beater's signature and is signed 7 Feb. 1895.

²⁶² NAI, Card index, copy of original grant of probate of William Carvill, Rathgar House, Dublin, dated February 1885. (Acc. No. T6875).

off, including dwelling houses in Bray, two houses in Raymond Street (Dublin city) and some lands in Glenageary, Rathgar and County Down. Subsequent deeds show that many of his properties were disposed of after his death, including various detached houses on the Orwell Road and dwellings at Floir and Zion Roads.²⁶³ In 1894 the remainder of his estate was put up for sale and was divided into 10 lots. The map attached to the sale catalogue reveals the extent of Carvill's 46 acre estate (2.55).²⁶⁴ It includes Rathgar Saw Mills which had been occupied by Locke and Woods since his death, while to the north Rostrevor terrace was to be sold in pairs.

2.5 Conclusion

Three suburban districts have formed the basis of analysis for this chapter, each with their own distinct characteristics. The suburbs of Pembroke and Rathgar adjoined the city, while the seaside resort of Kingstown was located six miles away along the coast. The particular geography of each location impacted on development, as exemplified by Crosthwaite Park which was built on an elevated site, capturing views of the sea and mountains. Topography determined the levels of building control in the Pembroke estate, where high quality development was enforced in the elevated, better drained ground on the western side. This is reflected in the strict building leases at Ailesbury Road, which determined the form, height and roof profile of houses there, as well as the most expensive materials to the front facades. A more passive approach was taken to the low-lying eastern sector, such as in Sandymount where lessees were subject only to a minimum outlay in building. When it came to providing infrastructure to support housing developments, Lord Pembroke was responsible for laying out the roads and paths, and leasing the plots for building. Although the estate was known for its high quality roads, the evidence suggests that the western estate was better served in this regard. Allowances were made for its larger stakeholders such as Michael Meade, a prolific builder who was allowed greater flexibility for non-compliance with the terms of his lease. When the Pembroke Township was founded in 1863, it retained responsibility for the infrastructural works carried out by Lord Pembroke, and added a range of public services

²⁶³ Six deeds refer to Joseph M. Meade and William Hamilton Carvill as executors of the last will of William Carvill: RD, 1885, vol. 31, mem. 295; vol. 32, mem. 236; vol. 34, mem. 36; vol. 35, mem. 140; 1886, vol. 38, mem. 153 & 1887, vol. 42, mem. 38.

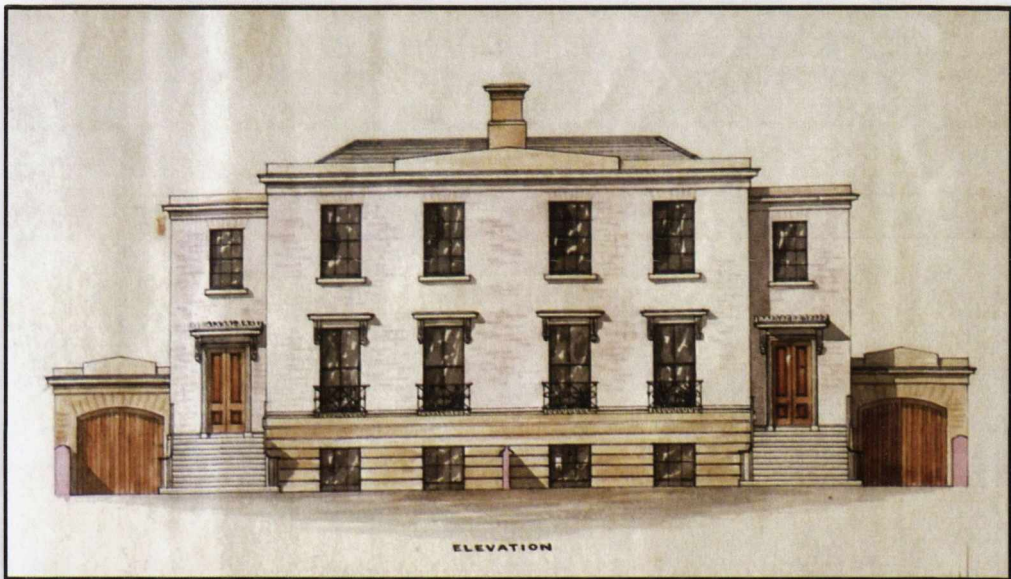
²⁶⁴ Private collection, map attached to sale catalogue dated 6 July 1894, rentals and particulars of the estate of William Hamilton Carvill and The Right Honourable Joseph Michael Meade.

including lighting, water supply and street crossings. Sewers were provided by the estate and the township in an ad-hoc manner, until such time as a system of main drainage was completed in 1879, which included the suburbs of Rathmines and Rathgar. The fragmentary nature of planning control is reflected in the four administrative bodies which crossing paths at Ailesbury Road: Lord Pembroke, the Pembroke Township, County Grand Jury and Dublin Corporation all shared responsibilities for local services.

Compared to the rigidly controlled Pembroke estate, ground landlords in Kingstown took a less active role in the provision of infrastructure on their suburban land, leaving much of it either to the township, or the developer to provide. On signing his lease in 1861, John Crosthwaite prepared the ground for development, by laying out the roads and leasing the plots to local builders. Similar practices were at found in the Rathmines Township, where Michael Murphy prepared Kenilworth Square for building. Many town commissioners were developing ground, and it appears that John Crosthwaite was abusing his position by appropriating township materials for his own use. At some point the roads were taken in charge by the township, which was then responsible for their maintenance, as well as providing other local services such as lighting, drainage and cleansing. Not all areas were properly serviced however, as townships struggled to support development in the ever-expanding suburbs. Prior to the introduction of the main drainage scheme in 1879, houses in Rathmines, Rathgar and Pembroke were drained by the cess pool system which was wholly inadequate. In light of these adverse conditions, it comes as no surprise therefore that the Dublin suburbs continued to see a recurrence of disease and epidemics during the nineteenth century.

Each district was governed by different forms of land tenure. Kingstown and Pembroke were dominated by the estate landlord system, who granted relatively short leases of 99 to 150 years. In contrast, landlords in Rathmines and Rathgar were more passive, and released land on longer leases (up to 999 years), with fewer restrictions on development. Even within the estate system however, landlords had different approaches to how they controlled development on their suburban ground. Landlords in Kingstown stipulated a minimum outlay of £500 per house, but it is also likely that they approved the design for Crosthwaite Park, as they had with previous housing schemes in the 1840s. Of the three suburbs, William Carvill experienced the least restriction in Rathgar, who retained full ownership of the land, and speculated without building leases.

Chapter 3



Nineteenth-century suburban house typologies

3.1 Introduction

While the previous chapter examined the environments in which Meade, Carvill and Crosthwaite began building in the 1860s, the following chapter aims to carry out a detailed architectural analysis of the high quality housing schemes that emerged in these distinct areas. Built between 1843 and 1879, a study of these early forms of suburban building charts the origin and development of Dublin's Victorian domestic architecture. A context for this analysis will be first provided, by summarising the scholarship to date on suburban house typologies in Dublin. Previous building models were a primary influence and these will be discussed in detail, particularly those in the Pembroke estate, which was a testing ground for high quality development. A representative sample of terraced and semi-detached houses will then be examined through an analysis of measured drawings, photographic surveys and archival research. Particular aspects of the Dublin suburban house typology will be considered with reference to British models.

3.2 Dublin's suburban terraced houses

3.2.1 Earlier terraced houses in Dublin

Dublin's nineteenth-century domestic architecture was influenced mainly by the eighteenth-century townhouse, built in large numbers in the city from the 1720s.¹ Butted up against each other in rows, these tall brick terraces fulfilled the demands of a confined urban framework, an 'infinitely adaptable'² template, extending both vertically and horizontally to suit both function and purse. Houses in Fitzwilliam and Merrion Squares rise four floors over a basement, forming terraces two to three bays wide.³ The grand set designs of Henrietta Street and Parnell Square demanded more generous plots, which stretched out to form mansions of up to five bays in width. Those planned by the Wide Streets Commissioners extended in another direction, rising five storeys

¹ James D. Murphy, *The semi-detached house: its place in suburban housing*, (Dublin, 1977), p. 21 & Eve McAulay, 'The origins and early development of the Pembroke Estate beyond the Grand Canal 1816-1880' (Ph.D. thesis, Trinity College, Dublin, 2003), p. 59.

² Niall McCullough, *Dublin, an urban history, the plan of the city* (Dublin, 2007), p.191.

³ Christine Casey, *Dublin*, (New Haven and London, 2005), pp.571 & 578.

above street level, but in older areas (e.g. Smithfield) building heights were reduced to two storeys. The most common house type is simply laid out: to one side is a hall and stair compartment, alongside two similarly sized reception rooms (3.1).⁴ A spine wall divides these main spaces, rising through the house where it forms a bearing for the joists and roof structure above. The Georgian terrace is set back an average of eight feet from the street, allowing just enough space for a light well, and steps to an embellished entrance doorcase.

Tall brick terraces located close to the street edge are therefore what characterise Dublin's eighteenth-century streetscape. When the city began to expand in the nineteenth century, this familiar urban typology was adapted to suit a new suburban context. The first houses remained in the Georgian terraced tradition, but signs of 'suburbanization' were beginning to seep through. McAulay points to development on the north side of Pembroke Road, which emerged from 1816, consisting of three-storey terraces raised up almost one storey from the street (3.2).⁵ Compared to the grand townhouses of Fitzwilliam Square, these early suburban forms were reduced in scale and pushed back another thirteen feet from the street, providing space for a grand flight of steps to the entrance (3.3). When new roads emerged in the 1830s, building heights began to reduce even further, as exemplified in Haddington Road where some terraces rise only two storeys over a basement floor (3.4). Plot widths varied, but the most common house type was the two bay terrace, with the entrance inserted in the outer bay. In the 1840s the new Waterloo and Wellington Roads were laid out on this template, but setbacks were increased even further, to 100 feet (3.3 & 3.5). Externally, these houses remained in the Georgian tradition: the principal floors were clad in red brick, above a rendered service floor. By the end of the 1850s, the new semi-detached house form had emerged in the Dublin suburbs, but the terrace continued to remain the dominant form of domestic building.⁶

The inspiration for these new suburban typologies was the eighteenth-century red brick terrace, which is essentially a two-dimensional building form, 'a space between

⁴ McCullough, *Dublin, an urban history*, p. 172.

⁵ McAulay, 'The Pembroke estate' p. 59.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 200.

two cross walls'.⁷ The typology is expressed externally as a continuous brick facade which runs from party wall to party wall, until it terminates at the end of a block. Built primarily by speculative builders, it was at the corner that the building model was most challenged, where developers struggled with the articulation of the form in the third dimension. A number of resolutions were proposed with varying degrees of success, by inserting blind elevations, bows or bay windows (3.6).⁸ In some cases, 'typological contortions' were imposed on corner plots, to enable conformity with the urban street plan. However, when the Georgian townhouse was adapted to the nineteenth-century suburbs, speculators were no longer constrained by the rigidity of the urban plot. A comparison between plots in the city and suburbs illustrates this point, showing how the suburban corner benefitted from the extra space to the side (3.7).

The German architect Hermann Muthesius, author of *The English House* in 1904, commented on the austerity of its domestic architecture, which he put down to the Englishman's character who he argued: '....even avoids attracting attention to his house by means of striking design or architectonic extravagance, just as he would be loth to appear personally eccentric by wearing a fantastic suit'.⁹ When the English terrace was adapted to a Dublin context, the building model was pared down even further. Scholars have noted the 'consistent absence of ornament' in Dublin's eighteenth-century townhouses, which arguably was the result of economy rather than design.¹⁰ This austerity did not go unnoticed in the nineteenth century and Charles Cameron, chief medical officer for Dublin characterised Merrion Square in 1870 as: 'simply two long dirty brick walls, provided with oblong holes for the admission of light'.¹¹ By this time over twenty years of suburban development had occurred in Dublin, and new polychromatic facades contrasted with the relative plainness of the city's Georgian squares (3.8).

⁷ McCullough, *Dublin, an urban history*, p. 191.

⁸ This 'corner problem' has also been noted by Edward McParland in his exploration of stable buildings in Dublin's eighteenth-century townhouses. Edward McParland, 'The geometry of the stable lane', in Christine Casey (ed.), *The eighteenth-century Dublin townhouse* (Dublin, 2010), p. 135.

⁹ Hermann Muthesius, *The English House*, (London, 2007), i, p.10.

¹⁰ Christine Casey, 'The Dublin Domestic Formula', in Christine Casey (ed.), *The eighteenth-century Dublin townhouse* (Dublin, 2010), p. 58.

¹¹ *Irish Builder*, 1 June 1870.

Early Victorian terraces remained in the Georgian tradition, with blank 'book-end' gables and decorative detailing limited to the entrance doorcases. In time terraced blocks began to adopt some of the characteristics of semi-detached houses, as gables expanded to the side. McAulay noticed this first appearing in the Pembroke estate in 1839, where a 'triple semi-detached' scheme emerged in Wellington Place (3.9).¹² By the time building began on Raglan Road in the 1850s, end plots were beginning to exploit the gable, by the insertion of windows and side extensions.¹³ Where a side extension was used to provide an entrance hall, the arrangement benefitted the internal layouts, enabling the front reception room to run across the full width of the plan, as in Northumberland Road in 1862 (3.10).¹⁴ In some cases, side extensions extended the full height of the building, and the red brick front was wrapped around the side, as seen here in Raglan Road (3.11).¹⁵ Therefore while the 'attached' plots remained closer to their Georgian precedent, the end plots began to exploit the additional space to the side.

House plots in Merrion Square are on average 28-30 feet wide and are of three bays, but they narrow down in Fitzwilliam Square to two-bay houses 25-27 feet wide. When this building model was adapted to the Pembroke estate in the nineteenth century, the most common house type was of two bays, with plot widths ranging from 24 to 26 feet.¹⁶ An example is Northumberland Road which was originally laid out in 24 feet wide plots, and the first houses to be built there conformed to this template, which are all terraced two-bay properties (3.12). Their facades rise three storeys over a raised basement and are pushed back from the street edge to accommodate flights of steps to the entrance. However with the arrival of John Vernon, agent to Lord Pembroke from 1853, plots widths and setbacks increased even further, to accommodate a new semi-detached house type. This new form of paired housing was in marked contrast to its terraced neighbour, which had widened to three bays and reduced in height by another storey (Numbers 30 & 32: 3.13). However, while the agent insisted on the semi-

¹² McAulay, 'The Pembroke estate', p. 106.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

¹⁴ Susan Galavan, 'Northumberland Road, The Story of a Dublin Street 1833-1888' (M.A. thesis, University College, Dublin, 2008), p.64.

¹⁵ McAulay found that John Vernon was responsible for the articulation of the corner here, as he directed a leaseholder to preserve the 'uniformity of the building range..' McAulay, 'The Pembroke estate', p. 156.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

detached house form in many leases, terraced schemes continued to be permitted.¹⁷ They began to incorporate characteristics of their semi-detached neighbours: when a second terraced scheme emerged on Northumberland road in 1872, it resembled the adjacent paired house forms (Numbers 34-44: **3.13**), each house being three bays wide with overhanging eaves and a hipped roof profile. The middle four houses are 25 feet wide, but the end plots have expanded to 36 feet, accommodating full height side returns. A similar pattern can be found at Numbers 68-74 Northumberland Road in 1877, where bay windows were added to the facade (**3.14**).

The arrival of Joseph Meade on Northumberland Road in the 1880s marked the pinnacle of development of the Victorian suburban terrace in Dublin (**1.35** & **3.15**). The plots were laid out in a similar fashion to the previous terraces, with narrower houses at the centre (27 feet), and wider units at the ends (41 feet). While the central plots follow the common terraced layout, the end plots resemble semi-detached houses in plan. The careful modelling of the facade, including the recessed ends and raised gable break fronts are successfully integrated with stone stringcoursing, eaves bracketing and polychromatic brick, all indicating the hand of an architect. On its completion in 1885, this development marked the successful fusion of the terraced and semi-detached house forms, as well as forming the most successful composition of the whole street.

¹⁷ The majority of houses in Northumberland Road are semi-detached, but approximately a third of the buildings remain terraced in form. Galavan, 'Northumberland Road', p.22.

3.2.2 The terraced houses of Meade and Crosthwaite

As the most common form of suburban house building, the analysis begins with a study of a number of terraced schemes. A total of forty-three buildings will be analysed: thirty-two by John Crosthwaite in Kingstown and eleven properties owned by Michael Meade in Sandymount and Rathgar (3.16). Built between 1843 and 1878, the buildings range in design, from the red brick fronts of Rathgar Road, to the stuccoed facades of Crosthwaite Park. The analysis is based on measured surveys and photographic evidence which will focus on key architectural characteristics such as room proportions and plan types, plot widths and building setbacks, external form and quality of materials. Through an investigation of their planning and design, this chapter will consider the primary factors influencing the development of early suburban forms in different sectors.

3.2.2.1 Numbers 150-153 Rathgar road (1857-1861)

While semi-detached houses continued to increase in number, the terrace remained the dominant form in the suburbs, as found on the main roads in Rathmines in 1843 (2.35). Three years later, a tourist guide reported that Rathmines was: '.....a very beautiful suburb, with several fine cross terraces from it..', while Rathgar was: '..densely built on with villas and continuous dwellings....'¹⁸ These two suburban villages were linked by the Rathgar Road, which was characterised by sporadic development, mainly in terraces (3.17). Of the two house types, terraced building was more profitable, enabling speculators to maximise the number of units on their plots. In 1904, architect Hermann Muthesius described Bedford Park, one of London's most important suburban housing developments, which had been laid out in the 1870s. The scheme consisted of a mix of house types but he added that terraces were inserted 'where extreme cheapness was required'.¹⁹

¹⁸ Jasper Robert Joly, *Dublin and its environs: with a map of the city and numerous illustrations engraved on wood* (Dublin, 1846), p.188.

¹⁹ Muthesius also remarked: 'even the terraced houses made a pleasant impression'. Muthesius, *The English house*, p.135.

Some rare drawings dating from 1851 provides valuable insight into the design of terraced housing schemes in the Dublin suburbs. They were completed by the architects Murray & Denny, who examined three possibilities for a site on Rathgar Road in 1851 (3.17, marked in pink): one for semi-detached houses, and two terraced schemes.²⁰ The site could accommodate two semi-detached houses, but building in terraces could double the number of units. If the plot was divided equally in to four, each house would measure 23 feet 9 inches in width, slightly less than the standard suburban terrace in the Pembroke estate (3.18). An alternative scheme sub-divided the site in three, forming wider plots measuring 31 feet 8 inches (3.19). These two schemes are similar in plan: each with the standard two-room layout at the entrance level, and three bedrooms above.²¹ The higher density scheme was finally chosen, and the four terraced houses that stand there today match those originally conceived by the architects. The plain yellow brick front punctured by flat headed windows and Greek revival style doorcases is reminiscent of earlier terraced developments on Wellington Road (3.5 & 3.20).

A few hundred feet north of this site is the junction with Frankfort Avenue, which connects Rathgar Avenue with upper Rathmines (3.17, marked in yellow). In 1860 construction began on an important new Catholic church on the western side of this junction (3.21 & 3.22). The Church of the Three Patrons was designed by the architect Patrick Byrne, to cater for the numerous domestic servants who worked in houses in the area. Father Meagher who commissioned the project, had much sympathy for 'these poor creatures', whose employers allowed them only 'a miserable dribble of time' to attend mass in Rathmines.²² Not surprisingly, the building of a large Catholic institution in the 'Protestant and quiet township of Rathgar', was a contentious one to say the least. On the laying of the foundation stone in March 1860, *The Irish Times* objected to the ceremony, where it reported: 'Under the windows of the Protestant gentry all the

²⁰ IAA, Arthur Murray Collection, Rathgar Road, plans, elevations, sections and details depicting three schemes for houses for Arthur Murray Esq. by William G. Murray and Abraham Denny, 1851 (Acc. No. 92/46.753-8). A note on the drawing for the terrace of three houses reads: 'Rejected in favour of an arrangement for 4 houses on same space'.

²¹ The plan is similar to that proposed by William Murray for Wellington Road in the 1840s. McAulay, 'The Pembroke estate', p. 123.

²² Brendan Grimes, *Majestic shrines and graceful sanctuaries, the church architecture of Patrick Byrne 1783-1864*, (Dublin, 2009), p.127.

paraphernalia of Popery was ostentatiously displayed...'²³ and the four houses located directly opposite the church had the best view of the proceedings (3.21 & 3.23).²⁴ They appear to have been the work of Michael Meade, who was in the process of constructing his new saw mill in the city, at Great Brunswick Street.²⁵ As noted, Meade was also involved in other domestic projects in Rathgar: in the summer of 1859 he was building four houses on the Highfield Road, designed by the architect Rawson Carroll (2.39).²⁶ *The Dublin Builder* added that 'various local architects' were involved in housing in the Rathgar area at this time, such as the two dwellings designed by E. H. Carson, nearby in Frankfort Avenue.

At the time of the building of Numbers 150-153 Rathgar Road, the site was located just outside the boundary of the Rathmines Township (3.24). In 1862, the township expanded to include the areas of Rathgar and Sallymount, which brought Meade's site under its jurisdiction. The area was subject to rapid changes, as *The Dublin Builder* remarked that year:

In the area between the junction of Rathgar, with Rathmines and Harold's-cross roads, and thence to Roundtown, the largest amount of progress is comprehended. Villas detached and semi-detached, cottage residences, and terraces in various designs and styles here stud the soil, and the several roads and approaches seem to have been laid out with much judgement.²⁷

Meade's development appeared on the 1865 Ordnance Survey map, as four terraced houses on the junction with Frankfort Avenue (3.25). Since 1843, the surrounding sites had developed mostly in terraces, with the odd semi-detached house emerging. South of Meade's site was Murray & Denny's scheme, divided into four equal plots. If Meade had inserted the same template on his site, he could have accommodated five houses,

²³ Grimes, *Majestic shrines*, p.128.

²⁴ *Thom's*, 1857 & Griffith Valuation, 1855-64, vol. 2, p. 94. One of these houses was occupied as early as 1857. All four houses buildings were completed by at least 1859 as they appear in the Griffith Valuation, with Michael Meade as immediate lessor.

²⁵ *Freeman's Journal*, 13 July 1859.

²⁶ *Dublin Builder*, 1 June 1859.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 1 Jan. 1862.

as his plot was wider by thirty-two feet. Instead he opted for a lower density scheme, by dividing the site in four, forming two central plots of 26 feet and more generous end plots 33 feet in width (3.26). Number 153, on the corner of Frankfort Avenue, was the residence of Michael Meade's son Joseph after his marriage to Catherine Carvill in 1870.²⁸ As noted, the couple spent the first nine years of their marriage in this house, and three of their children died there between 1876 and 1879. The family had moved out of the property by 1880, but it was let to various parties thereafter, forming part of Michael Meade's estate on his death in 1886 (1.31).²⁹

Meade's central plots are similarly laid out to the Murray & Denny scheme, following the most common Georgian layout, with two similarly sized reception rooms at entrance level and a continuous hall and stairwell to the side (3.27). A full height rear return is provided off the half landing level, and on the first floor three bedrooms are provided: two to the front and one to the rear. The end houses at 150-153 Rathgar Road are wider than the central plots by seven feet, enabling the insertion of two additional rooms at first floor level, providing a total of five bedrooms. Compared to the Murray & Denny scheme, there are differences in how the end walls are treated, which impacts on the articulation to the street. The chimneys in Meade's scheme are on the inner walls, freeing up the gables for fenestration (3.26 & 3.28). In Murray & Denny's design, these walls are overtaken by chimney stacks, resulting in a form reminiscent of the Georgian precedent: blank gable ends (3.29).

Externally, Murray & Denny's scheme is a simple expression of the plan in a continuous facade of yellow brick, but there is no attempt to manipulate the street elevation, by providing vertical breaks or even by an alignment of the windows (3.20). Formally, the facade reads as one horizontal plane, which is relieved only by the round headed doorcases and entrance steps. In contrast, Meade's facade is more successful, as the front elevation has been manipulated to provide vertical breaks in an otherwise long

²⁸ *Thom's*, 1873-1878.

²⁹ St Michael's House archive, Copy of original will and three codicils of Michael Meade with probate attached, 11 Jan. 1883. In his original will, Michael Meade bequeathed Numbers 150-153 Rathgar Road to his son Joseph, upon trust for another son, Thomas Meade. For the first ten years after his death, Joseph was to distribute the profits from these properties to Thomas, after which he would inherit them fully. However, Michael Meade changed his will ten months later, providing Thomas with an annuity of £150, but revoking his full inheritance of the houses.

expanse of facade (3.30). On the end plots, the two main bays project out beyond the line of those adjacent, and then recess back in to form the entrance at the side (3.30 & 3.31). The projections are then framed in render: at the entrance level, this is lined out to resemble quoins, while the smooth finish found on the upper levels is repeated around the entrances (3.32 & 3.33). The elevation takes precedence over the plan, exemplified by the care taken to align the windows on all floors. The whole composition is tied together by two strong bands of string coursing and a generous cornice at parapet level. While limiting the use of expensive granite, Meade's scheme is more successful formally than Murray & Denny's design, and suggests the hand of an architect.

3.2.2.2 Belvedere Terrace, Strand Road (1843-1863)

The focus now turns to Sandymount in the eastern side of the Pembroke estate, three miles south-east of the city (3.16). At the beginning of the Victorian age in 1837, the district was primarily rural in character, essentially a small suburban village centred on a triangular open space (3.34). Sandymount was popular for summer bathing, as Lewis noted that year: '...there are numerous pretty villas on the strand, for the convenience of summer visitors, whence a new road to Merrion has lately been made along the shore'.³⁰ The new Strand road project was completed in November 1837 by the Pembroke Estate, which included a new retaining wall along the shore forming a barrier to sea erosion. It took some time for developers to be enticed to the area: by 1843 many of the coastal sites remained empty (3.35), although some terraces had appeared at the northern end of the road, taking advantage of the sea views (3.36). Between 'Sydney Terrace' and 'Belvidere House' was a vacant site, which lay awaiting development in 1843. By 1847, four houses had been built there, characterised by rendered terraces two bays wide (3.37).

³⁰ Christopher Ryan, *Lewis' Dublin, a topographical dictionary of the parishes, towns and villages of Dublin city and county* (Cork, 2001), p.232.

This is the development referred to in Chapter 2, which the builder Alexander Graham acquired in 1860. By this time Sandymount had transformed itself from a 'wild exposed coastal hinterland vulnerable to flooding', to a respectable seaside suburb.³¹ In 1863, on completion of the terrace, Graham immediately sold his interest to Michael Meade³², who then began to acquire the adjoining villa site.³³ Belvedere House stood on its own grounds with a long coastal frontage, enjoying sea views like many villas in the area (3.37 & 3.38): 'Along the beach and in the avenues around, there are many handsome seats and pretty ranges of houses, or detached villas;...all of which command fine views of Dublin bay, the mountains, Hill of Howth, Lambay, &c...'³⁴ After acquiring Belvedere Terrace and its grounds, Michael Meade moved from the city to one of the houses in 1864.³⁵ Perhaps this was a more convenient location to the newly opened Ailesbury Road, as soon he would begin construction there on his large Italianate villa (1.27 & 3.16). The Meade family lived in Sandymount for four years, until they moved to their sumptuous new home in 1868. Michael Meade continued to let the Sandymount houses to various tenants, but after his death in 1886 they passed to his son, Daniel Meade.³⁶ Surviving leases show that some of the Belvedere Terrace properties remained in the Meade family until the 1960s.³⁷

The design of Belvedere Terrace is reflective of its different stages of development. The first four properties (numbers 33 to 39) were laid out in plots less than 23 feet wide, which are narrower than average in the Pembroke estate (3.39). They are a rendered version of Murray & Denny's terrace described earlier at Rathgar Road, with similarly laid out plans and plain elevations and paired entrances. The detailing is

³¹ McAulay, 'The Pembroke estate', p. 192.

³² Private collection, recited in a copy of original lease from 13 July 1947, 41 Strand Road, Miss Mary Monica Meade to John Joseph Shaw. Graham assigned the completed terrace to Meade on 28 Sept. 1863.

³³ Meade was given permission to build eight houses on the site by the 1890s, but the scheme never came to fruition. NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 15, p.53, John E. Vernon to Michael Meade, 24 Nov. 1863 & *Ibid.*, p. 301, Wm. Carter to Michl. Meade, 23 Aug. 1864 & *Ibid.*, p.401, John E. Vernon to M. Meade, 15 Dec. 1864 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/15) & *Ibid.*, vol. 22, p.590, Fane Vernon to The Rt. Hon. J. M. Meade, 18 Apr. 1893 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/22).

³⁴ *Thom's*, 1861.

³⁵ *Thom's*, 1864.

³⁶ St Michael's House archive, Copy of original will and three codicils of Michael Meade with probate attached, 11 Jan. 1883. They were bequeathed to Joseph Meade upon trust for Daniel Meade, who was to receive rents and profits from the properties for the remainder of his life.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, & copy of original lease from 29 Sept. 1960, Number 29 Strand Road, The Right Honourable John Granville Baron Margadale of Islay and others to Edwin Laurence Meade.

handled differently however, such as the projecting entrance lobbies and the alignment of the windows (2.7). On entering the properties at Strand Road, the standard two room plan is found, but the wall between the stairs and the rear reception room is stepped back slightly, probably to accommodate the stairs.³⁸ Small returns project eight feet beyond the rear facade, providing generous stair landings off which small ancillary rooms are provided (3.40 & 3.41).³⁹ The first floor levels have been subject to much alteration during the years, making it difficult to discern the original layout.⁴⁰ However it is likely that it matched the plan at Rathgar Road, where three bedrooms were provided: two to the front and one to the rear (3.27). The plan at basement level matches the floor above and the wall to the hall runs continuously, until it reaches the coal store located under the external steps.

Alexander Graham added three houses to the terrace between 1860 and 1863: one to the south and two to the north (3.37 & 3.42). Number 41 is a slightly narrower version of its neighbour, but this is compensated by an enlarged rear return, providing an additional bedroom off the half landing level. There was more room to play with on the northern end of the site, where the boundary splayed out towards the sea (3.37). Here Number 29 is wider than the adjoining properties by five feet, resulting in a more generous internal layout, expressed externally in three bays. The hall is also wide enough to accommodate the stairs, allowing the wall to the reception rooms to run continuously. It was this house that the Meade family vacated in 1868, moving in to the new mansion in Ailesbury Road.⁴¹

³⁸ This also a feature of the proposals at Rathgar Road by Murray & Denny architects in 1851, as the drawings indicate a front hall width of 6 feet, with a rear hall width of 6 feet 3 inches, by reducing of the thickness of the party wall (3.18). The front halls at Strand Road measure approximately 5' 8" in width and the rear hall 6 feet 3 inches. It is possible that a minimum dog-well stair width of 6 feet 3 inches determined the size of this space. IAA, Arthur Murray Collection, Rathgar Road, plans, elevations, sections and details depicting three schemes for a terrace of houses for Arthur Murray Esq. by William G. Murray and Abraham Denny, 1851 (Acc. No. 92/46.753-8) & IAA, McCurdy & Mitchell Collection, Northbrook Road, pair of semi-detached houses, specification for the committee of Adelaide Road Presbyterian Church by W. M. Mitchell, 1881 (Acc. No. 82/49.83).

³⁹ They probably functioned as sanitary spaces, as a pipe is indicated in this location which is annotated with the note 'pump'. OS, 1865, Sandymount (3.37).

⁴⁰ Access was provided to three out of four of these properties: Numbers 33, 37 & 39. In all these houses, the first floor levels have been subject to significant alterations and many of the original walls and cornices have been removed. No advertisements have been found in contemporary newspapers which might have indicated the number of bedrooms originally provided in these houses.

⁴¹ *Thom's*, 1867 & 1868.

As noted by McAulay, Belvidere Terrace is similar to other development on the Strand Road, which generally consists of two-bay terraces, rising two storeys over a service floor (3.43).⁴² The two room plan is expressed simply in two bays and the windows generally align on all floors (3.44). The rhythm is broken by paired entrance lobbies, which project out from the façade, framed in timber (3.45). The lobbies are no doubt a weathering device in this exposed location, but they are also provided with a large amount of glazing, which is continued around the side to frame views of the sea (3.46). On entering the lobby the visitor is presented with the main hall door, over which is a fanlight decorated with coloured glass (3.47). The articulation of Numbers 29 and 31 are indicative of their later date: the windows are taller and finished with curved heads and the glazed lobbies are detailed slightly differently.

3.2.2.3 Crosthwaite Park, Kingstown (1860-1878)

Chapter 2 discussed the building of Crosthwaite Park, a development of forty-two houses that emerged on an elevated site at the eastern end of the Kingstown Township (2.20) consisting of three terraces, beginning with the east and west sides which were designed to face each other across a park⁴³ (1860-65) and a remote southern side, completed by 1878 (2.27). Although employing the same aesthetic principles, each terrace is formally different, resulting in diversity across the development. The east and west sides each consist of sixteen houses, forming two facades each measuring 400 to 433 feet long.⁴⁴ This is more than double the length of the Strand Road scheme, which presents challenges in terms of facade modulation. The scheme was planned to exploit its location, by attempting to frame views of the surrounding landscape. As noted, the east side of Crosthwaite Park benefits from the most complete collection of lease information, which has allowed us to establish many of the builders of the terrace. It appears that with the exception of three plots on the west side, Crosthwaite Park was not generally provided with stables to the rear.

⁴² McAulay, 'The Pembroke estate', p. 177.

⁴³ *Dublin Builder*, 1 Nov. 1860 & *Thom's*, 1865 & 1878. A contemporary photograph of Crosthwaite Park East indicates that the common green area was laid out in tennis courts (1.26).

⁴⁴ Each side of Crosthwaite Park consists of sixteen houses. The east side remains largely in single ownership and access was possible to ten houses on this side, which were photographed and surveyed. Access was more problematic on the higher west side, where most of the houses have been sub-divided into flats, and many of the original layouts and decorative details have been removed. Access was provided to a total of four properties on this side of Crosthwaite Park.

Crosthwaite Park East

The Crosthwaite Park houses adhere to a common template in Kingstown: they are all rendered and of two bays, rising two storeys over a raised basement. The length of the terrace is offset by a number of formal devices: each plot features at least one bay window, and most of these rise two storeys high, providing compositional rhythm across the facade (**3.48 & 3.49**). They were named 'oriel windows'⁴⁵, an important feature of Victorian house facades:

The bay window was the Victorian must-have fashion accessory-with a bit of ornate detailing they could make the frontage of a house look more sophisticated and expensive than it really was. Projecting bays catch sunlight, attract fresh air, and allow a good view of the street, and even many cheaper dwellings could boast at the very least a single-storey bay window.⁴⁶

Bay windows were certainly an important marketing tool at Crosthwaite Park. An advertisement cited 'bay windows all through' at Number 4 in 1885,⁴⁷ but they were also factored in to the calculations in Griffith's Valuation, indicating the value that they added to Victorian house property.⁴⁸ Other important features are the paired entrances, which are framed by carved console brackets supporting a projecting frieze, a detail which is repeated on the windows above. These entrances, together with their oriel windows, provide a regular vertical accent across the terrace, helping to offset the horizontality of this 400 foot long facade. The same decorative devices can be found at nearby Clarinda Park and Royal Terrace, as well as Belgrave Square in Monkstown (**2.18, 2.21 & 2.26**). In contrast to the continuous facade addressing the park in front, the rear elevations are characterised by large rear returns (**3.50**).

⁴⁵ Oriel windows project out from the front facade without extending to the ground.

⁴⁶ Ian Alistair Rock, *The Victorian house manual* (Somerset, 2005) p.22.

⁴⁷ *Irish Times*, 16 May 1885.

⁴⁸ '2 Oriel windows' are noted to Numbers 1, 3, 7, 15 & 17, adding 10s. to the rateable valuation of each house. Griffith Valuation, Kingstown, 1855-1859, vol. 3, p.332h; '3 Oriel windows' is noted to Number 8 Crosthwaite Park East, adding 15 shillings to the rateable valuation. *Ibid.*, p. 332j.

It has been shown that Crosthwaite Park East was built mainly by local builders who took at least three plots, each twenty-five feet wide (2.30). Despite the regularity established by this plot size, it appears that some mistakes were made in adhering to the lease requirement. Taking the three adjoining properties developed by the architect and engineer Peter Joseph Moran, number 8 is wider by over one foot.⁴⁹ The extra width was absorbed into the main reception rooms, while the hall is the same width as its neighbours. In order to comply with a total seventy-five foot plot width that he leased from Crosthwaite, Moran compensated for the anomaly by narrowing Numbers 10 and 12 accordingly (3.51). The wider Number 8 was sold in a public auction shortly after completion.⁵⁰

At first glance, Crosthwaite Park East appears to be a homogeneous facade, characterised by a succession of paired entrances and oriel windows (3.48). However, it is evident on closer inspection that some leaseholders deviated from the standard template. Most of the houses feature two-storey oriel windows, but they are confined to the first floor on three of the properties (2.30: Numbers 10, 12 and 14).⁵¹ Number 14 was built by Mr Alcock, while Numbers 10 & 12 were developed by Moran, who as we have seen had reduced these houses in width due to a discrepancy at Number 8. These speculators focused their efforts on the provision of one oriel window to the most important room in the house: the first floor drawing room (3.52).⁵² Formally this was not a success, as it created a somewhat 'top-heavy' house front, and breaks the regularity of

⁴⁹ RD, 1861, vol. 22, mem. 146 & 1862, vol. 26, mem. 173. The memorandum for Number 8 adds that Moran 'erected and built on said ground a dwelling house and premises...' Moran acquired three adjoining plots 25 feet wide each, amounting to a total plot width of 75 feet. From a measured survey of eight buildings on Crosthwaite Park East, the average internal building width (from party wall to party wall) is 23 feet 3 inches. The building width of Number 8 is one foot wider (24 feet 3 inches), while Numbers 10 and 12 adjacent (22 feet 9 inches & 21 feet 10 inches respectively) appear to have been narrowed accordingly, in order to comply with overall plot width of 75 feet.

⁵⁰ RD, 1862, vol. 36, mem. 173 & 1869, vol. 15, mem. 34. Numbers 10 & 12 formed part of a mortgage agreement with Joseph Meade seven years later. The purchaser was John Tallon, a stationer in Grafton Street who lived in the house for another twenty-seven years, until his death in 1889. *Thom's*, 1865-1885 & *Irish Times*, 15 Mar. 1889.

⁵¹ This is noted by a valuer in Griffith's Valuation who writes: 'Only 1 Oriel Window' to Numbers 12 & 14. Griffith Valuation, Kingstown, 1855-1859, vol. 3, p.332j. This appears to be an original feature of these houses, as they appear in a photograph of the terrace from the Lawrence Collection. NLI, The Lawrence Photograph Collection (Acc. No. L_ROY_05555).

⁵² Peter Pearson, *Dun Laoghaire, Kingstown*, (Dublin, 1981), p.100. 'The main drawing room in the houses of Croswaithe (*sic*), Clarinda, and Royal Terraces was always placed upstairs, on the second floor, where the full width of the house with its bay window could be exploited'.

the facade, especially when viewed alongside a compliant neighbour (3.53).⁵³ Added to this is the peculiar 'huge bow-shaped pediment'⁵⁴ over the entrances to Numbers 10 & 12, Moran's attempt to put his stamp on the terrace (3.51). Thus, effective large-scale schemes built to broad guidelines could be compromised by the decisions of individual developers.

As with the previous schemes, the plan is typical of early domestic building outside the canals: the suburban development of the Georgian terrace (3.54). The entrance level is laid out in the standard two room plan: one space to the front and another to the rear, alongside a continuous hall and stair block. The reception rooms are fitted with interconnecting double doors, which are framed with a simply moulded architrave and entablature. The front room is slightly larger and is commonly lit by an oriel window, adding much to the sense of space and light in the room (3.55).⁵⁵ As in Strand Road, the wall between the rear reception room and the hall steps back slightly. The entrance halls vary in their decorative detailing, but a common feature is the niche inserted in to the party wall (3.56).

While the ground floor plan at Crosthwaite Park has much in common with the schemes described thus far, the first floor is treated quite differently. In Rathgar and Sandymount three bedrooms were usually provided here: two to the front and one to the rear. Hierarchy was expressed in section, with the highest ceilings on the reception floor and the lowest on the service floor below. In Crosthwaite's scheme, the highest ceilings are on the first floor where the principal drawing room is located, reflecting the importance of this space (3.57 & 3.58). This is a legacy inherited from the Georgian

⁵³Interestingly, these anomalies affected the value of these houses, as they were valued slightly less than adjoining properties. *Thom's*, 1870: Numbers 12 & 14 are valued at £42, Number 16 at £44, Number 2 at £54 (the end of terrace house) while the remaining houses are valued at £46 each.

⁵⁴ Pearson, *Kingstown*, p. 100.

⁵⁵ *Irish Times*, 8 Jan. 1878. Mr. Henry Cottue, residing at Crosthwaite Park East brought a case against two men named George Carmichael and Henry Kiernan for 'personal annoyance and malicious injury to residence'. Cottue alleged that the two men knocked at the front door late one night and then proceeded to throw a stone through the kitchen window. Standing in the hall, Cottue heard a smash that sounded like glass breaking and told the court: 'I ran to the parlour window, looked out, and saw Carmichael and Kiernan running away'. This indicates that the front room at basement level functioned as the kitchen, while the space above it at entrance level was the 'parlour'.

townhouse: the first floor was known as 'the drawing room storey', where typically guests were entertained. It is also a feature of nearby Clarinda Park and Royal Terrace,⁵⁶ so it is possible that it was insisted on by the ground landlords, although they were not concerned with the interiors of their 1840s developments.⁵⁷ To the rear, full height rear returns are large enough to accommodate bedrooms, capturing views of the Dublin sea and mountains (3.59).⁵⁸ When number 12 was advertised in 1861, the notice claimed it was 'most cheerfully situated, commanding extensive and varied views'.⁵⁹ Separate access was provided to the service floor below, another feature of advertisements.⁶⁰

It seems that an important part of the design of Crosthwaite Park was the successful termination of the terrace by forming grand set pieces on the end elevations to the Tivoli Road (2.30). This is first signalled on the facade to Crosthwaite Park, by increasing the ornamentation to the parapet, and the addition of a number of recessed panels (3.60). The facade then wraps itself around the end elevation, marking this transition by a number of pilasters on the upper level (3.61). The junction with the rear elevation is less resolved, where the parapet stops abruptly and awkwardly on the rear wall (3.62). Admittedly, this is an elevation rarely seen, and the design is focused primarily on presenting the best side to the street, while economising on the lesser seen faces. The entrance front is reminiscent of many of the detached Victorian houses in the area: a three-bay, two-storey over raised basement structure with a central entrance doorcase and decorative window surrounds (3.63).

⁵⁶ Pearson, *Kingstown*, p.100.

⁵⁷ *Ex. Info.*, Laura Johnstone, Ph.D candidate, School of Architecture, University College Dublin, 24 Jan. 2013. During her work on the De Vesci papers, Johnstone has found that the internal organisation of the houses do not form part of the discussion between the landlords' agent and the developers of De Vesci and Longford terraces, which were built in the 1840s.

⁵⁸ *Irish Times*, 23 Aug. 1862 & *Ibid.*, 23 Aug. & 31 May 1864. A number of advertisements for the sale of these properties provide data on the room usage. The 'newly built' Number 8 advertised by Peter Moran announced the availability of a 'Parlour, Drawingroom, Study, five Bedchambers', while 'three spacious reception rooms, five principal bedrooms' are promoted at Number 24 Crosthwaite Park East. This would indicate that there were two reception rooms on the entrance floor and one at first floor level, with the bedroom accommodation distributed between the rear return and the remaining first floor rooms. Soon after the completion of Numbers 2, 4 and 6, valuers noted that there was a: 'good view from the rear of these houses'. Griffiths Valuation, Kingstown 1855-1859, vol. 3, p.332i.

⁵⁹ *General Advertiser*, 15 June 1861 & *Irish Times*, 31 May 1864.

⁶⁰ *Irish Times*, 16 May 1885. An advertisement for Number 4 Crosthwaite Park East notes a separate entrance to the building, likely advantageous due to the separation between master and servant.

Turning to an examination of the plan of this corner plot, it is clear that the layout was manipulated to serve this grand entrance front (3.64). This is in marked contrast to previous schemes described here, which retained the entrance at the front, but expanded the volume to a wider end plot (3.26 & 3.42). At Crosthwaite Park, the entrance is inserted in the side, accessed by a T-plan stairs which is grander than the straight flights found on the neighbouring houses. The depth of the building is then increased substantially, forming a central hall with access to a series of rooms on either side with the chimneys rising on internal walls. This arrangement leaves much of the external envelope free for fenestration - this is likely as much to do with capturing views of the sea at first floor level, as creating an imposing elevation to Tivoli Road. A similar template is produced at Crosthwaite Park West, where a straight stairs and projecting entrance was inserted on the end elevation (3.65).

Crosthwaite Park West

Kingstown's main attraction was its proximity to the sea and mountains, as promoted in this Dublin tourist guide dating from 1865:

Kingstown, the usual port of arrival from England, as seen from the deck of a vessel, seems literally, like Venice, to rise from the sea. Its noble harbour, its piers of which are each about a mile in length, as well as its beautiful terraces and numerous public buildings and villas, are constructed of the white granite of the district. The men-of-war and graceful yachts, which in summer time are ever gliding past, complete a scene not easily forgotten by the tourist.⁶¹

By the time Crosthwaite Park was laid out, most of the Kingstown coast was already developed in 'elegant and costly buildings' which faced the sea, mainly in terraces.⁶² When ground further inland opened up for building, developers were keen to continue to capture views of the sea, such as that promoted at the rear of Crosthwaite Park East. When the west side was planned an extra storey was added, most likely to

⁶¹ William F. Wakeman, *Tourists' guide through Dublin and its interesting suburbs, specially (sic.) suited to the visitors of The International Exhibition* (Dublin, 1865), p.2.

⁶² *Thom's*, 1857.

continue this aspect over the roofs of the east side (3.66 & 3.67). Crosthwaite had used a similar device a decade earlier, when he developed the only three-storey properties at Clarinda Park (2.24). To this day, the top floor of Crosthwaite Park West enjoys superior sea and mountain views, which must have been even more dramatic in the 1860s when there was little development to obscure the view (3.68). Pearson remarked on the west side as 'one of the most expensive and ambitious terraces in Kingstown, and its grand four-storey elevation is reminiscent of London houses'.⁶³

Lease memorials are comparatively scarce for Crosthwaite Park West, and exist only for numbers 15, 17, 19 and 21, all built by the local builder John Galvin of Kingstown (2.30).⁶⁴ They are located in the centre of the block and were leased between 1863 and 1865, matching those on the east side in terms of the standard 25 feet width specified in the lease. They were built with smaller rear returns than their neighbours, providing only a small extension to the stair landing (3.69 & 3.70).⁶⁵ Elsewhere on the terrace other variations can be found: Number 29 for instance is over 4 feet wider than one of the Galvin houses.⁶⁶ This has obvious benefits for the interior layouts of these houses, where the two room plan is stretched to suit the wider plot size. It is not clear why there is greater variation on the west side of Crosthwaite Park, since both terraces were built at the same time, but the distinct differences in the houses built by John Galvin show the influence of the individual leaseholder. Pearson has pointed to the 'exceptionally wide steps' on this side, rising in straight flights to the entrance doors.⁶⁷

Notwithstanding these variations, the plan of the basement, entrance and first floor levels matches that on the east side of the square (3.70). The two room plan is common to all the floors, including the drawing room which runs the full width of the house at first floor level. Hierarchy is again expressed in section, although ceiling heights tend to be more generous than on the east side, as can be seen in the cross-section across the park (3.66). The additional floor accommodates a suite of bedrooms, from

⁶³ Pearson, *Kingstown*, p.100.

⁶⁴ RD, 1863, vol. 16, mem. 76 & 77 & *Ibid.*, 1864, vol. 23, mem. 107.

⁶⁵ The comparatively smaller floor area is reflected in the rateable valuation: Galvin's houses are rated the lowest of all the houses on this side at £50 each, compared to the remainder which are valued at between £50 and £75. *Thom's*, 1870.

⁶⁶ This is based on building widths taken from Numbers 15 & 21, built by Galvin.

⁶⁷ Pearson, *Kingstown*, p.100.

which views of the sea and Killiney hill are afforded. Advertisements for Number 5 Crosthwaite Park West are illustrative of the variety of furnishings found in these houses: 'Elegant Furniture, brilliant-toned cottage pianoforte, oil paintings, engravings, mirrors, ornaments, gasaliers....' were sold from Number 5 Crosthwaite Park West in 1883.⁶⁸

Crosthwaite Park West has employed the same elevational treatment as the east side, with a regular rhythm of paired entrances and two-storey oriel windows. We have seen how successful this was on the opposite terrace, where a long low facade was balanced by the introduction of vertical devices (3.48). However, when the design was imposed on the higher west side, the result was not altogether successful. The top floor is punctured by a succession of round headed windows, which appear incongruous with the lower fenestration. Furthermore, their repetition along this extensive length of facade serves only to accentuate its horizontality, as the top storey is not formally integrated with the floors below (3.67 & 3.71). A comparison of Numbers 4 (east) and 7 (west), show that the design was better suited to the lower east side (3.72 & 3.73). The west side would have benefitted by continuing the oriel windows to the top storey to help to integrate it with the floors below. It is also possible that the additional attic storey was an 'after-thought', rather an intended part of the original design.

3.2.3 The terraced house: a summary of findings

These early suburban terraces in Rathgar, Sandymount and Kingstown, bear close resemblance to their precursors: the eighteenth-century townhouse. The most common template is of two bays, rising two-storeys over a raised basement. The lower level is reserved for service, over which are raised two principal storeys: the first for reception and the second for sleeping. Numbers 33-39 Strand Road (1843-47) and numbers 132-135 Rathgar Road (1851) are simplest in design, reflecting their earlier date. Reminiscent of the early Victorian terraces of Wellington Road (1847-1859), they are an adaptation of the Georgian terrace, but reduced in scale and pushed further back from the street. They are characterised by relatively plain facades, with minimal

⁶⁸ *Irish Times*, 17 Apr. 1883.

decoration focused on the entrance doorcases. The schemes remain two-dimensional in form, focused on a plainly articulated front facade, and blank gable ends.

Michael Meade's scheme at 150-153 Rathgar Road (1857-61) is in marked contrast to the plain brick facade of its neighbour. Instead of dividing the site equally, a mix of plot widths was introduced, forming a pair of two-bay units flanked by wider three-bay houses, one either side. In contrast to Murray & Denny's design, the end walls have begun to open up, allowing the entrance hall to be lit from the side. These end plots were also used to create vertical breaks in the front elevation, by forming projections and recesses in plan. These variations, as well as the projecting entrances, render banding and corning, all suggest the hand of an architect. Other formal devices appear at Crosthwaite Park (1860-65), where the oriel window helps to provide a vertical break in a long facade. An important feature of Victorian domestic architecture, the oriel window also added value to house property, by increasing the amount of light and space in a room. The east and west sides of Crosthwaite Park demonstrate full exploitation of the end plots, as the entrance and plan is turned to address the facade to Tivoli Road. By introducing a range of materials and/or formal devices, the Victorian terrace has broken away from the 'unadorned stock brick' of its Georgian past.

Table 1 details the plot widths and ceiling heights for these four schemes. An emerging pattern is the relationship between the widths at the centre and the ends: the central units vary from between 23 and 26 feet in width, all less than the standard Georgian plot width in Merrion Square. The end plots are considerably wider, as they expand to take advantage of their more generous suburban context. The Strand Road development is pared down to the minimum, with relatively narrow plots and low ceiling heights. The widest volumes are at number 152 Rathgar Road, but conversely ceiling heights are less than at the neighbouring scheme at number 132-135 Rathgar Road. In all schemes, the lowest ceiling heights are found at basement level, where the functional spaces are located. The most striking result to emerge from this data is the location of the highest ceilings: in Rathgar and Sandymount, heights are greatest on the ground floor, where the main drawing rooms are located (**Table 1**: highest ceilings marked in red). However at Crosthwaite Park the highest ceilings are found on the first floor, where the main reception room stretches across the full width of the plot.

Table 1: Comparative analysis of terraced housing schemes

	29-41 Strand Road (1843-63)	132-135 Rathgar Road	150-153 Rathgar Road (1857-61)	Crosthwaite Park East (1860-65)	Crosthwaite Park West (1860-65)
Plot widths:					
Central plots	23'	23' 9"	26'	25'	25'
End plots	28' 10"	-	33'	44'	75'
Ceiling heights:					
Basement	8'	10'	8' 7"	8' 8"	9' 3"
Ground	11' 4"	13'	12' 9"	11' 8"	12' 8"
First	9' 7"	10' 6"	10' 4"	12' 10"	12' 10"
Second	-	-	-	-	9' 11"

In formal terms, all of these terraces share common characteristics, such as the paired entrances, parapet roofs and the two room plan. The earlier schemes are the simplest, but 150-153 Rathgar Road and Crosthwaite Park are beginning a process of transformation. While the expansive brick facade of the previous century has now begun to break down formally, the parapet still remains. Later terraces cast aside the parapet, for overhanging eaves and a hipped roof profile (3.13 & 3.14). While the middle ‘attached’ units retain the two room layout, the end plots widen and open up at the side, adapting characteristics of the semi-detached form. In contrast to its relatively plain predecessor, Victorian terraces were also increasingly imbued with a greater range of decorative and formal devices, such as raised gable break fronts, eaves bracketing and polychromy. When Joseph Meade began building in Northumberland Road in the 1880s he incorporated all of these changes, marking the metamorphosis of the terrace in to a new Victorian house typology, fully adapted to its suburban context (3.15).

3.3 Dublin's suburban semi-detached houses

3.3.1 Early forms of semi-detachment

Although it was in the nineteenth century that the semi-detached house became common, the idea of building in pairs was not a new phenomenon.⁶⁹ Combining two buildings in to one made sound structural and economic sense, where a shared party wall and chimney stack reduced the amount of heat loss from a building. 'Double' cottages had been built in rural locations in Britain and Ireland since at least 1600, and this continued in the early eighteenth century, where examples of paired villas could still be found. The first recorded scheme for a development of semi-detached houses dates from 1794, when a plan was made for the Eyre estate in north London. The development consisted of two-storey houses laid out in pairs, marking a new departure for the English house form, as Summerson observes: 'It was the first part of London, and indeed of any other town, to abandon the terrace house for the semi-detached villa - a revolution of striking significance and far-reaching effect'.⁷⁰

Despite these early aspirations, it took at least another twenty-five years for the paired form to take hold. Building didn't take place in the Eyre estate until the 1820s and the final scheme, named St. John's Wood, combined both detached and semi-detached houses. Number 20 Hamilton Terrace was the first of the 'double' houses built in brick, but later examples were characterised by Regency style stucco fronts such as Clifton Hill (3.74 & 3.75). The stuccoed version unifies the paired form, allowing it to appear like one villa rather than two conjoined units. This 'two for the price of one' idea was first pioneered by John Nash, who since the early nineteenth century had been adding pediments and gables to paired houses, to create the appearance of one villa⁷¹ and an Irish example has been found at Harcourt Terrace, a row of Regency style houses in Dublin city (3.76).⁷² In 1838 the Scottish garden designer J.C. Loudon referred to what he termed the 'double detached' house, claiming it gave 'dignity and consequence to each

⁶⁹ Murphy, *The semi-detached house*, p.19.

⁷⁰ John Summerson, *Georgian London* (London, 1988), p.159.

⁷¹ John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain, 1530 to 1830* (London, 1953), p.320.

⁷² Murphy, *The semi-detached house*, p. 14.

dwelling by making it appear to have the magnitude of two houses'.⁷³ He argued that elevations could be contrived so that no two entrances could be seen at once, thereby allowing a visitor to perceive a house to be twice the size. A porch could be recessed either side of the main volume, or two entrances could be joined together to appear as one. This illusion of grandeur could be emphasised further, by inserting only translucent barriers between the two front gardens.

The semi-detached houses of St. John's Wood must have had a remarkable impact on the new suburban landscape, being neither fully attached (like a terrace) nor fully detached (like a villa). It was this compromise between the two forms that contemporary observers found curious: in 1852 a traveller passing through the area remarked that one house was 'partly detached'.⁷⁴ It seems that the peculiarity of the form depended on the point of view of the spectator: those accustomed to narrow terraced plots perhaps welcomed the increased sense of space afforded by the suburb. Those used to a rural landscape peppered with detached villas were not so impressed however. Emily Eden's novel *The Semi-Detached House* (1859) described the world of the rather petulant Lady Blanche Chester, who had just moved to a 'semi-detached villa' in London. Lady Chester explained her reasons for her dissatisfaction with the house: 'Why, because I should hate my semi-detachment, or whatever the occupants of the other half call themselves'.⁷⁵ This apparent distain to sharing a common roof with a stranger, was a source of much frustration to the English lady. This view is even more intriguing in light of the fact that over two-thirds of the suburban dwellers in London and Liverpool had moved from the countryside (rather than the city) by the mid-nineteenth century.⁷⁶

When the city began to expand in the nineteenth century, generous plots allowed houses to separate into pairs, and the familiar eighteenth-century terrace was adapted to a new suburbia. Inevitably, the application of a two-dimensional form to this

⁷³ John Claudius Loudon, *The suburban gardener and villa companion* (London, 1838), p. 314.

⁷⁴ The St John's Wood Society (History Group). (www.stjohnswoodmemories.org.uk) (Accessed: 6 April 2012).

⁷⁵ Emily Eden, *The semi-detached house* (London, 1859), p. 13.

⁷⁶ Martin Cherry, 'Historic suburbs: research review' (unpublished English Heritage report, 2008), p. 24.

context proved problematic for Victorian builders. In the Pembroke estate developers experimented with these issues for some time before the semi-detached typology finally emerged with its own plan, form and ornament. Paired housing was not the most economical form of speculation, as compared to terraces, half the number of semi-detached houses were possible in the same width of plot (3.77). Nevertheless, the semi-detached form continued to grow in popularity, and by the 1970s it was the most common house type in Dublin.⁷⁷ What then was the driving force for this new house type, and how did it evolve during Dublin's Victorian building period? In order to come to a better understanding of this prolific house form, the next section will trace its gradual development in the Pembroke estate.

3.3.2 The development of the semi-detached house in the Pembroke estate

Of all the new suburbs emerging around Dublin in the nineteenth century, the Pembroke estate was the largest single domain to be developed.⁷⁸ Stretching eastwards from Merrion Square to Blackrock and as far south as Bray, this vast area south of the city is of central importance to the story of the development of the Dublin suburbs. As we have seen, the high standards imposed by Lord Pembroke are reflected in the level of architectural sophistication and the quality of materials found in Ailesbury Road. But the Pembroke Estate also saw a profusion of semi-detached houses, while other suburbs continued to build as many terraces. Thus, the district may be seen as a laboratory for the development of the paired house form in the Dublin suburbs. Eve McAulay's seminal research on the development of the estate forms a basis for discussion and the following account augments her findings, by linking them to a study of plot sizes, as well as investigating these early house forms in greater detail.

By the early nineteenth century, Dublin had already begun to break beyond the traditional confines of the canals, so that by 1816 its hinterlands were characterised by

⁷⁷ Murphy, *The semi-detached house*, p. 40. From a survey of ten large-scale house builders operating in the Dublin area between 1973 and 1975, Murphy found that 70% of their output was in semi-detached houses, 16% were in terraces and 14% were detached houses.

⁷⁸ McAulay, 'The Pembroke estate', p.1.

'a steady scattering of linear building development along the major radial routes'.⁷⁹ We have seen how development on the north side of Pembroke Road closely resembled the Georgian terraced form, although reduced in scale and pushed back from the street (3.2 & 3.3). In 1830, remarkable changes were proposed, when the Pembroke Estate commissioned drawings for the south side of the street. As McAulay has identified, this is the first known scheme for semi-detached houses in the estate, albeit with close associations to the terraced form. An examination of the Ordnance Survey shows that the plots were over four times the width of the terraces opposite, and the building line was set one hundred feet from the edge of the street (3.78).⁸⁰ The various roof profiles inherent in the design are discussed by McAulay: some are shown with parapets while others are finished with overhanging eaves. The only houses to survive intact from the scheme are Numbers 19 and 21 Pembroke which are of three storeys with parapets (3.79). They are an example of the kind of elongated vertical form which resulted from the transferral of the Georgian terrace to a wider plot, and the stucco finish is an attempt to offset this verticality.

Despite these early developments, it took some time for the semi-detached form to catch on in the Pembroke estate. In the following decades, new streets emerged mainly in terraces (3.80), but it wasn't until the 1860s that the paired form became the main house type, and this has been attributed to John Vernon, agent of the estate from 1853, who ensured that the majority of houses in the western sector were semi-detached. The earliest of these to survive are Numbers 16 and 18 Burlington Road, built between 1856 and 1859 (3.81). Compared to the first paired houses in Pembroke Road, McAulay finds that 'the great sense of verticality has disappeared', but the reduced height is certainly a more successful proportional match with the two-bay semi-detached form. Nevertheless, the houses retain their two-dimensionality, by continuing

⁷⁹ McAulay, 'The Pembroke estate', 46.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 90 & Private collection, copy of original lease from September 1877, piece of ground on the north side of Ailesbury Road, The Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery & Michael Meade Esq. As McAulay has noted, the plans show some of these semi-detached houses sharing the use of the front garden space. This is perhaps an indication of Loudon's influence in advocating 'double-detached houses', creating the appearance of one single villa. Later building leases for Ailesbury road stipulate that 'light Iron Railings for division fences shall also be erected between the houses and the footpath, but no woodwork Stone Walls or wooden fencing shall be allowed to be put up on any part of the ground between the front of the said houses and Ailesbury Road aforesaid..'. It is possible that this relates to similar ideals, making sure that there are no barriers obstructing the view of the paired 'villa' form from the street.

to apply the parapet roof detail, a legacy of its terraced predecessor. As McAulay summarises: 'It is not until the building of Lansdowne, Clyde and Northumberland Roads that a distinctive character is composed for semi-detached houses'.⁸¹ The distinctive character referred to here is the employment of hips rather than gabled roofs, and the use of projecting eaves rather than parapets. These changes were also brought about by Vernon, who by 1859 was stipulating a 'Cantilever roof' to numbers 26 and 28 Lansdowne Road.⁸² These houses are in existence today and consist of two bays with the main entrance set back in a full height side return (3.82). Importantly, this was the first time in the estate that the parapet detail was cast aside in favour of a cantilevered and hipped roof. It is these distinct characteristics first found in Lansdowne Road which will be seen in the development of the houses by Meade and Carvill.

Another observation is that the side return has now been raised to two storeys, making a more efficient use of the additional space to the side. However closer examination reveals that it is not resolved successfully, as the gabled roof sits awkwardly with the hipped roof profile of the main building. It is clear therefore that the new house form posed some challenges to builders, as they grappled with this adjunct to the main building volume. Interestingly though, as Lansdowne Road developed, speculators experimented with this problem in different ways. A more favourable solution was found when the side extension was finished in a parapet roof, although it is still not entirely successful (3.83). It was only by 1867 when numbers 42 & 44 were built that a solution was found, where the hipped roof was wrapped around the side extension, tying the entire form successfully together (3.84). Another solution is found in nearby Raglan Road, where the side return was absorbed in to the main volume, resulting in a wide three bay form (3.85). Wide granite steps lead to an elaborate classical entrance portico which projects out from the front facade.

One resounding feature of the early semi-detached form is the sparse degree of ornamentation, which is particularly noticeable in the wider three bay form. Apart from some elaboration of entrance doorcases, these early templates suffer the monotony of large expanses of brick wall, punctured by window openings. Although lively polychromy

⁸¹ McAulay, 'The Pembroke estate', p.200.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 202.

and stringcoursing was at play in terraced houses by 1863 (3.86), it was not until the end of the decade that it reached semi-detached facades in the estate. The first occurrence was in 1868 in Clyde Road where decorative brickwork, Venetian Gothic doorcases and carefully placed eaves brackets help to relieve what might otherwise be plain brick elevations (3.87). Projecting bay windows began to appear in Lansdowne Road in the 1870s, which further helped to balance out the horizontality of the semi-detached facade. Research completed in Northumberland Road summarises the development of the semi-detached form on the street (3.88).

3.3.3 The semi-detached houses of Meade and Carvill

As producers of high quality housing schemes, the work of Michael Meade and William Carvill provides a focus for analysis of Victorian domestic architecture in Dublin. As we have seen, in the 1860s they were building schemes of semi-detached houses in Pembroke and Rathgar. While the average speculator acquired two or four plots, Carvill and Meade were building twelve to sixteen houses each. Built at the same time but in different parts of the southern suburbs, these are all high quality structures which provide a firm basis for comparative analysis. A total of twenty-eight buildings will be analysed: twelve built by Meade on the Pembroke estate and eighteen by Carvill in Rathgar.⁸³

3.3.3.1 Meade's Ailesbury Road houses (1865-1879)

By the 1860s the semi-detached house was the dominant building form in the new streets of the western side of the Pembroke estate. When Ailesbury Road was laid out in 1863 it cut through green fields and market gardens, marking the furthest extent of suburban development in the estate. Michael Meade acquired his first plots there in 1865 and within fourteen years he had built a total of twelve dwellings: ten semi-detached houses on the south side of the road, and two on its north side (3.89). The plots are largely in accordance with the lease agreements (on average 50 feet wide and 238 feet deep), corresponding to those in other newly emerging streets closer to the city

⁸³ A total of eight out of the twelve houses built by Meade in Ailesbury Road were photographed and surveyed. The analysis of the Carvill properties is based on a survey of four houses at Rostrevor Terrace, while the plans of Orwell Park were obtained from planning documentation from Dublin City Council.

such as in Clyde Road. However the setbacks are much greater than in other areas (70 feet), perhaps a reflection of their remote location (3.90).

In terms of massing and scale, Meade's first scheme in Ailesbury Road (3.89: Numbers 1 to 19, built 1865-1870) are reminiscent of the early semi-detached houses which first appeared in Raglan Road in 1862 (3.85 & 3.91): three-bay, two-storey over raised basement structures with overhanging eaves. However there are differences in how this form is articulated: the roofs are gabled rather than hipped, and the side returns do not rise to full height. The roof profile was the choice of the leaseholder: building leases stipulated 'projecting or cantilever roofs', but did not state whether they should be gabled or hipped. There are few attempts to form openings in the gable wall: apart from some functional windows to a first floor bathroom, it is primarily a blank expanse of yellow brick. All efforts are focused instead on the front facade, whose red brick front is characterised by large openings framed in decorative stone surrounds. Like the early house forms at Lansdowne Road, the builder has not yet begun to experiment with the exposed sides of semi-detachment, and so the houses remain somewhat two-dimensional in form.

While the external form clings to earlier traditions, the internal layout has evolved its own distinctive plan. A modest side return accommodates the entrance hall, allowing the whole of the front section of the plan to be devoted to living space (3.92). Three reception rooms are formed: two interconnecting spaces to the front, and a separately accessed dining room to the rear. The later houses (numbers 9 to 19: built 1868-1870) benefit from two storey canted bay windows to the rear, which extend the floor space, as well as providing views while dining over south facing country fields (3.93 & 3.94). The comparatively confined nature of the space off the half landing might have been avoided by extending it in to a full height side return, as can be seen in similar houses of this time in Raglan Road (3.95). The upper level benefits most from the central location of the stairs where three bedrooms and a toilet are accessed directly off a modest first floor landing. Meade's first pair of houses (Numbers 1 and 3: built by 1868), provide additional sanitary accommodation in a small five foot projection to the rear of the stairwell (3.92). It appears that all of the houses were built with stables, which were accessed from a laneway between numbers 9 and 7.

While these first ten houses are volumetrically similar, Numbers 5 and 7 are quite different in articulation and layout. They were most likely built by Meade's building firm, but these are the only two houses leased to Joseph Meade, while the remainder were assigned directly to his father Michael. Instead of a separately defined side return, a projecting entrance portico is inserted to the third bay, similar to the template described at Raglan Road (3.96 & 3.97). This is curious in light of a condition in the lease that 'no building or projection except steps to the hall door shall be made in front of the said houses'. It is certainly an unusual feature for houses of the time, although as we have seen in Raglan Road it was also permitted there. The insertion of the entrance in the third bay has a dramatic effect on the internal layout, which harks back to the Georgian terrace with the stairs and hall located to one side. It is a simply organised plan: two interconnecting reception rooms are provided, one to the front and one to the rear. The location of the stairs at first floor level proves somewhat problematic on the wider suburban plot, where a corridor is required to access the centre of the plan. The increase in circulation area is offset by a full height rear return, an unusual feature for a semi-detached house at the time, providing additional bedroom accommodation off the half landing level. The differences in layout show that despite the confines of the building lease, the leaseholder had a major influence on the form and style of building. These two houses formed part of Joseph Meade's marriage settlement, although there is no record of him ever residing there.⁸⁴

These are beautifully crafted buildings, which cleverly present their best side to the street, while economising on the lesser seen faces. In accordance with the building lease the front facade is clad in 'the best red bricks', while the basement storey is finished in granite ashlar.⁸⁵ A cheaper stock brick forms the side elevations, and the transition to the red brick front is marked in either of two ways (3.98). Granite quoins form the corner of the main volume, but a cheaper route is taken for the lesser seen side extensions, where the red brick front is 'toothed' in to the inferior grey brick side (3.99). The sandstone window surrounds are common to all ten houses and are an unusually extravagant feature, echoing those on Meade's adjacent villa. They all form segmental arches over the windows but vary in profile: those to the first four houses are

⁸⁴ *Thom's* 1865-1885. Although he did live in Number 19 between 1880 and 1885.

⁸⁵ St. Michael's House archive, original lease from March 1868, piece of ground on the south side of Ailesbury Road, The Earl of Clanwilliam & Marquis of Ailesbury & Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery & Michael Meade & RD, 1869, vol. 24, mem. 136.

simpler in profile, while the remainder are slightly more elaborate in design (3.100). The eaves are defined by decorative timber brackets which are carefully spaced to relate to the window openings below (3.101). Nevertheless, while all of these devices provide interest to the facade, external ornamentation is generally restrained. By the time the second set of houses were complete in 1870, polychromatic brick and stone string coursing had been in use in other areas of the estate for at least two years. However they were not uniformly dispersed throughout the suburbs: it wasn't until 1877 that they were implemented in houses in Northumberland Road.

There is variation in how the entrances are handled: the earlier houses are simpler in design while the later scheme is characterised by a greater degree of ornamentation (3.102). Most of the houses locate the entrance in a side extension, where the front door is recessed to form a porch (3.103). Numbers 1 and 3 (built by 1867) are simple in design with a semi-circular archway and foliated capitals. Numbers 5 and 7, as we have seen, are in contrast to the other eight houses, where the entrance is inserted in a projecting sandstone portico. A wider entrance is the result, which is framed by a slightly recessed archway and simple limestone columns. The remaining six houses (built by 1870) are the most elaborate in design: segmental arches and elaborately carved keystones sit above polished stone columns with stylised capitals. It is clear that house designs were becoming increasingly decorative, in accordance with the fashions of the time. As a reflection of their different building periods the entrances thus tell the story of the phased nature of Meade's housing scheme.

Seven years after completing the first ten houses, Meade leased a plot opposite his villa at the junction with the Merrion Road. By 1879 he had completed another pair of semi-detached houses (Numbers 2 & 4), which were remarkably different to his earlier experiments on Ailesbury Road (3.89 & 3.104). Wider plots resulted in larger volumes: number 4 for example is seven feet wider than the standard plot width on the south side of the road. The two houses have also fully absorbed the characteristics of semi-detachment: hipped roofs, two-storey side extensions and increased ornamentation are all apparent here. The canted bay windows found to the rear of houses opposite, are inserted here on the front elevation and are robustly expressed in

two storeys in brick and stone.⁸⁶ The internal layout of number 4 matches that generally on the opposite side: the stairs to the rear centre and the entrance to the side. This plan is however expressed differently on the outside: instead of a single-storey porch, the side extension rises up two storeys and terminated by an open pediment over an arched window (3.105). The layout of number 2 takes advantage of its prominent corner location by inserting the entrance in the gable end, forming a grand entrance in a two-story projection to the side (3.106). An unusual feature here is the continuation of the expensive red brick and granite finish to the side and rear elevations. The scheme has all the hallmarks of a client led design and Number 2 is the only one of Meade's houses that appears to have been sold, rather than let to tenants. This large corner property was named 'Coolbawn' and was sub-leased to a former British army captain in 1879 for £2,000 (3.107).

A review of the overall design of this pair of houses reveals that it is not successful in terms of its overall composition, and seems to have been compromised rather than enhanced by its expansive site (3.108). Being a wider scheme, it is excessively elongated, requiring vertical breaks to offset the wide facade. The street frontage suffers particularly in this regard, having exploited the corner site to elongate further, from three to four bays. Admittedly, there is an attempt to provide relief by the addition of bay windows, and the insertion of Bath stone imposts and keystones, but the stone stringcourse only serves to accentuate the horizontality (3.104, 3.109 & 3.110). Curiously, two of the bays of number 4 project out slightly, a feature that is not mirrored in the adjoining property. Experimentation occurs on the side returns, but the roof profile and eaves level of number 4 does not match that of the main volume, resulting in awkward junctions (3.105). The design of this block therefore suggests amateur meddling, rather the hand of a competent architect. Following the pattern found at Crosthwaite Park, speculative building was open to idiosyncratic departures from the broad design brief provided in lease agreements.

⁸⁶ Perhaps this feature is more about capturing south facing sunlight, rather than framing a particular view.

3.3.3.2 Carvill's Rathgar houses (1865-1870)

Rostrevor terrace and Orwell Park were developed by William Carvill on the estate surrounding his saw mill and home in Rathgar. Unlike Meade, Carvill was not subject to strict building leases and was therefore free to build in whatever building form and style he desired. We have seen how he began pegging out plots in two fields near his mill, where by 1865 he had built on four plots in each holding: Rostrevor Terrace to the north and Orwell Park to the east (2.412 & 2.43). By 1871 fourteen semi-detached houses were complete at Rostrevor Terrace, laid out in pairs from north to south (2.49 & 3.111).

Rostrevor Terrace

Rostrevor Terrace is similar in form to the earlier template described in Lansdowne Road, which emerged in the Pembroke estate from 1860 (3.82-3.84): all two-bay, two -storey over raised basement structures with the entrance inserted in a full height side return (3.112). Compared to the houses in Ailesbury Road, the plots are somewhat reduced in scale, but the buildings are similar volumetrically to those emerging in other parts of the Pembroke estate (3.113). The development is considered rare for suburban Dublin, being a uniformly designed scheme which has changed little since its completion 143 years ago.⁸⁷ The same template is repeated across the seven pairs of houses at Rostrevor Terrace, forming a regular rhythm of uniform facades. This is in marked contrast to much of suburban development in Dublin, whose variation is usually a reflection of the ad-hoc manner in which it was built. They were also built without a coach-house laneway behind, so the plots have not suffered encroachment by mews development to the rear.

While Rostrevor Terrace can be compared in formal terms to Lansdowne Road, the scheme retains some characteristics of the terraced house. Parapets and gable ends are in evidence here, while in other areas hipped roofs and overhanging eaves are commonly found (3.114). This does facilitate the builder in avoiding some of the

⁸⁷ Private collection, Maurice Craig, 'Rostrevor Terrace, Rathgar', p.1. (unpublished report, Dublin, 1977).

difficulties presented at Lansdowne Road, by continuing the same parapet detail across all three bays. Although reminiscent of terraced models, this solution successfully integrates the entrance within the overall form of the structure. A very grand and imposing facade is presented to the street, while the lesser seen gable is plainly rendered. The entrance bay steps back only marginally, creating vertical breaks in a wide expanse of brick facade.⁸⁸ The basement is finished with a lime render lined out to resemble ashlar stonework, while the transition between the red brick front and the rendered sides are articulated with vermiculated quoins made of 'patent pre-cast stone' (3.115).⁸⁹ The window lintels are of brick rather than stone, and the parapets are characterised by cornices of brick dentils and dog-toothed corbels. This is repeated on the chimneys and is indicative of the beginnings of a very Victorian phenomenon: the integration of decorative brickwork in facades. Essentially, Rostrevor Terrace is a cheaper, stripped down version of the fashionable houses of the Pembroke estate: a lined render achieves the appearance of stone without the associated expense. Nevertheless, a valuer from the Griffith Valuation noted in the 1860s that these were 'well built superior houses'.⁹⁰

Volumetrically, Rostrevor Terrace is almost identical to the houses built by Meade in Ailesbury Road. The two schemes emerged at the same time in the Dublin suburbs and it is possible that Michael Meade was also the builder of Rostrevor Terrace.⁹¹ On closer examination some differences emerge however: in Rathgar the entrance is inserted in to the third bay, instead of in a separately defined side extension (3.116). At the entrance level two (instead of three) reception rooms are turned at right angles to each other: the larger space is to the front while a bay window overlooks south-west facing gardens to the rear (3.117 & 3.118). The hierarchy of the floors is expressed in section: ceilings are highest at the entrance level at 12 feet 4 inches, but reduce to just over 11 feet on the upper floor and to the bare minimum of 8 and a half

⁸⁸ This stepping of the third bay appears to be primarily for external effect, as it does not coincide with the articulation of the plan. This results in some curious details internally: note how this stepped wall encroaches in to the main reception room at entrance level and into the front corner bedroom at first floor level (3.116).

⁸⁹ Craig, 'Rostrevor Terrace', p.1.

⁹⁰ Griffith Valuation, Rathfarnham, 1855-1864, vol. 1, p. 183.

⁹¹ In 1870 as the Rathgar properties were nearing completion, Michael Meade's son Joseph married William Carvill's daughter and the last two houses on the terrace formed part of the marriage settlement. The Meades also entrusted Number 7 & 9 Ailesbury Road to the agreement.

feet at basement level (3.119). The secondary space off the half landing is smaller than in Ailesbury Road, and this was most probably used as a study. At first floor level, three bedrooms are provided, while sanitary accommodation is inserted into the left-over spaces at the centre of the plan.⁹² The interior decoration appears to be uniform across the scheme (3.120)

Orwell Park

While Rostrevor Terrace was in the course of formation, William Carvill was erecting houses in another holding nearby (2.43). Compared to the schemes thus described, these plots are significantly reduced in scale, perhaps relating to their secondary location on a tributary road (3.113). The plot widths are 40% less than at Rostrevor Terrace, the result of a simple pairing of two terraced forms (3.121 & 3.122). The houses are two bays wide, rising two storeys over a raised basement, with parapet roofs. Unusually, the oriel windows are inserted here on the first floor, instead of their more common location on the reception floor below. This is a south-facing facade on an elevated site, so this was most likely an attempt to capture sunny views to the mountains beyond.⁹³ Nevertheless, this has done much to take away from the integrity of the form, appearing somewhat top-heavy and incongruous on this floor. The paired entrances are another unusual feature, and are more commonly found in terraced houses. Thus, while the schemes at Ailesbury Road and Rostrevor Terrace contain some terraced characteristics, Orwell Park bears a closer resemblance to its predecessor.

Table 2: Comparative analysis of semi-detached plot widths

Development	Plot width	Plot depth	Building set back
Ailesbury Road	50'	240'	70'
Rostrevor Terrace	46'	210'	52'
Orwell Park	28'	177'	44'

⁹² The existence of a Victorian vent and the small scale of these rooms suggest that they were used as sanitary accommodation.

⁹³ *General Advertiser*, 3 Sept. 1864. Advertisements for Oaklands Villas on the Highfield Road nearby (2.39 & 2.42) boasted that the houses commanded: ‘...from the rear a splendid view of the Dublin mountains.’

The front elevations are clad in red brick, with granite quoins marking the transition to the gable ends, although unexpectedly the quoins are all absent to Number 3 (3.123). The treatment of the service floor follows that at Rostrevor Terrace, which is delineated as a rendered base, while the brick cornicing is repeated here at the parapet level and on the oriel windows (3.124 & 3.125). Other ornamentation is focused on the entrances: curved and straight edged bricks alternate with decorative stone and timber to frame the openings (3.126). While in Ailesbury Road and Rostrevor Park the plan has adapted to the wider plot, the Orwell Park houses are still firmly entrenched in the terraced form. It is a scaled down version of the standard Dublin Georgian terrace: two reception rooms are formed alongside the hall/stair compartment, with a large return to the rear.

3.4 A comparative analysis of the suburban house form in Britain and Ireland

In order to put these houses in a broader context, it is necessary to carry out some comparative analyses with British models. It has been noted that compared to the richness of materials in London's eighteenth-century terrace, those of Georgian Dublin are of 'unadorned stock brick'.⁹⁴ Dublin builders instead focused on the embellishment of doorcases, whose variety is not matched with any regularity in England or Scotland.⁹⁵ By the early nineteenth century, domestic architecture in Dublin continued to be comparatively plain, as the grand palace-fronted terraces laid out by Nash in London were beyond the pockets of most Dublin developers. Victorian terraces in London also tended to be higher and characterised by 'undulating stucco facades',⁹⁶ while Lord Pembroke specified both brick and stone in his Dublin houses, a combination not commonly found in England.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ Casey, *Dublin* (New Haven and London), p. 37.

⁹⁵ Alistair Rowan, 'The Irishness of Irish architecture', in *Architectural History*, xxxx, (1997), p. 16.

⁹⁶ McAulay, 'The Pembroke estate', p. 158.

⁹⁷ *Ex. Info.*, Simon Bradley, Co-author Buildings of England series, Yale University Press, 16 Jan. 2012.

However the most striking difference between the Irish Victorian house and its British counterpart is the way in which the service floor is treated.⁹⁸ In the English house, the full basement was part of the 'space-conscious, urban Georgian terrace',⁹⁹ containing all the functional accommodation. This was the 'engine room' of the Georgian house, where the kitchens, sculleries and servant spaces were conveniently hidden away from view. The floor was almost fully submerged below ground, requiring just a few steps up to the entrance door. Between 1840 and 1850 this functionary floor began to rise up out of the ground, thereby raising the entrance level further up from the street. This occurred mainly in suburban semi-detached houses and villas in England, but there were also terraced examples of this 'half-basement' (3.127).¹⁰⁰ The garden designer J.C. Loudon considered this change to be more of an aesthetic consideration in 1838:

Where the front garden ascends towards the house, there is an appearance of dignity, dryness and comfort; but, where it descends, we receive from it the impression of meanness, dampness, and unwholesomeness.¹⁰¹

In time the basement was eradicated altogether: by the latter end of the nineteenth century, the English Victorian house was most commonly entered directly off street level.

Why did the service floor emerge out of the ground in the Victorian suburb? Some attempts have been made to justify the phenomenon: the desire to emit more light, or to create space for a bay window or a longer length of stairs.¹⁰² However, it seems unlikely that these minor modifications were the driving force for such a radical change in building practice. The answer seems to lie in the practical implications of sinking a floor below ground level, which was always bound to be problematic. Apart

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ Stefan Muthesius, *The English terraced house* (New Haven and London), p.88.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 179 & H.J. Dyos, *Victorian suburb: a study of the growth of Camberwell* (Leicester, 1977), p.183. Examples cited include Augusta Road, in Ramsgate, Kent (c.1840s) and Avondale Square (1875) in Camberwell, London.

¹⁰¹ Loudon, *The suburban gardener*, p. 28.

¹⁰² Muthesius, *The English terraced house*, p.89.

from dangers of excavating below the water table, a subterranean floor also incurred the risk of flooding from burst river banks, or excessive rainfall. In the building of London's Georgian townhouses, builders had circumnavigated the problem by raising the road above the natural ground line, and dropping levels at the rear. Space was thereby created for an almost fully hidden basement, by excavating soil in one area, to build up another (3.128).¹⁰³ Thus, the eighteenth-century London basement was never really very far below ground, as the levels were artificially built up around it. This practice continued on in to the nineteenth century, evidenced by an observer of the building of London's suburbs in 1853:

....the roads were built up to the level of the ceilings of the basement-rooms-such being the practice the general rule. The floor of the so-called underground kitchen of a London house was never really underground, but was laid originally a trifle above the level of the soil, and even in many cases at a considerable elevation above the level. As fast as the roads are formed, the houses, built according to a certain plan, to which the builders are bound to adhere, rise rapidly on either side of them.¹⁰⁴

Similar house building methods were used in Dublin's nineteenth-century suburbs, as evidenced by a design by the architect William Murray in 1838. In his scheme for twenty houses in Kingstown, Murray explained how the ground was to be treated: 'It is proposed to build those houses two stories high one storey partly underground. The ground on which the houses are to stand to be cut down to the level of the road and the earth used for levelling the remainder.'¹⁰⁵ Thirteen years later, Murray was proposing similar methods in his plans for a new terraced scheme on the Rathgar Road, where the front garden was to be raised three feet above the 'natural surface' (3.129). Compared to Dublin's eighteenth-century townhouses where the basement floor was almost fully submerged (3.1), the service floor at Rathgar was shown raised significantly out of the ground.

¹⁰³ Summerson, *Georgian London*, p.50.

¹⁰⁴ Charles Manby Smith, *Curiosities of London Life*, (London, 1853), as cited in Lee Jackson, *Daily life in Victorian London: an extraordinary anthology* (London, 2011).

¹⁰⁵ IAA, Arthur Murray Collection, Victoria Square, Surveys, plans and elevations for houses on proposed Victoria Square for T. M. Gresham by William Murray, 1838. (Acc. No. 92/46/838).

It is clear therefore that in the nineteenth-century, the basement rose out of the ground in both the London and Dublin suburbs, which was most likely due to pragmatic concerns such as drainage and sanitary health.¹⁰⁶ The first known evidence of this in Dublin was in the Pembroke Estate at Haddington Terrace, located just outside the canal to the south of the city. Fourteen house plots were leased in the first year of the nineteenth century and were complete by 1816, rising to three storeys with large set-backs from the street (3.4).¹⁰⁷ This development is significant, since it seems to show the raising of the basement floor at least twenty-four years before the practice is recorded in England. It is possible that the low topography of the ground in Haddington Road was a factor, as excavation might have endangered the high water table, or result in flooding from the nearby canal or Dodder River.¹⁰⁸ Another striking aspect of this development is that the lowest floor is entirely above ground, raising the entrance one full level above the street and necessitating a long flight of steps to the front door. A distinctly Irish feature, this set the standard for the prestigious western side of the Pembroke estate, as well as other parts of Dublin's suburbs. In England the Victorian basement emerged only a half level out of the ground, until it was eradicated altogether, by which time one entered just a few steps up from the street. By the 1870s, basements were being omitted from houses in London's city and suburbs, displacing service accommodation to enlarged rear extensions.¹⁰⁹ This was a feature of the Dublin suburbs from the 1880s,¹¹⁰ as exemplified by Meade's houses in Shrewsbury Road, built by 1906 (1.46).

But why did the Dublin practice differ so dramatically from the British model? McAulay suggests that elevated floors and increased set backs were a 'characteristic feature of suburbia': in raising the house from the noise of the street.¹¹¹ Another

¹⁰⁶ It is possible also that the provisions of the public health acts of the 1840s were of influence in London and Liverpool. The Public Health Act of 1848 stated that new cellars were not to be separately occupied as dwellings. Minimum room heights of seven feet were required for existing cellars used for habitation, with ceiling levels at least three feet above the street. They also stipulated an open area surrounding the outside of a cellar floor of at least two feet six inches wide, and for it to be properly drained and provided with a watercloset or privy, a fireplace and an external window. Edward Lawes, *The act for promoting the public health: The Nuisances Removal and Diseases Prevention Act, 1848* (London, 1849), pp 107-110 & Lydia Carroll, *In the fever king's preserves: Sir Charles Cameron and the Dublin slums* (Dublin, 2011), pp 123 & 132.

¹⁰⁷ McAulay, 'The Pembroke estate', p.38.

¹⁰⁸ It could also be argued that the provision of water mains were also of influence, in the raising of basements in the area. *Ex. Info.*, David Dickson, 1 October 2013.

¹⁰⁹ Stefan Muthesius, *The English terraced house* (New Haven & London, 1982), p.88.

¹¹⁰ Daly, 'The growth of Victorian Dublin', p. 53.

¹¹¹ McAulay, 'The Pembroke estate', p.59.

suggestion is that raised floors were an effort to economise, by reducing the extent of excavations. Certainly in the Pembroke estate, rental returns on suburban plots were lower than in the city, so it is possible that higher excavation costs were not justified there for this reason. Although the basement is a common feature of English classical architecture, Craig claims that in Ireland it is 'much more nearly universal'.¹¹² He identifies three reasons for this, the first being defensive, as evidenced by the Irish Round Tower which was normally entered at an upper level. The second he associates with the language of classical architecture, creating 'order' by hierarchically raising the main living spaces above a secondary plinth. But according to Craig, it is the relationship of the Irish house to the natural fall of the land that is of paramount importance. Since the seventeenth century, basements had been providing protection from the adversities of a wet climate, acting as a buffer between the damp earth and the living spaces above. By the eighteenth century, entrances in Irish houses were commonly located in the *piano nobile* for this reason.

The previous chapter discussed the challenges posed to house builders in the Dublin suburbs in the context of sub-standard services. Before the completion of proper pumped drainage system in 1879, sewage in Rathmines and Pembroke was collected in cess pools, which drained in to local rivers. This had obvious implications for the health of suburban dwellers: in Rathmines a 'fearful prevalence of typhus' was attributed to the pollution of the Swan River by effluent exiting from sewer pipes.¹¹³ Although the western side of the Pembroke Estate was higher and better drained, much of the eastern side was reclaimed land and prone to flooding from the Dodder canal. Low lying marshy land was not appropriate for house building, as the architect Thomas Morris advised in 1860:

¹¹² Maurice Craig, *Classic Irish houses of the middle size* (London and New York, 1976), p. 20.

¹¹³ *Municipal Boundaries Commission (Ireland), Part I, Evidence, with appendices. Dublin, Rathmines, Pembroke, Kilmainham, Drumcondra, Clontarf, and also Kingstown, Blackrock and Dalkey*, [C.2725], H.C. 1880, evidence of Mr James Boyle, p. 69, para. 1692-4 (henceforth cited as *Municipal Boundaries, Part I*, 1880).

Out of the area involved in our boundary must be deducted, not only the busy nucleus, but several tracts which are low, marshy or otherwise unsuitable for residential purposes. For such objects the slopes and elevated tables are chiefly in request, commanding as they necessarily do, the advantages of dryness, prospect and ventilation.¹¹⁴

It is remarkable that between 1860 and 1879, the period of greatest suburban growth, development was carried out without a proper drainage system in the most affluent suburbs of Rathmines and Pembroke. This was in marked contrast to London, where the Metropolitan Board of Works completed their scheme for the city and suburbs, as early as 1868.¹¹⁵ Service provision in the Dublin area however was impeded by the fragmentary nature of the local authority system. Despite these challenges, John Vernon continued on regardless and regulated development in his characteristically strict manner, prohibiting any underground accommodation, as he explained in 1879: 'I never allow the basement of any house to be lower than the road, and this is for drainage purposes'.¹¹⁶

Due to the few surviving leases in the Pembroke Estate papers, it is difficult to establish how this issue was dealt with before Vernon's agency. Of those found, leases for plots in Wellington Road state that houses were not to be less than 'two stories high above the cellars'.¹¹⁷ Built by 1847, these properties emerged with almost fully elevated basements (3.130). However by the time the semi-detached house appeared in the 1860s, Vernon had substituted the word 'cellars' with 'elevated basement storey', as was done for Meade's leases for Ailesbury Road.¹¹⁸ This change had enormous impact on the architectural character of the Pembroke estate, particularly on the western side which developed generally without subterranean accommodation. Leases on the eastern sector appear to have remained ambiguous in this regard, such as in Strand Road where houses are to be 'not more or less than two stories high over the

¹¹⁴ Thomas Morris, *A house for the suburbs, socially and architecturally sketched*, (London, 1860), p.25.

¹¹⁵ Séamas Ó Maithú, *Dublin's suburban towns, 1834-1930* (Dublin, 2003), p.100.

¹¹⁶ Municipal Boundaries, Part I, 1880, evidence of Mr Arthur H. Robinson, p.279, para. 34.

¹¹⁷ McAulay, 'The Pembroke estate', p. 120.

¹¹⁸ St. Michael's House archive, original lease from March 1868, piece of ground on the south side of Ailesbury Road, The Earl of Clanwilliam & Marquis of Ailesbury & Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery & Michael Meade.

basement'. This is reflected in this area today, where houses are raised either a half a level above the road, or without any subterranean accommodation. The English architect Thomas Morris considered this practice beneficial for practical, economic and aesthetic reasons:

In undrained districts it is generally inexpedient to adopt a sunk or basement storey; otherwise accommodation may be thus obtained in a very economical manner, especially in small houses built in pairs, by which mode the disproportionate height of a single house is obviated.¹¹⁹

3.5 Conclusion

The houses built by Michael Meade and William Carvill stand on the cusp between Georgian and Victorian building practices. They are reflective of the changing shape of the Dublin suburb, which was in the process of adapting familiar building models - the terrace - to a wider suburban plot. Some clung tighter to the terraced form (Orwell Park), whereas others were further on in the process of transformation. Meade's earlier experiments on Ailesbury Road (1865-1871) had widened to three bays, but gabled roofs and sparse ornamentation indicate a building form in the early stages of transition. Carvill's houses at Rostrevor Terrace were similarly influenced by earlier models, but managed to create cheaper stripped down versions of houses in the fashionable Pembroke estate. Builders had not yet begun to exploit the new open-ended form offered by the suburban plot, and so the houses remain somewhat two-dimensional in form. All of this changed in 1879 when Meade laid out plots on the north side of Ailesbury Road. Here, gable ends and parapets gave way to hipped roofs, characteristics of the fully developed semi-detached house. Openings were inserted in the end walls, while full height returns provided the opportunity to create an entrance at the side. In accordance with the fashion of the time, bay windows pushed through the front facade, while new lines of polychromy were introduced.

¹¹⁹ Morris, *A house for the suburbs*, p. 33.

There are aspects of this new building form that are unique to the Irish context, such as the service floor, now emerged fully out of the ground, elevating the *piano nobile* to its classical position on the first floor. These divergences result in a distinctly Irish version of the same template, characterised by a grand flights of steps leading to what is often an embellished entrance doorcase. The service floor is also articulated differently, as a base over which the *piano nobile* sits. In the Pembroke estate a granite finish defines this floor, while the upper storeys are often finished in 'the best red brick'. The juxtaposition of these materials is another aspect that differentiates Dublin's suburban houses from their counterparts in other British and Irish cities.

Chapter 4



Building Materials

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter analyzed the architectural form of a range of speculative housing schemes, built in the south Dublin suburbs between 1843 and 1879. Each scheme varies in its use of materials, from the uniformly lime render facades of Crosthwaite Park, to the red brick and cut granite fronts of Ailesbury Road. This chapter narrows down the focus, by examining the various materials used to build these structures. One development from each of the three speculators forms the basis for this study: Ailesbury Road (Meade), Rostrevor Terrace (Carvill) and Crosthwaite Park (Crosthwaite). Among the questions to be considered are the source of these materials and the means by which they were transported to site. As primary sources are scarce for these house types, the chapter is framed by a discussion of the contextual picture of the likely material sources for suburban house building, while a rare specification found for Numbers 16 & 17 Northbrook Road has proved a valuable basis for analysis. This chapter aims to relate data from building estimates, leases and contemporary secondary material to detailed inspections of these houses, to examine the role played by each of the three main building materials in their construction: brick, stone and timber.

4.2 Sourcing building materials

4.2.1 Brickwork:

The greatest outlay in house construction went to the masonry and brickwork parts of the contract.¹ Stone and brick could be used to build foundations, external and internal walls, chimneys, boundary walls, drains and decorative details. McAulay has discussed the role of John Vernon, agent to Lord Pembroke from 1853, who strengthened building controls in the estate, insisting on high quality materials in the

¹ A clear example is seen in the calculations for the costs of a house in Fitzwilliam Park, Belfast in 1896. PRONI, Young & MacKenzie Architects, Estimate for the erection of a house in Fitzwilliam Park, Belfast, 1896, (Acc. No. D2194/76/6) & *Ibid.*, estimate for the erection and completion of a villa at Adelaide Park, Belfast, 1891, (Acc. No. D2194/37/9). The proportion of costs allocated to the mason and bricklayer is the largest, ranging from between 32% and 37% of the overall figure.

western sector.² When insisting on the new semi-detached form in his leases, Vernon also provided covenants to deal with the treatment of two public facades: the front and side elevations. Leases for Ailesbury Road stipulated 'the best stock bricks' to the upper storeys with cut stone to the lower levels. A stock brick was a good grade of brick generally used for facing work,³ and two types were stipulated in Ailesbury Road: 'the best red bricks' to the front and 'either red or grey stock bricks' to the side and rear.⁴ These conditions are evident in Meade's Ailesbury Road houses, which are faced with red stocks to the front and yellow or grey stock brick to the side (3.98 & 3.99).

The quality of brick construction is determined by the type of clay selected, and how it is manipulated during the process of manufacture. The main ingredients of a good brick-earth are silica and alumina, with other smaller constituents such as iron, lime, salt and magnesia. Depending upon its chemical composition, the quality of the clay can be improved with additives and once this process is completed the material is ready for firing.⁵ Methods of brick manufacture vary greatly, and in Ireland, until at least the middle of the nineteenth century, most brick making was carried out by hand.⁶ The best quality brick was a 'marl' or 'malm', which was of a fine yellow colour and used mainly for facings.⁷ Next in quality was grey stock brick, considered 'the most useful brick', being both strong and durable. It was suitable for external walls, arches or piers but in 1861 *The Dublin Builder* reported that it could also form 'a very good front'.⁸ When architect Peter Nicholson published his handbook of building crafts in 1823, he

² Eve McAulay, 'The origins and early development of the Pembroke Estate beyond the Grand Canal 1816-1880' (Ph.D. thesis, Trinity College, Dublin, 2003), p. 172 & 120. In light of the few surviving leases in the estate papers, it is difficult to establish precisely the levels of control imposed prior to Vernon's agency. A lease found for Wellington Road dating from 1843 limits the lessee to the use of 'the best materials'. However this covenant seems to have been open to interpretation, as houses on Wellington Road emerged in different kinds of brick, with the basements finished in stucco. It seems therefore that Vernon was determined to remove this ambiguity, by specifying high quality materials, at least in the more prestigious western sector.

³ Department of the Environment, *Bricks: a guide to the repair of historic brickwork* (Dublin, 2009), p.14.

⁴ St. Michael's House archive, original lease from March 1868, piece of ground on the south side of Ailesbury Road, The Earl of Clanwilliam & Marquis of Ailesbury & Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery & Michael Meade; RD, 1869, vol. 24, mem. 136.

⁵ Susan Roundtree, 'A history of clay brick as a building material in Ireland' (M.Litt. thesis, Trinity College, Dublin, 1999), p.87.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p.88.

⁷ Jack Bowyer (ed.), *Handbook of building crafts in conservation, a commentary on Peter Nicholson's The New Practical and Workman's Companion* (London, 1981), p. 69.

⁸ *Dublin Builder*, 15 Apr. 1861.

reported that grey stock was the standard brick in England, which was manufactured in the neighborhood of London.⁹ Lowest in quality were the cheapest 'place bricks', which came from the 'worst burned portions of the kiln' and were used to build internal partitions, or for lining the inside of walls. *The Dublin Builder* reported them to be 'of a very perishable character',¹⁰ and some practitioners were advised against using them at all, considering them suitable only to be broken up in to burnt clay, or laid as beds for paving.¹¹

The 1774 London Building Act established strict building standards on domestic construction in the metropolitan area.¹² House types were divided in to four classes, each with their own minimum wall thicknesses. A first rate house five storeys high required walls a brick and a half deep, while three to four storey houses could be built with walls one brick (i.e. nine inches) deep (4.1 & 4.2).¹³ It appears that much domestic house construction in England was constructed with nine inch brick walls:

...those in certain parts of London, Liverpool, Manchester, and elsewhere, are not unfrequently, for whole streets, but *nine inches*, single brick, in thickness even for outer walls three storeys in height, producing to the inmates intolerable cold in winter, and at all periods of the year being, as may be inferred, most insecure and weak in construction.¹⁴

A measured survey of Meade's houses in Ailesbury Road indicates that the external walls are generally a brick and a half deep.¹⁵ Although only three storeys in height, this construction relates to the highest rate of house in London, capable of extending to five

⁹ Bowyer, *Handbook of building crafts*, p. 77.

¹⁰ *Dublin Builder*, 15 June 1861.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 15 Apr. 1861.

¹² Stefan Muthesius, *The English terraced house* (New Haven & London, 1982), p.83.

¹³ Note that the first and second rate houses show the walls thickening at ground and basement levels by half a brick. The party walls range in depth, but also tend to be wider than the external walls.

¹⁴ *Dublin Builder*, 1 June 1861.

¹⁵ The external walls of Numbers 5 and 7 (built by 1867) and Number 17 (built by 1870) measure an average of over 17 inches in thickness. Thus allowing for mortar and internal plastering, a wall thickness of 13 ½ inches has been deducted, which is equivalent to a brick and a half deep.

storeys. According to a report from *The Dublin Builder* in 1861, this was the standard thickness for brick wall construction in Ireland.¹⁶

The strength of a brick wall is determined by the quality of the brick, the mortar that bonds it together, and the pattern of bond employed. The red brick elevations in Ailesbury Road are finished in a Flemish bond, but the stock brick sides are constructed in an English Garden Wall Bond (3.98).¹⁷ Figure 4.3 illustrates how both bond types are ideally formed, where an arrangement of headers (end facing) and stretchers (side facing) are laid in different directions.¹⁸ A strong bond ensures that no vertical joint aligns with the one directly below it, thereby forming a series of 'break joints', both along the face and across the depth of the wall. While stretchers bind a wall across its length, headers tie it along its width, and the strongest wall provides a good combination of these cross and longitudinal ties. Of the two bond types English Garden Wall Bond is the stronger, as it employs a greater number of headers, providing a better cross bond. Although Flemish bond is weaker structurally, it had been favoured in Ireland since the seventeenth century, for its more attractive appearance. This is the bond commonly found in the eighteenth-century terraces of London and Dublin.¹⁹

Ideally, every bonding pattern should extend unbroken across the whole width of the wall, with full headers tying in to the bricks behind. An example is shown in 4.4, illustrating the arrangement of each course, consisting mostly of full headers and stretchers to form a Flemish bond on both inner and outer faces. Photos taken during conservation works at Number 7 Ailesbury Road indicate that the external wall was built in an outer face of red brick, with an inner face of an inferior 'place' or 'common' brick, made up of only half-burnt clay (4.5). Economy was the major impetus here: in 1861 the

¹⁶ *Dublin Builder*, 15 June 1861.

¹⁷ Red brick was specified to the most visible facade to the street, while a cheaper stock brick was specified to the side elevation. Meade's villa adjacent was bound to the same specification, but as a corner dwelling it has two primary facades: one to Ailesbury Road and the other to Merrion Road. Under the terms of the lease therefore, Meade was bound to finish the Ailesbury Road facade in red brick, and could have chosen a stock brick to the Merrion Road side. However, he chose to finish both sides in 'the best red bricks'.

¹⁸ This illustration indicates a thinner wall construction (9 inches) than found at Ailesbury Road (13½ inches). However, the purpose here is to illustrate how the bond is formed in three dimensions.

¹⁹ Roundtree, 'A history of clay brick', p.47.

best county Dublin stocks cost from 26 to 30 shillings per thousand, but inferior place bricks were much cheaper.²⁰ Red bricks were the most expensive kind of stock brick, and were one and a half times the price of a county Dublin stock.²¹ Thus, savings were made even in the building of boundary walls: in alterations to a house in Terenure in 1876, the outside face of the garden walls was to be finished in red brick, but the inside was to be faced in 'Athy selected stocks'.²² While minimizing the cost of more expensive materials, speculators could also save on labour costs, as the inside face could be laid faster and cheaper than the carefully composed Flemish bond outside.²³ The contrast between the usually hidden interior face and the exposed exterior finish is clearly demonstrated at number 7 Ailesbury Road (4.5 & 4.6).

While endeavoring to maximize profits, this deceptive practice had implications for the strength of wall construction. In order to minimize the use of the expensive red brick front, one brick was often cut in half to form two 'false' headers and laid as shown in 4.7 ('x' indicates a false header). Full headers might only be introduced periodically, reducing the strength of the cross bond while rendering the red brick front: 'only a half-brick thin veneer, infrequently tied-in to the backing brickwork'.²⁴ If this backing was constructed in an inferior place brick, the structure could be compromised further, as this 'weaker and more brittle' material was carrying the main loads.²⁵ Not surprisingly, contemporary writers were critical of the practice, and in 1823 the architect Peter Nicholson commented: 'The outer appearance is all that can be urged in favour of Flemish Bond'.²⁶ John Parnell Allen was similarly critical in 1900, considering it 'a very inferior bond, and only used to save expensive bricks in facings'.²⁷ Nevertheless, the practice seems to have continued during the nineteenth century, as it was included as

²⁰ *Dublin Builder*, 15 June 1861 & 1 June 1862.

²¹ George Wilkinson, *Practical geology and ancient architecture of Ireland* (Dublin, 1845), p. 249. This price comparison is based on Wilkinson's prices for bricks used in the county of Dublin in 1845. Wilkinson also reported that the red bricks came from Bridgewater and Staffordshire in England and were 'of good quality and red colour'.

²² IAA, PKS, Notes and queries, Mr Jackson's house, Roundtown road, Terenure, 1876 (Acc. No. 77/1/B06a/25).

²³ John Marshall & Ian Willox, *The Victorian House* (London, 1986), p.43.

²⁴ Department of the Environment, *Historic brickwork*, p. 29.

²⁵ Bowyer, *Handbook of building crafts*, p.71.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.83.

²⁷ John Parnell Allen, *Practical building construction* (London, 1900), p. 18. This publication was 'designed as a book of reference for persons engaged in building' and was used to prepare students for the examinations of The Science and Art Department, The Royal Institute of British Architects, and The Surveyors' Institution.

part of the specification for houses in Northbrook Road in 1881. While specifying a Flemish bond to the front, the architect W. M. Mitchell stipulated full headers at every fourth course, adding that only 'Where practicable' they should be introduced into intermediate courses. It is this inferior workmanship that has led to some of the structural problems inherent in some of these structures today, such as the cracking or bulging of the walls, as found by Susan Roundtree.

Having established some of the different types of bricks used in Ailesbury Road, we now turn to the source of some of these materials. In the nineteenth century, brickmaking was carried out in the most remote areas of every county in Ireland and in 1863 as many as eighty-four different areas of brick manufacture were recorded.²⁸ Since 1771 however, the practice had been banned within a two mile radius of Dublin, due to the apparent health risks associated with the practice.²⁹ Therefore while in London brickmaking continued to be carried out close to suburban building sites,³⁰ the ban on the practice in Dublin compelled developers to source the material from further afield, as *The Irish Builder* lamented in 1887: 'Here, in Dublin, we have no such thing as bricks manufactured in its immediate vicinity, and we have to pay for several miles of land cartage...'³¹ Even where bricks making was permitted in outlying districts, it continued to remain a contentious issue, particularly in densely populated areas. In 1861 an injunction was granted against a Mr. Alexander Edie, preventing him from erecting a kiln on a plot of ground near the Dublin suburb of Blackrock. Edie's employees had been burning tens of thousands of bricks close to a National School and residents were concerned about the emission of ammonia from the operation.³² It seemed that the process formed large quantities of white smoke and a 'peculiar smell', which permeated the countryside for miles around.³³

²⁸ Roundtree, 'A history of clay brick', p.94 & David Smith, *Architectural builders' memoranda book of prices* (Belfast, 1863), pp 34-5.

²⁹ Susan Roundtree, 'Dublin bricks & brickmakers', in *Dublin Historical Record*, lx, no. 1 (2007), p. 65.

³⁰ *Irish Builder*, 1 Sept. 1887. It appears that restrictions applied to brick-burning in London's metropolitan area, but not to its suburbs where it was reported: 'serious annoyance arises in consequence of the effluvia emanating from it.' The Society of Medical Officers of Health referred to the complaints of 'noxious effluvia' emanating from the practice and recommended the introduction of general legislation to ban brick-burning within a certain distance of population centres.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Dublin Builder*, 1 June 1861.

³³ Roundtree, 'A History of Clay Brick', p.92.

In 1861 it was reported that the best brick in Ireland was produced in County Dublin, in the areas of Clondalkin, Newlands and Ashfield.³⁴ County Dublin stocks were yellowish brown in colour and could be used as facing bricks, as recorded in a scheme of four houses at Ranelagh in 1866, designed by the architect William Fogerty.³⁵ The description matches the type of bricks used to face the gable walls of the houses in Ailesbury Road, which are of a yellow colour. Other types of stock bricks were grey in colour, such as those manufactured in Athy which were said to be of good quality. With the development of the canals, bricks were the main cargo being transported to Dublin and brickfields developed close to the canals and particularly in Athy and Tullamore.³⁶ Susan Roundtree has discussed the degree to which some Irish brick was criticized for its poor quality, while those manufactured in the midlands were 'very well regarded'.³⁷ Michael Meade was certainly sourcing Athy brick for some of his projects: they were used in Longfield's premises on Grafton Street in 1862 and for the enlargement of Westland Row railway station in 1878.³⁸ In 1888 it was reported that large quantities of Athy stock were being used in the building of suburban houses in Rathgar and Rathmines.³⁹

In 1861, *The Dublin Builder* confirmed that red bricks were made with clay of a high iron oxide content, making them suitable for fronting buildings.⁴⁰ One commentator remained nostalgic for Dublin's eighteenth-century bricks, which he reported had been 'red in colour and of fair quality'. However it appears that despite the suitability of the soil, red brick was rarely manufactured in Dublin by 1871: 'Again, all the old houses in Dublin, without an exception, are built of red brick; now, except the solitary sample which I alluded to before, not a red brick has been produced in the county within the memory of man.'⁴¹ Roundtree has also discussed the manner in which red brick went out of fashion in London after 1730, while the trend continued unabated

³⁴ *Dublin Builder*, 15 June 1861 & Roundtree, 'Dublin bricks and brickmakers', p.66.

³⁵ *Dublin Builder*, 15 Feb. 1866.

³⁶ Roundtree, 'A history of clay brick', p.92.

³⁷ Department of the Environment, *Historic brickwork*, p. 13.

³⁸ IAA, PKS, Bill of measurement, Numbers 24 & 25 Grafton St., 1864 (Acc. No. 77/1/B02/30). This indicates the use of Athy stock brick; Bill of quantity, Westland Row railway station, 1878 (Acc. No. 77/1/B08/12). The 'best hard Athy stocks' are proposed for the building of the superstructure, the facing of walls and the formation of piers.

³⁹ Roundtree, 'A history of clay brick', p.92.

⁴⁰ *Dublin Builder*, 15 Apr. 1861. It is the amount of iron oxide in the clay that gives brick its colour, ranging from a light yellow hue to a dark red. Allen, *Practical building construction*, p.2.

⁴¹ *Irish Builder*, 1 May 1871.

in Dublin. The effect was often achieved by colour washing local grey stock brick, to give the appearance of a red brick front.⁴² This does not seem to be the case at Ailesbury Road, as there is no unevenness of colour after 142 years of weathering. The red brick facing is also clearly superior in quality to its grey stock neighbour, with its smooth finish and straight edges suggesting a machine-made product (4.8).

By the time Meade was building in Ailesbury Road, the majority of machine-made brick was being imported from England. The architect George Wilkinson reported in 1845 that red bricks used in Dublin came from Bridgewater, in Somerset in England. Staffordshire bricks were also available, and Wilkinson considered both imports to be 'of good quality and red colour'.⁴³ Thirty-six years later, the 'best pressed machine made red Bridgewater brick' was specified for the facades of Numbers 16 and 17 Northbrook Road, including the chimneys and the boundary walls (4.9).⁴⁴ Architect W. M. Mitchell was particularly extravagant in continuing the red brick facing around the side, in contrast to Ailesbury Road where it changes to yellow stock brick (4.8), or at Rostrevor Terrace where the gable is rendered (4.10). Bridgewater brick was recorded in other areas of Rathmines: to the front of a house in Kenilworth Square in 1861⁴⁵ and to a villa in Dartry Park in 1881⁴⁶ and Roundtree has visually identified extensive amounts of the material in many late nineteenth-century suburban houses in Dublin.⁴⁷ Red bricks were also sourced in Belfast, where they were considered to be of 'excellent quality', exuding a reddish warm colour.⁴⁸ Certainly, this was the effect sought by architect E.H. Carson in Rathmines, when he specified Belfast red stock brick to the façade of Warwick Terrace in 1862 (4.11).⁴⁹ It had been manufactured by the Hayfield Brickworks, apparently the first Irish brick manufacturers to install a Hoffmann kiln and in 1869 it was reported that they were much used in Dublin.⁵⁰

⁴² Roundtree, 'A history of clay brick', pp 52-3.

⁴³ Wilkinson, *Practical geology*, p. 249.

⁴⁴ IAA, McCurdy & Mitchell Collection, Northbrook Road, pair of semi-detached houses, specification for the committee of Adelaide Road Presbyterian Church by W. M. Mitchell, 1881 (Acc. No. 82/49.83).

⁴⁵ *Dublin Builder*, 1 May 1861.

⁴⁶ *Irish Builder*, 15 Aug. 1881.

⁴⁷ Roundtree, 'A history of clay brick', p. 80.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 115 & *Dublin Builder*, 15 June 1861.

⁴⁹ *Dublin Builder*, 15 Oct. 1862.

⁵⁰ Roundtree, 'A history of clay brick', p. 109.

Improvements in Victorian brick manufacture brought machine-made brick to the market, which was a harder, more durable and more consistent product. Mechanization was slow in coming to Ireland, and much brick-making still continued to be carried out by hand. Some firms were keen to compete with the English market: in 1862 the Hibernian Brick and Tile Company announced that they were manufacturing machine-made bricks, draining pipes and tiles in Wicklow town, claiming their materials are 'fully equal, if not superior, to anything imported from England.'⁵¹ Despite these improvements, the majority of brick continued to come from abroad, as *The Dublin Builder* observed in 1872: 'If we want good facing bricks, we import them....'.⁵² The opening of Kingscourt Brickworks in 1875 and Portmarnock Brick & Terracotta Works in 1881, brought a good quality red brick to the market, which was used for facing buildings in Dublin. However, it appears that large quantities of the material continued to be used, and by 1888 it was confirmed that most suburban houses in Dublin were faced in Bridgewater bricks.⁵³

Brick was used for the building of external walls, but it was also required for internal walls and chimneys, as well as other details such as the formation of window openings. At Northbrook Road, the rear facades were to be constructed entirely in rubble stone, but the openings were to be formed in 'picked Co. Dublin or Youghal stock brick'.⁵⁴ Rubble wall openings had been formed in brick since the seventeenth century and this construction can be seen exposed on the lower levels of Number 7 Ailesbury Road (4.12).⁵⁵ In this case the brick was rendered over, but in other houses it was retained as a facing, as can be seen at Number 39 Northumberland Road, completed in 1878 (4.13). These houses are also characterized by curved window lintels, which required special 'rubbed and gauged' bricks for this purpose (4.14). In the previous century, the lack of home-grown bricks for gauged work in Ireland had resulted mainly in flat window heads.⁵⁶ But the nineteenth century marked a dramatic change in this regard, as curved window heads and decorative brickwork began to feature in Victorian

⁵¹ *Dublin Builder*, 1 June 1862.

⁵² *Irish Builder*, 1 Dec. 1872.

⁵³ Roundtree, 'A history of clay brick', p. 117.

⁵⁴ IAA, McCurdy & Mitchell Collection, Northbrook Road, pair of semi-detached houses, specification for the committee of Adelaide Road Presbyterian Church by W. M. Mitchell, 1881 (Acc. No. 82/49.83).

⁵⁵ Roundtree, 'A history of clay brick', p.48.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p.49.

facades in Dublin. When Warwick Terrace was completed in 1862, the curved window reveals were said to be the first in Ireland,⁵⁷ resulting in a 'softening' of the opening (4.15). By the time Joseph Meade built his first housing scheme in Northumberland Road in 1885, house facades were characterized by a profusion of coloured brick (1.35 & 3.8).

As a fire resisting material, brick was particularly suitable for the construction of chimneys, which extend vertically through a house until they emerge above the roof, as decorative set pieces (4.16). A chimney stack on one of Meade's houses on Ailesbury Road (number 13: built by 1870) was constructed mainly of stock bricks, some of which originated from the firm 'PATENT R. BROWN & SON PAISLEY' (4.17). This was the enterprise of Robert Brown, founder of Ferguslie Fireclay Works, about 7 miles east of Glasgow in Scotland. The seemingly unending supplies of suitable clay in the Paisley area spawned the manufacture of a wide range of fireclay goods, such as ornamental fire clay bricks, glazed sewerage pipes and floor tiles.⁵⁸ From the 1850s, auxiliary branches of the company were opened in cities throughout the United Kingdom, including Glasgow (1856) and Belfast (1858). By the time Michael Meade signed the leases for plots on Ailesbury Road, the firm had opened a branch in Dublin, at a premises in the North-Wall. In 1868 *The Dublin Builder* reported on the success of this 'highly-important depot', where a variety of clay materials were offered, including paving bricks, pig troughs and ornamental quoins.⁵⁹ The Scottish brick that formed the chimney stack to Number 13 Ailesbury Road (4.18), is relatively plain compared to that of Number 4 opposite, built nine years later (4.16). The latter is more elaborately decorated: the base is constructed of stock bricks, but the more visible central section is faced with bands of red and yellow brick, with a series of corbelled bricks supporting the chimney cap. Supporting the eaves of Number 4 is a yellow brick corbel also sourced from overseas, stamped with the mark 'Perceton by Irvine' (4.19). This would appear to refer to a manufacturer near the town of Irvine in Scotland, located to the south-west of Glasgow. For the chimneys at Northbrook Road, the architect specified 'good hard Tullamore brick' for the chimney breasts, but above roof level they were to emerge entirely in red Bridgewater brick, matching the front and rear facades (4.9 & 4.20).

⁵⁷ *Dublin Builder*, 15 Oct. 1862.

⁵⁸ F. G. Hay, 'The Enterprise of Mr Brown: Robert Brown and the Ferguslie FireClay Works', in Stuart James and Gordon McCrae (eds), *Renfrewshire Studies* (Paisley, 1997), p.39.

⁵⁹ *Dublin Builder*, 1 Oct. 1868.

While machine made brick was chosen for the most exposed elevations at Northbrook Road, the specifications for the internal walls were equally precise. The basement walls were to be constructed of granite rubble, but most of the upper levels were to be constructed in solid 'good hard Tullamore brick', nine inches wide. The plans indicate the insertion of two thinner walls six inches wide: one at ground floor level (4.21: between the hall and dining room) and another at first floor level (4.22: dividing the two front bedrooms). These are the only two walls in the house that are not supported from below, therefore demanding a lighter form of construction. According to Allen, timber partitions were used for this purpose, as he explained in 1900: 'The principal advantages which partitions possess are, that they save space, and being light in weight, can be raised upon a floor; whereas a brick partition wall must either rest on another wall beneath, or be built on girders, which entail additional expense.'⁶⁰

Two types of internal walls were specified by the architect in Northbrook Road: 'Studd partitions' (*sic*) and 'bricknogging partitions'. As both types were constructed in timber, they were usually suitable for use above the ground floor, so that they would not be subject to the dampness of the lowest level.⁶¹ Bricknogging partitions are timber-framed walls infilled with brick and plastered over, commonly found in Irish buildings since at least the eighteenth century. This type of construction flanks the stairwell on both of the upper levels at number 7 Ailesbury Road, but they have also been found at number 13 nearby, on the lowest level (4.23-4.26). The other type specified at Northbrook Road was a 'Studd partition', constructed entirely of timber and finished in lath and plaster. The most likely location of this was on the bedroom floor, where a greater subdivision of space necessitated the insertion of walls, without the means of support from below. When partitions were formed in timber, they could rest directly on the floors, although additional support could be provided in the joists below. A better form of construction was to form a 'trussed partition': a braced structure spanning from wall to wall without loading the floors. This is what was specified for the timber partitions at Northbrook Road, designed as the architect explained: 'so as to throw the weight off the floor'.⁶²

⁶⁰ Allen, *Practical building construction*, p. 123.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² IAA, McCurdy & Mitchell Collection, Northbrook Road, pair of semi-detached houses, specification for the committee of Adelaide Road Presbyterian Church by W. M. Mitchell, 1881 (Acc. No. 82/49.83).

While it is clear that a wide variety of bricks were being supplied to Dublin's suburban housing market, how then were these materials transported to site? It appears that the most brick used in Dublin travelled large distances, as A. H. Robinson, secretary of the Pembroke Township confirmed in 1879. He reported that the majority of those used in the township were manufactured in the midlands, and delivered by canal to the Ringsend Basin.⁶³ It is not surprising therefore that brick use often had to be minimized to avoid long carriage costs, as *The Irish Builder* confirmed in 1873.⁶⁴ Compared to London where bricks were made close to suburban sites, speculative building in Dublin was apparently more expensive: '...our greatest consumption is of those delivered by the canals from some fifty or sixty miles distance, with land cartage afterwards of a mile or more. In this we do not include English imported bricks, which, of course, have to bear the cost of sea-borne carriage in addition.'⁶⁵ Parke Neville, City Engineer of Dublin confirmed in 1879 that County Dublin stock brick was also brought by cart from the Rathfarnham area (near Rathgar) to supply the city.⁶⁶

It is difficult to verify an approximate outlay for these materials, in the absence of published costs for Irish bricks during this period. The prices set out by Wilkinson in 1845 certainly provide a useful means of comparative analysis between Irish and foreign bricks at that time. Wilkinson reported that bricks manufactured in Athy and Tullamore cost between 26 and 28 shillings per thousand, less than half the price of the equivalent imported English red brick. Certainly, savings could be made by substituting a native brick for one imported from England, as was proposed for houses in Glenageary in 1881.⁶⁷ Yet Parke Neville also reported: 'there is a large quantity of English bricks used, which must come up from the quay through the city to the townships'. Some timber merchants in Dublin were also providers of brick, such as John Martin & Sons who sold

⁶³ *Municipal Boundaries Commission (Ireland), Part I, Evidence, with appendices. Dublin, Rathmines, Pembroke, Kilmainham, Drumcondra, Clontarf, and also Kingstown, Blackrock and Dalkey*, [C.2725], H.C. 1880, evidence of Mr A.H. Robinson, p. 185, para. 4942 (henceforth cited as *Municipal Boundaries, Part I, 1880*).

⁶⁴ *Irish Builder*, 1 May 1873.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 1 Sept. 1887.

⁶⁶ *Municipal Boundaries, Part I, 1880*, evidence of Mr Parke Neville, p. 26, para. 590.

⁶⁷ IAA, PKS, Notes and Queries, private residences Silchester Road Glenageary, 1881. A number of savings were proposed, including the substitution of Navan brick for Bridgewater facing brick (Acc. No. 77/1/B10/22).

imported brick from their lumber yard on the North wall.⁶⁸ Similarly, their competitor George Moyers could be found promoting 'Bridgewater red fronting brick' at his slate and tile yard on the quays in the 1870s.⁶⁹

Table 3: Cost of bricks

Brick type	Source	Cost per 1,000
Wilkinson (1845)		
Stock brick	Athy	28s.
Stock brick (dark grey colour)	County Dublin	38s.
Stock brick	Tullamore	26s.
Stock brick (red)	Bridgewater	60s.
Bentley (1860)		
Stock brick	Foxrock	24s.
Place brick	Foxrock	18s.
The Dublin Builder (1861)		
Stock brick	County Dublin	26-30s.

However not all brick travelled from afar, as sometimes they were manufactured close to suburban building sites. In 1860 the landowners Bentley & Son were advertising bricks 'at half price' along with building ground in Rathgar,⁷⁰ while in Foxrock they promised prospective tenants 'a first-rate quality of hard-burned stock brick' manufactured on the premises.⁷¹ Bentley's stocks cost 24 shillings per thousand, while 'internal work place brick' was priced at 18 shillings.⁷² This was cheaper than the equivalent County Dublin stock in 1860, which ranged in price from 26 to 30 shillings per thousand (Table 3).

⁶⁸ *Irish Builder*, 1 June 1873 & 1 July 1879. Advertisements promoted the availability of bricks, pipes and tiles, 'Plain Red and Fire Clay, from Buckley Mountain and Bridgewater'. John McFerran & Co., a timber firm operating from the Custom House Docks in Dublin supplied both fire bricks and fronting bricks.

⁶⁹ *Irish Builder*, 1 Sept. 1877.

⁷⁰ *General Advertiser*, 18 Feb. 1860.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 21 Jan. 1860.

⁷² *Dublin Builder*, 1 June 1862.

4.2.2 Stone

The juxtaposition of stone and brick appears to differentiate Dublin's nineteenth-century suburban houses from their English equivalents. Cut stone is particularly characteristic of high quality domestic architecture in the Dublin suburbs, such as in the western side of the Pembroke estate which emerged under strict building control. We have seen how leases in Ailesbury Road specified different grades of brick to the upper storeys, and cut stone to the lower level. Specifically a 'punched or chiseled granite' finish was stipulated at Ailesbury Road and this runs along the lower level, along the side of the entrance steps, with a granite string course and quoins marking the transition to the brick facing (4.27).⁷³ The specifics of the lease agreement ensured that this template was repeated in new streets across the western side of the estate, including Lansdowne, Raglan and Northumberland Roads. In the less valuable eastern sector where leases were less stringent, cut stone facades are less common. When William Carvill began constructing houses in Rathgar, he did so without a building lease, and so was free to build in whatever materials he chose. He limited the use of granite to the parts of the building most prone to weathering: in the string courses, window cills, external steps and copings. Instead of cladding the lower storey in expensive cut stone, Carvill chose to mimic the effect by rendering it in a lime render, to resemble an ashlar finish (4.28). Similarly, the quoins which define the corner of the main volume are made of patent pre-cast stone, rather than granite.

Stone imitation was not without precedence in domestic architecture in Dublin. Although granite could be found in the city's Georgian townhouses, traditionally its use had focused on the parts most vulnerable to weathering: for the steps, sills, string courses and boundary walls. Cut granite fronts were the exception rather than the rule however, such as the facing of the lower levels on the north side of Merrion Square.⁷⁴ The trend continued in the nineteenth century: an 1840 lease for Number 17 Adelaide Road stipulated 'Mountain stone' for the coping, window cills and parapet, and grey

⁷³ St. Michael's House archive, original lease from March 1868, piece of ground on the south side of Ailesbury Road, The Earl of Clanwilliam & Marquis of Ailesbury & Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery & Michael Meade. This was a common feature of other semi-detached properties in the Pembroke estate, but it was not a requirement of the lease.

⁷⁴ Tony Hand, 'Supplying stone for the Dublin house', in Christine Casey (ed.), *The eighteenth-century Dublin town house*, (Dublin, 2010), p.87.

stock bricks to the front and rear.⁷⁵ 'Mountain stone' was a generic term for granite and it was being used in a minimal way here, in the most exposed parts of the building. Seemingly, there was no obligation on the leaseholder to face the façade in expensive red brick or cut stone, so the facade was finished in a lime render below, and stock bricks above (4.29). Charles Cameron, chief medical officer to Dublin remained critical of plaster finishes when speaking to the Royal Institute of the Architects of Ireland in 1870: 'Of course I have not a word to say in favor of the common process of painting plaster in imitation of stone; the practice is about as commendable as that of palming off pinchbeck for gold, or paste for diamonds.'⁷⁶

This illusion is found in other suburban housing schemes: in 1860 Mr MacCarty wrote to John Vernon about a house he proposed to build in the Pembroke estate, confirming that the outside would: 'be finished in imitation of granite'.⁷⁷ Similarly, in alterations to a house in Terenure in 1876 the porch walls were to be finished in Portland cement, mixed with 'red stone dust' to imitate the stone dressings of the entrance.⁷⁸ A stone finish was an expensive choice, requiring it to be cut from the rock face by quarrymen, and carved in to shape by a stonecutter nearby. Much of the cost went to the transportation of such a heavy and cumbersome material, which often had to travel large distances from mountains over twenty miles away. Other additional costs related to the supervision of the works: in 1866 *The Dublin Builder* advised architects to double or triple their site visits, where cut stone was used.⁷⁹ A lime render finish was a much cheaper option, as the material could be mixed on site by a plasterer from a source close by. In 1863 the net labour cost of a chiseled granite finish was fourteen times that of a 'Stone-finishing ashlar imitation', executed in lime and sand'.⁸⁰

⁷⁵ NAI, Business Records, Copy of lease dated January 1840, premises on Adelaide Road, The Rev. M. D. Peter to William Todd (Acc. No. 999/24/1-5).

⁷⁶ *Irish Builder*, 1 June 1870. Pinchbeck was an alloy of zinc and copper used as a cheap imitation of gold.

⁷⁷ NAI, PEP, Correspondence, W. M. MacCarty to J.E. Vernon, 10 May 1860 (Acc. No. 1011/2/9).

⁷⁸ IAA, PKS, Notes and queries, Mr Jackson's house, Roundtown road, Terenure, 1876 (Acc. No. 77/1/B06a/25).

⁷⁹ *Dublin Builder*, 1 Dec. 1866.

⁸⁰ Smith, *Architectural book of prices*, pp 40 & 77.

Much of the granite used in the city in the eighteenth century was quarried in the Dublin and Wicklow mountains and this tradition continued in the nineteenth century. In 1856 Reverend Samuel Haughton, Professor of Geology in Trinity College Dublin, referred to the unbroken 'granite-chain' of hills, extending south-west of Booterstown for a distance of sixty-eight miles.⁸¹ This was the largest granite district in Ireland, stretching south from Dublin city through the counties of Wicklow and Carlow to Kilkenny, with the Wicklow area being most extensively used.⁸² The stone varied in colour, from 'speckled grey' to white, but also differed considerably in quality.⁸³ At Kingstown it was coarse and hard, rendering it useful mainly for plain and heavy work, while County Wicklow granite was finer and easier to cut, making it more suitable for ornament. Although apparently less durable than the Kingstown granite, it was characterized by a 'lighter and more uniform and handsome colour',⁸⁴ and had been used to clad many of Dublin's most important public buildings in the eighteenth century, such as the Four Courts and the G.P.O.⁸⁵ In the nineteenth century, Wicklow granite was used to clad many of the city's churches and railway stations and by 1866 *The Dublin Builder* reported that 'every building in Dublin is built of granite - our streets are paved with it - we use it for every purpose..'.⁸⁶ However Wicklow granite was an expensive choice: a builders' price book from 1863 lists three different types in Dublin: the cheapest came from Kilgobbin quarries in south County Dublin, next in price was 'Kingston granite', while the most expensive was quarried in the area of Ballyknockan in County Wicklow.⁸⁷ Stonecutters had been working in the Ballyknockan area since 1824, and by the time of the Victorian housing boom in Dublin there were at least ten quarries in operation there.⁸⁸ The largest belonged to John Brady who first advertised in *The Dublin Builder* in 1866, promoting the availability of stone in lengths of up to sixteen feet and eight ton in weight.⁸⁹

⁸¹ The Rev. Samuel Haughton, 'Experimental researches on the granites of Ireland', in *Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society of London* (Aug. 1856), p. 171.

⁸² Patrick McAfee, *Irish stone walls* (Dublin, 1997), p.32 & *Dublin Builder*, 1 Sept. 1860, & 15 Mar. 1865.

⁸³ Wilkinson, *Practical geology*, p. 14.

⁸⁴ *Dublin Builder*, 15 Mar. 1865.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 15 Mar. 1866.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 15 Oct. 1866.

⁸⁷ Smith, *Architectural book of prices*, p. 104.

⁸⁸ Séamas Ó Maithú & Barry O'Reilly, *Ballyknockan, a Wicklow stonecutters' village* (Dublin 1997), pp 3 & 10.

⁸⁹ *Dublin Builder*, 1 Oct. 1866.

Although no specifications survive for the houses built by Meade, Carvill and Crosthwaite, there is evidence to suggest that Ballyknockan granite was used widely in speculative house building in Dublin. When Warwick Terrace was constructed in Rathmines in 1862, *The Dublin Builder* reported that each entrance was accessed by a 'Spacious flight of steps, of Ballyknockin granite'.⁹⁰ The basement storey was finished in a punched finish, with a chiseled string course and the quoins, parapet and window cills were also executed in granite (4.30). Warwick Terrace was located in the Rathmines and Rathgar township, which was not subject to the same kinds of strict covenants as those in the Pembroke estate. However as Mary Daly has noted, this did not preclude the use of expensive materials, as instead the choice was made by the speculator, who selected their finishes based on budget, fashion and intended market.⁹¹ In 1881 the architect William M. Mitchell was specifying 'the best chiseled granite from Ballyknocken' to two semi-detached houses in Northbrook Road, also in Rathmines. The stone was to clad the lower storey, as well forming the entrance steps and window cills to the front of the house (4.9). A cheaper stone was chosen for the less public faces: the window cills to the rear and side and the coping to the west flank wall were all specified as 'good Co. Dublin granite'. The difference between these two stones is still evident today, with the brighter Ballyknocken stone to the front and the more weathered County Dublin granite to the side and rear (4.31). In 1863 Ballyknockan quarries were charging eighteen pence per square foot for a granite cill, more than double the price of one quarried in Kilgobbin (present day Stepside in County Dublin).⁹²

In 1879, Samuel H. Bolton, a major builder-developer and Rathmines commissioner, claimed that about 20,000 tons of building materials was brought through his township every year for use in the city, including gravel, sand and granite which travelled in heavily laden carts.⁹³ This would have included the stone coming from the Ballyknockan area, where special long horse-drawn carts left the quarry in the evening, laden with heavy stone. They travelled the twenty mile distance overnight,

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 15 Oct. 1862.

⁹¹ Mary E. Daly, 'The growth of Victorian Dublin' in Mary E. Daly, Mona Hearn & Peter Pearson (eds.), *Dublin's Victorian houses*, (Dublin, 1998), p.30.

⁹² Smith, *Architectural book of prices*, p. 104. This pricing is based on a cost per 'superficial foot' which is in fact a cubic area, equivalent to a 1 foot x 1 foot area x 1 inch depth.

⁹³ *Municipal Boundaries, Part I, 1880*, evidence of Mr Samuel H. Bolton, p. 126, para. 2949.

over mountain roads, so that the material arrived in time for the morning off-loading.⁹⁴ This was the route taken when the vast amounts of stone were being delivered for the various additions to the Four Courts, which Michael Meade completed over a twenty year period from c. 1858. He reported that about half a million tons of Ballyknockan granite had been used for the Police Courts building, adding that the stone had travelled through Rathmines and Pembroke to the city.⁹⁵ This was only one of a number of extensions Meade built at the Four Courts, the second of which was completed in 1866, just as his houses in Ailesbury Road were under construction. With Meade dealing in such large quantities of Ballyknockan granite, whose deliveries were passing his suburban housing sites, it seems most likely that this material was also used to face his houses in Ailesbury Road. Even after over 140 years of weathering, the finish is still of the highest quality, as is evident in the detailing of the window to number 17 (4.32). Today, only one quarry still operates in the Ballyknockan area, run by the firm of C. McEvoy & Sons, established in 1865. Based on repair works carried out on houses in Ailesbury Road, they confirm that the facing originates from a County Wicklow quarry, rather than one in south County Dublin.⁹⁶

Cut stone facades came from a 'dimension stone quarry', producing top quality stone especially for facing work. The granite would have been already cut to size by stonecutters in the quarry before final adjustments were made by a stone mason on site.⁹⁷ This finely worked ashlar was relatively thin, but it was backed and bonded in to a rougher material sourced in a 'rubble stone quarry'.⁹⁸ This material could also form a more economical backing for brick façades, as specified in the Northbrook Road houses, where the red brick front was bonded in to a granite rubble wall behind.⁹⁹ In 1866 *The Dublin Builder* reported that it was the 'ordinary mountain stone' that was used mainly for rubble work, flagging, cills and quoins in the city, despite it being 'of the most rubbishy description, both as regards materials and workmanship'.¹⁰⁰ Much of this

⁹⁴ Ó Maithú & O'Reilly, *Ballyknockan*, p. 19.

⁹⁵ *Municipal Boundaries, Part I, 1880*, evidence of Mr Michael Meade, p. 188, para. 5061-2.

⁹⁶ *Ex. Info.*, C. McEvoy & Sons Ltd., Stone masons, Ballyknockan, Co. Wicklow, 7 Aug. 2012.

⁹⁷ Hand, 'Supplying stone for the Dublin house', p.87.

⁹⁸ McAfee, *Irish stone walls*, p.52.

⁹⁹ By substituting 21" rubble walls for 18" brick a nett saving of £42.11.9 could be achieved at Palmerstown House. IAA, PKS, Estimate of proposed reductions, Palmerstown House, undated (Acc. No. 77/1/B06a).

¹⁰⁰ *Dublin Builder*, 15 Oct. 1866.

'mountain stone' was quarried in south County Dublin,¹⁰¹ as distinct from the better quality granite from County Wicklow. It appears that the Pembroke Township also sourced stone from there: in 1878 its secretary confirmed that 'The greater portion of the building stone-the granite-comes from the Dublin mountains'.¹⁰²

An even cheaper form of rubble stone was 'Dublin Calp': a black or grey limestone found in plentiful supply and quarried in the Dublin area since medieval times.¹⁰³ This is the underlying bedrock of most of the city, running in a southerly direction as far as Donnybrook and Rathgar.¹⁰⁴ It remained the most dominant walling stone in Dublin up to the 1730s, hidden behind the ashlar stone facades of many of the city's most important buildings.¹⁰⁵ By the time Wilkinson was writing in 1845, calp limestone was still the main source for rubble wall construction in Dublin, while granite was more readily employed for facing work.¹⁰⁶ Calp was specified by the architect Patrick Byrne for the new church of Our Lady of Refuge in Rathmines from 1850. Behind the Ballyknockan granite facing, the walls were constructed in calp limestone which had been sourced in the quarries of Donnybrook and Kimmage.¹⁰⁷ By 1870 calp was still in plentiful supply, as *The Irish Builder* reported that the County Dublin area possessed 'extensive beds of dark grey and black stone, well fitted for building purposes' and commonly known as calp.¹⁰⁸ It was suitable mostly for rubble walling but varied in quality, 'from rottenness to extreme hardness',¹⁰⁹ while some varieties had the capacity to produce hydraulic limes, making them suitable for building below ground level.¹¹⁰ This corroborates the findings at Northbrook Road, where the architect selected granite rubble for the superstructure and 'rubble blackstone masonry' (calp) for the footings.

¹⁰¹ Hand, 'Supplying stone for the Dublin house', p.89.

¹⁰² *Municipal Boundaries, Part I, 1880*, evidence of Mr A.H. Robinson, p. 185, para. 4942.

¹⁰³ A saving was proposed by the substitution of blackstone for granite for artisans dwellings in Buckingham Street, erected by Michael Meade. IAA, PKS, Bill of Quantities, Dublin Artisans Dwellings, Buckingham Street, 1877 (Acc. No. 77/1/B07/40). Wilkinson reported that St. Patrick's Cathedral was: 'Chiefly of rubble work, rudely constructed, of calp limestone'. Wilkinson, *Practical geology*, p.247.

¹⁰⁴ *Dublin Builder*, 15 Nov. 1868.

¹⁰⁵ Frank Keohane, *Period houses: a conservation guidance manual* (Dublin, 2001), p. 56 & Hand, 'Supplying stone for the Dublin house', p.84.

¹⁰⁶ Wilkinson, *Practical geology*, p.245.

¹⁰⁷ Brendan Grimes, *Majestic shrines and graceful sanctuaries, the church architecture of Patrick Byrne, 1783-1864*, (Dublin, 2009), p.109.

¹⁰⁸ *Irish Builder*, 15 Dec. 1870.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 1 Jan. 1873.

¹¹⁰ McAfee, *Irish stone walls*, p. 40.

Problems ensued when some types of calp were used above ground level, due to the dampness associate with the material. When it was used extensively for building streets in the city, it became notorious for its bad quality, giving the city its nickname 'Dear Dirty Dublin':¹¹¹

On the roads of the County Dublin, and in the city also, some wretched limestone metalling has been used, the stone being from the worst beds of the calp formation-results, of course, being constant mud and slush in wet weather, and clouds of blinding dust in summer time.¹¹²

Problems with damp could be counteracted by lining the internal face of walls with brick, as specified for a house in Terenure in 1876.¹¹³ This practice had been carried out since the seventeenth century, when Irish 'freestone' was lined with brick for the same reason.¹¹⁴ According to *The Dublin Builder*, brick lining was 'indispensable' in habitable walls built of calp, but it was not required if a good quality granite rubble was used, due to the relative dryness of the material.¹¹⁵

In 1868, *The Irish Builder* reported that 'some of the quarries in Donnybrook present most instructive exposures of the calp limestone'.¹¹⁶ The 1865 Ordnance Survey map illustrates a large quarry in operation where Donnybrook Bus Station now stands (2.9 & 2.10). Opposite the quarry was a large corner site, where the new Donnybrook church was being constructed by Meade at this time, with facings of cut granite and 'Whitestone sandstone' dressings.¹¹⁷ Behind the church site was the newly laid out Ailesbury Road, where Meade was about to commence work on his housing development at the junction with the Merrion Road. With a large calp quarry close to hand, it is possible that it was the source of the rubble stone used in the houses, at least

¹¹¹ Patrick Wyse Jackson, *The building stones of Dublin* (Dublin, 1993), p.14.

¹¹² *Irish Builder*, 11 Nov. 1875.

¹¹³ IAA, PKS, Notes and queries, Mr Jackson's house, Roundtown road, Terenure, 1876 (Acc. No. 77/1/B06a/25).

¹¹⁴ Roundtree, 'A history of clay brick as a building material in Ireland', p.17.

¹¹⁵ *Dublin Builder*, 1 June 1861.

¹¹⁶ *Irish Builder*, 15 Nov. 1868.

¹¹⁷ *Dublin Builder*, 15 June 1863.

in the initial stages.¹¹⁸ However, by the time Meade was building his last house on the road in 1879, Donnybrook quarry was used as a dumping ground. Alderman Harris proposed it as a depository for the scavenging material of the Dublin city streets, considering it unpleasant and 'full of stagnant water'.¹¹⁹

Donnybrook's underlying bedrock of calp limestone, extends in a south-westerly direction towards the southern suburb of Rathgar, where the material had been quarried since medieval times. When Lewis arrived on the scene in 1837 a number of quarries were in operation in the district:

In the immediate vicinity are some quarries of good limestone, which are extensively worked; and strata of calp limestone have been discovered alternating with the limestone in several places, here, as well as in the quarries at Roundtown and Crumlin, inclined at a considerable angle and exhibiting other appearances of disturbance.¹²⁰

As Rostrevor Terrace was under construction in the mid-1860s, a quarry was in use just north of the Carvill estate (4.33). It had been in operation since at least 1800, when a windmill was used to pump out water, until it was replaced by steam machinery.¹²¹ In its description of Rathgar in 1865, *Thom's directory* noted the presence of the quarry where: 'Close to the cross-roads are extensively-worked quarries of calp limestone, which is chiefly raised by blasting'.¹²² Stone from this quarry was used to face the north

¹¹⁸ Donnybrook Quarry was put up for sale the following year. The advertisement confirmed that the quarry was over six acres in size and that 'several implements and valuable machinery' were for sale, which had been 'used in carrying on the old established Black Calp Quarry, known as the Donnybrook Quarry Works'. The advertisement also noted the: 'great demand for moderate sizes houses in the neighbourhood, which is daily rising'. *Freeman's Journal*, 3 Aug. 1866.

¹¹⁹ *Municipal Boundaries, Part I, 1880*, evidence of Alderman Harris, p. 76, para. 1854. Meade also noted that £7,000 worth of debris had been brought there after excavating the site for the South City Markets. *Ibid.*, evidence of Mr Michael Meade, p. 188, para. 5064. The Landed Estates Court put the quarry up for sale in 1871, but it is not clear if a buyer was found. *Freeman's Journal*, 14 Nov. 1871.

¹²⁰ Christopher Ryan, *Lewis' Dublin, a topographical dictionary of the parishes, towns and villages of Dublin city and county* (Cork, 2001), p.229.

¹²¹ P.H. Browne & D.R.C. Hilliard, *Zion Church Rathgar: a brief account of its history, 1861-1961* (Dublin, 1961), p. 7.

¹²² *Thom's*, 1865.

façade of the Church of the Three Patrons in 1860, opposite the houses that Meade had built at 150-153 Rathgar Road (3.22).¹²³ According to Angela O'Connell, it was not considered a high quality calp, but was used in the building of Zion church nearby and the Nine Arches bridge at Milltown.¹²⁴ However, by the time Rostrevor Terrace was rising out of the ground in the mid-1860s, another quarry had taken shape in the area, just south of Rathgar Saw Mills. It was located on Carvill's lower field next to the Dodder River, where a lime kiln and pump stood nearby (4.34). Although it is difficult to make out the detail of this map, a later Ordnance Survey reveals that it most likely operated as a limestone quarry, supplying rubble for the walls of Rostrevor Terrace (4.35).¹²⁵ As the land was low-lying and prone to flooding, the pump probably extracted ground water to the Dodder River, as Wilkinson's description of calp quarries refers to in 1845: 'Near Dublin the quarries are worked in low ground, and great expense is incurred to keep them free from water, for which purpose windmills are used in many cases.'¹²⁶ While limestone could be used for rubble masonry walls, it could also be burned to produce quicklime, which when mixed with sand and water produced mortars, renders and plasters, essential materials for building.¹²⁷ Not all limestone was suitable for this purpose, but the presence of a lime kiln here indicates that quicklime was manufactured here. This is corroborated by the sale notice for Rathgar Saw Mills in 1900, which reported: 'There is a lime stone quarry upon these lands, and a lime kiln, which is being worked, and there is a large and very profitable output, which could be increased'¹²⁸ a structure which is still in existence today (4.36). With rubble stone, lime and timber available close by, William Carvill was equipped with most of the raw materials for house building.

When building materials were available close by, speculators had a greater incentive to build. When Mr. John Bentley promoted the availability of brick on his land in Foxrock in 1862, the notice added: '...an excellent quality of rubble masonry can be

¹²³ Grimes, *Majestic shrines*, p. 129.

¹²⁴ Angela O'Connell, *The servants' church, history of the Church of the Three Patrons in the parish of Rathgar* (Dublin, 2004), pp 21-22.

¹²⁵ The material extracted from here was probably similar to a nearby quarry in Bushy Park, whose stone was reportedly 'dark grey in colour, thin and flaggy' and in some places exhibiting 'beautiful crystals locally called "sugar-candy stone"'. *Irish Builder*, 15 Nov. 1868.

¹²⁶ Wilkinson, *Practical geology*, p. 244.

¹²⁷ McAfee, *Irish stone walls*, p.47.

¹²⁸ *Irish Times*, 5 Dec. 1900.

executed for about 5s. a perch, owing to stone being close to hand, lime and sand available....'.¹²⁹ Lime was an essential raw material for building, but could also be used as a damp proofing measure: for the semi-detached houses in Northbrook road, a 'thick layer of lime riddlings' was specified for the entire surface of the ground floor. The availability of lime depended on the geology of the district, and sand was often dredged from the nearest river or sea bed. In 1845, Wilkinson referred to the 'Pit and river sand' that supplied Dublin, while in County Wicklow the banks of the River Avon provided 'very clean sharp sand' to the Rathdrum area.¹³⁰ When Meade & Son built Artane Industrial Schools in the 1870s, they sourced rubble limestone masonry from a quarry near the site, but lack of sand in the area forced them to turn to the sea for supplies.¹³¹ Most lime and sand in the Pembroke Township was sourced locally, as the secretary reported in 1879: 'The sand is raised in the township; the lime is burned in the township...'.¹³² The most likely source therefore for Carvill's sand for building was the nearby Dodder River, next to his mill and quarry.

Where the availability of local materials proved more problematic, speculators were forced to source supplies from other areas. In 1862 *The Dublin Builder* reported that the Clontarf area yielded an 'excellent' Calp stone for building, but only one quarry was in operation and supplies were difficult to obtain. Stone was brought from 'very considerable distances-frequently by canal some *fifty miles*, and thence with additional land carriage of possible *three or four miles* to the site of works.'¹³³ The development of the railway had ensured that materials could be transported countrywide: in 1862 a limestone quarry in Drogheda announced that cut stone could be 'delivered for Dublin free on wagon at Amiens-street Terminus.'¹³⁴ However, this was an expensive way of sourcing building materials, particularly for speculative house builders. The cost of rail

¹²⁹ *Dublin Builder*, 1 June 1862. Another example is Sir Charles Domville who offered 'abundant supplies of the best building stone' on his estate in Shankill. *Irish Builder*, 1 Jan. 1871. In some cases clients provided materials: in 1893 builders pricing a house in Donnybrook were asked to allow for 'a certain quantity of stone prepared on the ground which Captain Molloy places at the disposal of the Contractors.' IAA, Patterson, PKS, Bills of Quantities, Number 27 Brookfield Terrace, 1893 (Acc. No. 77/1/ 0727).

¹³⁰ Wilkinson, *Practical geology*, pp 199 & 249.

¹³¹ *Irish Builder*, 15 July 1879.

¹³² *Municipal Boundaries, Part I, 1880*, evidence of Mr A. H. Robinson, p. 185, para. 4942.

¹³³ *Dublin Builder*, 1 Aug. 1862.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 15 Apr. 1862 Another example is Milverton Limestone Quarries which offered 'superior lime' at their works in Skerries but could also deliver to customers at Amien Street. *Ibid.*, 15 June 1868.

carriage depended on the type of material: 'common stone' cost five shillings per ton to convey from Dublin to Carlow, while Caen and dressed stone was more expensive.¹³⁵ Granite could be conveyed by rail or canal, but generally quarries supplied their local areas, such as the stone quarried in Newry which was generally conveyed by water to the north of Ireland.¹³⁶

In Dublin, calp limestone is the dominant subsoil rock, but this changes to granite at the southern end of Booterstown, which continues south to the Wicklow mountains.¹³⁷ It was on this rocky outcrop overlooking the sea that the area of Kingstown developed in the early nineteenth century. It appears that much of the town was built with local stone, as one account referred to in 1865: '....its beautiful terraces and numerous public buildings and villas, are constructed of the white granite of the district'.¹³⁸ However, it seems that Kingstown granite was quite different in character to other forms of the material, as Wilkinson reported in 1845:

...near Kingstown it is very hard, the quartz predominating, and is seldom used for any but plain and heavy work; buildings in this neighborhood which require more ornamental work being erected with granite of an easier working quality, brought from Ballyknocken or Golden Hill, a distance of twenty miles.¹³⁹

The difficulty of working this particularly hard granite meant that some of the town's most important buildings were faced with a softer material quarried from miles away. When Kingstown train station was being planned in 1842, the local stone was considered too hard for facing work and granite was sourced from quarries in Ballyknocken.¹⁴⁰ Although County Wicklow granite was more than twice the price, the

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 15 Jan. 1868. It is not stated why this is the case, but presumably the cost was based on the weight of the material to be transported.

¹³⁶ *Dublin Builder*, 15 Mar. 1865.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 15 Nov. 1868.

¹³⁸ William F. Wakeman, *Tourists' guide through Dublin and its interesting suburbs, specially (sic.) suited to the visitors of The International Exhibition* (Dublin, 1865), p.2.

¹³⁹ Wilkinson, *Practical geology*, p. 14.

¹⁴⁰ K. A. Murray, *Ireland's First Railway* (Dublin, 1981), p.168.

cost was offset by the fact that it was easier to work into a facing material.¹⁴¹ There were however other sources for cut granite in the area, and Peter Pearson has noted the extensive granite outcrops occurring near the surface of Dalkey, which led to the opening of many quarries there in the eighteenth century.¹⁴² Dalkey Quarry was opened in 1815 to provide stone for the construction of Kingstown Harbour, and such was the extent of stone required for the project that a small railway was built to the harbour site. This was the stone referred to by Lewis in 1837: 'The neighborhood is remarkable for its quarries of fine granite, from which was raised the principal material for the bridge over the Menai straits, and for the harbours of Howth and Kingstown.'¹⁴³ However in 1866 *The Dublin Builder* lamented that despite the prevalence of 'really good granite' in Dalkey and Killiney, the stone was seldom used.¹⁴⁴ John Cunningham, the proprietor of Dalkey quarry, denied the claim, confirming that he had been supplying a high quality granite stone for many years to 'the principal builders of Dublin', as well for contracts abroad. He also reported that he had recently supplied a large cargo of cut stone for the Thames embankment in London and to Liverpool for the Corporation Works.¹⁴⁵

Despite these conflicting reports, the evidence indicates that Dalkey granite was used in buildings in the city and suburbs.¹⁴⁶ Large quantities were extracted for improvements to Dublin port, and Michael Meade used it to face a new commercial building on the corner of Sackville and Abbey Street in 1872.¹⁴⁷ It was also used to clad local buildings: when a new hospital was constructed by Meade in Kingstown in the 1870s it was finished mainly in Dalkey granite (1.34).¹⁴⁸ Plans for Kingstown's new town hall were already in place by this time, which was originally designed as a brick building, but when it was changed to stone the budget was doubled.¹⁴⁹ Meade & Son won the contract, and while it was in the course of erection in 1878 it was reported that the principal material being used was granite from a 'quarry in the vicinity'¹⁵⁰ supplied free of

¹⁴¹ Smith, *Architectural book of prices*, p. 104.

¹⁴² Peter Pearson, *Between the mountains and the sea* (Dublin, 2001), p.92.

¹⁴³ Christopher Ryan, *Lewis' Dublin*, p.201.

¹⁴⁴ *Dublin Builder*, 15 Oct. 1866.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 1 Apr. 1865.

¹⁴⁶ *Irish Builder*, 1 Dec. 1872, & Pearson, *Between the mountains*, p. 92.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 15 Sept. 1872.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 15 June 1876.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 1 Apr. 1877 & 1 Dec. 1878.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 1 Dec. 1878.

charge by the major landowners in the area, Lords Longford and De Vesci (1.33).¹⁵¹ As Dalkey quarry was the source for so many important public buildings in Kingstown, it is likely therefore that it also provided the granite for Kingstown Town Hall.

While Dalkey quarry provided the facing to many of the buildings in Kingstown, other sources furnished the rubble for the masonry wall construction behind. George Smith, the stone contractor for Kingstown harbor, built a large granite dwelling named 'Stone View' in 1820 for his son, on lands towards the eastern end of the town. It was on this elevated site overlooking the sea that Clarinda Park developed thirty years later. Smith ran a quarry on lands now occupied by the People's Park, located close to the sites for Crosthwaite Park, Royal Terrace and Clarinda Park (4.37).¹⁵² These developments are all finished in a lime render, and Crosthwaite Park is constructed of eighteen inch rubble walls. It is most likely therefore that the granite rubble extracted from the local quarry was used to construct the three housing schemes located close by. Surviving records for a house in Glenageary show that granite rubble stone was certainly specified for houses in the vicinity¹⁵³ and in 1868 *The Dublin Builder* reported that this large granite quarry still exposed a stone of 'different mineral structure from that of its neighborhood', giving it a particular mottled look.¹⁵⁴ By this time, Crosthwaite had completed thirty-two houses on the west and east sides, but he had also begun development on a third terrace on the south side. Crosthwaite was involved in supplying other materials for his development: in 1866 he provided sand for the completion of kerbing at Crosthwaite Park,¹⁵⁵ while an 1877 inquiry suggested that he had appropriated a quantity of township materials for the development.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 15 June 1878.

¹⁵² Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown County Council, Conservation Division, report on architectural conservation areas in Dun Laoghaire, pp 3-4 (www.dlrccoco.ie/conservation) (10 Oct. 2011), p. 3.

¹⁵³ 112 perches of granite rubble stone were supplied for the masonry work carried out by Grundy at a house in Glenageary. IAA, PKS, priced bill of measurement, private residence, Glenageary, 1863 (Acc. No. 77/1/B02/19).

¹⁵⁴ *Irish Builder*, 15 Nov. 1868. It is not possible to verify if this corresponds with the granite used in Crosthwaite Park, as the walls are finished in lime render.

¹⁵⁵ *Dublin Builder*, 7 May 1866.

¹⁵⁶ *Irish Times*, 27 June 1863.

4.2.3 Timber:

In 1853, Charles Manby Smith described the transformations that were occurring on the outskirts of London, pointing to the central role of the carpenter:

Pending the making of the bricks, foundations have been dug, and now a crop of handsome houses, arranged as streets, crescents, squares, or detached villas, springs out of the ground with a celerity hardly intelligible to the casual visitor. Simultaneously with the building, the carpenters' work has been going on in a huge temporary workshop erected on the spot. No sooner are the carcasses completed, than the interior fittings are ready to be adjusted...¹⁵⁷

Smith's account brings the construction of the London suburbs to life, where remarkable changes were occurring, due to as he terms, 'the invasion of the country by the town'. Clearly, the supply of timber was crucial to this scale of domestic construction, where the carpentry work was being carried out simultaneously in a large temporary structure close by. The outlay on carpentry and joinery amounted to an average of 30% of the total cost of domestic construction, second only to the masonry and brickwork parts of the contract.¹⁵⁸ Behind every brick and stone house façade was a supporting timber structure, including floor and ceiling joists, roofing and partitions (4.38). It is not surprising therefore that timber merchants and carpenters like Meade and Carvill were involved in speculative building, as they received shipments of lumber on the quays and processed it in their own sawmills. According to Arthur Gibney, the speculative housing market had a particular attraction for carpenters, due to their 'central role in regulating the work of other trades, and their capacity to handle architectural relationships.'¹⁵⁹ He cites similar patterns during Dublin's eighteenth-century development: an example is

¹⁵⁷ Charles Manby Smith, *Curiosities of London Life*, (London, 1853), as cited in Lee Jackson, *Daily life in Victorian London: an extraordinary anthology* (London, 2011).

¹⁵⁸ Calculated by the following priced estimates: PRONI, Young & MacKenzie Architects, Estimate for the erection of a house in Fitzwilliam Park, Belfast, 1896, (Acc. No. D2194/76/6) & *Ibid.*, estimate for the erection and completion of a villa at Adelaide Park, Belfast, 1891, (Acc. No. D2194/37/9). The section allocated to the carpentry and joinery is second only to the masonry and brickwork, ranging from between 28% and over 34% of the overall cost.

¹⁵⁹ Arthur Gibney, 'Studies in eighteenth-century building history' (Ph.D thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 1998), pp 69 & 96.

John Chambers, a timber merchant and builder who was constructing speculative dwellings in Merrion Square in the 1760s. But where did Meade and Carvill source the large quantities required to construct the Victorian suburbs, and how were the materials transported to site?

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, much of the home grown forests in Britain and Ireland had been depleted, leading to a reliance on foreign sources of lumber from Norway, Sweden and the Baltic coasts of Germany, Poland and Russia.¹⁶⁰ As the industrial revolution took hold in Britain, demand for timber grew exponentially. The arrival of the railway saw an unprecedented demand, with over 1,700 sleepers required to lay each mile of track, not to mention the large quantities required to furnish carriages, and raise new railway stations. In 1861, red and yellow fir from Northern Europe was reported to be the most common timber used in Britain,¹⁶¹ but an increasing amount of stock came from Canada and America, particularly Douglas fir and pitch pine, which had been used both structurally and decoratively for some time.¹⁶² By 1862, Great Britain and Ireland were importing annually some 540,000 loads of Canadian pine timber; most of it was manufactured on the Ottawa River, extending over an area of over 11,000 square miles, giving employment to over 40,000 men.¹⁶³ When the second issue of *The Dublin Builder* was published in 1859, advertisements were placed by timber merchants trading in Dublin city.¹⁶⁴ The lumber had travelled great distances: red deals from Norway were offered, while American oak and red pine was being shipped from Canada, Mexico and Russia. By 1862, there were eight saw mills operating in the city, many with a wholesale yard on the quays and that year 66,778 loads of lumber arrived at Dublin port.¹⁶⁵ Much of it went to fuel the recent housing boom: in April 1863 *The Dublin Builder* reported that the timber merchants William Kelly & Co. had taken in fifty-eight cargos of timber in the previous two seasons:

¹⁶⁰ Gibney, 'Studies in eighteenth-century building history', p. 126.

¹⁶¹ *Dublin Builder*, 15 June 1861.

¹⁶² Bowyer, *Handbook of building crafts*, p.83.

¹⁶³ *Dublin Builder*, 1 Jan. 1862.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 1 Feb. 1859.

¹⁶⁵ Andy Bielenberg, *Ireland and the industrial revolution: the impact of the industrial revolution on Irish industry, 1801-1922* (London & New York, 2009), p.197.

It is fortunate that a branch of industry, which gives so much employment, has not shared the dullness that has prevailed in some other trades. The increase of buildings in Rathgar, Rathmines, Ball's-bridge, and in Bray, and other immediate places on the Wicklow line, will afford some idea of the extent of the employment which has been thus created.¹⁶⁶

In 1859, Michael Meade announced the erection of the new 'Planing, Sawing, & Moulding Mills' in Great Brunswick-Street. The machine age had arrived and new steam powered machinery manufactured doors, sashes and mouldings faster and cheaper than ever before. Meade appears to have been the first to introduce steam power to the timber trade, his notice boasting that his was 'the only Manufactory of the kind in Dublin'.¹⁶⁷ The premises was located on a large site adjoining the terminus of the Dublin and Wicklow Railway, built to house 'powerful Machinery' to manufacture timber for building (1.24) and to compete with the large amounts of ready prepared Carpenters' work imported from England and Scotland. Meade prided himself on his 'long practical experience in the working of all descriptions of Timber', flooring, skirtings and mouldings 'of all Sizes and Patterns', as well as doors, sash frames and shutters, which were all manufactured in his premises in Great Brunswick-Street.¹⁶⁸

In 1861, *The Dublin Builder* began a series of articles entitled 'A COLUMN FOR CRAFTSMEN', taking carpentry as its first subject.¹⁶⁹ Regarding domestic roof construction, it reported that the rafters were generally one-third and one-fourth the span width. It confirmed that high pitched roofs threw off the rain and snow more easily, but low pitched roofs were much cheaper, as they required shorter timbers. Ordinary jack rafters were employed where the roof span was not more than 20 feet, but above that trusses were required.¹⁷⁰ Meade's houses in Ailesbury Road are characterized by double pitched roofs, running from front to back. In the front reception

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 15 Apr. 1863.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 1 Nov. 1859.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 1 May 1860.

¹⁶⁹ *Dublin Builder*, 1 Mar. 1861.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 15 Mar. 1861.

rooms at entrance level, the floor joists span in the same direction, from the street elevation to the spine wall (3.93 & 3.103). A survey of six of these houses reveals that this span is almost identical in all cases, measuring from 16 feet 2 inches to 16 feet four inches.¹⁷¹ It is also 16 feet in Murray & Denny's plans for Rathgar Road in 1851 (3.18 & 3.19) and Mitchell's drawings for Northbrook Road, thirty years later (4.21 & 4.22). This appears to relate to standard construction methods for domestic building, as sixteen feet is the maximum span of the simplest and most common type of timber floor construction. Called 'single floors', it consists of a series of common joists¹⁷² spanning from wall to wall, without the requirement for intermediate support.¹⁷³ This demonstrates the degree to which domestic space was determined by the limits of the building materials employed.

Meade's saw mills in Great Brunswick Street commanded a street frontage of 400 feet, and a depth of 100 feet extending to the Kingstown Railway. As evident from the 1864 map, the mills were entered by an arched gateway from Great Brunswick Street, as *The Dublin Builder* described in 1862:

A spacious residence and offices for the proprietor are provided in a tastefully-designed and substantial building, with a large gateway forming the principal entrance, and which, together with the extensive workshops and all buildings on the premises, have been erected by Mr. Meade, the concern generally forming a very conspicuous feature in the city.¹⁷⁴

On entering the premises, visitors were confronted with a large structure adjoining the railway line. This was the main saw mill building, containing a number of workshops

¹⁷¹ These measurements relate to: Numbers 1, 4, 5, 9, 17 & 19 Ailesbury Road.

¹⁷² After the 1760s, the most common joist used in Dublin's speculative terraced houses were the 10 x 2 inch and 9 x 2 inch joist. Gibney, 'Studies in eighteenth-century building history', pp135 & 136.

¹⁷³ *Ex. Info.*, Tom O'Neill, structural engineer and owner of Number 13 Crosthwaite Park, 11 Feb. 2012. According to O'Neill this is a well-known carpenter's rule of thumb and he has found this to be the case in the countless nineteenth-century houses which he has worked on in Dublin for many years. Where the span is greater, double floors are recommended, consisting of large beams placed underneath the joists at 10 foot intervals. Allen, *Practical building construction*, pp 99 & 110.

¹⁷⁴ *Dublin Builder*, 1 June 1862.

which housed a variety of departments with machines supplied by eminent firms in Britain, used for log-cutting, mortising, tenoning, sawing, boring and grooving. Machine-made carpentry was manufactured here for the home grown market, but by 1862 products were also being exported 'to all parts of the Kingdom'.¹⁷⁵ Orders included furniture for the Oriental Baths in London, as well as for two new Catholic churches in Dublin, at Rathgar and City-Quay. Timber was also provided for a mansion for the Countess of Glengall, eight houses and a villa in Bray for William Dargan, houses at Kingstown and 'a Gothic screen of elaborate design' for Clondalkin Catholic church.

Clearly, Meade's saw mills were providing much of the raw material for his increasing number of building contracts. In 1863 a smithy was added to the enterprise, supplying the large quantity of ironwork required to build the Corporation Cattle Market, soon to become the biggest of its kind in Europe. *The Dublin Builder* remarked:

...it shows the contractor's special capacity to execute this or any work in which iron is an important element.....The addition of such an industrial branch to Mr. Meade's other avocations reflects great credit on his enterprising spirit, and will serve to make his fine establishment additionally notable.¹⁷⁶

The smithy and fitter's shop was inserted in to a structure facing Westland Row, behind which was the main boiler house and engine room of the mill. Central to the operation was a 150 foot high chimney added in 1862, said to be 'the tallest structure of its class in Dublin'. The manufacture of other materials followed suit, including slates, sewer pipes, tiles, plastering and slating laths,¹⁷⁷ and at some point a stone mason's workshop was added to the operation.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁵ *Dublin Builder*, 1 Feb. 1862.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 1 Apr. 1863.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 15 July 1863.

¹⁷⁸ *Irish Times*, 17 Apr. 1905.

It seems no accident that Meade chose to locate his enterprise next to the terminus of the Dublin and Wicklow railway, built in 1834 on the opening of Ireland's first line from Dublin to Kingstown. The rear of his saw mill backed directly on to the railway and it is possible that he used it to transport building material to his sites. By the time he began building houses in Ailesbury Road, the Pembroke estate was served by the nearby Sydney Parade station (2.10).¹⁷⁹ By this stage the railway extended as far as Wicklow and there was 'great traffic' on the line, due to it being 'the highway between the English and Irish metropolis and provinces'.¹⁸⁰ When in 1878 the Dublin, Wicklow & Wexford Railway Company commissioned an enlargement of Westland Row station, Meade was contracted to carry out the works.¹⁸¹ By this time he was head of one of the largest construction firms in the city and had laid out £30,000 in building in the Pembroke Township. The Ordnance Survey map of 1889 shows the extension complete, which adjoins Meade's saw mills on Great Brunswick Street (1.39).

In September 1868, after the completion of his first four houses on Ailesbury Road, Meade's extensive timber premises in Great Brunswick Street was destroyed by fire. Reporting that it was 'one of the greatest conflagrations ever witnessed in the city', *The Dublin Builder* lamented the obliteration of the saw mill, together with a recently installed engine, and all the woodwork that was being prepared for their large contracts:

The immense quantities of timbers that were stored in the concerns, together with the workshops and sawing department, were in the course of a few hours completely reduced to ashes, and a large number of carts, wagons, derricks, hoists, and building appliances, shared a similar fate.¹⁸²

The saw mill's proximity to the railway resulted in some damage to the carriage sheds and some of the railway carriages. The report described the bent and twisted heavy wrought-iron machinery as well as the large number of carts, wagons and building appliances which had been reduced to ashes. Luckily the 'magnificent office buildings' at

¹⁷⁹ *Freeman's Journal*, 13 Sept. 1862.

¹⁸⁰ *Dublin Builder*, 15 Dec. 1862.

¹⁸¹ IAA, Dictionary of Irish Architects 1720-1940, Michael Meade.

¹⁸² *Irish Builder*, 15 Jan. 1869.

the Great Brunswick-street entrance and the engine-house and smithies had been saved, and Meade soon began clearing out the site, preparing to erect new fireproof buildings in their place.

While Meade usually auctioned off lumber at his site in Great Brunswick Street, the majority of timber merchants in Dublin operated wholesale yards on the quays. There they sold shiploads of raw timber, often operating a saw mill nearby to manufacture sawn timber for building. Martin & Sons were Meade's competitors, who advertised alongside each other in February 1859, promoting 'several Cargoes of North American and Baltic WOOD GOODS (*sic*)' at the Custom House Docks.¹⁸³ These 'prince merchants' had also recently erected extensive saw mills at North Wall Quay, which was illustrated in *The Dublin Builder* the following year (4.39).¹⁸⁴ The drawing demonstrates the potential scale of such an operation, with a labyrinth of yards storing a wide variety of raw and sawn timber. Central to the operation was the saw mill, where planing and moulding machines manufactured sawn timber, but also railway wagons and furniture were produced. In the bottom right hand corner of the drawing is a timber wharf, which was being extended on a continuous basis to cope with the increasing loads of lumber, arriving mainly from Canada and the Baltic.¹⁸⁵ Such was the extent of Martin and Sons' trade, that the company commissioned their own fleet of ships: in the 1830s they sent their senior captain to New Brunswick in Canada to build and buy new vessels to be registered in Dublin port.¹⁸⁶

As discussed in Chapter 1, William Carvill was also in the business of launching ships from Canada, having spent his early life in the port of St. John in New Brunswick, a major centre of shipbuilding. Along with his brothers he was engaged in the iron, shipping and timber trades there from 1838, but on his return to Ireland in 1849 he established a saw mill in Rathgar. From a premises in the North Wall he auctioned off shipments of lumber from as far as Canada, Central America and East Prussia,¹⁸⁷ while

¹⁸³ *Dublin Builder*, 1 Feb. 1859.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 1 Feb. 1860.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 1 May 1859.

¹⁸⁶ Ernest B. Anderson, *Sailing ships of Ireland* (Dublin, 1951), p. 67.

¹⁸⁷ *Freeman's Journal*, 6 & 7 May 1862.

the remainder went for processing at Rathgar.¹⁸⁸ According to an account dating from 1879, lumber arriving on the quays travelled through the city before being delivered to the suburbs: 'A resident in Rathmines, or Pembroke, orders his goods in Dublin, and they are delivered in the townships; and coal, timber, merchandise, groceries, and matters of that sort are brought out.'¹⁸⁹

4.3 Conclusion

Many factors influenced the choice of building material in the Dublin suburbs. The first related to building control: the high quality finishes imposed by Lord Pembroke are evident in the expensive cut stone and red brick facades of Ailesbury Road. Most of these materials travelled long distances: the granite facing was quarried twenty miles away in the Wicklow mountains, while the yellow stock brick was most likely sourced in County Dublin. For some products, Meade turned to foreign markets: red machine-made brick probably from Bridgewater or Belfast, while the Scottish bricks found the chimney in Ailesbury Road were supplied through depots in Dublin. In other cases, local building materials determined the character of the architecture that emerged: in the seaside district of Kingstown, the abundance of local granite ensured that houses were usually constructed in rendered granite rubble, with a nearby quarry being the probable source for the building of Crosthwaite Park. William Carvill was equipped with most of the materials to build houses in Rathgar, with a limestone quarry and a saw mill on his estate. He was not subject to such stringent regulation, and so built a cheaper, striped down version of the Pembroke estate houses, rendering the lower level to mimic the effect of stone. Nevertheless, he still opted to build semi-detached houses clad in expensive red brick, which indicates that fashion and the housing market had a role to play in material choice. One of the most significant findings of this study was the relationship of the speculative housing market to the broader international trade in lumber. William Carvill's business interests extended far beyond the confines of the Dublin suburbs, as he was engaged in the shipping and timber trades on both sides of the Atlantic. Carvill and Meade received shipments of lumber on the Dublin quays, which they then fabricated in their saw mills, forming the skeletal timber structure behind their masonry facades.

¹⁸⁸ *Thom's*, 1860-65. He also continued to operate as a corn merchant at 38 Sir John Rogerson's Quay until at least 1865.

¹⁸⁹ *Municipal Boundaries, Part I, 1880*, evidence of Mr. Walker, p.105, para. 2356.

Chapter 5



Financing speculative building in the Dublin suburbs

5.1 Introduction

Over a period of five years, Meade constructed ten semi-detached houses on Ailesbury Road, but he would not see a return on his investment until the buildings were sold, or let to paying tenants. As access to capital or credit was a key factor in enabling developers to engage in speculative development, this chapter analyses the role that finance played in the expansion of Dublin's suburbs. The work of Meade, Carvill and Crosthwaite, whose houses emerged simultaneously in different suburbs, will form a focus for this study. Why did these entrepreneurs invest in domestic building and what was the financial model that underpinned their operations? The absence of contractors' accounts and the present inaccessibility of banking records prevents us from providing precise answers to these questions, and contemporary secondary sources provide only fleeting glimpses of the financial aspects of house building. This chapter addresses such a lacuna by assembling a patchwork of fragmentary material from various primary sources. Data will be extracted from legal documentation, valuation records and sales catalogues and related to contemporary secondary sources. The study takes a step-by-step approach, from the acquisition of land to the accumulation of capital, while estimating building costs, sale prices and profits emanating from domestic construction. Inevitably gaps remain, due to the disparate and fragmentary nature of the source material. However, it aims to provide a clearer picture of the kinds of money being exchanged in house building and therefore establish the extent to which speculative development was lucrative in Dublin's Victorian suburbs.

5.2 The cost of building ground in the Dublin suburbs

Although the history of the Victorian suburb in Britain has received much scholarly attention, little has been done to highlight the economic aspects of its development. The first study to address this issue was H.J. Dyos's *Victorian Suburb*, a ground breaking work that focused on the London suburb of Camberwell.¹ According to Dyos, the first step to speculation began with the landowner: 'the most natural source of finance was the landlord himself, whose grant of a building lease involved in any case the transfer of a capital asset without immediate payment for it'.² While urban land tenure in Britain varied greatly, the leasehold system dominated the newly emergent London suburbs, where the standard ninety-nine year lease prevailed during the first half of the nineteenth century.³ Compared to freehold tenure, which granted the greatest liberties in building, leasehold ground was often subject to restrictive covenants. Thus landowners could control building standards on their estates, and reap the benefits when the land, together with its buildings would revert to them at the end of the lease term. In this way, landlords could boost the value of their estates without incurring the risks associated with developing it. To modern eyes perhaps, this arrangement appears particularly unjust to a leaseholder, who would invest large sums on ground that would eventually revert back to his landlord. However, freehold property was not often available and involved a larger capital outlay, making leasehold tenure a cheaper alternative for speculators, who could build on ground that might not otherwise be available to them.

Turning to the Irish context, it is necessary to establish the relative cost of ground in the Dublin suburbs. As noted in Chapter 2, leasehold grants were even more common in Ireland than in Britain, particularly when it came to the development of urban areas. This was the main mode of land control in the new suburban districts of

¹ H. J. Dyos, *Victorian suburb, a study of the growth of Camberwell* (Leicester, 1977).

² *Idem.*, 'The speculative builders and developers of Victorian London', in *Victorian Studies*, xi (1968), p. 664.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 643 & Donald J. Olsen, *Town planning in London* (New Haven & London, 1982), p.31. Lease terms varied from sixty years to a semi-perpetual 999 years. This was not the case elsewhere in Britain: Birmingham was developed mainly under leasehold tenure, while Leicester was of a mixture of both freehold and leasehold land. The variety in building control had a great impact on how suburban areas developed. Helen Boynton & Grant Pitches, *Desirable locations, Leicester's middle class suburbs, 1880-1920* (Leicester, 1996), p.10.

Pembroke and Kingstown, which were dominated by the estate landlord. Leases in the western side of the Pembroke estate tended to last for a 150 year term, where lessees were subject to an annual ground rent on their holding. The estate set standard rental values by calculating a price per foot of road frontage, which varied depending on the value of land in the estate. McAulay's sample of foot rents dating from between 1828 and 1848 shows that ground on the principal streets inside the canals commanded the highest prices: plots in Baggot Street and Fitzwilliam Place ranged from 15s. to 17s. 6d. per foot, reducing down to 12s. 6d. on Pembroke Street and Wilton Terrace.⁴ Outside the canals ground dropped in price, where plots in Wellington and Donnybrook Roads could be let for between 4s. and 5s. 6d. per foot. The most expensive plots in these areas were on the western side of the estate, on the recently emerging Baggot Street Lower and Northumberland Road, which were offered at 8s. per foot.⁵ This contrasted with the marked drop in land values on the eastern sector: in the low-lying districts of Irishtown and Ringsend, plots were a quarter of the cost of those in Northumberland Road.

While these figures provide a useful source of land values in the estate up to 1848, it is important to compare them with rental values during the 1860s, when ground was leased on new suburban streets such as Lansdowne, Raglan and Elgin Roads. Taking a sample of foot rents from Northumberland Road, it is evident that prices had dropped significantly in the intervening years, where the cost of ground on the road had plummeted by over 62%, from 8s. per foot to an average of 3s. per foot. (**Table 4**). The marked difference in land costs is not so surprising, considering the challenges posed to the estate during this time. The Great Famine, the numerous attempts to repeal the Act of Union, and general political turmoil all served to plunge the Pembroke Estate in to a state of economic stagnation. From at least 1847, building development came to an almost complete stop there, and the estate remained in arrears until the economy began to improve from the mid-1850s.⁶ Notwithstanding these broader factors, development on Northumberland road was impeded due to inadequate sewerage

⁴ Eve McAulay, 'The origins and early development of the Pembroke Estate beyond the Grand Canal 1816-1880' (Ph.D. thesis, Trinity College, Dublin, 2003), vol. 2, fig. 4.1. These prices were based on a valuation of the estate carried out in 1830.

⁵ However, some streets were let for the same price on both sides of the canals: both Mount Street and Herbert Street (inside the canal) and Baggot Street Upper and Northumberland Road (outside the canal) were all let for 8s per foot. *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, p.149.

facilities, which seems to have been resolved by the mid-1860s, when a new spurt of building development occurred on Northumberland Road.⁷

Table 4: Linear foot rents in Northumberland Road 1865-1888⁸

Northumberland Road	Date of lease	Date built by	Rent per foot of plot width
Nos. 30/32	1864	1865	2s. 8d.
Nos. 26/28	1864	1865	3s. 0d.
No. 78	1873	1874	3s. 6d.
Nos. 22/24	1874	1876	3s. 5d.
Nos. 47/49	1876	1877	3s. 0d.
No. 45	1876	1877	3s. 3d.

Table 4 also indicates that from 1864 land values stabilized on Northumberland Road, where plots remained at around 3s. per foot, with a surge in speculation towards the end of the 1870s.⁹ Development occurred also in adjoining suburbs, where in 1860 *The Dublin Builder* announced: 'Every inch of available ground is sought after by eager capitalists' in Rathmines and Rathgar.¹⁰ Plots in the vicinity of Kenilworth Square could be let for between 2s. and 5s. per foot, where it was claimed that houses were of higher quality than the "'run-'em-up" structures' of the London suburbs.¹¹ Nine months later an advertisement appeared for 500 feet of ground in Rathgar, which it claimed was: 'unquestionably the best in the suburbs of Dublin'.¹² On the main Roundtown Road (modern Terenure Road East), plots cost 4s. per foot, reducing to 3s. on smaller tributary roads. Table 5 collates the foot rents from various streets in the southern suburbs during the housing boom of the 1860s (Table 5). In the newly emerging streets of the Pembroke estate, land varied in cost: in Raglan Road a plot was priced at 4s. 6d. per foot, one and a half times the price ground in Northumberland Road. When Ailesbury

⁷ McAulay, 'The Pembroke estate', p. 208.

⁸ Data for this table was compiled as follows: Numbers 30 & 32: RD, 1865, vol. 22, mem. 2; Numbers 26 & 28: RD, 1865, vol. 21, mem. 299; Number 78: NAI, PEP, Deeds, Draft lease dated 1873 for ground on Northumberland Road, Earl of Pembroke to William Perrin (Acc. No. 1011/3/62); Numbers 22 & 24: RD, 1875, vol. 10, mem. 111; Numbers 47 & 49: RD, 1876, vol. 30, mem. 144; Number 45: NAI, PEP, Deeds, Draft lease dated 1876 for ground on Northumberland Road, Earl of Pembroke to John W. Meredith (Acc. No. 1011/3/71). The linear foot rent was calculated by dividing the ground rent for each plot by the linear foot width, as specified in the lease memorandum.

⁹ Susan Galavan, 'Northumberland Road: the story of a Dublin street, 1833-1888' (M.A. thesis, University College, Dublin, 2008), Fig. 1.40.

¹⁰ *Dublin Builder*, 1 Apr. 1860.

¹¹ The article suggests that this is due to the long leases found in Rathmines and Rathgar, compared to the 'short' leases granted in the London suburbs. *Ibid.*

¹² *Dublin Builder*, 1 Jan. 1861.

Road was laid out in 1865, it marked the furthest extent of the estate’s suburban development, being located three miles from the city. Nevertheless, ground rents were charged at 2s. 9d. per foot, marginally less than those in Northumberland Road.

Table 5: Linear foot rents in the southern suburbs¹³

Suburb	Road	Date of lease	Date built by	Linear foot rent
PEMBROKE				
	No. 13 Raglan Road	1856	1861	4s. 6d.
	No. 20 Elgin Road	1862	1863	3s. 6d.
	No. 12 Clyde Road	1865	1867	4s. 0d.
	No. 1 Ailesbury Road	1865	1867	2s. 9d.
	Nos. 26 & 28 Northumberland Road	1864	1865	3s. 0d.
		N/A	Date advertised	
RATHMINES	Kenilworth Square	-	1860	2s. - 5s.
		N/A	Date advertised	
RATHGAR	Roundtown Road	-	1861	4s.
	Rathgar Avenue	-	1861	3s.
		Date of lease	Date built by	
	No. 64 Rathgar Road	1855	1865	4s. 1d.
		Date of lease	Date built by	
KINGSTOWN	Crosthwaite Park East	1861	1865	1s. 6d.
		N/A	Date advertised	
OTHER	Foxrock	-	1864	1s.

It has been claimed that ground rents in the Pembroke estate were extremely high, compared to other Dublin suburbs.¹⁴ Certainly, this appears to have been the case in 1840, when a complaint was made to Lord Pembroke’s agent about the high rents in the newly emerging Wellington Place, compared to Rathmines and Rathgar.¹⁵ However, by the time of the building boom of the 1860s, it seems that foot rents in Pembroke were on a par with other adjoining suburbs. What is more, in 1865 a plot in Northumberland

¹³ Data for this table was compiled as follows: Number 13 Raglan Road: from an original lease discussed by McAulay. McAulay, ‘The Pembroke estate’, p. 255; Number 20 Elgin Road: RD, 1872, vol. 16, mem. 218; Number 12 Clyde Road: RD, 1872, vol. 16, mem. 221; Number 1 Ailesbury Road: St. Michael’s House archive, original lease from September 1865, piece of ground on the south side of Ailesbury Road, The Earl of Clanwilliam & Marquis of Ailesbury & Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery & Michael Meade; RD, 1866, vol. 20, mem. 131-3; Number 26 & 28 Northumberland Road: RD, 1865, vol. 21, mem. 299; Number 64 Rathgar Road: RD, 1855, vol. 3, mem. 93. This example is taken from a property named ‘Lichfield House’, which appears to have been acquired by Michael Meade in 1855 on the corner of Rathgar Road and Garville Avenue. It is close to his other terraced development at 150-153 Rathgar Road which emerged towards the end of the 1850s, and was most likely constructed by Meade.

¹⁴Mary E. Daly, ‘The growth of Victorian Dublin’ in Mary E. Daly, Mona Hearn & Peter Pearson (eds.), *Dublin’s Victorian houses*, (Dublin, 1998), p.28.

¹⁵McAulay, ‘The Pembroke estate’, p.100.

Road, one of the principal streets through suburban Pembroke, was cheaper than in an equivalent main street in Rathgar (Table 5: Rathgar Road). Speculators looking for cheaper ground would have to travel further, to the seaside suburb of Kingstown six miles from the city, where linear foot rents at Crosthwaite Park were half that of Northumberland Road. The cheapest ground rents were found in nearby Foxrock, where in 1864 ‘superior sites for pretty cottages and detached villas’ were advertised at 1s. per foot, or £10 per acre.¹⁶ However, what this table does not take into account is the manner in which ground rents on the western side of the Pembroke estate were discounted during construction. At Numbers 1 & 3 Ailesbury Road, Meade was subject to only half the ground rent during the first three years of his lease.¹⁷ This was a continuum from the estate’s eighteenth century practice: speculators on Fitzwilliam Square were charged a peppercorn rent during the first three years of their lease.¹⁸ This discounted rental period provided speculators with time to construct a house, find a buyer or tenant, and therefore begin to repay their debt.

Table 6: Ground rents related to select properties

Development	Road	No.	Date of lease ¹⁹	Lease term (years)	Ground rent per plot ²⁰	Linear foot rent	Plot width ²¹ (feet)
PEMBROKE							
	Ailesbury Road	1	1865	150	£ 7	2s. 9d.	50
	Northumberland Road	26	1864	150	£ 5 10s. 6d.	3s. 0d.	37
KINGSTOWN							
	Crosthwaite Park East ²²	4-32	1861	42	£ 1 17s. 10d.	1s. 6d.	25

¹⁶ *General Advertiser*, 2 Jan. 1864. This estate agent was found advertising sites in Foxrock two years previously, providing incentives to developers who took greater amounts of land: the first acre was priced at £10, but each subsequent acre reduced to £7. *Dublin Builder*, 15 Mar. 1862.

¹⁷ St. Michael’s House archive, original lease from September 1865, piece of ground on the south side of Ailesbury Road, The Earl of Clanwilliam & Marquis of Ailesbury & Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery & Michael Meade; RD, 1866, vol. 20, mem. 131-3. The lease also required that Meade complete the buildings within the first two years.

¹⁸ Nuala T. Burke, ‘Dublin 1600-1800: a study in urban morphogenesis’ (Ph.D. thesis, Trinity College, Dublin, 1972), p.406. Lessees were bound to build within four years and an additional rent was imposed if the houses were not constructed within the specified time limit.

¹⁹ Commencement date of the original lease from ground landlord (i.e. Lord Pembroke, Earls of Longford & De Vesci) to developer (e.g. Meade & Crosthwaite), as distinct from any subsequent sub-lease.

²⁰ Ground rent paid by developer to ground landlord, as distinct from any subsequent sub-lease.

²¹ The plot widths shown here for Ailesbury Road and Crosthwaite Park are as specified in the lease memorandum. Numbers 26 & 28 Northumberland Road were built on a corner plot (leased to James Farrell, as illustrated in 5.1), with a total width of 82 feet, as specified in the lease memorandum. The plot width for Number 26 was calculated by taking a measurement from the 2003 Ordnance Survey map.

Table 6 relates ground rents to specific properties in the south Dublin suburbs. Meade's plots in Ailesbury Road were double the width of Crosthwaite's terraced development in Kingstown, as they were meant for a wider paired house form. With ground rents priced by the width of road frontage, semi-detached plots thus tended to demand higher ground rents than their terraced neighbours.²³ Thus, the ground rent per house in Ailesbury Road was over three and a half times the cost of a terraced house in Crosthwaite Park. Another important consideration was the length of the lease: in the western side of the Pembroke estate the term was usually for 150 years, but in Rathgar it was not unusual for leases to run for 999 years. When Crosthwaite acquired his ground in Kingstown in 1861, he effectively acquired a forty-two year lease, which was to triple in price on the renewal date in 1903.²⁴ Short leases had an impact on speculation, as developers had less time to recoup their expenditure and therefore see a return on their investment. It was claimed therefore that these leases produced a lower class of house, as one Kingstown board member explained in 1886: '...a man who builds on a short lease must, to recoup himself, lay out less money to get a given rent.'²⁵ There were other cost implications, such as the strict building covenants in the Pembroke estate, and the higher rates imposed there to maintain their high standards of service.²⁶ Therefore, although ground rents were an important factor, they were only one component in a speculator's calculation: next in consideration were the costs incurred during construction.

²² Crosthwaite Park East was constructed on a large field which was leased in 1861, at a yearly ground rent of £31.16.0. John Crosthwaite then prepared the ground for speculation, by laying out the roads and plots for building on one side of this field, the remainder forming part of the park in front. The linear foot rent has been calculated by dividing this field in to sixteen sections, relating to the plot widths specified in Crosthwaite's subsequent leases to builders. Fifteen of these plots are twenty-five feet in width, while the end plot (Number 2) is twenty feet wider. These figures relate therefore to Crosthwaite's average ground rent for each twenty-five foot wide plot. RD, 1861, vol. 30, mem. 105 & 112.

²³ However, plot widths for semi-detached houses are not always as wide as those in Ailesbury Road: Number 26 Northumberland Road is 37 feet wide, while the adjoining Number 28 measures 45 feet in width. Chapter 3 has shown that they could be as narrow as 28 feet at Orwell Park (3.113). Plot depths also vary: the longest found are those in Rathgar at 243 feet, reducing down to 240 feet at Ailesbury Road and to 134 feet 6 inches at Crosthwaite Park.

²⁴ RD, 1861, vol. 30, mem. 105.

²⁵ *Report from the select committee on town holdings*, H.C. 1886 (213-Sess. 1), evidence of Mr McEvoy, p.227, para. 5992 (henceforth cited as *Town holdings*, 1886).

²⁶ Mary E. Daly, *Dublin, the deposed capital* (Cork, 1984), p. 162.

5.3 Speculators in Dublin's Victorian suburbs

Once a speculator acquired land, he was in a position to build, which he did usually at a modest scale across a small number of plots. The costs incurred in domestic building depended on the profile of the speculative developer, and the method of building procurement employed. Research has shown that many developers came from the building industry, utilizing their skills and networks to profit directly from their trade. Building contractors had a ready supply of labour and materials sourced at cost, and could engage in domestic construction as an extension of their normal building operations. Cockburn & Sons, after completing the museum at Trinity College in 1857, soon began speculating in Wellington Road in 1859, following on with houses in Elgin Road in 1863.²⁷ Like many builders, Cockburn & Sons were also timber merchants, and operated from a premises in Great Brunswick Street, beside Michael Meade (1.14). The seemingly fluid relationship between the building trades had also been prevalent during the eighteenth century in Dublin, where timber merchants and carpenters operated as house builders, as well as architects, measurers and clerks of works.²⁸ With timber also constituting almost a third of the material cost of a house, domestic building was also an obvious by-product for merchants like Meade and Carvill. Other examples are Joseph Kelly of the City Saw Mills who could be found speculating in Bray in 1860 and Thomas Bradley, the most significant developer on the Pembroke estate, who ran a timber yard in Golden Lane in Dublin.²⁹ Some merchants expanded their operations to operate as general builders' suppliers, providing other materials such as slate, stone, roof tiles and sewer pipes.³⁰

It is likely that many timber merchants carried out the joinery themselves and commissioned the brickwork and masonry from other sub-contractors.³¹ This was not always the case however: when Thomas Bradley developed his second scheme of

²⁷Their names appear in the Griffith Valuation in connection with five plots in Elgin Road and four plots in Wellington Road. McAulay, 'The Pembroke estate', pp 100, 243 & 262.

²⁸ Arthur Gibney, 'Studies in eighteenth-century building history' (Ph.D thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 1998), pp 93 & 94.

²⁹ *Dublin Builder*, 1 Dec. 1860 & 1 May 1861 & McAulay, 'The Pembroke estate', p.58.

³⁰ *General Advertiser*, 14 Jan. 1860.

³¹ Therefore saving on the employment of a general contractor, whose services could add as much as 15% to the cost of labour and materials. David Smith, *Architectural builders' memoranda book of prices* (Belfast, 1863), p.21 & 23.

houses at Longford Terrace (2.19), he contracted the work to the builder Mr Moyers, with the exception of the mantelpieces, grates, papering and painting.³² It seems therefore that the manner in which houses were built were as varied as the speculators developing them. McAulay uncovered a wide variety of developers leasing house plots in Waterloo and Wellington roads in the 1840s: many were builders but there were also turners, plumbers, and dairy owners, as well as members of the political classes and the upper professionals.³³ In 1861 *The Dublin Builder* confirmed that a stucco plasterer was building four houses on ground in Rathmines, complete with brick fronts and granite cornices.³⁴

Architects were also prominent speculators, such as E.H Carson who developed housing in Rathmines and Donnybrook, and John McCurdy who speculated in Ailesbury Road.³⁵ Although it is difficult to establish with accuracy the extent to which architects were employed in house design, an examination of some of the works of the city's most prominent architects shows that the majority were involved in domestic projects.³⁶ The standard architects' fee amounted to 5% of the overall building cost: 2½ % for the preparation of documents (i.e. drawings and specifications) and 2½ % for superintendence.³⁷ Clearly this was too much for some speculators, as they chose to forego design services to maximize profits. *The Dublin Builder* was critical of this practice in 1864, claiming that much suburban housing in Dublin was erected without an architect or a master builder. Instead, the works were entrusted to a journeyman mason and carpenter, or even worse: 'to the still more inadequate supervision of some pretentious charlatan'.³⁸ Considered a false economy, it produced a cheaper 'jerry' class of house, where substandard building materials and inadequate drainage was reportedly patched up with 'gandy (*sic*) papering and painting'.³⁹ *The Dublin Builder* advised

³² Griffith Valuation, Kingstown, 1855-1859, vol. 2, pp 240 & 242.

³³ McAulay, 'The Pembroke estate', p.151.

³⁴ *Dublin Builder*, 15 Aug. 1861.

³⁵ Daly, 'The growth of Victorian Dublin', pp 32-3 & RD, 1869, vol. 24, mem. 137-40.

³⁶ The following architects are of note: Lanyon, Lynn & Lanyon, John Joseph Lyons, William Francis Caldbek and James Rawson Carroll. IAA, Dictionary of Irish Architects 1720-1940.

³⁷ *Dublin Builder*, 1 Dec. 1866. According to *The Dublin Builder*, architects undercut their fellow professionals to get a commission, resulting in a reduction in quality: '...they who aim at fine houses at small prices, fee included, cannot derive the glory of having employed first-rate talent, or what is considered as such.' *Ibid.*, 1 July 1860.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 15 Mar. 1864. The article also claimed that a suburban house in Dublin could be built by a few journeymen for £300, but the employment of an architect could double the price.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

building owners against this cheaper form of speculative development in 1861: 'Can proprietors conscientiously consent to the erection of their buildings by the timber merchant, the brick maker, the ironmonger, or any of the numerous wholesale merchants in connexion (*sic*) with building? We think not.'⁴⁰

Another common type of speculator was the city merchant, who could reinvest their profits into speculative house building. An example is George Tickell, owner of a large furniture warehouse who erected houses in Drumcondra and the tramway owner William Martin Murphy who, along with others, had built over 1,200 houses by 1884.⁴¹ Other, smaller investors such as clergymen, army officers and businessmen were also involved in leasing plots in Dublin's city and suburbs.⁴² Some were involved directly in building, but others engaged contractors to carry out the works. It is most likely that Michael Meade constructed his own houses in Ailesbury Road, but John Crosthwaite sub-contracted the work out to local builders. An examination of a group of eight houses built at the junction of Northumberland Road, show the range of speculators involved in house building (5.1). James Farrell and Patrick O'Toole were both Dublin builders, but Thomas Walker was a grocer with an address in Bath Avenue.⁴³ Walker probably engaged a contractor to construct his four houses, but Farrell and O'Toole were the likely builders of their properties. Female speculators were also prevalent: in 1861 *The Dublin Builder* reported in Rathmines that: '...very many of those erecting new houses in the district belong to the gentler sex'.⁴⁴ Uniting this wide pool of speculators was a common drive for profit, as *The Dublin Builder* remarked in 1860: 'Finding such a sudden rage for cheap houses, surveyors, valuers, auctioneers, have entered the field: and now what is the result?... "Get money honestly if you can, but get it," seems to be the maxim generally followed.'⁴⁵

⁴⁰ *Dublin Builder*, 15 Jan. 1861.

⁴¹ Daly, 'The growth of Victorian Dublin', p. 33.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ RD, 1863, vol. 19, mem. 182; 1865, vol. 21, mem. 299; vol. 22, mem. 2.

⁴⁴ *Dublin Builder*, 15 Mar. 1861.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 1 July 1860.

5.4 Raising finance for speculative development

H. J. Dyos in his work on Victorian London found that finance was easily acquired by developers involved in domestic construction. The banking sector was not the main source, as they declined to advance money to speculative builders for fear of acquiring a 'reputation for recklessness'.⁴⁶ In Ireland, the inaccessibility of banking records has meant that little research has been carried out the history of banking, and its relationship to the wider economy. Research on the Belfast banks suggests that private banks did not generally lend on mortgage, although the similar dearth of records makes it difficult to assess how common the exceptions to this rule were.⁴⁷ Certainly, none of the deeds found for the housing developments by Meade, Carvill and Crosthwaite, show the involvement of the banking sector. While being wary of trying to establish too much from a relatively small sample, it seems that banks were only occasional financiers of domestic building construction, and featured only where there were larger capital sums at stake.

Dyos recognized the role of the solicitor, who since the seventeenth century had been acting as a financial intermediary in business. Due to their pivotal role mediating between lenders and borrowers, solicitors had a particular relevance in land conveyance. Dyos draws our attention to a firm of solicitors operating in south London from the 1870s, who were advancing loans to builders on mortgage. It appears that they were also involved in speculating directly: in west London they were engaged in land deals along suburban railway routes.⁴⁸ This practice was also found in Belfast, where from the 1820s attorneys were found advertising loans of between £30 and £30,000.⁴⁹ Although similar advertisements for Dublin have not been found, there is evidence of finance being offered by other parties. In 1860 Andrew C. Palles of Dublin offered to loan sums of £1,700 to £10,000 secured on property in Ireland, with a preference for 'incumbered (*sic*) Estate Court Title'.⁵⁰ Palles had secured the money on trust and was

⁴⁶ Dyos, 'Speculative builders', p. 665.

⁴⁷ Philip Ollerenshaw, *Banking in nineteenth-century Ireland* (Manchester, 1987), p.8.

⁴⁸ Dyos, 'Speculative builders', p.668.

⁴⁹ The capital was usually secured by unencumbered land, with a rate of interest from 4½ to 6 %.

Ollerenshaw, *Banking in nineteenth-century Ireland*, p.6.

⁵⁰ *General Advertiser*, 7 Jan. 1860.

willing to provide long-term loans, providing the interest was paid on time. Borrowers could also be found advertising:

WANTED TO BORROW £1500, at 6 per cent, on assignment of a mortgage for £2500, effected on properties situate about 24 miles from Dublin, on the banks of the Grand Canal, county Kildare...⁵¹

In some cases landowners offered capital as an incentive to developers: in 1862 John Riddick proposed 'a certain amount of money advanced on mortgage at a low rate of interest' to those willing to build on his ground in Harold's Cross.⁵² It is also notable that at times landowners offered to supply materials to builders, or make cash advances, on which interest would be charged. In 1860 the estate agents Bentley & Sons in advertising building ground in Rathgar, noted the availability of a quarry on the land and 'Bricks at half-price'.⁵³ Dyos has found an example of this in the London suburbs, but it is not clear how frequently the opportunity was presented to speculators in Dublin.⁵⁴

Dyos found that building societies and freehold land societies were among the main financiers of London's Victorian suburbs. These institutions originated in the eighteenth century and increased in number in Britain so that by 1846 they could be found 'in some of the largest villages in all parts of the country'.⁵⁵ They functioned on a subscription basis, raising a fund from which they could advance money both to builders and to house occupiers. Their main purpose was to enable members to raise the necessary finance for the purchase of their home, but they also raised mortgages on their own ground. In the initial years, the majority of London's suburban development was financed by smaller building societies, who lent to builders in a localized area. From the 1870s these institutions reduced their loans to builders, and lent increasingly to purchasers of domestic property.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 7 Jan. 1860.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 4 Jan. 1862.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 18 Feb. 1860.

⁵⁴ Dyos, 'Speculative builders', p. 664.

⁵⁵ Dyos, *Victorian suburb*, p.114.

There has been little scholarship on the history of the building society in Ireland. A case study of 'The Workingmen's Benefit Building Society' reports that this type of lending institution had been in place in Dublin since 1842 and by the mid-1850s there were about six building societies operating in the city.⁵⁶ Initially they operated on a temporary basis, closing down when enough money was raised to enable all founding members to build a house. Gradually these 'terminating' societies evolved into more 'permanent' ones by operating with a renewing membership, and from 1861 *The Dublin Builder* reported regularly on the establishment of new building societies in the city. The hope was that they would see as much success in Dublin as they had in London, where they had apparently spearheaded much of the city's 'great suburban extent'. In the initial years at least, it appears that many building societies in Dublin failed and by 1863 it was reported that, apart from Belfast, the building society was virtually unknown in Ireland.⁵⁷ Those that did survive tended to benefit the working classes, such as those described in Kingstown, which provided loans of between £50 and £100.⁵⁸

Changes were afoot in 1864 when James H. Owen, architect to the Board of Works and chairman of 'The Irish Civil Service Building Society' argued that this type of institution lent money at a lower rate than a private lender.⁵⁹ Within two years the society had seen a 'slow but sure and steady progress', where forty-three of its 677 members had been advanced loans to build or buy houses.⁶⁰ The borrowers were mainly working men and artisans who were loaned sums of between £25 and £1,000 (the average being £267), over a ten to fifteen year period. The society loaned money at a rate of 7%, which some considered very high, but Owen maintained that it was the cheapest and easiest way for the working man to acquire capital.⁶¹ But by the 1870s the organization had evolved into more of a loan society than a building society and was made up mainly of middle class members.⁶² It received some criticism from *The Dublin Builder*, who claimed that it tended to fund jobbing builders for wages or materials,

⁵⁶ Tony Farmer, 'The Building Society that refused Patrick Pearse (and his mother)', in *Dublin Historical Record*, lxxv, no. 1 (2002), pp 64-74.

⁵⁷ *Dublin Builder*, 15 Oct. 1863.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 1 Dec. 1863.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 1 July 1864.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 15 Oct. 1866.

⁶¹ *Irish Builder*, 15 Sept. 1868.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 15 June 1872.

rather than for its original purpose of building houses.⁶³ Some surviving mortgage documents give an indication of how these organizations operated in practice. In 1878, Adelaide Courtney acquired a mortgage for £200 from The Irish Civil Service Building Society, secured on a house at Garville Avenue in Rathgar (3.25).⁶⁴ Courtney was required to pay £9 7s. on a quarterly basis; with house prices considerably more than £200 in this area, this mortgage was intended either to partially fund the house, or to finance another venture.⁶⁵ Another mortgage dating from 1898 relates to the financing of a second house on the street: from the 'Second Equitable Benefit Building Society', to William A. Shea for £564.⁶⁶ Sometimes landowners referred to the availability of building society loans, as in this notice for land in Bray from 1865: 'The Local Building Society is prepared to advance the requisite funds for the erection of Houses on these Lots, a circumstance of some importance to intending purchasers.'⁶⁷

A perusal of the lands index of the Registry of Deeds suggests that building societies had a role to play in some, but certainly not the majority, of domestic building projects in Dublin. It seems the main purpose of this type of financial institution was to benefit the working classes, for example the case found at Kingstown where small sums were advanced. By 1866, The Irish Civil Service Building Society was releasing average loans of £267, which would not have been enough to build or buy a house at Crosthwaite Park, Ailesbury Road or Rostrevor Terrace. It would however have provided a less valuable house at the eastern end of the Pembroke estate, or partly funded one at Garville Road, as we have seen.

The evidence suggests that The Irish Civil Service Building Society gradually increased its lending capacity. In 1879, *The Irish Times* announced the sale of two recently built houses on Northumberland Road, stating that they could be bought for

⁶³ *Dublin Builder*, 15 Jan. 1876.

⁶⁴ NAI, Family and estate papers, maps and rentals, mortgage dated Sept. 1878, Number 5 Garville Avenue Rathgar, Adelaide Courtney to The Irish Civil Service (Permanent) Building Society, (Acc. No. 1146/2/3).

⁶⁵ A house on Garville Avenue was advertised for sale at £450 in 1862, sixteen years before this mortgage agreement was made. *General Advertiser*, 4 Jan. 1862.

⁶⁶ NAI, Family and estate papers, maps and rentals, mortgage dated May 1898, premises at Garville Avenue, Rathgar, William A. Shea to The Second Equitable Benefit Building Society (Acc. No. 1146/2/8).

⁶⁷ *General Advertiser*, 20 May 1865.

£1,500, together with a mortgage to the society (5.2).⁶⁸ It appears therefore that the building society financed the building of the houses and that the purchaser was expected to take on the mortgage agreement. Although it is not clear how representative this example was, it is possible that this method of financing speculative housing was more commonplace than the available records show. However, the deeds and advertisements found for Rostrevor Terrace, Ailesbury Road or Crosthwaite Park do not show any evidence of building society involvement.

J.E. Cockerill's doctoral thesis on the construction industry in Belfast 1800-1914 is an important contextual resource for speculative development in Dublin.⁶⁹ Of particular relevance are his investigations into the source of contractors' working capital, a key factor in the financing of building operations. Cockerill found that builders acquired finance in a variety of ways: from bank loans to trade credit, and loans secured on property. He recognized the role of the stage payment system in managing cash flow, whereby amounts were authorized as the work progressed.⁷⁰ Nevertheless, contractors were still required to finance their works in advance of receiving their stage payments. Where a standard contract was employed, the architect authorized payment at each stage of the work, where the client was granted a number of 'grace days' before he was bound pay the contractor. As Cockerill points out, work on the second stage might be well underway before the fee for the first stage was processed. Some considered this unduly unfair on contractors, leaving 'the builder entirely at the mercy of the architect'.⁷¹ These challenges were too much for some builders, as exemplified by a report on the erection of twelve houses in Belfast in 1868. A builder had undertaken a housing contract on 'the usual terms of instalments as the houses proceeded', and the first payment was due on completion of the first storey.⁷² However, when payment was not forthcoming a large body of men armed themselves with crowbars and pickaxes, reducing the buildings to rubble in less than an hour. Although this drastic action was reported to be 'unexampled in the history of house-building in Belfast', it reveals the extent to which contractors lived hand to mouth. Another contentious issue was the

⁶⁸ *Irish Times*, 9 Sept. 1879.

⁶⁹ J. E. Cockerill, 'The construction industry in Belfast 1800-1914' (PhD thesis, Queen's University, Belfast, 1993).

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 531.

⁷¹ *Irish Builder*, 1 July 1869.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 1 June 1868.

extent to which stage payments were reduced during the building contract. This practice is still in use today, where a percentage of the payment is held back to rectify any subsequent defects arising after completion. Some writers to *The Irish Builder* considered the practice unjust, where on occasion, architects held back 10 to 15% of the contract sum for a number of months after completion.⁷³

Most of the established firms in Belfast used property investments to secure mortgages, this being one of the cheapest ways of raising working capital.⁷⁴ Of the examples discussed by Cockerill, housing seems to have been commonly used for this purpose, in providing both a regular income and a security for loans. An example are the seventeen houses that William McCammond built around his builder's yard in Belfast in the 1870s and 1880s, which were used to secure a bank loan to his son in 1900. House property could be used to fund other ventures, or be reinvested back into the business; at other times it was used to pay debts. In 1861 the builder Robert Magee mortgaged fourteen houses he had built in Newry to pay off a debt to the Carvill family of timber merchants.⁷⁵ The mortgage was subject to an interest rate of 5%, enabling Magee to repay the Carvills a bill of over £367 in materials.

The practice of raising finance on property is not a new phenomenon, and has precedent in the building of Dublin's eighteenth-century townhouses. This is evidenced by the developer William Hendrick, who secured capital by mortgaging some of his landholdings in Dublin between 1719 and 1724.⁷⁶ The practice continued in the nineteenth century: in 1896 the contractor G. J. Crampton funded the building of six houses in Herbert Avenue by a mortgage of £1,300 from a medical doctor.⁷⁷ Here a vacant site was used as security for a loan to build, but mortgages were also acquired to

⁷³ *Irish Builder*, 1 Nov. 1868.

⁷⁴ Cockerill, 'Construction industry in Belfast', p. 532 One of the loans cited carried an interest rate of 3½%, which was much less than the 6% interest rate charged by banks.

⁷⁵ PRONI, mortgage dated Oct. 1861, premises on Mary St Newry, Robert Magee to Messrs Carvill, Newry (Acc. No. T618/213). These were William Carvill's nephews: the sons of his brother Francis in Newry, who took over the timber business after their father's death in 1854. *Ex. Info.*, Deirdre McEvoy, genealogist.

⁷⁶ Brendan Twomey, 'Financing speculative property development in early eighteenth-century Dublin', in Christine Casey (ed.), *The eighteenth-century Dublin town house*, (Dublin, 2010), p.40.

⁷⁷ Ruth McManus, *Crampton built* (Dublin, 2008), p. 6. There is also evidence of Crampton securing capital on other commercial holdings: in 1898 he took out a mortgage from The National Bank, secured on his business premises in Ballsbridge.

facilitate the completion of partly built structures. In 1834 the architect and builder John Gibson mortgaged two houses he was building in Northumberland Road to a Henry Butler of College Green. Butler lent him £500 to 'complete and finish' the properties at an interest rate of 6% (5.3).⁷⁸ This seems to bear some resemblance to the manner in which the construction of the London suburb was described in 1853:

Whole miles of streets in London are built upon speculation, somewhat in the following way: by men who have little to lose, and everything to hope for. Chips the carpenter joins with Hod the bricklayer in renting a piece of ground for a term of eighty or ninety years. Neither of them, perhaps, has money enough to erect a single house; but between them they contrive to get up a couple of carcasses as high as the second or third story, and there they stop. They can go no further; but at this stage of the proceeding the houses are mortgage able; and if the situation be a good one, holding out the prospect of a speedy tenancy, capitalists are readily to be found who will advance money upon mortgage for their completion.⁷⁹

After the Gibson properties were complete, a large plot on the same side of Northumberland Road was mortgaged to the timber merchant Thomas Bradley, who we met as the developer of Longford Terrace.⁸⁰ The builder Thomas Chandler had acquired the ground from the Pembroke estate two years previously, but it seems he ran into problems, as the plots were empty when he signed them over to Bradley for £1,838. By the time of the mortgage, Bradley had already acquired leases on a total of seventeen plots on nearby Haddington Road named 'Bradley's buildings', which were acquired from existing lessees who failed to fulfil their building covenants. In 1886 John Vernon, agent to Lord Pembroke praised Bradley as 'the most acute builder I have ever met', having constructed some of the best houses in Kingstown on 'tolerably short leases'.⁸¹ It took some time for his Northumberland Road plots to develop, as eleven years later only

⁷⁸ RD, 1834, vol. 10, mem. 41 & *Thom's*, 1840-61.

⁷⁹ Charles Manby Smith, *Curiosities of London Life*, (London, 1853), as cited in Lee Jackson, *Daily life in Victorian London: an extraordinary anthology* (London, 2011).

⁸⁰ RD, 1838, vol. 5, mem. 35.

⁸¹ *Town Holdings, 1886*, evidence of Mr Vernon, p.183, para. 5003. Bradley was also involved in speculation in Rathmines and Booterstown. E. McAulay, 'The Pembroke estate', p.58.

two out of five houses were built, and the terrace did not reach completion until after his death. Bradley accumulated his wealth by lending money at high interest and when he died in 1862, he was worth a staggering £160,000, his estate consisting mainly of houses - 107 properties in the best parts of Dublin city and county.⁸²

Albeit a more expensive option, established builders in Belfast could benefit from overdraft facilities offered by local banks, a practice which was likely common also to Dublin. At the time of building in Ailesbury Road, Michael Meade was involved in large building contracts that probably required the support of his bank for managing cash flow. His largest contracts were government works: in 1866 he completed one of Ireland's largest public works contract: Ennis Lunatic Asylum which cost £35,000 (1.23).⁸³ It is likely that Meade was required to provide evidence of finance to take on such a large contract: the builder of a similar facility in Belfast in 1827 had used some of his property investments to secure guarantors for his contract. From 1858 to 1866, Michael Meade was involved in a total of three large public works projects, which amounted to over £90,300 worth of contracts.⁸⁴ Joseph Meade, who carried on in his father's footsteps, was also a director of the Hibernian Bank from 1887 and was chairman from 1894 until his death.⁸⁵ He was largely accredited with the bank's growing success during these years, and was seen as someone who was 'closely devoted to the interests of the bank and who gave every effort towards its advancement'.⁸⁶ It is reasonable therefore to assume that Meade would have brought influence to bear on his position, to advance his own business interests.

Joseph Meade's financial standing is further evidenced by a number of deeds of this period, such as the sugar refinery that he sold for £14,000 in 1889, while High Sheriff for Dublin City.⁸⁷ The site was located on the Grand Canal Quay and was large, with a frontage of 528 feet to the docks, and was built for Bewley, Moss and Company in

⁸² *Irish Times*, 24 Mar. 1863 & 4 Nov. 1864.

⁸³ Brendan O'Donoghue, *The Irish county surveyors 1834-1944* (Dublin, 2007), p.89.

⁸⁴ IAA, *Dictionary of Irish Architects 1720-1940*, Michael Meade.

⁸⁵ *Freeman's Journal*, 15 Feb. 1887 & *Irish Times*, 31 July 1900.

⁸⁶ *Irish Times*, 31 July 1900.

⁸⁷ RD, 1889, vol. 50, mem. 6.

1862.⁸⁸ There is also evidence that the Meades were involved in raising finance on their property investments. In 1887 Joseph Meade mortgaged a number of properties around the Holles Street area to the Public Works Commissioners for £4,000.⁸⁹ The holdings had been acquired from Lord Pembroke the previous year and remained part of Meade's estate on his death thirteen years later.⁹⁰ Another deed dating from 1884 refers to a number of allotments in Donnybrook, consisting of over two acres with houses, mills and offices.⁹¹ The properties were signed over to an Anne Margison, a spinster living in Milltown. Margison seems to have been a mortgage provider, as the land was transferred to her as security for a £1,000 loan. By the turn of the century, Joseph Meade's property empire was worth a fortune: £60,000 in Pembroke and Rathmines and £50,000 in Dublin city.⁹²

5.5 Building costs, sale prices and profits

In order to establish the degree to which speculation was profitable, this analysis now turns to establishing a range of costs for domestic building construction. In the absence of builders' accounts it is not possible to produce a detailed breakdown of the costs incurred by Meade in building houses on Ailesbury Road. Instead, a range of sources has been examined, including valuation books, lease memoranda and contemporary secondary material. The most significant findings are the figures found in the margins of the Griffith Valuation books, indicating the costs of some houses developed by Meade, Carvill and Crosthwaite. The data must be interpreted with caution, since they are broad figures, which might already include the cost of architects' fees, boundary walls, and other sundry works.⁹³ Where possible, this data will be compared with sale prices and rental values, to establish the kind of profits emanating from speculative house building.

⁸⁸ Katriona Byrne, *Pearse Street D2: a study of the past, a vision for the future* (Dublin, 2001), p. 24.

⁸⁹ RD, 1887, vol. 31, mem. 159.

⁹⁰ RD, 1886, vol. 48, mem. 17-19 & *Irish Times*, 14 Nov. 1900.

⁹¹ RD, 1884, vol. 50, mem. 75 & 1885, vol. 47, mem. 66.

⁹² *Irish Times*, 26 June 1900.

⁹³ *Irish Builder*, 15 Apr. 1875. In a design competition for a proposed glebe house in Rathmines it was noted: 'The amount to be expended was not to exceed £1,200, including architect's fees, and the estimate to include boundary walls, entrance, and drainage.'

The study begins with an examination of *The Dublin Builder*, which gave occasional, though terse accounts of house building in Dublin's southern suburbs. During the thirty-three year period from 1859 to 1891, a range of domestic building was cited, from detached mansions to terraced and semi-detached houses. An example is the entry of October 1860, where a Mr P. Sullivan was spending £1,650 on the building of two detached villas on the Pembroke Road, designed by architects Messrs Farrell.⁹⁴ Larger 'mansions' were also commonly mentioned during the 1860s, varying in cost from £1,200 to £5,000. In 1866, a block of terraced houses was nearing completion on the Ranelagh Road, their lower levels finished in granite, with upper floors of brick. Designed by the architect Mr W. Fogerty, these four properties reportedly cost £2,000 to build, or as we may deduce, an approximate figure of £500 per house.⁹⁵ While these figures provide a starting point, it is difficult to establish a scale of costs from this data, as it rarely indicates the precise location of the properties. However one finding allows us to link a particular scheme with its cost: by 1862 Warwick Terrace had been built by builders John Butler and Son in Rathmines, for over £6,000.⁹⁶ This terrace of eight three-storey properties is still in existence today (4.11). By relating an approximate floor area to the overall cost, it is possible to estimate an approximate figure of over 6s. 7d. per square foot for this development.

Building costs were also referred to in some lease agreements, such as the Strand Road development discussed earlier, where Alexander Graham was bound to spend at least £500 in building three dwellings, equating to £166 per house (3.39). When Michael Meade bought the completed terrace the following year, he also acquired a large plot adjacent, where Belvedere House stood (3.38). There he was permitted to lay out permanent buildings to the value of £2,000 and 'to put upon the ground no class of House....which shall not be of the annual value of Fifty pounds'.⁹⁷ Although the proposal never came to pass, it must have been quite a substantial scheme, equivalent to at least twelve of the house types that Graham was allowed build in 1862.

⁹⁴ *Dublin Builder*, 1 Oct. 1860.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 15 Feb. 1866.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 15 Oct. 1862.

⁹⁷ NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 15, p.53, John E. Vernon to Michael Meade, 24 Nov. 1863 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/15).

5.5.1 Crosthwaite Park

While in Sandymount at least £500 was to be spent in constructing three dwellings, this was the minimum outlay for one house at Crosthwaite Park East (3.49).⁹⁸ The condition formed part of the two leases acquired by John Crosthwaite in 1861, which subjected him to a ground rent of £31 16s. for the first 42 years, after which the rent would rise to £106. He also had to incur the cost of laying out the roads and plots for development, although it is not clear how much was spent on these works.⁹⁹ When the east and west sides of Crosthwaite Park were complete in 1865, he invested in another field close by.¹⁰⁰ Curiously, when construction began on Crosthwaite Park South shortly thereafter, the lease specified a minimum spend of £800 per house, equivalent to a 60% price increase on the previous scheme.¹⁰¹ This increase in outlay is reflected in Crosthwaite Park South today, as the houses are grander in scale, with wider plot widths, larger floor areas and higher ceilings (2.32).

Another stipulation of building leases was the amount for which houses were to be insured against fire and at Crosthwaite Park East, the £500 minimum spend was matched by a covenant to insure the property for the same sum. The landlord protected himself against inflation: should a fire occur and the sum was not sufficient to rebuild or repair the structures, the lessees were to make up the difference in cost.¹⁰² Similar covenants can be found in the western side of the Pembroke estate, where a lease in Northumberland Road in 1876 stated that each house was to be insured for £600.¹⁰³ Leaseholders were also required to forward their proof of policy to the estate: in 1888 Lord Pembroke's agent wrote to a Mrs Johnston, requesting the receipt of the fire insurance policy for her two houses on Northumberland road, valued at £1,200.¹⁰⁴ On

⁹⁸ RD, 1864, vol. 11, mem. 287.

⁹⁹ Crosthwaite had much in common with Michael Murphy, who laid out seventy acres of ground in Rathmines. Murphy claimed in 1886 that he had spent £20,000 in laying out the roads and plots while his speculators expended £120,000 in building. *Town Holdings, 1886*, evidence of Mr Michael Murphy, p. 133, para. 3207-11.

¹⁰⁰ RD, 1861, vol. 30, mem. 105 & 112.

¹⁰¹ RD, 1872, vol. 35, mem. 36.

¹⁰² RD, 1864, Vol. 11, mem. 287.

¹⁰³ NAI, PEP, Deeds, May 1876, Draft lease dated May 1876, ground on Northumberland Road, Earl of Pembroke to John W. Meredith (Acc. No. 1011/3/71).

¹⁰⁴ NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 21, p.397, Fane Vernon to Mrs Robert Johnston, 26 Mar. 1888 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/21).

the eastern side of the estate, leases were less specific: in 1862 Lord Pembroke covenanted the builder Graham to insure his properties on the Strand Road for a sum which was equal to at least four-fifths their value.

As Chapter 2 discussed, John Crosthwaite leased the land for his development from the 'lords of the soil' in Kingstown in 1861, but sub-contracted the building of the terrace out to third parties. Of the lease memorials found (twelve out of sixteen for the east side), at least three builder/developers were responsible for constructing Crosthwaite Park East (2.30). The architect and engineer Peter Joseph Moran acquired three adjoining plots, while two local builders took four plots each, on different parts of the terrace. Of these eleven houses, five were sold immediately after completion (45%), with the remainder held as security for future mortgage agreements.¹⁰⁵ Surprisingly, it appears that developers spent significantly more than the minimum outlay of £500, as it appears Number 16 was 'Built by contract' for £750 in 1863 (5.4).¹⁰⁶ The developer was a Matilda Duncan, a spinster from Dublin city who was resident in the property as the terrace was reaching completion in 1865.¹⁰⁷ While the £750 figure relates to the price paid by Duncan to her building contractor, it appears that £250 of this was raised by a mortgage from a John Francis Walker of Dublin.¹⁰⁸

In order to estimate the net profits emanating from speculative building, it is necessary to compare this figure with sale prices for the terrace. As Duncan's house appears not to have been sold, we rely on figures for other residences on this side, purchased between 1862 and 1864. Clearly there was much fluctuation in the housing

¹⁰⁵ Edward Roche completed four houses there by 1864 and sold one on completion, but waited until 1867 to mortgage the remainder for an undisclosed sum. RD, 1865, vol. 17, mem. 129 & 1867, vol. 32, mem. 225. His competitor Patrick Kelly sold three of his properties on completion, but raised a mortgage on the fourth for £324 16s. RD, 1864, vol. 14, mem. 182. This property, together with its mortgage was sold two years later to Richard Cottew, owner of the adjoining Number 24 Crosthwaite Park East. RD, 1866, vol. 21, mem. 211.

¹⁰⁶ Griffith Valuation, Kingstown, 1859-1867, vol. 3, p. 69f.

¹⁰⁷ Crosthwaite assigned the lease to Matilda Dunkin, a spinster of Lower Sherrard Street in Dublin city in 1862. An examination of Thom's Directory shows that the Duncans were residents of Number 16 Crosthwaite Park East from at least 1865 to 1885. In January 1873, the Kingstown commissioners discussed a letter they had received from a Mrs. Duncan, complaining of a pool of water that had accumulated outside Number 16 Crosthwaite Park. RD, 1862, vol. 18, mem. 193, & *Thom's*, 1865-1885 & KT, LA4/119, 15 Jan. 1873.

¹⁰⁸ RD, 1862, vol. 18, mem. 194.

market during this period, as sale prices varied from 4s. 1d. to 4s. 9d. per square foot.¹⁰⁹ Patrick Kelly, a builder from nearby Glashule, constructed four properties but retained one, selling the remainder shortly thereafter. Number 6 was purchased in May 1863 for £788,¹¹⁰ but Number 24 was sold a year later for £675 (3.49), equivalent to a drop in price of over 14% (Table 7).¹¹¹ Kelly waited two more years before selling Number 32 for £705, a price increase of 4%.¹¹² Thus, if Mrs Duncan had sold her house shortly after completion, she would have earned at the most a profit of 5%, just enough to cover the cost of a mortgage loan. If she had waited another year before going to the market however, she would have incurred a loss of 14% on her investment. When Number 24 was sold on in 1874 the price had risen to £800, which amounted to a 16% price increase over a ten-year period.¹¹³ Considering these modest increases in house prices, it is not surprising that Victorian speculators were incentivized more by rental income, than selling their houses on the open market.¹¹⁴

Table 7: Sale prices for houses at Crosthwaite Park East

Number	Date of lease (Crosthwaite to lessee)	Name of Lessee	Date of sale	Price
EAST SIDE				
No. 2	unknown	M. Roche	unknown	£900
No. 6	May 1863	Patrick Kelly	May 1863	£788
No. 8	May 1862	P. J. Moran	Nov. 1862	£720
No. 24	Nov. 1863	Patrick Kelly	May 1864	£675
			June 1864	£690
			Mar. 1874	£800
No. 30	Nov. 1864	Edward Roche	unknown	£725
No. 32	Nov. 1863	Patrick Kelly	July 1866	£705
WEST SIDE				
No. 15	unknown	John Galvin	May 1863	£775
No. 17	unknown	John Galvin	May 1863	£775
No. 19	unknown	John Galvin	May 1864	£720

¹⁰⁹ This price variation is indicative of the wider economic fluctuations of the period, which experienced cycles of slumps and booms. Daly, *Deposed capital*, p.55.

¹¹⁰ RD, 1863, vol. 16, mem. 75.

¹¹¹ RD, 1864, vol. 11, mem. 288 & 1864, vol. 20, mem. 87.

¹¹² He sold this house to Richard Cottew, who had bought Number 24 from him in 1864. RD, 1874, vol. 13, mem. 93.

¹¹³ Contrast this with the meteoric rise of house values during Ireland’s recent housing boom, where prices rose by as much as 400% in the eleven years between 1996 and 2007. Karl Whelan, *Ireland’s sovereign debt crisis*, (Working paper series, U.C.D., 2011), p.5.

¹¹⁴ The highest price was paid for Number 2 at £900, a reflection of its larger size and prominence at the end of the terrace. Griffith Valuation, Kingstown, 1859-1867, vol. 3, p.69e.

Now that an estimate of contract and sale prices have been established for some of these houses, an attempt will be made to analyse the profits made by speculative builders. Number 16 Crosthwaite Park East was built by contract for £750 in 1863, but this figure does not indicate the net cost incurred by the builder. A builders' price book of this time advises the addition of 15% builder's profit to the cost of labour and materials in estimating building works.¹¹⁵ If we apply this percentage to the figure found for Number 16 Crosthwaite Park East, an approximate net cost of £652 results. It is useful to compare these figures with costs found for similar houses nearby, where in 1859 a valuer made a note of the following: 'Mr Ryan the builder says these houses are built by estimate at £650 each & all will be finished for about £700 each.'¹¹⁶ These costs relate to Numbers 1 to 7 Clarinda Park East, which were being completed just as the east side of Crosthwaite Park was emerging out of the ground (2.21). The immediate lessors included James Carson (four plots) and a gentleman named Butler (two plots). Carson was a local civil engineer who appears to have been involved in at least thirteen other houses on the square. It seems therefore that he was among those who engaged Ryan to build the houses, although it is not clear why two figures are shown. The £700 price most likely relates to the final payment received by Ryan for each house at Clarinda Park East, but it is not clear why there was a change in price from £650. Compared to Number 16 Crosthwaite Park East which was 'built by contract', (implying the execution of a formal contract based on drawings and specifications), Clarinda Park East was 'built by estimate', which is perhaps a suggestion of a less formal arrangement based on a rough estimation of costs which were more likely to increase during construction. Another possibility is that the £50 price difference relates to another sub-contract, such as plastering which was often separately contracted in domestic work.¹¹⁷ In any case, it

¹¹⁵ Smith, *Architectural book of prices*, pp 21 & 23.

¹¹⁶ Griffith Valuation, Kingstown, 1855-1857, vol. 2, p. 244.

¹¹⁷ IAA, PKS, Bill of measurement, Number 10 Ailesbury Road, 1882 (Acc. No. 77/1/B11/30); & Bill of measurement, Number 13 Ailesbury Road, 1885 (Acc. No. 77/1/B12/35) & Bill of measurement, Dartmouth Road, 1888 (Acc. No. 77/1/B14/17) & Bill of measurement, Palmerston Park Rathmines, 1877 (Acc. No. 77/1/B07/47). These separate contracts included for the plastering of internal walls, the execution of cornicing and decorative ceiling roses and external rendering of the houses. Another example was mentioned in *The Dublin Builder* in 1861, where a new mansion house was being erected in Bray by the builder Mr. Lee: 'Mr. Hogan & Son have contracted separately for all the plastering works'. *Dublin Builder*, 15 Feb. 1861. It was also referred to in the building of Longford Terrace, one of Kingstown's most prominent seafront properties, developed by the timber merchant Thomas Bradley who paid a general contractor £1375 to build each house, except for the grates, mantle pieces and the painting and papering, which he carried out himself. Griffith Valuation, Kingstown, 1855-1859, vol. 2, pp 240 & 242.

appears that Mr Ryan, the builder of Clarinda Park East received £700 for the construction of each of these houses.

In contrast to Duncan who probably incurred the cost of engaging a contractor, those that built directly on their own leaseholds saw greater profits arising from speculation. In the same year that Duncan's house was constructed, the builder Patrick Kelly acquired three plots on Crosthwaite Park East. If the cost incurred by Kelly was similar to that calculated for Duncan's Number 16, the builder made a gross profit of approximately £218 for Number 6, when he sold it on completion. By deducting the cost of acquiring a loan to fund the construction at 5%, a net profit per house of £188 results,¹¹⁸ and in 1863, this would have been enough to pay one of his general labourers for a three and a half year period.¹¹⁹ Clearly, speculative building was lucrative for builders, as one Kingstown board member explained when discussing Clarinda Park:

My evidence is that where the tradesman (a builder) undertook the building of these houses, he usually made a very good thing of it; but where a private person employed a builder, he had to pay much more money for building the house, and there the speculation has not been so very good.¹²⁰

We have seen that the architect and engineer Peter Joseph Moran had built three adjoining houses on the east side of the square by 1862 (2.30). He sold one of these on completion, but waited seven years before mortgaging the other two houses to Joseph Meade, son of the builder Michael Meade.¹²¹ It is possible that this evidence points to

¹¹⁸ Notably, when he sold Number 24 the following year, his net profit would have dropped substantially to £75, which suggests that speculators were at the mercy of a volatile housing market. RD, 1864, vol. 20, mem. 87.

¹¹⁹ These calculations were based on a five and a half day week and a fifty week working year. Fergus D'Arcy, 'Wages of labourers in the Dublin building industry, 1667-1918', in *Saothar*, xiv, (1989), p.24 & *Irish Builder*, 15 Aug. 1896.

¹²⁰ *Town Holdings, 1886*, evidence of Mr McEvoy, p.230, para. 6061.

¹²¹ Also included were thirty-five acres of land in Wexford, two plots on the South Circular Road, a transfer of £150 and thirty-one National Bank shares amounting to £1,550. By the time of his agreement Moran had moved to India. RD, 1869, vol. 15, mem. 34. Here both cash and share capital was being transferred on the security of property investments. The properties were re-mortgaged by Meade to another party in 1873. RD, 1873, vol. 13, mem. 259.

Meade's involvement in the building of Moran's houses. It is an intriguing hypothesis in light of Meade's later inheritance of the whole of the east side of the square, which he acquired by way of his marriage to Crosthwaite's grand-daughter in 1870, a year after the mortgage was signed.

Although John Crosthwaite relinquished the building of his development to speculative developers, he retained the original leasehold title to all forty-two properties at Crosthwaite Park. When he sub-leased the plots to other parties, they in turn paid him ground rent, on which he made a profit. Each sub-leased house earned him an annual rent of between £ 9 7s. 6d. and £10, but a corrective affidavit dating from 1900 shows that he did not sub-lease all his properties, as Numbers 26 and 28 were held in yearly tenancy agreements.¹²² By the turn of the century, the sixteen properties on the east side were earning the Crosthwaite estate a gross rent of £250 per year, or an annual profit rent of £191 when his ground rent, taxes and insurance were deducted. If the other twenty-seven houses were let in this way, then the Crosthwaite estate was earning approximately £570 for the whole development, equivalent to half a year's salary for a lawyer in 1900.¹²³ This was a significant return on an investment that did not subject Crosthwaite to the majority of the costs and associated risks in building. According the agent to the Kingstown estate, John Crosthwaite built 'very largely' in Kingstown and made 'a large fortune' from speculation.¹²⁴

¹²² NAI, Card index, Corrective affidavit of Ada W. Meade Coffey, 16 Oct. 1922 (Acc. No. T15625).

¹²³ The corrective affidavit provides precise net and profit rents for Crosthwaite Park East in 1900, but does not include figures for the east and south sides. An estimate for Crosthwaite Park South was calculated by taking an average net rent for the east side, resulting in an overall net rental figure for the ten houses on the south terrace. Rental incomes on the taller west side were approximately 38% higher than the east and south sides and so the average net rental there was increased by that amount. In the absence of builders' accounts this remains the closest approximation for the kind of profits being earned from these kinds of housing developments.

¹²⁴ To date we know of Crosthwaite signing four leases in Kingstown: three for the Crosthwaite Park development and one for Crosthwaite Terrace (Clarinda Park). Stewart confirmed that Crosthwaite held seven or eight leases in estate, which suggests that he was involved in the development of at least three other holdings in Kingstown. *Town Holdings, 1886*, evidence of Mr Stewart, p.201, para. 5397 & 5398.

5.5.2 Rostrevor Terrace

William Carvill, John Crosthwaite's son-in-law, referred in his will to the expenses he incurred in speculation:

...And Whereas I expended large sums of money in building valuable houses upon the Rathgar property which was comprised in or subject to the trusts of the said marriage settlement without having obtained any formal lease of the building sites from the trustees thereof....¹²⁵

In contrast to John Crosthwaite who leased his ground in Kingstown from the 'lords of the soil', Carvill's ground was held under a fee-farm grant, a common form of freehold title in Ireland.¹²⁶ In c. 1867, a note was entered in the Griffith's Valuation books that the houses he had erected at Rostrevor Terrace had cost 'about £1000 each to build and finish'.¹²⁷ With a plentiful supply of timber manufactured at cost nearby, it is possible that Carvill built the houses by direct labour. Alternatively, he might have engaged a general contractor such as Michael Meade, who had already built a number of houses in the area and as we have seen, the Rostrevor Terrace houses are a cheaper, stripped down version of those being built at the time in Ailesbury Road. By this time Michael Meade had constructed at least nine houses in Rathgar, two of which were for Henry Todd, residing near the Carvill estate (2.39).¹²⁸ Each of the Oakland Villas houses cost £900 to build, £100 less than Rostrevor Terrace, evidenced by the plainly rendered façade.¹²⁹

¹²⁵NAI, Card index, copy of original grant of probate of William Carvill, Rathgar House, Dublin, dated February 1885. (Acc. No. T6875).

¹²⁶ J.C. Wylie, *Irish land law* (West Sussex and Dublin, 2010), p. 980.

¹²⁷ Griffith Valuation, Rathfarnham, 1864-1875, vol. 1, p. 210.

¹²⁸ *Dublin Builder*, 1 June 1859. These include 'Lichfield House' at Number 64 Rathgar Road, Numbers 150-153 Rathgar Road nearby and two houses for a Mr. Gray at an undisclosed location in the area. The Todd houses appear to be 'Oakland Villas', a set of six semi-detached properties on Highfield Road (2.40).

¹²⁹ Griffith Valuation, Rathfarnham, 1855-1864, vol. 1, p. 193.

Table 8: Overall costs related to building area

Development	Date built by	Overall Cost	Building area (Sq. ft.)	Cost/ Sq. Ft.	Average Gross rent	Linear foot rent
PEMBROKE						
1 Ailesbury Road	1867	£1,250*	3,331	7s. 6d.*	£100 ¹³⁰	2s. 9d.
8 Raglan Road	1864	£2,200	5,823	7s. 6d.	£120	-
RATHMINES						
1-8 Warwick Terrace	1862	£6,000	18,144	6s. 7d.	-	-
RATHGAR						
5 Rostrevor Terrace	1865	£1,000	3,286	6s. 1d.	£70	-
4 Oakland Villas	1865	£900	3,656	5s. 0d.	£80	-
KINGSTOWN						
16 Crosthwaite Park	1863	£750	2,859	5s. 5d.	£65	1s. 6d.
5 Clarinda Park East	1859	£700	3,011	4s. 7d.	£80	-

*This is an approximate estimate figure based on the square footage cost for 8 Raglan Road.

Although Carvill appears to have spent at least £14,000 on the building of Rostrevor Terrace, the evidence does not explain how he sourced such a large amount of capital, although with his own saw mill and limestone quarry, Carvill had a ready supply of much of the raw materials for house building. Unlike his fellow speculators in the Pembroke and Kingstown estates, he was not subject to a yearly ground rent for the holding.¹³¹ However, it has been noted that he did most likely incur the cost of laying out the plots, roads, paths and sewers to the development, before it was taken in charge by the township. In contrast to Crosthwaite Park East where most of the plots were leased to third parties, the majority of his houses at Rostrevor Terrace were let directly to tenants. Only two houses appear to have been sold: Number 6 to a Mr Thomas Daniel in 1866, and Number 2 to a Michael P. Dunne in 1871.¹³² The lease memorials do not reveal the prices paid for these houses, but the rare find of a sale catalogue reveals much about the profitability of the terrace later in the century. It relates to an auction of over thirty-

¹³⁰ According to the Griffith Valuation, rents on Ailesbury Road were £100 between 1868 and 1876. They must have increased over the following years: in 1881 the estate agents J. Kildahl Atkin & Co. advertised a range of houses in the Dublin suburbs at reduced rents, with houses in Ailesbury Road offered at £110. *Irish Times*, 17 Sept. 1881.

¹³¹ The Carvill estate in Rathgar was subject to a head rent of £203.1.6, which was held on a fee-farm grant from 1851. Some of this was paid out of the rent received from William Todd for the eight acre site at Orwell Park (£130), while the remainder was paid out of the lands comprising Rathgar House and saw mills. The ground on which Rostrevor Terrace was built was not subject to any head rent. Private collection, copy of sale catalogue dated 6 July 1894, rentals and particulars of the estate of William Hamilton Carvill and The Right Honourable Joseph Michael Meade.

¹³² Private collection, copy of sale catalogue dated 6 July 1894, rentals and particulars of the estate of William Hamilton Carvill and The Right Honourable Joseph Michael Meade & RD, 1866, vol. 32, mem. 270.

nine acres of the Carvill estate in 1894, including the fourteen houses at Rostrevor Terrace. By this point in time, most of the dwellings were let on short-term tenancy agreements: five houses on a year to year basis, while the remaining seven were let for periods of three to five years at a time.¹³³ By 1894, Rostrevor Terrace was providing a gross rental income of over £889, equivalent to over eleven years' salary for a skilled carpenter at this time.¹³⁴

5.5.3 Ailesbury Road

As at Rostrevor Terrace, Michael Meade chose to let rather than sell most of the twelve houses that he built in Ailesbury Road. In 1879 he sub-leased one of these to Henry Richard Pim, a former British army captain who paid a fine of £2,000 for the house, commanding a large corner site adjoining the Merrion Road (3.107 & 5.5).¹³⁵ The absence of similar lease memorials for Meade's remaining eleven houses on Ailesbury Road, suggests that they were let directly to tenants, rather than sub-leasing them on in this manner. From a sample of rental values from 1881, an approximate gross annual rent of £1,250 results for the twelve houses on the road.¹³⁶ To estimate net profits from this figure, other overheads such as ground rent, taxes and insurance have to be deducted, as well as maintenance and repair costs. Without builders' accounts to calculate these costs precisely, we turn to a valuation on property in Sandymount from 1885, indicating that taxes and insurance in the estate constituted another 15% of the gross rental income.¹³⁷ When this figure, together with the head rent are deducted from the gross annual rent, a rough net profit rent of £985 emerges (Table 9).¹³⁸ These were

¹³³ *Ibid.* It seems that two of the houses were sold at the auction: £1,600 was paid for Numbers 11 and 12 in 1895, which included the triangular park in front. By 1902 buyers were paying 4,800 for a house there, equivalent to almost five years salary for a lawyer at the time.

¹³⁴ This calculation is based on a five and a half day week and a fifty week working year. Fergus D'Arcy, 'Wages of skilled workers in the Dublin building industry, 1667-1918', in *Saothar*, xv (1990), p.33.

¹³⁵ RD, 1879, vol. 16, mem. 193. Meade assigned the lease over to Captain Henry Richard Pim for £2,000, at a yearly rent of £40.

¹³⁶ This is calculated by taking an average rental value of £110 for each of the eleven houses let to tenants, and adding the £40 rent payable by Pim for Number 2, resulting in an approximate potential gross yearly rental of £1,250.

¹³⁷ IAA, PKS, Valuation, properties in Gilford Road Sandymount, 1885 (Acc. No. 77/1/B12/39).

¹³⁸ Some of these taxes and rates are included in the ground rent, as detailed in a letter from Vernon Meade regarding his Ailesbury Road properties in 1873. Notably, Meade was often in arrears in his payments to the Pembroke estate. NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 18, p.573, John E. Vernon to Michael Meade, 15 Feb. 1873 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/18).

not insignificant earnings at this time, considering that the most a medical doctor could hope to earn was approximately £1,000 a year.¹³⁹

Table 9: Yearly gross and profit rents 1881-1900

Development	Number of houses	Relevant date	Gross yearly Rent	Net yearly Rent
Ailesbury Road	12	1881	£1,250	£985
Rostrevor Terrace	14	1894	£889	-
Crosthwaite Park	16	1900	£250	£191

Mary Daly has found that the practice of securing income on property was commonplace in the nineteenth-century. In the absence of occupational pensions, a house could provide a regular income in old age. Furthermore, as it was generally deemed improper for middle class women to work, rental income was sometimes the only way for an unmarried daughter or widow to survive.¹⁴⁰ Daly argues that this is reflected in the wording of advertisements, which focused on the potential income emanating from house property. In 1870 a notice appeared in *The Irish Times* announced the availability of ‘eligible residences’ in Dublin’s city and suburbs. A variety of available rental property was presented: from a ‘cheap house’ at a rent of £55 a year in Waterloo Road, to a ‘superior’ one on Elgin Road for £180.¹⁴¹ Most of the properties were for rent rather than for sale, but in some cases both options were offered. A house in Fitzwilliam Square could be let at £140 per annum, or ‘sold a bargain’ at a lower rent of £94. This presented house hunters with two choices: either they rent the property on a short-term basis, or agree to a sub-lease at a lower rental cost. This is reflected in the management of Meade’s houses in Ailesbury Road, where short-term tenants paid an average rent of £110 per year, while sub-lessee Henry Richard Pim who had paid £2,000 for Number 2 was subject to only a rent of £40. The first option provided flexibility, and it was not uncommon for suburban dwellers to move house every few years.¹⁴² The second option granted Pim legal title on the property until the end of the lease term,

¹³⁹ Greta Jones, “Strike out boldly the prizes that are available to you”: medical emigration from Ireland’, in *Medical History*, liv (2010), p.62.

¹⁴⁰ Daly, ‘The growth of Victorian Dublin’, p. 33.

¹⁴¹ *Irish Times*, 11 Nov. 1870.

¹⁴² Farmar has discussed the ‘great mobility’ of Dublin dwellers in the nineteenth century. John Findlater for example lived in three houses during the first six years of his marriage, from Number 20 Eglinton Terrace, to upper Leeson Street and finally in Wellington Place. Each time they moved to a higher class of house. Tony Farmar, *Privileged lives: a social history of middle class Ireland* (Dublin, 2010), p.11 & Alex Findlater, *Findlaters-The story of a Dublin merchant family, 1774-2001* (Dublin, 2001), p.96.

which was often long enough to be passed on to the next generation. Since there appear to have been few freehold titles in the Dublin suburbs, the sub-lease was often the only way to invest in property on a long-term basis. This was not without precedent: during the eighteenth century, speculators in Merrion Square could be found selling their leasehold interest on to third parties.¹⁴³

The benefits of home ownership went far beyond that of providing a roof over one’s head: a house could form part of a marriage settlement, or provide a rental income, all assets which could be passed on to future generations. This was reflected in the wording of advertisements, which promoted the extent of ‘profit rent’ which could be earned from investment properties. This was the profit left when expenses such as head rent, taxes, insurance and repairs had been accounted for.¹⁴⁴ In 1862, one agent promoted the availability of a range of ‘well-situated House Property’, where profit rents varied from £12 in the southwest suburbs, to £40 for a house in Rathgar.¹⁴⁵ However, by 1881 the economic recession was in full swing and the estate agents J. Kildahl Atkin and Company announced a reduction of rentals throughout the city and suburbs.¹⁴⁶ It appears that Ailesbury Road was then one of the most expensive streets in Dublin, with rents of £110 a year in line with properties in the heart of the city. Catering to an elite class, these homes were let to high ranking professionals, or those in the upper level of the public service. Most were solicitors, but other residents included an army colonel, a land agent and a county court judge (Table 10).¹⁴⁷

Table 10: Gross rents, building areas & costs 1864-1876

Developments	Average Gross Rent	Average Building Area (sq. ft.)	Estimated Cost of Building
1 Ailesbury Road	£100	3,331	£ 1,250*
5 Rostrevor Terrace	£75	3,286	£ 1,000
16 Crosthwaite Park East	£65	2,859	£ 750
17 Crosthwaite Park West	£90	3,196	£ 775

* This is an approximate estimate based on the square footage cost for 8 Raglan Road.

¹⁴³ Burke, ‘Dublin 1600-1800’, p.359.
¹⁴⁴ IAA, PKS, Valuation, properties in Gilford Road Sandymount, 1885 (Acc. No. 77/1/B12/39).
¹⁴⁵ *General Advertiser*, 4 Jan. 1862.
¹⁴⁶ *Irish Times*, 17 Sept. 1881.
¹⁴⁷ *Thom’s*, 1875-1885.

5.6 Conclusion

Many kinds of speculators were involved in shaping Dublin's nineteenth-century suburban streetscapes. Some were involved directly in building (Meade), while others acted as intermediaries (Crosthwaite). Capital for speculative building was acquired in a myriad of ways, with financial institutions seemingly only occasionally involved in the process. The deeds for Crosthwaite Park show that these small-scale builders funded their operations by raising mortgages on house property. They tapped in to an informal lending market, which had been dominated traditionally by solicitors and money lenders, but professionals and merchants also sought to reap their rewards. Small scale operators in Crosthwaite Park took no more than four plots each and immediately offloaded some of their debt, while using the remainder as leverage for the next venture.¹⁴⁸ By contrast, wealthier developers like Meade and Carvill could afford to take more of a long term view, by speculating in larger numbers and then retaining their properties for rent. As city merchants, it is likely that they were also redirecting profits from their businesses to invest in speculative house building.

It has been demonstrated that speculative development was a lucrative activity for the Meade, Carvill and Crosthwaite families. Whether houses were sold on or let, developers earned significant incomes, which could then be passed down to subsequent generations. In Meade's case the yearly gross rent that he was making on Ailesbury Road alone, surpassed the salary for a medical doctor at the height of his career, while William Carvill also earned a substantial income from his tenants at Rostrevor Terrace. For these merchants, house property had an integral role as an important commodity, as has been found in the 1870, when some of the houses formed part of Joseph Meade's marriage settlement. On his wife's death in 1884, Joseph Meade inherited sixteen houses at Crosthwaite Park - the entire east side of the square. Domestic property remained at the core of his father's estate on his death two years later, when his houses were divided amongst his surviving children: Number 17 Ailesbury Road was left to his son Daniel 'to receive rents and profits from these premises for his life'. Joseph followed

¹⁴⁸ We have seen that some merchants made their fortunes in this way: the timber merchant Thomas Bradley accumulated his wealth by lending money at high interest.

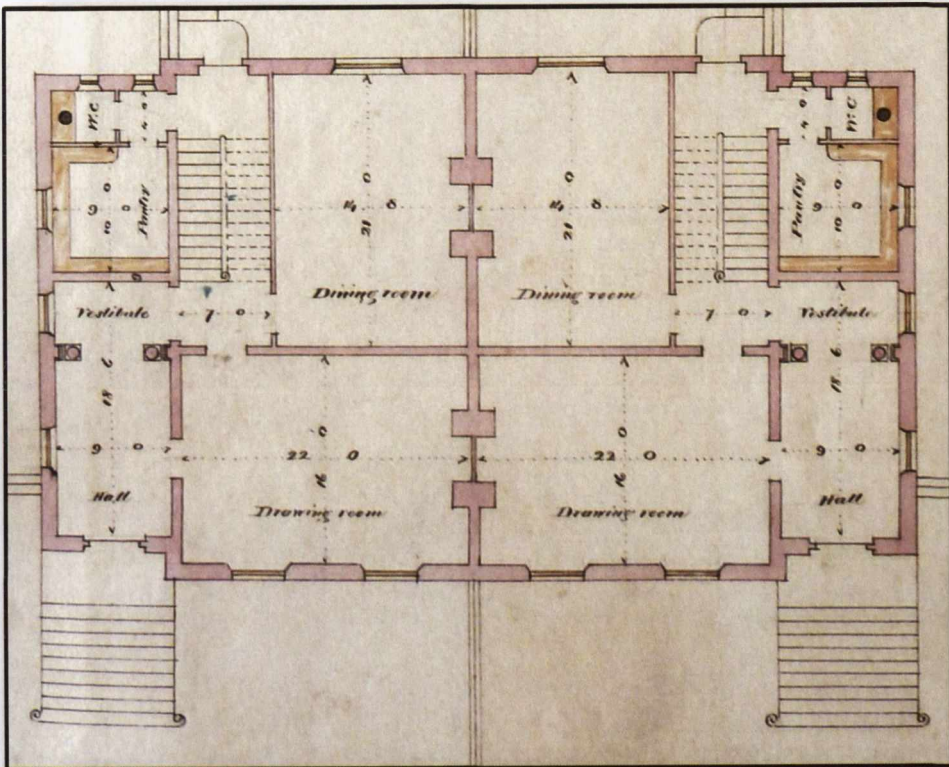
in his father's footsteps, acquiring a property portfolio that, on his death in 1900, amounted to 124 holdings in the city and suburbs.¹⁴⁹ As *The Dublin Builder* remarked in 1859:

Look at the builders, when a few years at their vocation, they have a range of houses, a luxurious home, private vehicles, and more than all this, the consolation that, in their old age, the comforts they enjoyed through life cannot be abridged.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁹ *Irish Times*, 14 Nov. 1900.

¹⁵⁰ *Dublin Builder*, 1 Sept. 1859.

Chapter 6



Spatial organisation

6.1 Introduction:

While the semi-detached house type has been analysed in terms of its external articulation, the focus now turns to its internal organization. It was behind these brick facades that that life was lived by Dublin's suburban dwellers: they dined and entertained guests in their reception areas, their children were born in their bedrooms upstairs and their servants toiled in their kitchens and sculleries below. But how people actually lived and worked in these houses, how social relationships were managed in relation to the space available, remains largely unexplored territory. This chapter will analyze the internal organization of a range of semi-detached houses in the Dublin suburbs, through an examination of archival material and secondary sources. Original drawings, pattern books, specifications, advertisements and street directories will be mined, to investigate how domestic functions were distributed and negotiated. Three sets of designs will form the basis for the study: the first for houses in Rathgar Road (dated 1851), the second in Northbrook Road (dated 1881), and the third in Shrewsbury Road (dated 1894). Only the latter scheme pertains to our 'core' developers, but the rarity and value of these drawings makes their analysis an essential part of this thesis, throwing new light on the functional requirements of the semi-detached house. They enable us to assess Victorian house design at distinct moments in time: from the early semi-detached houses of the 1850s (Rathgar Road), to their more developed successors thirty years later (Northbrook Road). Joseph Meade would not live to see the houses he planned for Shrewsbury Road: by the time they emerged in 1906, a new Edwardian era had begun.

In each case, the organization of each individual room will be considered in relation to the overall arrangement of space in the home. Of particular interest is the manner in which boundaries between private and public space are articulated, as an expression of the relationship between different members of the household. What are the divisions between master and servant, adult and child within and at the edges of the household, and to what degree is space gendered? Functional issues such as transport, building services and technology will also be examined. The drawings of Shrewsbury Road illuminate the architect's design process, as he adjusts designs to the social

hierarchy of the time. How were decoration, furnishings and furniture implemented to give meaning to the Victorian house? This chapter thus aims to show the degree to which spatial organization was a reflection of the lifestyle of Dublin's Victorian middle class.

6.2 The evolution of the Victorian semi-detached plan in Dublin's southern suburbs

Chapter 3 found that the dwellings built by Meade and Carvill were in the early stages of adapting the eighteenth-century terrace, to a new 'semi-detached' form of house building. The tall brick terraces of Merrion Square were the exemplars, rising generally four floors over a basement and two to three bays wide. The eighteenth-century townhouse was an expression of 'social hierarchy': beginning with the service areas at basement level, rising to the family rooms and parlours on the ground floor, formal reception rooms on the piano nobile, terminating with bedroom accommodation above.¹ Hierarchy was expressed spatially and decoratively: at basement level it was reduced down to the minimum, but ceiling heights and ornamentation heightened on the first floor (6.1). Above that, one or two floors were added for sleeping accommodation, which was sometimes served by a separate stairs.

The most common Georgian house plan in Dublin is simply laid out: to one side is a continuous hall and stair compartment alongside two similarly sized reception rooms (3.1). Patricia McCarthy's study of household inventories has shown the degree of flexibility of use in Dublin's eighteenth-century townhouses.² At ground floor level the 'front parlour' functioned as an informal living space, but it could also be used as a breakfast room or study, while the rear parlour was where the family dined. At Doneraile House in Kildare Street, the space behind the stair hall was intended as Lord Doneraile's dressing room, but its furnishings suggest another use as a study or small

¹ Niall McCullough, *Dublin, an urban history, the plan of the city* (Dublin, 2007), p.168.

² Patricia McCarthy, 'From parlours to pantries: inventories and the eighteenth-century Dublin interior', in Christine Casey (ed.), *The eighteenth-century Dublin town house* (Dublin, 2010), p.117.

sitting room.³ At first floor level a suite of reception rooms were laid out, and this 'drawing room storey' was typically where visitors were entertained. However McCarthy has revealed that other functions were performed here: the rear room at Number 10 Cavendish Row was used as Lady Doneraile's dressing room, as well as a formal sitting room. At basement level, the plan was subdivided in to a number of smaller rooms, ranging from the housekeeper's room and servants' hall to the kitchen, pantries and larder functions. Some servants slept in the servants' hall, while others climbed a separate servant stairs to additional bedroom accommodation at third floor level. Coupled rear returns are another feature of the Georgian townhouse, although their functions are not entirely clear.

Chapter 3 discussed housing development on the western side of the Pembroke estate, where in the 1850s the terraced form began to fall away, as suburban houses reduced in height and separated out in to pairs. Wider plots enabled the buildings to stretch out in width, forming paired dwellings of three bays, with space in between. The basement floor began to emerge out of the ground, elevating the entrance floor a full storey from the street (3.88). The result was a clear three-story template, providing a service floor at ground level, a reception floor above, terminating with a second floor of bedrooms. While this new semi-detached form had taken shape externally, it took some time before its internal arrangement followed suit. Early experiments on Northumberland Road inserted the familiar Georgian layout in to the new suburban form. In some cases, the familiar 'two-room' plan was inserted in to the wider house type, providing space for additional rooms to the side (6.2: C). In others, the hall and stairs remained in the traditional position on one side of the plan, while the reception rooms stretched to suit the wider plot (6.2: B). This functioned at the entrance level where two large rooms were provided, but it proved problematic on the floor above where a greater subdivision of space necessitated a corridor to access the centre of the plan (6.3: B & D). Therefore the simple Georgian layout, although suitable to the narrower terraced model was no longer applicable in a wider suburban plot. These early

³ The garden designer J. C. Loudon recommended in 1838 the insertion of a dressing room at entrance level for gentlemen visitors. '...but, in the case of families who live in a humbler style, when a guest arrives unexpectedly, or when he is asked to dinner, after having been on horseback, or walking in the dust perhaps, the greater part of the morning....a common dressing-room is a very great convenience'. John Claudius Loudon, *The suburban gardener, and villa companion* (London, 1838), p. 679.

experiments were awkward compromises between old and new typologies, but it was only a matter of time before a new distinctive plan would emerge, moulded to its new semi-detached form.

While experimentation continued with the semi-detached plan in Northumberland Road, other parts of the suburbs were finding solutions to the problem. When Number 12 Raglan Road emerged in 1862, the stairwell had disassociated itself from the entrance hall, and moved to the centre rear of the plan (3.95). This was a successful layout, which maximized the usable floor area by minimizing circulation space, a key factor in a building of limited size. This typology did not appear uniformly throughout the suburbs: it took another fifteen years before it emerged in Northumberland Road. In Ailesbury Road, the houses leased to Joseph Meade had developed in the traditional Georgian layout by 1867 (Numbers 5 & 7: 3.89), but his father's were emerging at the same time with the stairs in the rear centre of the plan (Numbers 1 & 3: 3.89). The latter arrangement had implications for other parts of the design, providing a new space where the stairs used to be, accessed off the half landing (3.92).⁴ It also impacted on the main reception rooms: instead of two similarly sized rooms back-to-back, at Raglan Road these spaces were now turned at right angles to one another. Side returns were another feature of the semi-detached typology, where the open sides began to be exploited. In some cases this was used to house the entrance hall (Ailesbury Road: 3.93 & Rostrevor Terrace: 3.116), while in others it expanded the space off the half landing (3.95).

The semi-detached form inherited other aspects of the eighteenth-century townhouse typology. The theme of spatial hierarchy continued, with the entrance level of primary importance. Often accessed by a grand flight of steps, the higher ceilings and elaborate ornamentation on this floor are an indication of its formal function. At first floor level there is a distinct change in character, where lower ceilings and simpler cornices signal its use as a bedroom floor. The service floor is simplest in decoration, with little or no cornices, and ceiling heights reduced to the minimum. A comparison of

⁴ Maurice Craig, *Classic Irish houses of the middle size* (London & New York, 1976), p. 289. Craig noted that in earlier houses this space 'sticks out at the back' (Numbers 5 & 7 Ailesbury Road are an example), compared to Rostrevor Terrace where it is absorbed in to the main volume.

present day plans with archival data, provides further evidence of the function of individual rooms. Advertisements for houses in Northumberland Road show that the entrance floor typically contained three reception rooms: a drawing room, a dining room and a study.⁵ It may be deduced therefore that the smallest room off the half landing functioned as a study, while the two larger spaces were the main reception rooms. At first floor level four bedrooms were generally provided, but in some cases a dressing room, a bathroom and/or a W.C. were mentioned.⁶ The service floor contained a number of rooms, including a kitchen, a 'servant's room' and ancillary spaces designated as 'china' and 'pantry'. Outdoor amenities were also important to suburban dwellers, as estate agents were keen to promote large gardens, or tennis lawns to the rear.

6.3 Analysis of original design drawings for semi-detached houses in Rathgar Road (1851)

Within the context of these broad definitions, this section will analyze how individual rooms functioned, by examining the first of three schemes for semi-detached houses. Chapter 3 introduced the housing schemes designed by architects William Murray & Abraham Denny in 1851, who experimented with three options for the site in Rathgar: one for semi-detached houses (6.4) and two terraced schemes (3.18 & 3.19).⁷ Designed for Arthur Murray, younger brother of one of the architects and a builder by trade, they eventually opted for the terraced scheme. While the semi-detached version was never realized, these original drawings are a rare and valuable record of this house type. Compared to building in terraces, the semi-detached design was intended for a more exclusive class of occupant, with a large floor area and a generous coach house to the rear. The parapet roofs and partly submerged basements indicate an early date, and hark back to the terraced form (6.4). In plan they are an early example of the semi-detached template described heretofore, with the stairs in the rear centre of the plan, and two adjoining reception rooms. The room to the rear was clearly marked for dining,

⁵ *Irish Times*, 15 Aug. 1874 & 1 May 1875.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 20 Aug. 1878.

⁷ IAA, Arthur Murray Collection, Rathgar Road, plans, elevations, sections and details depicting three schemes for a terrace of houses for Arthur Murray Esq. by William G. Murray and Abraham Denny, 1851 (Acc. No. 92/46.753-8).

while the larger space to the front was to function as a drawing room (6.5). Similar to the house type found at Rostrevor Terrace and Lansdowne Road, the plan is articulated to the front in two bays, with the third bay set back to the side. At street level a separate service entrance is provided, leading to a stable and coach house at the rear.

6.3.1 The entrance level

The garden designer J. C. Loudon, author of the seminal guide to suburban house design in 1838, would have approved of this scheme, as the central bays have been unified, giving the appearance of one large house. The entrances are also recessed behind the main volume, a practice that Loudon supported, so that no two entrances could be seen at once. Of the many house types discussed by the designer, he illustrated three of what he classified 'double detached houses'⁸ and one of these bears some resemblance to the Rathgar Road scheme (6.6). Two adjoining reception rooms are provided at right angles to one another: a drawing room to the front and a dining room to the rear. Loudon confirmed that the most important space in the house was the drawing room, which he stated was usually sized according to the class of house. He claimed that it should be 'lofty' and well ventilated, so that large parties could be accommodated, with the furniture reflecting its superior status:

The first, and most important, is, that the drawingroom should always be more elegantly fitted up than any other living-room of the house, particularly the dining-room....and that it should contain furniture of a lighter, and yet superior, description.⁹

The sense here was that the drawing room was to 'upstage' the dining room in terms of size, ornament and fittings. Decorative detailing was to be at their height here, with ceiling and cornice enrichments 'light and pleasing' and of a 'gayer and more fanciful

⁸ Loudon, *suburban gardener*, p. 320.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

description' than in the dining room. The chimneypiece would be of white statuary marble, with carvings of 'fanciful and graceful groups of flowers, foliage, or fruits, or graceful mythological figures'. The walls were to be adorned with the best paintings, while a French clock, vase or ornament was to be placed on the chimney-shelf. This was the realm of the woman of the house, enabling her to exercise her 'taste and good sense' by her choice of card tables, sofas in plain rose wood, the occasional sofa table as well as chairs and other cushioned seats and footstools. No drawing room was complete without a pianoforte, which Loudon claimed was a feature of almost every dwelling, 'from that of the humble tradesman, to that of the palace'.¹⁰ Walking in the London suburbs in 1853, Charles Manby Smith noted the effect this had on the Victorian streetscape. When twilight fell he observed the suburban dwellings come to life, where: '...candles are lighted in the drawing-rooms, and from a dozen houses at once pianofortes commence their harmony'.¹¹ Music was of importance also to Dublin's Victorian households: the drawing room of Number 19 Ailesbury Road (built by Meade) contained a 'grand square pianoforte, in rosewood case, by Cadby, London'.¹²

Returning to the 'principal plan' at Rathgar Road, entry to the drawing room is found via two doors: one from the hall and another from the stairwell. Guests often assembled in the drawing room before retiring to the rear dining room, so it is possible that the two doors are to facilitate this route. Loudon confirmed that in larger mansions the dining room fulfilled one purpose, but in suburban villas it could also function as a second family room, or a library. He advised that the space be comfortable, 'as much of the family enjoyment depends on it'.¹³ A typical layout was put forth by the designer, describing a rectangular space with its entrance opposite the fireplace, either side of which were placed 'handsome bookshelves' (6.7). A circular dining table was suggested in the centre of the room in one of two sizes: a smaller one seated eight people, a larger one accommodated twenty, but a square or oblong table would measure at least six feet in width. Two options were shown for the location of the entrance door, opening opposite the fireplace in either end of the flank wall. Notably, the shape and general arrangement of the room closely matches that at Rathgar Road, with the exception of

¹⁰ Loudon, *suburban gardener*, p. 102.

¹¹ Charles Manby Smith, *Curiosities of London Life*, (London, 1853), as cited in Lee Jackson, *Daily life in Victorian London: an extraordinary anthology* (London, 2011).

¹² *Irish Times*, 13 Oct. 1873.

¹³ Loudon, *suburban gardener*, p.86.

the bay windows and recesses.¹⁴ The wall to the adjoining dining room was the probable location of another essential piece of dining furniture: the sideboard, a familiar staple since the eighteenth century. This was most important piece in the room, consisting of a set of cabinets for the storing and serving of food and for the display of serving dishes. According to Loudon, 'closets' were not permitted in the dining room, so the sideboard was to be fitted with 'every possible convenience'.¹⁵

In Northumberland Road, the third room at entrance level was often used as a study, but in Rathgar this space was to have another function. At the half landing level a door provides access to the garden, but to the side of the stairs a small lobby is formed, off which a pantry and toilet are shown. This pantry is a probable close relation of the 'Lady's Store-room', often located close to the dining room to hold serving dishes and preserves.¹⁶ Larger pantries would be fitted with a dresser (complete with drawers underneath, some of which should be lockable) and closets to store 'all the china, glass, and dessert service, and also the pickles and preserves...'. A line of storage is shown running along three of the walls in the room in Rathgar, an indication of the deep shelving advocated by Loudon, its edges fitted with hooks for the hanging of cups and jugs. After dinner, serving dishes were brought down to the basement scullery to be washed, before being brought back up here to be stored. The practice incurred the risk of breakage and a sink was sometimes recommended for this space, so that china and glassware could be washed, dried and put away in one place. Continuing on through the stairwell, one reaches the first floor level which is simply laid out: two principal bedrooms are a repeat of the reception rooms below, while the side return is subdivided in to two smaller rooms (6.8).¹⁷ There is as yet no bathroom in the house but the toilet facilities are segregated: it is likely that the W.C. off the half landing was reserved for the family, while the servants used the toilet in the stable yard below.

¹⁴ Bay windows are a feature of John Crosthwaite's development in Kingstown in the 1860s, but they do not appear in houses in Ailesbury Road and Northumberland Road until the late 1870s.

¹⁵ Loudon, *suburban gardener*, p. 92

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

¹⁷ These two smaller bedrooms must be been very cold spaces, as they consist of a large area of external wall surface and are not fitted with fireplaces. As Judith Flanders reports, fireplaces were not always found in bedrooms during this time. Judith Flanders, *The Victorian house: domestic life from childbirth to deathbed* (London, 2004), p.72.

6.3.2 The service floor

Proceeding to the lowest level we arrive at the service floor, which supports the efficient organization of the two levels above (6.9). This was the domain of the servant, typically signaled by sparse ornamentation and lower ceilings. The largest rooms are arranged around the fireplaces: a kitchen to the front and a bedroom overlooking the garden to the rear. In between these two rooms a cellar is created, in its ideal location in the centre of the plan.¹⁸ According to Loudon the kitchen should be 'lofty' with good light for working, with its door opening towards the chimney to stop it smoking.¹⁹ The fireplace in Rathgar has been widened to accommodate the kitchen range, which if deep enough will fit a 'proper boiler' at the rear, producing hot water all day long. In the centre of the room a large table was usually placed for working, while additional storage could be provided in a dresser close by. This would be fitted with lockable drawers and cabinets below, their ends fixed with mills for coffee, pepper and finer spices. Around the walls rails could be fixed with hooks to hang 'dish covers', while the back of the doors might feature 'round or jack-towel rollers' (the latter for hanging paper towels).

While the preparation and cooking of food was carried out in the kitchen, washing up was reserved for a separate area. This was the main purpose of the scullery, which was usually fitted with a sink under the window, complete with a plate-rack and drip-board. Adjacent to the scullery is the coal store, inserted under the external entrance steps and fitted with a cast iron grate and chute (6.10). Loudon recommended that it be large enough to store nine months' worth of coal, and frequent trips were required between here and the kitchen range. Hard-wearing spaces such as these required resilient floor finishes, and Loudon advised a rubbed Yorkshire stone finish to the kitchen, with a stone or brick floor to the scullery and coal store.²⁰ Adjoining the coal store is the servants' pantry, with a line of storage running around three of the walls to

¹⁸ So that the room was not subject to any fluctuations in temperature from the outside. Loudon, *suburban gardener*, p. 76.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

²⁰ The drawings for the semi-detached scheme do not indicate a proposed floor finish. However the terraced scheme shows a cement floor in the hall, kitchen and coal store, and a timber finish in the servants' room. IAA, Arthur Murray Collection, Rathgar Road, plans, elevations, sections and details depicting three schemes for a terrace of houses for Arthur Murray Esq. by William G. Murray and Abraham Denny, 1851, scheme for three terraced houses, elevation of the principal facade and transverse section, dated Aug. 1851 (Acc. No. 92/46.756).

store general provisions. Loudon recommends hanging 'strong iron-bearers' to the ceiling of this space with hooks to hang meat and shelving for dishes. The last room on this floor is the 'servants' room', which probably functioned as a second staff bedroom.²¹ Returning to the main stair hall, an exit leads to the garden, where an opening in the garden wall provides access to the stable yard. It was at this junction that the paths between master and servant were crossed: while the family ascended the stairs from the garden, servants could pass unseen below (6.5). A generous stable building was provided to the side, with space for one coach, two horses with a hay loft in the roof space above. According to Loudon, stable windows should be high: 'to prevent careless or bad grooms from knowing when their master is coming to look after them.'²² A water trough for horses is shown and an external toilet is placed against the garden wall.

6.4 Analysis of original design drawings for semi-detached houses in Northbrook Road (1881)

Thirty years after the designs for Rathgar Road were complete, another set of drawings were being prepared for plots in Northbrook Road. Located just outside the canals in Rathmines, the street connects Leeson Park with Ranelagh Road and was largely built on by the time the designs were prepared. The two semi-detached houses were designed in 1881 by William Mansfield Mitchell who was in partnership with John McCurdy, architect to Trinity College Dublin.²³ The committee of the Adelaide Road Presbyterian Church commissioned the project, which operated close by on a site inside the canals. The builders were J & W Beckett, one of the leading contracting firms in the city, who would within a few years build one of the city's most important projects: the

²¹ As noted, four terraced houses were built on the site, instead of the two semi-detached dwellings described here. The terraced version did not include a bedroom or scullery on the service floor, but did feature a 'servants' room' and by the 1901 census these houses were occupied generally by one servant each. It appears that the semi-detached scheme was designed to accommodate a larger number of servants. NAI, Census of Ireland, 1901, Rathmines, Numbers 521-524 Rathgar Road.

²² Loudon, *suburban gardener*, p. 81.

²³ IAA, McCurdy & Mitchell Collection, Northbrook Road, pair of semi-detached houses, plans, elevations, sections, specification for the committee of Adelaide Road Presbyterian Church by W. M. Mitchell, 1881 (Acc. No. 82/49.83).

National Museum and Library, designed by Thomas Newenham Deane.²⁴ When Mitchell's semi-detached houses were complete, they commanded a prominent site on the corner of Cambridge Terrace (4.9). Compared to the Rathgar Road design which is provided with coach houses, only a pedestrian entrance is shown to the side of the Northbrook Road scheme. Externally they bear some resemblance to Meade's houses in Ailesbury Road, as the third bay has now been absorbed in to the main building volume (6.11), but the hipped roof and the side and rear projections are indicative of their later date. Internally they are a variation of the semi-detached plan described previously, but instead of inserting the staircase at the rear centre, it is turned lengthways and located directly behind the entrance hall (6.12). This plan type appeared in Northumberland Road in 1877 (6.13), as another way of maximizing habitable space in the wider semi-detached form. A key part of the formula is the central location of the stairs, minimizing circulation space and providing direct access to the rooms at each level. The third space at entrance level is inserted behind the stairwell, whose proportions are enlarged by projections to the side and rear. The remainder of the entrance level is identical to Rathgar Road, forming a drawing room to the front and a dining room turned at right angles to the rear. This analysis benefits from an additional finding of a specification for Northbrook Road, which shows that spatial hierarchy is also reflected in the scale of decorative fittings and finishes. The three principal rooms, hall and stairs were to have eleven inch 'double face moulded skirtings', but were to reduce down by two inches on the bedroom floor where they were to be only single faced.²⁵ The simplest joinery is reserved for the basement floor, where seven inch beaded skirtings were specified.

²⁴ William Beckett was the grandfather of the writer Samuel Beckett. IAA, Dictionary of Irish Architects 1720-1940, James Beckett.

²⁵ IAA, McCurdy & Mitchell Collection, Northbrook Road, pair of semi-detached houses, specification for the committee of Adelaide Road Presbyterian Church by W. M. Mitchell, 1881 (Acc. No. 82/49.83).

6.4.1 The upper levels

The Gentleman's House was first published in 1864 and is the seminal guide to English mid-Victorian house planning.²⁶ The author was Robert Kerr, a Scottish architect who analyzed in minute detail the functionalities of 'a convenient and comfortable English Residence of the better sort, on whatever the scale'.²⁷ He excluded only what he considered inferior dwellings: cottages, farmhouses and business premises, and the house types being discussed here would have been deemed small under Kerr's classification. However, Kerr asserted that there was one overriding principle governing the design of the English home, regardless of its size: its segregation in to two departments: one for the family and one for the servants. His treatise began with an analysis of the dining room, which was almost always used for luncheon and dinner, but sometimes it also functioned as a breakfast room. He advised that it be somewhat secluded for privacy, but not overlooked by the main entrance. It should be located away from direct sunshine and not directly connected with the lawn. The size of the room was to be determined by the number of diners, and Kerr advised a minimum size of sixteen feet wide by eighteen to twenty feet long. Measurements taken from dining rooms in our sample of semi-detached houses in Dublin, have shown that were generally within this range (**Table 11**). This space was to provide for a fully occupied table, with enough room for servants to pass behind, but also for unoccupied chairs, the hearth-rug, screen and sideboard.²⁸ If the fireplace was located on the same wall as the door, Kerr considered this 'an arrangement generally fatal to a Sitting-room' but not so to a dining room, as long as there was enough distance between the door and the fireplace.²⁹ In Rathgar and Northbrook Road the door was inserted in Kerr's preferred position, opening in a corner opposite the fireplace.

²⁶ Robert Kerr, *The gentleman's house* (London, 1864).

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p.v.

²⁸ Kerr, *The gentleman's house*, p.93.

²⁹ He maintains that in a drawing room the fireplace is there to provide 'a comfortable fireside', but in a dining room it is to be located where 'it shall best warm the room and least scorch the company'. The location of the door opening remote from the fireplace and windows is to avoid draughts. *Ibid.*, p. 95.

Table 11: Comparative analysis of dining room sizes

	Width	Length
Kerr	16'	18-20
Rathgar Road (1851)	14' 8"	21'
Northbrook Road (1881)	15'	18'
No. 8 Rostrevor Terrace (1867)	15' 7"	17' 7"
No. 1 Ailesbury Road (1868)	13' 8"	17'
No. 19 Ailesbury Road (1870)	14'	20'
Shrewsbury Road (1902-1905)	15'	16'

By 1865, the dining table and sideboard were still the main articles of furniture in the room, which according to Kerr were ideally 'massive and simple'.³⁰ The sideboard was usually located behind the master's chair, with the door opening close by 'for ease of service'. The door of the room was to be hinged so that it opened towards the sideboard, so that servants entering would not immediately expose the diners. The sideboard should never be placed too close to a window, he advised, as this might highlight the servants' movements, or cast expensive dinnerware in shadow.³¹ Other key items include 'dinner-waggons or cheffioniers' (the latter is smaller than a sideboard and enclosed by doors on the front), located in the corners of the room, opposite the sideboard. According to the architect the room should be masculine in appearance, both in the choice of furniture and style of decoration. Taking in to account the advice from both Loudon and Kerr, the dining room in Northbrook Road might be laid out as follows: the dining table in the centre of the room, the sideboard against the end wall, bookshelves either side of the fireplace and other pieces of movable storage placed on either side of the window.

³⁰ At Number 19 Ailesbury Road (built by 1870), the dining room contained a 'Set of massive mahogany dinner tables, in 2 parts on 'pillar and claw', an enclosed sideboard and bookcase in mahogany, a range of chairs, a couch, an oak plate chest and 'lots of books' and ornaments. *Irish Times*, 13 Oct. 1873.

³¹ Kerr, *The gentleman's house*, p. 94.

While the dining room was ostensibly male in character, the drawing room was the domain of the female:

It was the status indicator, the mark of gentility, the room from where the woman governed her domain. The wife, the family and the house were the outward indicators of a man's success in the world.³²

The main purpose of the drawing room was as a family sitting room in the evening, but during the day ladies could also receive visitors there. This was the space where visitors assembled before and after dinner, 'the modern form of the Lady's Withdrawing-room', according to Kerr.³³ While the dining room was to be free from direct sunshine, the drawing room was to face the morning sun, with shade accounted for in the hottest part of the afternoon. Only one window wall was required in ordinary drawing rooms, but their heights were to be maximized to create a 'cheerful character', and look out on 'the very best view that the house commands'.³⁴ It was also imperative that adequate wall space was reserved for furniture. Being 'ladylike' in character, the furniture and decoration was to be 'comparatively delicate':

....a centre table, perhaps with a chandelier over, the usual chairs and couch, occasional table, sofa-table, or writing-table, occasional chairs, a cheffonier generally, or one or more fancy cabinets, perhaps one or more pier-tables, a what-not or the like, one or more mirrors, and a cabinet pianoforte. If there be sufficient space there may be an ottoman settee; perhaps a pair of wall settees also.³⁵

³² Flanders, *The Victorian house*, p.131.

³³ Kerr, *The gentleman's house*, p. 107.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.111. Certainly, the best furniture appears to have been reserved for this room. At Number 19 Ailesbury Road, the following drawing room furniture and effects were put up for sale in 1873: '...suit (*sic*) of walnut framed furniture, comprising 6 chairs, lady's, and arm chair; and couch, in striped tabouret, two ladies' chairs and arm chairs in green repp (*sic*), two walnut davenport; walnut chess, wine, spider, and work tables; mahogany yacht table; rosewood sofa

The third room at the entrance level was the space inserted to the rear of the stairs, marked as a 'Library or Study'. Kerr suggested that this room should be enlarged, 'for the sake of a sedentary man's health, comfort, and cheerfulness of mind'. In larger homes this was the private space of a gentleman whose mornings were more or less spent in practical affairs, but in a smaller home it was a room for one person engaged in reading and writing. It was to be somewhat secluded so that '....casual visitors need not be tempted to look in upon the student in passing-"just to say how-d'ye-do"''.³⁶ It was to be located close to the dining room, to serve as an occasional waiting room for gentleman visitors. Accessibility from both primary and secondary entrances was also important, so that a range of people could be admitted discretely. Kerr suggested that it be located at the division point between the main house and the service quarters, with direct access from both, and a 'judiciously-contrived route of entrance through each'.³⁷

The ground plan in Northbrook Road seems to satisfy this complex design brief set out by Kerr. The 'Library or Study' is directly accessible from the main entrance hall, but is still slightly removed, being just three few steps lower, with its door located under the soffit of the main stairs. It is also positioned directly above the service entrance, so it is conceivable that tradesmen could be admitted through the side door, ascend the basement stairs and arrive at the study without approaching the front entrance. This would have avoided what Kerr refers to: 'that most unrefined arrangement whereby at one sole entrance door the visitors rub shoulders with the tradespeople...'³⁸ As regards the room's internal layout, the relationship of the desk, fireplace and window was of primary importance to Robert Kerr. He advised the placement of the window in front of the desk and to the left of the sitter to provide the best natural light, with a blank wall for bookshelves. Serious reading material was to be located in this room, while lighter material for the family belonged in the main reception rooms.

table; 2 ottomans, rich velvet pile and tapestry carpets; hearth rugs; suits (*sic*) of brocatelle window curtains; 2, 3 & 5 light gaseliers, engravings, ornaments, fenders, fire irons, &c.' *Irish Times*, 13 Oct. 1873.

³⁶ Kerr, *The gentleman's house*, p. 134.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

Besides the detailed layout of each room, Kerr also discusses the relationship between the spaces. He asserted that the route from the dining room to the kitchen should be 'short and convenient', and not interfere with family traffic. The two reception rooms were not to be directly connected, to maximize privacy and minimize the transmission of the sounds and smells of dining.³⁹ Reluctantly however, he conceded that a connection might be unavoidable in suburban villas for the occasional large gathering, which he considered 'a grievous informality, but one which nevertheless will yield to contrivance'. For the visitor the approach from the entrance door to the drawing room should be direct and 'sufficiently stately', but the onward route to the dining room was equally important:

...inasmuch as where there may be no other ceremoniousness whatever in the habits of a family, there will be at least a little of that quality, if only occasionally, in the act of proceeding to and from dinner. For such a route, therefore, there ought to be spaciousness; also some extent of length; and, lastly, directness, or freedom from turnings.⁴⁰

It was the articulation of this 'Dinner-route' that provided the Victorian family with an opportunity to impress its visitors, where the public rooms were clearly discernible, giving clear signals to visitors unfamiliar with the layout. Of particular importance was the journey from the drawing room to the dining room, which was to be short and spacious, terminating in a door matching those of the other reception rooms. The stair hall in Northbrook Road has been planned in this way, with wider doors to the 'two principal rooms' (drawing and dining), located in a prominent position in the main stair hall.⁴¹ Moulded cornices 'of 27" girth with two well relieved enrichments' are specified for the reception rooms and hall, but the cornice is reduced to 21" in the study and is to

³⁹ Kerr, *The gentleman's house*, p. 112.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p.98.

⁴¹ Although the study door is narrower it is fitted with the same brass handles as the 'best rooms', while the ironmongery to the bedroom doors are to be in ebony. IAA, McCurdy & Mitchell Collection, Northbrook Road, pair of semi-detached houses, specification for the committee of Adelaide Road Presbyterian Church by W. M. Mitchell, 1881 (Acc. No. 82/49.83).

be without enrichment.⁴² The skills of the architect are displayed in the stair hall where the levels between the main house and the rear return are carefully negotiated (6.14). On ascending the stairs one bedroom is provided on the half landing, while another three bedrooms complete the layout on the first floor (6.15). The architect refers to 'three principal bedrooms' which are to be finished with 21" cornices, while a smaller 15" version is proposed for the fourth room. It is likely that the more modest cornice is meant for the smallest bedroom, located to the front corner of the building. The staircase continues another half level to a bathroom and toilet in the top of the rear return.

6.4.2 The service floor

Although the service floor is labeled 'Basement Plan', in reality it is only a slight drop down from the street (6.11). Kerr noted the challenges posed in the planning of this floor, as he conceded that the relative position of each room required careful consideration.⁴³ Correlations may be drawn with the layout in Rathgar Road: the location of the kitchen in the front near the coal cellar, the provision of a scullery and pantry are all in common here (6.12). In Rathgar the room to the rear was a servants' bedroom, but here it functions as a 'breakfast parlour'. This was a room dedicated to the early part of the day, but Kerr revealed that luncheons and early dinners could also be served here.⁴⁴ Where the family was small they might retire there after dinner, and it was sometimes referred to as 'the smallest of the sitting-rooms'. If this was the case, its location on the lower floor is somewhat surprising, as it indicates the blurring of the boundaries between master and servant.

⁴² It appears that there was a desire to reduce this specification to minimise costs: an appendix to the specification stipulates the omission of 'all cornice enrichments except in Drawing Rooms' and the reduction of the budget for the hall door furniture by 40%.

⁴³ Kerr, *The gentleman's house*, p. 222.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

The kitchen is to the front section of the plan, where the fireplace has been widened to accommodate the range. As in Rathgar Road, the coal cellar, scullery⁴⁵ and pantry are all close by, but the china closet has moved here from the upper floor. It is likely that this was the preferred location, so that china could be brought down from the dining room and washed and stored on the same floor. The architect specified presses and shelving for this space, and the glazed screen is probably an attempt to provide secondary light to the kitchen lobby (which is a barrier to noise and smells).⁴⁶ Behind these two rooms is the cook's pantry, where three rows of shelving were to run around the walls. Tall cupboards were to fit in the recesses in the kitchen, breakfast room and servant's bedroom, while clothes hooks were required to each of the bedroom cupboards.

6.5 Analysis of original design drawings for semi-detached houses in Shrewsbury Road (1894)

6.5.1 The emergence of Shrewsbury Road

As noted, Michael Meade was the first to build on Ailesbury, and completed his villa and twelve semi-detached houses by 1879 (2.1).⁴⁷ McAulay has noted the prevalence also of large scale villa sites here, and of 'the creation of an enclave of grand, sophisticated building development', a 'sub-suburb' somewhat removed from the city.⁴⁸ The area continued to develop in a piecemeal fashion thereafter, and after Michael Meade's death in 1886 his son Joseph moved his family into 'St. Michael's' in Ailesbury Road. Within three years a new thoroughfare had been laid out nearby, running in a south-westerly direction from the Merrion Road, meeting Ailesbury Road approximately halfway (6.16). It was named Shrewsbury Road, to honour the marriage of the

⁴⁵ Note that the sink (labelled 'trough') is inserted under the window to provide sufficient light for washing dishes.

⁴⁶ Similar to that specified by Loudon, the china-closet was also referred to by Kerr as a room for the long-term storage of china and stoneware, in locked cupboards. Kerr, *The gentleman's house*, p. 252.

⁴⁷ *Thom's*, 1865.

⁴⁸ Eve McAulay, 'The origins and early development of the Pembroke Estate beyond the Grand Canal 1816-1880' (Ph.D. thesis, Trinity College, Dublin, 2003), p. 218.

thirteenth Earl of Pembroke to Lady Gertrude Talbot, a cousin of the Earl of Shrewsbury. If Michael Meade was the pioneer of development in Ailesbury Road, his son Joseph was to carry on the tradition in this newly emergent street. By 1894 the road was laid out in building sites, as the architect Charles Ashworth drew up plans for him for a six bedroom detached villa at the junction with the Merrion Road (6.17).⁴⁹

Charles Ashworth was born in Liverpool and was apprenticed to a building firm there, before moving to the architectural practice of Francis & George Holme in the city in about 1885. He came to Dublin to work in the office of Thomas Newenham Deane, who had recently won the competition for The National Museum and Library. Ashworth completed drawings for the project and worked as a clerk of works during construction, but he also spent some time in the office of William Mansfield Mitchell (architect for Numbers 16 & 17 Northbrook Road). In 1890 he was appointed architect to the Dublin Artisans' Dwelling Company and this became his main business for the rest of his life. While there is no evidence of any previous collaboration with Meade & Son, Ashworth and Joseph Meade were certainly acquainted prior to the Shrewsbury Road project.⁵⁰ Meade & Son had worked on a number of projects with Thomas Newenham Deane,⁵¹ and they had also constructed the Dublin Artisans' Dwelling Company's first project, a 'model tenement block' in Buckingham Street in the 1870s.⁵²

Joseph Meade's plans for a villa on the corner of Merrion and Shrewsbury roads were part of the marriage settlement of his daughter Mary Josephine Meade, who would marry the Donnybrook solicitor Thomas Ross the following year.⁵³ The agreement compelled her father to build two semi-detached houses on the site within a year, but it

⁴⁹ Thom's, *op. cit.*, 1894 & NAI, PEP, Plans, elevations, etc., proposed house in Shrewsbury Road, for Alderman Meade by Charles Ashworth, 1897 (Acc. No. 1011/8/34).

⁵⁰ Charles A. Ashworth of 2 Ballsbridge & 42 Dame Street made three visits to Lord Mayor Meade at the Mansion House in 1891. NLI, Visitors' book of Alderman Joseph Meade, Lord Mayor of Dublin, 27 Jan. 1891- 2 Aug. 1892 (Acc. No. Ms. 19,707, acc. 3383).

⁵¹ Since 1872 they had completed a number of projects together: the first being a large commercial development on Sackville Street and the enlargement of Westland Row railway station from 1878. IAA, Dictionary of Irish Architects 1720-1940, Michael Meade & Thomas Newenham Deane.

⁵² Mary E. Daly, 'The growth of Victorian Dublin' in Mary E. Daly, Mona Hearn & Peter Pearson (eds.), *Dublin's Victorian houses*, (Dublin, 1998), p.45.

⁵³ RD, 1898, vol. 44, mem. 282 & Ex. Info., Deirdre McEvoy, genealogist.

seems that the builder was slow in developing these plots.⁵⁴ This was the subject of much frustration to Fane Vernon, agent of the Pembroke estate during this time, who wrote frequently to him about lack of building progress. In February 1898, he addressed a letter to Joseph Meade at his villa in Ailesbury Road, requesting plans of the proposed buildings, lamenting: 'The building season has now fairly opened, and I am anxious to see these houses commenced'.⁵⁵ By the end of the year, construction had begun on the corner site, and by 1900 a large detached villa named Shrewsbury House had been complete (1.45).⁵⁶ Henry Waugh Renny-Tailyour, an ex-colonel in the Royal Engineers, moved in to the villa as managing director of Arthur Guinness & Son.

When Joseph Meade collapsed at his home in Ailesbury Road in 1900, his building projects came to an abrupt end. Within four months, much of his estate was put up for sale, constituting over 124 properties throughout Dublin's city and suburbs. Some of the Shrewsbury Road ground was auctioned, including two unfinished houses which it was claimed were 'very forward'.⁵⁷ These are recorded in a set of drawings completed by Ashworth that year, for four semi-detached houses next to Shrewsbury House.⁵⁸ This holding, together with the plans and building materials were sold the following year to John Whelan, a hotel proprietor and restaurateur in D'Olier Street.⁵⁹ Whelan continued to develop the sites, and by 1906 he had completed five houses there: four semi-detached dwellings and another detached villa, which became his home.

⁵⁴ The ground was acquired in an agreement dated March 1897. *Irish Times*, 14 Nov. 1900 & RD, 1898, vol. 44, mem. 282.

⁵⁵ NAI, PEP, Letter Books, vol. 24, p.65, Fane Vernon to The Rt. Hon. J.M. Meade, 26 Feb. 1898 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/24).

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p.351, Fane Vernon to The Rt. Hon. J.M. Meade, 6 Dec. 1898 (Acc. No. 97/46/3/24).

⁵⁷ *Irish Times*, 14 Nov. 1900.

⁵⁸ NAI, PEP, Plans, elevations, etc., proposed semi-detached houses in Shrewsbury Road, for the Rt. Hon. Alderman Meade by Charles Ashworth, 1900 (Acc. No. 1011/8/55).

⁵⁹ RD, 1901, vol. 24, mem. 297 & *Irish Times*, 29 Aug. 1892, 17 Aug. 1898.

6.5.2 Meade's semi-detached houses at Shrewsbury Road

In contrast to Meade's earlier houses on Ailesbury Road, these properties were not provided with coach houses to the rear. By the time Shrewsbury Road was laid out, the area was served by trams (6.16: shown on the Merrion Road) which ran to nearby Sandymount and Sydney Parade stations. The layout of the houses is similar to that described heretofore, with the stairs in the rear centre, accessing two reception rooms of unequal width (6.18). However there is a notable difference between these houses and those previously analysed, in that the main reception floor is located at ground level, with the service functions displaced to enlarged rear extensions (6.19). This marks a dramatic departure from earlier semi-detached house designs, where the family rooms were elevated over the servants' domain, accessed by a long flight of granite steps.⁶⁰ According to Mary Daly, these changes occurred from the 1880s, when the raising of the reception floor was no longer fashionable.⁶¹ This had implications for house design: where in the earlier templates the boundary between the server and served was clearly defined in section, the change demanded a more careful articulation in plan.

6.5.3 The occupants of the Shrewsbury Road houses

As noted, the first resident of Shrewsbury Road was Henry Waugh Renny-Tailyour, an ex-army colonel and managing director of Arthur Guinness & Son. By 1901 there were no less than fifteen people residing in his large detached villa adjoining the Merrion Road: the colonel and his wife, his sister, their six children and a total of six servants. Two housemaids, a nurse, a serving-maid, a parlourmaid and a cook occupied the extensive service quarters at ground floor level, which was also large enough to accommodate a servants' hall (6.17).⁶² The adjoining sites continued to develop: by 1906 four of Ashworth's semi-detached houses were complete (6.20).⁶³ Although certainly

⁶⁰ Notably, Ashworth's design for the detached villa adjacent continues to elevate the family domain above the service floor.

⁶¹ Daly, 'The growth of Victorian Dublin', p.53.

⁶² NAI, Census of Ireland, 1901, Pembroke East & Donnybrook, 124 Merrion Road.

⁶³ *Thom's*, 1906.

grand, they were substantially smaller than Shrewsbury House, and this was reflected in the status of their occupiers.

While Shrewsbury House was the home of a senior industrialist, the occupants of the semi-detached houses adjacent came from the upper-middle class: they belonged to the higher professions, the merchant class, or the upper levels of public service. The first of these houses (named 'Rossbegh') was completed in 1901, and was occupied by Joseph Keogh from Wicklow, a member of Dublin's Stock Exchange, whose fifth child was born in the house in the opening weeks of 1905 (6.20).⁶⁴ By the time of the next census six years later, he was still living there with his wife and seven children, who ranged in from one to thirteen years of age.⁶⁵ Of the four houses, Keogh was the only Roman Catholic, while the remaining residents were of Anglican faith. Also resident on the night of April 2nd 1911 were five staff: a governess, a nurse, a housemaid, a cook and a chauffeur, the latter marking the arrival of the motor car in the Dublin suburbs. Joseph Keogh's adjoining neighbour was the home of Arthur Hignett, an English civil engineer, who had been resident in the house since at least the spring of 1906, when their first daughter was born.⁶⁶ By 1911 a second daughter had been born, and the family lived there with five staff: a cook, a parlourmaid, a housemaid, a nurse and a nursery maid to look after their two children, one aged five and the other three months.

The next two semi-detached houses were built identical to the first pair, with the first of these named 'Fernhurst', which had been the home of the widow Jane E. Ferguson since at least 1906 (6.20).⁶⁷ She appeared on the 1911 census as a fifty-eight year old widow from England who was living there with her daughter aged nineteen and her son, a student of Trinity College Dublin and two servants: a cook and a parlour maid. Next door was the home of Hugh Perry, an English colonel who resided with his wife, his eighteen-year-old daughter and three servants in 1911. Perry worked in the army

⁶⁴ According to the Thom's directory this is the first semi-detached house on the road which appears to relate to an advertisement to let on Shrewsbury Road. *Irish Times*, 14 Jan. & 19 Oct. 1901.

⁶⁵ NAI, Census of Ireland, 1911, Pembroke East, 3 Shrewsbury Road.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 4 Shrewsbury Road & *Irish Times*, 14 Apr. 1906.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

ordnance department and went on to become Major General Sir Hugh Whitchurch Perry.

6.5.4 The family quarters: ground floor level

The plan type at Shrewsbury Road is similar to other semi-detached typologies discussed heretofore, with the stairs to the rear centre of the plan (3.92). While this arrangement produces an efficient plan, problems arise in resolving the 'stepping' of the entrance hall to meet the stair hall behind. House builders in Northumberland Road attempted to soften the transition, by curving the wall between the hall and the study, as shown in 6.21. Another device is employed in Shrewsbury Road, by splaying the two walls (6.18), enabling the insertion of a back-to-back corner fireplace: a larger one serving the study and a smaller one to heat the hall, as Kerr explained: '...for few things have a less hospitable effect in winter than the chill on an Entrance (*sic*) that has never known warming'.⁶⁸ A small table was often placed in the hall, where visitors might leave their cards and this is shown on the plans at Northbrook Road (6.12).⁶⁹ Otherwise, the main reception rooms are central to the plan: the drawing room is to the front and the dining room is to the rear. Bay windows are provided in the three larger rooms at ground floor level, which Loudon advises should extend down to within six inches of the floor 'so that a view of the adjoining flower-garden, or of the distant prospect, if in the country, might be commanded from it'.⁷⁰

The front hall provides direct access to the drawing room, but visitors must proceed further to the rear hall to approach the study or dining room. An earlier sketch of this plan reveals that the study was originally envisioned as a breakfast room (6.22). Just beyond the door to the study, there is a drop of two steps: the first demarcation between served and servant. More functional spaces now begin to appear, such as the cloakroom which is provided with a toilet, wash hand basin and a hanging space for hats

⁶⁸ Kerr, *The gentleman's house*, p. 162.

⁶⁹ No inventories of furniture have been found for these houses but a silver card tray was stolen from the hall of Shrewsbury House (the villa on the corner with the Merrion Road) in 1908. *Irish Times*, 3 Aug. 1908.

⁷⁰ Loudon, *The suburban gardener*, p. 88.

and coats. Kerr maintained that the minimum for any moderately sized house was the provision of 'a roomy Closet' complete with wash-hand basin, located near the entrance for the use of 'gentlemen visitors'.⁷¹ Ashworth adds a water-closet to this space and strategically positions the room somewhat removed from the main hall. A large return then extends significantly to the rear, containing a collection of service quarters.

In 1860 *The Dublin Builder* praised the arrival of a new publication called *A House for the Suburbs* by the English architect Thomas Morris. Keen to capitalize on the unprecedented expansion of London's environs due to 'the modern Genius of Speed and the Science of the Rail',⁷² Morris presented a number of his designs for suburban housing, including one for semi-detached plots illustrated here (6.23). Although the entrance and stairwell are handled differently, the fundamentals of the plan are the same as Shrewsbury Road: two main rooms are provided: a drawing room to the front and a dining room to the rear. Morris inserts the entrance in the side wall, leaving the front corner of the block available for the insertion of a study, while a store and toilet is inserted in the space behind the stairwell. Morris explained the function of these rooms:

Adjoining the hall is the study or "master's" room, next to this is the drawing room for lady visitors, morning calls, and evening use, and more retired is the *salle à manger*, the dining room adjacent to the stairs, and allowing the easy service of dinner without crossing the guests.⁷³

It is clear therefore that the proximity of the dining room to the kitchen was crucial to the practical functioning of the house. This can be seen in Morris's plan, as the dining room door opens directly opposite the stairs, allowing quick access to the service floor below. Returning to Ashworth's design, the dining room is located to the rear of the plan, as close as possible to the service quarters behind. These were important considerations, especially if dining was as frequent in the Dublin suburbs as it was in London. Morris exuded: 'Delightful alike to Spinster and Matron, Youth and Sage, are

⁷¹ Kerr, *The gentleman's house*, p. 150.

⁷² Thomas Morris, *A house for the suburbs, socially and architecturally sketched* (London, 1860), p.1.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p.112.

the suburban soirees',⁷⁴ where in one district eight neighbouring families were known to hold parties once a fortnight. After refreshing themselves with sandwiches and cake, they would proceed to the drawing room, to display objects of art or science and play music and dance. According to Morris, the drawing room was where all embellishment was 'most liberally devoted', making it the obvious venue for such opulent occasions.

6.5.5 The family quarters: the upper levels

Morris advised the provision of four bedrooms at first floor level, located next to a dressing-room and a water-closet. In Shrewsbury Road the ceiling heights drop by two feet on this floor, indicating the secondary importance of this level (6.24). The master bedroom is prominently positioned to the front of the plan and is lit by a large bay window, which is robustly expressed on the front façade (6.25 & 1.46). Adjoining this space is a dressing room, which usually contained a dressing-table, wash-stand and storage (6.26). This was according to Kerr was 'the universal standard plan': a principal bedroom for a married couple, with a dressing room attached for the man.⁷⁵ In the morning therefore, the master of the house entered through here to wash and dress, while the mistress of the house retained the bedroom for her purposes. This illustrates the degree to which space was gendered, even between man and wife. Kerr would not have approved of the arrangement at Shrewsbury Road, where a direct connection is shown between the two spaces, as he insisted that the dressing room be entered only by a private lobby outside the bedroom. He does not provide any reasons for this view, so we may only suppose that it was due to a threat of immodesty between man and wife. It appears however that this option was considered, as an earlier sketch by Ashworth shows only one door leading to the dressing room from the landing (6.27). However despite their importance, Kerr conceded that dressing rooms were not always used. Although Ashworth's plans show six bedrooms, one of these houses was advertised in 1906 as a seven bedroom house (6.28). Due to the limitations of the space under the roof, it is most likely that the first floor dressing room was the location of this seventh bedroom.

⁷⁴ Morris, *A house for the suburbs*, p.72.

⁷⁵ Kerr, *The gentleman's house*, p. 131.

Turning to the detailed organization of the bedroom space, it was to be designed for sleeping, but Kerr also maintained that it should take in to account is use for the occasional illness.⁷⁶ To avoid draughts, he advised that the entrance door open as far as possible from the bed and fireplace. Ideally, the bed should also be located with its side to the window and opposite the fireplace 'to give character of fireside comfort to the light half of the room'.⁷⁷ The window was to be given over to the woman of the house, where she could place her dressing table and washstand close to natural light. The wardrobe could be located opposite the window, due to it being 'the best position for the effect of a handsome piece of furniture'.⁷⁸ It seems that Ashworth's layout complies with these requirements, as a comparison of the two arrangements show (6.29). Other possible items in the bedroom include a small table near the fire, a 'pier-glass with its back to the light', a wardrobe, couch, chairs, chest of drawers, cabinet, side-table and cheffonier.

The Shrewsbury Road dwellings cater for larger families, containing six bedrooms rather than the four bedroom layout described at Rathgar and Northbrook Roads. While two large bedrooms are provided above the reception rooms at first floor level, a steep roof profile facilitates the insertion of four more rooms in the roof space (6.30 & 6.31). Two spaces are inserted under the main roof: the bedroom to the front benefits from the extension of a break-front gable, while the room to the rear is lit by a dormer window (6.32). Two smaller rooms are provided in the rear extension, while the remainder of this floor is taken up with storage space. A 'Cistern Room', houses the cold water storage tank, while a small space for 'Boxes' is provided off the landing level. According to Kerr, sleeping accommodation is divided in to three classes: those for the family, for guests and for the children:

The chief Guests' Chambers will in a manner take precedence of all others; the rooms of the heads of the family will follow; those of the more familiar guests and the rest of the family may come next; and so on to the accommodation of the

⁷⁶ Kerr, *The gentleman's house*, p. 145.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

dependents in their order; the apartments of the young children being taken separately as the Nurseries.⁷⁹

If we apply Kerr's principle to Shrewsbury Road, the master bedroom is clearly to the front at first floor level (6.25), while the room to the rear was the main guest bedroom which was next in importance to the master's bedchambers although it was 'seldom expected to have all the completeness'. The rear bedroom here does not have the luxury of a dressing room or a bay window, but is similarly sized to the master suite and is located directly opposite the main bathroom in the house.

The other distinction referred to by Kerr was the separation between adults and the younger members of the household. Kerr insisted that 'the main part of the house must be relieved from the more immediate occupation of the Children'. By 1911 these four semi-detached houses on Shrewsbury Road were occupied by families of various sizes. 'Rossbegh' had the greatest number of residents: Joseph Keogh lived there with his wife, seven children and five staff. His employees included a governess and a nurse, who looked after his growing family, aged between one and thirteen years of age.⁸⁰ If no alterations were made from Ashworth's plans, many of the bedrooms in the Keogh household were occupied by at least two children.

⁷⁹ Kerr, *The gentleman's house*, p. 137.

⁸⁰ The nurse took care of the younger children until they were of an age that the governess could take charge.

6.5.6 The service wing: ground floor level

As noted, the most important consideration in designing a gentleman's home, whatever the size, was the separation of the servant and the served:⁸¹

The idea which underlies all is simply this. The family constitute one community; the servants another. Whatever may be their mutual regard and confidence as dwellers under the same roof, each class is entitled to shut its door upon the other, and be alone.⁸²

The purpose of the service wing was entirely different to the other parts of the house, being space mainly dedicated to work rather than to leisure. It has been shown that previous plans articulated this division in section, by elevating the family rooms above a separate service level. In Shrewsbury Road the two classes inhabit the same level, so boundaries are carefully articulated instead in plan. While the main volume to the front of the house is reserved for the family, the rear return is the domain of the servant (**6.18 & 6.25**). The boundary between them is articulated by changes in level, varying from two to seven steps between the main volume and the rear extension.

On crossing this boundary on the ground floor, one arrives in the main 'engine room' of the house, consisting of a collection of rooms hidden to the rear. A lobby is formed behind the stairs, off which a number of doors provide access to the garden, the kitchen, a 'Lady's store' and a 'Butler's Pantry & China' (**6.33**). It is likely that this lobby was conceived as a buffer zone between the family rooms and the potentially noisy and odorous spaces behind:

⁸¹ Kerr, *The gentleman's house*, p. 63.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 76.

....how objectionable it is we need scarcely say when a thin partition transmits the sounds of the Scullery or Coal-cellar to the Dining-room or Study; or when a Kitchen window in summer weather forms a trap to catch the conversation at the casement of the Drawing-room; or when a Kitchen doorway in the Vestibule or Staircase exposes to the view of every one the dresser or the cooking range, or fills the house with unwelcome odors.⁸³

In Rathgar Road the cellar and pantry were separately defined, but here the two functions are combined in to a The Butler's pantry, which was used for the storage of wine, linen and plates.⁸⁴ For convenience it is located close to the dining room and is fitted with a sink under the window and storage along the flank wall. This was probably divided in to drawers and shelving to hold table linen and plates, with locked cupboards to secure valuable china and stoneware.⁸⁵ Householders in Shrewsbury Road were the owners of fine dinnerware, which no doubt were a source of display during dinner. The residents of nearby Number 16 Shrewsbury Road possessed 'morning and evening china', a dessert service, Dresden and an afternoon tea service,⁸⁶ while the master of Shrewsbury House owned 'Ornamental China', a service of 120 pieces of cut glass and a 'Long China Dinner Service'.⁸⁷ Similarly, when the contents of Number 19 Ailesbury Road (built by Meade) were sold in 1873, the 'dinnerware, dessert ware; china, glass, and delph' formed part of the sale.⁸⁸

Close to the Butler's pantry was the 'Lady's Store', fitted with storage running around three of the walls. In Loudon's time this room was a repository for serving dishes and preserves, but here it probably served as a locked storeroom managed by the mistress of the house. This enabled her to strictly control the distribution of stock by monitoring the left-over food from the day before. It did not require a sink, but was

⁸³ Kerr, *The gentleman's house*, p. 75.

⁸⁴ While implying the use of a male servant, butlers were generally only used in larger country houses. In the Shrewsbury Road houses in 1911 all the servants were female.

⁸⁵ Kerr, *The gentleman's house*, p. 227.

⁸⁶ *Irish Times*, 2 Dec. 1905.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 24 May 1919.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 13 Oct. 1873.

usually fitted with storage along the walls on which goods would be placed and administered by the mistress of the house.⁸⁹ The goods would include foodstuffs and cleaning provisions, distributed to the cook either on a daily or weekly basis. In Shrewsbury Road the line of storage continues through to the lobby, perhaps forming a convenient resting point for provisions, and/or for the storage of boots for those entering from the garden (6.33).

Natural light enters this lobby through a glazed door and sidelight (6.24). A separately defined rear entrance was considered preferable to 'that inconvenient substitute': a door opening directly from one of the main reception rooms.⁹⁰ Advertisements for Shrewsbury Road promoted the availability of a 'large garden back and front', supporting Bowe's findings that the garden was a 'social priority' in Dublin's suburban houses.⁹¹ A photograph of Drayton House in Rathmines shows the extent to which some green spaces were laid out for leisure (6.34).⁹² The garden to the rear was of particular relevance, as a private open space for adults and children alike, as one observer of a London suburb noted in 1853:

...strolling leisurely in the gardens in the rear of the dwellings,
and amusing themselves with their children, whose prattling
voices and innocent laughter mingle with the twittering of
those suburban songsters, the sparrows, and with the rustling
of the foliage, stirred by the evening breeze.⁹³

At Shrewsbury Road, the family enjoyed all these privileges, but access by servants was separately provided at the rear. On the other side of the return, a separate service entrance was provided through the side wall of the yard (6.18).

⁸⁹ Flanders, *The Victorian house*, p.82.

⁹⁰ Kerr, *The gentleman's house*, p. 182.

⁹¹ Patrick Bowe, 'Dublin suburban gardens: Loudon's influence', in *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies*, ix (2006), p. 151.

⁹² Dublin City Archives, Battersby & Co. Collection, Drayton House, Rathmines (Box 01: Batt. 215): Note also the external stairs from the first floor level to the garden.

⁹³ Smith, *Curiosities of London life*, p.4

Returning to the lobby space, a fourth door leads to the heart of the servant quarters, centred on the kitchen 'for the administration of the culinary art' (6.18 & 6.33).⁹⁴ This is located close to the dining room for service, but it is also near the side entrance, where deliveries were received.⁹⁵ A 'Servant stairs' rises in the corner of the kitchen, providing direct access to the sleeping quarters above. On the opposite side of the kitchen is the space for the range, which was inserted in to the fireplace to form an exit for the flue. The availability of natural light was particularly important in this room, with preference for one large window inserted to the side of the range. A kitchen dresser was required to store utensils, 'ordinary dinner stoneware', jugs and copper pots which probably rested against the wall to the lady's store. The kitchen table was usually placed in the centre of the room, supplemented by shelves, pin-rails and small cupboards to store various kitchenwares. Two ancillary rooms are shown: a 'cook's pantry' off the kitchen area and a 'larder' off the scullery.

The door to the scullery is positioned close to the kitchen range, due to what Kerr terms the 'constant passage to and fro while cooking'. For a small house he recommended a single stone sink in the scullery, with a plate-rack above, draining on to a grooved 'drip-board' at the side. Often a smaller cooking-range was added to supplement the kitchen appliance, and this could have been provided in the alcove at the back of the range. Sometimes the scullery was large enough to accommodate a small table in the centre of the room, which could be used for baking, or the preparation of vegetables. Direct access from this room to the outside was necessary for, as Kerr put it: '...various incidental matters of out-door cleansing', a reference to the weekly laundry wash.⁹⁶ It was important therefore to segregate this very functional part of the house from the leisurely enjoyment of the garden beyond. To the right of the scullery window, a door leads out to an external yard, which is enclosed on all sides by full height brick walls (6.18 & 6.31). A coal shed, cycle store and lavatory are provided on the back wall, in some rudimentary outbuildings. The location of the coal shed facilitates delivery, but servants were also frequent visitors here, refilling buckets throughout the day to refuel the range and the fireplaces. The lavatory ensured that the servants were separately

⁹⁴ Kerr, *The gentleman's house*, p. 227.

⁹⁵ OS, 1907. The map shows a dividing line, probably a gate or wall, running between the side return to the boundary wall.

⁹⁶ Kerr, *The gentleman's house*, p. 212. The residents of Number 19 Ailesbury Road were the owners of a 'patent mangling, wringing and washing machine'. *Irish Times*, 13 Oct. 1873.

catered for, instead of using the facilities in the main house. Only one opening is shown from the yard to the outside, leading to the tradesman's entrance at the side. Clearly, Ashworth's intention was to screen the service areas from the garden, as the kitchen, scullery, and larder address only the side passage, or the yard.

While the servants travelled by bicycle to Shrewsbury Road, the master of the house appeared to arrive by motor car. It has been found that Joseph Keogh, the occupant of 'Rossbegh' was the employer of a chauffeur by 1911. Another resident of these houses was Walter Sexton, a well-known jeweller who lived in 'Ellesmere', the fourth house along the road (6.20). Sexton was a member of Pembroke Urban District Council and operated from a premises at number 118 Grafton Street.⁹⁷ In 1905 it was reported that he was 'the owner of a motor car, which he drove in and out from his residence to town twice a day for the past seven years'.⁹⁸ One winter's evening, while returning from an excursion at Howth, he collided with a bicycle when turning his motor car in to Shrewsbury Road. Sexton had been travelling with his chauffeur James Shannon, while his wife sat in the back seat. The victim was Thomas Fenelon, a malt-worker who sustained permanent injuries and subsequently took Sexton to court in a personal injury case. The case rumbled on until the spring of 1906, when Fenelon lost the case due to the lack of lights on his bicycle.⁹⁹ There was certainly sufficient space in front of these houses to facilitate the parking of motor cars on the front driveway (6.20).

6.5.7 The service wing: first floor level

As noted, servants accessed their sleeping quarters via a separate stairs which rose in the corner of the kitchen (6.33). On arriving at first floor level, a small lobby was formed, leaving just enough space to negotiate doors to two bedrooms (6.35). Kerr advised that servants' sleeping quarters were to be grouped together and 'of small size, suitable for not more than two persons'.¹⁰⁰ Social class continues to be expressed

⁹⁷ *Irish Times*, 15 Apr. 1905.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 16 Nov. 1905.

⁹⁹ *Thom's*, 1906. By this time Sexton had moved to a house at number 54 Orwell Park, built close to William Carvill's home in Rathgar.

¹⁰⁰ Kerr, *The gentleman's house*, p. 277.

spatially and in Shrewsbury Road the size of the servants' bedrooms are in marked contrast with the family's sleeping quarters at the front of the house (6.25). Natural light is provided in the flank walls, rather than in the gable which directly overlooks the rear garden directly. Each bedroom is fitted with a small fireplace, which Kerr concedes to in a servant bedroom 'for use in case of illness if no more'.¹⁰¹ These rooms were usually simply furnished, consisting of an iron bed and wardrobe, and possibly a chest of drawers and wash-hand basin.¹⁰² The 1911 census shows that these houses were occupied by at least two, but sometimes three domestic servants: a cook and at least one housemaid or parlourmaid. Better paid cooks were not required to carry out general servant duties and advertisements sometimes noted the employment of a maid for this reason. There is evidence to suggest that this was also the case for the houses in Shrewsbury Road: in 1913 the resident of 'Fernhurst' advertised for a good young cook who was an 'early riser' but indicated that she also had a 'house parlourmaid' in her employment.¹⁰³

Beyond the servants' bedrooms is a linen room, which probably housed the hot water cylinder, feeding the taps in the adjacent sanitary facilities (6.35).¹⁰⁴ Investigations at Number 8 Shrewsbury Road have revealed the remnants of a dumb waiter in this space, which was likely used to pass laundry to the ground floor for washing (6.36). The room was usually fitted with drawers and presses, and if the space was large enough, a dresser could be placed under the window for the folding of clothes. Outside this room, a lobby borrows secondary natural light through a glazed screen to the stairwell. From this point the floor rises up another five steps, demarcating the junction between the main house and the rear extension, between the servant and the served. The main sanitary facilities of the house are located in this upper section, which are grouped together for convenience. The location of the bathroom complies with Kerr's recommendations: 'in a retired position amongst the Bedrooms, and not too far off the Principal Staircase',¹⁰⁵ and provided with a 'reclining-bath', a fireplace and a generous area for dressing, while a separate sink and toilet are accommodated in the adjoining

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 278.

¹⁰² Mona Hearn, *Below stairs, domestic service remembered in Dublin and beyond, 1880-1922*, (Dublin, 1993), p.54.

¹⁰³ *Irish Times*, 3 Jan. 1913.

¹⁰⁴ An advertisement for one of these houses promotes the availability of hot and cold water in the bathroom. *Ibid.*, 31 May 1906.

¹⁰⁵ Kerr, *The gentleman's house*, p. 168.

spaces. It seems that sanitary facilities could also be gendered: Kerr confirmed that gentlemen visitors tended to use the ground floor toilet, while the ladies ascended to the first floor facility.¹⁰⁶ Staff would have been prohibited from using either, as even in the smallest house they were separately accommodated. In Shrewsbury Road, the architect provides for one toilet (but no sink) in outbuildings off the rear yard for this purpose.

The most striking aspect of this first floor plan is the amount of floor area dedicated to circulation, where two sets of corridors and stairs are provided (6.35). Thus, while the family and guests negotiated the main stairwell, their servants passed unseen along hidden corridors and separate staircases. An earlier sketch of the first floor plan shows that the negotiation of this master/servant boundary was not always easy to sustain. At some point in the design process, the architect considered cutting off the rear extension at first floor level, from the main part of the house (6.37). Instead of a stepped connection therefore, a blank wall would form a solid boundary between the two sectors of the household. However this arrangement would have had other consequences, as housemaids would have been forced to negotiate the main stairwell to service the family bedrooms. It appears that this was a step too far either for the architect or the client, and in the final layout the connection was maintained.

6.6 Conclusion

The spatial organisation of Dublin's semi-detached houses derived from that of the eighteenth-century townhouse, which was adapted to a new suburban context in the nineteenth century. The semi-detached form was wider than its terraced precedent, and gradually evolved into its own distinctive plan. While the two adjoining reception rooms found their way in to the Victorian paired form, in many cases the stairs had moved to the rear centre, to minimise circulation space. Two out of three of the bays were commonly devoted to the reception rooms, while the entrance was inserted in a third bay to the side. Behind the entrance hall was a new space, where the stairs used to

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

be, whose function varied: in some houses it was a pantry (Rathgar Road), in others a study or library (Northbrook Road), while in Shrewsbury Road it was originally envisaged as a breakfast room. Spatial hierarchy was expressed in section: in Rathgar Road (1851) and Northbrook Road (1881), the lower level was reserved for service, over which two floors of family rooms were located. The latter were further divided into private and public realms: the entrance level contained the public rooms of the house (drawing room to the front, dining room to the rear), while the upper level was reserved for sleeping. By the time the Shrewsbury Road houses rose out of the ground in 1902, the suburban house form had made through some remarkable changes. The reception floor was now entered directly off the street, displacing the service functions to enlarged rear extensions, over which were inserted two bedroom floors.

The suburban house negotiated the boundaries between different constituents of the household, between master and servant, adult and child, man and woman, guest and dweller. The gendering of space began at the entrance level, with the dining room and study the primary 'male' spaces and the drawing room the domain of the female. Although it is possible in Shrewsbury Road that the sanitary facilities were gendered, it is unlikely in the earlier schemes, as only one toilet is provided. The emergence of a separate bathroom space in Northbrook Road in the 1880s is indicative of broader developments in indoor sanitation, as well the means to dispose of waste by a pumped system of main drainage. It seems that sleeping accommodation could also be gendered, as evidenced in the master suite in Shrewsbury Road, where the dressing room was most likely used by the man of the house. Emerging from this analysis is also a clear negotiation of the boundaries between the Victorian family and their servants. In Rathgar Road, the two quarters are divided simply in section, but the insertion of a breakfast room in the service floor at Northbrook Road suggests that these boundaries were not always so clearly defined. In Shrewsbury Road, both family and servants occupy the same level, necessitating a careful articulation of the plan. The servant quarters operate independently from the remainder of the house, with their own sanitary facilities and sleeping accommodation, close to the functional rooms in which they work. In all the examples analysed, servants enter the house by means of a separate entrance in a passageway to the side. However the nature of the relationship between these two classes is that inevitably their paths must cross, and it is here the architecture is carefully manipulated, so that discreteness is ensured. This is exemplified

in the rear of Rathgar Road, where a blank wall shields the garden from the operations of the coach house and yard. While the master of the house descends the external stairs to the garden, servants pass below to their separate entrance. Similarly, there are no windows on the garden side of the rear extension at Shrewsbury Road, so that the 'engine room' of the house is screened from view. Even within the relatively limited confines of suburbia, domestic space was sacrificed to maintain these ever important boundaries, as Kerr explained in 1864:

It becomes the foremost of all maxims, therefore, however small the establishment, that the Servants' Department shall be separated from the Main House, so that what passes on either side of the boundary shall be both invisible and inaudible on the other.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁷ Kerr, *The gentleman's house*, pp 74-75.

Conclusion

This thesis aimed to carry out a detailed examination of a cross-section of Victorian house property in the Dublin suburbs. The approach was multi-disciplinary, interweaving analysis of form, function and context to examine the typology from a range of perspectives. It is the first study of its kind therefore to cover the entire spectrum of processes in speculative house building in Dublin: from land tenure to the provision of infrastructure, finance to architectural analysis and the spatial organisation of the inhabited dwellings themselves. It is also the first to integrate the roles of three prominent speculator families into the analysis of Dublin's architectural history in a sustained manner. Meade, Carvill and Crosthwaite were all part of a rising Catholic middle class, and their status is reflected in the high quality structures which they developed in the fields around their homes. However, speculation was not their main business enterprise: Michael Meade was responsible for the formation of one of the largest contracting firms in the city, but he also operated as a timber merchant and saw mill owner, all enterprises inherited by his son Joseph, who rose to the highest level of municipal governance in 1891. Joseph's father-in-law William Carvill was also a city merchant, whose business interests extended to a transatlantic trade in ships and lumber. Thus, speculation enabled the Meades and the Carvills to profit from their trade, as a sideline to their main mercantile businesses. They developed a larger number of houses than the average speculator, and these properties supported their rise through the ranks of their social class. By retaining the majority of their houses as investment properties, they absorbed them into marriage settlements, until they could be passed down on their death to future generations. John Crosthwaite was a different kind of speculator to the Carvills and Meades: he was not directly engaged in construction, but acted as an intermediary between landowner and builder. Compared to those who built directly on their own plots, this kind of developer enjoyed less profits from speculation. Nevertheless, it facilitated those not equipped with the necessary skills in building, to reap some of the profits along the way.

Stefanie Jones has shown that in the twenty years following the Municipal Corporation (Ireland) Act 1841, there was a gradual transfer of power from Protestant freeman to Catholic nationalists.¹ Some view this shift in purely sectarian terms: a primarily Protestant middle class fleeing the 'Catholic hegemony' of civic affairs in Dublin, to settle in the growing suburbs outside the municipal boundary.² The polarization which ensued between the city and suburbs led to political tensions in local government, as the mainly Catholic working class occupants of the city were a drain on resources, while the wealthier townships remained fiercely independent and reluctant to annexation. However the changes in Dublin's religious demography during the nineteenth century were likely more nuanced than this picture would permit. Ciaran Wallace finds that the majority of voters in the more affluent suburbs were generally middle-class Catholics and Protestants, arguing that the polarization occurred more across class lines.³ The mixed religious background of the occupants of the Shrewsbury Road houses are a case in point, where one of the four upper middle class families were Roman Catholic, with the remainder of Anglican faith. Carvill, Meade and Crosthwaite are representative of that growing wealthy Catholic middle class who reaped the financial rewards from the suburban building boom of the 1860s. Indeed, John Crosthwaite and Michael Meade took leading roles in township affairs, illustrating the potential of this class to be placed on an equal footing with their unionist neighbours.

This thesis has provided a clearer understanding of some of the processes that transformed rural areas to new residential districts. The high quality roads laid out in the western side of the Pembroke estate is reflected in the description of Ailesbury Road, finished 'perfectly level' with wide, well kerbed paths. Of the three developers, this was the only case found where the roads were provided by the ground landlord, while in other suburbs speculators laid out the roads within their developments. While in the better parts of the Pembroke estate an asphalt finish was applied to the roads, in other suburbs an inferior macadam finish was chosen, which demanded constant maintenance

¹ Stefanie Jones, 'Dublin reformed: the transformation of a municipal governance of a Victorian city, 1840-1860' (Ph.D thesis, Trinity College, Dublin, 2001).

² Matthew Potter, *The municipal revolution in Ireland: a handbook of urban government in Ireland since 1800* (Dublin & Oregon, 2011), p.89.

³ Although without a vote, there were also large numbers of mainly Catholic servants who supported the effective operation of the suburbs. Ciaran Wallace, 'Local politics and government in Dublin city and suburbs 1899-1914' (Ph.D thesis, Trinity College, Dublin, 2009), p.73.

to control the mud and dust created. Public roads such as this were then adopted by the town commissioners, who were responsible for their continued maintenance. Other services came under the township's remit, such as the provision of public lighting, sanitation facilities and water supply. The operations of the grand jury added another layer of administration, which was responsible for maintaining roads, but in practice its role was less than perfunctory. The complex relationship between landlord, local government and grand jury is reflected in the unequal provision of infrastructure at Ailesbury Road. Standing at the confluence of four bodies (the Pembroke Estate, the Pembroke Township, the County Grand Jury and Dublin Corporation), residents in Ailesbury Road were subject to the incoherence arising from fragmentary planning control. Compared to modern planning practice where each district is administered by one local authority, Dublin's Victorian suburbs were therefore characterised by a patchwork of service delivery and infrastructural maintenance.

In light of these challenges, and in particular the adverse sanitary conditions, it is remarkable that the suburbs expanded to such an extent during the nineteenth century. Between 1863 and 1878 for instance, over 1,000 houses were constructed in the Pembroke Township, yet the district operated without a proper integrated system of main drainage. While some sewers were provided on an ad-hoc basis, many areas were served by an inadequate cess pool system. Clearly the importance of the township in supporting suburban development, however imperfect, was the incentive for many speculators to involve themselves in local government. Specific examples of this have been found, from the Todds in Rathgar, to the developers of Crosthwaite Park, Clarinda Park, and Royal Terrace in Kingstown, who were all local town commissioners. The evidence suggests that John Crosthwaite used his position as chairman of the Kingstown Township to procure building materials for his developments, a conflict of interest arising from the combined roles of developer and commissioner. As evidenced from a number of complaints from local residents, it appears also that commissioners brought their influence to bear on the provision of infrastructure in their locality. These practices were the subject of dispute at the time, both inside and outside the town hall walls.

This study has shown that building standards varied within each suburban district. Estate landlords were often the first to impose control, particularly those releasing ground on shorter leases, as they could foresee the benefits of regulation. The stringent control imposed by Lord Pembroke in the western sector is reflected in the prestigious housing erected in Ailesbury Road: large semi-detached structures clad in some of the most expensive materials. Contrast this with the narrow terraces at Strand Road, a modest development, and a product of minimum regulation. Although we are less clear of the terms of the leases in Kingstown, the predominance of the rendered two-bay terrace, and the obligation to comply with an overall design for Crosthwaite Park, is suggestive of its approval, if not its promotion by the ground landlords. However in contrast to the Pembroke and Kingstown estates which were dominated by the estate landlord system, William Carvill was free to set his own standards in developing Rostrevor Terrace and Orwell Park. He could have maximised profits by building twice as many houses in terraces (in line with the most common house type in Rathgar) but instead he chose a grander house building programme for Rostrevor Terrace, developing semi-detached houses of a similar size to those emerging at the same time in Ailesbury Road. Therefore, while the semi-detached form was a requirement of many leases in the Pembroke estate, its emergence at the same time in other suburbs not subject to such stringent control, shows that the typology had entered the mainstream of domestic building.

The results of this study show that despite varied regulation, landlords did not control every aspect of the domestic building aesthetic. We have seen that strict building leases granted in Ailesbury Road stipulated three-storey semi-detached houses with overhanging eaves and expensively clad facades. This determined the character of many of the newly emergent streets in the western sector of the estate, where red-brick and granite structures were set back uniformly from the road. But despite these seemingly rigid terms, leaseholders experimented within the template enforced by the Pembroke estate. Increasingly, developers added bay windows and elaborate entrance doorcases, and were influenced by the increasing profusion of architectural styles that emerged during the Victorian period. This is exemplified by the marked difference between Meade's earlier houses on the south side of Ailesbury Road (built 1865-1870) and Numbers 2 and 4 opposite (built in 1879). Although not formally successful, the latter scheme experimented with hipped roofs, bay windows and full height extensions

to the side, while celebrating the increased availability of materials in its use of polychromatic brick and stone. Although there is a greater coherence to the design template at Crosthwaite Park, the variations introduced by Moran show that deviation was possible. Within the framework of development control, the variations inserted by individual speculators brought an eclectic variety to Victorian house facades, avoiding the potential for monotony.

Developers adapted the eighteenth-century townhouse, a familiar urban building model to the fields surrounding Dublin city. Being neither urban nor rural, this 'sub-urban' space was quite different in context to the dense urban centre in which the Georgian terrace had emerged. Among the many house types which were distributed throughout the Dublin suburbs, the most common typology was the terrace, with new semi-detached forms becoming increasingly popular. Both house types pushed back from the street edge, forming semi-public gardens in front of primarily three-storey facades. Early examples were sparsely ornamented, with parapet roofs, plain uninterrupted facades and blank gable ends, reminiscent of their predecessors (29-41 Strand Road, 132-135 Rathgar Road). All of the terraced schemes analysed in this study inherited the most common eighteenth-century plan: the two-bay, two-room layout. Increasingly however, the formality of the terrace was broken by the introduction of vertical breaks in the facade, while the end plots began to exploit the space afforded by the suburban plot, expanding in width to form larger three-bay units (29 Strand Road), and sometimes forming openings in the end walls (150-153 Rathgar Road). The design of Crosthwaite Park goes one step further, by providing generous plots facing Tivoli Road, and reorientating the plan to form grand entrance fronts on the ends.

Although not an entirely new departure, the nineteenth century saw the building of large numbers of semi-detached houses. Suburbia promised a refuge from the disease and overcrowding that characterised urban living in Dublin by the mid-nineteenth century, while simultaneously providing links with the city. The semi-detached house form emerged out of this compromise, being neither fully attached (like a terrace) nor fully detached (like a villa). William Carvill built two types in Rathgar: Orwell Park is an example of a pairing of the two-bay terrace, while Rostrevor Terrace is of three bays, built on much wider plots. This shows how suburban developments could

be scaled according to their location: Rostrevor Terrace relates to its position on a main thoroughfare, while Orwell Park is of a scale more appropriate to a smaller tributary road.

In contrast to Dublin's eighteenth-century streetscapes which tended to be uniformly clad in stock brick, their Victorian successors were characterised by a wide variety of materials. The expensive granite basements in Ailesbury Road can be traced to the rigour of the building lease, but other suburbs not subject to such control experimented with more economical solutions. Carvill finished the lower floors of his houses in a lime render finish lined out to imitate stone, a far cheaper and less cumbersome alternative to sourcing cut stone from the mountains. Kingstown's bedrock of granite determined the aesthetic of house construction there, where a rendered rubble wall construction prevailed. In Rathgar, Carvill's men processed lumber in his saw mill to form the joists and rafters for his houses in the adjoining field, while his limestone quarry nearby was the likely source for the rubble walls and render finish to his facades. His links to a transatlantic trade in shipping and lumber, is illustrative of the wider supply routes that served house builders in Dublin, bringing timber from far flung markets in Canada and Central America.

Despite the absence of a building lease at Rostrevor Terrace, Carvill still chose to clad his houses in expensive red brick, by this time part of the Victorian domestic building aesthetic. Many suburban facades in Dublin were faced with red bricks from the English town of Bridgewater, but other sources were Belfast and Scotland. Firebricks found in chimneys in Ailesbury Road had been manufactured in Glasgow, but were most likely sourced from the firm's depot in Dublin. The advancing technological tide brought a profusion of coloured brick and stone to the market, and this combined with increased mechanisation and the ideals of the Gothic Revival, encouraged increased decoration in house facades. While higher status houses in Ailesbury Road incorporated expensive stone detailing and polychromatic brick, the alternating red brick dentils found in the detailing of Rostrevor Terrace and Orwell Park are an example of more economical solutions to the design aesthetic. It is this eclecticism and variety that distinguishes Victorian domestic architecture from its predecessors, providing the diversity that some deemed missing from earlier, plainer Georgian townhouses.

House facades were designed to present their best sides to the public road, while economising on the more oblique faces. Lord Pembroke advocated this practice in his leases in Ailesbury Road, by stipulating red brick for the front elevation, with a cheaper yellow brick to the side. Meade saved on expensive red brick facings by bonding them into a cheaper, but inferior brick behind, which often resulted in a weaker wall construction. Further pruning was found in the specification for Northbrook Road, where the most expensive Ballyknocken granite was stipulated for the front facade, with the cheaper granite to the sides and rear. Carvill's limited the use of granite in Rathgar to the elements most susceptible to weathering, such as the stringcourses, the external steps and the window cills. Added to these findings are other pragmatic concerns, such as the sixteen foot span found in Ailesbury Road, which appears to relate to the limitations of the standard timber joist. These findings show that domestic architecture is shaped as much by functional factors, as it is by stylistic trends and formal influences.

All of the terraced and semi-detached houses described are of three storeys.⁴ As early forms of suburban building (built 1843-1879), function was defined simply by floor: the lowest level was for service, over which were the family floors: one for reception and one for sleeping. This simple vertical organisation enabled the boundary between master and servant to be maintained, and the architecture was continually manipulated to serve this class divide. It appears however that in some cases this boundary was not so clearly defined however, as exemplified by the presence of a breakfast room at the lower level at Northbrook Road. By the time the Shrewsbury Road development emerged at the turn of the century, houses tended to be entered directly off the street, with the service functions moved to enlarged rear extensions. Nevertheless, master and servant continued to be segregated, each with their own entrance, means of vertical circulation and sanitary facilities. In order to perform their duties, employees would at some point need to cross the threshold into the family realm, but these incidences were minimised. At Shrewsbury Road, habitable space was sacrificed on the first floor to provide two corridors, enabling master and servant to pass unseen on either side of the divide. Within the family realm, architectural space and detailing was focused on the reception rooms and hall, while the bedrooms received more modest treatment. The

⁴ Crosthwaite Park West is four storeys, but this would appear to be the exception rather than the rule, and most likely to capture views of the sea and mountains.

analysis of the internal organisation of these houses also reveals the advances in transport over fifty years of development. In 1851, suburban dwellers would arrive to Rathgar Road by horse and carriage, but stables are not a feature of Northbrook Road thirty years later, as the area was now served by tram. By 1905, some residents in Shrewsbury Road were arriving home by motor car, a change that would in the future make a dramatic impact on the city's urban planning.

This thesis has shown that there are distinct differences between suburban typologies in Dublin and their British counterparts. In the nineteenth century, the basement floor began to emerge out of the ground, but this appears to have occurred earlier in Dublin than in London, as exemplified by development at Haddington Road. In the majority of housing analysed here, the lowest floor is located only a small drop below the street and the evidence strongly suggests that this was achieved by raising the road above the natural ground level, thereby following the London practice of avoiding problems with building in undrained areas. In other Irish and British cities of the time, the main entrance tended to remain in the floor closest to the street, but in Dublin it remained at the first floor level. This characteristic feature, approached by a grand flight of steps, is not one that has been recorded in other cities on these islands and has been linked to a particularly Dublin tradition of utilising the service floor as a barrier between the damp earth and the living spaces above. The articulation of the upper two floors in red brick over a lower floor in stone, appears to be another unique design feature of Dublin's suburban houses. In other British and Irish cities, brick was commonly combined with stucco, but no examples have been found matching this particular juxtaposition of brick over stone. This is a phenomenon not confined to the Pembroke estate, whose leases imposed this requirement on speculators; it is also found in the better quality housing schemes in other suburbs, such as Palmerston Park in Rathmines, or Grosvenor Terrace in Monkstown.

The geology of a district has always been a general determinant of the type of building materials used in building construction. This infused a city's architecture with the particular colour and characteristics of its local building materials: local sandstone had characterised the architecture of Glasgow since medieval times, while the dominant

facing material in Bath was a local limestone quarried in the vicinity.⁵ Similarly to the south of Dublin city was the largest granite district in Ireland, whose stone had been used to clad some of the city's prominent eighteenth-century structures and similarly in the Victorian period, this finish was used to clad the lower floor of Dublin's higher quality suburban houses. With the development of transport networks however, a city's architecture was no longer confined to the use of local building materials: it was not until the coming of the railways for instance, that Bath stone could be delivered for use in the building of Windsor Castle.⁶ Meade's houses in Ailesbury Road are therefore the product of these combined forces: a local tradition of granite, combined with the opportunities to source polychromatic brick and stone from further afield.

This study has shown that, despite the social and political difficulties of the time, there was a buoyant, though erratic house building market in Dublin during the nineteenth century. By the time of Queen Victoria's death in 1901, Dublin had expanded far beyond the confines shown in 1837, during sixty-four years of building development (**Map 3 & 4**). It is tempting to make comparisons with Ireland's recent housing boom, which was driven by widespread access to cheap credit, whereby mortgage finance was provided to the mass market at historically low rates. This does not seem to be the case for the housing developments that I have analysed in Dublin's suburbs, as the banking sector does not appear as a main financier. Until nineteenth-century banking records are made accessible to researchers, this claim must remain conditional; however the balance of evidence suggests that other sources of capital were landowners and private individuals. While wealthier merchants like Meade and Carvill were better placed to enter the market, others lived hand to mouth, leveraging one property to fund the building of another. Crosthwaite's activity has permitted comparisons with smaller scale builders, revealing the importance of house property in providing collateral for a mainly informal money lending market, fed by private individuals seeking a return on their investment. When money was tight builders took greater gambles, raising one section of a building, in the hope of finding a financier for the rest. Consequently, a wide range of speculators placed themselves at the centre of opportunity in a rapidly advancing city.

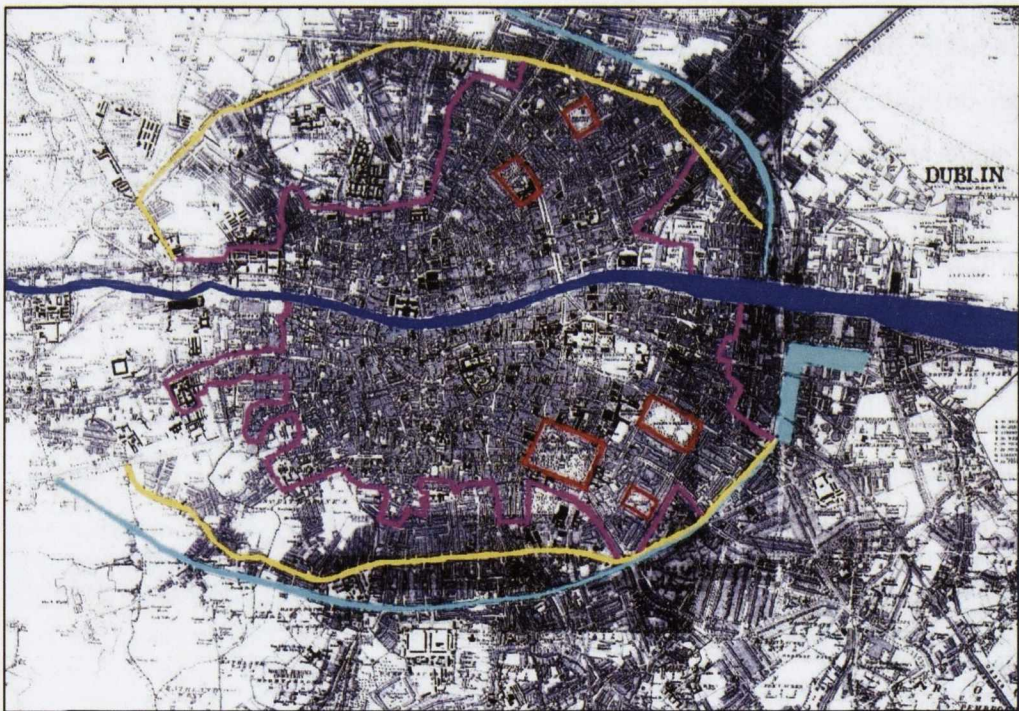
⁵ Colin McWilliam & John Newman (eds.), *The buildings of Scotland: Glasgow* (London, 1990) & John Gifford, Colin McWilliam & David Walker (eds.), *The buildings of Scotland: Edinburgh* (London, 1984), Lyndon F. Cave, *The smaller English house* (London, 1985), p. 135.

⁶ Andrew Foyle & Nicolas Pevsner (eds.), *The buildings of England: Bristol* (New Haven & London, 2011).

They all shared a common drive for profit, by exploiting the home, a basic social need, for financial gain. In the process, Dublin's Victorian suburbs were born.



Map 3: OS 1837: Dublin.



Map 4: OS 1901: Dublin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

BELFAST

Public Record Office of Northern Ireland

Records of Young and Mackenzie, Chartered Architects. 1637-1969 (Acc. No. D2194)

Mortgage from Robert Magee to Messrs. Carvill, Newry (Acc. No. T618/213)

DUBLIN

Dublin City Archives

Battersby & Co. Collection, Drayton House, Rathmines (Box 01).

Lord Mayor biographies, Joseph Michael Meade (Acc. No. R1/01/07).

Kingstown Township records

K4: Kingstown/Dun Laoghaire: minutes books of Kingstown Township Commissioners and Urban District Council, 1834-1930.

LA4/4: 19 Mar. 1855-4 Nov. 1861

LA4/5: 2 Dec. 1861-22 Oct. 1866

LA4/6: 5 Nov. 1866-27 Oct. 1871

LA4/119: 6 June 1862-4 June 1873

LA4/120: 5 June 1873-4 June 1875

Irish Architectural Archive

Patterson Kempster and Shortall Collection, 1860-1933 (Acc. No. 77/1)

IAA Dictionary of Irish Architects 1720-1940

Arthur Murray Collection (1849-1924)

Rathgar Road, plans, elevations, sections and details depicting three schemes for houses for Arthur Murray Esq. by William G. Murray and Abraham Denny, 1851 (Acc. No. 92/46.753-8).

Victoria Square, surveys, plans and elevations for houses for T.M. Gresham by William Murray, 1838 (Acc. No. 92/46/838).

McCurdy & Mitchell Collection

Northbrook Road, pair of semi-detached houses, plans, elevations, sections, specifications for the committee of Adelaide Road Presbyterian Church by W. M. Mitchell, 1881 (82/49.83)

National Archives of Ireland

Business Records

Original lease from Jan. 1840, premises on Adelaide Road, Rev. M.D. Peter to William Todd (Acc. No. 999/24/1-5).

Card index

NAI, Card index, Corrective affidavit of Ada W. Meade Coffey, 16 Oct. 1922 (Acc. No. T15625).

Census of Ireland, 1901 & 1911

Family and Estate Papers: Maps & Rental

Copy of lease William Carvill Esq. To William Todd Esq., 1863 (1146/3/2)

Fee farm grant William Todd Esq. To the trustees of Christ Church Rathgar, 1878 (1146/3/3)

Executor's sale of estate of late William Todd, 1882 (1146/3/5)

Rough map of lots at Orwell Park, c.1895 (1146/3/12)

Map of estate of William Todd at Orwell Park, County Dublin, 1905 (1146/3/24)

Mortgage of premises at Garville Avenue, William A. Shea Esq. To the Second Equitable Benefit Building Society, 1898 (1146/2/8)

Mortgage of premises at Garville Avenue, Adelaide Courtney to The Irish Civil Service (Permanent) Building Society, 1878 (1146/2/3)

Pembroke Estate Papers: Accession No. 1011

Agreements, 1865-1891

Correspondence, 1856-1888

Plans, 1879-1901

Estate, 1873-1876

Pembroke Estate Papers: Accession No. 2011

Maps, 1830-1865

Statements of Accounts, 1869

Pembroke Estate Papers: Accession No. 97/46

Letter Books, 1860-1900

Public Record Office of Ireland copy of wills:

William Carvill, 1885 (T6875)

Ada Willis Meade, 1924

Michael Meade, 1883

Rt. Hon. Joseph Michael Meade, corrective affidavit, 1922 (T15625)

National Library of Ireland

The Lawrence Photographic Collection

Kingstown harbour, 1865-1914 (L_CAB_02908)

Royal Victoria Baths, Kingstown, 1880-1900 (L_CAB_02917)

Mount Argus, Dublin, 1865-1914 (L_ROY_00770)

Lunatic Asylum, Ennis, Co. Clare, 1865-1914 (L_ROY_04181)

Crothwaite Park, Kingstown, 1865-1914 (L_ROY_05555)

Crothwaite Park, Kingstown, 1865-1914 (L_ROY_05554)

National Library of Ireland, Manuscripts Department

Visitor's book of Alderman Joseph Meade, Lord Mayor of Dublin, 27 Jan. 1891-2 Aug. 1892 (Ms. 19,707, 3383).

De Vesci papers

Accession No. VI.iv.3:

1857-74: letters and papers of the 3rd Viscount de Vesci (MS 39,012/1-4)

1857-74: letters and papers of the 3rd Viscount de Vesci (MS 39,013/1-5)

1862-74: letters from 3rd Viscount de Vesci to 4th Earl of Longford (MS 39,014/1-5)

Accession No. XVIII.ix:

Miscellaneous correspondence between Viscount de Vesci and solicitors J.R. Stewart & Sons (MS 39,263/2)

1803-1965: settlements, mortgages etc regarding Longford/De Vesci estate in Dun Laoghaire (MS 38,750/3)

Original lease from Dec. 1895, No. 2 Cambridge Place, Tivoli Terrace, Kingstown, the Earl of Longford and Viscount de Vesci to William Cockburn (MS 40,222)

Registry of Deeds

Names Index Books:

Carvill: 1840-1849; 1850-59; 1860-69; 1870-79

Crosthwaite: 1828-32; 1833-39; 1840-49; 1850-59; 1860-69

Meade: 1840-49; 1850-60; 1860-69; 1870-79; 1880-89; 1890-1899; 1900-1909

Lands Index Books:

Crosthwaite: 1855-59; 1862-64; 1865-69; 1870-74;

Valuation Office

Griffith Valuation, County of Dublin, District of Dublin, Electoral Division of Donnybrook (currently Ward of Pembroke, East and West) Cancelled Books: vol. 7 (1855-63); vol. 7 (1862-68); vol. 7 (1868-76); vol. 7 (1876-82); vol. 7 (1882-88).

Griffith Valuation, County of Dublin, District of Dublin, Electoral Division of Rathfarnham, Cancelled Books: vol. 3 (1855-64); vol. 3 (1864-75); vol. 3 (1873-87); vol. 3 (1887-99).

Griffith Valuation, County of Dublin, District of Dublin, Electoral Division of Kingstown, Cancelled Books: vol. 1/2/3 (1855-59); vol. 1/2/3 (1859-67); vol. 1/2/3 (1867-70); vol. 1/2/3 (1870-77); vol. 1/2/3 (1877-85); vol. 1/2/3 (1885-92); vol. 1/2/3 (1892-99); vol. 1/2/3 (1899-1906).

St. Michael's House Archive

Original lease from September 1865, piece of ground on the south side of Ailesbury Road, The Earl of Clanwilliam & Marquis of Ailesbury & Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery & Michael Meade.

St. Michael's House archive, original lease from March 1868, piece of ground on the south side of Ailesbury Road, The Earl of Clanwilliam & Marquis of Ailesbury & Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery & Michael Meade.

Copy will and three codicils of Michael Meade Esq. J.P. with probate attached, dated 11th January 1883.

Lease from Earl of Pembroke to Ada Willis Meade for premises at Merrion View Avenue, dated 24th of October 1902.

Death certificate of Bridget Meade dated January 16th 1905.

Private collections

Copy of original lease from Mar. 1859, premises on Sandymount Strand Road, Hannah Bourne & William Eckersley & Alexander Graham.

Copy of original lease from Sept. 1861, ground and premises at Sandymount, The Earl of Clanwilliam & Marquis of Ailesbury & Lord Herbert & Alexander Graham.

Copy of original lease from July 1947, 41 Strand Road Sandymount, Miss Mary Monica Meade to John Joseph Shaw.

Copy of original lease from Sept. 1960, Number 29 Strand Road, Sandymount, The Right Honourable John Granville Baron Margadale of Islay and others to Edwin Laurence Meade.

Copy of original lease from Sept. 1877, piece of ground on the north side of Ailesbury Road, The Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery & Michael Meade Esq.

Private collection, sale catalogue and map dated 6 July 1894, rentals and particulars of the estate of William Hamilton Carvill and The Right Honourable Joseph Michael Meade.

SECONDARY SOURCES

MAPS

Ordnance Survey of Ireland, 'Dublin and its surroundings', 1:50,000. Surveyed 1860 (repr. Irish Historic Towns Atlas, Dublin, 2002).

Ordnance Survey of Ireland, County of Dublin. 1:10560

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| Sheet 18: | Surveyed 1837; 1837-43;
Revised 1894. Published 1897. |
| Sheet 19: | Surveyed 1837-43. Published 1843. |
| Sheet 22: | Surveyed 1837-43. Published 1843. |

Ordnance Survey of Ireland, County of Dublin, 1:1056.

- | | |
|---------------|--|
| Sheet 22-16: | Revised 1879-82. Published 1882. |
| Sheet 22-27: | Revised 1879-82. Published 1882. |
| Sheet 18-100: | Surveyed 1865. Published 1869.
Revised 1889.
Revised 1907. Published 1909. |
| Sheet 19-81: | Surveyed 1865. Published 1869.
Surveyed 1907. Published 1909. |

Ordnance Survey of Ireland, County of Dublin, 1:2500

- | | |
|--------------|--|
| Sheet 18-16: | Surveyed 1865. Published 1867.
Revised 1907-8. Published 1911. |
| Sheet 23-11: | Surveyed 1867. Published 1868.
Surveyed 1908-9. Published 1911. |
| Sheet 22-4: | Surveyed 1865. Published 1867.
Revised 1908. Published 1911. |
| Sheet 22-3: | Revised 1907. Published 1911. |

Ordnance Survey of Ireland, City of Dublin, 1:1056.

- | | |
|---------------|---|
| Sheet 22: | Revised 1838-47. Published 1847.
Revised 1864. Published 1866. |
| Sheet 18-100: | Revised 1889. |
| Sheet 18-58: | Revised 1907-8. Published 1909. |

Harvey, T.R., 'Panoramic view of the County of Wicklow and the city and intervening scenery of the County of Dublin' (Irish Historical Towns Atlas), 1850.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

Belfast Newsletter, selected dates, 1850-1893

The Dublin Builder, 1859-1866

The Freeman's Journal, selected dates, 1843-1900

The General Advertiser, selected dates, 1860-1865

The Irish Builder, 1867-1891

The Irish Builder, selected dates, 1900-1905

The Irish Builder and Engineer Jubilee Number, 1909

The Irish Times, selected dates, 1862-1921

The Freeman's Journal, selected dates, 1843-1900

The General Advertiser, selected dates, 1860-1865

The Times, selected dates, 1881-1967

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS

Inquiries

Municipal Boundaries Commission (Ireland), Part I, Evidence, with appendices.

Dublin, Rathmines, Pembroke, Kilmainham, Drumcondra, Clontarf, and also Kingstown, Blackrock and Dalkey, [C.2725], H.C. 1880.

Municipal Boundaries Commission (Ireland), Part II, Report. Dublin, Rathmines,

Pembroke, Kilmainham, Drumcondra, Clontarf, and also Kingstown, Blackrock and Dalkey, [C.2827], H.C. 1881, p. 26.

Report from the Select Committee on Town Holdings (Ireland), Part I. Minutes of Evidence, H.C. 1886 (213-Sess. 1).

TRADE DIRECTORIES

Thom's Dublin Street Directory 1842-1939

COUNTY COUNCIL RECORDS

Dublin City Council, select planning records.

BOOKS AND ARTICLES

- Allen, John Parnell, *Practical building construction* (London, 1900).
- Anderson, Ernest B., *Sailing ships of Ireland* (Dublin, 1951).
- Banham, Joanna, MacDonald, Sally & Porter, Julia, *Victorian Interior Design* (London, 1991).
- Barnard, Toby, *A guide to sources for the history of material culture in Ireland* (Dublin, 2005).
- Barrett, Helena, & Phillips, John, *Suburban style, the British home, 1840-1960* (London, 1993).
- Barrow, G.L., *The emergence of the Irish banking system, 1820-45* (Dublin, 1975).
- Barry, Michael, *Restoring a Victorian house* (Dublin, 1990). Bennett, Douglas, *Encyclopaedia of Dublin* (Dublin, 1991).
- Betjeman, John, *Victorian and Edwardian London from old photographs* (London, 1987).
- Bielenberg, Andy, *Ireland and the industrial revolution: the impact of the industrial revolution on Irish industry, 1801-1922* (London & New York, 2009).
- Bigelow, Gordon, *Fiction, famine and the rise of economics in Victorian Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, 2003).
- Blau, Eve, *Ruskinian Gothic, the architecture of Deane and Woodward, 1845-1861* (New Jersey, 1982).
- Borsay, Peter, 'Why are houses interesting?', in *Urban History*, xxxii, no. 2 (2007), pp 338-346.
- Bowe, Patrick, 'Dublin's suburban gardens: Loudon's influence', in *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies*, ix, (2006).
- Bowyer, Jack (ed.), *Handbook of building crafts in conservation, a commentary on Peter Nicholson's The New Practical and Workman's Companion* (London, 1981).
- Boynton, Helen & Pitches, Grant, *Desirable locations: Leicester's middle class suburbs 1880-1920* (Leicester, 1996).
- Brady, Joseph & Simms, Anngret (eds.), *Dublin through space and time, c. 900-1900* (Dublin, 2001).
- Brett, Charles E. B., *Buildings of Belfast, 1700-1914* (Belfast, 1985).
- Browne, P.H. & Hilliard, D.R.C, *Zion Church Rathgar: a brief account of its history, 1861-1986* (Dublin, 1961).
- Brunskill, R. W., *Brick building in Britain* (London, 1990).

- Bryden, Inga & Floyd, Janet, (eds.), *Domestic space: reading the nineteenth-century interior* (Manchester & New York, 1999).
- Burn, Robert Scott, *The grammar of house planning* (London, 1864).
- Burnell, George R., *The builder's and contractor's price-book for 1861* (London, 1861).
- Burton, Neil, & Guillery, Peter, *Behind the façade: London house plans, 1660-1840* (Reading, 2006).
- Byrne, Katriona, *Pearse Street D2, a study of the past, a vision for the future* (Dublin, 2001).
- Calder, Jenni, *The Victorian and Edwardian home from old photographs* (London, 1979).
- Carroll, Lydia, *In the fever king's preserves: Sir Charles Cameron and the Dublin slums* (Dublin, 2011).
- Casey, Christine, *Dublin* (New Haven and London, 2005).
- Casey, Christine (ed.), *The eighteenth-century Dublin town house* (Dublin, 2010).
- Cave, Lyndon F., *The smaller English house* (London, 1985).
- Cherry, Martin, 'Historic suburbs: research review' (unpublished English Heritage report, 2008).
- Clare, Liam, 'The Dublin cattle market', in *Dublin Historical Record*, lv, no. 2 (2002), pp 166-180.
- Clare, Liam, *Victorian Bray: a town adapts to changing times* (Dublin, 1998).
- Comstock, William T., *Victorian domestic architectural plans and details* (New York, 1881).
- Connell, Carmel, *Glasnevin cemetery, Dublin, 1832-1900* (Dublin, 2004).
- Conrad, Peter, *The Victorian treasure-house* (London, 1973).
- Corcoran, Michael, *Our good health: a history of Dublin's water and drainage* (Dublin, 2005).
- Corcoran, Michael, *Through streets and narrow: a history of Dublin trams* (Dublin, 2008).
- Craig, Maurice, *Classic Irish houses of the middle size* (London and New York, 1976).
- Craig, Maurice, *Dublin, 1660-1860* (Dublin, 1980).
- Craig, Maurice, 'Rostrevor Terrace, Rathgar' (unpublished report, Dublin, 1977).
- Craig, Maurice, *The architecture of Ireland from the earliest times to 1880* (London and Dublin, 1983).
- Craig, Maurice, 'The account-book of William Caldbeck, architect', in *Architectural History*, xxvii (1984), pp 421-428.
- Crean, Very Rev. Cyril P., P.P., (ed.), *Parish of the Sacred Heart, Donnybrook* (Dublin, 1966).

- Crinson, Mark, 'Georgianism and the tenements, Dublin 1908-1926', in *Art History*, ix, No. 4 (2006), pp 625-659.
- Cruikshank, Dan, *A guide to the Georgian buildings of Britain & Ireland* (London, 1985).
- Cullen, Louis M., 'Landlords, bankers and merchants: the early Irish banking world, 1700-1820' in A.E. Murphy (ed.), *Economists and the Irish economy from the eighteenth century to the present day* (Dublin, 1984).
- Cullen, Louis M., 'Germination and growth' in B. Sharpe (ed.), *Root and branch, Allied Irish Banks: yesterday, today and tomorrow*, (Dublin, 1979).
- Curl, James Stevens, *Victorian architecture, diversity and invention* (London, 2007).
- Daly, Mary E., *A social and economic history of Ireland since 1800* (Dublin, 1981).
- Daly, Mary E., *Dublin: the deposed capital, a social and economic history 1860-1914* (Cork, 1984).
- Daly, Mary E., Hearn, Mona, & Pearson, Peter (eds.), *Dublin's Victorian Houses* (Dublin, 1998).
- D'Arcy, Fergus, 'Wages of Labourers in the Dublin Building Industry, 1667-1918', in *Saothar*, xiv (1989), pp 17-32.
- D'Arcy, Fergus, 'Wages of Skilled Workers in the Dublin Building Industry, 1667-1918', in *Saothar*, xv (1990), pp 21-37.
- De Breffny, Brian & Ffolliott, Rosemary, *The houses of Ireland: domestic architecture from the medieval castle to the Edwardian villa* (London, 1975).
- Department of the Environment, *Bricks: a guide to the repair of historic brickwork* (Dublin, 2009).
- Dickson, David, (ed.), *The gorgeous mask: Dublin 1700-1850* (Dublin, 1987).
- Dillon, Malcolm, *The history and development of banking in Ireland* (London and Dublin, 1889).
- Dixon, F.E., *The history of Rathgar* (Dublin, 1991).
- Dixon, Roger, & Muthesius, Stefan, *Victorian architecture* (London, 1993).
- Dublin City Council, *The Georgian squares of Dublin* (Dublin, 2006).
- Duffy, Patrick J. 'Irish landholding structures and population in the mid-nineteenth century', in *The Maynooth Review*, iii, no. 2 (1977), pp 3-27.
- Dun Laoghaire Borough Historical Society Millennium Project, *Historical street directory of Kingstown-Dun Laoghaire* (Dun Laoghaire, 2000).
- Durant, David N., *The handbook of British architectural styles* (London, 1992).
- Dyos, H.J., 'The growth of a pre-Victorian suburb: south London, 1580-1836' in *The Town Planning Review*, xxv, no. 1(1954), pp 59-78.

- Dyos, H.J., 'The speculative builders and developers of Victorian London', in *Victorian Studies*, xi (1968).
- Dyos, H.J. & Wolff, Micheal (eds), *The Victorian city: images and realities* (London, 1973).
- Dyos, H.J., *Victorian suburb: a study of the growth of Camberwell* (Leicester, 1977).
- Eden, Emily, *The semi-detached house* (London, 1859).
- Everett, Michael D., *Victorian London street life, an illustrated Victorian view of the street life of London in 1889* (Sheffield, 1986).
- Farmer, Tony, *Privileged lives: a social history of middle class Ireland* (Dublin, 2010).
- Farmer, Tony, 'Setting up home on Dublin in the 1850s', in *Dublin Historical Record*, liv, no. 1 (2001), pp 16-27.
- Farmer, Tony, 'The Building Society that refused Patrick Pearse (and his mother)', in *Dublin Historical Record*, lv, no. 1 (2002), pp 64-74.
- Ferriday, Peter, *Victorian Architecture* (London, 1963).
- Findlater, Alex, *Findlaters-the story of a Dublin merchant family 1774-2001* (Dublin, 2001).
- Fitzpatrick, William J., *History of the Dublin Catholic cemeteries* (Dublin, 1900).
- Flanders, Judith, *The Victorian house: domestic life from childbirth to deathbed* (London, 2004).
- Flynn, Arthur, *A history of Bray* (Gloucestershire, 2004).
- Focarino, Joseph (ed.), *Nineteenth-century interiors: an album of watercolours* (London, 1992).
- Foyle, Andrew & Pevsner, Nicolas (eds.), *The buildings of England: Bristol* (New Haven & London, 2011).
- Fraser, Derek (ed.), *Municipal reform and the industrial city* (Leicester, 1982).
- Fraser, Murray, *John Bull's other homes: state housing and British policy in Ireland, 1883-1922* (Liverpool, 1996).
- Fraser, Murray, 'Public building and colonial policy in Dublin, 1760-1800', in *Architectural History*, xxviii (1985), pp 102-23.
- Garner, William, *Bray architectural heritage* (Dublin, 1980).
- Gaskin, James J., *Varieties of Irish history from ancient and modern sources and original documents* (Dublin & London, 1869).
- Geary, Laurence M. & Kelleher, Margaret, *Nineteenth-century Ireland: a guide to recent research* (Dublin, 2005).
- Gere, Charlotte & Whiteway, Michael, *Nineteenth-century design: from Pugin to Mackintosh* (London, 1993).

- Gifford, John, McWilliam, Colin & Walker, David (eds.), *The buildings of Scotland: Edinburgh* (London, 1984).
- Girouard, Mark, *Cities and people: a social and architectural history* (New Haven and London, 1985).
- Girouard, Mark, *Life in an English country house: a social and architectural history* (New Haven and London, 1987).
- Gloag, John, *Victorian taste, some social aspects of architecture & industrial design, 1820-1900* (Wiltshire, 1962).
- Grimes, Brendan, *Majestic shrines and graceful sanctuaries, the church architecture of Patrick Byrne, 1783-1864* (Dublin, 2009).
- Guild, Robin, *The complete Victorian house book* (London, 1989).
- Guillery, Peter, *The small house in eighteenth-century London* (London, 2004).
- Guinness, D., *Portrait of Dublin* (London, 1967).
- Hall, Frederick George, *History of the Bank of Ireland* (Dublin, 1949).
- Hall, Thomas, *Planning Europe's capital cities: aspects of nineteenth-century urban development* (London, 1997).
- Halliday, Stephen, *Making the metropolis: creators of Victoria's London* (Derby, 2003).
- Hammond, Martin, *Bricks and brickmaking* (Haverfordwest, 1990).
- Harrison, Richard S., *Merchants, mystics and philanthropists, 350 Years of Cork Quakers* (Cork, 2006).
- Haughton, Samuel, 'Experimental researches on the granites of Ireland', in *Quarterly journal of the Geological Society of London* (Aug. 1856).
- Hearn, Mona, *Below stairs, domestic service remembered in Dublin and beyond, 1880-1922* (Dublin, 1993).
- Hicks, Peter, *The Victorians* (East Sussex, 1995).
- Hoppen, K. Theodore, *The mid-Victorian generation: 1846-1886* (Oxford, 1998).
- Hunt, Tristram, *Building Jerusalem: the rise and fall of the Victorian city* (London, 2004).
- Jackson, Patrick Wyse, *The building stones of Dublin* (Dublin, 1993).
- James, Stuart, & McCrae, Gordon (eds.), *Renfrewshire studies* (Paisley, 1997).
- Jenkins, Simon, *England's thousand best houses* (London, 2003).
- Jensen, Finn, *The English semi-detached house* (Cambridgeshire, 2007).
- Johnson, Alan, *How to restore and improve your Victorian house* (Devon, 1984).
- Joly, Jasper Robert, *Dublin and its environs: with a map of the city and numerous illustrations engraved on wood* (Dublin, 1846).

Jones, Greta, "Strike out boldly the prizes that are available to you": medical emigration from Ireland', in *Medical History*, liv (2010), p.62.

Kelly, Deirdre, *Four roads to Dublin: a history of Rathmines, Ranelagh and Leeson Street* (Dublin, 1995).

Kennedy, Tom (ed.), *Victorian Dublin* (Dublin, 1980).

Keohane, Frank (ed.), *Period Houses: a conservation guidance manual* (Dublin, 2001).

Kerr, Robert, *The Gentleman's House* (London, 1864).

Kinahan, G. Henry, *Manual of the geology of Ireland* (London, 1878).

Kolbert, Colin Francis & O'Brien, T., *Land reform in Ireland* (Cambridge, 1975).

Lasdun, Susan, *Victorians at Home* (London, 1981).

Latham, Bryan, *Timber and its development and distribution, a historical survey* (London, 1957).

Laws, Amanda, *Understanding small period houses* (Wiltshire, 2003).

Laxton, Edward, *The famine ships: the Irish exodus to America 1846-51* (London, 1997).

Lloyd, David W. *The making of English towns* (London, 1998).

Lloyd, Nathaniel, *A history of English brickwork* (London, 1925).

Lloyd, Nathaniel, *A history of the English house, from primitive times to the Victorian period* (London, 1931).

Lockhead, Marion, *The Victorian household* (London, 1964).

Long, Helen, *Victorian Houses and their details* (Oxford, 2002).

Loudon, John Claudius, *An encyclopaedia of cottage, farm and villa architecture and furniture* (London, 1839).

Loudon, John Claudius, *The suburban gardener, and villa companion* (London, 1838).

Loudon, John Claudius, *The villa gardener, comprising the choice of a suburban villa residence* (London, 1850).

Luard, Charles Edward, *Stone: how to get it and how to use it, an introductory treatise for students in architecture, engineering, surveying and estate agency* (London, 1890).

Lynch, Gerard, *Brickwork: history, technology and practice* (London, 1994).

Lyons, Mary Cecilia, *Illustrated incumbered estates: Ireland 1850-1905* (Co. Clare, 1993).

Mac Aongusa, Brian, *William Dargan of Mount Anville: great railway builder and patriot* (Dublin, 2010).

McAfee, Patrick, *Irish stone walls* (Dublin, 1997).

McAfee, Patrick, *Stone buildings* (Dublin, 1998).

McCready, C.T., *Dublin street names, dated and explained* (Dublin, 1987).

McCullough, Niall, *Dublin, an urban history, the plan of the city* (Dublin, 2007).

- McDermott, Matthew J., *Dublin's architectural development, 1800-1925* (Dublin, 1988).
- McGowan, Pdraig, 'Money and banking in Ireland: origins, development and future', in *Journal of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland*, xxvi (1988), pp 45-132.
- McManus, Ruth, *Crampton built* (Dublin, 2008).
- McManus, *Dublin, 1910-1940: shaping the city and suburbs* (Dublin, 2002).
- McParland, Edward, *Bibliography of Irish architectural history* (Dublin, 1988).
- McWilliam, Colin & Newman, John (eds.), *The buildings of Scotland: Glasgow* (London, 1990).
- Mancroff, Debra N. & Trela, D.J. (eds.), *Victorian urban settings: essays on the nineteenth-century city and its contexts* (New York and London, 1996).
- Marshall, John, & Willox, Ian, *The Victorian house* (London, 1986).
- Miller, Judith H., *Victorian style* (London, 1993).
- Moriarty, Christopher, *Down the Dodder* (Dublin, 1991).
- Morris, R. J. & Rodger, Richard (eds.), *The Victorian City: a reader in British urban history, 1820-1914* (London, 1993).
- Morris, Thomas, *A house for the suburbs; socially and architecturally sketched* (London, 1860).
- Murphy, James D., *The semi-detached house: its place in suburban housing* (Dublin, 1977).
- Murray, K.A., *Ireland's first railway* (Dublin, 1981).
- Muthesius, Hermann, *The English House*, (London, 2007).
- Muthesius, Stefan, *The English terraced house* (New Haven and London, 1982).
- Myerson, Julie, *Home, the story of everyone who ever lived in our house* (London, 2005).
- Nenadic, Stana, 'Businessmen, the urban middle classes, and the "Dominance" of manufacturers in nineteenth-century Britain', in *The Economic History Review*, xlv, no. 1 (1991), pp 66-85.
- Nolan, Patrick, *The history and mystery of banking in Ireland and elsewhere* (Bruges, 1923).
- O'Brien, Gillian & O'Kane, Finola (eds.), *Georgian Dublin* (Dublin, 2008).
- O'Brien, Gillian & O'Kane, Finola (eds.), *Portraits of the city: Dublin and the wider world* (Dublin, 2012).
- O'Connell, Angela, *The servants' church, a history of the Church of the Three Patrons in the parish of Rathgar* (Dublin, 2004).
- O'Donoghue, Brendan, *The Irish county surveyors 1834-1944* (Dublin, 2007).

- O'Dwyer, Frederick, 'A Victorian Partnership-The Architecture of Pugin & Ashlin', in Royal Institute of Architects of Ireland, *150 years of architecture in Ireland* (Dublin, 1989), pp 55-62.
- O'Dwyer, Frederick, *The architecture of Deane & Woodward* (Cork, 1997).
- O'Dwyer, Frederick, 'The architecture of John Skipton Mulvaney 1813-1870', in *Irish Architectural Studies*, iii,(2000), pp 10-75.
- Ó Gráda, Cormac, *Ireland a new economic history 1780-1939* (Oxford, 1994).
- Ó Gráda, Cormac, *The Great Irish Famine: winners and losers* (Working paper series, U.C.D., 1997).
- Ó Maithú, Seamas, *Dublin's suburban towns 1834-1930* (Dublin, 2003).
- Ó Maithú, Seamas & O'Reilly, Barry, *Ballyknockan: a Wicklow stonecutters' village* (Dublin, 1997).
- O'Neill, Michael, *Bank architecture in Dublin* (Dublin, 2012).
- Old Newry Society, *The book of Newry* (Newry, 2008).
- Ollerenshaw, Philip, *Banking in nineteenth-century Ireland* (Manchester, 1987).
- Olsen, Donald J., *Town planning in London* (New Haven and London, 1982).
- Osband, Linda, *Victorian house style* (Devon, 2001).
- Osband, Linda, *Victorian Gothic house style* (Devon, 2003).
- Papworth, John Buonarotti, *Rural residences* (London, 1832).
- Parker, Michael St. John, *Life in Victorian Britain* (London, 1999).
- Pearson, Peter, *Between the mountains and the sea* (Dublin, 2001).
- Pearson, Peter, *Decorative Dublin* (Dublin, 2002).
- Pearson, Peter, *Dun Laoghaire, Kingstown* (Dublin, 1981).
- Pearson, Peter, *The heart of Dublin* (Dublin, 2000).
- Pearson, J. Herbert, *Suburban houses, a series of practical plans* (London and New York, 1905).
- Potter, Matthew, *The Municipal revolution in Ireland: a handbook of urban government in Ireland since 1800* (Dublin & Oregon, 2011).
- Powys, A.R., *The English House* (York, 1992).
- Prunty, Jacinta, *Dublin slums: 1800-1925, a study in urban geography* (Dublin, 1998).
- Quiney, Anthony, *House and home: a history of the small English house* (London, 1986).
- Quinn, Anthony P., 'Irish Credit Unions: a success story', in *History Ireland*, iii, no. 1 (1995), pp 33-37.
- Rains, Stefanie, *Commodity culture and social class in Dublin 1850-1916* (Dublin, 2010).
- Redmond, Reggie, *The history of Oakland Rathgar* (Dublin, 2008).

- Reilly, James R., *Richard Griffith and his valuations of Ireland* (Dublin, 1847).
- Rilling, Donna J. *Making houses, crafting capitalism, builders in Philadelphia, 1790-1850* (Philadelphia, 2001).
- Rock, Ian Alistair, *The Victorian house manual* (Somerset, 2005).
- Rodger, R.G., 'Speculative builders and the structure of the Scottish building industry, 1860-1914' in *Business History*, xxi, no. 2 (1979), pp.226-246.
- Rodger, R.G., *Housing in Urban Britain 1780-1914* (Cambridge, 1995).
- Rothery, Sean, *A field guide to the buildings of Ireland* (Dublin, 1997).
- Roundtree, Susan, 'Dublin bricks & brickmakers', in *Dublin Historical Record*, lx, no. 1 (2007), pp 61-70.
- Rowan, Alistair, 'The Irishness of Irish architecture', in *Architectural History*, xl (1997), pp 1-23.
- Royal Institute of Architects of Ireland (eds.), *150 Years of Architecture in Ireland* (Dublin, 1989).
- Rubenstein, David, *Victorian Homes* (Devon, 1974).
- Ryan, Christopher, *Lewis' Dublin, a topographical dictionary of the parishes, towns and villages of Dublin city and county* (Cork, 2001).
- Saint, Andrew, *Image of the Architect* (Yale, 1985).
- Saint, Andrew, *Richard Norman Shaw* (New Haven and London, 2000).
- Seaman, L.C.B, *Life in Victorian London* (London, 1973).
- Shaw, Henry, *The Dublin pictorial guide and directory of 1850* (repr., Belfast, 1988).
- Sheeran George, *The Victorian houses of Bradford: an illustrated guide to the city's heritage* (Bradford, 1990).
- Simpson, M.A. & Lloyd, T.A., *Middle class housing in Britain* (Devon, 1977).
- Smith, Charles Manby, *Curiosities of London life*, (London, 1853), as cited in Lee Jackson, *Daily life in Victorian London: an extraordinary anthology* (London, 2011).
- Smith, David, *Architectural builders' memoranda book or prices* (Belfast, 1863).
- Sparrow, Walter Shaw (ed.). *The modern home* (London, 1906).
- Spencer, W.C, *The suburban home of London* (London, 1881).
- Stamp, Gavin & Amery, Colin, *Victorian buildings of London, 1837-87: an Illustrated guide* (London, 1982).
- Stamp, Gavin & Goulancourt, André, *The English House 1860-1914* (London, 1986).
- Steel, John & Wright, Michael, *The English house: 1000 years of domestic architecture* (Suffolk, 2007).
- Stewart, Rachel, *The town house in Georgian London* (New Haven and London, 2009).

- Summerson, John, *Architecture in Britain, 1530 to 1830* (London, 1953).
- Summerson, John, *Georgian London* (London, 1988).
- Summerson, John, *The architecture of Victorian London* (Charlottesville, 1976) Sweet, Matthew, *Inventing the Victorians* (London, 2002).
- Timber trades journal, *The wood industries of Canada* (London, 1897).
- Trachtenberg, Marvin, 'Some observations on recent architectural history', in *The Art Bulletin*, lxx, no. 2 (1988), pp 208-241.
- Tristram, Philippa, *Living Space in Fact and Fiction* (London and New York, 1989).
- Turner, Michael, *Osborne House* (London, 2007).
- Vaughan, W.E., (ed.), *Ireland After the Union I, 1801-1870*, in *A New History of Ireland*, v (Oxford, 1989).
- Vaughan, W.E., (ed.), *Ireland After the Union II, 1870-1921*, in *A New History of Ireland*, vi (Oxford, 1996).
- Vroom, Richard & Doyle, Arthur, *Old New Brunswick: a Victorian portrait* (Toronto, Oxford and New York, 1978).
- Wakeman, William F., *Tourists' guide through Dublin and its interesting suburbs, specially (sic.) suited to the visitors of The International Exhibition* (Dublin, 1865).
- Wall, Maureen, 'The rise of a Catholic middle class in eighteenth-century Ireland, in *Irish Historical Studies*, xi, no. 42 (1958), pp 91-115.
- Walsh, John, *Collen: 200 years of building and civil engineering in Ireland* (Dublin, 2010).
- Warburton, J., Revd J. Whitelaw, Robert Walsh, *History of the City of Dublin* (London, 1818).
- Wedd, Kit, *The Victorian Society book of the Victorian house* (London, 2002).
- Whelan, Karl, *Ireland's sovereign debt crisis* (working paper series, U.C.D., 2011).
- Wilkinson, George, *Practical geology and ancient architecture of Ireland* (Dublin, 1845).
- Williams, Jeremy, *A companion guide to architecture in Ireland, 1837-1921* (Dublin, 1994).
- Willis, Thomas, *The hidden Dublin, facts connected with the social and sanitary condition of the working classes in the city of Dublin* (Dublin, 1845).
- Wilson, R.G. & A. L. Mackley, 'How much did the English country house cost to build, 1660-1880?', in *Economic History Review*, lii, no. 3 (1999), pp 436-468.
- Wilson, A.N., *The Victorians* (London, 2002).
- Wilson, Laura, *Daily Life in a Victorian house* (Washington, 1993).
- Wood, Richard, *A Victorian house* (London, 2002).

- Woodward, George E. & Thompson, Edward G, *A Victorian housebuilder's guide*, "Woodward's National Architect of 1869" (New York, 1988).
- Wylie, J.C.W., *Irish land law* (West Sussex and Dublin, 2010)
- Wylie, J.C.W., 'The "Irishness" of Irish land law', in *Northern Ireland Legal Quarterly*, xlv, nos. 3 & 4 (1995), pp 332-352.
- Yorke, T., *The Victorian house explained* (Berkshire, 2005).

THESES

- Alexander, Angela, 'Dublin cabinetmakers and their clientele in the period 1800-1841' (Ph.D thesis, University College, Dublin, 2006).
- Brady, Patricia, 'Variations on a theme: study of the villa style houses on Leinster Road, Rathmines, Dublin 6 and conservation issues that apply to them' (M.U.B.C. thesis, University College, Dublin, 2006).
- Bryan, Mary, 'Fitzwilliam Square, Dublin' (M.U.B.C. thesis, University College, Dublin 1995).
- Burke, Nuala T., 'Dublin 1600-1800: a study in urban morphogenesis' (Ph.D. thesis, Trinity College, Dublin, 1972).
- Cockerill, John Ellison, 'The construction industry in Belfast 1800-1914' (Ph.D. thesis, Queen's University, Belfast, 1993).
- Crimmins, Carl, 'Henrietta Street study' (M. Arch. Thesis, University College, Dublin, 1987).
- Crookes, Gearoid, 'The genesis of an archive: forty years of *The Irish Builder*, 1859-1899' (Ph.D. thesis, University College, Dublin, 1994).
- Duggan, Anthony, 'The development of Parnell Square, its houses, decoration and fittings' (M.U.B.C. thesis, University College, Dublin, 1991).
- Fitzpatrick, Andre Jude, 'The economic effects of the French revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars on Ireland' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Manchester, 1973).
- Galavan, Susan, 'Northumberland Road: the story of a Dublin street, 1833-1888' (M.A. thesis, University College Dublin, 2008).
- Gibney, Arthur, 'Studies in eighteenth-century building history' (Ph.D. thesis, Trinity College, Dublin, 1998).
- Goodbody, Rob, 'An early nineteenth-century street at Carysfort Avenue Blackrock, a conservation study (M.U.B.C. thesis, University College, Dublin 2005).

Harty, James, 'A comparative study of house types in Dun Laoghaire' (M.Arch thesis, University College, Dublin, 1987).

Hearn, Mona, 'Domestic servants in Dublin, 1880-1920' (Ph.D. thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 1984).

Jones, Stefanie, 'Dublin reformed: the transformation of the municipal governance of a Victorian city, 1840-1860' (Ph.D. thesis, Trinity College, Dublin, 2001).

Lavin, Anne, Leinster Square (with Prince Arthur Terrace) Rathmines, Dublin, an early suburban speculative terraced housing development, 1830-1852 (M.U.B.C. thesis, University College, Dublin 1995). McAulay, Eve, 'The origins and early development of the Pembroke Estate beyond the Grand Canal 1816-1880' (Ph.D. thesis, Trinity College, Dublin, 2003).

McCullen, John A., 'Landscape history and management of the Phoenix Park 1800-1880' (Ph.D. thesis, Trinity College, Dublin, 2006).

Matthews, Nicola, 'The development of Merrion Square' (M.U.B.C. thesis, University College, Dublin, 1997).

Mulligan, Fergus, 'William Dargan 1799-1867: a business life' (Ph.D. thesis, Trinity College, Dublin, 2002).

Noonan, Caitriona, 'Residential development and the making of streets in late nineteenth-century Dublin city' (M.U.B.C. thesis, University College, Dublin, 2007).

Roundtree, Susan, Mountpleasant Square, (M.U.B.C. thesis, University College, Dublin, 1991).

Roundtree, Susan, 'A history of clay brick as a building material in Ireland' (M.Litt. thesis, Trinity College, Dublin, 1999).

Wallace, Ciarán, 'Local politics and government in Dublin city and suburbs, 1899-1914' (Ph.D. thesis, Trinity College, Dublin, 2009).