

AN EARLY MODERN DUBLIN SUBURB : THE ESTATE OF FRANCIS AUNGIER, EARL OF LONGFORD

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The first extensive planned suburban development in Dublin took place from 1660 to 1685 on the estate owned and administered by Francis Aungier, the first Earl of Longford. The purpose of this paper is to delimit Aungier's property; to define and date the principal stages of urban growth, from the Restoration until the mid-eighteenth century; and to examine the influence of land-ownership and land-holding on the character of development. The analysis demonstrates that the ebb and flow of urban life, with predictable processes of decay and growth which are observable in modern times, developed spontaneously in the course of early modern urbanisation.

1. *The Estate*

Neither estate papers nor estate maps of Aungier's Dublin property have survived and the extent and character of the estate have therefore been determined from evidence culled from other sources. The extent of the property is described in a memorial of a deed dated 1724 by which the estate was divided between Francis Aungier's heirs¹. There is no evidence to suggest that any part of Aungier's Dublin property was alienated between 1700 and 1724 and consequently there is no reason to doubt that this memorial describes the property held by Francis Aungier in 1700. Unfortunately the dimensions of the various land-parcels described in the deed are not recorded in the memorial and so the delimitation of the estate is partly conjectural. The area described is shown in Figure 3 and in Figure 6². The boundaries of the estate were then St Stephen's churchyard and St Stephen Street on the north and Whitefriars' Street, Peter's Row and Redman's Hill on the west. Protestant Row marked the southern boundary which extended eastwards south of the properties facing the

south side of Great Cuffe Street (Figure 6). The eastern estate boundary was the western boundary of the properties fronting St Stephen's Green between Great Cuffe Street and Raparee Alley while north of Raparee Alley the boundary was probably Love Lane, now part of Mercer Street.

The nucleus of Aungier's estate was the former estate of Whitefriars (Fig. 1) which had been seized by the Crown at the dissolution of the monasteries in 1541³ and had later been granted to Francis Aungier, Master of the Rolls and grandfather of the developer⁴. The precincts of Whitefriars were bounded on the north by the enclosures of the parish church of St Peter on the Mount and of the medieval church and hospital of St Stephen, on the west by a laneway described in 1671 as 'running from the end of Great Butter Lane through the fields of Whitefriars to St Stephen's churchyard.' This lane had been leased in 1465 by the city of Dublin to the monks of Whitefriars who were authorised by the terms of their lease to close it at both ends; in 1671 the city granted the laneway, Love Lane, together with the fortified gates at either end to Francis Aungier in fee farm forever⁵. The eastern section of this laneway, part of Love Lane and of Little Cuffe Street in Figure 6 is now part of Mercer Street and the southern section is Upper Digges Street. At the dissolution the monastery of Whitefriars also held 'an enclosure of pasture to the south' containing two acres and another enclosure containing one acre⁶. These possessions probably extended southwards from the monastic precincts to Protestant Row which was then the western end of the highway leading from St Kevan's Port to Donnybrook (Fig. 1), and they probably extended eastwards to the boundary of the commons of St Stephen's Green. In 1683 the city granted the section of this highway which adjoined his property to Aungier in compensation for the loss incurred by him in laying out Cuffe Street⁷. Protestant Row is the only section of the old highway which remains a public thoroughfare.

Aungier also held land lying between the estate of Whitefriars and St Stephen's Green on lease from the Vicars Choral of St Patrick's Cathedral (Fig. 1). The deeds of this property have not survived nor were the leases enrolled in the Cathedral's Register of Leases for 1660 to 1689⁸. The identification of the property of the Vicars Choral in lease to Aungier is therefore partly conjectural being based only on some brief quotations from deeds made by William Monck Mason⁹ correlated with fragmentary information from memorials of deeds. The property of the Vicars Choral in lease to Aungier seems to have extended eastwards from the eastern boundary of the precincts of Whitefriars to the western boundary of the commons of St Stephen's Green. Ground lying between Aungier Street and St Stephen's Green, described as 'a park near Whitefriars,' was leased in 1641 to a member of Aungier's family; in a lease of 1664 this land was

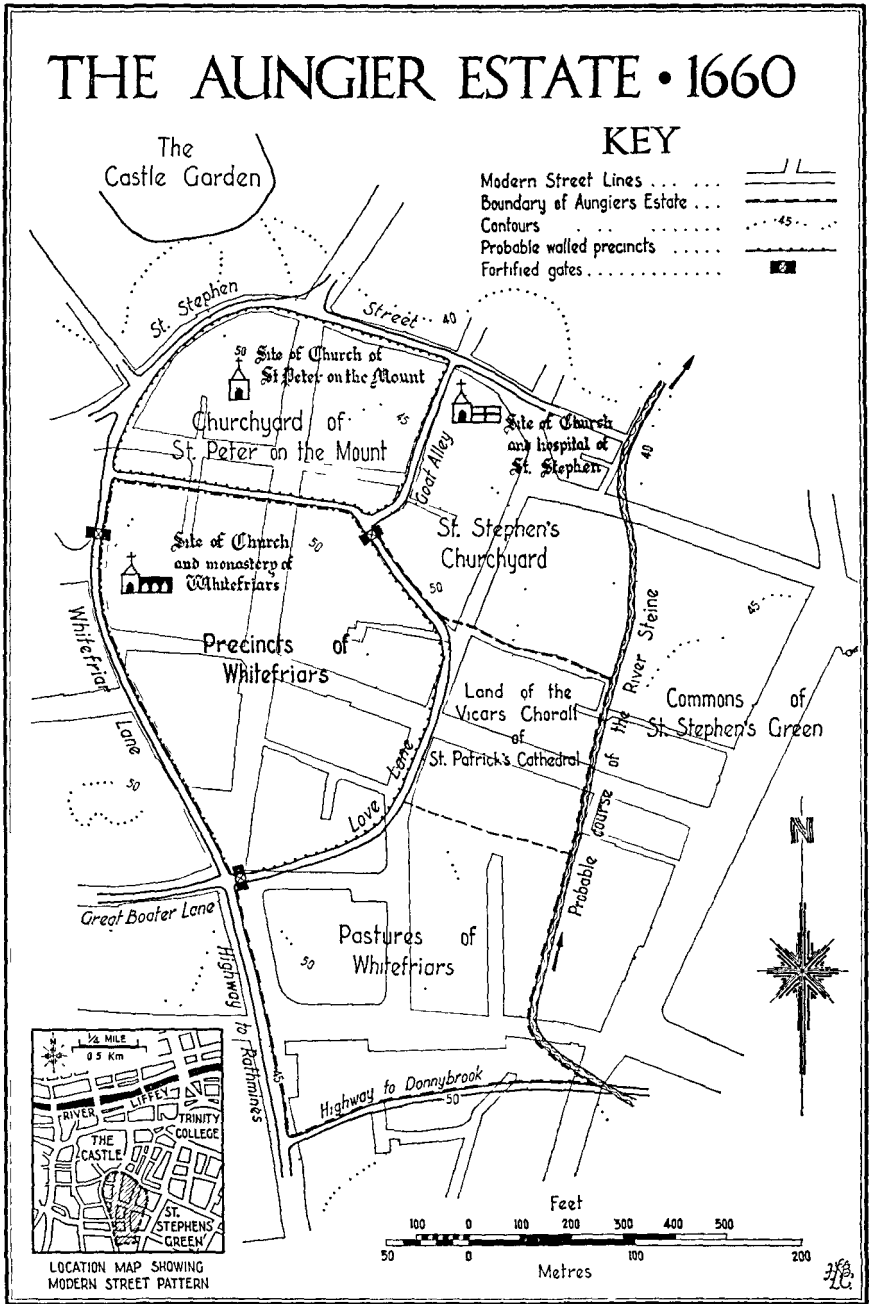


Figure 1. This Figure and Figures 2 and 3 were all drawn by Mr H. Batt and Mr L. Collins of the City Engineer's Department, Dublin Corporation.

described as 'three parks lying in the Whitefriars'; in 1674 it was in lease to the Earl of Abercorn whose estate is described in a memorial of a deed registered in 1710¹⁰. Abercorn's Dublin estate had a frontage of three hundred feet to Aungier Street and it extended eastwards across Love Lane to the boundary of St Stephen's Green. The property of the Vicars Choral evidently extended from Love Lane to St Stephen's Green.

The boundaries of Aungier's estate, as described in 1724, encompassed the site of the churchyard of St Peter's on the Mount. Part of this site was never in Aungier's possession, however, and his title to another piece of ground adjacent to this parcel is doubtful. According to Speed's plan of 1610 (Fig. 4) and Gomme's survey of 1673 (Plate 1) the south-eastern section of the street block bounded by St Stephen Street and the streets now called Aungier Street and Longford Street was occupied by the church and churchyard of St Peter on the Mount¹¹. In fact Speed's plan suggests that in 1610 the churchyard of St Peter extended eastwards from St Stephen Street to the western boundary of St Stephen's churchyard and it therefore occupied all the ground lying between St Stephen Street and Goat Alley; its southern boundary was probably Beaux Lane and the southern boundary of properties fronting the south side of Great Longford Street (Figure 6). If Speed's depiction is accurate, Aungier Street was opened through the churchyard of St Peter to the lands of Whitefriars, and Aungier either took or was granted possession of that part of St Peter's Churchyard which lay east of the new street¹². The rest of the medieval churchyard to the west of Aungier Street seems to have remained derelict until 1729 when David La Touche was authorised to enclose the ground at his own expense pending further profitable use by the parish¹³. The extent of La Touche's ground is uncertain. Aungier's title and that of his heirs to ground lying within the street block bounded by St Stephen Street, Longford Street and Aungier Street is also uncertain. If Aungier held part of the ground within this street block—and the memorial of 1724 suggests that he did—then he must have acquired the ground lying north of the church of St Peter on the Mount and west of the new street when he opened Aungier Street. The medieval church of St Peter on the Mount and part of its graveyard apparently formed an enclave within Aungier's estate¹⁴.

Aungier's estate was thus composed of land acquired from four different sources, from the Crown, the city, the Vicars Choral of St Patrick's Cathedral and the parish of St Peter; and it was held by three different types of tenure, namely, fee simple, fee farm (fee simple but subject to a perpetual fixed rent), and terms of years. This difference in Aungier's tenure of the various parts of his estate seems not to have influenced the pattern of development except in one detail: his title to the lands of

Whitefriars enabled Aungier to grant a freehold site for the new church and churchyard of St Peter and thereby it influenced the location of the new church¹⁵. The difference in Aungier's own tenure did, however, influence the length of tenure granted by him to his lessees. It is essential to a lease that it should be for a less estate or a shorter term than the lessor has in the property for otherwise it comprises his entire interest and is consequently a conveyance or assignment and not a lease. The leases granted by Aungier when he first leased the property for building in the 1660s were for terms of years which ended before the termination of the shortest of his own leases¹⁶. With the exception of the land granted to the parish, Aungier apparently wished to retain control and the right to regain possession of his property and he also evidently wished to give similar rights to all his tenants whether their holdings were on land which he held in fee simple or for a term of years. None of the original indentures have survived and so it is not now possible to determine what special clauses Aungier introduced, if any, into his leases. Since the various land parcels held by him were contiguous he was able to develop about twenty statute acres as a unit with a regular street system and this demonstrates that land-holding was a more important influence on development than land-ownership, provided no restrictions were imposed by the owner in leasing the property.

2. *Urban Growth*

The development of Aungier's property was apparently planned in anticipation of a demand created after the Restoration by Ormonde and his entourage for good residential housing. Aungier himself was closely associated with Ormonde both officially through his office of Master of Ordnance and privately through his marriage to the widow of Ormonde's third son. His principal lessee, Sir Robert Reading, was also a friend and associate of Ormonde's; in fact, on his return to Dublin in 1677 Ormonde considered using Sir Robert Reading's mansion in Aungier Street as a residence but the idea was abandoned because the house was still unfinished¹⁷. The character of early building on Aungier's estate shows clearly that he intended to supply the needs of the greater gentry; moreover, each of the two main initial phases of activity followed Ormonde's return to office in Dublin.

At the Restoration Aungier's property had advantages of site and location enjoyed at that time by no other unbuilt property in Dublin. It lay south-east of the walled city on the summit of the hill above St Stephen Street, extending south and east in one continuous tract (Fig. 1). To the east were the commons of St Stephen's Green, bounded by the

river Steine; to the west the suburbs of Bride Street, Ship Street and the Liberty of St Patrick where building and renewal were already in progress. To the north piecemeal suburban development in the first half of the seventeenth century had created an upper-class residential district east of the walled city extending through Dame Street, College Green and George's Lane. There was no recorded industrial activity in the vicinity of Aungier's estate and although areal differentiation of land-use in Dublin was then at an incipient stage and people of rank and title still lived in most streets in the city and suburbs, this absence of industry near Aungier's property favoured the growth of a new upper-class residential suburb. Encroachment on Aungier's property would have been inevitable if the process of urban expansion through unplanned accretion had continued. Instead Aungier planned a new street system and thereby controlled, at least in part, the character of primary urbanisation in the neighbourhood.

The principal topographical features of the estate and its environs are shown in Figure 1. Within the estate boundaries there were some fields or parks whose boundaries left no permanent mark on the landscape and which cannot now be identified. East of Whitefriars' Lane near its junction with Great Boater Lane (now Bishop Street) there were dunghills which were removed in the process of development. The only recorded building on the site during the first half of the seventeenth century was Aungier's mansion house of Whitefriars, a large residence with fourteen hearths which seems to have been built early in the seventeenth century, probably on the site of the former monastery the precise location of which is still unknown¹⁸. There were probably also a number of cabins or small houses in its vicinity.

The first phase of development

The first phase of urbanisation coincided with the period of peace which followed the restoration of Charles II in 1660. Aungier may have had a master plan for the development of his entire estate but it seems more probable that he extended and adjusted development by degrees as demand for housing increased and as the necessary capital became available. His aim seems to have been the creation of a neighbourhood unit with its own church and local market. These amenities were not provided, however, until residential building was well advanced, not indeed until twenty years after the project was begun. The details of Aungier's entire development suggest that although his primary objective must have been personal financial gain he also endeavoured to improve his property in a way which would be of benefit to the city.

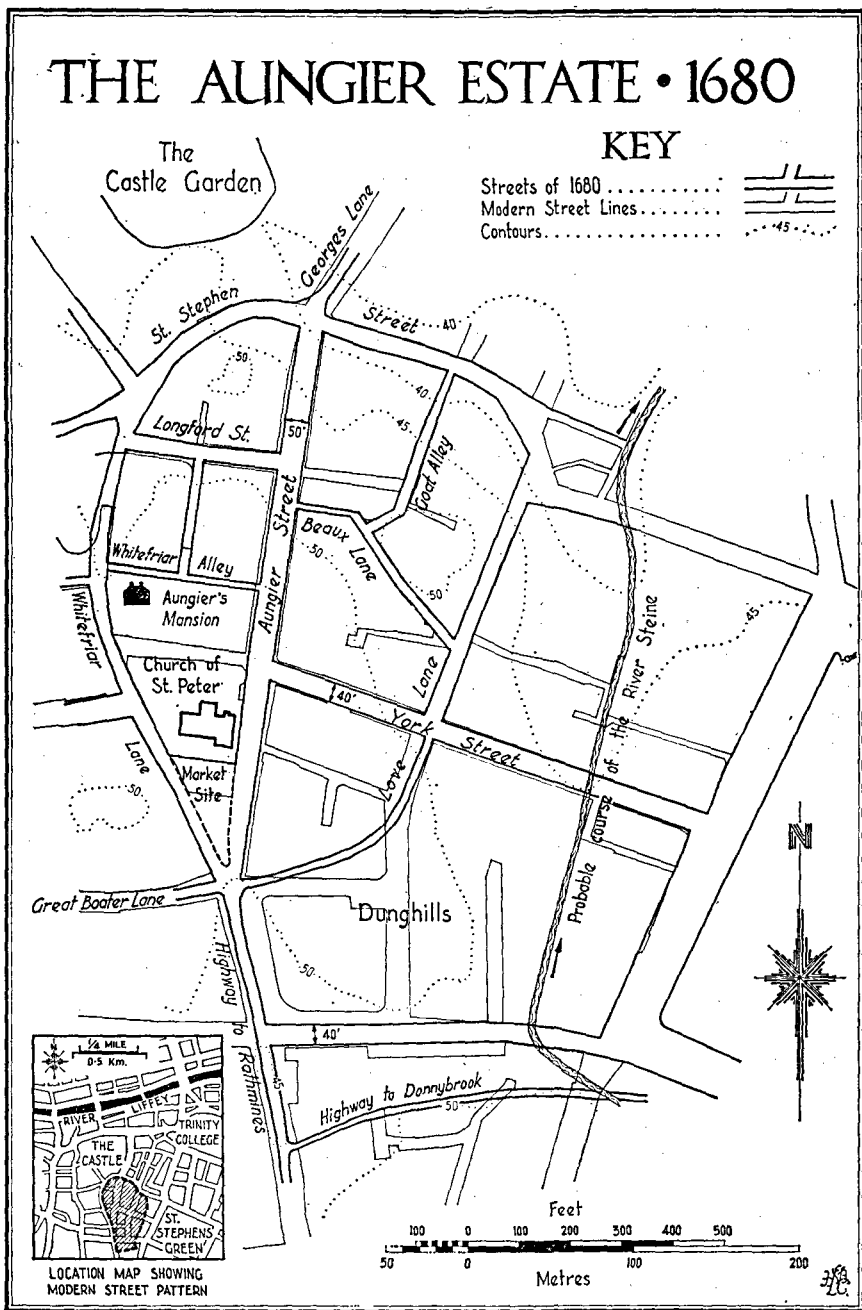


Figure 2

The venture was financed by mortgages. On 3 August 1661 Aungier borrowed £200 from Sir Anthony Morgan who subsequently lent a total of £676 against the estate of Whitefriars as security¹⁹. On 19 February 1676 Aungier mortgaged his entire Dublin property for £1,827 to Daniel Arthur, a London merchant, from whom he borrowed a further £2,200 on 2 August 1677²⁰. Aungier seems not to have repaid any of this capital for in 1701 Sir Anthony Morgan claimed both the capital and some interest²¹, while Daniel Arthur's loan was not repaid until after the estate was divided in 1724 by James Macartney and Michael Cuffe²². The capital borrowed by Aungier appears to have been used only to open new streets and to lay out building lots. There is no evidence that he provided either a special water supply or any other public service. Aungier's profit was derived initially from ground rents. Most recorded leases were granted for terms of years of various lengths, usually for fifty one or for forty one years²³ and the terms were probably similar to those of contemporary building leases granted elsewhere in Dublin which provided that the buildings constructed and all other improvements effected by the lessee became the property of the lessor when the term of years expired.

The first new street, Aungier Street, was opened about 1661²⁴ cutting due south through the churchyard of St Peter on the Mount and the fields of Whitefriars to the dunghills near the south-eastern end of Whitefriars' Lane; for this development Aungier must have enjoyed the approval and active co-operation of the church authorities. Aungier Street was seventy feet wide and it was then the widest street in the city; its width and regular alignment contrasted with the existing irregular medieval streets which were only twelve to fourteen feet wide while new streets opened in earlier decades of the seventeenth century were no more than thirty feet wide. By 1673 another broad street was opened leading due east from St Kevan's Port through Aungier's property to St Stephen's Green (Plate 1); this thoroughfare, later named Great Cuffe Street, was laid out on Aungier's initiative and at his expense although it was not built on for another half a century. Its alignment suggests that it was opened with the co-operation or at least the approval of the Corporation and it superseded the ancient highway on the southern boundary of Aungier's property, which was then 'narrow, irregular and dirty'²⁵. York Street was opened about 1673 leading due east from Aungier Street to St Stephen's Green (Fig. 5)²⁶. The alignment both of Cuffe Street and York Street was influenced by the plan of St Stephen's Green which with its encompassing streets had been laid out in building lots in 1664²⁷. Although Aungier integrated his new street plan with the streets on adjacent properties the alignment of the three new main streets seems not to have been influenced by existing topographical features within his own estate boundaries, unless by field

THE AUNGIER ESTATE • 1724

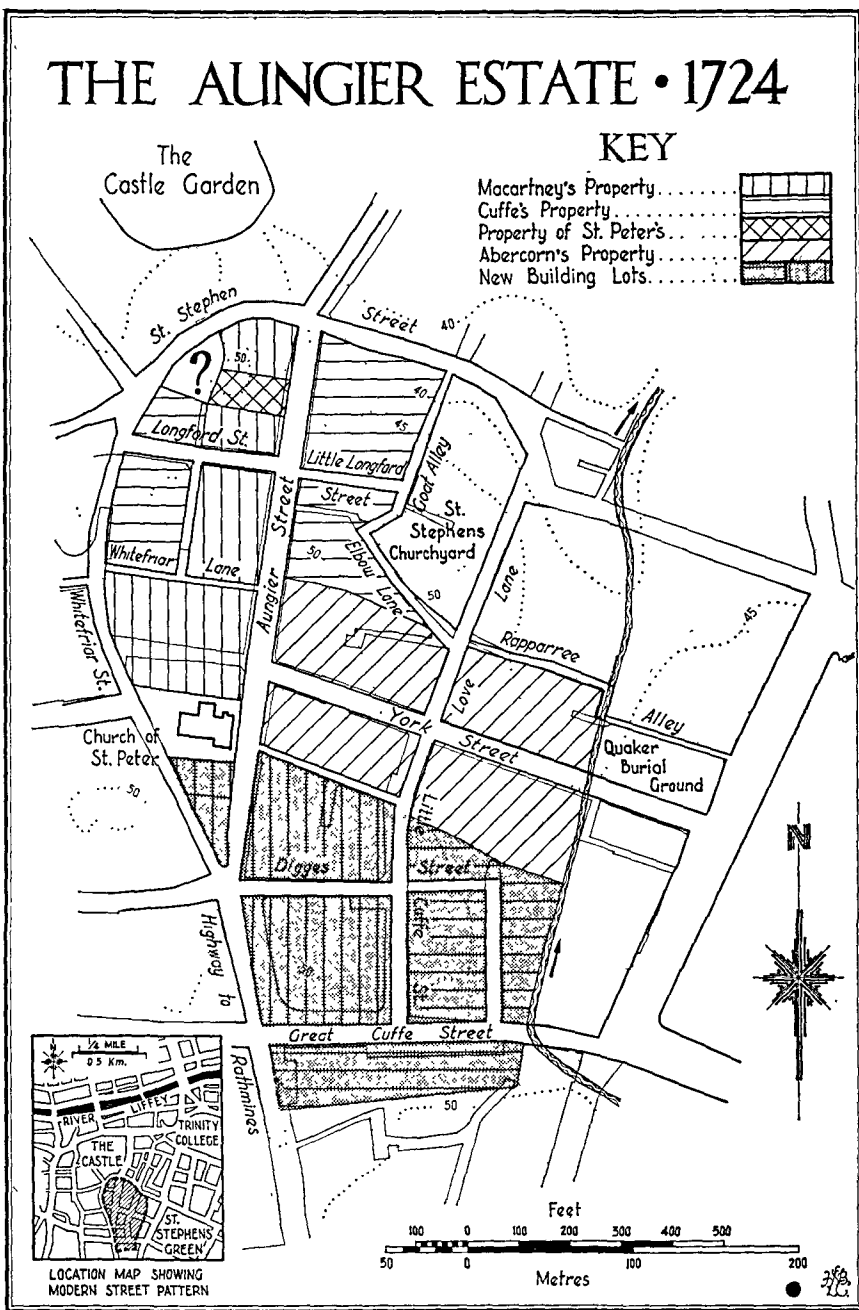


Figure 3

boundaries that cannot now be identified. The secondary streets, however, were ancient pathways which were widened and regularised. Whitefriars' Alley (later called Whitefriars' Lane) was probably the old pathway to the monastic buildings; it was extended eastwards to Aungier Street in the 1660s. In 1676 Aungier proposed to demolish the medieval gates at either end of Love Lane and to widen it by adding eighteen feet in breadth from his own property to make a thoroughfare thirty feet broad. This project was approved by the city council on condition that the lane-way should always remain a public thoroughfare which it has to the present day²⁸.

The first building lots extended southwards on both sides of Aungier Street from the churchyard of St Peter on the Mount to the dunghills. The identification of these building lots is partly conjectural and is based primarily on evidence from memorials of deeds registered in the 1720s²⁹. This evidence suggests that the building lots were regular in shape, 222 feet in depth, and varied in breadth according to the requirements of the lessees. Sir Robert Reading, for instance, first leased a site with a frontage of thirty-five feet and then leased adjacent ground which had a frontage of three hundred feet³⁰. The site on which the residence of the Bishop of Kilmore was built had a frontage of 129½ feet on the east side of Aungier Street and was 222 feet in depth, while the adjoining site on the north was of equal depth but its frontage was only thirty-five feet. Other recorded sites had frontages of fifty-eight feet and of thirty five feet six inches.

Aungier's project attracted speculative developers. Most leases were granted to artisans and merchants who built the houses and then sold their leasehold interest. Some speculators acquired a number of holdings, for instance, John Linegar, a slater, who appears to have built eight houses on Aungier Street in the 1660s. Some lessees acquired sites to build their own mansions. Of these the most prominent was Sir Robert Reading who also acquired land for speculative building. Reading first built his own residence fronting Aungier Street; adjoining it he later built two smaller houses also fronting Aungier Street and on York Street he built a large mansion behind which was a tennis court. Reading evidently leased the corner lot which had twenty feet frontage to Aungier Street and thirty nine feet fronting York Street to one John Herne, a bricklayer, who built a house 'three storeys high besides the garrets and cellars', which he leased on 2 February 1682 to Henry Mockler, an innkeeper³¹.

The brief phrase cited here is the only description of a seventeenth-century building on this estate which has survived. It is nevertheless possible, from valuations³² and from memorials of deeds registered in the 1720s, to identify the principal characteristics of other buildings. Most houses built at the southern end of Aungier Street in the late seventeenth

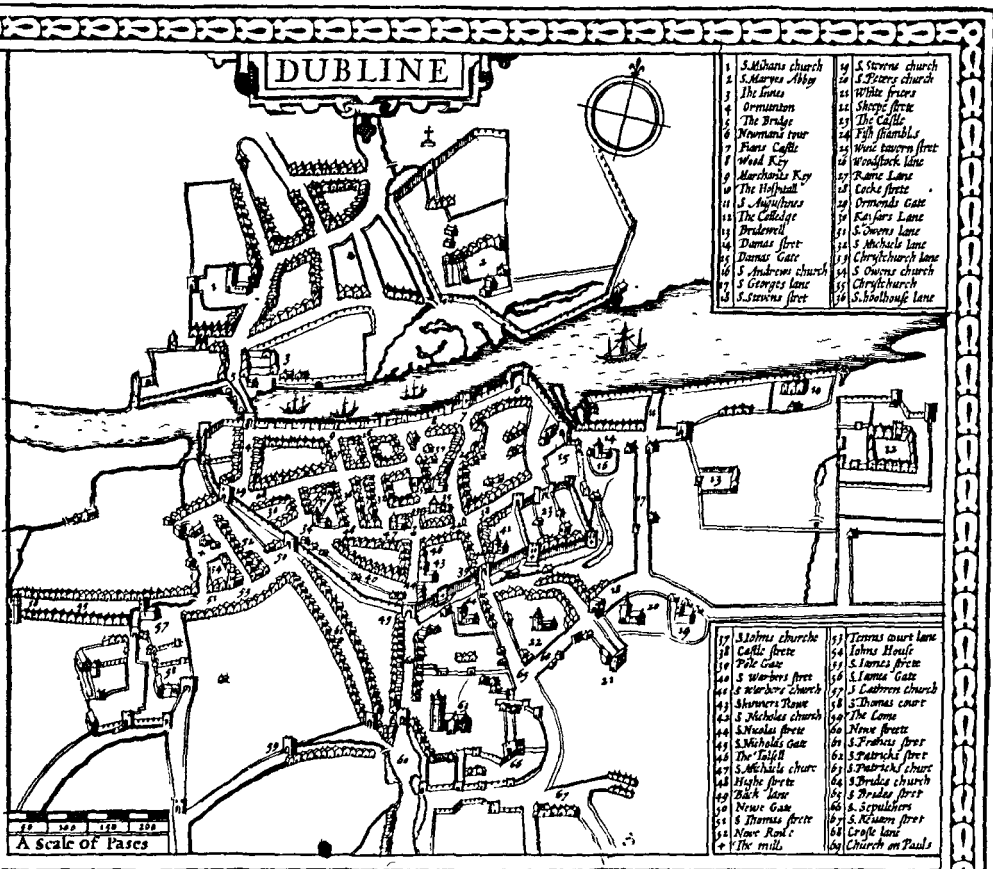


Figure 4 'Dublin, 1610' by John Speed, from *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain* (London, 1611).

century were large mansions, probably free standing, and having large gardens. Aungier's own house, which had probably been built early in the seventeenth century, was valued at £60 in 1667 and the first house built by Sir Robert Reading was then valued at £50. Houses on Aungier Street occupied in 1667 by Sir Henry Ingoldsby, the Earl of Donegal, Robert Ware, and the Countess of Mount Alexander were each valued at £50 and therefore similar in size. Two houses built later by Reading were each valued at £60. Some of the first built houses had been extended by 1672; that of the Countess of Donegal and of Sir Robert Reading, for instance, each incurred a supplementary valuation of £10 for additional buildings in that year. By that time Aungier's estate had become part of the urban fringe of good residential buildings. The greatest number of large houses was at the southern end of Aungier Street while York Street ranked

second. In both of these streets there were also many houses valued at £16 to £20. Houses at the northern end of Aungier Street must have been much smaller for their valuations ranged from £8 to £14. In adjacent principal streets housing was more varied and large mansions were few. Some of these earlier mansions seem to have been built of stone; one of these fronting St Stephen Street had a frontage of forty-six feet³³. Most houses, however, were built of bricks and had less extensive frontages and some were very small, as for instance, a group of fourteen occupying a site near the corner of Aungier Street and St Stephen Street whose combined frontage was 111 feet to Aungier Street and 166½ feet to St Stephen Street³⁴.

The development of Aungier's estate initiated change in the geographical structure of Dublin's parishes. In 1680 Francis Aungier donated an extensive site for a new parish church of the Established Church dedicated to St Peter, to supersede the ruinous medieval church of St Kevin which then served the united parishes of St Peter on the Mount, St Stephen and St Kevin. The Archbishop's certificate which sanctioned the building of the new church and the perpetual union of three parishes under the title of St Peter shows clearly that it was Aungier's new suburb which prompted the change. The parish church of St Kevin was then too small to accommodate one sixth of the people who would allegedly attend if the church were conveniently placed; it was also remote from most of the parishioners and, moreover, was approached by narrow, unpaved and inconvenient thoroughfares. The greatest number of parishioners were then living in the parish of St Peter's on the Mount which lay between St Kevin's and St Stephen's and for them the new site at the upper end of Aungier Street was very convenient³⁵. The building of new St Peter's was financed by voluntary subscriptions and the church was consecrated in 1685. The new parish of St Peter was not coterminous with Aungier's estate and it included adjacent areas of good residential building; the parish registers confirm the general social status of the new district. Aungier was therefore singularly successful in creating an upperclass residential suburb and in attracting 'desirable' residents to his estate.

A triangular piece of ground adjoining the site of new St Peter's on the south was allocated by Aungier as a site for a market to supply the new suburb. Although the city approved the establishment of this market in 1683³⁶ the project was not successful, possibly owing to the disruption of normal life during the Williamite wars and also to the success of a new neighbouring market established about the same time by William Williams near the eastern end of St. Stephen Street.

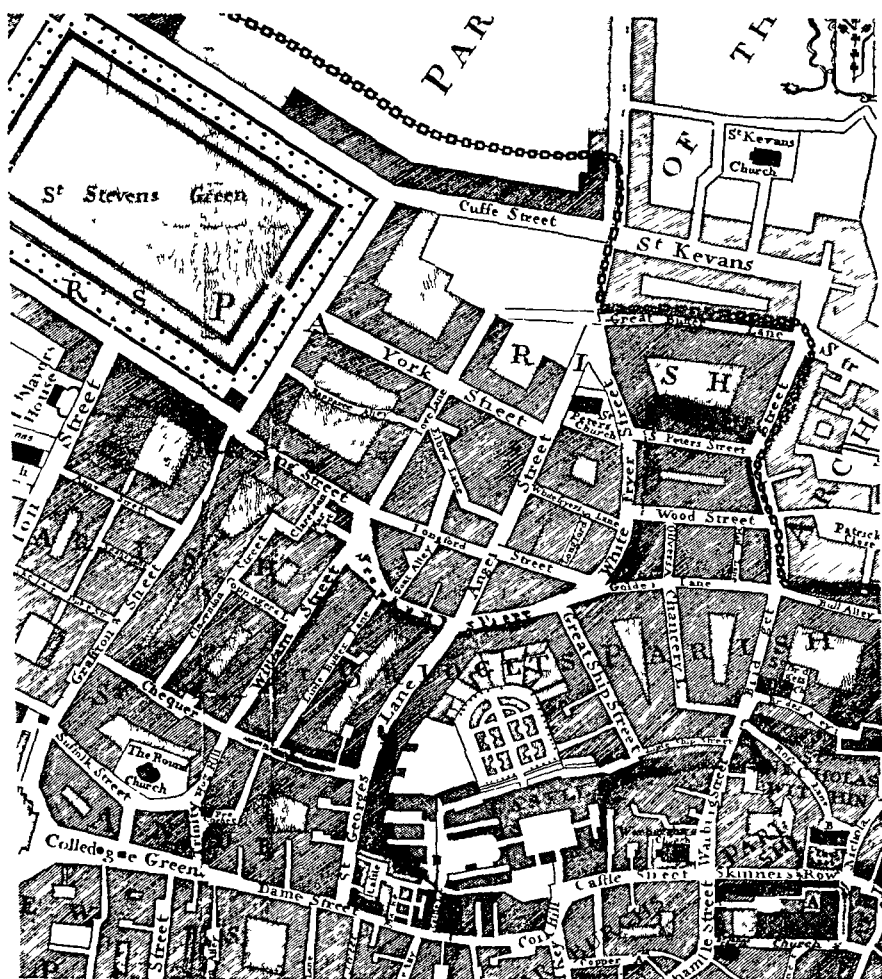


Figure 5 Extract from 'A map of the city and suburbs of Dublin and also the Archbishop and Earl of Meath's Liberties, with the bounds of each parish, 1728', by Charles Brooking. The scale is slightly reduced. South is shown at the top of the map.

The second phase of urban growth

A new phase of urban development began about 1720 when Aungier's property was inherited by James Macartney and Michael Cuffe. At this time the terms of years in leases granted by Aungier were expiring and some new leases were granted jointly by Macartney and Cuffe in 1723³⁷. The undeveloped southern part of the estate was laid out in large building

lots and new streets, Digges Street and Little Cuffe Street (Fig. 3), each served by stable lanes, were opened through the dunghills at the southern end of Aungier Street³⁸. In 1724 the estate was divided equally between Macartney and Cuffe each of whom acquired part of the new building lots and part of the developed land. Leases granted in 1723 and 1724 show that the estate had already changed in character; the large mansions had been forsaken by their titled inhabitants who had moved eastwards to a new suburb developed by Joshua Dawson and many houses were 'waste' or 'ruinous.' The group of fourteen small houses at the corner of Aungier Street and St Stephen Street was already ruinous when a new lease was granted for the site. All lessees of this period were merchants or tradesmen some of whom leased the mansions built for the gentry. The house formerly occupied by Viscount Ross, for instance, was leased by William Fielding, a coachmaker, who was already in possession of the premises³⁹. Captain Stewart's former dwelling which had a frontage of fifty-eight feet in Aungier Street was leased to John Bullock a timber merchant, who established a timber yard on the premises⁴⁰. The adjoining house on the north which had a frontage of twenty three feet and was known by 'the Sign of the White Swan' was leased to one Ambrose Lee, a weaver⁴¹. The house on the east corner of Aungier Street was leased to Richard Walsh, a tailor⁴². A large stone house near the eastern end of St Stephen Street was leased to Richard Delaney, a weaver, who in turn sub-leased to Toby Allcock, a cabinet maker; Allcock divided this house into two separate dwellings in 1727⁴³. The 'great dwelling wherein the late Lord Bishop of Kilmore dwelt' and 'waste ground formerly a garden' were leased by Michael Cuffe to Jacob Poole, a clothier, who leased the house to David Digges La Touche, merchant, and later leased the garden in parcels for building⁴⁴. Other large holdings and buildings were sub-divided in a similar way so that the average frontage of individual buildings in Aungier Street was considerably reduced; most ranged from nineteen feet to twenty three feet while the undivided mansions had fifty-eight to sixty feet⁴⁵.

Although new streets were opened through the dunghills about 1723 and the ground was at that time laid out in large building lots, further development appears to have been delayed until about 1727 and the site of the dunghills was completely unbuilt when Brooking surveyed the city. (Fig. 5)⁴⁶. The principal developer was then David Digges La Touche from whom Digges Street was named. The large building lots appear to have been subdivided about 1727 into individual holdings which were regular in shape, almost equal in size and on which the houses were all of similar style. In Digges Street, for instance, all houses were four storeys high above a basement with a railed area and each house had a single pointed gable facing the street⁴⁷. These houses were much smaller than those

built originally on Aungier Street and on York Street and they attracted almost no titled people as residents. Valuation lists in the parish records show that most inhabitants of this period were merchants and tradesmen and there were also some army officers and a few of the lesser gentry⁴⁸. The site assigned by Aungier to a market was also leased in small building lots at this time.

The only individual building of note which was constructed on the estate in the second phase of development was the new theatre designed by Sir Edward Lovett Pearce and built on part of the medieval churchyard of St Peter's on the Mount, facing Longford Street. The theatre was financed by private subscription and was opened on 9 March 1733. The main entrance was an imposing pedimented portico with eight Tuscan columns constructed in Portland stone⁴⁹. This theatre does not appear to have been successful for it was closed already about 1746 and houses were later built on the site. Houses were built also on the site of the medieval church of St Peter on the Mount despite a directive of the Archbishop that the sites of churches be preserved from profane uses⁵⁰. The directive was heeded, however, in the use of the site of St Stephen's church which was leased to Mary Mercer in 1724. It was first used as a site for a home for poor girls which was subsequently converted into a hospital; Mercer's hospital now occupies the site⁵¹.

Valuations made during the 1720s show that there were very many new houses in the parish at that time and they also indicate the locations of the largest houses⁵². The only group of very large houses then remaining was on the east side of Aungier Street where three adjacent houses, each valued £50, adjoined the 'Big Corner House' which was then valued at £40. The largest houses, valued at £60 each, were inhabited by bishops: the Bishop of Clonfert lived in Kevin Street and the Bishop of Killala in York Street. Most of the new houses were valued at £14 to £16. In Kevin Street and Kevin's Port most valuations ranged from £3 to £4 and in Love Lane, Glovers' Alley and Williams' Lane, which were built in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, there were numerous cabins valued at £1 each. Although the neighbourhood was predominantly upper middle class there were people of all social ranks in the parish.

By 1756 the transformation of the fields near Whitefriars was complete; landscape, land-use and land-holding had all changed. The change in land-holding began in 1725 when the estate was divided between Macartney and Cuffe (Fig. 3); Cuffe subsequently assigned his moiety to Boyle Spencer, Esq. and Macartney's moiety was sold in 1747 to repay his share of the mortgage⁵³. Thereafter there was no semblance of unified control. Evidence of changing land-use during the second quarter of the eighteenth century is scanty; there were no directories at that time.

Although there appears to have been no comprehensive parish survey during the period a list of premises of insolvents contained in the Vestry minutes for 22 August 1753⁵⁴ indicates a continuing process of decay, renewal and change. At that time there were ruinous houses in many streets, seven in Whitefriar Street, five in Love Lane, and one or more in other secondary streets. Many small houses and cabins had been demolished or converted to new uses. In Whitefriars' Lane, for instance, five small houses were converted into stables and four houses had been converted into a Methodist Meeting House; in Williams' Lane the site of six cabins had been turned into a garden and three other cabins had been added to one Mr Drivery's yard and garden. Rocque's map suggests that there were some large commercial concerns in the north-eastern section of the estate (Figure 6). As the city extended commercial activities continued to occupy Aungier Street and adjacent lanes, as they do to the present day. In the course of late eighteenth-century reconstruction York Street resumed an upperclass residential character⁵⁵. Its status gradually changed during the nineteenth century and while remaining almost entirely residential, it gradually became congested and deteriorated into a slum which was cleared only in the mid-twentieth century. Divergence of land use within Aungier's estate developed gradually from the time it was divided between Aungier's heirs. By the mid-eighteenth century the estate was no longer a distinctive plan-unit within the city; its era of grandeur had been short-lived, coinciding with the lifetime of its first developer, Francis Aungier, the first Earl of Longford who died in 1700.

3. *Conclusion*

Aungier's project was the first of a series of independent private planned speculative development projects by which the city of Dublin was extended in the late seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries and it illustrates many characteristic features of the pattern and process of suburban development in early modern Dublin. The nucleus of Aungier's property was the former monastic estate of Whitefriars which had been secularised after the Reformation; other monastic estates provided sites for other developers. Aungier's title to a number of contiguous land-parcels enabled him to lay out a coherent street-system although he was not the owner of the entire site. Control exercised by the land-owner determined the site of one secondary street. Otherwise land-holding was a more significant determinant of the form and character of the neighbourhood than land-ownership. Initial local differentiation of land-use derived, not from imposed controls, but from a spontaneous process in



Figure 6 An extract from 'An exact survey of the city and suburbs of Dublin in which is expressed the ground plots of all public buildings, dwelling houses, ware houses, courtyards, etc 1756', by John Rocque Reduced to approximately half size

which locations with similar advantages attracted similar occupants and through this process distinctive urban regions or sectors gradually emerged. Change of character on Aungier's estate came with the passing of a generation but the change is found also to be a response to a growth pattern which evolved spontaneously in the course of urban development. Conversely, uniformity of streetscape can only have been achieved through controlling clauses in building leases. Control of building conditions on an entire street was an essential condition for achieving uniformity of streetscape and such controls were imposed frequently by the lessor who leased land to speculative builders in Dublin during the eighteenth century.

Aungier attempted to create a neighbourhood unit by donating a site for a parish church and a local market; other speculative builders subsequently provided sites for similar facilities. The parish church of the Established Church was built on the allocated site but otherwise this attempt was thwarted by the changing character of the neighbourhood and change was hastened by the fragmentation of the estate early in the eighteenth century. Control of a relatively extensive area is necessary in order to establish and maintain a distinctive urban character.

During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries urban development took place contemporaneously to the north, south, east and west of the walled city of Dublin encircling completely the medieval nucleus. The component segments of this new urban fringe differed from each other in character giving rise to a series of sectors, and the city's growth pattern conformed to Hoyt's sectoral theory rather than to Burgess's theory of concentric rings of growth⁵⁶. Although Hoyt's theory was formulated on the basis of analysis of American cities of later date than post-medieval and early modern Dublin, the essential characteristics indicated by Hoyt can all be identified in the growth-pattern of Dublin and this analysis of Aungier's estate reveals many of the fundamental characteristics. The point of origin of Dublin's sectoral pattern is found in the early stages of post-medieval extra-mural urban growth. The new high-grade residential area outside the eastern gate of the city was located on what was then the periphery of the city. The location of this new suburb derived from the availability of land for building; its character was determined by the existence of a predominantly industrial suburb west of the city since medieval times. Aungier's high-class residential suburb was a southward extension of the new early seventeenth-century suburb. As the city grew during the first half of the eighteenth century new houses were built on vacant land which lay east of Aungier's estate and the high-class residents moved from the seventeenth-century mansions. As the new eastern suburbs extended, the inner suburbs, which included Aungier's estate, were invaded by commercial activities forming an extension of the commercial core of the city. During the nineteenth century the high-class residential suburbs extended towards the south-east. The core of Aungier's estate remained predominantly commercial throughout the period and the eastern sector deteriorated in quality while remaining residential in character. Post-medieval suburban growth in Dublin dates from the seventeenth century and the sectoral pattern evolved spontaneously from that time. The point of origin of sectoral patterns in European cities is probably of earlier date since post-medieval urban growth began much earlier in most European cities than in Dublin.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

¹ Registry of Deeds, memorial no. 39-469-26492; also a recital in 47-61-29528. Aungier held a parcel of land in Ship Street as well as the property delimited here; the parcel in Ship Street has not been discussed in this paper since it was not included in the development of the estate. Memorials are summaries of deeds which are recorded in the Registry of Deeds, Henrietta Street, Dublin; the purpose of registering deeds was to establish incontrovertible ownership of property and clauses in deeds which were irrelevant for this purpose were suppressed in the memorials. Moreover, the registered memorials were subsequently transcribed into large books of vellum leaves and transcribers' errors sometimes occur in these books. Since relatively few historic deeds are now in public keeping, the records of the Registry of Deeds, however defective in themselves, are an invaluable treasury of source material for the historical geographer. Copies of memorials were usually kept with the relevant deeds. All memorials referred to in this paper are found in the books in the Registry of Deeds and the three reference numbers used identify respectively the book page, and memorial numbers.

² Figure 6 is an extract from the first large-scale map of Dublin, based on a survey made by John Rocque in 1756, entitled *An exact survey of the city and suburbs of Dublin in which is expressed the ground plots of all public buildings, dwellinghouses, ware-houses, stables, courtyards, etc.*; scale one inch to 200 feet.

³ White, Newport B., (editor), *Extents of Irish monastic possessions: 1540-41, from manuscripts in the Public Record Office, London*, Ir. Mss. Comm. Dublin, 1943, 121-22.

⁴ Survey of 11 April, 1633 recorded in *Inquisitionum in officio rotulorum cancellariae Hiberniae . . . repertorium*, Dublin, 1826-29 vol. 1. The volume is not paginated. No record of the original grant to Francis Aungier has survived.

⁵ Gilbert, Sir J. T., and Gilbert, Lady (eds.), *Calendar of ancient records of Dublin in the possession of the municipal corporation*, Dublin, 1899-1944, vol. 1, 321; vol. 4, 528.

⁶ *Extents*, 122. The area defined in this paper as the meadows of Whitefriars contains seven statute acres which equals four acres plantation measure. The area recorded in the *Extents* is not a precise measurement.

⁷ Gilbert *op. cit.*, vol. 5, 273.

⁸ MS Register of leases, St Patrick's cathedral, 1660-1689, pp. 529, calendared by Canon J. B. Leslie in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 65, 1935, 34-73.

⁹ Mason, William Monck, *The history and antiquities of the collegiate and cathedral church of St Patrick near Dublin from its foundation in 1190 to the year 1819 . . .*, Dublin, 1820, 97n, 98n. See memorials listed below in reference 29.

¹⁰ Reg. Deeds, mem. no. 8-134-2440.

¹¹ John Speed, 'Dublin 1610', inset on the map of 'The Countie of Leinster' in *Theatre of the empire of Great Britain*, London, 1611; Gomme, Sir Bernard de, 'The city and suburbs of Dublin from Kilmainham to Ringsend, wherein the Rivers, Streets, Lanes, Alleys, Churches, Gates, &c. are exactly described, 15th November, 1673', National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, Dartmouth collection, No. 11. The site of medieval St Peter's is marked by the Ordnance Survey in the centre of this street block.

¹² Reg. Deeds, mem. no. 39-469-26492. In 1724 this parcel of ground was assigned to Michael Cuffe.

¹³ T.C.D. MS 2062, 'Dublin parish records' by W. Monck Mason, transcripts of various records in the parishes of St Andrew and St Peter, includes a transcript from p. 275 of vol. 1 of the Vestry Minutes of St Peter's Parish. Vol. 1 was both parish register and vestry book; the original was burnt in the P.R.O.I. in 1922. The parish registers deposited in the P.R.O.I. were published in *Parish Register Society of Dublin: Publications*, vol. 9, *The Register of the Parish of St Peter and St Kevin, Dublin, 1669-1791*, with preface by James Mills, London, 1911, being transcripts of two volumes of the parish registers of baptisms, burials and marriages (vol. 1, 1676-1721; vol. 2, 1721-1761).

¹⁴ Representative Church Body, Dublin Records No. 81, 'A map of sundry parcels of land belonging to the Archdeacon of Dublin, surveyed at various times by Roger Kendrick, Surveyor to the Hon. City of Dublin', undated MS on parchment, probably of the mid-eighteenth century.

¹⁵ T.C.D. MS 2062 contains a complete transcript of three certificates concerning the establishment of the parish of St Peter in 1680, viz. that of the Council, that of the Archbishop, and that of the incumbent of the united parishes of St Peter, St. Kevin and St Stephen. These certificates are cited by Mills in the preface to *The Register of the Parish of St Peter and St Kevin*, p. vi.

¹⁶ Commissioners appointed to enquire into the Forfeited Estates (Ireland), *A list of claims as they are entered with the Trustees at Chichester House on College Green, Dublin, on or before the 10th August, 1700*, Dublin, 1701, *passim*. Copy with some contemporary annotations in N.L.I.; copy in P.R.O.I. interleaved and annotated by W. Monck Mason, in 2 vols. M 2547 and M 2548.

¹⁷ *Calendar of the manuscripts of the marquis of Ormonde, preserved at Kilkenny Castle*, (Ir. Mss. Comm., new series, 8 vols. 1902-20), *passim.*, especially vols. 4, 6, and 7, 249-50.

¹⁸ *Inq. cancell. Hib. report.*; P.R.O.I. MS 2549, transcripts of 'Miscellaneous manuscripts' by W. Monck Mason, including 'A list of the Houses in the city of Dublin and the number of hearths in each . . . 1664' and 'List of persons in the preceding accounts, proprietors of 6 hearths or upwards', both of which are published in *57th Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland*, Dublin, 1936, 559-60. According to the *Extents* the monastic buildings of Whitefriars had already been demolished in 1541; the 'one great mansional house' cited in the inquisition of 1633 seems to have been built when Alderman Robert Ball was in possession of the premises from c. 1616 (or earlier) until 1628.

¹⁹ *List of claims* 142, Claim No. 1324.

²⁰ Mortgages are recited in Reg. Deeds, mem. no. 47-61-29528.

²¹ As in No. 19 above.

²² Reg. Deeds, mems. nos. 39-469-26492; 47-61-29528; 129-250-86949.

²³ *List of claims, passim*.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Gilbert, *op. cit.*, vol. 5, 273.

²⁶ *List of claims, passim.*; British Museum, K. Top. LIII, 10, [A Survey of the City of Dublin, by Thomas Phillips.]

²⁷ Gilbert, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, 297-303.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 5, 273.

²⁹ Reg. Deeds, mem. nos. 42-423-26873; 42-72-25700; 39-361-25649; 40-270-25650; see also *List of claims, passim*.

³⁰ *List of claims*, 88, no. 809; Reg. Deeds, mem. no. 8-134-2440.

³¹ As reference 30 and mem. no. 14-173-6001.

³² N.L.I.MS 5230, 'Valuations in the parishes of St Peter and St Kevin, Dublin: 1667-1723'.

³³ Reg. Deeds, mem. no. 52-532-35609.

³⁴ *Idem*. nos. 48-82-30727; 40-418-26583.

³⁵ See reference 13 above. For a general consideration of Dublin's population see Butlin, R. A., 'The population of Dublin in the late seventeenth century', *Ir. Geogr.* vol. 5, no. 2, 1965, 51-56. Butlin does not, however, discuss the population of the eastern suburbs.

³⁶ Gilbert, *op. cit.*, vol. 5, 286, 296.

³⁷ Reg. Deeds, various memorials, e.g. nos. 40-270-25650; 42-68-25682; 42-72-25700; 39-361-25649; 39-396-25862.

³⁸ Mem. nos. 36-361-25649; 47-61-29528.

³⁹ Mem. no. 39-361-25649.

⁴⁰ Mem. nos. 40-270-25650; 42-450-26994.

⁴¹ Mem. no. 42-65-25670.

⁴² Mem. no. 42-68-25682.

⁴³ Mem. nos. 52-532-35609; 58-147-38919.

⁴⁴ Mem. nos. 42-423-26873; 51-248-33562.

⁴⁵ Reg. Deeds, Lands Index, 1708-38, and various memorials.

⁴⁶ Charles Brooking, 'A Map of the City and suburbs of Dublin and also the Arch Bishop and Earl of Meath's Liberties with the bounds of each parish, 1728'. Although Brooking's map is based on a new survey of the city and in this particular instance his evidence confirms that of other sources, the map is not an entirely reliable source of evidence of the extent of building in 1728. The symbol used to indicate private buildings is generalised and in some places planned development is shown without differentiating existing features from those still in project. Brooking also

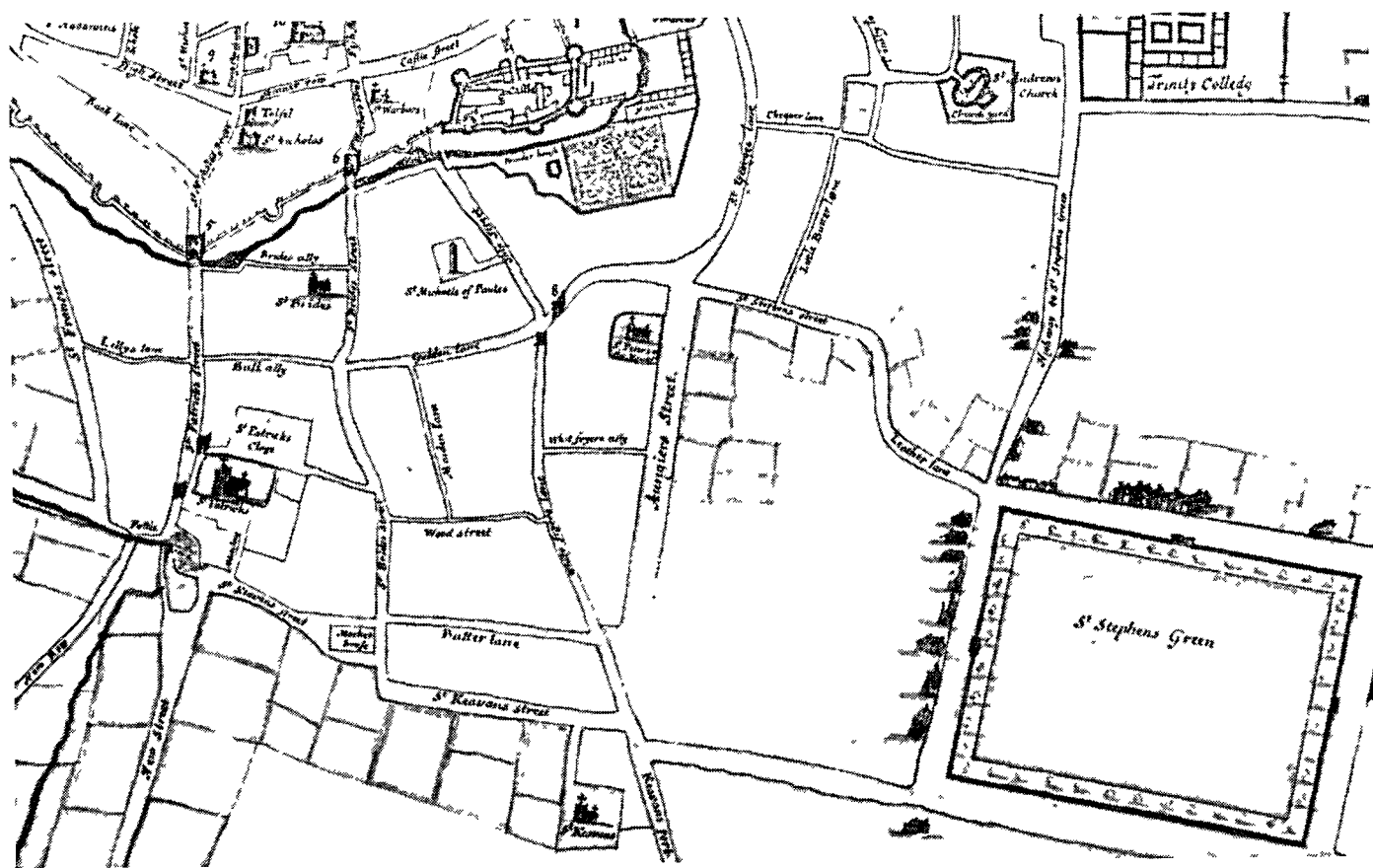


Plate 1 An extract from 'The city and suburbs of Dublin from Kilmainham to Rings end . . . 15th November, 1673' by Sir Bernard de Gomme, Dartmouth Collection, number 11, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich The scale is slightly reduced Reproduced by permission of the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich

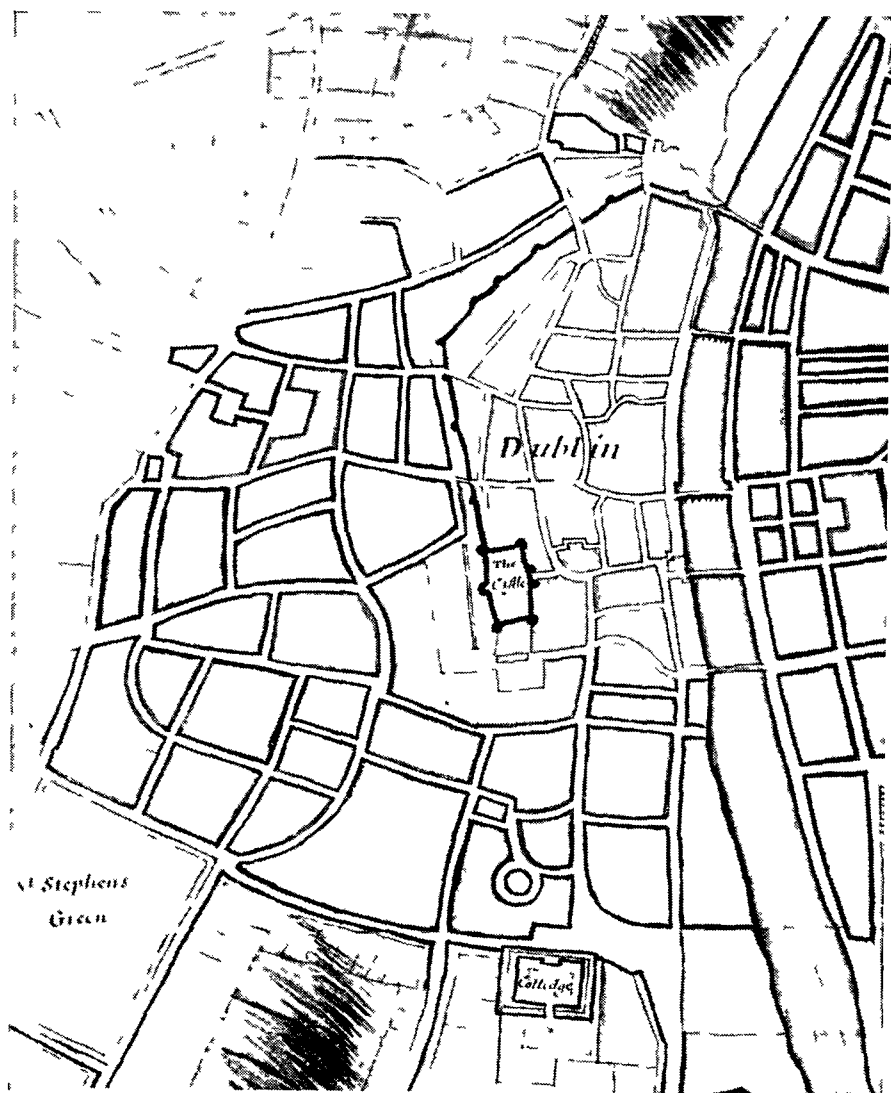


Plate 2 An extract from a survey of the city of Dublin and the harbour below Rings end, 1685, by Thomas Phillips National Library of Ireland MS 2557 This is a contemporary manuscript copy of British Museum, K Top LIII, 10 The scale is slightly reduced Reproduced by permission of the National Library of Ireland

records parish boundaries of 1728 but these differed significantly from parish boundaries of the late seventeenth century; the correlation will be established in another paper. Cf. MacSorley, C. M., *The story of our parish, St Peter's, Dublin*, Dublin, 1917; Moore, Desmond F., 'St Peter's Church, Aungier Street', *Dublin Historical Record* 14 (2), 1955-1956, 57-63. Neither of these writers deals with the extent of the parish from the Reformation to the present.

⁴⁷ *The Georgian Society records of eighteenth century domestic architecture and decoration in Dublin*, Dublin, 1909-1910, vol. 1, Plate no. 1.

⁴⁸ Reg. Deeds, Lands Index and various memorials; Vestry Book of St Peter's Parish, vol. 2, unpaginated lists. Some pages including the title page are missing from the first list; the second is entitled 'A list of ye new houses in the parish of St Peter's, Dublin, as they stand rated and valued according to law to the minister of the said parish, at twelve pence in the pound according to the value of each house, which valuation was confirmed by the Lord Lieutenant and council of Ireland the 12th Sept. 1737'. The third list is entitled 'A list of the several new houses in St Peter's parish, Dublin, as they stand rated and valued to the Rev. Doctor Nicholas Synge, Arch Deacon of Dublin, bearing date the 17th day of September, 1743'. In the first list many houses are marked 'new' in the same hand that compiled the list; all houses in Cuffe Street and in Digges Street are so marked suggesting that the valuation was made soon after these streets were built, probably about 1730.

⁴⁹ Stockwell, La Tourette, *Dublin theatres and theatre customs: 1637-1820*, Kingsport, Tennessee, 1938, xiii, 65 *et seq.*; Sadlier, T. U., 'Sir Edward Lovett Pearce', *Kildare Archaeological Society Journal*, 10 (5), 1927, 11; advertisement for the sale of the materials of the portico from *Sleator's Public Gazette*, 3 March 1767, transcribed in *Irish Builder*, 37, 1895, 293.

⁵⁰ See reference 15 above.

⁵¹ Vestry Books of St Peter's Parish, First Series, vol. 2, p. 120. Cf. Carey, F. P., 'The medieval parish of St. Stephen's', *Dublin Historical Record*, 6 (2), 1944, 63-73.

⁵² See reference 32.

⁵³ See reference 22.

⁵⁴ Vestry books of St Peter's parish, First Series, vol. 2.

⁵⁵ Dublin Corporation Records, deeds of property purchased compulsarily by the Corporation in Cuffe Street and in York Street.

⁵⁶ For a discussion of theories concerning patterns of growth see Jones, Emrys, *A social geography of Belfast*, London, 1960, 267-80. Cf. Carter, H., and Rowley, G., 'The morphology of the central business district of Cardiff', *Trans. Inst. Br. Geogr.*, 38, 1966, 128-30.