

The Changing Face of Dublin, 1550–1750

COLM LENNON

ALTHOUGH ITS CITIZENS PRIDED THEMSELVES on living in ‘the Irishe or yong London’,¹ sixteenth-century Dublin had neither the reach nor the appearance of a national capital. Before 1550, the city’s effective jurisdiction did not extend much beyond the eastern region of Ireland which incorporated the English Pale, south Leinster and east Munster. Down to the 1550s Irish parliamentary sessions were regularly held outside Dublin, the four central courts had no permanent domicile, and the royal castle which housed the viceroy’s administration was partly ruinous.² Efforts to appoint a viceregal suite in the dissolved priory of the knights hospitaller of St John at Kilmainham, one and a half miles (2.5 km) to the west of the city, proved to be less than successful.³ Apart from the castle there was a dearth of public building. State and civic business was sometimes conducted in Christ Church cathedral but a major collapse of the roof of the nave in 1562 betokened the building’s decay.⁴ The extra-mural cathedral, St Patrick’s, and the rest of the urban parish churches were comparatively small. The tholsel or town hall in St Werburgh’s Street, the focus of Dublin municipal life, was an embarrassment to the corporation because of its ramshackle condition, and guildhalls similarly lacked distinction.⁵

As a commercial hub, Dublin’s position was not superior to that of Drogheda—also on the east coast—in terms of its nexus of trade routes, while the ports of Waterford, Limerick and Galway on the south and west coasts were the real emporia of British and continental traffic. An English commissioner visiting Limerick in the 1530s, for example, gushed that it was ‘a wondrous proper city and strong . . . it may be

¹ R. Stanihurst, ‘Description of Ireland’ in *Holinshed’s Irish chronicle*, ed. L. Miller and E. Power (Dublin, 1979), p. 39.

² S. Ellis, *Ireland in the age of the Tudors: English expansion and the end of Gaelic rule* (London, 1998), pp. 372–5; C. Kenny, *King’s Inn and the kingdom of Ireland: the Irish ‘Inn of Court’, 1541–1800* (Dublin, 1992), pp. 72–4, 111–13, 232–4; C. Lennon, *The lords of Dublin in the age of Reformation* (Dublin, 1989), p. 33.

³ C. Kenny, *Kilmainham: the story of a settlement older than Dublin* (Dublin, 1995), pp. 37–8.

⁴ Cf. R. Gillespie, ed., *The proctor’s accounts of Peter Lewis, 1564–1565* (Dublin, 1996), pp. 13–14.

⁵ Lennon, *Lords of Dublin*, p. 33.

called little London for the situation and plenty'.⁶ The Shannonside port was able to accommodate ships of up to 400 tons.⁷ By contrast, the sand-bar at the mouth of Dublin's haven was a significant handicap, as the wharves and unloading facilities at the quayside were inaccessible to all but the lightest vessels.⁸ Whatever its pretensions to urban pre-eminence, the colonial mentality of the citizens and its smallness of scale precluded Dublin from performing a rôle as a national cynosure for the island's population.

The period under review here witnessed a major transformation from which Dublin emerged as a national capital of European dimensions by the later eighteenth century.⁹ Of fundamental importance of course was a massive population increase, entailing at least a tenfold growth from a possible figure of 10,000–15,000 for the later 1500s. Political, economic and social changes produced a confident urban élite which was positively disposed towards embracing Dublin's centrality in the newly-established kingdom of Ireland. This process came to be reflected slowly in a coherent approach to the planning and development of the city, and in innovative attitudes in respect of the organisation of building projects. Dublin's changing face was turned ever more relentlessly eastwards towards the sea during this era, the tendency being dictated not just by considerations of commerce and communication but also by questions of style and fashionability. Thus the city's new countenance was becoming suitably bedizened (in consonance with its enhanced status) with grand public buildings including the parliament house, magnificent squares, stately malls and grid-planned suburbs. *Prima facie* and *de facto* Dublin was a capital city by 1750.¹⁰

It may be instructive to begin by providing spatial and temporal perspectives from which urban development in the two-hundred-year span can be considered. A series of maps gives a useful overview. In the map of 1610 by John Speed (see Figure 3.1) (the first actual delineation of the city) the intramural area dominates, occupying about one-ninth of a square mile (70 acres or 30 hectares). Some ribbon suburban development is evident, in conjunction with former monasteries such as St Thomas Court, or, as in the case of the transpontine suburb of Oxmantown, the parish church of St Michan. In 1610, the old bridge is still the only one spanning the Liffey, but three relatively recent features to the east of the walls indicate the directional trend of building as well as social and cultural developments: the college, established on the site of All Hallows monastery in 1592, Carey's Hospital built about 1603, and the bridewell

⁶ Cited in B. Bradshaw, ed., 'Father Wolfe's description of Limerick, 1574', *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, 17 (1975), 48.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 47.

⁸ Lennon, *Lords of Dublin*, pp. 21–2, 25–6.

⁹ Cf. P. Clark and B. Lepetit, eds, *Capital cities and their hinterlands in early modern Europe* (Aldershot, 1996), introduction, pp. 2–7, for a discussion of the characteristic features of capital cities.

¹⁰ The spirit and essence of this period is captured in M. Craig, *Dublin, 1660–1860* (Dublin, 1952).

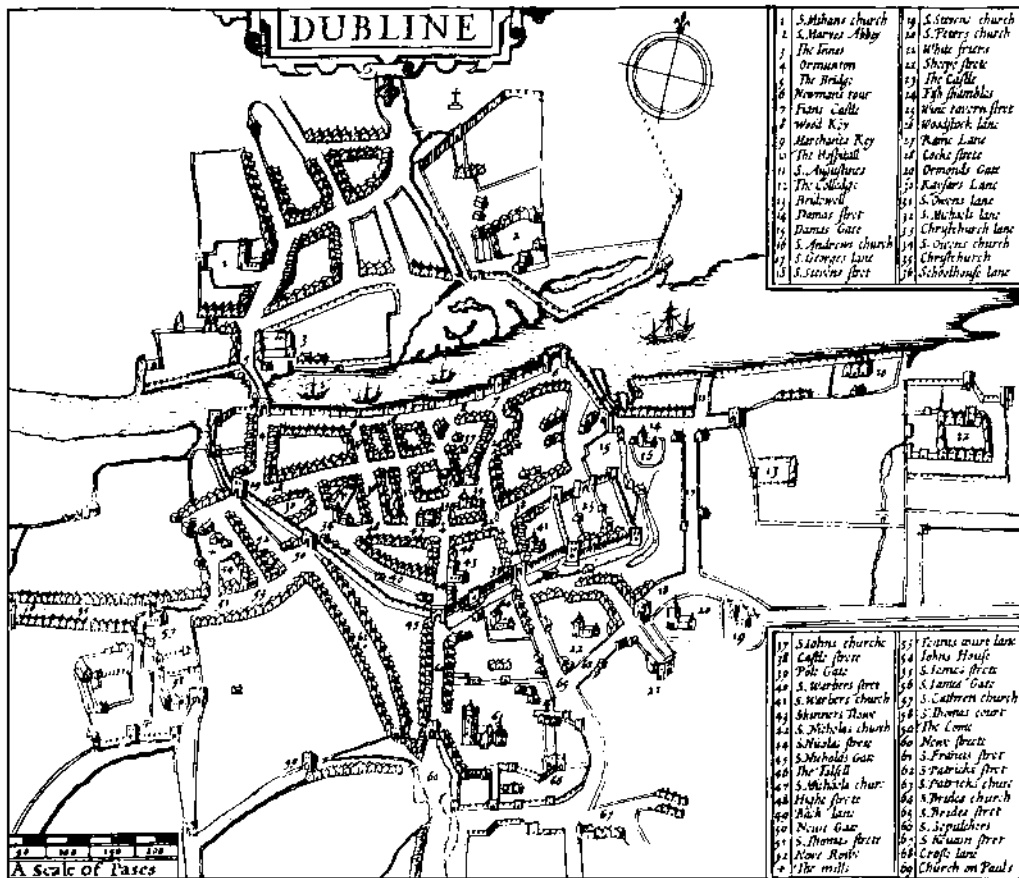


Figure 3.1. Dublin in 1610, by John Speed.

constructed about 1604.¹¹ Each of these establishments became embedded in the urban growth occasioned by the eastward thrust of building in the succeeding half century.

The next map dates from 1673 (see Figure 3.2) and immediately there can be seen the diminished though not insignificant proportion of the built-up space the old urban core now occupies.¹² Aided by the reclamation projects along the right bank of the river, building has been drawn along the line of Dame's Street in Hoggen Green towards the College. Also apparent are the suburban developments of the Aungier estate to the

¹¹ For an illuminating interpretation of Speed's map, see J.A. Andrews, 'The oldest map of Dublin', *Royal Irish Academy Proceedings*, section C, 83 (1983), 205–37.

¹² This 1673 map, after Bernard de Gomme, and the 1756 one after John Rocque, are reproduced by kind permission of Dr Jacqueline R. Hill, author of *From patriots to unionists: Dublin civic politics and Irish Protestant patriotism, 1660–1840* (Oxford, 1997).

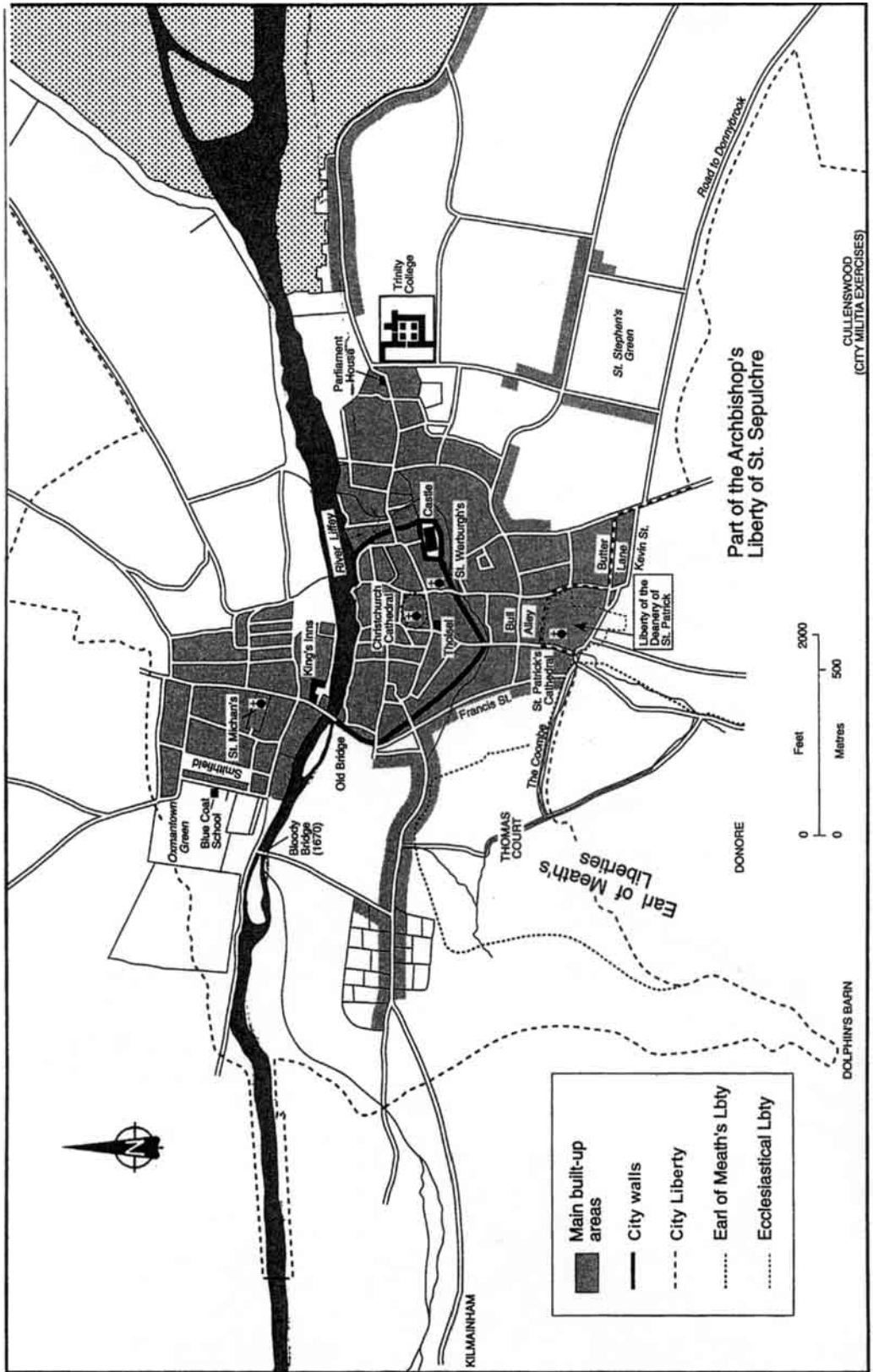


Figure 3.2. Dublin, c.1673 (after Bernard de Gomme).

south¹³ and the Jervis estate on the lands on the left bank formerly belonging to St Mary's Abbey. A second bridge has been erected, perhaps in vain anticipation of westerly settlement associated with the development of the old commons of Oxmantown Green. More significantly St Stephen's Green to the south-east has been walled and partly built around.

The 1756 map (see Figure 3.3) shows the complete absorption of the walled city within the expanding urban area, reflecting the redundancy of the medieval fortifications. The Liffey is channelled within reclaimed riparian lots, presaging further development of Dublin's easterly orientation. The building-up of the suburb to the south-east has encompassed such fashionable streets as Grafton, Dawson and Nassau, and paralleling this in the north-eastern quarter is the Gardiner estate, incorporating the elegant Sackville Street or Mall. Development on the earl of Meath's estate to the south-west included the woollen workers' area of the liberties. Three new bridges span the Liffey, the most important being Essex Bridge, a hub of new thoroughfares until the erection of Carlisle Bridge in the early 1790s. Among the stately new buildings erected by this date are the west front of Trinity (1750s), the Parliament House (1731), Kildare (now Leinster) House (1745), the older Custom House of 1707, and, to the west, the Royal Barracks (1705) on the north bank and the Royal Hospital (1685) on the south.¹⁴

Four phases of urban development are represented by these maps. The first runs from the dissolution of the Dublin monasteries about 1540 to the great gunpowder explosion at the quayside in 1597 which caused massive damage in the heart of the old city. Although there was little significant new domestic or public building at the time, a lively market in property leases was stimulated by the dispersal of former monastic property, and the corporation land bank also expanded substantially. Contemporaneously, sedentary central government spawned a large bureaucracy which attracted many newcomers from England. During the second phase, from the early seventeenth century down to the 1640s, settled conditions fostered population increase and economic growth. Rebuilding of utilities and facilities necessitated by the explosion was concentrated on extramural 'greenfield' sites to the east of the walls, as was the laying out of new streets. A key development was the reclamation of the Liffey-Poddle confluence by private enterprise on corporation land which provided a springboard for easterly commercial and residential expansion.

The Restoration and the viceroyalty of the duke of Ormonde ushered in the third phase. He was lord lieutenant from 1662 to 1669 and 1677 to 1685, and his cosmopolitanism influenced both the style and substance of the urban fabric. An aspiration to grandeur and coherence of design mark the suburban projects of the municipality and of private landowners. Much of this was crystallised in the construction of

¹³ See N. Burke, 'An early modern Dublin suburb: the estate of Francis Aungier, earl of Longford', *Irish Geography*, 6 (1972), 365–85.

¹⁴ For a discussion of the social, cultural and architectural influences upon this period of development, see Craig, *Dublin, 1660–1860*.

Capel Street–Essex Bridge axis. The final phase covers the earlier eighteenth century down to the establishment of the Wide Streets Commissioners in 1757–8. Public edifices commensurate with Dublin's political, social and commercial status were erected. Bipolar residential development in the fashionable north-east and south-east quadrants was driven by private landlords, both *arriviste* speculators and longer-established proprietors. And the corporation committed itself to the improvement of maritime facilities and the reclamation of the downstream Liffey banks with the erection of the Ballast Office and the laying-out of the 'north lotts'.

II

In attempting to explain the genesis of attitudes and policies towards the shaping of the metropolis, we may find it useful first to scrutinise the changing faces of the citizenry, and in particular those of the ruling élite. All proposals for building and for the development of streets in the urban franchises had traditionally come under the exclusive jurisdiction of the corporation. As a result of grants by royal charter and acquisitions of former monastic property, the civic corporation was by far the largest landlord within the environs of Dublin. The city, for example, came into possession of the extensive estates of All Hallows in the neighbourhood of Dublin, and the housing stock previously owned by the abbeys of St Mary and St Thomas within the walls.¹⁵ Before 1600 there is little evidence in the council records of any co-ordinated initiatives for the planning and organisation of civic space. The emphasis in respect of the urban fabric was on shoring up the stock of buildings and utilities inherited from the medieval period, many of them such as the tholsel, the Liffey bridge and the city water-course by then decrepit.¹⁶ Down to the end of the sixteenth century the leasing by the corporation of parts of the city's estates was generally unsystematic and unconditional on any commitment to improvements, though individual buildings such as gate-towers were rented out with the proviso that they be roofed and slated, and kept 'styffe and staunche'.¹⁷ Significant progress in the keeping of the civic rent-roll, adumbrated by the beginning of more formal accounting by the civic treasurer in the 1540s, did not take place until the period of Alderman Francis Taylor's fiscal management around the turn of the century.¹⁸

Major changes in the membership of the city council came about with the political and religious discomfiture of many older patrician families in the early Stuart period.

¹⁵ Dublin, City Archives, Dublin royal charters, nos. LXXVII, LXXXV.

¹⁶ For references to proposed repair-work to these structures, see *CARD*, vol. II, pp. 164, 171–2, 287, 293–4.

¹⁷ See, for example, the lease to Richard Fitzsimon of the tower above Dame's Gate in 1543, and the earlier one to John Roche: *CARD*, vol. I, pp. 336, 413.

¹⁸ The 'Account book of Dublin, 1540–1613' is held in Dublin, City Archive, MS MR/35; for the arrangements pertaining to the civic accounts, see *CARD*, vol. I, pp. 413–14, and for Taylor's reforms in the municipal rent-roll, *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 362; vol. III, pp. 28–9.

Newer arrivals among the aldermen and councillors naturally conceived of their urban milieu in a different way. They were comfortable with Dublin's new economic and administrative centrality after the Tudor conquest. Nor were they bound by sentiment or family ties to the cramped confines of the walled town, being attracted rather to build and develop extramurally. In most other respects, however, the magisterial approach was continued from the time when the older élite ruled. There was a consolidation of the trend towards easterly expansion, though not now based on the atavistic fear of Gaelic clansmen from the west and south-west.¹⁹ More pressing were the concerns about commercial well-being, proper wharfage facilities at a new custom house, the raising of revenue and the exploitation of the civic rent-roll. Migration of refugees from wars and harvest crises who clustered in 'cottages' or shanties on the suburban fringes presented a serious threat to urban stability and order to which the civic authorities responded with plans for new institutions such as bridewells and houses of correction.²⁰

As a morphological watershed, the impact of the explosion at the quayside in 1597 cannot be overemphasised. The effect on civic morale of the loss of the lives of 126 people, the majority of them residents of the urban core, was inestimable, especially at a time of maximum vulnerability because of warfare and social dislocation. Major reconstruction was necessitated by the destructive force of the blast. The zone of maximum devastation was the T-shaped streetscape formed by Merchant's Quay, Wood Quay and the intersecting Winetavern Street. Between twenty and forty houses were completely flattened, and within the walls, much damage was sustained by buildings in Cook Street, Fishamble Street, Bridge Street, High Street, Castle Street and St Michael's Lane. Intramural and extramural churches sustained varying degrees of structural harm, and virtually no house escaped without being 'marvellously endamaged', 'whether in the tylynges, timbers and glasses'. The loss of the city crane, custom house and wharves had to be remedied at considerable expense, Dutch engineers being imported to work on a new cranehouse. Much of this reconstruction was focused on the land to the east of the city walls.²¹

The pattern of development of the north-eastern spur between the city wall and the Liffey–Poddle confluence in the earlier seventeenth century bears testimony to both continuity and change in the transitional phase of urban growth. This major reclamation and building project, the most substantial for three hundred years, was embarked

¹⁹ Richard Stanihurst claimed that most suburban growth in the medieval period had tended in a southerly direction along St George's Lane but that the attacks of their 'prouling mountain neighbours' had forced the citizens to abandon their dwellings and seek protection within the walled city: Stanihurst, 'Description of Ireland' in *Holinshed's Irish chronicle*, ed. Miller and Power, p. 48.

²⁰ For an insight into the mentality of the new élite and its impact on the urban landscape, see C. Diamond, "'God hath commaunded": the established church and its community in Dublin, 1603–41' (MA thesis, NUI, Maynooth, 1997).

²¹ For a discussion of the explosion and its aftermath, see C. Lennon, 'The great explosion in Dublin, 1597', *Dublin Historical Record*, 42 (1988), 7–20.

upon through a combination of private enterprise and public utility. A series of leases and permits was granted by the corporation to private individuals in the early Jacobean years to reclaim and develop plots of land to the east of the walls and to the north of Dame's Gate. The entrepreneurs included both members of long-established Dublin families such as Fagan and Newman, and influential newcomers such as Sir George Carey and Christopher Bysse. Far from establishing a coherent framework for development, the corporation grants were made in a piecemeal and even haphazard manner, but there were intimations of the need for control of building and tenure on the developed and reclaimed sites in the context of the demands of expanding trade and population. For example, the need for infrastructural development to support the new Custom House built on Newman's holding was recognised through the provision of thoroughfares from the wharf. As a leading historical geographer put it, 'the reclamation and development of the Poddle–Liffey confluence both in itself and by its influence was an important element in the morphological development of Dublin'.²²

III

While Dublin corporation adopted a more proactive approach towards the organisation of urban space in circumstances of demographic and commercial expansion, a new interest was represented from the seventeenth century onwards by the presence of a viceregal court with resident aristocratic attendants. Thomas Wentworth's scheme for a lavish gubernatorial establishment in the city foundered on the outbreak of rebellion in 1641²³ but the duke of Ormonde's deputyship after the Restoration brought a large noble entourage and thereafter the viceroyalty was a centre of resident fashion and patronage to a much greater extent than it had been in the Tudor and early Stuart period. The corporation which had operated independently in its administration of all aspects of civic life now faced a competitor in the disposition of urban lands and the shaping of streetscapes in the form of the royal administration and its parliamentary supporters. One way in which this state interest was manifested was in the direct financing of projects such as the Royal Hospital, the first great classical building in Dublin, erected at Kilmainham in 1685, and the laying out of the Phoenix Park as a royal deer-park to the north-west of the city. Another decisive intervention was through its favouring of the schemes for suburban development and facilities by private developers such as Humphrey Jervis and Luke Gardiner, sometimes over the interests of the mercantile element on the corporation. Especially in the period after the setting up of the Wide Streets Commission in 1758, the coterie of gentry and politicians with their

²² N. Burke, 'Dublin's north-eastern city wall: early reclamation and development at the Poddle–Liffey confluence', *Royal Irish Academy Proceedings*, section C, 79 (1974), 113–32.

²³ For an account of Wentworth's initiatives, see R. Gillespie, 'Dublin, 1600–1700' in Clark and Lepetit, eds, *Capital cities and their hinterlands*, pp. 86–7.

entrepreneurial allies could override the corporation's objections and proceed with grandiose schemes for the architectural expression of pride in the national capital, transcending if not subsuming the civic patriotism of the Dublin patriciate.²⁴

Despite the apparently haphazard nature of suburban developments in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, certain guiding principles tended to become established among the variety of developers on different kinds of site, which ensured the eventual attainment of metropolitan coherence. Though slow to coalesce, an overall pattern becomes evident, even if individual streets and buildings varied quite considerably in their style and design. The importance of the ground landlords, whether collectively as in the case of the corporation, or as individuals, in impressing their vision of street layout on their properties has been demonstrated by scholars. Builder-tenants were granted plots for development on long leases which contained general stipulations about dimensions and materials for buildings. As schemes became more ambitious after the 1660s, developers with an eye to the complete consort of suburban order issued more precise specifications as to width, alignment and materials. The civic corporation's own design for the development of the former commons of St Stephen's Green provided a prototype of major planning, involving as it did the building of houses, the laying-out of a square and the aligning of the streets with a neighbouring development. The precedent of drawing lots for the acquiring of plots, from which process the substantial merchants happened to emerge with the lion's share, was followed with varying degrees of success in the project for the enclosing of Oxmantown Green and the reclamation of the Liffey banks through developer-lessees.²⁵

Variations in the vitality of the building industry in Dublin can give a measure of the pattern of urban development during the period under review. In the late medieval franchise rolls the number of building craftworkers becoming free of the city was very small (about two per cent of all newly-enfranchised citizens per annum) but by the early seventeenth century the percentage had risen to ten.²⁶ During this period, the guild of carpenters, millers, masons and heliers was dominated by carpenters, attesting the predominance of wooden building structures.²⁷ Masons who worked on projects in the city such as the repairing of Christ Church Cathedral in the 1560s did not normally become guild members but worked instead as members of travelling companies. Many of these

²⁴ See D. Dickson, 'Large-scale developers and the growth of eighteenth-century Irish cities' in P. Butel and L.M. Cullen, eds, *Cities and merchants: French and Irish perspectives on urban development, 1500–1900* (Dublin, 1986), pp. 109–15.

²⁵ N. Burke, 'Dublin, 1600–1800: a study in urban morphogenesis' (PhD thesis, University of Dublin, 1972), pp. 139, 148–9; Dickson, 'Large-scale developers', pp. 109–10.

²⁶ See C. Lennon and J. Murray, eds, *The Dublin city franchise roll, 1468–1512* (Dublin, 1998), p. xxi.

²⁷ Dublin, Gilbert Library, MS 209, 'Minutes of the guild of masons, heliers and carpenters'; Henry F. Berry, 'The Dublin guild of carpenters, millers, masons and heliers in the sixteenth century', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 35 (1905), 321–37; M. Clark and R. Refaussé, eds, *A guide to historic Dublin guilds* (Dublin, 1993), pp. 17–18.

and their colleagues who did become enfranchised were of Gaelic Irish background.²⁸ Within the overall cohort of building tradespeople, bricklayers, masons and plasterers became more numerous among the ranks of the freemen, and in 1671 they formed their own separate guild of St Bartholomew.²⁹ Further specialisation within the building trades led to the emergence of a fraternity of glaziers by the eighteenth century.³⁰

Down to the 1630s it seems that construction in timber was still common in Dublin, as there is a reference in the corporation assembly rolls in 1637 to the substantial increase in imported timber at Wood Quay due to the 'multitude of buildings in the city'.³¹ But brick-building and stone-work were becoming more common in the major public projects such as that for the new cranehouse to replace the one destroyed in the great explosion, and in the building of private dwellings in the newly-laid out streets and squares.³² The names of architects such as Burgh, Pearce and Cassels (also known as Castle) begin to be associated with the design of public buildings and townhouses for the gentry from about 1700, and plaster decoration became a speciality in the eighteenth century.³³ Most of the domestic construction, however, continued to be done by guild members whose names had been linked to their crafts for a number of generations. The master craftsmen of the building trades have been credited with making a not insignificant contribution to the development of municipal construction projects.³⁴

IV

Unlike London, Dublin came to have a fashionable east end. By the late eighteenth century the centre of gravity of social, economic and cultural life had moved downriver to be located in the Sackville Street, Carlisle Bridge and Westmoreland/D'Olier streets axis. Such an outcome was not ineluctable. The late medieval city had some north-western and western expansionary tendencies with few signs of an eastwards spread. From the early seventeenth century, however, development focused on reclamation of lands to the east of the walls while the area to the west began to be eschewed, certainly for fashionable residence. The Royal Hospital at Kilmainham failed to attract satellite suburban settlements, while the Phoenix Park on the opposite bank of the Liffey

²⁸ Dublin, Gilbert Library, MS 209, fos. 19, 35; cf. Gillespie, *The proctor's accounts of Peter Lewis*, pp. 13–14.

²⁹ Dublin, City Archives, 'Roll of freemen of the city of Dublin, 1468–85, 1575–1774', ed. Gertrude Thrift; Clark and Refaüssé, *Historic Dublin guilds*, pp. 16–17.

³⁰ N. Roche, 'The glazing fraternity in Ireland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', *Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society*, 38 (1996–7), 83–5.

³¹ *CARD*, vol. III, p. 337.

³² Dublin, City Archives, MS MR/35, fos. 598, 607, 620; Craig, *Dublin, 1660–1860*, pp. 59–63, 164–76.

³³ Craig, *Dublin, 1660–1860*, pp. 124–35.

³⁴ Dickson, 'Large-scale developers', p. 121; see also D.J. Griffin, 'The building and furnishing of a Dublin town-house in the 18th century', *Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society*, 38 (1996–7), 24–39.

precluded any suburban building.³⁵ The location of a custom house, and its associated wharves and access routes came to symbolise the aspirations of various urban interests in the early modern era. The old custom house at the heart of the walled city was wrecked by the gunpowder blast of 1597. Its successor was erected on reclaimed land to the east of the walls, to which extended urban area the merchant patricians of the Stuart period became as attached as their predecessors had been to their intra mural enclave.³⁶

The building in 1707 of another Custom House, designed by Thomas Burgh, on a site just to the east of Essex Bridge, served to harmonise commercial, financial and residential developments about that pontine pivot.³⁷ With the rapid expansion of the suburban estates to the north-east and south-east, and the congestion of the central area by the later eighteenth century, pressure came from outside the civic corporation for a new custom house to be built considerably farther downriver. Thus the easterly trend culminated in the success of the Gardiner–Beresford interest—in alliance with the Wide Streets Commissioners (and in the teeth of corporate mercantile opposition)—in locating Gandon’s Custom House to the east of Sackville Street, and in the building of the bridge connecting that mall to the south bank. The grandeur of the new Custom House, opened in 1791, bespoke the national significance of Dublin port.³⁸

Exclusively residential enjoyment of the fashionable streets leading to the Carlisle Bridge was threatened by the opening of a major thoroughfare through the eastern suburbs but the aristocratic developers were prepared to pay the price. Thus the newly-built Westmoreland Street which connected the Parliament House with the Gardiner-developed suburb north of the Liffey contained shops at ground level.³⁹ The commercial and industrial development of Dublin in the period was a necessary feature of the city’s changing face. Little manufacturing had been carried on in late medieval Dublin, and its merchant class grew relatively affluent on the basis of a successful carriage trade in exporting primary agricultural produce and importing manufactures.⁴⁰ With a population of over 100,000 by the 1700s, Dublin depended on an industrial base of some kind.⁴¹ It also needed a harbour commodious enough to take the hugely increased tonnage of shipping plying between it and other ports. The principal industrial district of the city lay to the south-west in the earl of Meath’s liberty which was developed as an artisan suburb. The port development began in

³⁵ L.M. Cullen, ‘The growth of Dublin: character and heritage’ in F.H. Aalen and K. Whelan, eds, *Dublin city and county: from prehistory to present* (Dublin, 1992), pp. 254–60.

³⁶ Burke, ‘Dublin’s north-eastern city wall’, pp. 120–32.

³⁷ Craig, *Dublin, 1660–1860*, p. 94.

³⁸ For the historical context, see E. McParland, ‘Strategy in the planning of Dublin, 1750–1800’ in Butel and Cullen, *Cities and merchants*, pp. 97–107.

³⁹ Cullen, ‘The growth of Dublin: character and heritage’ in Aalen and Whelan, *Dublin city and county*, pp. 258–9.

⁴⁰ Cf. Lennon, *Lords of Dublin*, pp. 21–4, 92–6; D. Woodward, *The trade of Elizabethan Chester* (Hull, 1970), pp. 7–32.

⁴¹ D. Dickson, ‘Capital and country, 1600–1800’ in A. Cosgrove, ed., *Dublin through the ages* (Dublin, 1988), pp. 67–72.

earnest with the establishment of a Ballast Office in 1707 to deal with the problem of deepening the shipping channels in the bay, a major longer-term project which entailed the construction of the north and south walls jutting out into the harbour.⁴²

A reminder of the interconnectedness of developments in this era of expansion is the attention given by the leading architect of the 1730s in Dublin, Richard Cassels, to the problem of Dublin's water-supply.⁴³ In a pamphlet and appended maps of 1735, this engineer–designer of palatial urban residences such as Leinster House and Tyrone House addressed the issue of adapting the riverine water conduit for an expanding city. He found that up to a third of all Dublin houses (about 3,500) in 1735 were located on streets which had no piped water, and these included the sought-after Dawson Street, Grafton Street and St Stephen's Green. Rejecting systems involving tidal cisterns and machines such as he studied at the Thames, he proposed a solution based on another London model, that of the New River water channel. He advocated for Dublin the clearing and cleansing of the existing river channels and cistern, the building of a new basin at St James's Gate, and the introduction of a cistern and ball-cock into every house, as in London.⁴⁴

V

Mid- to later eighteenth-century Dublin had assumed the outward splendour and magnificence which was so much admired by visitors. Travellers from England who predictably drew parallels between London and Dublin were being much more realistic than earlier commentators. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century comparisons between the two metropolises tended to be aspirational on the part of Dubliners or patronising on the part of visitors. Stanihurst's view of his native city identified several points of similarity with the English capital on the basis of its superiority to all other Irish cities in terms of buildings, population, wealth and civility in the 1570s, but *pietas* and patriotism sharpened his colonial's sense of inferiority to the centre.

Polite early seventeenth-century tourists purported to see some of the features of London in the urban fabric of Dublin. Resemblances thereafter were based on mutual architectural and cultural influences, as designers of buildings, streets and squares drew on current fashions. For example, the rebuilding of Essex Bridge in Dublin in the 1750s drew heavily on the design of the recently-completed Westminster Bridge in London.⁴⁵ Conversely, in 1748 Dr Daniel Layard's hospital in London was founded on the plan of Dr Bartholomew Mosse's maternity hospital in George's Lane, Dublin.⁴⁶ 'The stranger

⁴² Craig, *Dublin, 1660–1860*, pp. 84–93.

⁴³ R. Castle, *An essay towards supplying the city of Dublin with water* (Dublin, 1735).

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 16–17, 26–30.

⁴⁵ Craig, *Dublin, 1660–1860*, pp. 170–2.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

is forcibly struck', wrote one Englishman of Georgian Dublin, 'with the strong likeness it bears to London, of which it is a beautiful copy—far more beautiful in miniature than the gigantic original'.⁴⁷

What made the Londoner feel at home, perhaps, was the grandeur and scale of the residences on the classical squares and streets to the north and south of the Liffey. Dublin's signature three-bayed, four-storeyed, brick-built house over a basement was familiar from the fashionable districts of London.⁴⁸ It has been pointed out, however, that deviations from uniformity of design in the squares and boulevards of mid-eighteenth-century Dublin bespoke a different ethos. The wealthy aristocrats who built these dwellings, sometimes with four or more bays, were making a statement about their social ascendancy and political aspirations. They could avail of the more reasonably priced building sites and cheaper labour costs to be found in Dublin. Despite their greater wealth, the English gentry occupied townhouses in London which were proportionately smaller than those of their Irish counterparts.⁴⁹ Whereas in earlier generations, the urban patriciate aspired to regional dominance, the political and social élite of mid-eighteenth-century Dublin expressed its self-confidence and certainty in its national role by the transformation of Dublin into a real capital city.

⁴⁷ Cited in C. Maxwell, *Dublin under the Georges, 1714–1830* (London, 1936), p. 297.

⁴⁸ See Griffin, 'The building and furnishing of a Dublin townhouse', 24–39.

⁴⁹ Cullen, 'The growth of Dublin', in Aalen and Whelan, *Dublin city and county*, pp. 260–5.

List of Abbreviations

<i>APC</i>	<i>Acts of the Privy Council</i>
BL	British Library
<i>CARD</i>	<i>Calendar of the Ancient Records of Dublin</i> , ed. J.T. and R.M. Gilbert, 19 vols (Dublin, 1889–1944)
CLRO	Corporation of London Record Office
<i>CJ</i>	<i>House of Common Journals, England</i>
<i>CSP</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers</i>
<i>Ec.HR</i>	<i>Economic History Review</i>
<i>HCJI</i>	<i>Journals of the House of Commons of the Kingdom of Ireland</i>
GL	Guildhall Library
<i>HMC</i>	<i>Historical Manuscripts Commission</i>
Lambeth PL	Lambeth Palace Library
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives
NAI	National Archives of Ireland
NLI	National Library of Ireland
PP	Parliamentary Papers
PRO	Public Record Office, Kew
PRONI	Public Record Office, Northern Ireland
RCB	Representative Church Body Library, Dublin
RIA	Royal Irish Academy
WAC	Westminster Archives Centre