“PALATIAL HOMES, NOW HOVELS”: THE CHANGING USE VALUES AND SOFT THEMING OF GEORGIAN DUBLIN

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Irish Press

Irish Times

Look Left

Republican Congress

Glossary of key terms associated with theming

Theming - The process of uniting and potentially creating a space by a common theme

Theme parking - The social process which sees the principles of a theme park applied outside the environs of a theme park

Disneyfication, Disneyisation, McDisneyfication, - various terms reflecting the idea that Disney is replicated outside the Disney theme park

Personapolis, - The process were the type of posters on a persons wall are reflected in a built environment. Coined by Morikawa (2004)

Experience Economy - The section of the economy that theming occurs within when considered as a separate niche,

Symbolic environments - environments that have heavily symbolic content,

Fantasy city John Hannigan's (1998) term for a themed city,

Hyperreal a copy without an original,

Spectacle - the Situationist term for the current form of capital, vague and fluid but based on the image

Glossary of key terms associated with authenticity

Authenticity - The sense of realness of a thing or place, related to the phenomenononologist concept of being

Inauthenticity - the opposite to authenticity

Staged authentic - that authenticity exists in a series of stages none of which are "real" but each promises to be (deriving from Goffman)

Objectivist approach (authenticity) - treats the authenticity as something as real

Constructive/symbolic - the authenticity is socially constructed

Existential authenticity - authenticity is based on experience

Commodified authentic - Outka's term for when authenticity is the value being commodified

Nostalgic The part of the commodified authentic based around nostalgia.,

Originary - This object is one of a kind, limited edition and not derivative,

Exclusive - This object or experience is only available in a specific place

Kitsch - mass produced and popular object

Existential place - the experience of a place

Genius loci - the spirit of a place - used to describe how all aspects of it come together

Place/placelessness the authentic experience of a place

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my Grandmother Eithne Dooley, who died during the writing of this thesis.

Abstract

This research provides a visual analysis of Georgian Dublin, the small space within the city centre, as a case study into theming. Drawing on Marx's *Grundrisse* (1986) (1987) to create a theoretical framework which expands on the work of Mark Gottdiener (2001), it brings in and unpacks the concept of authenticity and its relationship to theming. In addition to these theoretical considerations it structures an analysis of the origins of the signs and symbols of the space rooted in the historical experience of the city. A combination of researcher generated images and images from the *Irish Press*, primary source historical documents and online discussions are employed. In establishing that what occurs in the case of Georgian Dublin is soft-theming, which is interpreted through the ideological process of interpellation, this thesis is able to argue that interest and not in-depth knowledge are needed for a visitor to engage with a space in a way that they ascribe meanings to it. Due to this process of interpellation multiple narratives can be linked to a single building. In doing so I argue that soft-theming is a powerful interpretative tool that allows us to move past linear narratives of the development of themed spaces and incorporate other social processes. In producing this case study it was found that Georgian Dublin is a highly symbolic environment, with multiple narratives and exclusions embedded into its built environment.

Section 1: Research aims, approach and review of theme parking theory

Chapter 1 Introduction

Theoretical framework

In the time leading up to the Celtic Tiger Dublin was positioned into being one of the 'great' global cities of Late Modernity. Conor McCabe's work shows how this movement occurred in terms of public policies, particularly around finance (2013). My research accepts this but recognises what is essentially the role of branding Dublin, and Georgian architecture is an essential distinguishing feature of Dublin's new global brand identity. This is evident in how its Georgian architectural imagery has gone global, so that the 'Georgian doors' poster is part of the tourist product. This poster is also reproduced in other merchandise such as coasters and postcards. So Georgian Dublin is an intensely symbolic environment in its own right even before we discuss the symbolism that is both built into the bricks and mortar and perceived through historical narratives.

This thesis provides a critical examination of the process of theming as first conceptualised by Mark Gottdiener (Gottdiener 2001), using a case study of Georgian Dublin, which places it in a dialectical relationship with other social processes. In doing so it accepts that the social process is taking place but it also points out that this process may itself be subordinate to other processes some of which are economic, some political, and some environmental. Gottdiener's central claim is that the principles by which the Disney theme parks are organised have escaped the confines of the theme park and are now being used elsewhere. Concentrating on America he claims that the built environment has become highly significant with a greater emphasis on spectacle and entertainment, especially around consumer spaces such as shopping malls. This thesis applies his observations to Georgian Dublin to show how this process occurs in the context of a pre-existing built environment.

While Gottdiener dates the emergence of theming to post-war America, and John Hannigan (1998) dates it to earlier in the twentieth century, this thesis will suggest that an alternate timeline is possible dating as far back as the eighteenth century. It is precisely at this point in time that Gottdiener argues the built environment had become hyposignificant retaining only those symbolic aspects linked to power. My argument is that in the case of Ireland this is worthy of study itself as Georgian Dublin drew on a rich symbolic canopy which co-existed with the buildings function. Just like Gottdiener and Hannigan I draw heavily on the use of the image in creating themes. In the case study looked at here what we will see is a themed space within the core of the city that is organised in an intertextual manner around visually similar buildings. Through this we see a process in which similar buildings are grouped together, which leads to them being considered authentic examples of that type of building by fitting a type (Costa 2009).

However this also shows us that this is not just about theming, this thesis seeks to expand on Gottdiener's original concept by showing how other social processes interact, complement and conflict with theming. This is grounded in Marx's dialectics as put forward in the *Grundrisse*[1]. In this text we see Marx treated capital as a process and "*creator of modern agriculture*" when he describes how it as the "*active middle*" along with rent and wage labour created nineteenth century landed property relationships. This allowed Marx to suggest that "*the inner structure of modern society, or capital in the totality of its relations, is therefore posited*." (1986:206).

In the *Grundrisse* Marx's ontology is made clear when he discusses how with an organic totality the "*totality constitutes a moment of its process, of its development*" (1986:208) through "*subordinating all elements of society to itself, or in creating out of it the organs it still lacks*" (1986:208). In doing so Marx treats totalities as "*organic*

[1] The edition I use from the *Marx and Engels Collected Works* Volumes 28 (1986) and 29 (1987) name it *A contribution to the critique of political economy* and treat it as an early draft of *Capital*.

systems" (1986:208). In relation to this thesis we can see this for example through how theming, capital and authenticity can potentially produce antagonisms through the tension between retaining the buildings veneer and in some cases advertising its current use. The Georgian House Museum is used in this thesis as one example of a resolution to this tension through the use of a detachable sign to draw the attention of potential visitors. It also allows us to see how the symbolism and status of the buildings shifted due to the changing political circumstances in Ireland. The usage and occupation of the buildings can also be understood by looking at the development of Georgian Dublin dialectically, so that we can see how these buildings went from townhouses of the nobility to bourgeois homes, to tenements, and back to bourgeois homes and office spaces. By looking at the theming of Georgian Dublin dialectically, as Marx would have put it "*the correct scientific method*" we see that "*the concrete is concrete because it is a synthesis of many determinations, thus a unity of the diverse*" (1986:38) just as Georgian Dublin developed as it did because of the complex interaction of social processes.

A major element within theming, perhaps as important as its visual component, is the narrative that is constructed around the visual, this binds what may well be distinct sites together. In doing so, theming interacts with placemaking and spaces as sites of social action. In invoking narratives, or generating new ones, we see how place, a minor concept in this thesis, is recreated through differing modes of affect to the narratives provided. These can involve either the notions of being inside or outside the place, based on whether the association is positive or negative. In the case of Georgian Dublin, the post-colonial influenced narrative would lead to a sense of outsideness. From a Marxist perspective these placemaking processes hide inequalities and have a firm basis in the dominant ideology of any given time and place.

In terms of political processes this becomes most obvious when we look at the

attitude towards these Georgian buildings post-independence from Britain[2]. Effectively they were regarded as symbolic of colonialism or a colonial leftover. While this does lead to some discussion as to whether or not Ireland in the eighteenth century was a colony (I believe it was and that the confusion is due to the growth of imperialism) the objective sense in which Ireland was a colony is less important than the fact it was later reinterpreted as being one.

The importance of understanding the politics and their relationship to class at the various times considered in this thesis should become evident from the fact that I am using Marxist theory chiefly from *Capital* to understand the social processes at work in this themed space. I have three grounds for using Marxism and particularly *Capital* in this regard. First, *Capital* still provides a devastating critique of the processes at work within capitalism both as an economic and social system and as an ideology. Secondly, it roots this in class struggle and so avoids the conspiracy theory of some vague elite,[3] and instead specifically locates the inequalities involved in the different power relationship between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat – the employer/rentier class and the working class. Georgian Dublin emerged during the rise of the merchant Capitalist system in Ireland and this system has continued since. Thirdly, my use of Marxist theory is also relevant to my consideration of the aesthetics and symbols connected to the buildings. If as the Marxist position holds "*(t)he ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class*" (Marx and Engels 2004)[4], then it makes sense that we will see these ideas reflected at a symbolic level. We see this both when Georgian Dublin was built and in the post-colonial phase. As can be seen especially in chapter 10, design features used on the buildings drew on a specific symbolic canopy tied to the

[2] While strictly speaking this would date this to the 1920s, in terms of the attitudes we see towards these buildings we can see the ideology clearly in 1950s and 1960s. As we will see a reference in the *Irish Press* suggests the attitude already exists in the 1930s just not dominant.
[3] This is a particular problem when using language such as elites, the establishment or the one percent, it is very easy to place any group into this vague category. This is why it is important in my view that we retain the language and theory of class struggle.
[4] The Communist Manifesto (Marxists.org version) Originally 1848.

ideology held by the bourgeoisie and nobility. In more recent times the buildings were interpreted as an English or Anglo-Irish colonial left over fitting with the ideology of the new ruling class. This I would argue contributes to an ideological class struggle, even as these are represented in historiography and academia, as well as how these ideas become represented as symbols. It is for this reason that I argue for the use of these buildings as part of tours, to tell the story of working classes against that of the bourgeoisie and those among the petit bourgeoisie who because of their class interest aligned with the former in preserving Georgian Dublin. Their history is part of the history of these buildings.

A significant theoretical contribution of this thesis is with regards the concept of authenticity. According to the literature, places and spaces lose their authenticity and become placeless through homogeneity. With Georgian Dublin we see how with theming that very same homogeneity contributes to its sense of place. At the same time a themed site should be a non-space, as in some respects the vast majority of people are just passing through. However, the space of Georgian Dublin, given its existing use values as homes and workplaces, escapes this tendency. In this way we can see Georgian Dublin contradicting how themed spaces have been theorised as being de facto inauthentic spaces.

The authenticating of themed spaces is worth considering in general. As already mentioned the homogeneous is generally treated as inauthentic, but there are other aspects of authenticity that are worthwhile. The most important is what is meant by authenticity and secondly what does invoking authenticity mean. In this thesis this is treated at two levels. The first level is “objective” authenticity itself a debatable concept as what is objective as with authenticity is value laden; does the building date back to eighteenth century and does it resemble our expectations of a Georgian building? If the answer is yes, then it is authentic; if the answer is no, consideration must be given to

how it differs. In this manner I hope to establish a sliding scale of authenticity so that there are degrees of "objective" authenticity. The second level of authenticity is its critique and I derive this from Theodor Adorno's *The Jargon of Authenticity*[5] (1973). While I acknowledge the phenomenologist's contribution to the concept of authenticity, I ground my critique in that of Adorno's Frankfurt School Marxism. This allows for a critical examination of how the buildings are perceived in their relationship to authenticity. In other words, whatever about the objective authenticity of a building, the concept of authenticity itself is value laden and its discussion could be used to suppress dissenting opinion.

Another important aspect of this thesis is that at its core it assumes that other processes are also taking place at the same time. These can be divided into: historical processes, which include those mentioned in passing above when narrativizing a place was discussed; environmental processes, and economic processes. None of these are necessarily mutually exclusive. For the most part the historical processes will be treated in the next section which justifies the use of Georgian Dublin as a case study.

Georgian Dublin is subject to its history so its development takes into account the events that happen within it; some of these are dealt with elsewhere in this chapter. The initial development of the Georgian core is linked to the Anglo-Irish elite. After the 1798 rebellion and the Act of Union in 1801 the capitalist market for buildings was adversely affected. This, along with the process of urban industrialization, impacted the growth and demographics of the city. Later events, such as the decade of the nationalist bourgeoisie's revolution in the twentieth century[6], and events leading up to it, had an impact on the streetscape as well and would later generate postcolonial hostility to these buildings. The shift to theming may be regarded as an accident of history emerging as it did from the conservation battles of the 1960s.

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[5] Discussed in-depth in a later chapter.
[6] That is from the second decade of the twentieth century until the early part of the following one.

In terms of environmental processes the buildings are subject to natural wear and tear although this can be exacerbated by use as will be demonstrated when discussing the tenements. This leads to what Marx terms physical depreciation in Volume two of *Capital* (1992). To some extent there is an apparent interplay between depreciation and theming as the latter can serve as a way to justify intervention by conservationists or the state to preserve a building. Environmental factors also came into consideration when the buildings were constructed. The materials used were locally sourced, and in theory the builders took into account local conditions, such as light, during their construction.

In terms of economic processes here we consider mainly use and ownership. In this thesis it is assumed that despite the process of theming the ownership as opposed to occupation of the buildings largely remains the same at the level of class. Their use value only changes to reflect changing economies so that once housing becomes uneconomic they become office spaces. Much of what can be seen in the development of the Georgian core since the 1960s can be considered to be part of this process. When looking at this the externalities on the displaced former occupiers of these as dwellings are not considered, this is related to some extent in the chapter on tenements. Due to the fact that theming is not their primary use value I use the term ‘soft theming’ to define how the pre-existing built environment is tied together as a theme, through guides and plaques.

It has been assumed by Hannigan (1998) and Gottdiener (2001), that there is a connection between theming and gentrification. By strictly following a definition of gentrification, where this is the displacement of a local working class population by a petit bourgeois and/or bourgeois population (Glass 2013), we can say that this is not necessarily the case. The example of Georgian Dublin suggests instead that while theming can happen alongside or as a sub process of gentrification, it can also occur

independently of it. As can be seen from the fact that for the most part the buildings under consideration have become businesses rather than homes, this does not preclude that the process of theming in Georgian Dublin has not contributed to the gentrification of nearby parts of the city, but this is a research question for another project.

A core assumption in existing theory is that themed spaces are designed from scratch. In this thesis I identify a different way of theming. It is assumed that through guide books or signage the visitor or passerby is having their gaze directed towards certain buildings. These guides and signs are being used not only to inform visitors of the significance of the buildings, but also to shape their interpretations. This occurs through the mechanism of interpellation or as it is sometimes called hailing, with the signs, guided tours or guidebooks or other media used as a medium. The process occurs when a message is assumed by a recipient to be directed at them. In the case of soft theming we see this allows for the built environment to be given a narrative or general theme without changing the physical building itself.

Why Georgian Dublin?

All these processes were implicated in the shaping of Georgian Dublin and are not entirely distinct. I will show that from the outset fear of the working class contributed to their confinement in sections of the Liberties, an area which at the time combined Georgian, pre-Georgian and non-Georgian architecture. By the early nineteenth century the tenement system was already emerging within Georgian Dublin as it became profitable to convert the buildings to tenements. The architects appear to have taken into account the local environment, and there is definite evidence that they sourced brick locally. Finally, the aesthetic of Georgian Dublin is also at play in its buildings. These were treated as effectively a space to be seen, and it is notable how these spaces are organised in ways to keep work and workers out of view, in this thesis

the main discussion of this comes from the stable lanes and basements, although the organisation of the buildings themselves also allowed for this.

Aside from providing a good case study on which to test and develop the theories of theming, Georgian Dublin is a useful case study in its own right. As a themed space it has developed under a number of specific local and historical circumstances which can be roughly linked to four periods, although these do not apply universally to Georgian Dublin as a spatial whole or at the same time. These periods involve (1) its initial building in the eighteenth century (2) its decline in the context of the growing working class population within previously Bourgeois spaces and the industrialisation of the capital mostly associated with nineteenth and early twentieth century (3) its near destruction in the sixties and seventies under post colonialist thinking and the battle to preserve it from both members of the bourgeoisie and petit bourgeois on the one hand and the working class housing action groups on the other. In addition, we see it as an ideological battle-ground between those who viewed it as a colonial legacy and those who saw anti-Britishness as something to be rejected in favour of a more cosmopolitan outlook. (4) The fourth period, which is its current status, on which much of this thesis is based is that of Georgian Dublin's preservation; it is now largely a protected space made up of listed buildings[7].

Due to its history this protection is and has been uneven. Specific areas will have a number of Georgian buildings flanked by modern ones which depending on when they were built and the intentions of the architects will to varying degrees incorporate Georgian features. Typically we can divide these into four basic types: (1) ones which are not Georgian at all (2) ones which are designed to fit in with Georgian streetscapes in terms of scale but otherwise have little in common (3) new builds which use a neo-

[7] It is at this point that my abandonment of the housing issue as part of this thesis comes in, as once the buildings are no longer lived in housing is no longer part of the research question. Had it continued to be a part of the thesis I would advocate squats and housing coops to resolve our current housing crisis.

Georgian architecture and (4) new builds which effectively reproduce the Georgian buildings they replace.

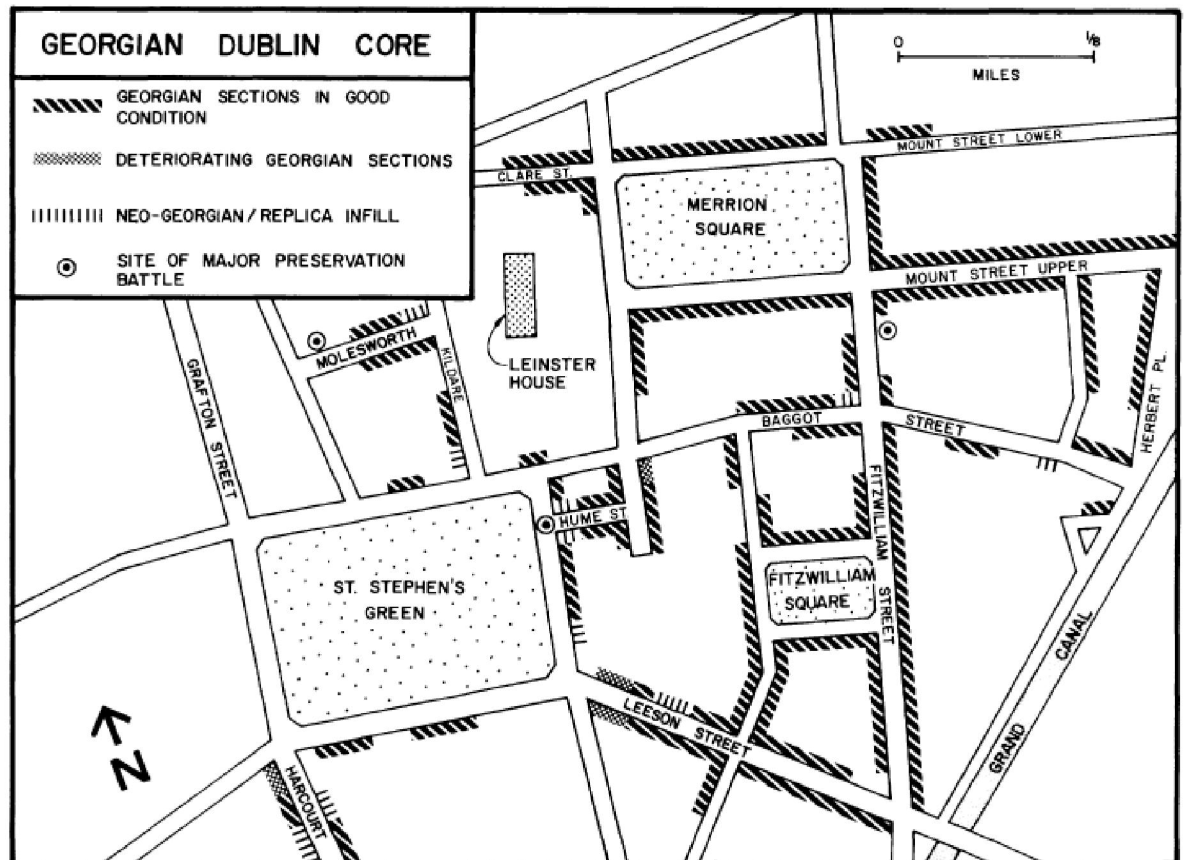

Figure 1 Georgian Dublin's core reproduced from (Kearns 1982:276)

Georgian Dublin is spatially defined as a specific geographical location roughly from Harcourt Street to Fitzwilliam Square on the South Side (see Figure 1 above) and an axis from Parnell Square to Mountjoy Square, along with Henrietta Street on the Northside. Here, an eighteenth century building in the Liberties, while Georgian does not expand the boundaries under consideration. At the same time, if a Georgian building does not fit the established idea of what a Georgian Building should look like it does not automatically assume Georgian status despite dating to the right date. Additionally larger public buildings which used to be private will be shown to be effectively larger scale versions of the smaller townhouses with additions such as wings, despite having been modelled on country seats. This implies that there exists one particular form of Georgian building and the argument is made later in the thesis that what others have

identified as quasification is occurring here also. Basically a template of what a Georgian building will look like is established and others are broadly retained within this definition. However as many of these buildings still have other uses we shall see that they incorporate signage, evidence that they have to balance the listed status of these buildings, and the protected streetscapes, alongside the commercial interest of self promotion.

The importance of the use of these buildings is highlighted throughout the thesis. The buildings have variously functioned as bourgeois townhouses, tenements, private homes and businesses. The buildings usually also emphasised an aesthetic component although its importance as compared to the use value varies across time. During the periods when tenement crises arose, and in this thesis I focus on the one that occurred during the thirties for reasons I will give below, we see the sole consideration being the extraction of profit by rentiers[8] from tenants, who came from a variety of factions within the working classes.

This leads us to consider whose view is being represented in Georgian Dublin. Arguably the visual process we see here is directly linked to ruling class views. In the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century we see these buildings and the space they exist in being designed according to the interests of the nobility and an emerging bourgeoisie. Indeed, the family of one of the landlords, Luke Gardiner, gradually gained improved social position through their property and other investments becoming ennobled during the course of the century, providing an example of the rise of the merchant capitalist class. The symbolism employed here reflects the taste of the classes who built them, perhaps best illustrated by Leinster House having a prospect when built and the tendency to keep work and workers off the streets using stable lanes and

[8] The term rentier needs to be seen as referring to those members of the bourgeoisie whose income is drawn from capital and rents, in a modern context a working class person who rents out a spare room to supplement their income, or pay for a relative’s needs, would not be either a landlord or rentier.

basements which were entered below the level of the railings. Arguably their politics and political environment were also reflected in the building, giving a visual representation of aspects of the superstructure (imagery reflective of Anglo-Irish identity and political interest). Perhaps the most obvious examples used in this thesis are on the Custom House on which images associated with both merchant capitalism and the unity of Great Britain and Ireland are prominent. Certainly, as I will show, contemporaries believed this to be the case. During the nineteenth and into the twentieth century the importance of the visual declines replaced, as suggested above, by the usage of many buildings within the tenement system. But by the 1960s we see new meanings being ascribed to the buildings. These meanings were connected directly to Ireland's general historical development. On the one hand they were considered to be directly connected to the previous status of their owners as an elite living in a golden age, on the other we see this same elite imagined as colonisers. The question of the status of Ireland as a colony is less important than its perception of having been one. I contend that at the very least it constituted a quasi-colonial federation with the rest of Great Britain during the eighteenth century and that this contradiction had its roots in imperialism. In some respects the victory for the conservationists has meant that the golden age view is what has survived to this day.

The soft theming of Georgian Dublin is a major theme of this thesis. We will see this in a number of the sub case studies including Henrietta Street, chosen as an example of a complete Georgian streetscape. Soft theming also appears with the tours chosen whether using signs as in The Malton trail or the Pat Dargan authored guide book. While both tours represent elite views, the Malton trail emphasises public structures and bigger houses representing a nobility; the Dargan walking tour draws far more on the typical townhouses associated with both the nobility and the bourgeoisie. These tours were chosen because they dealt with the two separate groups of buildings

providing a useful delineation between them.

The buildings' exteriors as opposed to interiors form the basis of analysis. For the vast majority of visitors to Georgian Dublin the outside is what they see. The reason for this is aside from publicly owned buildings most are still private property. While exceptions to this do occur, either at the Georgian House Museum, or open days, exteriors are the primary concern here. Many of the Georgian buildings have had their interiors altered during the intervening century and hence they bear little resemblance to their eighteenth century interiors. This reflects the changes of use the buildings have undergone. For most visitors to Georgian Dublin what makes a building Georgian is its exterior, and this is how the theme is linked.

Significance of this thesis in relation to both Theming and Georgian Dublin

At the level of theory this thesis is significant in three ways: (1) by pointing out contradictions with established theory both through the case study and through relating theming to the concept of authenticity; (2) by supporting the notion of soft theming as distinct from the established theorised process which allows for the theming of pre-existing environments and; (3) by developing on existing contributions in the literature.

There are a number of contradictions within the literature emerging from this thesis. One of the most significant is that according to theming theory, Georgian Dublin should not have become a place. It manages to do so however, through a process of narrativisation, or the generation of narrative. In doing so it demonstrates that a consideration of theming could potentially alter existing theories of place and space as they relate to authenticity. As a case study Georgian Dublin highlights that in attempting to apply the process of theming outside the theme parks of Disney we need to account for the pre-existing use value. These use values are at most complemented by theming, or used as a theme itself but otherwise theming has little impact on how the use value

develops or changes. A number of the contradictions arise from consideration of Georgian Dublin's specific history. There are significant differences between the Irish and American experiences. Further international research may well lead to future developments in the theory of theming.

This thesis challenges and moves beyond Gottdiener's theory of theming and also extends our understanding of the concepts of authenticity. By choosing Georgian Dublin as a case study this thesis argues against the claim that the eighteenth century was a period of hyposignification. It demonstrates that in fact if what occurred in the eighteenth century is not theming then it shares a number of important processes with it, enough I would argue to push our chronology for theming back to the eighteenth century. In this way the process of theming- if considered to be rooted in symbolic environments- can be theorised as having originated much earlier than previously thought.

I have also highlighted the potential exclusionary discourses which occur when relating a themed space to authenticity. Further research would be required to establish whether this translates into exclusionary practices when a pre-existing space is subjected to soft theming.

The final contribution at the level of theory that this thesis makes is establishing that soft-theming as a practice occurs when a space is mediated for visitors by guidebooks, signage or plaques. This enables us to look at how an environment can be themed without being altered. In doing so there may also be the potential to generate alternative readings of a space. This point will be expanded on in the conclusion.

At the level of empiricism this thesis has also developed new ways of treating the historiography of its case study, Georgian Dublin, and the symbolism of its streetscape, by demonstrating that the perceived colonial nature of the city is contested, instead being a local capital within an imperialist quasi-colonial federation. This

political situation existed as Ireland was legislatively and nominally independent though it had enough ties to the Westminster government to have definite colonial aspects. When this is explored we see that there is a somewhat ambiguous mixing of colonial imagery with symbols of sovereignty. We also see how the history of the working classes is largely hidden through the process of theming just as they were excluded at the visual level when the city was built. In treating the tenements as one part of the historical development of the city at the level of use, and connecting it to the elite visual culture of the city as dual processes which interact in different ways, I believe I have reconciled the process of theming with the history of Dublin city centre.

This thesis is divided into six major sections, the first section which includes this introduction setting out the aims of this research provides the theoretical framing that guides the thesis. This is followed by a section setting out the methodological approaches and considerations used to generate the empirical data. In the main secondary research informs the next section covering how Georgian Dublin developed from the eighteenth century to the present day. The final chapter of this section uses a primary analysis of secondary sources to examine the use of Georgian buildings as tenements in the early years of Eamon De Valera's Ireland and in the context of housing reform.The next two sections, dealing with a soft-themed built environment and its authenticity draw mainly from primary research. The first of these sections drawing in the main on tours of the built environment establishes the heavy use of symbolism both contemporary and reinterpreted for late modernity along with the consistency of the streets image. In the section on authenticity, the authenticity of Georgian Dublin is examined both at the level of the buildings themselves and their reception by architectural enthusiasts. The final section provides the conclusions of this thesis and potential future research trajectories.

Chapter 2: Theming, spectacle and authenticity: the work of Gottdeiner and its critique

Chapter Abstract

In this chapter theming as a process is outlined. It begins by setting out how Mark Gottdiener and John Hannigan originally framed their versions of the same process, highlighting how these compliment and at times contradict each other. The chapter then engages with developments and critiques of theming by academics such as Alan Bryman, George Ritzer in collaboration with Allan Liska, and Chris Rojek. This allows for what others have seen as omissions in theming to be highlighted. Finally drawing on the work of Debord, the link between theming and spectacular consumption is suggested providing a link to Sharon Zukin's concept of landscapes as image based expressions of power. The process of theming is the major component of the theoretical framework of this thesis.

Introduction

As already pointed out in the introduction the phenomena of creating themed environments has been studied under a variety of terms. These include theming, Disneyfication, Disneyisation, McDisneyfication, the Personapolis (Morikawa 2004), etc. No matter which term is used the process seems to be directly related to what Schulze (2005) describes as the experience society and Pine and Gilmore (1999) call the Experience Economy. According to Darmer and Sundblo these studies propose "*that experiences are going to substitute services and become the next value-creating element in firms*" (2008:1). Darmer and Sundblo make the claim that the key element of this is

the experience which is not always the product itself but can be an extension of it and is made up of "*the design, the marketing, the usage and symbolic value*" of the object in question, whether it be an item, restaurant, theme park or whatever the experience is built around (Sundbo and Darmer 2008:1) (Kozinets et al. 2002). There is an unfortunate core assumption here that the move to the experience economy is part of a new friendlier face of neo-classical capitalism, rather than extension of practices of consumption and exploitation into new areas. Emerging in the capital city, in the main empirical section of the thesis Georgian Dublin will be treated as having gone from having been lived in to being themed.

The key themes of theming

One of the key theorists looking at this, Mark Gottdiener in his *The Theming of America: American Dreams Media Fantasies and Themed Environments* (2001) discusses how new consumer spaces are themed and he specifically cites shopping malls, themed restaurants and theme parks. He traces the current trend of theming the environment to around the 1960s. While the tourists who attend the themed environments are there as consumers they utilise them as an entertaining place. Most themed environments are just for visiting with the notable exception of Celebration, a town founded by Disney[9]. While customers and owners like theming it is not without its opponents who see it as eroding public space and the backlash against it has led to it being rejected by some businesses. He suggests that the themes typically drawn on tend to derive from 'the most hackneyed aspects of Hollywood cinema' (2001:184) which he claims cannot compete with genuine cultures and environments. These tend to be the Wild West, tropical paradise, Greece and Rome, nostalgia, deserts, urbanism, fortresses, progress and the apparently unrepresentable such as war or death. Gottdiener's work seems to have provided the foundation for subsequent discussions on the theming of

[9] Subsequent to Gottdiener's book the town was sold to Lexin Capital (Achbar, Abbott, and Bakan 2003).

space.

The process of theming as Gottdiener describes it is where themes and symbols are being used to sell consumer goods, he sees this as linked to the appearance of symbolic environments such as shopping malls, restaurants and theme parks, spaces which are produced and consumed. This is in and of itself nothing new, traditional settlements where organised by their symbolism, in modernity the emphasis was on the function and buildings where no longer symbolic. However, since the 1960s themes have become important in many aspects of life. This is a development foreshadowed by the emergence of the theme park in the 1950s. The signs used are loaded with meanings which act on a semiotic level, they denote something, are read intertextually, but can have multiple meanings. To try and avoid these multiple meanings the signs are codified through advertisements, television, cinema politics and the economy. Similarly, captions can, according to Charles Cunningham drawing on Roland Barthes and Stuart Hall, "*(w)hile this "anchoring" of meaning is not always effective*", provide for "*the guidance of the reader towards the "preferred meanings" of the photographs with titles and captions*" (1999:282). As people view different themes in different ways these spaces are designed to represent a number of themes to attract a broad audience. They can be segregated and specialised by class, race, disability and gender in part for the same reasons. This creates what Gottdiener sees as fantasy driven landscapes often associated with shopping malls. As part of theming, and as a consequence of both Fordism and McDonaldization, goods are sold by symbolic and thematic appeals which overshadow their use value. The setting in which these goods are sold are important as well, so the spaces in which they are sold are constructed with themes to lure the consumer in. Of these spaces the Disney theme parks are the most spectacular and successful connecting their media output and merchandise to space. Others such as 'Dollywood' have imitated

Disney's success and areas needing renovation have applied it for economic revival notably Times Square in New York. It is used in music concerts with acts grouped by theme, sex tourism where gender and body types act as subdivisions and even war and holocaust memorials. Like Bryman (2004) and Ritzer (Ritzer and Liska 1997), Gottdiener views themed environments as highly controlled and monitored by their owners or the owner's agents he goes so far as to suggest surveillance is itself a theme.

Themed environments are highly successful providing business with a way to realise capital in the modern market hence their proliferation. However, there are according to Gottdiener negative consequences and in turn resistance to these spaces. Due to rationalisation the quality of the goods sold are often considered of lesser quality and a general perception is that from the visitor's point of view they are not value for money. They are seen as generally eroding public space and having potentially harmful effects on the environment. The erosion of public space has several other consequences on social life such as civic decline, and exclusion particularly if theme parks are the new main streets. For Gottdiener these negative effects come from the dominance of consumption in society with commercialism and profit-making dominating the built environment. He maintains that genuine culture and public spaces should not be substituted for themed environments. He is not alone in his critique of themed environments and globally organised protest groups have sprung up in reaction to them, mainly on the grounds of environmentalism, cultural decline[10] and the portrayal of heritage. This in turn leading to theming not being as popular with businesses as it once was. At the same time a number of themed restaurants had run into financial difficulty by the time Gottdiener was writing.

[10] This is a potentially problematic concept as the cultures in decline can include hegemonic ones such as Irishness, a concept with embedded exclusionary and racist connotations.

Gottdiener cites John Hannigan (1998) as believing that theming is an urban phenomenon a position with which he (Gottdiener) disagrees (2001:105). Hannigan was describing the fantasy city which is a concept he describes as "*the construction of heavily themed and branded retail, arts and entertainments palaces: sports stadiums, casinos, convention centres, museums and art galleries, concert halls, megaplex cinemas and shopping centres*" (1998:4). In theory these should be subsidised and use public private partnership[11] and it has turned out that major investors such as Disney have pulled out of such projects and institutional lenders find the focus on entertainment over retail as a disincentive. This disincentive becomes prohibitive once it is taken into account that that these spaces are quite expensive. Drawing on Richard Florida's creative class theory (2002) he claims that this supposed new class may be behind the move away from the fantasy city model but this model can also lead to disneyfication. Hannigan believes that this is in part fuelled by the reverence for a golden age of entertainment in the cities, the high point of which he dates to 1905; this is linked to a culture of pastiche. This pastiche allows for the incorporation of kitsch themes in places like Las Vegas. He challenges one aspect of this reverence, suggesting that the golden age was no more authentic then modern fantasy spaces.

According to both theorists a major driver of the fantasy city is the search for a safe entertainment space, which has led to the fantasy city following a model of the panopticon, with extensive if largely invisible surveillance. Hannigan sees theming as a tool for urban regeneration, though this theming has to occur in appropriate locations for it to work. These two elements seem to influence the tendency for themed spaces to become gentrified, although this does not necessarily occur as shall be explored later. Hannigan touches on this and the connected widening of gaps between groups but does

[11] That is according to the literature, as a Communist I find the subsidising of the capitalist class to be highly dubious.

not really develop it further.

Critiques

The theories of both Hannigan and Gottdiener tend to downplay the role of agency (Hazbun, 2001, 2002) though they do allow for it, through resistance in the forms of organised protest, culture jamming, etc.[12]. Beardsworth and Bryman (1999) probably allow the most room for agency through a process they term quasification, which suggests that the visitor interacts with the theming, knowing full well that it is commercial, as opposed to Gottdiener's theory, which claims the visitor is duped by the hidden commercialism (2001). This allows for some reconciliation between the literature on themed locations and that of fans which itself treats a fan as being a consumer who actively engages with a product in a way that is characterized as having a high level of emotional investment.

Bryman seems to be a fairly prolific author on the general subject of theme parking though he uses the term disneyisation, which refers to a "*process by which the principles of the Disney theme parks are coming to dominate more and more sectors of American society as well as the rest of the world*" ((2004: 1) quoted (Roberts 2005)). To Bryman Disneyisation is made up of four key processes; (1) narrative, (2) hybrid consumption, (3) merchandising and (4) performative labour (Roberts 2005), all of which are present in Gottdiener's theory. The narrative corresponds to the themes that are used at these spaces. Hybrid consumption and merchandising are linked processes the visitor not only visits the theme park, but stays in the hotel, eats in the restaurants and buys the t-shirts and other branded souvenirs. The fourth process, performative labour simply refers to how the employees have to act in front of the public, the smile

[12]Though these may require illegal acts which of course can be a barrier to protest for those who wish to stay within the bourgeois state.

and say have a nice day culture, and it can also reflect those who are employed to dress up as Goofy or Mickey. In addition to these processes Bryman also emphasises the level of observation and control at the theme park. Like the other theorists Bryman believes that Disneyisation has escaped the theme park and entered other areas of the economy. These include restaurants[13], hotels, shopping malls, museums, the staples of the theme parking literature. In addition to these Disneyisation is not a localised phenomenon but has gone global and this leads to the themed environments adoption to local cultural sensitivities. Tokyo Disneyland replaced Mainstreet USA with the World Bazaar. While in France Disney had to alter policy and sell alcohol as well as deemphasise the emotional end of performative labour (Roberts 2005).

It has been suggested that in his description of the level of control at Disneyised spaces Bryman may have over stated his case. Chris Wright suggests that far from creating signed areas forbidding non cast members access to certain spaces, Disney and visitors have an unspoken understanding of civility whereby the visitors will stick to the paths (2006). This is achieved using barriers taken from nature, for example plants and water, and have these act as boundaries.

George Ritzer and Allan Liska examine a process which is either related or identical to theming called McDisneyization, which is essentially Ritzer's McDonaldisation theory applied to tourism. The original McDonaldisation thesis argued that in modernity society is characterised by efficiency, predictability, calculability[14], the substitution of human labour with technology or people who don't act autonomously and therefore are machine like, and finally control over employees and customers. "*While the fast-food restaurant is not the ultimate expression of rationality, it is the current exemplar of for future developments in rationalization*" (Ritzer 2001:372) hence the name Ritzer gave the process.

[13] The most notable being McDonalds.
[14] When he refers to calculability he sees this as a trend towards quantity rather than quality.

As already mentioned Ritzer along with Liska has applied this to theme parks and other holiday and tourist related spaces. They argue that like McDonalds, Disney theme-parks can be seen as paradigms for the process of McDonaldisation, when applied to tourist situations (1997:97). They argue that people increasingly travel to other locations to experience what they experience in their day to day lives. The tourists accustomed to a McDonaldised life-world are looking for vacations that are predictable "*(t)he last thing most of today's tourists want to experience is an unpalatable meal, a wild animal or a rat infested hotel room*" (1997:99). They also want a highly efficient vacation, or as Ritzer and Liska put it "*the most vacation for the money*" (1997:99). Another characteristic of McDonaldisation that is present in tourism is that vacations are highly calculable the holiday is already budgeted for and the length of time is predetermined. Finally like McDonalds, holidays are according to this thesis highly controlled in that the experience is either essentially scripted as in Disney or through the use of technology easily influenced. Almost immediately the thesis faces difficulty as Urry has pointed out that standardised tours have entered into decline, in response to this Ritzer and Liska claim that while rigidly standardised tours have past, package tours are still around and while more flexible than before are still highly McDonaldised (1997:98). To Ritzer and Liska the spaces and experiences are more and more homogenised and any diversity is "*a momentary barrier*" (1997:101).

Ritzer and Liska argue that to post tourists[15] commodification, consumerism and tourism are linked as can be seen in the case of Disney which represents a paradigm for McDonaldised tourism. One goes to Disney which acts as a gateway to purchasing other Disney products in this Ritzer and Liska suggest the theme-park is a "*thinly disguised*

[15] This term refers to tourists in the so-called postmodern era who repudiate what MacCannel describes as an authentic experience.

shopping mall set up to sell primarily a wide array of Disney products" (1997:103) aided by a general similarity between theme-parks and shopping malls and corporate mergers integrating many of the businesses involved in a vertical and horizontal fashion. The minor element of Ritzer's McDonaldisation theory – the irrationality of rationalization is present in the Disney theme park due to this as the merchandise makes it easy for the tourist to go over budget through the buying of souvenirs which leads to incalculability. Like Gottdiener, Ritzer and Liska emphasise the importance of signs in McDisneyisation, that the nature and significance of these signs be recognised. In fact they argue that Disney itself acts as a sign, however they break with Gottdiener in that they believe that it can lead to overlooking material aspects of tourism which they, evoking Marx, term "*the means of tourism*" (1997:104-5). The themed environments are themselves means of tourism while they suggest that credit cards act as meta-means of tourism granting access to the actual means of tourism which are primarily the theme-park, cruise ship and Las Vegas style hotel. These spaces are according to Ritzer and Liska Baudrillard's hyper-space. The tourist has everything in one space and so has no want or need to go anywhere else. At the same time these spaces merge Goffman's total institution and Foucault's Panopticon. The public are controlled by the very design of the space and always observed by those in control of that space. People are consuming signs, but they are doing so because they are manipulated into doing so and by extension contra Gottdiener, polysemy is unlikely to pose a threat to the main interpretation of the signs. Many writers on tourism and theming maintain that MacCannel (1973, 1976) was correct, that tourists seek authenticity but that this has become problematic due to the increase in simulations. Not so Ritzer and Liska argue. Rather than being in search of authenticity they are in search of the simulations. The real is not fun eating nuts and berries on a walk or cooking by the campfire they would be authentic, yes, but the simulated experience of eating at McDonald's is far more

comfortable and predictable.

Chris Rojek (1993) while accepting its general thrust questions two significant elements of Gottdiener's theory, Rojek suggests that theming, which he associates with McDonaldisation theory has a longer history within industrial society than Gottdiener claims citing the Coney Island Luna Park which had a reconstruction of an Irish village and staged re-enactments of the eruption of Mount Vesuvius. He also follows a similar line as Bryman and Beardsworth (1999) in that the visitors to these themed spaces are well aware of their staged kitsch nature and are not visiting these spaces for an authentic experience but for a pleasurable one. The artificiality itself is the attraction and far from leading to disenchantment is part of an ebb and flow between it and re-enchantment.

Anthony Patterson and Stephen Brown (2003) claim that theming studies neglect commercial realities that the imagineers[16] had to face and focus on politics of meaning. This point is also taken up by Rosemary J. Coombe (2004) who suggests that both Gottdiener and Hannigan ignore the role of the legal infrastructure that allows for this and the laws power in shaping social processes:

> *The liberalization of trademark law has permitted owners of marks to engage in extended marketing in contexts increasingly distant from the goods in association with which they had first acquired secondary meaning (associated by consumers with a singular source). The concept of "trade dress" evolved to permit rights of exclusivity over restaurant decor, store designs, and other distinctive organizations of space that had or might acquire symbolic meaning. IPRs expanded to provide greater protection for fictional characters, cartoon imagery, and logos. All of these legal developments provided new incentives for*

[16] In addition to the imagineers we should add their employers who have an interest in the commercial realities of running their companies.

investing in the creation of distinctive environments to the degree that energies put into the creation of signifying environments produce "works" which can then be multiply licensed through franchising arrangements (2004:13-14).

Disney have the obvious advantage here in that their theme parks have always drawn, in the main from their own works, and many images such as Sherlock Holmes or European folk tales are safely in the public domain. Others however are not for example "Captain America's Cookhouse and Bar" refers to the same Captain America who belongs to Marvel[17]. To Coombe the owners of the intellectual property try to control the polysemy of the imagery and controlling their appropriation into local lifeworlds. Whereas Gottdiener and others see "*themed environments as privatized spaces structured by practices of segregation and surveillance that have usurped the urban public sphere*" (2004:14), Coombe sees them as providing areas where people can self-segregate seeing non-themed space as potentially unsafe. This allows the middle-classes who Hannigan sees as using themed environments as "*protected playgrounds*" (1998:7) to feel more secure.

Fox-Gotham, Shefner and Brumley look at Gottdiener as one of several authors who breaks with the tradition of overlooking interpretive and symbolic aspects of social space. They argue that historically when looking at space social scientists have tended to focus on aspects of the built environment that promote or are consequence of class division, the usage of these spaces such as industrial zoning etc. (2001). According to Gottdiener these themed environments are fantasy environments built around certain thematic images and the imagineers structuring of these within a built environment particular fantasies creates conformity through controlling the said fantasies and attempting to ensure that any polysemic readings of them are limited. Kozinets et al

[17] Ultimately the character now belongs to Disney, it is not clear the exact relationship between the restaurant and the licence for the character.

(2002) drawing on Postman suggest that these fantasies are generated by the media and are augmented onto reality creating Baudrillard's hyper-reality. As a major postmodernist critic of contemporary society Jean Baudrillard has commented on theme parking in his *Simulacra and Simulations* (1988) arguing that theme parks and Disneyland in particular are an example of the hyperreal, models of a real generated without originals on which they are based. These are roughly the same as Frederic Jameson's vanishing mediator (1973) where the original is no longer required and gives way to the copy. This can according to him generate the real so the model becomes the original while the real is a copy. Like, and anticipating, Bryman, Gottdiener and Hannigan, Baudrillard expands this beyond Disney and claims that this has spread to other aspects of American life. To Baudrillard this is a symptom of commodification in late capitalism, in which the spectacular image no longer is a false representation of reality but a concealment of the real being subverted and replaced by the image. Baudrillard claims that in hyper reality the real and the imaginary merge into one another meaning that an authentic experience becomes impossible. To Baudrillard the enjoyment of the hyper-real comes from the journey the visitor has undertaken to get there up to and including the car parks and queues. The other visitors contribute a sense of atmosphere to the space which again contributes to the enjoyment.

In contradistinction to Baudrillard, Norris (1992) claims that reality is still distinguishable from fiction or hyper-reality. Nick Couldry (2001) also questions postmodern interpretation of themed environments, rejecting Eco's argument that these environments are completely fake. Instead he believes that they attract visitors through a process related to Benjamin's concept of aura, the sense of wonder one gets from a work of art (2001:163-5). To Couldry who concentrates on media pilgrimages these environments act as liminal zones between fantasy worlds such as the television programs like Coronation Street, or to expand it to Disney their cartoon franchises, and

people's everyday experience. That said the theme can be cracked open through weaknesses in the representation (2001:157).

The themed spectacle

Guy Debord (2002) presents an image of the spectacle representing social relations in both the capitalist and communist worlds. In the latter this took the form of the creation of a myth that the revolution, then primarily the Eastern bloc but also the established left, still had the interests of the proletariat at heart. Instead of having become state capitalists and being in part the same bourgeois as had previously been in place as well as being replacement exploiters. In addition the regimes which Debord grouped alongside fascism for the way they used the spectacle, employ a cult like adoration of their leaders. Clark and Nicholson Smith have suggested that this aspect of the spectacle is often ignored (Clark and Nicholson-Smith 1997). In the western capitalist world this relationship was defined by commodities, the consumption of which is stimulated through consumer culture. This is the creation of pseudo needs and wants which are never fulfilled, the spectacle itself being an image of reality projected through this alienated consumption. This is an alienation which the spectacle maintains while enthralling the consumers at the same time. This alienation leads to a loss of identity, which further stimulates the spectacle as the consumers turn to it and capitalism in order to reappropriate their identities, which may have implications for fans and aficionados. The twist is that contemporary consumption no longer relies on material goods and has grown, as Pine and Gilmore (1998) would point out to include experiences, guaranteeing repeated consumption. Debord links the spectacle to hyper-individualism which is itself created and maintained by the one way relationship between the spectacle and spectator.

For Debord (as is the case for Gottdiener and many of those who write on theme parks) the spectacle is the growing importance of signs in modernity: "*Everything that was directly lived has receded into a representation... Fragmented views of reality regroup themselves into a new unity as a separate pseudoworld that can only be looked at*" (2002, no page). Through commodification, identity becomes linked to the sign value of objects, prioritising signification in cultural outputs. This parallels how Gottdiener and Hannigan see themes. These commodities then become determinants of social interaction through effectively operating as advertisements. This focus on the visual ties into theming as the same process occurs there as well with streetscapes and landscapes reduced to something to be consumed:

> *Capitalist production has unified space, which is no longer bounded by external societies. This unification is at the same time an extensive and intensive process of banalization... In order to become ever more identical to itself, to get as close as possible to motionless monotony, the free space of the commodity is henceforth constantly modified and reconstructed... capitalism now can and must refashion the totality of space into its own particular decor* (2002, no page).

This of course has implications for tourist spaces and by association theming, Debord sees tourism as:

> *a by-product of the circulation of commodities, is fundamentally nothing more than the leisure of going to see what has become banal. The economic organization of visits to different places is already in itself the guarantee of their equivalence. The same modernization that removed time from the voyage also removed from it the reality of space (*Debord 2002 no page).

This focus on banalization also comes through in the theming literature with its concern for homogenisation. Within this framework cities have lost their position as the site for the beginning of revolutions becoming instead the space where business is done. The countryside has been reduced to a romanticised timeless setting where nothing much happens, happened or will happen. It is reduced to a timeless setting, a psuedo-countryside to use Debord's phrase bereft of community. Weihnacht argues that Disney theme parks are not too far removed from how Debord envisioned the ideal relation between the individual and space. Both emphasised what Debord called the psychogeographical relief of the space (1999).

No less a figure than Michel Foucault dismissed the spectacle arguing that "*Our society is not one of spectacle, but of surveillance; under the surface of images one invests bodies in-depth*" (Foucault 1977:217). He linked this to the decline of the public performance of executions and the punishing of criminals behind closed doors. The implication here is that he dates the spectacle to an entirely different era than Debord does. Given this disparity it is interesting to note that in the literature on theming both the spectacle and surveillance are given prominence by many writers, particularly those who emphasize the hard control of the environments. This would mark themed sites as panopticons built around the spectacle itself which may mark a reconciliation of these two perspectives.

Debord himself critiqued one aspect of his original theory which he believed had become out of date (2007). When he originally wrote the theory he argued that there were two types of spectacle, diffused and concentrated. While the former was present in

liberal regimes such as America the latter was a characteristic of totalitarian regimes including Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. By 1988 he argued that there was no longer a distinction. Instead he suggested that the spectacle was now integrated and this form had spread globally. The new form of the spectacle retains much of its old characteristics but is also characterised by a reliance on technologies constantly renewing, the state and the economy becoming increasingly intertwined, general secrecy, rewriting the past and the immediacy of media commentary. In this formulation community has disappeared and is replaced by individuals. Several aspects of this can be related to theming: the reliance on technology as seen by Ritzer and Gottdiener; in some cases the linkage between economy and state as seen in Hannigan's discussions and the rewriting of the past as a consistent worry for those who consider authenticity and theming.

From a sociological perspective, Sharon Zukin (1993) sees landscapes as a "*symbolic representation*" of "*an ensemble of material and social practices*" (Zukin 1993:16). Here, landscapes are not merely limited to nature's scenes, but also the ways in which society and culture transform nature into social formations. These formations may be urban or technological or bureaucratic or architectural. Landscapes, she argues, are constituted by texts so that if we know how to read them, we can perceive in landscape representations the relations of power that underlie and constitute them. For Zukin, urban landscapes present contested terrains that express the opposition between the market and place:

> *In a narrow sense, landscape represents the architecture of social class, gender, and race relations imposed by powerful institutions. In a broader sense, however, it connotes the entire panorama that we see: both the landscape of the*

> *powerful--cathedrals, factories, and skyscrapers; and the subordinate, resistant, or expressive vernacular of the powerless--village chapels, shantytowns, and tenements. A landscape mediates, both symbolically and materially, between the socio-spatial differentiation of Capital implied by market and the socio-spatial homogeneity of labour suggested by place.* (Zukin, 1993:16).

Writing in the context of mediated representation Zukin comments on the role of image and how that image can become attached to a particular place such as the idealised whiter than white world of Disney which she claims glosses over less savoury elements of American history. On the opposite end of the scale, she argues that Miami is invested with the pervasive guilt derived from *Miami Vice*. The tourist visiting these sites is involved in visual consumption. In the case of Disney she notes the level of control that is exerted by those who run the theme parks to ensure that the theme is properly projected to the consumer.

If the suggestion that landscapes can invoke tropes is sustainable then the landscape can be read. This can be done using semiotics. Various aspects go into this such as the content of the landscape and even the way of seeing. As an example of the latter Wylie (2007), like Barthes, uses the idea of viewing from a higher angle. This way of viewing carries with it the connotation that the viewer is the ruler of all he surveys. This is close to an analogy used by DeCertau (1984) in his representation of the voyeur who looks down on the city from a height and represents the administrator or figures of authority over the city.

Figure 2 A voyeuristic view – taken from Liberty Hall. Used here to illustrate a top down view as outlined in the above paragraph. The view is that of the administrator rather than the man or woman on the street.

At the same time the landscape itself is used to act as a trope with the description of it, personal experiences of it and attachments to it mediated and explained through it. The landscape becomes invested with particular meanings. In general these themes come across in nature writing, travel writing, cultural history and biography however they can also be seen in fiction such as novels, television and film. The landscape is as much a character as the characters themselves and as a spectacle represents the themes in a shorthanded fashion. This process has been described as theming not to be confused with theme parking. The two are distinct but related concepts.

In this chapter I have outlined the theoretical relationships between theming and related concepts to broader social processes that are rooted in economic and power

relations. That these are linked is suggested by interpreting the phenomena alongside the spectacle and landscapes of power. A number of variant terms exist which are similar to theming, these are listed in the glossary below. In the next chapter this thesis will relate the process of theming to the concept of authenticity, it will also outline the various types of authenticity used by different theorists.

Chapter 3 Theming and authenticity

Chapter abstract

This chapter develops on the lack of discussion on authenticity in the established theming literature. It examines authenticity as a concept. Taking the work of Dean MacCannell and subsequent critiques as a starting point this chapter examines the key debates surrounding the concept of authenticity. These are especially the nature of what is authentic, inauthentic and kitsch, focusing on what makes something one and not the others. Perhaps more importantly, the question of whether an objective authenticity is possible in the first place is explored. In examining first kitsch and then the established literature on authentic places I link authenticity back to the process of theming. Following Adorno I will argue that there is no objective authenticity, the very concept of which is predicated on a set of assumptions. This chapter establishes the basis for the final two empirical chapters of the thesis. An illustration mapping authenticity is presented in appendix 4.

The concepts of authenticity

The concept of existential authenticity informs much of the discussion of authenticity, including those accounts by writers who would not be considered phenomenologists, with the concept representing an almost metaphysical state of being which has been lost under mass culture and is now virtually unattainable. In much of the literature outlined below authenticity has been transferred from people to objects and spaces so that authenticity is experienced through the interrelationship one has with the objects. As has already been alluded to this terminology has transferred to tourist studies and Dean MacCannell (1973) (1976) deserves credit for this. As shall be outlined MacCannell added the concept of the staged authentic to the pre-existing

dichotomy of the authentic and inauthentic. As we shall see the inauthentic is not the only measure against which authenticity can be defined. The generic and the kitsch also have this function. MacCannell's initial codification of authenticity within tourist studies and the creation of a simulated version of it sparked a debate which has highlighted many pertinent features.

Drawing on the work of Erving Goffman (1959), MacCannell codified the concept of authenticity as it is treated within the social sciences, coming from something being understood by its viewer to be authentic, or real. He links this primarily with tourism and sees the quest for authenticity as a major impetus for tourism. In the ideal situation the tourist expects "*an authentic and demystified experience of an aspect of some society or person*" (1976:94). As a concept MacCannell's understanding of authenticity has been misread as belonging to what Ning Wang describes as the objectivist approach (1999). This approach assumes that the toured objects are objective and "original". This is especially prevalent in the case of museums and heritage centres where tourists have a demand for objective authenticity, which the owners claim to fulfil. In this context the toured objects is recognised as authentic, for example in a history museum such as the National History Museum the tourist expects to see genuine material culture from various eras of history rather than reproductions. However, according to MacCannell even in the case of apparently objective authenticity there is a backstage and to continue with the museum analogy some artefacts are kept backstage for a variety of reasons including cataloguing, preservation, and space. At the same time the narrative that is presented in the museums and heritage centres represents a view, in the case of museums, the accepted view, and generally omit alternative readings. For example it has been suggested that evidence of Romans in Ireland has been suppressed by the National History Museum as it

contradicts the national narrative (DeBarra 2002), regardless of the truth or otherwise of this claim it illustrates the point that the orthodox view is the one that museums present[18]. She (Wang) claims that:

> *MacCannell uses authenticity in two different senses: authenticity as feeling and as knowledge ... Indeed, when MacCannell points out that the tourism involves the search for authenticity of experience or for authentic experience, his tourists are concerned with the state of authentic feelings. However, when he refers to staged authenticity, then his tourists turn to quest for the authenticity of originals and consequently become the victims of staged authenticity. Thus, their experiences cannot be counted as authentic even if the tourists themselves might think they have achieved such experiences. What is implied here is a conception of objective authenticity* (1999:353).

MacCannell himself has responded to similar suggestions coming from Edward Bruner who gave a robust critique of MacCannell's staged authenticity in his *Culture on Tour*. Bruner set out to analyse the performances put on for tourists in terms of the "*mechanisms of production, the artifices of display, the contemporary meanings not only for the tourists but also for the performers, the producers, the agents, and all those involved in the touristic presentation*"((2005:4) quoted (MacCannell 2008)). In doing so he used the character of Lisa, a tourist promoter to represent MacCannell's view of authenticity which Bruner interpreted as:

> *MacCannell has a series of fronts displayed to the tourists... but for him there is always a real and true at the very back... My position is that authenticity is a red*

[18] The claim itself appears to be linked to imperialist claims on Ireland by Unionist and Conservative commentators.

herring.... The research in this book is an effort to move beyond such limiting binaries as authentic–inauthentic, true–false, real–show, back–front ((2005:5) quoted (2008)).

MacCannell's response[19] was to clarify his position and in the process demonstrate a common fallacy in the general social scientific discourse on authenticity, in *Why it was Never Really about* Authenticity he writes:

> *In social life what is real and what is show, what is authentic and what is inauthentic can have no ultimate standing. If they did, we would be just like the other animals. My position on this matter has not evolved over time. From the beginning I have treated "real" and "show," "authenticity," etc. as diffuse effects that arise from symbolic structures—in this case from the front–back opposition* (2008).

In effect MacCannell claims that critiques of his position are based on a misreading, if this is the case then the claim that he belongs to the objectivist school of authenticity is untenable.

As already mentioned MacCannell drew on Erving Goffman's (1959) front stage/ back stage to fill what he perceived as a gap in the literature, how this has created a belief that there is an authentic space possibly hidden from the prying eyes of the tourist. To Goffman the front region was where the performance was given, where it is "*such that is made to appear to maintain certain standards, politeness requirements of decorum: Moral requirements which are ends in themselves and instrumental requirements which are not*" (Goffman 1959:93). This is as opposed to back stage which is where the illusions are prepared, where rehearsal takes place and the "cast" relax (97).

[19] MacCannell agreed with Brunel that "Lisa" was wrong in her interpretations of authenticity, he strongly implied that Brunel was employing a straw man argument.

To apply this to a Disney theme park[20] there are the spaces where the tourist has access to and then there are the staff only areas. Between the two dichotomous positions of front and back stage MacCannell placed the position of "staged authenticity" an artificial construction that is there to present a backstage for tourists. According to MacCannell it "*is sufficiently developed in some areas of the world that it appears as an infinite regression of stage sets*" (MacCannell 1973:602). One of MacCannell's basic assumptions with staged authenticity is that commodification has already destroyed the space's authenticity so that it has to be simulated. It also keeps the tourists at arm's length providing the staff a space away from them.

As with Wang and Brunel, Erik Cohen seems to have misread MacCannell's take on authenticity claiming that it is socially constructed whereas he believes MacCannell treated it as an objective fact (1988: 374). Despite this misinterpretation, they seem to agree that cultural products are staged for tourists and decorated to look authentic. Cohen follows a definition of authenticity where a piece of material culture is made and consumed locally and in a traditional manner, and with no thought of tourism related retailing. However, he claims this breaks down when the local craftsman or traditional materials is taken out of the equation and the tourist becomes the target market. Both Cohen and MacCannell argue that the search for authentic experiences is essentially a pilgrimage.

Wang's "*Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience*" (1999) mistakenly placed MacCannell as an objectivist theorist on authenticity. Her article is a review of the philosophical approaches, objectivism, and constructivism and postmodernism. Wang summarizes the three kinds of authenticity classified in the context of mass

[20] In theory this could also be applied to any tourist space.

tourism, objective, constructive/symbolic and existential authenticity. The approach of constructivism looks at the process by which the objects of tourism come to be termed authentic in the first place, in other words it is a social construction. It should be noted that Wang considers constructivists to be a broad church, with radically different views on authenticity. Though she points to a basic definition of authenticity within this framework, "*what they quest for is not objective authenticity... but symbolic authenticity which is the result of social construction. The toured objects or others are experienced as authentic... because they are perceived as the signs or symbols of authenticity*" (Wang 1999:356).

Constructed authenticity is still related to and relies on objects of tourism. To those writing from a postmodern perspective authenticity is created when tourists are temporarily away from everyday life and it is tourists' interaction with each other, the space, and the object that generates authenticity instead of an objective object of tourism. From this perspective tourism[21] is a process of self-making. According to Wang this form of authenticity is entirely subjectively experienced and is based on the feelings the tourist gets from either being in the presence of the supposedly authentic object[22] itself or the other family members or other tourists that are also present. Wang suggests that this allows the tourists to escape, albeit temporarily, "*the pressures stemming from inauthentic social hierarchy and status distinctions*" (1999:365) allowing for increased chances of friendly relationships within tour groups.

MacCannell appears to fall closer to the constructivist tradition than the postmodern school of thought. And he falls far short of the objectivist position. Another form of authenticity is proposed by Elizabeth Outka (2008), the commodified authentic,

[21] This is when taken with its relationship with authenticity.
[22] In this thesis instead of focusing on an authentic object it will focus on an authentic space.

which she subdivides into three manifestations: nostalgic[23], originary[24], and exclusive[25]. As we shall see, both nostalgia and originary aspects are pertinent to the analysis of Georgian Dublin. Outka's perspective assumes "*a search for a sustained contradiction that might allow consumers to be at once connected to a range of values roughly aligned with authenticity and yet also to be fully modern*" (2008:4). There has been a general assumption that the capitalist market erodes authenticity. Outka addresses the commodified authentic by arguing that in fact authenticity is generated to be sold. She argues however that there is a continuum of success at being authentic. The better the object is at hiding its commercial nature the more authentic it is deemed to be. At several points she argues that the relationship between authenticity and the capitalist market place is an "unholy alliance", which highlights a number of critiques not of authenticity per se but of its assumed opposite, the inauthentic, under commodification.

The generic and the authentic

Richard Florida writing in The Rise of the Creative Class (2002) argues that place identity is related to their authenticity which he argues comes from "*historic buildings, established neighbourhoods, a unique music scene or specific cultural attributes. It comes from the mix from urban grit alongside renovated buildings, from the comingling of young and old, long time neighbourhood characters and yuppies, fashion models and 'bag ladies'*" (2002:228). For the people Florida interviewed authenticity boils down to the sense of the real, especially in terms of buildings, people and history. They also look for "*unique and original experiences*" which Florida argues leads to a situation where "*a place full of chain stores, chain restaurants and nightclubs*" cannot be authentic (2002:228). In other words authenticity is defined in

[23] Based around nostalgia.
[24] This object is one of a kind, limited edition and not derivative.
[25] You can only get this refined product here.

direct contrast with the generic.

He relates this to commercialisation which to Florida can be, and usually is, in opposition to authenticity. Basically, he argues that selling and packaging experience removes the creative content from it, leading it to becoming generic. Florida describes experiences which fall within this as "generica" (2002:187). There are times when ostensibly authentic experiences and spaces can become generic. They may start as an organic development but as the market and commodification take hold they become characterised by sameness possibly replicating themselves at other locations if for instance, they become part of a chain. Florida suggests that in this way an experience can become "*a Disneyland facsimile of itself – safe, secure and predictable*" (2002:188).

What Florida refers to as the generica seems to correspond with what in the theme parking literature is referred to as homogenisation. According to Ritzer and Liska (1997) this is a result of McDisneyfication, where efficient delivery and reliability lead to tried and tested models to be retained and an aversion to attempting to vary from the norm. According to Bartling this extends beyond theme parks to the building of new towns and other living spaces (2002). He argues that this is especially the case with Celebration, the town founded by Disney, where everything is based on a stereotypical view of American-ness. A major concern on his part is that this will be replicated outside of Celebration, furthering the homogenisation of space. Greg Richards and Julie Wilson (2006) suggest that through the so called creative class's search for individualised experience creative enclaves spring up, acting as a pull factor. This same search for individualised experience acts as barrier to homogenization, leading to the spaces escaping the serial reproduction that concerns Bartling.

Drawing on MacCannell's definition of staged authenticity as being the simulation of reality for tourists seeking authentic experiences, Chris Rojek suggested that an authentic tourist location based around history allows for the experiencing of that history through staging and representing the past. As a consequence of this a historical narrative provides a framework for this staging which requires the selection of facts to be presented (1993). When relating authenticity to theming, heritage provides us with one of the best examples for doing so. As with many examples of cultural tourism it presents the tourist with a front stage where a performance is put on for visitors. According to Noam Shoval, writing in the context of modern pilgrimages, "*there remains a paradox, because the current quest for authenticity is experienced through the newer forms of theming and McDonaldization*" (Shoval 2000:262).

Chris Rojek does not accept this paradox and instead claims that the "*quest for authenticity is a declining force*" (Rojek and Urry 1997:71). In doing so he assumes that the staged authentic is no longer as important in attracting tourists. Rojek's rejection of authenticity appears to be based on the same processes that Shoval suggests authenticity is experienced through. Michael Kelleher (2004) suggests that themed spaces and authentic spaces have become indistinguishable. While many writers, notably Fjellman, use this as a reason to critique theming as being inauthentic Kelleher suggests that these areas retain an educational value.

Keith Hollinshead (1998) explains that the relationship between these locations and heritage is that the heritage is selected and presented in such a way that the visitor can learn while enjoying themselves. He uses the terms pasteurised history and equates the tourist consuming it with cattle grazing. The selection of facts and their interpretation puts the imagineers in the role of the historian, and he suggests this is the reason many academics are uncomfortable with themed history, as it provides a mirror

through which they can see their own practice of historiography. In this he follows EH Carr's views on the role of the historian who constructs history around facts that they have selected (Carr 1962). As opposed to the position perhaps best expressed by GR Elton that there is an objective history that the historian presents (1967). In many respects this argument parallels the authenticity thesis and the core debates in the literature, though its relevance to the authenticity debate is otherwise limited. From the point of view of tourism this is significant as according to Kelli Ann Costa the "*idyllic and backward*" (Costa 2009:70) image of Ireland is emphasised while modernity, urbanism and poverty are either rejected as false or seen as products of US, European or UK influence. According to her, tourists come not to see Ireland or the Irish but a representation that conforms to their expectations. She sees this process as the opposite of Baudrillard's hyper-reality, a manufactured history or truth, and is instead an imagined Ireland which cannot be entirely perceived by the visitor (2004:86) and is meant to inspire awe. If this is the case it follows that authenticity is contextually determined and may be based on ideological underpinnings. In this case the objects of tourism are considered authentic because they are presented and perceived as such. For example, discussing Heritage Ireland's marketing of Ireland especially the heritage centres and castles Colin Graham found that "*the Authenticity here relies on preservation; what is to be visited is not modern, new Ireland but authentic Ireland made modern and new*" (2001:70). In this case Heritage Ireland was quite open about the use of reconstructions, restorations and reproduction, but maintained it was an authentic vision of Ireland's visible and, more importantly, visitable history. Newgrange provides an example of this with a reconstruction of the solstice and passage in the visitor centre to simulate the experience.

Kitsch and authenticity

According to Binkley (2000) there have been two distinct schools of thought on

kitsch. The earlier of these are the mass culture theorists, including the Frankfurt school's Theodore Adorno, who take kitsch to refer to a "*style derivative of higher art styles, imitative, given to formulae and stock motifs, and thus radically inferior to the creativity and innovation found in high culture*" (quoted Binkley 2000:133). The second grouping is made up of cultural studies theorists and cultural sociologists who argue that kitsch is representative of a subordinated cultural creativity which has its own symbolic value. To these two broad definitions Binkley added a third which drew on aspects of both the former ones, he took the formulaic aspect of the mass culture kitsch and suggested that it was deliberately repetitive and derivative, while at the same time suggesting that it provides for a lively culture without formal innovation and outside of any taste hierarchy. Kitsch is of relevance to theme-parking as it or something quite similar is often used as a critique of the process of theming. It will be remembered that Gottdiener suggested that many themes used are highly derivative originating in popular culture often from Hollywood movies.

Adorno has declared that "*kitsch is ... the beautiful as the ugly, taboo in the name of that very beauty that it once was and that it now contradicts in the absence of its own opposite*" (Adorno 1998:47-8). To him art is real and can invoke real emotions. Kitsch on the other hand brings out what he terms fictitious emotions that neutralise real ones. Consequently, he states that "*Kitsch is a parody of catharsis*" (1998:239). He does not however believe that the distinction between art and kitsch is as clear cut as this suggesting that all art has within it the potential to be kitsch (1998:313-4). For Adorno, authenticity created kitsch as its opposite, so that something can be regarded as authentic from the very fact that is not perceived as being kitsch (1973:108-9). Adorno's distaste for kitsch may linked to his support for the Avant Garde as a revolutionary art, so that kitsch itself is irreconcilable with it.

Another associate of the Frankfurt school Walter Benjamin also looked at Kitsch arguing that it was "*the last mask of the banal, the one with which we adorn ourselves, in dream and conversation, so as to take in the energies of an outlived world of things*" (Benjamin et al. 2008:238). To Benjamin, Kitsch is a symptom of reification explaining that "*in kitsch, the world of things advances on the human being; it yields to his uncertain grasp and ultimately fashions its figures in his interior. The new man bears with himself the very quintessence of the old forms, and ... is a creature who deserves the name of 'furnished man'*" (2008:238). Benjamin's general theory of art is relevant here in relation to authenticity and kitsch. Authenticity, "*the here and now of the work of art-its unique existence in a particular place*" (2008:21), cannot be reproduced. This is not necessarily a negative thing as technology especially "*the invention of photography... transformed the entire character of art*" (2008:28). Benjamin describes the process as "*the unique value of the "authentic" work of art ... has its basis in ritual. This ritualistic basis, however mediated it may be, is still recognizable as secularized ritual ...*" but "*for the first time in world history, technological reproducibility emancipates the work of art from its parasitic subservience to ritual*" (2008:24). So that speaking of authenticity becomes no longer relevant, while at the same time art is opened up for everybody. Kitsch can be seen as something of a consequence of this as the mass appeal of art leads to its mass production so that "*Kitsch, on the other hand, is nothing more than art with a 100 percent, absolute and instantaneous availability for consumption. Precisely within the consecrated forms of expression, therefore, kitsch and art stand irreconcilably opposed*" (Benjamin 2008:395). Unlike other writers Benjamin sees kitsch as a positive form of culture which as it is not art has mass appeal in part due to the emotional[26] response to it. Given what was suggested above is Newgrange kitsch? While not mass produced a replica of the chamber has been created where tourists can

[26] Others such as we will see below see it as sentimental.

experience the passage tomb without actually entering into it. In that regard it is kitsch as the aim is to allow the maximum amount of paying customers to experience Newgrange, which due to its popularity attracts more than its capacity. As will be seen later in this thesis Georgian Dublin experiences a different form of kitsch through the reproduction of buildings in the Georgian style. Both share commonalities having been incorporated into Ireland's tourist product and are represented in mass produced images, such as postcards, in that context.

Like Adorno and Benjamin, Greenberg (1939) believed that kitsch was related to modern capitalist society suggesting that it was a product of the industrial revolution and the resultant universal literacy. A common thread here is that kitsch is treated as the result of capitalist influence in the culture industries, and drawing on Adorno’s essay of that name we can piece together the process which he and Greenberg, at the very least believed produced kitsch. Due to the aforementioned influence there is a drive for standardisation, and a reliance for what has proven to work previously. This stifles the innovative tendencies in art, and leads to its serial reproduction rendering it kitsch. Greenberg says of this process:

> *Because it can be turned out mechanically, kitsch has become an integral part of our productive system in a way in which true culture could never be, except accidentally. It has been capitalized at a tremendous investment which must show commensurate returns; it is compelled to extend as well as to keep its markets... Traps are laid even in those areas, so to speak, that are the preserves of genuine culture... one must have a true passion for it that will give him the power to resist the faked article that surrounds and presses in on him from the moment he is old enough to look at the funny papers. Kitsch is deceptive. It has*

many different levels, and some of them are high enough to be dangerous to the naive seeker of true light... Nor is every single item of kitsch altogether worthless. Now and then it produces something of merit, something that has an authentic folk flavor; and these accidental and isolated instances have fooled people who should know better (1939, no page).

This quote suggests that kitsch has an almost viral, pernicious influence . He goes further than Adorno in this regard who simply argued that art contained within it the potential for kitsch. Greenberg believed that kitsch is essentially parasitic requiring a "*fully matured cultural tradition*" from which it takes "*devices, tricks, stratagems, rules of thumb, themes, converts them into a system, and discards the rest*" (1939 no page). Greenberg believes that even artistic movements which are set up as the opposite to it are not immune to kitsch. Its potential for profitability leads those in the avant-garde to buy into kitsch. Interestingly, to Greenberg kitsch is the opposite of authentic culture and can subsume it:

> *Kitsch has not been confined to the cities in which it was born, but has flowed out over the countryside, wiping out folk culture. Nor has it shown any regard for geographical and national cultural boundaries. Another mass product of Western industrialism, it has gone on a triumphal tour of the world, crowding out and defacing native cultures in one colonial country after another, so that it is now by way of becoming a universal culture, the first universal culture ever beheld* (1939, no page).

Here we see something of a prototype for the objectivist view of authenticity. Commodification and globalisation lead to the banalization of cultures, they all become the same. Another consequence is the mass production of produce for sale by the local

communities to tourists. A similar claim is made by Reclus who sees the tendency to imitate the architecture of other often long gone cultures as banal, and decontextualised (2013b:179). In making this argument he anticipates later theorists of kitsch.

It is perhaps no accident that these initial theoretical conceptions of kitsch were produced within the context of the rise of fascism and its aftermath. Eric Gibson (1999) has suggested that kitsch has frequently been the tool of totalitarian regimes. Greenberg's essay openly critiqued this relationship suggesting that it was used to control the masses, explicitly connecting kitsch to Hitler, Stalin and Mussolini. He claims that:

> *(t)he encouragement of kitsch is merely another of the inexpensive ways in which totalitarian regimes seek to ingratiate themselves with their subjects. Since these regimes cannot raise the cultural level of the masses -- even if they wanted to -- by anything short of a surrender to international socialism, they will flatter the masses by bringing all culture down to their level... As a matter of fact, the main trouble with avant-garde art and literature, from the point of view of fascists and Stalinists, is not that they are too critical, but that they are too "innocent," that it is too difficult to inject effective propaganda into them, that kitsch is more pliable to this end. Kitsch keeps a dictator in closer contact with the "soul" of the people* (1939, no page).

This to Greenberg provides the framework through which we can understand the suppression of art and literature under these regimes. In contrast, to its critics Robert C. Solomon (1991) defends kitsch suggesting that the opposition to it is largely based on an objection to its sentimentality. He acknowledges a range of quality within kitsch

and notes that attacks on kitsch objects tend to be based on two arguments. They are "*cheap and low class*" or they are "*the product of a debased economy*" (1991:3). He breaks these complaints down further into six charges that can be made against kitsch; that it evokes excessive and immature emotions, it engages in emotional manipulation, it produces false emotions, cheap emotions, self-indulgent sentimentality, and it interferes with rational thought.

From here he attempts to defend kitsch by suggesting that these critiques are based on two major factors, a rejection of low art and a fear of the emotions that are evoked by kitsch art particularly "*"tender" or "sweet" or "nostalgic"*" (1991:13). Solomon would have it that these emotions are no less real than those addressed by high art, and that the real objection is to feeling vulnerable to these emotions, the legitimacy of which has been called into question. He finds the objection to kitsch as low art particularly ironic as many of those theorise along this line are Marxists. Ironically, the main market for this art would be those on lower class levels precisely those who the Marxists strive to assist[27].

Michael Bérubé (2005) highlights that at the centre of the concept of kitsch there is an aesthetic judgement, if something is bad it is considered kitsch. He connects this to Michael Frow's regimes of value (2001) which he explains as:

> *(t)he concept of regime that I have used here expresses one of the fundamental theses of work in cultural studies: that no object, no text, no cultural practice has an intrinsic or necessary meaning or value or function; and that meaning,*

[27] This is another example of the petit bourgeois academic view of class issues. Class cannot merely be reduced to classism. It is not simply a prejudice towards a cultural lifestyle to be overcome with liberal tolerance but a social relationship based on power. It can only be overcome through class struggle.

value and function are always the effect of specific and historically variable social relations and mechanisms of signification (Frow 2001:14).

Frow considers cultural studies to be an examination of what conditions influence the placing of values and meanings on a cultural product. In an earlier text he points out that a mass market produced replica of an original artwork, he uses the example of Van Gogh, is no longer distinguishable from its original (1997:61).

David Atkinson (2007) cites Binkley, Dalle Vacche, Lindquist and Kirschenblatt-Gimblett as the major contributors to the modern reimagining of kitsch. Galina Lindquist (2002) examines kitsch as a semiotic mechanism. She briefly looks at the origins of the term, and notes that it began among the cultural elite as a way to discursively separate themselves from the mass consumers of kitsch. She argues that moving beyond a minimal description such as this one leads to kitsch being recognised as "*manufactured sentimentality*" (2002:339). She argues that this effect is semiotic, based on kitsch as essentially iconic. Like shamanism kitsch objects signify nostalgia, happiness and beauty. She links this to kitsch's overall popularity arguing that its capacity to arouse strong and widely held feelings and its essentially rebellious character of going against what is normatively accepted as good art, it appeals to the masses.

Angela Dalle Vacche draws on Walter Benjamin's aura and cult value to define kitsch in her *The visual turn: classical film theory and art history* (2003). Cult value or kuntswollen, is appropriated from Karl Marx's use value while it exhibition value is the equivalent of exchange value. Understood on these terms she states that "*exhibition value replaces the aura with a sort of fake glow, and kitsch tends to dominate in a world where art has died, to be taken over by commerce, entertainment, and politics*"

(2003:7). She argues that the traditional position towards kitsch, which she traces back to Clement Greenberg as its codifier, is based on an "*elitist formalism*" and a "*desire to save art from infection by both commodity culture and totalitarian ideology*" (2003:178). Her concept of kitsch as mass culture takes it outside of both the high and low brow art spaces and places it within the middle brow. Jane Parish who also uses Benjamin's concept of the aura, argues that with kitsch the aura does not diminish, unlike art according to Benjamin's reading (2004).

Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett suggests that "*kitsch is to taste what superstition is to religion – somebody else's mistake*" (1998:276). Like others she sees the notion of kitsch as having derived from a dual model concept of taste: high-brow and middle-brow. She argues that what is kitsch is continuously shifting but the classifying of elite and mass culture based solely on taste has continued apace throughout the twentieth century. What defines bad taste, and hence kitsch, is conspicuous consumption, the overt and ostentatious display of wealth. She argues that kitsch now exists in a system where "*the problem is no longer bad taste but good*" (1998:276). Good taste is safe and boring. Kitsch or bad taste is something that high art or good taste is defined against; kitsch is something that it is not. Given this she's clearly arguing that kitsch is socially determined, her work dovetails with Bourdieu's *Distinction* (1987) which contends that a person's social position determines their tastes in culture.

Thorsten Botz-Bornstein in his *Wabi and Kitsch two Japanese paradigms* argues that "*kitsch became a prison house of bad taste, foiling all attempts to restore a proper degree of authenticity to things*" (2008) but furthermore that kitsch is aimed at for its inauthenticity rather than authenticity in the first place. The implications are not that kitsch is merely a negative value judgement ascribed to the inauthentic but one made in opposition to authenticity by its own adherents. This has led to the conclusion that

kitsch is not actually inauthentic and instead belongs to a type of authenticity defined as the fake authentic. Something that begins as inauthentic can develop its own aesthetic across time, and through this its own value of authenticity. In this way, kitsch too can develop its own authenticity with high value kitsch artefacts, which seems to be related to Outka's notion of the "commodified authentic".

What the foregoing tells us is that the relationship between kitsch and authenticity is more complex than a simple either or debate. Instead there is an interrelationship between the two while not mutually exclusive, have to be considered discursively separate, but at the same time influence each other. While retaining the overtones of a judgement of taste it appears that the meaning of kitsch is no longer about the quality of the art and now represents a style which is commodified and has mass appeal, and is enjoyed for this reason.

Place, authenticity and theming

One of the major phenomenologists, Christian Norberg-Schultz set out to discover "*the psychic implications of architecture rather than its practical side*" by this he was arguing "*that architecture represents a means to give man an "existential foothold""* (1980:5). To do this he follows a theory of "existential space" (1980:5) which by moving away from scientific considerations of space looks at the basic relationship between space and humanity, and he divides existential space into space[28] and character[29] though they can be recombined as lived space and are in any case interdependent as concepts. This existential space is made manifest through gathering, a process of transposing meanings from objects and experience to the space itself, and thing, or social group identities, ideas he owes to Heidegger, which concretise space in

[28] That is space as the three dimensional physical organisation
[29] By character he refers to the general atmosphere of a space, itself dependent on how the space is built.

the form of architecture. This both gives and expresses a distinct character of a place which he terms its *genius loci*[30] , the gathering of image, space and character for a place. For Norberg Schultz place is a concrete term used to represent the environment which he defines as;

> *a totality made up of concrete things having material substance, shape, texture and colour. Together these things determine an "environmental character", which is the essence of place. In general a place is given as such a character or "atmosphere". A place is therefore a qualitative "total" phenomenon, which we cannot reduce to any of its properties, such as spatial relationships, without losing its concrete nature out of sight* (Norberg-Schulz 1980:6-8).

He argues that places are both local and general, that there are unique aspects to each place at the same time as there are elements that are commonplace if not universal. They gather the natural landscape, paths, settlements and other artefacts of a space to create a place. They are also temporal and can change with the passage of time. This character is discussed by Norberg-Schultz in relation to homogeneity within spaces, where buildings will often have a similar design to each other in order to maintain the places character and not disrupt it (1980:15). This usage of homogeneity is interesting as it contradicts many later interpretations of place.

A place can be "*(c)ountries, regions, landscapes, settlements, buildings (and their sub-places*)" (1980:16), which creates a scale of place moving from natural[31] to manufactured[32]. This scale illustrates the gathering of place as humanity makes

[30] Literally translates as the spirit of the place..
[31] By the term natural he refers to countries.
[32] By manufactured he means the built environment.

buildings its focus. These manufactured objects can then act as symbols from which a meaning of the place can be projected, as "*if the settlements are organically related to their environment, it implies that they serve as foci where the environment is condensed and 'explained'*" (1980:10). This is achieved through manufactured places visualising, complementing[33], and symbolising their natural surroundings, he sees these as the process of dwelling within a space in the sense that Heidegger employed it. This leads to a situation where the "*identity of a place is determined by location, general spatial and characterising articulation*" (1980:179). If this is the case and space is defined by location, its settlement and its architecture a process of homogenisation will invariable lead to the loss of place identity.

The term genius loci, derived from Latin originally, means the guardian spirit of the place. In Norberg-Schultz's work it means the essential meaning of a place, its past, present and potential. This allows for a person to orient themselves through a series of referential points to the space and identify themselves with it. If a person can be orientated within a place there is the potential for its opposite, disorientation which Norberg-Schultz claims occurs when a place's image or the identifiability of such a place is weak. Aspects of this orientation relate to identity or feeling at home within a place. Norberg-Schultz calls it being friends with the place (1980:21). In modernity this involves a fragmentary relationship with natural things but a closer one with manufactured ones.

Some aspects of place and genius loci are historical, which Norberg Schulz looks at through asking two questions "*How does a place preserve its identity under the pressure of historical forces?*" and "*How can a place adapt to the changing needs of*

[33] As in adding to.

public and private life?" (1980:180). Norberg Schultz believed the genius loci can be reimagined through architectural changes, rather than preserve the built environment or attempt to completely rebuild it with no regards to the past. This means that the places have to be treated as individual and new building projects have to take this into account rather than placing a generic structure therein. He points to examples such as Prague and Chicago where this has taken place and others such as Boston where it has not. Where it does not happen the inhabitants are deprived of "*a meaningful environment*" (1980:182). He resolves the second question through suggesting "*creative participation*" which codifies "*the basic meanings under ever new historical structures*" (1980:185). This means the continuous sympathetic engagement with the symbolism of the place.

Genius loci exists outside socio-economic conditions though these "*may facilitate or impede (self -) realisation of certain existential structures*" instead "*(t)he existential meanings have deeper roots. They are determined by the structure of our being-in-the-world."* (Norberg-Schulz 1980:6). He also briefly refers to the appreciation of place as a declining aspect of tourism; however this former driving force has had negative consequences for places as it pollutes them.

He looks at two types of places through a series of cases studies, - natural places and manufactured places, before he moves onto specific places like Prague, Khartoum and Rome. He divides natural and manufactured places into the cosmic, romantic and the classical archetypes which are defined in natural places by "*the interaction of surface relief, vegetation and water, characteristic totalities or places are formed which constitute the basic elements of landscapes*" (1980:37). Cosmic places are based on the concept of cosmic order; a narrative defined by a story which shows clear progression,

and forces which shape it. These are in Norberg Schultz's interpretation of place based on myths. When translated from nature where spirits inhabited rocks, trees and other totems into the built environment they become places like churches or temples which encapsulate the myths of the place. Above all else they are characterized by being uniform and orderly. Norberg-Schultz believes that these correspond with Mircea Eliade's sacred places (Eliade 1959). In modernity these have de-evolved into spaces which project political, social and economic structures. In the case of Georgian Dublin I will argue that the symbolism of the built environment draws on the cultural myths of classical economics, which have since reappeared with neo-classical economics[34], and a federal-colonial relationship with Britain.

Romantic places are ones that are seen as close to nature, usually presented as idyllic, and Norberg Schultz uses the example of Nordic forests (1980:42). These allow people to empathise with nature, they are also reliant on a romantic attachment to the past, though this is "*experienced emotionally*" as opposed to given a historical or allegorical understanding (1980:42). They represent a place of retreat from modernity. Their manufactured counterparts are usually medieval townscapes and express "*a strong local quality*" (1980:70) which is their defining feature, so that there is no universal style to these places, though they often combine nature with manufactured objects.

According to Norberg-Schultz classical places are "*distinguished by imageability and articulate order" which "unifies topological and geometrical traits*" (1980:73) so that they have their own distinct character. Each individual building is just that, an individual, though familial resemblances are observable. These buildings are distinct, unambiguous symbols. In a natural context these places are a "*meaningful,*

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[34] Including those economics surrounding class position.

order of distinct, individual places" (1980:45), leading once again to imageability. In the context of these places humanity is seen as an equal partner with nature as expressed through agriculture, and the places are subject to the loving care of humanity (1980:46). These archetypes are treated as pure and perfect scenarios, which Norberg-Schultz suggests will usually not occur independently of each other. This leads to each place being a combination of the cosmic, romantic and classical, as well as manufactured and natural and this combination results in complex places. The genius loci are assumed to be the result of the experience of the natural and the gathering of the manufactured (1980:78).

In his discussion on mass culture as a process which shapes placelessness Edward Relph discusses a number of factors which are often discussed today as theme parking. Anticipating later debates he examines other-directed places, disneyfication, museumisation and futurisation. Other directed places are designed for the outsider with consumption in mind, these are places of kitsch "*which suggest almost nothing of the people living and working in them, but declare themselves unequivocally to be "Vacationland" or "Consumerland" through the use of exotic decoration, gaudy colours, grotesque adornments, and the indiscriminate borrowing of styles and names from the most popular places of the world*" (1976:93).

When Relph writes of Disneyfication he is for the most part referring to the spread of theme-parks which he describes as "*absurd synthetic places made up of a surrealistic combination of history, myth, reality, and fantasy that have little relationship with particular geographical setting*" (1976:95). To Relph they represent an other-directed space taken to new heights, while suggesting that it would be all too easy to just treat them as fun environments which are few and far between. These spaces

he describes as "*pseudo-spaces*" become "*in part places of escaping from drab, corrupt, inefficient reality; they are also places of inspiration in which everyone is nice and everyone smiles*" (1976:97). The major theme of these places are that they are controlled utopias, making them easy to imitate. As already indicated Relph concentrates on the theme park, however anticipating Bryman (2004), Gottdiener (2001), and Hannigan (1998) he looks at how this has escaped the theme-park and like Bartling (2002) he fears its influence on planned communities commenting "*not only is it an instant, historyless development, but it is also in effect a small totalitarian state*" (Relph 1976:99).

The idea of a historyless place contrasts with the process of museumisation which Relph sees as part of Disneyfication. He sees museums as contrived spaces where an ideal, romanticised, and heavily bowdlerised version of history is presented, using either reconstruction or restoration. Usually these are based on visually accurate representations but can be either "*genuine relics or complete fakes and facades*" (1976:101). He notes variations in the level of reality at these sites, the most immersive being a holiday resort in Denmark, attempting to replicate life in an Iron Age village. His objection to museumisation as a process appears to be that it completely decontextualizes the places to the extent that the original context is completely obliterated.

Obviously futurisation in some respects is the opposite of museumisation, whereas the latter looks to the past the former looks to the future. They represent "*faith in progress, technological utopias in which all nations are united*" (1976:105) complete with imaginative looks to what future design trends may be. They are designed with futurists in mind, and seek to anticipate the aesthetic needs of the future presenting the

visitor with the solution for these needs, which can then be imitated. Relph sees this as destructive towards both place and authenticity as not only does it assume international homogenisation but it also removes the qualities of "*time and tradition*" (1976:105) from a place, completely obliterating any remaining vestiges of authenticity.

Within current discussion on theme parking much is written on the "image" of a place (Hannigan 1998), (Francaviglia 1995) Relph believes that the image is an important part of place. By image he means "*a mental picture that is the product of experiences, attitudes, memories and immediate sensations*" (1976:56). At an individual level this comes from their unique experiences, Relph suggests an example of how a pedestrian and a motorist in the same street would have different experiences and read different signs and symbols. Even if the same signs and symbols are reflected on they may be interpreted differently as they are polysemic and each "*has his own mix of personality, memories, emotions, and intentions*" (1976:57) which will influence the interpretation.

The image of a place "*is an expression of the adaptation of assimilation, accommodation, and the socialisation of knowledge to each other*" (1976:59) and is maintained through interaction and recognition of symbolism so long as it remains plausible. However: "*(c)hanging environmental conditions can render it inadequate for the purposes of social interaction and individual behaviour... (a)nd second, changes in attitude, fashion or other aspects can render an image implausible*" (1976:60). This leads to a situation where gradually the places' image breaks down, Relph points out that former images of progress such as factory towns are now seen as polluters, or where in the seventies, when Relph was writing, now they might be seen as unemployment black spots if new industries have not entered. These mass identities are incredibly superficial and may be less a hallmark of place and rather be a sign of

placelessness as they are merely an "*acceptable set of signs*" with "*no roots, no sense of belonging to a place*" (1976:61). While making this argument Relph seems to preclude the possibility of these signs gaining roots and becoming part of a place identity through the community accepting and appropriating them.

A Marxist criticism of Relph's theory is that the concept is presented as a series of opposing forces: place/placelessness and authentic/inauthentic. The critique argues that this is far too simplistic. Richard Peet for example criticises Relph's use of the concept of authenticity, "*the direct and genuine experience of its complete identity*" (1998:63), though this is based on nostalgia rather than historical fact. Doreen Massey highlights how the concept of place when applied to actual places may not be as homogenously experienced as Relph believes:

> *Kilburn may have a character of its own, it is absolutely not a seamless, coherent identity, a single sense of place which everyone shares... I'm sure a woman's sense of place in a mining village – the spaces through which she normally moves, the meeting places, the connections outside - are different from a man's. Their 'senses of the place' will be different* (1991:6-7).

The implicit argument is that Relph's phenomenological approach cannot adequately represent differing experiences of place. An element of this criticism is the idea that Relph sanitises place as a concept. Cresswell points out "*(a)t other times, however seeing the world through the lens of place leads to reactionary and exclusionary xenophobia, racism and bigotry*" (2004:11). Writing on similar lines Massey indicates that gender and race can limit people's mobility between places. Peet drawing on the work of Sarah Harding, suggests that this sanitisation may be related to how "(*w)hat are taken to be humanly inclusive concepts ... and transcendental truths*

bear instead the mark of gender, class, race and culture" (1998: 256). The implications of this for historical narratives are of course that gendered, class based and often nationalist stories will be told through history and these are reflected in the symbolism employed in the built environment. Seamon and Sowers counter the first of these suggestions by claiming that "*regardless of the historical time or the geographical, technological, and social situation, people will always need place because having and identifying with place are integral to what and who we are as human beings*" (2008:8). They agree with Massey that place must take into account global interconnectedness and suggest that place accommodates this through an emphatic relationship with other places understood through love and respect of one's own local place. Their response to the suggestion that issues such as xenophobia are excluded by Relph, is to suggest that it is approachable within his dialectical formulation of the theory, and that an excess of love for place can lead to these negative consequences.

Spatial power and ownership

What has so far been lacking in this critique is the relationship between theming and power, in particular, with reference to capitalist social systems. There has been a general conceit within studies on theming that the images used tend to reflect the interests of the powerful. In this thesis I propose to go further and suggest that theming not only inscribes the ruling classes' ideology into bricks and mortar through a process of semiotic myth. This process is referred to here as narratives which are ideologically based but that crucially also act to enshrine property. Subsequent chapters will examine the nature of the narratives and what interests they represent. However here I will discuss the theoretical links between theming, power and property. This discussion will be framed around Pierre Joseph Proudhon's theory of property. Proudhon, a Mutualist Anarchist, was an acknowledged influence on Marx early on prior to the pair falling out. Here, we shall examine Proudhon's interpretation of property and the implications of

this for theming. In addition, we shall examine Sharon Zukin and Mark Gottdiener's comments on power and specifically how this relates to theming. A key question that we need to ask is the very same that Proudhon once asked "What is Property?" his answer famously was "it is theft". What he meant by this is according to his most recent editor Iain McKay "*Firstly, property allowed the owner to exploit its user ("property is theft"). Secondly, that property created authoritarian and oppressive social relationships between the two ("property is despotism")"* (2011:6).

Another proposition that we must consider here is the relationship between property and possession and occupancy. According to Proudhon:

> *That which makes property a delightful thing,... is the power to dispose at will, not only of one's own goods, but of their specific nature; to use them at pleasure; to confine and enclose them;... Everywhere communal lands are being cleared, let, enclosed; new advances, new wealth. But the poor day-worker, whose only patrimony is the communal land and who supports a cow and several sheep in summer by letting them feed along the roads, through the underbrush, and over the stripped fields, will lose his sole and last resource* (2011:151).

While writing here in terms of agricultural land he also applies this to areas beyond labour

> *it is permissible neither to draw water from a spring situated in another's grounds without the permission of the proprietor, because by the right of accession the spring belongs to the possessor of the soil, if there is no other claim; nor to pass a day on his premises without paying a tax; nor to look at a court, a garden, or an orchard, without the consent of the proprietor; nor to*

> *stroll in a park or an enclosure against the owner's will: everyone is allowed to shut himself up and to fence himself in. All these prohibitions are so many positive interdictions, not only of the land, but of the air and water. We who belong to the proletarian class: property excommunicates us* (2011:104).

The nature of this and its relationship to theming and authenticity will be examined in-depth in later chapters. The typical justification for this situation is Hardin's (1968) tragedy of the commons thesis. Authenticity it will be argued serves in part as a vehicle for the maintenance of enclosed spaces. Central to Proudhon's concept of property, and on which the foregoing hinges, is that he considered property to be different from possession and the enclosure of spaces such as "*a court, a garden, or an orchard*" is by necessity exclusionary. Furthermore, Proudhon notes that such exclusion circumvents resistance as it prevents any claim through use by the working class (2011:104).

Sharon Zukin (1991[1993]) employs the concept of creative destruction which she draws from Joseph Schumpeter, to explain how an old order will be cleared and replaced by a new one within the system of capitalism during crises (1993:4-5). Looked at from a Marxist perspective this is just capital being capital, constantly expanding in a seemingly endless cycle of proliferation and reinvention. We will see this within the example of Georgian Dublin as its nature is constantly shifting depending on the political and economic context in which it exists. At a symbolic level Zukin looks at fantasy landscapes, which Georgian Dublin was and, I argue, still is. Georgian Dublin is still very much that Golden Mask, the fantasy landscape of a golden age of capitalism in Ireland the reality of which is quite separate. According to Zukin central to fantasy landscapes, particularly in architectural form is "*The postmodern city is developed with*

the same factors as before: land, labor, capital, their deployment in space and time. But the city is now designed as an imaginary landscape, for this is where architects self-consciously envision the last creative frontier of a highly industrialize society" (1993:241). In the case of Georgian Dublin what we see is how existing architecture has been (re-) incorporated into the city, it becomes part of what she sees as a stage-set which need a strong sense of place even if based on the manipulation of collective history. Zukin sees theme-parks, in particular Disney, as a utopian and conservative view of what urban life should be, in other words they become "*symbolic expressions of power*" (1993:221). This leads us to the question what happens when theming occurs outside of a theme park and in a city centre? The answer I suggest is that it has to coexist with the existing social processes already out there.

As will be noted in my analysis later Gottdiener links classical themes and architecture to elite structures such as Government buildings and banks. In the case of Georgian Dublin those aspects exist throughout those areas of the streetscape which have survived relatively intact. I will argue that this reflects the class interests of both the initial occupants of these buildings, as well as the current class interests of their modern counterparts. However this interpretation is not the only one available. I will highlight two alternative associations between these buildings and specific class groupings. At various times Georgian Dublin has also been associated with colonial power and poverty, both of which have provided opportunities for the expression of mobilisation and resistance.

Conclusion

With the exception of postmodern interpretations then, authenticity appears to remain a useful framework within tourist studies. Even objectivists provide a useful

discourse in that their assumption of an authentic reality allows for an oppositional kitsch or inauthentic to be supposed and put forward, from this it is possible to look at themed environments. This was done in-depth in the section on theme parking, for here it will suffice to reiterate that the concept has remained a consistent area of debate within the literature on theming. Some writers notably John Urry (2002), Chris Rojek (1993) and George Ritzer and Allan Liska (1997) question the continued relevance of authenticity within the context of the theme park, while others believe that it remains important. It should be noted that some of the literature looks at themed spaces as inauthentic and critiques them as a way of longing for a lost sense of authenticity, which uncritically assumes only one possible reading of the space. The examples cited above highlight several issues which have already been addressed in the theme-parking discussion, including the simplification of narratives to easily consumed and bowdlerised chunks, the attempted creation of a dominant reading at a themed space and the possibility of their polysemy.

The regulation of movement, which we see in Wright's (2006) understanding of theming, is part of a covert system of power which can be seen at an ideological level. When we consider that the symbols while static themselves, barring demolition and excluding depreciation caused by decay, can be read in alternative ways (which will be a major part of my conclusion) but these alternatives need not challenge hegemonic understandings. Beyond interpretations and intentions behind the symbols the structure of the environment, and the system of ownership on which they are based, leads to the potential for exclusionary practices. Equally the concept of place carries with it a dangerous potential for essentialising a hegemonic community or part of a community. Whether this translates as gated communities or a desire to ensure that the working class

are not visible or perhaps more coercively as an undesired category will become apparent in later chapters.

So far this thesis has organised a set of concepts through which the case study of Georgian Dublin will be examined. The next chapter is the methodology chapter, and this is followed by a couple of chapters which will demonstrate how Georgian Dublin as a themed space arose from a specific history. The buildings' histories will be charted from their initial use as the town houses of the Irish nobility and then an emerging bourgeoisie in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, before the buildings being converted into tenements in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and finally becoming used for office spaces and other businesses. Throughout this time what they symbolise has not been static and at times have been contested, notably in the 1960s when they stood for colonialism in the eyes of many. This thesis in looking at both the larger public buildings and the townhouses will establish that they draw on a specific symbolic canopy. In the final two chapters it will examine the space's authenticity, both in the objective sense of what makes a Georgian building Georgian, and how this authenticity is experienced subjectively.

Section 2: Methodology

Chapter 4 Methodological approach to the case studies

This thesis takes a case study approach to theming, using the historical evolution of Georgian Dublin to challenge elements of theme-parking theory. It deals with architectural material culture and symbolism in an evolutionary way, this requires both visual and historical research methods to analyse. The methodology of this thesis developed according to the specific needs of the research as well as according to my specific skill sets. For example, when the visual images came from a newspaper rather than my camera I modified the methodology to reflect this. For the most part however, it was based around two sets of primary data, photographs taken by me and internet comments, sourcing and gathering these were relatively straight forward, alongside this significant secondary and archival research was carried out. The second level of the methodology relates to the analysis and visual sociology which was chosen as the method for this on the grounds related below.

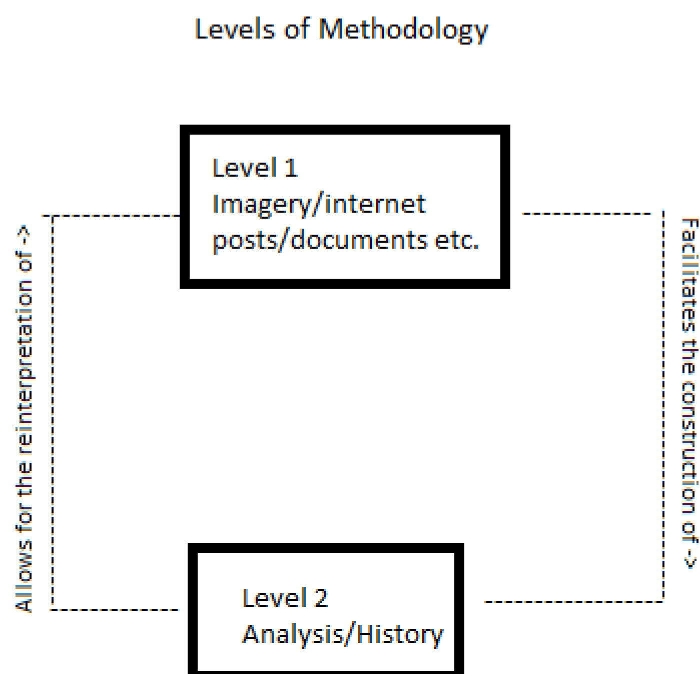

Figure 3 levels of the methodology

The decision to use this methodology had an impact on the layout of the thesis and is the reason for the heavy focus on the historical context of the Georgian core and the symbolism that emerged within it. This has also provided the rationale for the inclusion of the web sourced visitor comments here considered as fans of Georgian Dublin as an important element in my use of the visual is in the reception of the built environment.

While treated separately in this methodology chapter, I do not consider the historical research to be genuinely separate from the visual methodology employed. This is because it is used to demonstrate the context in which the visuals were produced and received at various points in time.

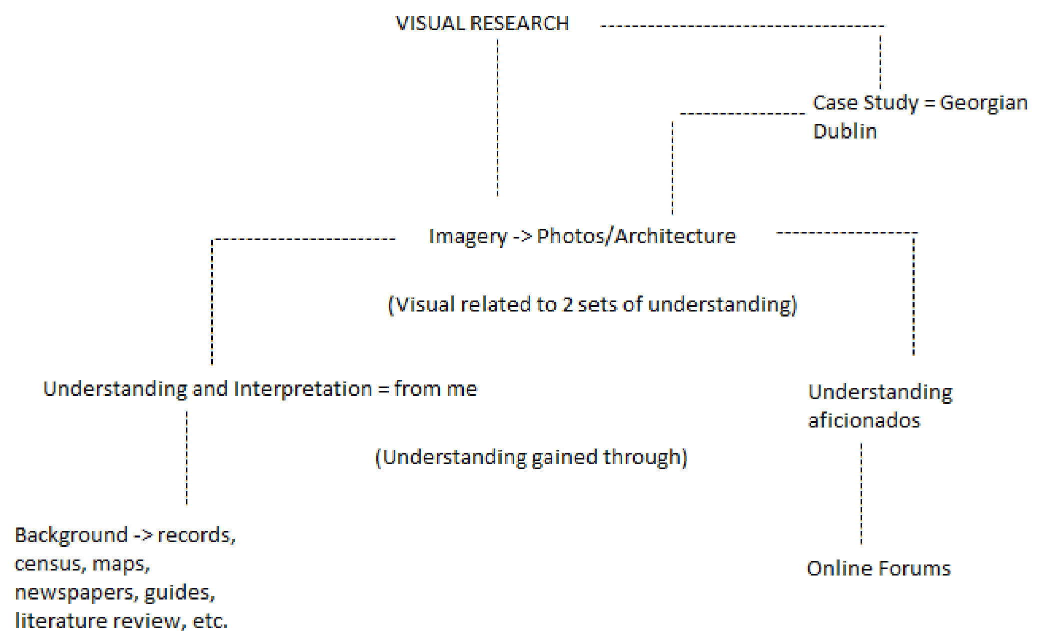

Figure 4 My Research design

<u>The field of study</u>

As this research examined theming it required a themed environment to research, the initial idea was to research this in relation to Dublin's literary heritage, specifically around Gothic literature. However, outside of a single literary work (Bram Stoker's *Dracula*) there was no evidence of any significant engagement by tourists or fans and even that was in the context of a literary festival (Dublin's One City One Book). This case study was dropped in favour of Georgian Dublin as it largely occupied the same physical space and shared a number of public buildings in common. It also had a far more established history and significantly for my purpose narrative. It also shared the important characteristic I was interested in namely that this was occurring within a pre-existing built environment.

The public buildings (alongside large scale former private ones) that form part of the unit of analysis were determined by the Malton Trail, although owing to it predating Georgian Dublin and being in a different architectural style, St. Patrick's Cathedral was excluded from this research. The Malton trail is designed around the paintings of James Malton a Georgian era artist, more details on who will be discussed in a later chapter, who captured the major Georgian buildings in a series of paintings called *Picturesque and Descriptive View of the City of Dublin* (I used the 1984 edition). In terms of private buildings this was slightly more complex. On the Northside I chose three key areas, Henrietta Street, Mountjoy Square and Parnell Square all of which had featured prominently in my background reading into the historiography of the space. On the Southside I initially chose to look at Harcourt Street, Hume Street, Baggot Street (as far as the canal), Dawson Street, Fitzwilliam Place, Fitzwilliam Square, Fitzwilliam Street, Herbert Place, Herbert Street, Kildare Street, Leeson Street, Merrion Row, Merrion Square, Merrion Street,

Molesworth Street, Mount Street, Pembroke Street (Upper and Lower), St. Stephen's Green and Suffolk Street. Subsequently for the sake of coherence I narrowed down this selection further by concentrating on Pat Dargan's tour of Georgian Dublin (Dargan 2008). This tour covered Leeson Street went north to Fitzwilliam Street Upper turned down Baggot Street Lower, up Herbert Place, from there along Mount Street Lower to Merrion Square. Merrion Square covered its East, North and West heading towards Baggot Street Lower before returning to Leeson Street along Pembroke Street Upper. This route along with Henrietta Street became the focus of my chapter dealing with theming and housing design. Some buildings that would dropped due to the decision to use the Dargan tour were instead used for the following chapter on so called objective authenticity. Additionally, the ruined building on Dorset Street caught my eye and subsequently I found it discussed on the archiseek forums.

As can be seen from the locations listed I had a firm idea of the physical space that I was including in my research essentially those locations which Corrigan Kearns had identified as part of the Georgian core (1982). This excluded as already mentioned St Patrick's Cathedral but also Thomas Street as well as locations further afield such as Castletown House. While I had in the back of my mind a date of around the mid 1700s to the 1830s in reality this was really only important in terms of setting out the history of the space. Architecturally it was decided to fix on the Georgian Town House with the exception of along Baggot Street as Dargan included it, and Henrietta Street as neo Georgian buildings were discussed on the archiseek forums as part of authenticity. This along with the time frame excluded Dutch Billy buildings a reconstructed example of which can be found on Leeson Street.

In all 519 photographs were taken on the Southside and 196 on the Northside in addition to 175 images taken of the Malton Trail including the signs which are reproduced in the appendix. This is reduced once those areas that were filtered out are excluded with 69 photographs between Henrietta Street and Dorset Street. In terms of individual properties all houses at locations used in the thesis on the Northside nineteen buildings were photographed. These were eighteen buildings on Henrietta Street including the pub, flats and neo Georgian buildings and the house on Dorset Street. The Malton Trail accounted for ten buildings when College Green is separated out into Trinity College and the former parliament buildings. Twenty one buildings were selected based on their identification in the Dargan Book. Many of these photographs are duplicates as once I had narrowed down on a tour (or other route) I took a 'done in one' approach to touring with follow up visits to individual locations to get improved images. I checked the quality and gathered more photographs if needed. In addition my supervisor also sent me to collect a number of follow up photographs around Harcourt Street, Merrion Square, Powerscourt House and the former Parliament building at College Green.

Preparation and other considerations

While not a formal methodology used in this thesis, I employed an approach to participant observation similar to that taken by Sarah Pink's auto-ethnographies in her studies of walking (2008a) (2008b). During heritage week 2011 and 2014 I participated in a number of guided tours of Georgian Streets and buildings one of which I refer to in this thesis conducted by architectural scholar James Kelly centred around Parnell Square (Kelly 2011). I also attended tours of a Mews buildings which now belongs to the Garda Equestrian Unit and a Georgian

building in Temple Bar which now serves as a hotel. I have also at around the same time visited the Georgian House Museum. Subsequently I ended up being (and still am) a frequent visitor to Comhlámh, a Georgian building also in the Temple Bar area and also the Teacher's Club in Parnell Square. My visit to the Irish Architectural Archive in 2014 while primarily to see the Darkest Dublin photographs, which at the time I considered using alongside the *Irish Press* tenement pictures, also included a tour of their building at 25 Merrion Square.

The purpose of these visits was to fill my own knowledge gap in terms of Georgian lifestyles and streets and provided a useful way of assimilating information quickly outside of reading about them in dusty and dry academic tomes. In visiting Georgian buildings with different visual contexts I was able to get an understanding of the visual culture and see how the angles and width of the streets could increase and decrease what could be viewed from the buildings.

As these were not formal participant observations no observation of the tourists took place. Instead these tours were, when conducted by the guide, taken with the express purpose of informing myself of Georgian architecture and life. This was the case for the museum, 25 Merrion Square and James Kelly’s tour of Parnell Square. When self directed I was attempting to get a feel for the buildings though obviously the other tours in some cases offered this opportunity as well. As these tours were for the most part about finding information rather than visitor’s views and even my own impressions are largely absent I hope I have avoided the trap of what Dave Harris describes in his notes to Adorno’s critique on authenticity (Harris 2009: np). In this he describes how sincerity is used as a mark of the authenticity of descriptions particularly among those conducting auto-ethnographies.

The nuance in my use of the phrase not formal participant observation should be taken as significant, this method was found to be unnecessary as when on

the tours my focus was on the buildings. In part this was because I do not believe it would have been ethical to disrupt the tourist's enjoyment by overtly observing them. As an aside this may be a more important consideration than changing their behaviour, neither do I believe covert research is ethical in a live setting. While it is important for the visitor's voice to appear in the thesis it was decided this was not an appropriate method to use as a vehicle for this, hence the use of message boards.

Methods selection was informed primarily by my research question. However, it is also worth noting that because I am a dyspraxic it would have proved difficult to engage in methods requiring direct and ongoing interaction with others. I believe that there is an ethical imperative that we acknowledge our status as disabled people. This is also the area where I feel the ethical implications of covert participant observation are especially problematic, as you would be interacting face to face with people without telling them that they are in effect under observation.

Primary and secondary data gathering

Debatably some of the preparatory work such as the walking tour classes as secondary research, as the research behind those tours has been carried out by others and I was using them to quickly gain a familiarity with Georgian Dublin and its architecture. This aside, my research was informed by both primary and secondary research with the two at times interconnecting. The most significant area of secondary research is the extended literature review into Georgian Dublin's history, the subject of the next three chapters, in which mainly secondary sources are used to piece together a narrative. Reading these books, articles and book chapters from a number of disciplines led me to a considerable amount of primary sources which as outlined in the section on archival research were often sourced by working backwards through the bibliographies of secondary source materials.

The chapter on the Irish tenements which follows these three is slightly more complicated, in terms of writing it is the last chapter to be written but it also provides a bridge between the historical literature review with the mainly visual research. If this was a history thesis the newspapers would be regarded as a secondary source however, as discussed in full below I am conducting primary research into them by offering a thorough analysis of the imagery produced by the *Irish Press*. Some newspaper articles in that chapter are however secondary research such as the Republican Congress extracts used to illustrate conditions in the tenements and the statistics used for much the same reason. The choice of the *Irish Press* as the source of my photographs was determined by the fact that the photographs were often used to illustrate tenement conditions (see Corrigan Kearns (2006) and Fagan (2013) for examples of this). A second consideration was that while the Darkest Dublin photographs of tenements in the time of the 1913 lockout have received considerable academic attention, particularly in light the centenary, the same was not true of their 1930s counterparts. Thirdly the 1930s imagery came from an interesting time period, with industrial unrest, the rise of Fascism, and uncertainty of the future of democracy, and was part of a campaign to improve social conditions (and some improvements were carried out which is why York Street appears). The choice of the Republican Congress newspaper to provide firsthand accounts as opposed to oral history as recorded by Terry Fagan and Kevin Corrigan Kearns came from a desire to have a source with significant detail and first hand which oral could not provide. The fact that these were part of a campaign to highlight conditions meant that these were free of any additional information and were straight to the point.

As mentioned above many of the photographs taken in the fieldwork were guided by two tours the Malton Trail and the Dargan book alongside, a complete

visual survey of Henrietta Street and a number of additional photographs taken based on or reintroduced for the implications of the research notably my sliding scale of authenticity. These two visual chapters and the one which follows investigating how the authenticity of two Georgian streets is perceived by those aficionados who are interested in it. While this represents my primary research there are also secondary elements to it as my interpretation is guided by the secondary research carried out in the historical chapters.

Archival research Primary and Secondary Sources

A significant amount of this thesis relied on primary and secondary historical sources, with this forming the basis for chapters 6, 7, 8, and parts of 9[35]. The decision to use this as part of the thesis was to provide a context for the initial production and continued use of the buildings as well as to root the interpretation of the visual culture within the material conditions of the time. The gathering of this data is the usual technique of historical research, I looked at the historiography, read the bibliographies and tracked down these sources in the National Library. I then selected and interpreted them based on the research question and my own ideological position, and this interpretation was synthesised into an overall narrative. While a number of these sources are quite radical, such as *CRISIS* or the Sinn Féin publication *United Irishmen*, the methodology employed was not[36], it is basic documentary history.

The analysis of the Irish Press content was carried out by using the Irish newspaper archive to trawl through the three week period in October 1936 which Corrigan Cairns had identified the Irish Press campaign as taking place in (2006:18),

[35] For the sake of this methodology I am treating the images in *The Irish Press* as separate from the other primary sources. Also treated as separate here is the Richardson text mentioned above which decoded the symbols being used on the buildings.

[36] A radical approach would have entailed participatory historical methods, such as oral history and asking the local community to provide photographs from the houses.

excluding those from outside Dublin. This trawl resulted in 346 clippings although not all of these represent separate articles as the archives interface is not all that good. Phase two of this involved filtering through the images and excluding those which had the focus on the people rather than the buildings or were not in Georgian buildings resulting in the six pictures selected. Higher quality versions were then ordered from the National Library in TIFF format and reproduced the entire page. The photography was the analysed in relation to what it showed, how it related to surrounding text including captions and when it was used to contrast with other images.

Analysis of Forum posts

It was always my intention to get the input of people invested with the places. The reasoning behind this was to follow John B. Thompson's cultural studies structure for avoiding the fallacy of internalism which is where in the case of media institutions in relation to "*the messages themselves*" there is an assumption of "*a given effect when the messages are received and appropriated by individuals in the course of their everyday lives*" this can be avoided as "*(t)he structure and content of media messages must be analysed in relation to their production within the primary interactive framework and their reception* " (Thompson 1991:267–8). In this case the built environment is treated as the text or media which is analysed at the three levels with the connotational frameworks or grammars providing the context, the content itself analysed and an analysis of the reception of these locations.

The logic for using web forums follows the framing of visitors as fans and aficionados. Karin Van Es (2007) takes the discussion of non-places out of its usual preoccupation with physical spaces and applies it to cyber-space, quoting Bolter and

Grusin (1999) who claimed that "*Cyberspace is a shopping mall in the ether; it fits smoothly into our contemporary networks of transportation, communication and economic exchange*" (179) quoted (van Es 2007:2) as a starting point, and highlighting the internet's commercial aspect. While she does not point this out the kind of anonymity when online, where ordinary users will not be able to determine your identity, is another parallel between cyberspace and the non-place. Gwen Scarbrough has suggested that these virtual spaces provide a new meeting grounds for communities, fulfilling a role formally held by third places (2008:64).

This raises an important issue covered by Abigail De Kosnik (2013), (2012), (2009) who in the context of fans argues that despite how "*fan activity has been derided as frivolous, irrelevant, and even pathological*" (2013:98), with the increased availability of the mode of production or word processors[37] and proliferation of fandom across the internet fans are still seen as prolific amateurs (2013:98). While the internet is often perceived as free and there have been claims that it has escaped the capitalist processes and become a gift economy, Tiziana Terranova (2003) has argued that the virtual world is heavily commodified and many of those who produce on line are engaged in free labour. Mark Andrejevic (2008) has applied similar arguments to audience review sites, allowing for the use of the idea beyond fandom studies.

As possible non-places, the sites chosen for fieldwork could be described as transitory, people pass through usually not with fandom in mind, finding fans became an issue. This was resolved by using online comments of fans instead of interviews. These were located through several online sites notably TripAdvisor, Boards.ie and Archiseek. The major issue here was the relative quality of each posting, a decision was made to reproduce them verbatim. The same concept map I

[37] Arguably the word processor is actually part of the means of labour (Marx 1992:237).

used to create my theoretical framework was used to zero in on relevant themes in their postings with additional ones, notably the ethical implications of some of this tourism, emerging through the texts themselves.

In January 2012, one of the websites, TripAdvisor's, reliability was called into question (Anon 2012a), (Anon 2012b). In a nutshell it was found that some hotels were fixing reviews, and hotels themselves complained that reviews could be posted by those who have never actually visited. TripAdvisor for its part claimed to have technological filters in place to limit these, though some will slip through. This has further implications for the other websites as well, there is no way of checking if the same problems exist for these. The quality of internet posting is always going to be an issue however for the purpose of the thesis, on the basis of research ethics it was decided to assume that those who are self reporting on these blogs and websites are doing so in good faith, and what they describe is their perception of the locations they are describing. To an extent the consistency of the comments supports their validity, and the fact that with few exceptions the case studies are not commercial the motive for "trolling" with false claims is not present. Two particular threads were chosen with supplemental material drawn from boards.ie for York Street. The thread on Henrietta Street includes 89 posts and was active from March 20 1999 to June 1 2011, although with a significant gap between September 5 2002 and August 21 2008, with the bulk of my research drawing from those from the later date onwards. For York Street we find a slightly shorter thread with 53 posts with a date range from October 5 2005 to February 23 2010. With both threads each post was read against my concept map or a very loose coding schedule (see figure 5 below).

Of course general issues around interviewing also presented themselves in the use of internet comments, such as anonymity. In the case of internet postings there is a largely self assigned anonymity, although this limits the retention of anonymity,

their postings are essentially public utterances made in a public place.

Obviously, the initial data gathering phase of this methodology involved getting access to the material to analyse, with the next phases being coding and analysis. While this is part of an overall framework analysing the reception of the themed spaces it was decided to use a rudimentary form of discourse analysis to analyse these comments. Discourse Analysis seems to be treated consistently across the literature despite its supposed fifty seven varieties (Gill 2000:173). The analysis of material for discourse analysis seems to be relatively straightforward. After the obvious phase of choosing material it has to be transcribed or copied (in the event copied and pasted), and read sceptically. Gill suggests analysing each line individually which seems like a sound approach. After this there is coding data as inclusively as possible which may lead to the revision of the research question. This is followed by analysis and checking the reliability of the findings, which is itself followed up by writing up (2000:178-182). Of course the output of the discourse analysis was by its very nature be determined by the research question.

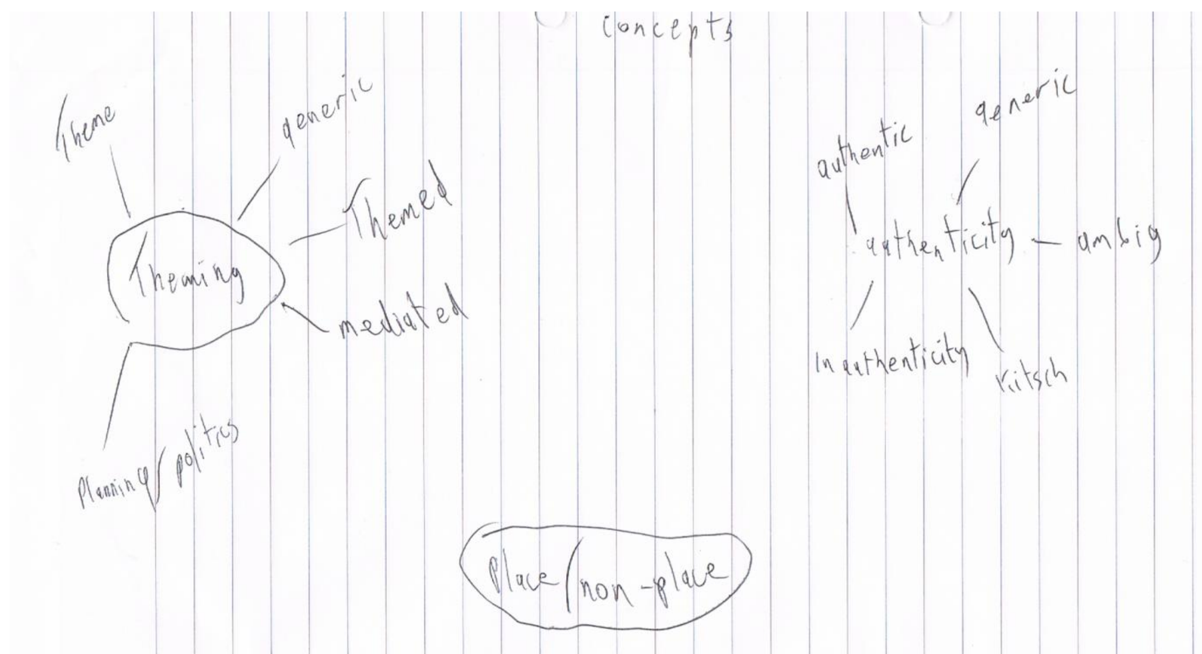

Figure 5 Concept map

As already referred to above when considering the data gathering for this method it was decided that the concept map would be used to provide a basic group of themes for research with additional areas arising through a close reading of the text. Reliability was checked through noting deviant texts in addition to those consistent with each other.

I used a combination of Zotero and Wiredmarker to act as a freeware substitute to commercial qualitative software programmes. This process involved using a colour code to highlight the responses of visitors to these internet forums. The fact that wiredmarker records what is highlighted allowed for responses that overlap to be coded under multiple headings. In the chapter in question what was originally coded as authenticity and inauthenticity was revised to provide greater complexity and nuance under the broader headings of authenticity ("objective" authenticity and "objective" inauthenticity, along with ambiguity), and an authentic sense of place. In addition originally coded together the space as being a themed space was divided into discussions on the spaces generic appearance and being subject to the process of museumisation. It was initially assumed that a heading of political framing would reflect attitudes towards the preservation of the buildings although this was not really found to be a factor. The perception of working class communities emerged as a major sub-theme in the forum posts and was added to the coding schedule.

- Visual methods: Collection of photographic record/ analysis of visual images

The core assumption I had in taking photographs was that the places themselves could be used for visual fieldwork. This can be useful as it can show how the environments have been themed, if at all. Once gathered, this forms the basis for further analysis of the photographs. This methodology has the weakness of being subjective. It was decided to strongly link the photographed buildings to their

historical context in order to act as a counter to this subjectivity. I am here asking myself why use Visual Methods and how will I use them?

The importance of visual methods can be justified by merely observing as Sarah Pink once did that "*(i)mages are 'everywhere'" to the extent that "personal identities, narratives, lifestyles, cultures and societies... definitions of history, space and truth*" have incorporated them (Pink 2007:17). This ubiquity provides a rationale that seems to inform the usage of visual ethnography, although it must be noted that it is hardly original to Pink. This connects to the study of Georgian Dublin as architecture is both visual and social in that it occurs in specific social and historical contexts. It is of continued social interest as it is still subject to social processes and anxieties. As a consequence of this the reception of the space by aficionados must be looked at alongside the economic and social changes that influence the building's current status.

In some instances, notably in the chapter dealing with Georgian private houses, the image was divided into the floors of the house and a separate image being given for the door. This was done in order to provide clarity in the use of images. In the case of buildings were the focus is on symbols those aspects which are seen as symbolic such as statues and crests are emphasised using images based on one or two views of the building itself. In the case of those buildings on the Malton tour, the views chosen were ones that emulate the Malton prints. The exception to this is Leinster House due to the nature of the space as the seat of Government, with fences blocking photography of the major architectural features, it was decided to opt for a rich description in addition to images. A number of images appear in the Irish Press of 1936 and appear courtesy of the National Library (NLI).

In using photographs of themed locations I was effectively treating

the locations themselves as being cultural texts. The resulting photographs would themselves provide representations of ethnographic knowledge. However on its own it will be insufficient to research the environments and will have to be backed up with several complementary methodologies. In this thesis an in-depth description was used as a method of transcribing and analysing the images of locations within Georgian Dublin, while an analysis of online internet postings by visitors was used to get a visitor's perspective of the locations. A pilot content analysis was attempted in Henrietta Street but was found to be insufficient for providing and an in-depth explanation of the iconography, and so was rejected as a method, however the pilot itself was incorporated into the thesis.

Data Gathering

From a technical perspective I used a digital camera for the recording of images. While due to the lack of a negative this does lead to questions on the reliability of the source image in terms of accessibility and storage, it is the most convenient. It also allowed for a visual record which would be a 360 degree record of each location, which itself counteracts the reliability issue mentioned above. The approach that was taken to gather this data, as it was the simplest, was for me to take the images myself. This allowed me to note conditions in which the images were taken, my position, and relate the location to the research question. It also gives me complete control and accountability. I had already piloted this method and was satisfied with its usefulness. The Camera used in this was a Kodak EasyShare M753, with the specifications of 7.0 megapixels and a Kodak AF 3x optical aspheric lens.

The selection of locations to photograph was determined initially by which tour I was using. All locations on these tours were reproduced in photographs

and the best images chosen, usually taken from across the street with multiple angles for corner buildings. The Malton tour added an additional consideration to this as it was decided to replicate as closely as possible the original paintings on which the tour was based, with additional photography required in places like Dublin Castle and College Green to capture additional details. The original paintings are incorporated into signs at most of the locations and these are reproduced in appendix 1. Powerscourt townhouse is the exception to this as it was impossible to get any level of detail of the building in a single image due to the width of the street. A 'done in one approach' was adapted for these tours with follow up trips into Dublin to get improved photographs, this was so as to get a feel for the tour which as tours are designed to be taken in one go. In order to get an idea of what a Georgian building was I decided to add Henrietta Street as a sub-case study, which meant photographing the entire street. This decision was informed by the fact the street is largely intact and is the oldest Georgian Street in Dublin. A number of additional buildings which appear towards the end of chapter 12, which include a number on Henrietta Street, Harcourt Street and a ruin associated in error with the playwright Richard Brinsley Sheridan, were added by me to discuss issues associated with the concept of authenticity which would not have been relevant with all of the buildings in the 'sample' provided by the tours.

As mentioned above I also used images that appeared in the Irish Press in the 1930s for one of my chapters. These were gathered by previewing them on the Irish Newspaper Archive before ordering them from the National Library (NLI) and obtaining permission for the use. The cost of which came to €120 as some images appeared on the same page meaning I was able to order the rights to the page they were on and crop and extract the images myself, it took two weeks to process this part of the work and was necessarily approached towards the end of the thesis.

Analysis of data

Collier and Collier provide a set of criteria for visual methods to meet in order to work as a methodology; observation, coding, analysis and context. While this is outlined in their chapter on moving images they point out that the techniques used with moving images "*provided new ways to analyze still photographs*" (Collier and Collier 1986:178–9). In order to provide the context of the interpretations it was necessary to write in-depth on the history of the space. This was done as part of the process of entering into a critical visual sociology. By looking at how the physical space developed into the form it now takes, including earlier often conflicting interpretations of the space, and those social processes at play here it becomes possible to investigate the significance of the signs beyond merely aesthetic considerations and often personal interpretations.

A major risk of using visual ethnography is that the image can easily be used to argue 'this proves it'. Despite the popular adage the camera does lie and the literature is full of cautionary tales. These include the famous Cottingly fairies case in which the creator of Sherlock Holmes was fooled into accepting the veracity of photographs purporting to show fairies and Lombroso's proof for phrenology, in which photographs of prisoners were accepted as proof that the shape of the skull personal characteristics such as criminality. There is therefore a danger of misrepresentation of the facts through the usage of images. The concept of the objectivity of the photograph seems to be based on positivist assumptions, although in the past Barthes has made a claim for the objective recording of the photographic image, as John Tagg claims he provides a "*poignant reassertion of the realist position*" (Tagg 1993:1). This ignores Barthes' own claim in the same book that Tagg was referring to that:

> *A specific photograph, in effect is never distinguished from its referrent (from what it represents) or at least it is not immediately or generally distinguished*

from its referrent ... it is not impossible to perceive the photographic signifier ... but it requires a secondary action of knowledge or of reflection (1982:5) (my emphasis).

Therefore when, as cited by Tagg, Barthes makes a claim for "*the necessarily real thing which has been placed before the lens*" implying a reality and truth which is made tangible only through the image (quoted Tagg 1993:1), Barthes is describing his sentimentalised and subjective reaction to photography, which he explicitly excludes from his academic interests:

> *"Myself, I saw only the referent, the desired object, the beloved body; but an importunate voice (the voice of knowledge, of science) then adjured me in a severe tone: Get back to Photography. What you are seeing here and what makes you suffer belongs to the category Amateur Photographs,' dealt with by a team of sociologists; nothing but the truce of a social protocol of integration, intended to reassert the Family, etc." Yet I persisted; another, louder voice urged me to dismiss such sociological commentary; looking at certain photographs, I wanted to be a primitive, without culture. So I went on not daring to reduce the world's countless photographs, any more to extend several of mine to Photography; in short I found myself at an impasse and, so to speak, "scientifically" alone and disarmed"* (1982:17).

These meanings then are not subjective as has been assumed, but inter-subjective at a community level creating an agreed interpretation. From a methodological point of view this has implications for this thesis in that it becomes necessary to close off the open semiosis, and limit as far as possible polysemy. This is achieved by using an in-depth literature review of the subjects themselves, in the case of Georgian Dublin this required an "ad Fontes"[38] approach, and returning to eighteenth century sources to fix

[38] That is using primary sources.

on the meanings which were intended by the architects and developers. This is an attempt to reproduce grammars, to use Eco's terms which are "*descriptive, ... prescriptive and to some extent they can be predictive, ... in so far as they can successfully predict how a user of a given sign system, under normal circumstances, will generate or interpret messages produced according to that system's rules*" (1999:4)[39].

A further issue for this case study (Georgian Dublin) is how to incorporate iconology into the analysis, especially in regards its usage on public buildings. Iconology here refers to "*(t)he use of attributes, codes or symbols*" (Howells and Negreiros 2012:19), however there is a problem here in that these codes may no longer be accessible or as understandable as they were when the statues were added to the public structures. Fortunately Richard Howells and Joaquim Negreiros point to a source contemporary to Georgian Dublin, George Richardson's *Iconology; or a Collection of Emblematical Figures; containing four hundred and twenty-four remarkable subjects, moral and instructive; in which are displayed the beauty of Virtue and deformity of Vice* (1779), (Howells and Negreiros 2012:19). This was a handbook for the inclusion of iconology rather than a tool for its analysis, as we see in the work of Erwin Panofsky and W.J.T. Mitchell[40], so that it will be here used in reverse as a key to understanding what the statues were placed to convey. With this done the statues and other visuals were analysed.

From Richardson's introduction it seems that he saw his book as an updated translation, localised adaptation and expansion of the earlier work of Cesare Ripa (1779:A11), and he seems to have believed that it would find a general readership (among the literate) outside the artists due to the appeal of allegory (1779:A12). He identifies the sources of these images as being pagan mythology, saintly calendars and

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[39]Elsewhere he describes this as regulative, but in he stresses this does not mean that semiosis is hindered (2000:308).

[40] As seen in Panofsky and Mitchell according to Howells and Negreiros.

the *Metamorpheses* of Ovid, but that these have become so overused he has to expand on them, using broader myths, poems, philosophy and precedent (1779:A14). His main aim is to allow the artist to use "*allegory, by the means of emblems and figures that expressed universal ideas*" (1779:A13). In effect he was creating a dictionary for the use of symbols, both accepted and of his own devising (1779:A14). All this, he claimed, was in aid of suiting decoration to its context making it more entertaining and appealing to contemporary tastes (1779:A15).

By way of an example, he suggests that the Winter solstice should be represented as an old man dressed in fur to show the season and the year is approaching its end. The days are short so the old man carries a globe, only a quarter of which is illuminated and the rest obscured, he is holding it in his left hand as the sun is on the left at this time of year. The sign of Capricorn representing the season should also appear. He has winged feet to denote time moving quickly, one wing is white to represent light surpassing darkness (1779:6). This basic formula of describing what the figures mean is used throughout Richardson's text and as such provides us with a useful tool for understanding the iconography of Georgian Dublin.

Issues of Ethics and copyright

The use of visual research methods raises several ethical and legal issues according to Pink. Under the SAI code of practice section 2 confidentiality and anonymity of research participants must be guaranteed, including with the use of electronic storage and transfer. To get around this, suggestions in the literature include tactics such as the decision to smudge faces and identifying markers of people as Lomax and Casey did (cited Pink 2007) while maintaining an unaltered image in order to

maintain the integrity of the research. This would compromise the specificity of the photographs (Pink 2007) and this blurring of faces would also carry connotations of criminality (Banks 2001:130). Another option would be to obtain permission to photograph individuals. As people were not the focus of the research, and therefore not research participants, I made an effort to avoid having people in the image. When this was not possible, as they were not participants in the study there was no need to obtain their informed consent. It was also not feasible to obtain informed consent from random people walking through a public space. These considerations were cross checked with the IVSA guidelines.

In terms of getting permission for use of images it was decided that it would probably be safest from an ethical perspective to err on the side of caution. This is particularly true in terms of copyright, which becomes an issue in two ways. Under the *Copyright and Related Rights. Act*, (Anon 2000) photo productions are classed as artistic works and therefore belong to the artist who would be me[41] where I take the images myself. If however during my research I had chosen to make use of photographs taken by other parties, then as the creators of those images they would hold the copyright. While this can be resolved by use of written agreements and possibly a fee the issue of what is being photographed is slightly more complicated. This is relevant here with the images provided by the NLI and for which permission had to be sought, as while the images themselves are no longer covered by copyright it is in the National Library's archive and they have rules for reproductions of the images they hold.

With the web forums these were publically made statements and since these comments were made in the public domain these are treated as only quasi private. Therefore they cannot be said to be data that those on the forum can fairly be said to

[41] Although the university setting means that the university owns it.

have expected to remain private. In order to fairly represent them it was decided to quote rather than paraphrase. I do not regard this as covert research or those forum users as participants as the text was treated as a historical document as much as a newspaper report would be.

Conclusion

The importance of this chapter is in its role in the construction of the structure of the thesis chapters in which my empirical evidence is the focus. Aside from the generation of the data this chapter influenced the three history chapters which demonstrate the historical development of Dublin's Georgian core and the cultural and ideological contexts for the buildings and their symbolism. The chapter on hyposignification establishes the 'grammar' of Georgian Dublin to demonstrate the symbolic canopy on which it draws at the same time as arguing that the streetscape and the following chapter extends this to smaller scale houses. In treating of authenticity which began as a single chapter but was split in two for reasons of length, I consider the reception of the imagery by those who perceive it. The chapter on the tenements acting as a bridge between the historical and symbolic chapters compresses these approaches into a single chapter. So in this respect if the chapter on the 1930s housing crisis is the most important one on its own, this methodology chapter is perhaps the most important for the thesis taken as a unit.

Using a historically based framework this thesis traces the change in the reception and use of buildings. It does this by triangulating quasi-participant observation, online forums, primary and secondary documentary research (official records, censuses, maps, architectural associations, archival sources (newspapers, guide books)) alongside imagery in the form of paintings and photographs. The strong use of visual research allows for the investigation of diverse streetscapes. It results in the photograph becoming a tool of that investigation allowing for a

detailed visual analysis. Older photographs particularly those of the tenements provide historicity. This triangulated approach comes together as the documentary research informs my interpretation of the visual, and my interpretation of these streetscapes is complemented by that of the forum users.

Section 3: The Development of Georgian Dublin from the eighteenth century to today

Chapter 5 Forming Georgian Dublin

Summary

Before understanding the themes and symbols employed it is important to demonstrate the development of Georgian Dublin as a physical space. This means defining the physical location, looking at why might one street be included and another close by excluded and the best way to do that is to establish how it is themed. This chapter examines the construction of Georgian Dublin emphasising factors such legal regulations, the patriot movement and the economic context in which it was built. Particular attention is paid into whether or not Georgian Dublin was a colonial capital as was argued by some in the 1960s. Through reading the history of this period alongside Marx's notes on it this chapter will show that the later representation of Georgian Dublin as a colonial edifice is one is a simplification and that there are grounds for arguing that the relationship was federal until the Act of Union in 1801. It also provides the grounding for discussion on the symbolic canopy later in the thesis.

Defining Georgian Dublin

Georgian Dublin, like Mainstreet USA in Gottdiener's book, is as much, if not more, an imagined past as a real one. For Frank O'Connor writing after two centuries of grandeur and decline[42] it evoked an image of:

> *tall houses, tall flights of steps, leading to tall narrow doorways too small for their frontages and with a heavy hooded air imparted by their plain pediments… One slum house attracted us because a first floor window had been lifted out*

[42] O'Connor was writing a decade before the period of the "destruction of Dublin", to use McDonald's term.

body and bones, and through it you could see the staircase ceiling, heavy circles and strapwork which suggested a Jacobean hangover. The poor people sunning themselves on the steps drew aside to let us pass. The staircase had been many times coated with salmon-coloured wash which half obscured the rich plaster panelling, but a ray of light through a ruined window-frame lit a beautiful stair with carved treads and delicate Restoration newel posts. It would have been alright but for the smell (Frank O'Connor 1947 quoted Hanna 2010: 1015-6).

The term Georgian Dublin can have multiple meanings depending on the context in which it is used, in a discussion of the quote used above Hanna finds traces of commodification, middle class slumming[43], and the living conditions of the working class (2010:1016). For the purpose of this research we shall consider Georgian Dublin to be a themed space in Dublin, the theme generally being those buildings dating from the reigns of the four consecutive Georges. Between August 1714 and June 1830 the Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland[44] were ruled by four successive Kings named George, all of whom where members of the house of Hanover. It should be noted at this point that there are alternative dating schemes; however this one is consistent with the architecture, the geography and more importantly for this thesis the theming that has emerged around Georgian Dublin.

Where is Georgian Dublin

The importance of Georgian Dublin as a themed site can be illustrated through the Government's recent (failed) attempts to have it declared an UNESCO World

[43] Slumming refers to the practice of middle class or petit bourgeoisie visitors going to the slums as tourists.
[44] After the act of Union this became the United Kingdom of Britain and Ireland.

Heritage site, albeit under the term "*Historic City of Dublin*", mixing the Georgian architecture with eighteenth to twentieth century writers (UNESCO 2010). While this will be examined when looking at both authenticity and current policy it is clear that Dublin's Georgian identity is an important part of the branding of the city. In addition to literature and architecture, the initial submission included reference to Dublin's enlightenment heritage and its uniqueness as the highlights of the theme (Lucas 2010).

Before beginning it is important to define where exactly Georgian Dublin is. According to the submission to UNESCO it is "*within the area bounded to the north and south by the canals, to the west by the Phoenix Park and the east by the sea still survives largely intact*" (Lucas 2010:3). The final part of this statement suggesting that it could feasibly have been expanded further but through development, outside areas have not survived, or are too distant to be considered part of the Georgian Dublin theme. Consider for example Castletown House in Celbridge, part of the greater Dublin area and built by a prominent figure of the era but far outside the Georgian core. This provides a working delineation of the physical space of Georgian Dublin.

While the Georgian core is the focus of investigation here it would be wrong to separate it completely from the suburbs and the hinterland. The link between the suburbs and the Georgian core was, Finola O'Kane claims, that they provided a nearby retreat as many of these suburbs were fashionable such as Blackrock, Dun Laoghaire and Lucan (2010:115) and much of the Liffey corridor was a key suburb.

An important element of this is the spatial make up of the Georgian core itself, particularly on the south side which is has survived far more successfully. Kevin C.

Kearns wrote an article (1982) a number of years ago which demonstrated the Georgian core by way of maps. In terms of areas of preservation he showed Henrietta Street and the axis of Parnell Square, North Great Georges Street and Mountjoy Square while on the south side he mapped from Harcourt Street, Leeson Street, Baggot Street, Fitzwilliam and Merrion Squares, St Stephens Green, and the area south of Trinity College, though this is irregular and both North and South sections are divided into major and minor areas of preservation (Kearns 1982:275). The second map, reproduced in the introduction, gives the core itself (figure 1). Georgian Dublin itself exists within Dublin's tourist Geography which stretches further East, including as far as Christ Church Cathedral and featuring a network of hotels and tourist attractions (McManus 2001b).

What is significant here is what is left out of the core, this is highlighted by David Dickson who points out that "*(t)he architectural legacy of 'Georgian Dublin' is with few exceptions, sited in what was in 1800 the eastern half of the city*" (1987:viii). The emphasis on the architectural legacy of Georgian Dublin excludes the Liberties, for example, which has been partially rebuilt since the Georgian era and as can be seen in the map reproduced in the introduction the same applies now as well. In essence this turns Georgian Dublin into a contested space with multiple meanings available: the poor and the wealthy, the colonial and the postcolonial, town house and slum, home and investment, art and function. As shall be seen these antagonisms emerge, conflict, disappear, change and re-emerge throughout its history. These represent the form of Georgian Dublin, how it is visualised and socially constructed.

Turning to its content we can see here that Georgian Dublin is essentially spatially defined, so that if we follow Thrift's consideration of space this would essentially be site (2000:685). If we accept that it is a themed location it enters into the

realm of sight as it is organised according to its theme, which is here its apparently unique architecture, despite the fact that in reality examples can be found elsewhere within and outside Ireland. This is then being used to sell the location. This is in keeping with Gottdiener's conception of theming which argues that theming is a reaction to competition so one area will use its theming to gain a competitive advantage over another. The purpose of this chapter is to show the development of the content of Georgian Dublin, a development that can best be understood by looking at it in phases which while chronologically can be broken into distinct periods tend to overlap rather than suddenly shifting from one to another.

The Development of Georgian Dublin

Despite the name referring to the reigns of the four consecutive Georges, Pat Dargan (2008) argues that the architectural period should correctly refer to between 1700 and 1845. In which case it begins during latter years of the reign of King William of Orange[45] and continues into that of Queen Anne, the period ends not with the death of George IV but continues through the monarchy of William IV ending in the early years of Victoria's reign. He also suggests that the term when related to architecture can be used interchangeably with Classical and Renaissance, he himself favouring the latter. These terms effectively illustrate the genealogy of the architecture showing how it developed from these two styles (Dargan 2008:11); this expands our previous timeline for Georgian Dublin quite significantly. He highlights how the designs themselves can be traced back earlier than the period by about seventy years as the Earl of Bedford in

[45] Given the chronology of this thesis it is notable that Marx connects the spread of Capitalism in the United Kingdom to reign of King William (Marx 1990:884–5). Elsewhere Marx locates the birth of capital around the 16th and 17th centuries (Marx 1991:451).

1630 redeveloped his lands in the Renaissance[46] style and this became fashionable in London throughout the seventeenth century. He traces its entry into the Irish context to 1662 and the Duke of Ormond's appointment as Lord Lieutenant, who set about developing the city by founding the Phoenix Park[47], setting up the Royal Hospital at Kilmainham and improving the Quays. At around the same time Sir Humphrey Jervis was building a suburb on the Northside of the Liffey which Ormond supported providing that the development face the river, this resulted in Capel Street and Jervis Street. Contemporaneously, the Earls of Drogheda and Meath as well as Sir Francis Aungier also began developing their properties.

The next phase of development Dargan traces to the early eighteenth century. In 1707 Joshua Dawson laid out the street named after him, and by 1710 he and Viscount Molesworth were laying out Nassau Street, Molesworth Street, and Kildare Street. In 1714 Luke Gardiner bought out some of Jervis and Drogheda's interests, positioning himself as the major property developer on the Northside. John Heagney provides examples of some of Gardiner's projects:

> *Thus began a series of acquisitions, which made his family the landowners on the Northside of the river Liffey. In 1730 he started the construction of Henrietta Street. This was residential terrace development on a grand scale and no.10 was the Family townhouse. By the time Luke I died in 1755 he had developed the North end of what is now O'Connell Street including its central mall, Dorset Street, Great Britain (now Parnell) Street and Cavendish Street, starting Rutland Square* (Heagney 2006:34).

[46] A term used interchangeably with classical, no doubt owing to the rediscovery of the classical past in the actual Renaissance.
[47] as a deer park for the Royal Residence.

A major element of Georgian Dublin are the Georgian Squares – four lines of houses enclosing a park at their centre. Dargan identifies the earliest of these as St Stephens Green which predates the Georgian period dating to 1654 (2008: 31). The park was seen as successful and this led to the development being imitated with Parnell Square, Mountjoy Square, Merrion Square, Fitzwilliam Square and Mountpleasant Square. In some regards the Georgian Squares were designed to correct a flaw in the design of St. Stephens Green. Aileen Douglas (Douglas 2008:138) points to a contemporary description in fiction which appreciated the beauty of the square but criticised the irregularity of the buildings. If we assume that the aesthetic principles of theming at the very least find a predecessor in Georgian Dublin then the lack of conformity and sameness broke the theme. This critique is echoed in real life by Richard Twiss who describes it as:

> *The square, called St. Stephen's Green, is probably the largest in Europe, each side being upwards of a thousand feet, or near a quarter of a mile in length: the outer walks are gravelled, and planted with trees on each side, and separated from the coach-road by a low wall; the inside is a lawn, in the midst of which is an equestrian statue of king George II. in brass, erected in 1758; a great number of snipes resort hither in winter, invited by the swampiness of the Green during that season, and to avoid their enemies the sportsmen.*
> *The houses in this square are so extremely irregular, that there are scarcely two of the same height, breadth, materials, or architecture* (1776:12).

Parnell Square, developed between 1753 and 1785, is the oldest of the Georgian Squares, if one is following a strictly "Georgian" interpretation of the architectural history, formerly being known as Rutland Square. John Rocque's map (Lennon and

Montague 2010) shows that the Square was initially only three sided. Anthony Duggan states that this is due to it's being built around and adjoining the Lying in Hospital itself founded by Dr Bartholomew Moss in 1751 (Duggan 2006:9). Luke Gardiner was the developer and Duggan suggests that the design provides an excellent example of the constraints of property ownership on the development. It (the square) was built to surround the pre-existing central garden. The garden was the hospital's property and its size reduced as the hospital required more space. The lack of right angles on the square was a result of it being built around existing property and lanes (Duggan 2006:9).

Again Twiss provides us with an excellent picture portrait of the gardens:

> *The lying-in-hospital was finished in 1757, though first founded in 1745, by a surgeon named Mosse: it is one of the handsomest buildings in Dublin, and is supported by grants from parliament, and by private benefactions and legacies. Behind the hospital are public gardens, with a rotunda built in imitation of that at Ranelagh, near London, but on a much smaller scale. Concerts of music are given here three times a week in the summer and the profits, which are about four hundred pounds per annum, are appropriated to the hospital* (17-18).

Unfortunately Twiss does not discuss the symbolic construction of the Rotunda and its Gardens[48], however he does comment in-depth into the functional aspects of their construction. The Gardens were used in order to host what today would be considered charity fundraisers for the hospital. As a Georgian Square it is highly likely that the visuality here was in that it was a place for the well heeled living in the surrounding buildings to be seen, this visuality will be dealt with in more depth below. Likewise

[48] These are no longer extant having been replaced by the Garden of Remembrance and the hospital itself has been added to significantly.

Mountjoy Square was initiated by the Gardiner estate and it was built between 1793 and 1818. Warburton, Whitelaw and Walsh claimed of it that:

> *This square, which is now completely finished, is neat, simple and elegant, its situation elevated and healthy ... the elevation of the houses, the breadth of the streets, so harmonize together, as to give pleasure to the eye of the spectator, and add to the neatness, simplicity, and regularity every where visible, entitling this square to rank high among the finest in Europe* (quoted (Duggan 2006:33)).

The land was bought by the first Luke Gardiner in 1714 as part of his buyout of the Moore estate, his grandson Luke; Viscount Mountjoy began the construction of Mountjoy Square though it was unfinished at the time of his death, while attempting to suppress the Rebellion in Wexford in 1798. When designing the streetscape it was intended that while each house would be distinct, with personalised metalwork and some of the first floors, it would appear to be regular through scale and looked at from one end of the street to another. Due to this, and the fact that for financial reasons the square had to be built in phases, Heagney argues that it is better to describe the square as ordered rather than planned (Heagney 2006:36) so that despite separate builders and phases involved the regularity is maintained. Of the two squares Mountjoy is the more typical Georgian Square with a once private garden at the centre rather than one that acts as a fundraiser for a hospital.

Moving to the south side the obvious place to start is Merrion Square famously the home of Oscar Wilde and his, at one time as famous, father William, who's varied CV is recorded on a plaque on the walls of number 1 Merrion Square. Nicola Matthews (2006) argues that while construction of the square is often dated to between 1762 and 1797 it

would be more accurate to place it in the period of 1750 and 1833 (Matthews 2006:57). Merrion Square was designed as a "*grand residential suburb in close proximity to the city, and not a formal urban space*" (Matthews 2006:58-9) as part of the Fitzwilliam estate begun by the 6th Viscount Fitzwilliam of Merrion and eventually would be taken up by the Earl of Pembroke who inherited the estate in 1816. Pembroke is only involved if one uses Matthews' dating under the much shorter alternative timeframe only the sixth and seventh viscounts would be involved. The development was tightly controlled by the developers themselves through leases to tenants which initially concentrated on the Northside of the square, though the West side is technically older due to it originally being part of Merrion Street, much of it appearing in Roque's map (Lennon and Montague 2010). This was administered through agents especially after 1798 when Viscount Fitzwilliam became an absentee landlord. The first agent was Bryan Fagan, first employed in 1751 and succeeded by his daughter Elizabeth on his death in 1761. In 1776 the position was passed on to Barbara Verschoyle, her daughter, and her husband Richard became involved when he married her fourteen years later. Matthews suggests that there has been a theory that Barbara was the illegitimate daughter of Viscount Fitzwilliam (Matthews 2006:60). Her husband is credited with developing an unleased plot completing the square. Among the ways in which this controlled the development of the street was through stipulations on what materials could and could not be used included in the leases (Matthews 2006:77). Development was not only regulated by the developers, Matthews uses Merrion Square as an example of how building practices where shaped by regulations which developed in the wake of the great fire of London in 1666. For example, the restrictions in the amount of wood used on the exterior of houses and from 1729 brick dimensions, this did not prevent casualties as there were a number of fatal accidents during the squares construction (Matthews 2006:61). Regulation also entered into its design through the Wide Street Commission more on

which below in the economics and development of Georgian Dublin.

Another of the Georgian Squares developed by Fitzwilliam is the one named after the family, Mary Bryan (Bryan 2006) dates its construction back to the late 1790s though it was planned in 1789 and leases where available from 1791. The building boom was coming to an end by 1797, by which stage four houses had been erected on the Square. This was due in part to the unrest in the lead up to and wake of the Defenders and United Irishmen's Rebellion in 1798 as well as the departure of the Parliament as a result of the Act of Union, the result of which was that construction was slowed down significantly. To demonstrate this point Bryan uses the example of Miss C. Burgh who leased a house in 1791 which was not built until 1814 (Bryan 2006:91). The political turmoil of the country led to Fitzwilliam being lenient towards his leases, so that if they failed to honour their contractual obligations he was willing to give them more time. In the case of Miss Burgh, her plot was leased by James Doyle a builder who completed one house in 1797 and retained four other plots without building for twenty years by which time the capitalist market had recovered (Bryan 2006:92). In contrast to the previous squares, leases for 150 years were leased to speculators which lead to a lack of uniformity in the squares design and uneven development with speculators leasing a handful of plots.

The Economics of the development and aesthetics of Georgian Dublin

At this phase these buildings were an investment. We can see how the capitalist market influenced the development of the streetscape. One writer, whose work has been ascribed to James Malton, attracted critics who favoured the practicalities of the city over its aesthetics, which leads us to the nature of speculative building and associated

economics. Christine Casey has emphasised the relative plainness and Spartan appearance of townhouse exteriors in the Dublin houses, excluding the fenestration and parapet levels which she concedes have great variability (2010:46–47). This is probably linked to the speculative building model, which was originally set out by John Summerson[49] , a landlord would lease plots out to middlemen who in turn would build houses and then lease these to the final occupier. Brendan Twomey has developed this model for a Dublin context there was a two tier landlord system with major estates[50] and smaller ones[51], in addition there were smaller developers and builders. These were joined by public developers in the form of Dublin Corporation, who owned tracts of land notably around St Stephen's Green, and the Wide Streets Commission (2010:30-1). This lead to "*a fragmented city with no overall unifying plan*" but with "*efforts made by individual speculative property developers to impose regular street patterns and standards of uniform appearance in the individual plots and sites under their control*" (2010:31). Within this system of development there were exceptions, according to James Kelly only Henrietta Street, Palace Row[52] and Harcourt Terrace were built as one unit all other streets complied with the model outlined above and where built as separate units (Kelly 2011). This suggests that what we see here is a transition between a pre-capitalist form of house-building and the capitalist form as identified by Marx in Capital where "*a capitalist building contractor builds only in exceptional cases on the order of private individuals. His business nowadays is to build whole rows of houses and entire sections of cities for the market, just as it is the business of individual capitalists to build railways as contractors*" (Marx 1933:266). In Georgian Dublin the contractor has not yet become the capitalist, with the landlord occupying the space of the developer instead so that they were built to order for him or his agent, and houses were built in

[49] Whose views on Georgian Dublin will be returned to later.
[50] Gardiner, Jervis, Meath and Fitzwilliam.
[51] Dawson, Dominick and Molesworth.
[52] The northern street of Parnell Square.

general in smaller amounts than what has been described by Marx. However, they are still being built for a capitalist market, rather than at the request of the private dweller so that they were speculative[53].

Casey cites Marx to argue that while for developers these houses were investments, for the buyers they were commodities, bought "*off-the-peg*" to allow them to conduct their business, house their household, and entertain (2010:50). The latter reflecting quite an obvious set of use values. Casey dismisses aesthetic and security motives for the minimalism in the house exterior favouring instead economic considerations though noting "*scant evidence*"[54]. This was connected to the "*small number of related families*" who controlled the supply of materials and workmen leading to "*conservativism and adherence to precedent*" (2010:58). Economic rationalism may also have played a role here with the Spartan form resulting from cost-

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[53] Marx describes *"(h)ow capitalist production has revolutionized house building in London*", in his chapter in *Capital* on the working day it "*can be seen from the evidence given by a builder to the Bank Acts Committee of 1857. In his youth, he said, houses were generally built to order, and the price was paid to the contractor in instalments as stages of the construction were completed. There was little speculative building; contractors would resort to this principally just to keep their workers regularly occupied and hold their labour force together. In the last forty years all that has changed. There is now little building to order. If someone wants a new house, he looks for one that has already been built on speculation, or is already in the process of being built. Today the contractor no longer works directly for a client, but rather for the market; just like any other industrialist, he has to have finished goods for sale. Whereas previously a contractor might have built three or four houses at a time on speculation, he now has to buy an extensive piece of land (in the Continental sense, he leases it, usually for ninety-nine years), erect on it up to 100 or 200 houses, and thus involve himself in an undertaking that exceeds his own means some twenty to fifty times over. Funds are procured by taking out a mortgage, and this money is put at the contractor's disposal bit by bit as the building of the houses progresses. If a crisis breaks out, bringing the payment of these instalments to a halt, then the whole undertaking generally collapses; in the best case, the houses remain uncompleted until better times, while in the worst they are auctioned off at half price. It is impossible nowadays for any contractor to get along without speculative building, and on a large scale at that. The profit on the actual construction is extremely slight; the main source of profit comes from raising the ground rent, and from the clever selection and exploitation of the building land. Almost the whole of Belgravia, Tyburnia and the countless thousands of villas around London have been built in this way, by speculative anticipation of the demand for houses*. " (Marx 1992:311–2).

[54] It is worth noting that Marx sees houses as fixed capital (Marx 1992:454), He describes this in-depth as "*Firstly, certain properties that characterize the means of labour materially are made into direct properties of fixed capital, e.g. physical immobility, such as that of a house. But it is always easy to show that other means of labour, which are also as such fixed capital, ships for example, have the opposite property, i.e. physical mobility*" (Marx 1992:241). He also suggests that "*(a)s fixed capital a house etc retains keep same repeated production process, fluid capital on the other hand turns over repeatedly*" (Marx 1992:248).

cutting, though Casey argues that the elaborate decoration of the interiors suggests otherwise (2010:55).

As important as the private entrepreneurs are in understanding the development of Georgian Dublin their investments have to be viewed in the context of the overall Georgian streetscape. By the mid eighteenth century it became necessary to set up a new body to regulate the planning and development of the city. This led to the setting up of the Commissioners for making Wide and Convenient Ways, Streets and Passages in 1757. Colloquially known as the Wide Streets Commission (WSC), it was described by Harold Clarke as "*Europe's first official town planning authority*" (Clarke 1976:3). The system of leases and the WSC's controls meant that in Georgian Dublin there was a basic level of conformity, which inevitably led to Summerson's comments on the homogeneity of the buildings (McDonald 1985:20). The first project completed was the building of Parliament Street which stretched from Dublin Castle to College Green. Other projects included "*Abbey Street, Baggot Street, D'Olier Street, Gardiner Street, Kevin Street and Mount Street*" (Dargan 2008:24). The Commission also had a relationship with the Squares detailed above as the private developers needed its approval. The extent of the Commission's influence on the area which is now themed as Georgian Dublin as described by the UNESCO application as being "*within the area bounded to the north and south by the canals*" (Lucas 2010:3) is the product of the Commission themselves. Dargan claims that the South and North Circular Roads provide the planned boundaries of the city around which the Royal[55] and Grand Canals[56] were constructed (Dargan 2008:25).

The powers that the Commission was endowed with included decisions

[55] Which was begun in 1790.
[56] Which was extended to Dublin in 1790.

regarding the width of streets in order to allow pedestrian and coaches easy passage. This lead to O'Connell Street being 154 feet in width, Merrion Street upper being 102 feet, Baggot Street 100 feet wide and Gardiner Street 85 feet wide (Clarke 1976:3). They could also impose height restrictions and had powers of compulsory purchase. This latter point is extremely important, archaeologist Linzi Simpson has demonstrated that up until the production of Rocque's map the development of the inner city corresponded with medieval plots most likely due to land ownership (2006). The commission provided an instrument by which these were no longer set in stone, freeing development from previous constraints by being empowered in the purchasing of privately held land. This meant that the prior ownership of the land would no longer inhibit development of Dublin's streetscape. As we have seen without the Wide Streets Commission, as Anthony Duggan has pointed out, existing property had to be built around (2006:9). An example of how Georgian Dublin was handled prior to the foundation of the Wide Streets Commission can be found in E Mac Dowel Cosgrave's 1917[57] *On Two Maps, Dated 1751 and 1753, of the Essex Bridge District, Dublin* (Cosgrave 1918).

Even before the Commission was set up, Luke Gardiner's streets followed the same uniform pattern. Gardiner and the members of the Committee were followers of the same architectural schools, the Renaissance or Classical one, which stressed uniform streets and squares (Dargan 2008:29). In addition to the Squares a major innovation was the fashion of closing vistas, a particularly impressive building being located at the end of the street, essentially being a picturesque building framed on either side by the streets. The best way to explain this is to describe the street as essentially being a canvass, the layout of which is bordered on either side by a row of buildings which in

[57] Albeit published in 1918.

terms of scale are broadly similar. The buildings on either side draw the eye towards the end of the street, and here we find the closing vista usually an impressive building. This pattern occurs throughout Georgian Dublin with Leinster House closing Molesworth Street, the Pepper Canister Church on one end of the Merrion Square Fitzwilliam St. axis, and this can also be seen on Moleworth Street. Interestingly Henrietta Street despite being held up as the quintessential Georgian Street does not provide us with a good example of this as the King's Inns are off centre. This is explicable when one takes into account that the King's Inns are roughly half a century younger than the rest of the street. To return to the general idea of the closing vistas, the assumption behind these is that they frame what the eye could see on the street itself, the inhabitants on promenade similar to Squares such as Parnell Square. The fact that the Commission, the Gardiner estate and the Fitzwilliam estate were using similar ideas suggests that as a regulatory body the Wide Streets Commission, far from being toothless, was actively in agreement with at least some of the developers to the extent of collusion.

Colonial Capital?

If we accept the contention that I have made that Georgian Dublin reflects the ideology of those in power the next step is to identify the ideas reflected in the architecture, drawing of course from the classic Marxist analysis that the ideas of the ruling classes are always the dominant ones. It must be remembered that Dublin's Georgian streetscape has been interpellated as a British colonial one, as such aspects of British design should be considered, Peter Guillery (2010) points to a text which predates the Georgian era as holding clues to the streetscape of Georgian London. The text *A character of France. To which is added, Gallus castratus. Or, An answer to a late slanderous pamphlet, called The character of England* (Anon 1659) contain two

comments on the buildings of London which may be relevant to Georgian Dublin. Firstly the streetscape is considered to be a unified whole "*every part ingaged one with another*" (1769:12) and secondly:

> *by their diversity of frontings do declare a freedome of our Subjects, that what they acquire by industry, may be bestowed at pleasure, not obliged to build so for the will of the princes: Whereas the citizens of Paris are so forced to uniformity, that there structures seem to be only one continued magnificent wall loop hol'd, whereas variety is more pleasant , if it be not so fantastic as to incommodate passage, height, or sight, as it is an undoubted Maxim in the Opticks, that it lengthens your entertainment to a rapture: whereas in the French walk the eye in an istant is glutted with an identity, so that having seen one City or street, the eye is not urged to take her revels in another, all being so like to a primitive pattern of one livery, it choaks delight* (1769:12-13).

Guillery suggests that these principles can be applied to other Georgian cityscapes, but two caveats should be applied before doing so with Dublin. The text is describing wooden buildings from a century previous to Dublin's Georgian heyday, and London was an imperial capital as opposed to the capital of what has been defined by later generations as a colony[58].

However accepting the explanation provided, what might this libertarian[59] attitude towards building actually mean for Georgian Dublin? According to Gottdiener

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[58] The question on whether or not Ireland was a colony becomes less significant if it is assumed that the ruling class did not perceive themselves as being under a colonial relationship which is the argument that will be pursued in this thesis. However this does not mean that it was not a colony as the subjective perception of the ruling class appears to contradict the objective evidence of the time.

[59] In the sense that libertarian is used as classical liberal rather than anarchist and other left beliefs despite the latter being a more historically and ideologically correct usage of the term.

"*With the coming of capitalism at the end of the European Middle Ages (there is no definitive date), religion and local signifying practices were pushed aside in favor of the functional need of accumulating wealth*" (2001:23). As we have seen at about this time contemporaries claimed these buildings represented freedom and liberty, not that these are separate from the accumulation of wealth. Drawing on Joep Leerson's discussion of the eighteenth century ideology of the Anglo-Irish[60] (1996:12–20), I would suggest that if these attitudes can be applied to Ireland then it may be linked to the idea of Patriotism. Leerson defines this eighteenth century Patriotism not as a prototypical form of nationalism, but instead as "*a political stance on constitutional and societal issues, on economic improvement, and the relations between public and authority. In such matters, Patriotism referred to an essentially liberal position which later spawned a more radical democratic movement to its left*" (1996:17). This definition allows the term to encapsulate Whig opposition to the crown encroaching on parliamentary rights, the Wide Streets-Commission and Molesworth's commitment to improvements, philanthropic actions such as the founding of hospitals including the Rotunda, the Irish Volunteers who sought to protect Ireland's economic and political heteronomy from Westminster and finally, at its most radical, the United Irishmen. These disparate groups are linked through the idea that Patriotism favoured that political power would devolve to a local level[61] increasing the powers of the Irish parliament while remaining under the Crown (1996:19-20). The fact that patriotism was the mainstream opposition movement strongly associated with those building the city, and it must be noted that despite his death on the side of the crown forces Luke Gardiner was also a member of this wing, provides us with a difficulty, if not an outright contradiction, in seeing the Georgian Streetscape as an expression of colonialism. It also

[60] Jane Ohlmeyer's book *Making Ireland English* (2012) provides an account of how in the previous century the Irish aristocracy was replaced by an Anglo-Irish one..
[61] By which they meant Ireland.

has clear parallels with the ideas that Guillery as mentioned above suggests can be applied to Georgian cities.

Karl Marx's summary of this movement in his *Ireland from the American Revolution to the Union of 1801*[62] (Marx 1986) suggests that these patriots[63] far from being colonialists sought to prevent a colonial relationship from being established[64]. He split them into four periods in which they firstly sought to gain or retain economic and later national independence[65] as part of which they sought parliamentary reform and Catholic emancipation. This was followed by them becoming a pressure group and the loss of the aristocracy and the reactionary elements of the middle classes, at this point the French revolution began to influence their thinking. In the third and fourth periods the volunteers merge with the united Irishmen and radicalise and go underground with them. Marx saw them as being marked by initial success but gradually between

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[62] While I am here using the version of *Ireland from the American Revolution to the Union of 1801* contained in the collected works it is also available in *Ireland and the Irish Question* (1978:169–250). Kevin B. Anderson argues Marx saw this essay as "placing Ireland at the center of British revolutionary and labor politics" (2010:144). My own assessment differs slightly from Anderson's based on the letter which he cites to support this conclusion as he omits this important post script: "*As for the current* Irish movement*, 3 important factors: 1. opposition to lawyers and trading politicians and Blarney; 2. opposition to the dictates of the priests who (*the higher ones*) are traitors, as in O'Connell's time, just as in 1798-1800; 3. the emergence of the agricultural labouring class against the farming class on the last meetings. (Similar phenomenon from 1795 to 1800.)*" (Marx and Engels 1988:399). This suggests not only did he see a cause for solidarity between the English and Irish working classes but similarities in the material conditions in which struggle was taking place in his own time and those of Ireland of the 1790s. This letter dated December 10 1869 is also available in *Ireland and the Irish Question*.

[63] Although he differs from Leerson in terms of both the membership and the interconnectivity of the movement.

[64] It might be useful to look at Marx's definition of a colony - "*We are dealing here with true colonies, i.e. virgin soil colonized by free immigrants. The United States is, economically speaking, still a colony of Europe*". By economically speaking Marx describes it as *"There the capitalist regime constantly comes up against the obstacle presented by the producer, who, as owner of his own conditions of labour, employs that labour to enrich himself instead of the capitalist. The contradiction between these two diametrically opposed economic systems has its practical manifestation here in the struggle between them. Where the capitalist has behind him the power of the mother country, he tries to use force .to clear out of the way, the modes of production and appropriation which rest on the personal labour of the independent producer.*" (Marx 1990:931). While Marx did not believe Ireland was a colony it is striking Engels disagreed stating of the situation contemporary with them "*Ireland can be regarded as the first English colony, and as one which because of its proximity is still ruled directly in the old way. Here it can be clearly seen that the so-called liberty of the English citizens is based on the oppression of the colonies*" (Marx and Engels 1983:49).

[65] At which time they had a membership that drew from all classes.

parliamentary pressures, unreliable allies among various groupings[66], and military suppression and central government's machinations end in failure with the 1801 Act of Union. Marx's analysis, which he suggests is one of "*(t)he usurpations in regard to the Parliament at Dublin principally calculated with a view to the mercantile monopoly, on the one hand, and, on the other to have the appellate jurisdiction in regard to the titles of landed estates in the last instance to be decided at London, only in English courts*" (Marx 1986:269) reflects the encroachment of a creeping colonial character being resisted by a significant proportion of the Irish nobility and emergent middle-class[67]. It was only with defeats and an increased radicalisation that moderate elements within the movement drifted away, and the demand became republicanism[68]. If they were opposed at least initially to colonialism what system did they represent? Marx's essay suggests that what we found in Georgian Ireland[69] was a form of federalism, not dissimilar from some of the suggestions for home rule a century later and a good twenty to thirty years after Marx was writing. While this is not to say that groups were not excluded from society or that we should see Georgian Dublin as some long lost Utopia, it does serve to show that the later representation of Georgian Dublin as a colonial edifice is one that can be contested.

As we have seen Marx in his *Ireland from the American Revolution to the Union of 1801* (1986) makes a claim that the relationship between Ireland and the rest of the British Empire was federal rather than colonial[70]. While this may be true if we accept a

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[66] By whom he was referring to Liberals and other moderate reformists, as well as politicians in the pocket of other interests.

[67] Nancy Curtin's history of the United Irishmen in which she charts the radicalisation of that group also contains a quasi neo-Weberian division of the classes involved in membership of the group emphasising what Marxists would see as the Bourgeoisie and Petit Bourgeoisie (1998) (itself a question for socialists), Jim Smyth sees the radical politics as emerging from the rural peasant secret societies (1992).

[68] Marx's description of the process towards rebellion holds up well to modern historiography, there are a number of gaps in his interpretation, he does not for example discuss the internationalism of the United Irishmen themselves. In many regards the interpretations of Jim Smyth (Smythe 1992) and Nancy Curtin (1998) provide useful updates for the United Irishmen themselves and the defenders, although the authors reflect differing class politics.

[69] This can be reduced to Georgian Dublin by implication.

[70] The process identified by Marx suggests an ongoing colonial project, with the Act of Union its

strict definition of colonialism, on cultural lines and if we look at those in power being the Anglo-Irish who were there to explain Ireland to the English there is clear colonialism involved[71]. A critique of the claim for a federalist relationship between Britain and Ireland then is one that while it was federal, Ireland as a part of this federation was the junior partner. What Marx interpreted as the encroachment of British legislature on Ireland was the process of absorption which ended with the attempted revolt of the Irish and refusal of secession by the British. This completely integrated Ireland into the Union; we can see that it was an entire process by which the powerful took over the weaker with 1798 rather than being a set up as Marx seems to suggest being a logical outgrowth of this. Throughout this time there would have been cooperation by those in Ireland with the British project.

This being said there is evidence that Patriotism was not the only ideology shaping the cityscape. Pool and Cash in their *Views Of The Most Remarkable Public Buildings*, *Monuments And Other Edifices In The City Of Dublin: Delineated By Robert Pool And John Cash* (1780) almost uniquely acknowledge the possible colonial nature of the streetscape claiming that "*(p)ublic edifices mark the different eras of grandeur … proofs of maturity of the arts at the time of their erection*" (1780:ix). This however is not a clear cut reference to colonialism as the idea of grandeur may not refer to an English versus Irish colonialism but perhaps instead to economic success. James Whitelaw's *An essay on the population of Dublin* (1805) also provides a possible acknowledgement of a colonial character to the cities' streets Whitelaw claims "*As domestic tranquillity became better secured … persons of wealth and condition … built more airy houses in more spacious streets, and gradually refined into that stile of elegance that now*

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culmination and only temporarily federal.

[71] This paragraph is based on considerations emerging after a conversation with Katherine O'Donnell, who convincingly argued Ireland was in fact a colony, at a Trade Union organised event during the Summer of 2014.

prevails" (1805:29). This is far more difficult to dismiss as he outright states that the building is related to the period of peace, however this does require some unpacking, his use of the term domestic hardly suggests the viewpoint of someone who considers themselves an outsider. We should perhaps instead ask who was this peace between was it between the native and coloniser or perhaps between the Protestant and Catholic. Taking account of the timing Ireland as a whole had seen a century of relative peace between the Battle of the Boyne and 1798[72]. This is as compared to the century before hand, and that the architectural changes happened within that timeframe, developing roughly in the middle of it. Taking this alongside the fact that both those conflicts were framed as Catholic rather than Irish[73] it may in fact be more correct to see the "*domestic tranquillity*" as that of religion rather than between coloniser and colonised. Even within this quote which provides perhaps the best evidence for a colonial character for Georgian Dublin it is notable that it is "*persons of wealth and condition*" again suggesting an emphasis on economic rather than colonial success[74]. From a Durkheimian perspective this would make Georgian Dublin a sacred space, symbolic of success and progress. According to Philip Smith (Smith 1999) a Durkheimian perspective on space would have four types of spaces: sacred[75], profane[76], liminal[77] and mundane[78]. These classifications derive, according to Smith, from narrative frames that are applied on them often based on place specific human actions maintained by rituals and institutionalised through monuments. Considered under the concept of a sacred

[72] Given the focus on theming, and whether it represents or misrepresents history within this thesis it is useful to point out 1798 was one of those events that in its bicentennial commemoration became subject to it, with the Rebellion being treated officially as an act of modern Republicanism based on Catholic and Protestant cooperation and not at all sectarian despite the folk memory and sectarian massacres on both sides.
[73] As had Cromwell's 1640s campaign.
[74] On Ireland's colonialism the best way to reconcile the question of was Ireland a colony in 1700s is based on class, to the aristocracy and emerging bourgeois it was not, to everyone else it was.
[75] These locations are special and linked to purity.
[76] Locations which are dirty, evil or polluted.
[77] A luminal place is a non-everyday place which mediates the sacred and profane, so that normal rules do not apply here.
[78] These also mediate the sacred and profane but are everyday places.

space, Georgian Dublin's narrative reflected a forward moving progress and the triumph of capital.

The contradiction of Dublin being both colonial and federal can be resolved if we consider it as being an early example of imperialism in the Marxist Leninist sense. It is the spread of monopoly capitalism as it searches for new markets. The reason for the apparent contradiction is that Ireland had an earlier pre-imperialist colonial relationship that was being incorporated into a new form of colonialism, that of imperialism. This relationship is expressed visually through the use of British aesthetics and imagery based on trade and colonial rule. This issue will be returned to later.

Jarlath Killeen's analysis of Edmund Burke's *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (Burke 2001) suggests that the adaptation of neo-classical architecture was an attempt to create a sense of "*order and rationality to a narrative of identity which had been absent*" (Killeen 2005:138–9). This absence had been exacerbated during the fracturing of the Anglo-Irish during the dispute over the Money Bill in the 1750s (2005:139). The order and rationality was assumed to compare favourably to the mud huts that the majority of the Irish population lived in, over whose claims they had claimed legitimate ownership of the land (2005:139). He suggests that, from Burke's perspective, the Anglo Irish had embarked on a project akin to the Tower of Babel, to "*defy God and elevate man*" which the sublime doomed to failure (2005:145). Killeen cites a passage from Burke[79] rejecting notions of order that

[79] Burke recurs a few times in this thesis, Marx described him as "*After this, one can estimate the good faith of the 'execrable political cantmonger' Edmund Burke, when he called the expression 'labouring poor'- 'execrable political cant'. This sycophant, who, in the pay of the English oligarchy, played the part of romantic opponent of the French Revolution, just as, in the pay of the North American colonies at the beginning of the "troubles in America, he had played the liberal against the English oligarchy, was a vulgar bourgeois through and through. 'The laws of commerce are the laws of Nature, and therefore the laws of God' (E. Burke, op. cit., pp. 31-2). No wonder then that, true to the laws of God and Nature, he always sold himself in the best market! A very good portrait of this Edmund Burke, during his liberal time, is to be found in the writings of the Rev. MrTucker, who, though a parson and a Tory, was, apart from that, an honourable man and a competent political economist. In face of the infamous moral cowardice that prevails today, and believes so devoutly in 'the laws of commerce', it is our duty to brand*

came with Palladianism:

> *And I am the more fully convinced, that the patrons of proportion have transferred their artificial ideas to nature, and not borrowed from thence the proportions they use in works of art; because in any discussion of this subject they always quit as soon as possible the open field of natural beauties, the animal and vegetable kingdoms, and fortify themselves within the artificial lines and angles of architecture... For there is in mankind an unfortunate propensity to make themselves, their views, and their works, the measure of excellence in everything whatsoever. Therefore, having observed that their dwellings were most commodious and firm when they were thrown into regular figures, with parts answerable to each other; they transferred these ideas to their gardens; they turned their trees into pillars, pyramids, and obelisks; they formed their hedges into so many green walls, and fashioned their walks into squares, triangles, and other mathematical figures, with exactness and symmetry; and they thought, if they were not imitating, they were at least improving nature, and teaching her to know her business. But nature has at last escaped from their discipline and their fetters; and our gardens, if nothing else, declare we begin to feel that mathematical ideas are not the true measures of beauty* (Killeen 2005:149).

Killeen turns this into an allegory for the penal laws which attempted to instil rational order on the Catholic population (2005:150). For the most part his arguments support, and are supported by, the contentions outlined above, appearing particularly relevant to Whitelaw's claims, as well as Pool and Cash's. If this is true then an

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again and again the Burkes of this world, who only differ from their successors in one thing- talent!" (1990:925–6).

argument could be made that from its inception Georgian Dublin was subject to the process of theming, which Gottdiener describes as where themes and symbols are being used to sell consumer goods in this case townhouses. Or is it? What we have seen is an obsession with order which Burke attributes to Palladianism. The built environment is regular and exact built to last. Nature on the other hand is wild dangerous and changeable. There is as of yet no mention of selling of townhouses. Perhaps what we are seeing here is a process which shares characteristics with theming. The important element here is that Georgian Dublin is a heavily symbolic landscape. Gottdiener sees such landscapes as important in the formation of themed spaces and their predecessors in the ancient world. This is as opposed to modernity in which the emphasis on the function and buildings is no longer symbolic. Interestingly, at this point in time according to Gottdiener we should not expect to find this symbolism in a city. By placing Gottdiener alongside Killeen we can argue that Georgian Dublin reflects a myth of a cohesive social identity and control so that it becomes a signifying place or themed environment. In doing so it becomes what Sharon Zukin (1993) describes as a landscape of power, in which the landscape and built environment are designed to reflect the ideas and interests of those in control. This creates a streetscape of power. According to Gottdiener the only organised symbolism we should find at this period of time is power expressed through colonialism, and capital under the process of hyposignification:

> *Thus, although most societies retained richly structured symbolic systems of religion and historical tradition, they were no longer organized by some overarching total symbolic canopy... The facades of most buildings in the capitalist downtowns were relatively devoid of obvious thematic connotations, being known instead for their functions. Of course, the city... did and still does symbolize domination by capital and private wealth* (2001:23).

This is in contrast to claims of contemporary architectural theorists, who as we have seen seem to recognise overarching themes in the architecture employed. We also have to see that even if we accept that these buildings were unthemed has what was once a non-themed environment become a theme itself? This is clear with the monotonous rows of Georgian buildings which have become a central aspect to the coherency of the theme of Georgian Dublin.

Chapter 6 Theming, class antagonism and the Preservation of Georgian Dublin

Summary

This chapter provides a context for the continued survival of Georgian Dublin. It describes in detail the destruction Georgian Dublin and the rise of a conservationist movement. In doing so it sets the argument for both the geographical location of Georgian Dublin and the aura attached to Georgian buildings. At the same time it discusses the antagonism showing that the spaces history is not uncontested and at the same time as these buildings were seen as investments and architectural masterpieces for many working Dubliners they were homes. In doing so this connects with working class narratives of Georgian Dublin and their spatial and ideological exclusion from the theme of Georgian Dublin.

The Postcolonial Destruction of Dublin or perhaps Capitalist Destruction of Dublin?

> *I can understand that the consortium of belted earls and their ladies and left-wing intellectuals who can afford the time to stand and contemplate in ecstasy the unparalleled man-made beauty of the two corners of Hume Street and St. Stephen's Green may well feel that the amateurish efforts of Mother Nature in the Wicklow Mountains are unworthy of their attention.* (Boland 1970).

The above quote in which the conservative philosopher Edmund Burke's (2001) beautiful and the sublime[80] are inverted. The countryside is associated with the beautiful and the city with the sublime, reflecting the twentieth century post-colonial mindset. This is the often quoted response of the then Minister for Local Government, Kevin

[80] The beautiful for Burke was the aesthetically pleasing and benign while the sublime was its opposite with its own aesthetics.

Boland, which neatly summarises some of the most visible antagonisms concerning Georgian Dublin in the mid twentieth century. The context for this begins on the 31st of December 1959 when the Irish Times pronounced the end of Georgian Dublin:

> *It is well known that as far as the central city is concerned, the days of Dublin's Georgian heritage are numbered and that when these decayed and obsolete monuments of a past age come to be demolished many of their sites will be redeveloped with buildings much larger in bulk and greater in height than the present ones. This change of character must be faced; it is not, of itself, a good or bad thing* (O'Byrne 2008:46).

The argument at this time was one of modernisation, which focused on building taller buildings. As we know the result was sprawl and suburbs, though other more overtly political viewpoints were expressed. In the 1960s Dublin's Georgian Streetscape was under threat from both redevelopment and decay. Both the journalist Frank McDonald (1985) and the Irish Georgian Society (IGS) cite two tragedies which were used as justifications for redevelopment. These being the collapse of no. 20 Bolton Street which killed two occupants and the collapse of two Georgian Houses on Fenian Street (O'Byrne 2008:47). This led to public protests and the subsequent evacuation of houses suspected of being unsafe. The local government's Dangerous Building inspectorate found up to 2000 buildings were unsafe of which 1200 would be demolished. Both the IGS (O'Byrne 2008) and McDonald (1985) argue that the issue of public safety provided a convenient excuse for Dublin Corporation to proceed with redevelopment plans as answers to calls for action. These developments cannot be seen in isolation from overall contemporary Government policy, as has been charted by Conor McCabe (2013). At about this time the State had begun a process of urban

renewal with slum clearances, public housing programs, other non residential uses and what Blaney termed a "*home for every family*". This policy resulted in the "*de facto privatisation of Irish housing*" (2011:31-2), and anticipated Margaret Thatcher's later housing policies which adopted a similar ethos towards council tenants (Jones 2011). These can be seen as a continuation of policy from pre-independence Ireland[81] in which the clearing of the slums was seen as a priority (Prunty 1998:176–183), although there was debate on what was "*acceptable minimum standards*" (1999:182). McCabe and others have addressed the consequences for the former dwellers of these policies and the legacy of this continues to this day as McCabe puts it "*In the end it was privatisation of urban public housing in the 1960s and '70s which led to the rise in home-ownership levels... public housing had become a byword for poverty and violence. The middle-classes had won... Ireland had become respectable*" (2011:54-55). The ideological basis for this would have been seen as redeveloping and modernising and by implication revitalising a decaying city. As a form of social engineering it was seen as a way to prevent social problems, including dissent against policies that led to unemployment (McCabe 2013:30-31), (McManus 2003).

These developments occurred at a time when Ireland was seen as modernising intellectually as well entering into a period when revisionism was the mainstream approach to history. In a nutshell revisionism is the re-examination of the evidence in order to challenge accepted historical narratives. Bradshaw, Boyce and O'Day (1996) give a broad overview of this period and its relationship with Irish revisionism. They argue that it is based on the desire to be value free in their research, a practice that began in the late thirties in the U.K. where the academics who would become revisionists were students at the time. Revisionism is a deliberate break with the

[81] That is before the 1920s.

iconoclasm of the 1960s and seventies. In the context of the Republic's stagnation after independence, students and academics looked to the US and London as social cultural and political centres, their own British education, both the Republic and the North joining the EEC, in the latter case as a member of the United Kingdom and the 'Troubles'. In this context we should look at nationalist approaches to the Georgian Streetscape as a fight back against intellectual modernisation, while at the same time committing to the physical modernisation of the streetscape.

In addition to the modernisation of the physical and architectural space, hints of this nationalist agenda were perceived in a similar speech (made in the Dáil on the 28th of February 1968), which is worth quoting at length, to the one in which Boland made his belted earls comment:

> *The question is: who is going to live in them if they are provided or repaired? I appreciate there are a number of people in this city and in this country who see these Georgian buildings as reminders of the days of gracious living—gracious living that was made possible by the fact that there were available to them as slaves the mere Irish who were living in insanitary and overcrowded hovels in the back-lanes or in the damp, concealed basements of these gracious houses. It was possible to live graciously in them. I can appreciate that these people have their nostalgic memories and would like to see these things retained. But apparently they are only prepared to dream their nostalgic dreams from outside these buildings, not from inside. If the only people available to inhabit these buildings now are people who are not able to provide themselves with more suitable accommodation at the rate generally of one family per room, I have not any great hopes of retaining them... As far as I can understand from newspaper*

reports, these houses are available at cost price. If Deputy L'Estrange wants them, I think he can dispose of a certain amount of capital. I believe he had a fairly successful financial transaction in regard to some land he possessed, land no longer in the possession of an Irish national... I would like to facilitate these people who want to retain our glorious national Georgian heritage but I have no money at my disposal to assist them. I cannot see that it would be just to compel other people to do this unless it can be economically justified... The Viceregal Lodge has not existed as such since you were first put out of office. This campaign for the preservation of our national Georgian heritage would be much more impressive as far as I am concerned, if in many cases the people who are conducting it were not also activists in the campaign to destroy what the majority of the Irish people look upon as our real national heritage. I have no doubt it would be very pleasant if they could contemplate from outside the pleasant facades of these Georgian buildings and dream of the days when the lower orders knew their place and when it was possible to live graciously in these houses as a result of the financial resources supplied by the serfs on the land (Boland 1968).

Boland was not arguing in isolation, McDonald claims that for many nationalists Georgian Dublin was a symbol of "*800 years of oppression*", he quoted one unnamed TD as saying of the destruction of two Georgian buildings in Kildare Place, in 1957: "*I was glad to see them go. They stood for everything I hate*" (McDonald 1985:12). A third political figure is identified with this attitude by Hanna, James Gibbons, who "*sardonically described the Georgian Society's efforts as 'saving Ireland from the natives*" (Hanna 2010:1023). Hanna suggests perhaps rightly that these opinions would have been in keeping with many people's views of Georgian Dublin at that time, and

run counter to what the historiography of modernisation presents, of Ireland intellectually becoming modern during this period (2010:1016-1018) as we have examined above. This is perhaps to be interpreted as Georgian Dublin becoming a battleground between those who wished to accept Dublin's, and by extension Ireland's, British heritage and those who rejected it.

The IGS, for their part, in their historiography of the campaigns to save Georgian Dublin attempted to link the IRA's demolition of Nelson's Pillar to attitudes towards Georgian Dublin. Commenting on *The Observer's* claim that the IRA "*Couldn't have done better in their wildest days*" the IGS responded "*In fact the IRA made its own contribution to the destruction of Georgian Dublin on the morning of 8 March 1966 by trying to blow up the 134 foot high Doric column commemorating Admiral Nelson that had stood midway along O'Connell Street since 1808*" (2008:85).

It would be simplistic to argue that it was only the nationalists reconstructing Georgian Dublin as being symbolic of colonialism. We can clearly see that this interpretation was also held by those who saw themselves as defending it from nationalists. So how do we account for this? I have suggested above that Georgian Dublin became something of a battleground for those who would find themselves threatened by the intellectual modernisation of Ireland, where the old nationalist myths- and I use the term here to refer to narratives around which action can be organised- were having their legitimacy questioned. It was less than a generation since the Irish War of Independence and Civil War and while the participants of that were retiring from public life, or dying, their children were now occupying positions within both the main political parties. By framing Georgian Dublin as British, it provided an area where these antagonisms could be confronted on a level playing field. One side could frame it as

patriotic and the other would react on the same terms.

This "patriotism" seems to have been adapted by some developers. McDonald cites one particular group of developers, Setanta (McDonald 1985:64), of whom Uinseoinn MacEoin wrote "*if ever a development group hiding under the patriotic name of the young Cuchulain, represented a powerful phalanx of wrap the-green-flag-round-me boys Irish nationalism*" (quoted Hanna 2010:1029). Hanna explains this statement as *"'national' images were turned on their head as patriotic rhetoric was used for the profit of the political elite and the construction industry, while the destruction of the 'foreign, colonial city' was leading to unliveable landscapes, housing shortages, and the evacuation of inner-city populations*" (2010:1029). MacEoin as a republican and conservationist complicates the image of a debate between nationalism and colonialism. Hanna shows how he was able to reconcile the two perspectives by focusing the issue on current policy rather than on what the streetscapes had once represented (2010:1029-30).

The equation between the destruction of Georgian buildings and the bombing of Nelson's pillar may then have more relevance then mere hyperbole. Whelan has argued that after 1922 the Free State embarked on a project of eradicating the colonial symbolism from the streetscape destroying them, selling them, or replacing them with a nationalist iconography. She concludes that "*statues were used as badges of cultural and political identity. Those which did not conform to a notion of the Irish Free State as a Catholic and nationalist nation were wilfully destroyed or officially removed, a testimony to their symbolic potency*" (2002:528). She hints at a plausible link between the fate of these monuments and Georgian Dublin, when she claims that during "*the transition from a colonial to a post-colonial state, aspects of the urban landscape such*

as public monuments, street nomenclature, buildings, city plans and urban design initiatives take on particular significance" (Whelan 2002:508). This process was taking place in the nationalist discourse and finding its way into the public statements of politicians as outlined above. Hanna argues that in this way the shaping, or rather, reshaping of the built environment "*was defended by the political elite by the use of traditional modes of discourse relating to the Irish nation*" (Hanna 2010:1023).

Within the theoretical framework of this thesis we can relate this to theming. Gottdiener argues that themed spaces are defined by their socially constructed symbolic value. There was a contemporary, albeit tentative, claim partially backed up by later scholarship that Georgian Dublin was symbolic of the success of the colonial project. Recognition of this symbolism is clearly evident in many of the claims quoted above. If this is true we can suggest that the very symbolism which may have contributed to the building of Georgian Dublin may now have motivated its destruction. To take a Durkheimian view of space this corresponds to what has been termed "*left sacred*" becoming symbolic not of progress and success but of defeat (Smith 1999). A strong argument might be put forward that it could in fact have been a profane space to those who rejected it on the grounds of its colonial implications.

The meanings ascribed to Georgian Dublin are a contested terrain – with a post colonial and colonial past, and interpreted in light of these. This history according to Rojek (1993) creates a front stage. The language of authenticity also poses a problem for Georgian Dublin as can be seen from Blaney's speech in which he compares it to Ireland's "real" heritage, its rural landscape which suggests a post-colonial outsideness. The accepted view or official history of Georgian Dublin potentially posed a threat to the postcolonial narrative. Its staging ignores other conflicts and issues such as

conservation, the cost of maintenance, and changes to the streetscape prior to planning reform.

Gottdiener suggests that "*The difference between the ways owners and users of themed environments view these built spaces is compounded further by the polysemy of signs, as with any signifying object, the sign means different things to different people*," (2001:146). As this is true for people living at the same time it stands to reason that the meanings of the signs are not chronologically fixed so whereas[82] Georgian Dublin's inhabitants did not view it as a colonial city, and those involved in its construction included those who wanted a devolution of power for later nationalist politicians, it had become symbolic of the Anglo-Irish who they viewed as the coloniser. Likewise for some of those fighting for its conservation its destruction became symbolic of a pre-modern backwards looking mindset facilitating a battleground between two competing outlooks.

McDonald in his *Destruction of Dublin* describes the state as the "*accomplices*" of the developers (1985:61) and outlines the connections[83], and Hanna quotes a statement by Uinseonn MacEoin which sums up this relationship between developers and the state in the destruction of Dublin:

> *as instanced by Mr Blaney himself (the ESB houses), or his camp follower and faithful cohort, Mr Gallagher who has managed to collar one side of Mountjoy Square; or the unlettered nincompoops who operate the Sanitary Services Act, and at the drop of a hat will pull out the centre house in any 18th Century terrace and bring down the lot if it accommodates one or more property*

[82] As we shall see in the next chapter.
[83] Many of the players in this we later see featuring in planning tribunals, which provide an excellent resource for historical power mapping.

speculator (2010:1029).

This sets the stage for the key conservation battles of Georgian Dublin, both in terms of protesting proposed demolition and preserving endangered buildings. The key battleground of the IGS included Lower Fitzwilliam Street protests, the Tailor's Hall conservation, St Catherine's Church, Hume Street, Molesworth Street, Mountjoy Square, and Henrietta Street (O'Byrne 2008). McDonald (1985) would include Stephen's Green in general, Upper Leeson Street, Mountpleasant Square, Lower Mount Street and North Great Georges Street. Of these, Fitzwilliam Street, Hume Street, and Mountjoy square were the most politicised incidents, and to a lesser extent Molesworth Street so these are the cases I will concentrate on.

Modernisation or Conservation and the role of Commercial Development in Both

The Fitzwilliam Street protests were a reaction to the announcement in December 1961 that the ESB had decided to demolish a number of Georgian houses[84] to make way for their new facilities. The problem for the conservationists was that this would place a twentieth century office block within the longest unbroken line of Georgian terraces, and so would place a postcolonial interruption between Georgian buildings disrupting its visual flow. The importance of this is that we can see the construction of an argument that a Georgian Streetscape should remain whole or it would not really be a Georgian streetscape. This contiuity brings a level of authenticity in which the authenticity derives from the overall context, at least from the perspective of those who support the retention of the Georgian Buildings. A public meeting was

[84] Those demolished were numbers 13-28 Fitzwilliam Street.

held at Dublin’s Mansion House at which opinions for and against the demolition were heard. Daithí Hanly, the Dublin city architect comparing the houses to the Book of Kells and the descendant of Viscount Fitzwilliam telegrammed a message that offered the ESB another site. Against these a number of people supported it and the Royal Irish Academy later offered its seal of approval for the scheme. The ESB commissioned an architectural historian, Sir John Summerson who claimed that the houses were "*simply one damned house after another*” (McDonald 1985:20), which given the standardised construction was true of the form of the buildings. It should be pointed out that Summerson specialised in the country seat houses rather than town houses and so would have had his views on what made an exceptional piece of architecture coloured by this. The central conflict here is that the largest selling point and arguable aesthetic merit for these buildings was that they were built to a similar design. We will see this come up time and again in the contemporary descriptions and this was essentially acknowledged by those pointing to the need to retain the longest unbroken row of Georgian buildings, however it had now become an argument against their retention. This went on for about two years until Neil Blaney, then minister for local government, signed off on their destruction. Frank McDonald suggests that the Bolton Street and Fenian Street collapses, occuring ten days apart on the second and twelfth of June 1963 and killing four between them, were the death knell for the Fitzwilliam Street buildings. He also notes the architect's institute withdrawing support for the retention of the buildings on the grounds they were, as the ESB believed, unsound (McDonald 1985:22-23).

The Hume Street debacle as the IGS term it (O'Byrne 2008:84), started in 1966 when Dublin Corporation granted planning permission for large opposite blocks at the Hume Street St. Stephen’s Green junction. The permission was not immediately acted upon and An Taisce (Ireland’s equivalent to the National Trust) and the IGS campaigned

against this development. By the end of 1969 demolition began on No. 45 St Stephen's Green which led to architectural students noticing regular planning channels had failed and occupying the endangered buildings. McDonald considers this to be when the Hume Street scenario really kicked off (1985:86) though the IGS claim it led to a stalemate which resulted in a decision that the offices had to be in the "*Georgian idiom*". Sam Stephenson, the architect, was livid at this, arguing that this decision would lead to the development of a pastiche Georgian style which architects would be confined to. Summerson's argument, along with Stephenson's, reflects an aesthetic opposition to homogeneity[85] while the rebuilds or pastiches are kitsch[86]. McDonald believed this is exactly what happened as the building of imitation Georgian buildings were seen as a way around planning problems and a way to pacify protestors (1985:99-101). McDonald suggests the corporation felt they had little choice in the matter as if they had refused permission they would have been required to compensate Green properties (1985:95). We can identify here four main antagonisms: (1) we have the architects who see authenticity as being related to a building being original as opposed to a plagiarism, (2) there is also a need to find a way to assuage the concerns of the protestors and (3) it has to be remembered that this is in the context of them occupying buildings so to "assuage" their concerns means get them out through the soft approach. (4) We have the fact that they had to keep the developers happy and in the long run it is cheaper to change the plans than it is to buy off an irate developer.

According to the IGS the Hume Street decision had effects for the development of Molesworth Street where Setanta investments had to limit the height and external appearance of new buildings (O'Byrne 2008:89). Frank McDonald (1985) lays out the story of what happened later with Patrick Gallagher and Molesworth Street and the

[85] Mass produced originals.
[86] Mass produced imitations.

apathy of the wider public. A lot of the architecture on the street by that point was Victorian, not Georgian architecture and this was not valued by conservationists to the same extent. In addition according to Frank McDonald the motives of these conservationists were considered suspect and it was assumed they must have a business interest. This may be related to events at Mountjoy Square which we will examine in the next paragraph. After the event Deirdre Young argued Gallagher cannot be deemed to have been at fault but rather the entire political and legal system was culpable (O'Byrne 2008:90).

In the case of Mountjoy Square, the only Georgian square that is actually square, the IGS bought a number of buildings to block developers. In the past it had been considered to be architecturally the best quality but not the most fashionable of the Georgian Squares which resulted in it becoming decayed. In 1964 Desmond and Mariga Guinness came to the rescue by buying No. 50 standing in Gallagher's way. Undaunted, Gallagher demolished properties on either side of the house leaving it without support, but also leaving himself open to court action which he lost requiring him to buttress the Guinness' building. This incident prompted the Friends of Mountjoy Square[87] to buy several properties to renovate them. McDonald points out many of them bit off more than they could chew, as period houses are expensive to maintain. These 'out-of- their-depth' investors included Desmond Guinness who abandoned the square in 1978. By 1982 the house was torn down following remedial work (1985:144-5). After this the square became subject to reinvestment including as a result of the Hume Street decision the building of fake Georgian office blocks (1985:146). The conflict over authenticity and the fact that the compromise at Hume Street would lead to the reproduction of Georgian buildings shows Stephenson was right in his assessment of the result of the

[87] An Irish Georgian Society splinter group.

Battle for Hume Street. According to Florida the construction of pastiche Georgian buildings in redevelopment, prevents an authentic sense of place evolving. For those just passing through Georgian Dublin it is a space that is often only temporarily inhabited. Here the authorities seem to be trying to provide a counterargument, seeking to help maintain the Georgian character.

The purchasing of Georgian Buildings in order to protect them from the wrecking ball is an action which itself is worth considering in relation to the process of commodification. Here we find that they managed to increase the value of the properties so that they became once again an investment. Although as we have seen above, such investments do have considerable associated costs. Activists with means allowed for a second commercial consideration. While the developer wanted the land, the building itself had an investment value in its own right. It is in this context we should consider the use of Georgian Buildings as offices. The occupants in those offices would likely not own the buildings but be leasing them and in doing so fund the ownership of the building itself allowing for both its up keep and a profit. As a strategy for resistance it has to come in for critique. While anyone can take part in an occupation as happened in Hume Street, money is required to be able to take part in this action. It also does nothing to actively resist the status quo and only buys into the system, and so has limited potential for radical change. As such it should perhaps be deemed anti-democratic in nature as it retains class and material hierarchies and is closed off for all but the rich[88]. The only democratic potential which this has would be if a non-hierarchical group were to pool resources together and buy these houses. The danger of this is the potential that the buy into this group could be turned into the equivalent of shares and it would be difficult to maintain an equal say in the arrangement unless structured as a cooperative.

[88] The reason for this is that while the preservationists wished to prevent speculative capitalism from removing the Georgian streetscape they did not wish to abolish capitalism.

The preservation of Georgian buildings is not confined to this incident. Conservationists were engaged in the conservation of St. Catherine's Church in Thomas Street, the site of the execution of Robert Emmet, which they took part in between the years 1970 and 1975 (O'Byrne 2008:57). Kevin Corrigan Kearns has profiled a number of people involved in this as has Erika Hanna (Kearns 1983:172–194) (Hanna 2010:1023-7). It was not only activists engaged in conservation practices as it appears Georgian buildings had once again become important as a commodity, after a fire gutted Powerscourt house in South William Street; Power securities preserved the building restoring it to a safe and presentable standard before turning it into a shopping centre much to the approval of conservationists (McDonald 1985:275). The same company got up to what McDonald describes as 'devilment' on the Green and the Georgian mile making seven pastiches (1985:276-7). Even the ESB, usually portrayed as one of the villains, got in on the act restoring their remaining Georgian properties in the vicinity of Fitzwilliam Street, in what the IGS describe as "*restitution for the earlier act of vandalism*" (O'Byrne 2008:52). Number 29 Fitzwilliam Street, one of the houses, is now the Georgian House Museum run by the ESB and National Museum.

Hanna's identification of Ivor Underwood as a slum landlord (2010:1024) serves to complicate the image thus far presented of heroic conservationists against villainous developers. It introduces class antagonism into the discussion. It is worth noting that while the developer led reconstruction of Dublin, and the resulting removal of long time communities from the city appear as a battleground on which the conservationists can claim a moral high ground the reality is far more complex. Ivor Underwood, who McDonald's sole description of is "*eccentric landlord*" (McDonald 1985:143), featured in left wing publications of the time, notably in CRISIS by DHAC (the Dublin Housing

Action Committee). Here he is described as "*the infamous "Georgian Preservationist" and "humane landlord" Ivor B. Underwood Esq*." who had left 20 Mountjoy Square "*to rot... for the purpose of getting rid of sitting tenants and converting the property to office accommodation*" (Dublin Housing Action Committee 1969:2). His actions as a landlord were described as

> *"Everyone who is familiar with the recent agitation in Dublin knows well the name of Ivor B. Underwood of Dalkey, Co. Dublin, a landlord. Mr. Underwood's barrister, Mr Rex Mackey, states that his client is a "very humane man". About three years ago Mr. Underwood owned a house in Capel Street. One of his tenants a Mr. O'Mahony had his furniture confiscated by Mr. Underwood because he did not leave the premises and live on the street. This furniture was the only possession of Mr. Mahony and to date he has not received one piece of his furniture back, or any compensation for the same. Mr. O'Mahony did not owe any rent or debt to Underwood whatsoever, and despite many pleas by Mr. O'Mahony for the return of his furniture he has been ignored completely. A very humane man indeed is Mr. Underwood." (Dublin Housing Action Committee 1969:3–4).*

This is suggestive of Proudhon's assessment of proprietor and renter relationship as one of a parasite extracting rent from the working class (Proudhon and McKay 2011:124), or at least that it continued into the twentieth century.

DHAC was launched in 1967, and according to Frank McDonald "*occupied threatened buildings in an all-out campaign for a change in the law"* (McDonald 1985:62)[89]. McDonald does not make it clear exactly who DHAC were and why they were involved in the fight over Georgian Dublin, their presentation gives the impression of a tenant advocacy group (1985:122). In reality they were linked to the left wing

[89] It is not clear which law McDonald is referring to here but a later reference suggests it may be the Rent Restrictions Act which permitted evictions for good estate management (1985:107).

elements of Sinn Féin and had expanded to include several political groupings such as the Communist Party of Ireland, housing associations and a network of homeless people (Murray 2013:9). The presence of DHAC posed a challenge not only to the black and white narrative of the conservation battles but also to the elitism of the time as they were not permitted to speak in the battle for 44 Stephen's Green unlike "*the Georgian Society, An Taisce and the Dublin Civic Group*". Official Sinn Féin's publication the United Irishman suggested probably correctly that "*These groups, mainly composed of bourgeois liberals, adopted a "holier than thou" attitude towards the housing Action Committee and refused to allow any of the squatting families to give their point of view at the meeting*" (Anonymous 1969:2). While the class and political allegiance might go some of the way to explaining the exclusion of DHAC from both contemporary negotiations and some later historiography[90] it is worthwhile noting that they were unlike the safe Georgian preservationists. DHAC posed a threat to private property with their squatting and demand for use of vacant and liveable buildings for homeless families[91] and opposition to the practices of landlords. Just as theme parking occludes unpleasant aspects of Georgian Dublin, politically inconvenient aspects of the conservation battles are themed out of history, either altogether or as we see with McDonald's interpretation of DHAC's activities given a neutered role.

Conclusion

So Georgian Dublin survived, though not intact to the extent that it could become (re)themed. However, prior to looking at how it has been themed in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, we should look at how it was developed in the

[90] Although recently Hanna (2013) places them in their proper context and Brian Hanley (2010) gives detail on their links with Official Sinn Féin
[91] This had a broader definition than sleeping rough.

first place. This necessitates an in-depth examination of the idea of colonialism in the Irish case, as Georgian Dublin is often ascribed to a colonial regime I argue that it was slightly more complicated than that with a dual mindset of the Anglo-Irish representing a quasi-colonial state and for this reason the thesis will rely heavily on Marx's discussion of Irish history at that point in time.

Rather than focus solely on whether or not Ireland was a colony at the point when Georgian Dublin was built it is perhaps more rewarding to consider if anything other than post-colonialism may have been motivating its destruction. A quick recap of some of the facts may provide some clues in this regard. The destruction of Georgian Dublin coincided with yet another housing crisis, part of which was due to the depreciation of buildings through a combination of wear and tear and also due to unsafe living conditions[92]. This housing crisis was prompting a continuation of the explicit policy of transplantation of the working class inhabitants to new suburbs. These themes will be the focus of a later chapter dealing with an earlier housing crisis. Many of the buildings were unsafe as can be seen from the building collapses. Into this context step the developers and conservationists, and these two groups in the main share the common feature of being capitalists. This then reveals something of the development of Georgian Dublin both as a space to be bulldozed and a themed space. The developers, as capitalists, acquired the land and demolished buildings to achieve surplus value. While a number of the conservationists- there were some honourable exceptions- found new or continued capitalist use values for the buildings whether as investments or in the case of

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[92] Marx demonstrates in Capital how depreciation is related to wear and tear:
Depreciation (apart from moral depreciation) is the portion of value that the fixed capital gradually gives up to the product as it is used, according to the average degree of its loss of use-value.
This depreciation in part takes the form that the fixed capital has a certain average lifespan; it is completely advanced for this period of time, and after it has elapsed must be completely replaced. In the case of living means of labour, such as horses, for example, the reproduction time is prescribed by nature itself. Their average life as means of labour is determined by natural laws. Once this period has elapsed, the worn-out items must be replaced by new ones. A horse cannot be replaced bit by bit, but only by another horse. (Marx 1992:250).

Underwood's buildings to rent. In this way there was a continuation of what had become many of their economic functions since the 1930s. Of the two competing groups of capitalists, the latter group eventually became dominant.

While for the most part the demands of the conservationists could be accommodated within capital the Housing Action Committee's could not be. This is appropriate considering the presence of prominent socialists and communists within their ranks. There is no evidence that the group was able to form a broader network of activists outside the city, despite the existence of counterpart campaigns in cities such as Cork. Despite the fact that members included those who would later contest elections they do not appear to have engaged in electoral politics as a group. The evidence referred to suggests that DHAC represented the working class interests.

In the next chapter I turn to the regulation of Georgian Dublin, drawing both on its initial eighteenth century history and bringing it forward to the twenty-first century. In doing so the focus will be on economic and political factors and it will turn on the question of both the planning and maintenance of the space of Georgian Dublin.

Chapter 7 The Political Economy of Georgian Dublin: From City of Empire to Strumpet City

Introduction A Problem – Aesthetics and the Commercialising of Dublin

This chapter looks at both the expansion of Georgian Dublin and its late twentieth century to early twenty-first century status. In connecting these it looks at leases as private regulatory system to control developments, in the context of estate management, and the Georgian building boom. Moving into the Celtic Tiger era the Georgian buildings are still commodities with their aesthetic and heritage value protected by "listing". In the interim the decline of much of the inner city is also examined setting the context for the next chapter on Georgian Buildings as tenements.

If it is true that Georgian Dublin was seen as an investment opportunity then some believed that they were under attack not by atavistic Catholic Irish but by commercialisation. A number of “Malton's” concerns were on economic lines. He opposed the building of shops on Sackville Street, now O’Connell Street, introducing commerce to a residential street and feared the location of the Custom House would lower the south half of the city’s status. “Malton” rejected other’s positive comparisons between London and Dublin arguing that many of the public buildings, such as the Custom House, were only to enhance the Gardiner and other estates (Malton 1787:185), a view shared by modern academics (Kelly 2012), and suggesting that private residence were largely not up to the same standard:

> *Respecting private buildings (Gentleman’s Houses) except the Duke of Leinster’s, Lord Powerscourt’s, Tyrone’s, The Provost’s, Lord Charlemont’s*

(which is neat) three or four in St. Stephen's Green, Lord Earlsfort's Gladowe's, and Latouche's I know of none else worthy of notice, in the several squares, and contiguous to them, I could enumerate fifty more, in London, superior to most of these (Malton 1787:283).

Cromwell's description of Dame Street" *from its width, and the splendor of its shops,… has an air of considerable importance*" (1820:66) suggests a way of reading a wide street and if this view was generally held could suggest that the Wide Streets Commission sought to gentrify Dublin. This is an important element of the suburbanisation of Georgian Dublin, a gentrification of certain spaces can also be seen in the case of Henrietta Street. One of the earliest Georgian Streets, and in terms of the number of original Georgian Houses one of the best preserved, Henrietta Street was laid out in 1729. It was the only property of the Gardiner family not sold as part of one lot in 1874 for £120,000 by the encumbered estates court (NCEA 1991:56). Number 10 was the family Townhouse until 1854 when it was converted to Queen's Inns Chambers, and is now owned by a convent. Across from this was the house of Archbishop Boulter now replaced by the Long Library associated with the King's Inns[93], itself having replaced three houses that Gardiner had built for Robert Percival, Richard Nuttall and John Power (Heritage Council 2004:16). The following list tells us who the remaining original tenants of these buildings were:

Original Ownership

No. 3, Owen Wynne M.P. for built after 1755.

No. 4, John Maxwell, Baron Farnham, c.1745

No. 6 & 5, originally a single house (divided c.1826). Henry O'Brien, 8th Earl of Thomond, 1739

[93] Built 1824-1832.

No. 7, Nathaniel Clements, c.1738.

No. 8, Lieutenant-General Richard St George before 1735

No. 9, Thomas Carter, Master of the Rolls, in 1731-2.

No. 10, Luke Gardiner, in 1730

No. 11 Rt Hon William Graham, PC, Brigadier General, in 1730-3

No. 12 William Stewart, 3rd Viscount Mountjoy and later 1st Earl of Blessington, in 1730-3

No. 13, Nicholas Loftus (from 1766 the Earl of Ely, in 1740s

No. 14 Richard 3rd Viscount Molesworth (Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Ireland from 1751), in 1740s

No. 15 Sir Robert King (Baron Kingsborough from 1748), in 1740s (Heritage Council 2004:16-7).

What is striking about this list is that they are all members of the nobility, barring the landlord who was 'new money' and whose family had not yet become nobility, but would within generations[94]. Geographically, Henrietta Street as with many of the major squares and newly built streets associated with Georgian Dublin was on the outskirts of the city. This created small enclaves of nobility along the cities fringes. Gottdiener's account of theming also identifies gentrification and petit bourgeoisie moves to the fringes of suburbia in a flight from the inner city based on fear of crime or a need for security (2001). This flight from the inner city has been identified by Jacinta Prunty as "*an important factor in Dublin poverty patterns, as important symbolically as it was in practical terms*", so that areas became separated from "*municipal politics*"

[94] The continued status of Henrietta Street can be seen from the number of Peers in the parliament resident there, according to the 1786 edition of The Gentleman's and Citizen's Almanack (Watson 1786) peers had residences here (Henry Maxwell Bishop of Meath, George Lewis Jones Bishop of Kilmore, John Hotham, Bishop of Clogher, Richard Robinson Baron Rokeby of Armagh, and Richard Boyle Earl Shannon).

disengaging the wealthy and middle classes from their former neighbourhoods (Prunty 1998:14). In the eighteenth century context the evidence of the 1790s shows a broad concentration of a disaffected mass[95] in areas of the city such as the Liberties and Temple Bar (Higgins and Bartlett 2004:374–5) but given the distances involved it is difficult to see these enclaves of nobility as a response to this.

Leases - a system of control?

The level of control that the estates had over the development of the streets was enabled through the system of leases. Twomey has shown that some leases bound the buyer to:

> *well and sufficient repair, uphold maintain and keep all and singular the houses and edifices which shall be hereafter built and erected on the said devised & and everypart thereof in good and sufficient repair and order and deliver up said houses or edifices and all other buildings or improvements to be hereafter made* (2010:37).

This lease was apparently written in anticipation of being brought to the city council, where repayments for improvements were often raised (2010:37). However surviving[96] leases dealing with building practices seem to have been relatively exceptional. Casey (2010) has shown that with these notable exceptions[97] compulsory

[95] The numbers involved here include artisans who Marxists would place within the petit bourgeois, on the basis of the fact they work directly with the means of production. Proudhon, himself a member of this group, placed them within the proletariat.
[96] That is to say still extant.
[97] Merrion Street and Square, Mountjoy Square and Great George's Street

building practices were absent from the leases, though the existence of these leases show that in theory the Landlord had such legal powers[98]. As with the regulations of the Wide Streets Commission and outlined above, these leases provide us with an eighteenth century equivalent to Gottdiener's account of Celebration (2001), the appearance of which was also tightly regulated.

Tenants, due to their rank, were not entirely powerless and a number enthusiastically proposed improvements to the estates, although they themselves could not act without the Landlord or his agent approving (O'Kane 2010). They could however refuse to build as the Fitzwilliam estate found out when one Mrs Connell, a widow to whom a lease had been bequeathed by her late husband, was quite slow to build and eventually managed to get the families obligations on the south side of the street shifted northwards:

> *Connell, by his lease was to build his Houses to front the Square but considering there would be in Merrion Street a length of 290 feet dead Wall, & that by building some houses to front Merrion Street it would enliven it & be advantageous to Connell – My Lord consented to it* (O'Kane 2010:106).

A Georgian gated community?

The parallels between the process of suburbanisation and what was happening in Georgian Dublin very nearly became stronger. While never actually carried out, the

[98] It is worth while considering the usual relationship between the landlord and lease holder "*In connection with contracts of rental for houses and other things that are fixed capital for their proprietors and are rented out as such, legislation has always recognized the distinction between normal deterioration, produced by time, the influence of the elements and normal wear and tear, and the occasional repairs that are necessary from time to time for maintenance in the course of the normal life of a house and its normal use. As a rule, the first fall on the landlord, the second on the tenant. Repairs are further divided into ordinary and substantial. The latter represent in part a renewal of fixed capital in its natural form, and also fall on the landlord, unless the contract expressly states the opposite*". (Marx 1992:256). This deterioration which would lead to the depreciation of the building as a form of fixed capital seems to be assumed in the lease system.

Stapleton collection included plans to turn Mountjoy Square into a gated community (Lucey and Stapleton 2007:86), in the sense familiar to us today, as opposed to a community with a space sectioned off for residents' use such as the central gardens in Georgian Squares. Gottdiener sees the present day counterpart of this phenomenon as "*fortress architecture*". This is not a segregating form of class antagonism but a desire to be safe with what is only an extension of already existing security measures. He claims that they have the effect of increasing property values as a result of crime prevention (2001:155-8). Against this it is important to consider that Mountjoy Square dates to the 1790s a tense time in Irish history which may account for the consideration of security here. Looking at Thomas Bartlett's map of the addresses of surrendered rebels in the 1790s (2004) the nearest group of rebels would have been on Earl Street. This and the rebel pockets on the northside made up a minority with the vast majority of rebels hailing from west of Aungier Street to the South of the Liffey. The class profile of those who had surrendered suggests that despite the largely noble and upper middle-class leadership, the typical united Irishman in the city was a weaver or labourer and as Bartlett observes even most of those who gave their profession as being at the higher end of the capitalist market are not to be found in the Dublin directory (2004:372-3). Bartlett's judgement of the significance of the list is that it shows "*a large underclass of the disaffected ... whose concentration in the streets and lanes near Dublin Castle rendered it all the more formidable*" (2004:373). This discontented mass within late Georgian society is hardly a novel proposal as Jacinta Prunty has pointed out that the concern for the growth of slums in the late eighteenth century have to be seen in light of the aftermath of the rebellion as "*(t)he slums became a focus of interest at times of civil unrest*" (Prunty 1998:17). For us it shows that there was a very real threat to security which could account for both the proposed gated community and indeed the flight to building projects on the edge of the city. Gottdiener describes gated communities as a

response to security and suggests that it is a "*sign system consists of defensive architecture and belligerent warnings. Some of its components are so subtle and unobtrusive that they do not contribute to the visible theme of defensiveness*" (2001:181). While the gated community of Mounjoy Square never emerged past the planning stages it is possible that the iron wrought fences and spikes at the fanlights are part of this and in the latter case would be very unobtrusive, while the former are so ubiquitous that they would not be noticed as being out of the ordinary. A gated community would have served as an extension of these and the enclosed central gardens, to a level where the space in which the community lived would have itself been enclosed from wider society.

The Georgian building boom

The eighteenth century suburbanisation of Georgian Dublin was the result of a building boom, and recognised as such at the time as can be seen from two articles quoted by Brendan Twomey:

> *In 1753 the Dublin Journal claimed 'that upon a late survey and exact computation there have been built in the city of Dublin since the year 1711, four thousand houses.' In 1769 John Bush estimated that 'one fourth at least, of the whole has been built within these 40 years* (2010:29).

This suggests that suburbanisation was underway a good century earlier than hypothesised by Gottdiener who was of course primarily drawing on evidence from the

U.S experience. There are also parallels with recent Irish history. No less a figure than Jonathon Swift questioned the sustainability of the eighteenth century boom and some of its ethics:

> *the dealers of the several branches of building have found out all the commodious and inviting places for erecting new houses... The mason, the bricklayer, the carpenter, the slater, and the glazier, take a lot of ground, club to build one or more houses, unite their credit, their stock, and their money; and when their work is finished, sell it to the best advantage they can. But, as it often happens, and more every day, that their fund will not answer half their design, they are forced to undersell it at the first story, and are all reduced to beggary….* (Swift 1724:68–70).

It was Swift's belief that this boom was rooted in the "*defect of gentlemen's not knowing how to dispose of their ready money*" (Swift 1724[2010]:68). At this remove we can also see the emergence of a possible petit bourgeoisie in "*the mason, the bricklayer, the carpenter, the slater, and the glazier*". There is some evidence that because of this defect decisions were made with no concern for urban design as can be seen from a letter from Charles Valancey to Lord Fitzwilliam:

> *The new buildings on the Northside of Merrion Square go on briskly, but one great defect is in not striking out a level for them to build on, without it each builder raises his street Door & his Attics without Rule or Guide & this takes off great part of the Beauty* (O'Kane 2010:109).

This complicates the supposed colonial purpose of these buildings. Rather than

colonialism being an intended aspect of their design it may in fact have been read into them at a later date. Instead a second process- that of commercialisation may have always been the primary driver. Gottdiener claims that *"The history of capital is a history of the role of signification and meaning systems in the economic life of society. This role is not confined merely to the marketing of commodities; rather, the entire process of capital accumulation is shot through with mechanisms that depend on symbolic processes for their proper functioning*" (2001:47). I argue that the symbolic processes largely derive from the commercial nature of what is being themed.

From the second 'City of the Empire' to a 'Strumpet City' – Dublin's decline due to economics, politics and fashion

The decline of Georgian Dublin can be placed at various points from the mid eighteenth century to the Great Famine. A good argument can be made that the Duke of Leinster may have started the decline of the Northside as early as 1745 when he built Leinster House, asked about the distance from the fashionable set he commented "*(t)hey will follow me wherever I go*!" (National Council for Educational Awards (Ireland) 1991:29). According to Sarah Foster (Foster 2008) between 1765 and the late 1770s Dublin was affected by a cyclical contraction in the silk industry which was blamed on the purchase of British rather than Irish made silk products. Spurred on by the example of the American experience in their anti-taxation protests, the Irish Volunteers began a campaign for Free Trade. Their uniforms where made from Irish cloth and had to be provided by each volunteer, they boycotted English silk and had non-importation agreements drawn up. This culminated in November 1779 in a demonstration outside the Irish Houses of Parliament with slogans like "*Free Trade or a speedy revolution*" (Foster 2008:34-5). Georgian Dublin survived this economic dispute but was badly

impacted on by the next instance of civil unrest. The United Irishmen was founded in 1791 as an agitation group for political reform, some of the individuals involved had links to the previous crisis and again the American experience formed part of the background. Following the movement's suppression largely connected to the ongoing Revolution in France. It linked up with an agrarian secret society known as the Defenders, themselves founded in the 1780s, whose sympathies towards the French became clear during a number of trials in 1795, such as that of Lawrence O'Conner in Naas. These events eventually led to the 1798 rebellion which started in May of that year following the arrest of several of the United Irishmen's leaders notably Edward Fitzgerald, the only one of the leadership with field experience. Without a leadership the rebellion was fairly quickly suppressed. These were a radicalised off-shoot of the patriot movement forced by circumstances to become a popular movement. It's most obvious impact on Georgian Dublin was as a result of the aftermath of the rebellion. In 1800 the parliaments passed the Act of Union creating a United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and this came into effect in January 1801. This meant that Ireland was no longer the capital of the second Kingdom, and with no parliament the political and aristocratic classes largely abandoned Dublin for their estates or for London (Dargan 2008:25). David Dickson has identified why this was problematic for the city "*eighteenth century Dublin's big spending elite were ... the owners of rural estates who spent part or all of the year in the capital*" (1987:vii).

Gillian O'Brien (2008) has highlighted the contemporary views on the decline of the city. One observer, James McGregor, noted that before the Union Dublin was home to 271 peers and 300 members of parliament (O'Brien 2008:22–3). In the twenty years following the Union this had reduced to 34 peers, 13 baronets and 5 M.P.s with Dublin city residences (O'Brien 2008:22–3). She points to another observer, Sir John Carr, who

argued that the withdrawal of the elite would not be missed politically owing to their willingness to take a bribe but their spending, ranging from claret to servants, would be (O'Brien 2008:22–3). A third contemporary, Anne Plumbtre, agreed with Carr and condemned the Duke of Leinster's departure arguing that he should allow the city to benefit from his finances (O'Brien 2008:22–3). In a passage quoted by Marx we can see that the elite's withdrawal was anticipated (1986). Eve McAulay points to letters from Barbara Verschoyle anticipating a fall in property values, and a stop to building in the short term which seems to have occurred (McAulay 1999:115)[99] but the estate recovered by 1811. The effects of this decline where not immediate as pointed to above Fitzwilliam and Merrion Squares continued construction after the Union and Mount Pleasant Square was laid out in 1830. On the south side the decline was largely cushioned by the emergence of a new societal elite in the form of the old Bourgeoisie. O'Brien (2008:23) points to a passage from John Gamble who noted:

> *….there are few resident nobility or gentry since the Union, and the professors of law and medicine may be said to form the aristocracy of the place. They have, therefore, all the advantages of manner, which a lofty sense of superiority, along with much association with mankind, never fail to produce.* (Gamble 1811:29–30).

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[99] It is worth noting how Marx describes the development of crises which he sees as the disturbance in the reproduction process (Marx 1992:598), clearly one was triggered by both the rebellion and the climate of fear:

> *This explains the phenomenon that crises do not first break out and are not first apparent in the retail trade, which bears on immediate consumption, but rather in the sphere of wholesale trade, as well as banking, which places the money capital of the entire society at the wholesalers' disposal.*
> *The manufacturer may actually sell to the exporter, and the exporter to his foreign customer; the importer may sell his raw materials to the manufacturer, and the manufacturer sell his products to the wholesaler, etc. But at some particular imperceptible point the commodity lies unsold; or else the total stocks of producers and middlemen gradually become too high. It is precisely then that consumption is generally at flood tide, partly because one industrial capitalist sets a series of others in motion, partly because the workers these employ, being fully occupied, have more than usual to spend.* (Marx 1991:420)

On the Southside the formerly elite status Squares and Townhouses of the nobility gave way to an ascendant Bourgeoisie who rather than just aping the nobility replaced it. This has some parallels to the experience of America as outlined by Gottdiener where buildings in the suburbs were "*Status sign-vehicles were once central to the residential needs of the newly rich around the turn of the century. Their conspicuous consumption symbols defined the suburban mansion and, in turn, established the normative features for the construction of middle-class suburban homes that still dominate housing appearance today*" (2001:177). A major difference here is that the affluent Bourgeoisie literally moved in to fill the space vacated by the nobility.

Vandra Costello (2008) demonstrates how this decline was experienced on the Northside using the example of the Rotunda. As the great houses became dilapidated after their abandonment the area became less fashionable and the use of the gardens shifted from elite society events, such as lavish breakfasts, to fundraising benefits for the hospital. Jacinta Prunty cautions against seeing the "*downgrading of aristocratic residents to tenement occupation*" as the only strand at play in the story of the Northside's incorporation into Dublin's slums (1998:274). A factor in this decline was competition with the still fashionable south side. The Rotunda Gardens were eclipsed by the Cobourg Gardens in 1816 (Costello 2008:53). Dargan points to a major reason for the loss of prestige of the Northside being the building of James Gandon's Custom House rendering the area socially undesirable compared to the still fashionable South (2008:25). What we are seeing is a flight from industry. The rural idyll represented an elite privilege. We know that the nobility at the time were constructing gardens with sweeping views and that these ideas were connected to conceptions of gentility and

taste[100]. Urbanisation and the beginning stages of industrialisation would have induced the nobility to find a better prospect[101]. Maps at the time do not show a high level of development around the city. This may be the reason Walter Scott in a letter to Maria Edgeworth was able to claim:

> *Dublin is splendid beyond my utmost expectations. I can go round its walls and number its palaces until I am grilled almost into a fever. They tell me the city is desolate, of which I can see no appearance, but the deprivation caused by the retreat of the most noble and most opulent inhabitants must be felt in a manner a stranger cannot conceive. As Trinculo says when the bottle was lost in the pool, there is not only dishonour in it but an infinite loss*. (Scott 1825:199-200)(Scott et al. 1980:199–200) See also (O’Brien 2008:29).

O’Brien suggests that this attitude is caused by the travel writer’s avoiding the worlds of “*poverty and despair and the world of the new Catholic middle class*” (O’Brien 2008:29). The preference is to look at the public buildings and Squares, which masked the city’s decline. This selective gaze persists under the process of theming. In Gottdiener's *Theming of America* (2001) we see similar criticism levelled at spaces such as Times Square and Disney which are seen as somewhat contrived. With Disney this is constructed from the ground up, but with New York's Times Square we have a better comparison. The tourist does not see the real New York but a Disney-esque construction that is rendered safe for viewing. The desire for the viewer to be safe, to overlook or obscure inequality and its consequences appears to be common to both the nineteenth and twenty-first centuries.

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[100] I have expanded this from an observation of my supervisor Eamonn Slater on the image of the large rural estates and their gardens.

[101] In simplest terms the view from the big house.

The Union was not the only consequence for Georgian Dublin of the 1798 Rebellion. In the battle of New Ross Viscount Mountjoy fell "*fighting most gallantly at the head of his regiment... cut off by those villains whose cause he was the first great advocate for*" (Beresford 1798:1)[102] leaving a number of developments unfinished (NCEA 1991:25). The estate then passed into the hands of Charles John Gardener, a minor, and his guardians who mismanaged the estate hastening the decline of the Northside (1991:27-9). The Rebellion also had an impact on the south side. We have already seen that Fitzwilliam acting through his agent Barbara Verschoyle was lenient on rent. Verschoyle's accounts provide us with an image of a city in distress even before the Rebellion "*it is my Opinion that the rumour of the French Invasion makes the rich as well as the poor avail themselves of the General Distress likely to be Should such an event happen – for the Answrr I now Get from the most Wealthy & punctual of Yr. Tenants is – I cant pay*" (quoted McAuley 1999:109). In 1798 when the distress did occur she wrote:

> *from the situation of the times it will be the Ruin of several Tenants to Compel them to pay the rent & hold the Ground, indeed there are some not able to pay what is due, & as for building there is scarcely any Chance of it – Such is this once flourishing country, when it will Recover God Knows – many People tell me there was Just such a Check to Building and trade of Every Kind during the American War – but I do not find at any time the People of this country were so ungovernable as at present* (quoted McAuley 1999:114-5)[103].

[102] Mountjoy as a reformist was politically aligned to the patriot movement.
[103] This relates to 1798 as influencing a crisis which was always an inherent risk of the capitalist system but was precipitated by the Rebellion. In the Rebellion itself there is evidence of violence against property judging by the claims by loyal(ist) citizens.

While not quite an eyewitness account of Georgian Dublin at its decline, Julie Anne Stevens points to the novel *Florence Macarthy* (1819) by Lady Morgan which provides us with a satirical account of a journey to Dublin to encounter the Burkean sublime (1819:14) (Stevens 2008:159). Having travelled from the "*wretched suburbs*" especially Ringsend where they "*now followed their guide with difficulty through collected heaps of mud and filth… The houses… were in ruins*" (1819:36-38) the two tourists reach a post-Act of Union city centre. They viewed Merrion Square "*where the quality lives*" (1819:45). Perhaps significantly Sackville Street is described as containing "*a coup d'oeil*" of some of the noblest public edifices and spacious streets to be found (1819:46) suggesting a way of viewing at a glance with the street itself guiding the eye in a line. They mused on the downfall of the House of Lords and how this reflects the eventual end of all empires (1819:47-50). If this is an accurate description of Georgian Dublin it suggests a streetscape designed for display. Stevens sees this sequence as representing *"the political change which has led to ruin and decline*" (2008:160). The characters discuss how Dublin is to be visited through necessity or seen by curious strangers (1819:54-55). Stevens argues that the novel is built around visual culture. She also points to its polysemy - the lack of one correct reading of the scene, of which the cityscape is one aspect (2008:161), the reception of which "*depends on the individual's state of mind and world view as much as his angle of vision*" (2008:157). These descriptions albeit derived from fiction, suggest that poverty is partially masked by visuality.

Michelle Mangan's study of the 1832 Cholera epidemic in Limerick and Dublin (2008) at the close of the Georgian period, during which there were 4,478 deaths reveals much about the overall picture of Georgian Dublin which allowed the spread of cholera. Comparing the situation in Dublin to that in hovels in Limerick she writes "*Similarly, a*

commentator in Dublin, Charles Orpen, wrote that 'the yard is the common receptacle *of every nastiness'. Orpen also found people living in cellars but, contrary to popular opinion, he believed them to be 'the most healthful' of all the rooms the poor lived in*" (2008:189). Begging was a massive social problem in Georgian Dublin and there was an apparent lack of poor houses to accommodate them due to a lack of subscribers to them. The problem of begging and homelessness was obviously not merely present in the latter end of the Georgian era.

The decline of Georgian Dublin here is useful for us for two reasons. (1) During this phase of Georgian Dublin's development the buildings instead of solely being investments and living spaces for the rich, became a new type of investment for housing the poor. This led to the rise of slums, a fictionalised version of which is captured in James Plunket's novel *Strumpet City*. On the Northside there was a decided overlap between these slums and "*selected aristocratic streets such as Henrietta Street and Gardiner Street, the old markets and barracks areas, the Mecklenbergh/Montgomery Street red light district, and the Sheriff Street docklands*" which once enjoyed "*higher status*". While on the South-Side their counterparts were concentrated on "*to the rear of the south-east Georgian Squares, and ... to the North and East of Trinity College*" centring on the docks and rail lines in addition to the more established, older city in the south west of the city (Prunty 1998:148-9). This was not however a uniform experience. In many areas particularly to the South of the Liffey it was the Bourgeoisie who filled the vacuum left by the nobility, in these cases the earlier use value was largely retained. Under commercialism a new method of selling is found this being the development of the slums with multiple tenants and doss houses.

(2) The idea of Georgian Dublin developing into a contested space. We can no

longer see it merely as what has been described as its gorgeous mask. This was a space in which there was widespread social exclusion which increased over time. However this is not the only contestation being read into the content of the Georgian cityscape. The colonial implications noted above which had once provided an alleged rational for its construction would later provide an excuse for its destruction. In light of Gottdiener's (2001) theory of theming, the mask is a pseudo-historical Disney history). In the context of Georgian Dublin this does not quite take place. What we see are essentially modern half remembered reinterpretations of what happened so that Georgian Dublin comes to be symbolic of colonialism. The filtration is not true popular culture but from history books of various descriptions. These shape the new interpretations so that instead of Georgian Dublin being like Disney- essentially a Hollywood construction- it might be better described as a construction of those who wrote the post-colonial history books.

Theming Georgian Dublin into the twenty-first century

The conservationist activism of the mid to late twentieth century never became a movement (MacDonald 1985:321). Mary Bryan has described the late twentieth and early twenty first century Ireland as a "*two-faced animal*" (Bryan 2001b:179) (Bryan 2001c). Flush with cash, private sector companies and individuals were able to purchase and restore Georgian houses[104] many of which were in a state of decay. She cites a changed attitude towards Dublin's built environment seeking to preserve it, which may reflect another change in the meaning of Georgian Dublin as a sign. At the same time, during the Celtic Tiger years Bryan suggests that daily applications were being made to demolish period houses and replace them with apartments or infilling gardens of protected structures. There was also a perceived threat to what was seen as the

[104] They also purchased buildings from other periods, but this thesis is concerned with the Georgian ones.

compromise reached between conservationists and developers in the wake of Hume Street where height restrictions were effectively imposed, (2001a:180).

The state responded to these and other challenges in a myriad of ways. Dublin Corporation was behind the restoration of City Hall (2001a:179). Along with other groups including the IGS the Government put in place training structures around traditional building skills (200a1:180). Planning bodies refused permission to some schemes which were contrary to the low rise streetscape such as the "*mini-Manhattan*" planned for the docklands (2001a:180). The Heritage Council had been set up by this point on a statutory basis and laws improving the planning process had been passed (2001a:183) and funding was put in place (2001a:179). In addition a new survey was undertaken to compile a new database of listed buildings. This new architectural awareness was incorporated into the city's development plan. In 2009, a new policy was published by the department of Environment, Heritage and Local Government which describes the state as the custodians of Ireland's architectural heritage (Anon 2009). They proposed the promotion of architectural heritage by engaging with NGOs and the private sector (2009:28), a census of buildings which should be listed and the creation of a publically accessible database of listed buildings, guidelines on how to reduce fossil fuels in these buildings, a preventative maintenance scheme, tax relief for heritage protection and the sponsorship of conservation conferences (2009:33-5). They also suggested reviewing the potential for building up and what the impact of that would be on a historic environment. This policy is likely partially a legacy of the conservationist movement of the 1960s and 1970s as well as reflecting the broader international thinking behind ideas such as world heritage sites. It also reflects the Irish states ideological tie to private rather than public ownership, with the involvement of NGOs, reliance on tax relief and guidelines. State and other public bodies become involved at

arms lent with a role in administration, financial support and enforcement.

In terms of Georgian Dublin itself the key public body is Dublin City Council (formerly known as Dublin Corporation) which drives policies at a local level. The bulk of their responsibility in this regard focuses on conservation, but there is also a focus on commercialism evident in the Development plan (2009:138). Though they also justify it through an argument that these contribute to the city's character (Dublin City Council 2009:110), they were also involved in submitting for the UNESCO World Heritage status outlined above. In the most recent development plan for Dublin City the Council admits success at conservation has been mixed though it does point out that those cultural centres within listed structures have been successful. While the higher valued South-side core is doing well according to the Development Plan, the Northside is stated to require support (2009:27). Gottdiener suggests theming is important for spaces in need of economic revival (2001): *"This effect seems to be behind the success of the new Times Square renovation, which transformed that space from an urban "'danger zone" to an extension of a Disney theme park*." (2001:158). Interestingly, the Development Plan is very protective of the low skyline citing the success of the Georgian core and other heritage areas (2009:43-44). Here we see how Georgian Dublin connects to Mueseumisation, which is a contrived, ideal, romanticised and bowdlerised space. Gottdiener sees such spaces as "*the idealized sign of nostalgia*" (2001:179). In terms of pre-existing built environments we cannot blame some wayward imagineer for this. Instead we must look to the lack of context provided for the preserved and recreated structures. The image of a place is assumed to be individual. However, the homogeneity of the buildings and the fact that it is now branded Georgian Dublin and open to mass culture, as well as the protection of the image all suggest that it has become a non-place. Alterations may pose a threat to authenticity, which may motivate

muesuemisation.

By shifting strategies and buying up properties rather than solely protesting and occupying, the Irish Georgian Society took the commodity that was a Georgian building and changed its status from enemy of the state to something worth investing in. The use values of the buildings function whether as offices[105], housing[106], or some other private or public use. An exchange value becomes latent in the building's commercialisation so that we see them as a property investment and a visual value in that they have become an iconic image that could represent Dublin for tourists in advertisements. This has in turn fed back into the exchange value leading to them being worth more. This exchange value reflects the heavy cost of upkeep in order to maintain the buildings an element of which still leaves them under threat. What happens to a building with no economic value? We shall return to this question later.

Dargan (2008) has noted a number of notable buildings in Georgian Dublin. These can be broken down into two groups' mansions and public buildings. Built in 1779 Clonmel House is an example of a Georgian mansion that like many Georgian buildings was converted into office use. Other examples he lists include Belvedere House, Aldborough House, Charlemont House[107], Iveagh House, Leinster House[108], Powerscourt House[109], Clanwilliam House and Newman House (2008:53-7). In terms of public buildings he includes churches, hospitals such as the Rotunda, educational institutions, for example the Royal College of Surgeons, and administrative buildings (2008:58). They are often designed in the Palladian style[110], which adapt design elements of the classical temple such as arches, pediments and pillars, in fact Dargan's

[105] This is the most likely current use.
[106] Less likely to be used in this way but still happens.
[107] Now the Hugh Lane Gallery or the municipal gallery of modern art.
[108] Now the Dáil and Seanad.
[109] This is now a shopping centre.
[110] Named after Andrea Palladio.

descriptions suggest that this may be universally true of the mansions (2008:53-7), though they do vary in scale compare for example Belvedere House with Leinster House. Many of the public buildings are designed based on classical temples, so we see columns which support large pediments. Another characteristic of many of these buildings this time deriving from renaissance architecture is the large dome on the roof such as the one on city hall.

These buildings along with the private terraced houses that would have served a single family are constructed according to a distinct architectural style, albeit the smaller houses are on a much reduced scale. The houses were built as more than just homes according to Corrigan Kearns they also acted as status symbols (Kearns 1983:20) the embellishments a sign of conspicuous consumption. Prior to their use as slums the nobility and bourgeoisie were the main occupants of these buildings, so a certain status can be assumed through association. Dargan identifies a largely generic design of the interior of these buildings in general. They were mostly four story buildings with basements. They were built side by side at a rate of between two and five at any one time, though Dargan suggests that they may have been built in groups of one to more than three (2008:50). In building them the builders tended to employ generic designs, however the embellishments on the facades allowed for variations and gave each an individual identity (Kearns 1983:30). The most obvious examples of these through their usage in various promotions of Dublin are the doors -see the poster reproduced below (Figure 6). According to Dargan these vary "*considerably in their style and complexity*" (2008:47). The *Doors of Dublin* poster demonstrates the differences in these designs, with differences to the porticos[111], the often extremely elaborate fanlights and door-cases. This leads to what Dargan describes as "*an almost limitless variety of*

[111] Or porch design.

doorframes" (2008:47). In addition Corrigan Kearns identifies the importance of metal working in creating the sense of individuality – the railings and any attached gates which fenced off the basements, balconies, foot scrapers, lamp posts and window guards (1983:32). Another aspect which set these houses apart is a variety of brickwork, as the builders would often prefer a particular type and shade of brick which may not be to the taste of the builder working on the next house down the street (Dargan 2008:50). This allowed for a variation in the content of the buildings, while retaining a standard form.

The prominence of this architectural style seemingly contradicts Gottdiener when he suggested that:

> *(c)lassical themes seem to have limited uses in our society. Architecture influenced by Greece or Rome is reserved for powerful social institutions such as colleges, banks, and government buildings, such as the U.S. Supreme Court ... such themes are not duplicated elsewhere… Despite its limited appeal, however, the classical code remains a sign of power. Consequently, it persists as an important symbolic referent in the design of state buildings* (Gottdiener 2001:178).

While elements of this are true, in the case of Georgian Dublin we do see a number of buildings with the trappings of power designed in a Georgian architectural style. However we also see that architecture deriving from this style is used in buildings *which are not and were not Government buildings*. We can account for it by examining the local conditions as has been done above. In the aftermath of the Hume Street Protests it was decided that replacement Georgian buildings would be built, this leads to the replication of an architectural style. We also cannot discount the process of

sacralisation where copies of those originals deemed of high enough quality are replicated in order to tie in to the architectural style.

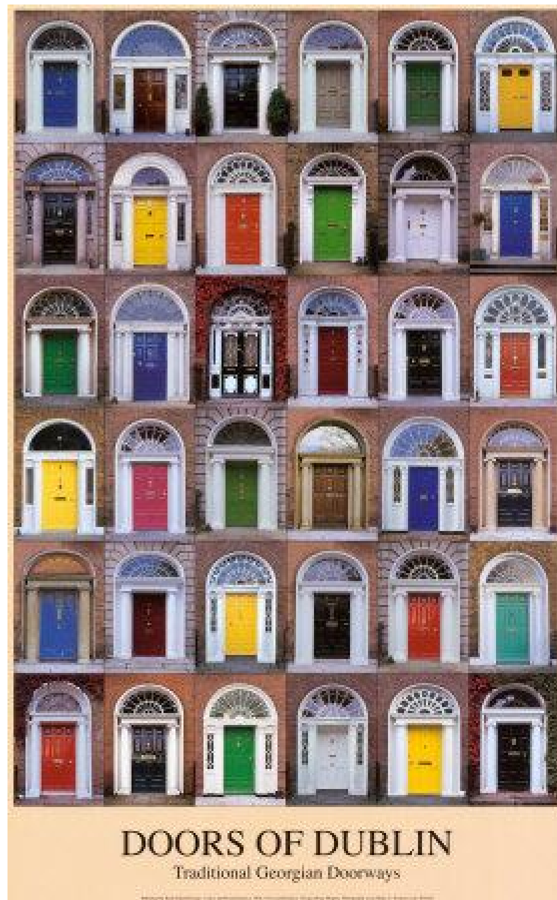

Figure 6 Doors of Dublin

Georgian Dublin as a theme comes pre packaged with a variety of narratives some of which are made manifest in the buildings others are ignored or avoided. The narrative is officially enunciated in the submission to UNESCO (2010) which focuses on the historical context of the buildings their fabric and design, and their associations with literary culture.

During the period of time when Georgian Dublin was under threat (mainly the 1960s) the fact that the architecture was Georgian became its rallying point. We can see this from the relative indifference to defending Molesworth Street's Victorian

architecture. Arguably the current theming of Georgian Dublin is a response. The activists created a new capitalist market value for Georgian buildings which in turn has led to the preservation of these buildings. Secondly, they made it difficult to damage the aesthetic of Georgian areas of Dublin or at least those placed in the Georgian core. This has led to the preservation of some and the replication of other buildings.

So the buildings were here to stay or be copied. Under the process of theming as Gottdiener identifies it we see that "*business interests use motifs as sign vehicles to sell their particular location in competition with other places*" (2001:187). These buildings were subsequently utilised not by business interests but by local authorities, not that the two are entirely separate, in order to compete for visitors and the UNESCO world heritage application has to be seen as part of this. This competition between areas then led to the co-option of Georgian Architecture as a theme for Dublin to sell itself with.

Conclusion

The history of Georgian Dublin is a history of wealth and taste, and the importance of Dublin as a social and cultural centre. O'Brien and O'Kane point out that this image, which fits well with much of the historiography, "*the one packaged for tourists, is a city of fine squares, wide sweeping streets and brightly painted doorways with delicate fanlights*" ignores quite a large amount of the Georgian heritage that Dublin has as part of its heritage becoming merely a facade (O'Brien and O'Kane 2008:15). David Dickson has summed this problem suggesting that "*It is still conventional wisdom that the eighteenth century was a golden age for Dublin*" (Dickson 1987:vii). Georgian Dublin was simultaneously a city with one foot in the enlightenment and wealth and another mired with deep social divisions and poverty, as noted by James Connolly (1949) amongst others. The nobility were the major drivers of

the growth of the city and their absence definitely contributed to the city's decline in the early nineteenth century.

I have demonstrated a shift in the function of Georgian Dublin toward a leisure space through the selling of its image abroad as part of civic boosterism and the campaign for it to be made a world heritage site. In many respects this is yet another form of contestation as other use values such as office blocks, shops and perhaps occasionally still homes are forced to coexist with it. At the same time as a result of conservationist campaigns in the period from the 1960s to the 80s the exchange value has increased (McDonald 1985). It is important to note the themed physicality of the space with the control over height and uniformity constructing the theme so that the fact that they are "*simply one damned house after another*" (McDonald 1985:20) is no longer a disadvantage. Rather this uniformity is integral to the maintenance of the theme.

The focus on the history of Georgian Dublin was important from the point of view of establishing the context in which the symbolism employed arose and would later develop. This however prejudges whether there is a symbolism in the first place. Georgian Dublin provides an interesting case study as it dates to a time when Gottdiener claims significaton in the built environment had given way to hyposignification (2001:23). This argument will be returned to in a later chapter. To the contrary, I will argue that instead of being hyposignificant, Georgian Dublin drew on a rich symbolic tradition to create signification. These will be connected to the dominant ideas of the Georgian era. In the next chapter I examine the Georgian buildings at a time when their use value was dominant over their image.

Chapter 8 Behind the specious gilding of Dublin's Georgian Gorgeous Mask: reading the built environment through a class lens[112]

So far I have focused on the elite vantage point with regard to Georgian buildings. Their visual culture gave us the images of grandeur, their ideological adherence to the capitalist free market and a semi-colonial relationship with the rest of Britain shaped the iconology of the streetscape and through theming this is reproduced as a visual culture of the modern Irish bourgeoisie. In essence Georgian Dublin shares the characteristics of Sharon Zukin's landscapes of power (1993). However, this amounts to an over simplification of the history of the streetscape's inhabitation. We have also seen that at all times the working class has been present in Georgian Dublin, from those hired for its construction, to serving the nobility and bourgeois inhabitants and also as tenants from the nineteenth century into the twentieth. This chapter complicates the narrative by focusing on the working class history of Georgian Dublin and the political context of the production of imagery depicting this.

The Dublin working class existed on the outskirts in the Liberties or Northside

[112] This chapter assumes the (continuous) social process of revolution as described by Pierre Joseph Proudhon (Hall 1971:66–70), (Proudhon and McKay 2011:543–599), and as such is structured around this. This process basically holds that there is a situation that is viewed as unjust by a section of society (the revolutionaries) who seek to change this situation, while competing interests seek to protect their interests. Each side will put forward their solutions, and the one which can garner the most political support (the nature of which varies from society and political situation) is adapted, albeit in an incremental fashion. Proudhon's revolution is reformist through this gradualism as he believed that society would constantly evolve towards social justice in this way and the point of sociology (and similar disciplines) was to empower people to direct this. It also draws on his concept of collective force. While in terms of strategy Proudhon leaves a lot to be desired, as it relies at best on reaction to self organising as a class, as a theory for analysing what is happening his work is quite useful but Hall's description of this fails to recognise the ability of hegemony to co-opt this process (Hall 1971:66–70). Such recognition appears in Proudhon's *Toast to the Revolution* (Proudhon and McKay 2011:359–366) in his discussion on how the ruling classes could have managed the 1789 French Revolution (2011:364).
This is the rationale for the extended commentary on anti-communism without which we would not we cannot understand the reaction to the housing crisis or the images analysed below. This differs from Marxist revolution which would entail the winning of power over the state apparatus by the working class.

and hidden from view in stable lanes, basements and mews, feared by both the bourgeois of the eighteenth century as potential rebels and their heirs today as potential criminals. The association between Georgian architecture and an elite sidelines the collective force behind them and in the context of Georgian Dublin this may relate to how in theming issues of class and work tend to be hidden (Gottdiener 2001). After independence and the dominance of the 'Castle Catholics'[113], the large farmers and the Dublin millionaires firmly empowering a native Bourgeoisie which had already become powerful and prominent. The buildings came to symbolise colonial rule (McManus 2001a:94). If these had once belonged to the side of the revolutionary force promoting social change they had become a conservative force opposing further social change which could potentially damage their position. However these buildings were not empty shells. There had been a working and artisan class[114] presence in these Georgian buildings[115] and streets since construction. Initially concentrated in areas such as the Liberties and therefore outside the Georgian core, the presence of the working class could be kept from view through servant's entrances and stable lanes. However, with the flight of the nobility and the capitalist class from many areas of the city, and growing custom along areas of the Northside the working class moved in to the areas formally occupied by the rich. According to turn of the century radical geographer Elisee Reclus (1830-1905) (Reclus 2013b:183) this process is directly related to the rise of intensive labour in an urban context. By the twentieth century from which we have a rich visual

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[113] The Marxist syndicalist James Connolly recognised this group at the time in his *Erin's Hope the ends and the means* (1968) in which he argued that the Irish middle class had used their access to property to carve a position for themselves. As he saw it they could potentially act as a buffer had the British Government recognised this. As Connolly recognised they adapted the language of nationalism through Home Rule, after his death they were easily accommodated once the Irish Free State was established being part of a continuing Bourgeoisie. Connolly himself played a role in this process when in 1916 he as one of the leaders of the rising against British rule mobilised the Irish Citizen's Army, itself having been formed in 1913 to protect workers from the police force and scabs.

[114] Marx identifies the process of proletarianisation of once independent artisans where they come under the power of a capitalist and become wage labourers (Marx 1991:452–3). Earlier he identifies the artisan as petty bourgeoisie (Marx 1991:403). We can recognise similar processes at work today with the growth of precarious and casual labour in previously "middle-class" occupations.

[115] Not every tenement building was Georgian. Bob Doyle provides a contemporary description of living in a Victorian built tenement in Stafford Street (Doyle and Owens 2009).

record, the Bourgeoisie imagined these areas as dens of poverty, ill health, vice and worse in their eyes potential breeding grounds for Larkinism (in 1913) and Communism. The 'masters' (to use the contemporary phrase) were interested in saving the working classes from themselves if only they could excite the public to support this. In this context of class antagonism and a battle to preserve prevailing ideologies we can understand the reformist imagery of Georgian Dublin. While outside the scope of this thesis it should be noted that the mechanisms at the Bourgeoisies' disposal to 'save' the working class were not limited to rehousing schemes but also included institutions of coercion including the mother and baby schemes, Industrial schools, and the Magdalene Laundries and others, as part of a system of 'welfare' or 'charity' as social control (McManus 2001a:93)[116].

One decade after independence from Britain *The Irish Press* published a series of articles on the Dublin slum problem[117], which expanded to the slums across the country. With the non-Dublin images included this series lasted over a month and appears to have been successful in mobilising public opinion, although Irish capitalism has produced a succession of later housing crises. While the context of the more famous 1913 images was the Lockout, the one for the 1936 pictures considered here are the Animal gangs[118], the Blueshirts, support for fascism and fear of Communism, against the international backdrop of the Spanish Civil War and the rise of Franco as the

[116] Bob Doyle's experience in being moved to a foster family in county Dublin and then one in Wicklow, the foster family having their own poor income supplemented with a stipend for caring for him and his younger sister, and educated by nuns at a convent of the Sisters of the Holy Faith while he was put to work for free (Doyle and Owens 2009) also fits this pattern.

[117] At this point it is worth noting that this chapter was written with one eye to future research with the potential to use Edward S. Herman's propaganda model which is often misattributed to Noam Chomsky on the basis that they co-authored Manufacturing Consent (Chomsky and Herman 2002). In a nutshell this heuristic device sees news content as being filtered through ownership (*The Irish Press* was run by De Valera loyalists as an alternative to the Unionist *Irish Times* and Cosgrave supporting *Independent*), funding (largely financed through bonds raised by De Valera or on his behalf), sourcing (The Press saw itself as basically reporting the news as given to them, which in this case meant that information was flowing from Church and political sources), flak (e.g. letters to the editor), and anti-communism.

[118] Corrigan Kearns describes the street battles in which the Animal gangs were involved with the politics de-emphasised, he hints at the idea that they took inspiration from contemporary films (2014:78). He also discusses in some depth the Battle of Baldoyle one of the big fights the Animal gangs were involved in though by this point it had become a generic title for street violence. (Corrigan Kearns 2014:56–9)

apparent defender of Catholic values[119]. The aesthetics of conservation, so prominent in the 1960's discussion, is present here also as is the continued association of these buildings with the visuality of an elite culture harkening back to their association with the nobility.

In both the 1913 case and that of 1936 the imagery occurs in the context of a reformist social agenda, and has to be seen in the context of a process of social change. There is recognition that there is an existing social problem and this problem will involve competing interests[120]. This problem either is leading to or could potentially lead to unrest or outright revolt[121]. In order to prevent or stop revolt reform is brought in by those in power who depending on the extent can prevent the escalation of resistance to them but at the same time create a more just situation[122].

Reformist imagery and the Press

As Justin Carville correctly points out the imagery contained in the Housing Inquiry of 1913, and often known as the *Darkest Dublin Collection* occur in the context of an overall reformist document (2014), (2005). In that instance the only reference to the photography in the Housing Inquiry Report was a clergyman who had tried to take photographs himself and failed, but linked the religious moralist discourse of darkness and light with technological considerations (2014:200-201). Those photographs that do appear in the Report are treated as objective evidence in their own right (2014:201). In this light we can take another look at the images in the context of reformism as a

[119] The chief interest of the Spanish Civil War outside of military history is usually taken as solidifying the left's anti-fascist (and internationalist) credentials (O'Connor 2009), perhaps more important is it provides the most extensive albeit short lived example of a social revolution in the collectives in Catalonia etc..

[120] In this case relating to class and housing.

[121] The fear of Larkinism in 1913 and Communism in the 1930s, Larkin it should be noted was a Communist.

[122] The outcome in this instance being the provision of more and better quality corporation housing with cottages and flats. Marxists would see this justice as a bourgeois conception of justice, rooted in their class interests.

process. The housing report pictures are for the most part of the buildings themselves, meant to demonstrate visually the conditions that witnesses described in the report itself. As Carville points out their evidentiary value is not given a justification as a legal document but instead "*(i)t is taken as a given through the report's authors own verification of the photograph's ability to bear witness before the inquiry*", in a footnote he suggests that some historians have also seen these as witnesses (2005:294). In sum photographs do not just represent an objective reality, but were also used to justify and promote change.

This carries implications for the images under consideration here; these images are taken from the *Irish Press* during a month long set of special reports on slum conditions. A characteristic they share with the images in the previous generation is that notice was taken of the housing crisis due to a tenement collapse as in the months leading up to this coverage as there was a collapse at Asylum Yard, which was located off Pearse Street, in July of that year[123]. Equally the existence of class antagonisms can be seen to play a role as while in 1913 there was an industrial Lockout and Larkinism was offering a future of economic cooperation and equality, to be achieved through sympathetic strikes. The 1936 images were published in the context of a continuous anti-Communist sentiment and the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War[124] during which activists were fighting on both Francoist and left/Republican sides. There are important differences, unlike the 1913 images; these were published in a newspaper campaign rather than an official report. With that in mind it is impossible to properly understand these images without reference to the articles published in the same news paper.

<u>1930s tenement conditions Descriptions of life in the tenements and Census statistics</u>

[123] This is an area I intend to follow up on completion of this thesis.

[124] It has been suggested that strictly speaking they did not actually report on the Spanish Civil War itself (O'Brien 2001:68), they in fact did.

Our masters all a godly crew,

Whose hearts throb for the poor,

Their sympathies assure us, too,

If our demands were fewer.

Most generous souls! But please observe,

What they enjoy from birth

Is all we ever had the nerve

To ask, that is, the earth (Connolly et al. 2013).

The tenement system outlived the protagonists of the Lockout, as it was linked to how society was organised as opposed to individual failings, and once again graced the Irish media with descriptions meant to arouse pity and action among the bourgeoisie and their allies. This time however we have oral history to describe the conditions in the tenements, the main sources used here include Kevin Corrigan Kearns's Dublin Tenement Life (2006) and Terry Fagan's Dublin Tenements (2013). I am investigating the use value of the buildings that had developed by the early to mid twentieth century.

According to the evidence given by P.J. Hernon, the City Manager, at the Inquiry into the Housing of the working classes in Dublin 1939/1943 "*(t)he total figure of families living in basements unfit for human habitation, in tenements unfit, in cottages unfit, in over-crowded dwellings otherwise fit for human habitation and in stable dwellings as shown by the 1936 Survey was 19,874. The corresponding figure as shown by the 1939 Survey were 22,272*" (Anon 1946:19) . Explaining the discrepancy in figures here as being due to a more thorough measurement Hernon was asked on the number of houses this involved but it was decided to wait for a future witness for these figures. Questioning a Mr. Bourke, Mr. Moylan gives a figure of 73,375 living in

tenements unfit for human habitation (1946:42). The housing survey on which most of the figures derive was according to Dr. Russell, the medical officer for public health, not complete in terms of overcrowding but complete in terms of fitness and unfitness, and excluded infants from the figures (1946:42). According to a Mr Johnson examining Dr. Russell there were in 1913 5,322 tenement houses which in 1936 had decreased to 4,418 (1946:48).

The census of 1936 provides statistics which show something of the extent of this providing figures which show that in the Dublin Borough area (which included the inner city) 35.2% of the population lived in overcrowded conditions defined as being more than two people living in a room, although this fell to 29.5% when using the equivalent adult measurement which measured children as half adults (CSO 1936:3).

3

CONDITIONS IN COUNTIES AND IN COUNTY BOROUGHS. (*For Definitions see page* 1).

Persons		Percentage of Persons in Families having more than two Persons per Room									County
		Actual Housing						Equivalent Adult Housing			
Rural Areas		Total		Town Areas		Rural Areas		Total	Town Areas	Rural Areas	
1926	1936	1926	1936	1926	1936	1926	1936	1936			
1.19	**1.08**	**27.2**	**22.5**	**31.3**	**27.5**	**25.5**	**19.9**	**16.6**	**21.6**	**14.1**	**SAORSTAT EIREANN**
1.07	1.00	27.5	24.5	34.7	30.5	20.4	17.3	18.7	24.7	11.7	LEINSTER :
1.04	1.00	20.2	19.4	28.9	27.2	17.1	16.3	13.3	19.8	10.6	Carlow County
—	—	*45.3	35.2	*45.3	35.2	—	—	29.5	29.5	—	*Dublin Co. Borough
—	—	22.4	18.0	22.4	18.0	—	—	12.7	12.7	—	Dún Laoghaire Borough
1.16	1.06	25.3	20.9	14.4	10.3	29.6	22.8	15.3	7.9	16.6	†Dublin County
1.12	1.06	27.1	23.3	31.0	26.7	26.2	22.5	16.0	17.5	15.7	Kildare County
1.07	1.00	17.5	16.0	18.7	18.5	17.3	15.5	10.9	12.6	10.6	Kilkenny County
1.11	1.05	21.3	18.3	24.2	21.0	20.9	17.9	12.9	14.5	12.6	Laoighis County

Figure 7 Population living in overcrowded conditions in 1936 Census

This breaks down using the equivalent measure as 41,176 living in private families of two to a room, 41, 260 between two and three people per room, 43,545 between three and four, 64,851 people living in dwellings of four or more people to a

room (CSO 1936:10).

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TABLE 3A:—PERSONS IN PRIVATE FAMILIES IN EACH **COUNTY AND COUNTY BOROUGH**

NOTE—Persons " Not Classified by Housing Density " comprise persons in families of 11 living in

County	Total Population	Total Persons in Private Families	Persons in Private Families living in Dwellings having							
			Less than 1 person per room	1 but less than 1½ persons per room	1½ but less than 2 persons per room	2 persons per room	More than 2 but less than 3 persons per room	3 but less than 4 persons per room	4 or more persons per room	*Not classified by Housing Density
SAORSTAT EIREANN	**2,968,420**	**2,791,047**	**688,614**	**759,510**	**428,086**	**245,974**	**302,764**	**181,818**	**142,281**	**42,000**
LEINSTER ..	1,220,411	1,127,740	294,855	281,513	159,673	97,218	114,848	77,959	83,036	18,638
Carlow County ..	34,452	32,466	9,080	8,881	4,944	2,632	3,506	1,776	1,031	616
Dublin Co. Borough	468,103	424,988	88,526	90,622	49,417	41,176	41,260	43,545	64,851	5,591
Dun Laoghaire Borough ..	39,785	35,487	14,624	7,769	3,746	2,450	3,003	2,234	1,142	519
†Dublin County ..	79,037	68,628	19,991	16,115	10,814	5,766	8,002	4,083	2,274	1,583
Kildare County ..	57,892	51,339	13,029	13,157	7,791	4,622	6,334	3,802	1,831	773
Kilkenny County ..	68,614	65,018	19,182	18,882	10,527	4,488	5,862	2,600	1,944	1,533
Laoighis County ..	50,109	47,408	12,545	13,475	7,843	3,984	5,276	2,121	1,272	892

Figure 8 Persons in private families living in dwellings by person per room in 1936 census

Broken down into tenement dwellers this measurement becomes slightly more difficult as the figures compare with the census of 1926 and include the entire county of Dublin, but in the entire County we see that in 1936 6,966 single people families lived in tenements, 6,161, two person families, 4,505 three person families, 3,368 four persons families, 2,376 five person families, 1,559 six person families, 1007 seven person families, 614 eight person families, 278 nine person families, 122 ten person families, 50 eleven person families, and twelve with twelve or more people amounting to a total of 27,018 (CSO 1936:114).

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TABLE 17B :—NUMBER OF PRIVATE FAMILIES, CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO SIZE OF FA
IN OCCUPATION OF **TENEMENTS OF ONE ROOM,** IN EACH TOWN POSSESSING
GOVERNMENT IN SAORSTAT EIREANN.
NOTE—In this Table the Towns are arranged in order of magnitude of Total Population.

CITY OR TOWN		Families Occupying One-Roomed Tenements											
		Total Number of Families	Size of Family										
			1 Person	2 Persons	3 Persons	4 Persons	5 Persons	6 Persons	7 Persons	8 Persons	9 Persons	10 Persons	11 Persons
*Dublin Co. Borough and Dublin County	1926	27,351	6,136	6,119	4,794	3,665	2,642	1,863	1,096	587	288	128	28
	1936	27,018	6,966	6,161	4,505	3,368	2,376	1,559	1,007	614	278	122	50

Figure 9 Tenements and family size in 1936 census

In terms of housing supply there were 546 houses being built, 65, 793 built houses inhabited, 312 uninhabited ones which were furnished and a further 1222 unfurnished while 195 were not suitable for inhabitation (CSO 1936:246).

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TABLE 22 :—NUMBER OF HOUSES, WITH RESIDENT PREMISES, IN EACH COUNTY AND COUNTY BOROUGH.

NOTE :—Fur. = Furnished ; Unfur. = Unfurnished.

COUNTY	Houses					Population	Persons per Inhabited house	Vacant Rooms	
	Being Built	Built							
		Inhabited	Uninhabited						
			Habitable		Not habitable				
			Fur.	Unfur.				Fur.	Unfur.
SAORSTAT EIREANN ..	**7,519**	**607,571**	**6,235**	**19,540**	**6,773**	**2,968,420**	**4.9**	**35,593**	**85,160**
LEINSTER ..	2,862	229,928	2,538	7,533	2,303	1,220,411	5.3	13,760	36,715
Carlow County ..	82	7,555	36	281	101	34,452	4.6	165	85
Dublin Co. Borough ..	546	65,793	312	1,222	195	468,103	7.1	2,361	8,44
Dun Laoghaire Borough	169	7,365	70	252	24	39,785	5.4	467	1,88
†Dublin County ..	222	15,263	460	729	186	79,037	5.2	2,055	3,34
Kildare County ..	215	12,302	88	416	205	57,892	4.7	418	1,64
Kilkenny County ..	168	14,799	96	525	109	68,614	4.6	512	2,24

Figure 10 Housing supply in 1936 census

It is worth providing a firsthand account of living in tenements as this really shows the conditions behind the statistics. The *Republican Congress* newspaper provides first hand descriptions from tenant leagues and signed by their activists who lived in these tenements. The importance of including these voices in the thesis is that

otherwise we risk creating the impression that housing improvements were just granted without any struggle. The two example given here are given in full to debunk this idea as well as provide detail. Significantly as will be seen in the example quoted a number of these activists were women, despite the title of the petition:

> *REVOLT IN THE SLUMS A MANLY PETITION*
> *THE EDITOR, REPUBLICAN CONGRESS*
> *We, the people of Magee's Court, off Charlotte Street, Dublin wish to thank the Republican Congress (Group 4) for the assistance it has already given us in our fight for decent living accommodation. We realise that this fight has only begun and we pledge ourselves not to give in until we have won. We request you to publish as you did in the case of York Street, last week, the conditions of our living accommodation as stated in this memorial signed on behalf of all the tenants in Magee's Court.*
> *In Magee's Court there are seven small cottages (forty two rooms) enclosed in a Court ten feet wide. In these cottages live thirty six families – one hundred and fifty six people. The air is practically unbearable. The rooms at night are walking with sewerage beetles. Mothers have to remain up until daylight walking to and fro from bed to bed to protect their children from these loathsome insects. And then many of these mothers have to be out to their daily work the following morning! The walls are crumbling and damp; the roofs leaking; the floors slanting in the upstairs rooms because the front walls of the houses are leaning so much forward! The floor of one of the rooms is in such a perilous condition that the landlords advised the tenants not to use it but owing to the congestion he did and is taking rent for it!*
> *In a Court case connected with Magee's Court two weeks ago the judge appealed to the representative of the Corporation present, to have all these houses condemned; the representative said:*
> *He realised that the whole Court should be condemned but that, unfortunately, the Corporation was unable to do so because the people in it were too poor to pay for any better.*
> *He would send them to the workhouse, he said, only it was packed out.*
> *And we pay rents of from 4/3 a week upwards for each of these rooms which even a capitalist Corporation thinks unfit to be used!*
> *Well we have started the fight now. We demand decent living accomodation at a rent suitable to our means. We have already formed our Tenants' Leagues and we are sending out are representatives to the Local Republican Congress Group. We call on every slum area in Dublin to do the same. Unity is strength! The alternative to bad housing is not the workhouse. Workers will get good houses if they have to seize them. We'll end slumdom if we have to tumble the slums!*
> *Signed*
> *No.1 Magee's Court – May Devlin, Mrs. M. O Leary.*
> *No.2 Magee's Court Mrs L Darcy, Mrs Molly Walker.*
> *No. 3 Magee's Court – Mr. Thomas Reilly, Patrick Kane, Sarah O'Talle, P. Burke*
> *No. 5 Magee's Court – Mrs M Lennox, Elizabeth Byrne, Mrs Mary Smith*
> *No. 6 Magee's Court – Mrs K Cunningham Joseph Maguire Mary O'Neill Mr John Gough*
> *No. 7 Magee's Court – Mary A Dougall William Kearney, Mrs Kathleen*

Morrissey, Michael Rafferty, James Reilly (Magee Court Tenant League 1934).

In York Street which features elsewhere in this thesis we find this description:

> *We the people of York Street, Dublin, living in tenement rooms, considering the assistance your paper has given in publishing the true facts of these cases, and the assistance given by Republican Congress (Group 4) Dublin Area, we request you to publish the conditions of our living accommodations as stated in this memorial and signed on behalf of all the tenants in York Street, and we pledge our full support to you in whatever assistance we can give to have the appalling and horrible conditions under which we live remedied without delay.*
> *STIFLING ATHMOSPHERE*
> *Some of our tenants are practically condemned to death in the basement cellars, front and back kitchen, some of which are already condemned by the corporation authorities. We are paying weekly rents of 7/- for each of these apartments; no air or sunshine can enter these cellars as the space of ground at the rere, which was originally a playground for the children, was sold to a garage proprietor. The garage wall stands 15 feet high, 8 feet from the wall of the tenement houses hence continued vitiated atmosphere.*
> *RATS AND VERMIN*
> *The sewerage traps, some placed on the floor of the kitchens, continually burst open when heavy rains come, and all the contents of the sewerage is empted into the basement. Swarms of rats are a constant worry to us and as many as thirty rats have been caught in one kitchen in one week; they even devour the birds in their cages swung from the middle of the ceiling. Our people are nervous to sleep lest they be attacked by this poisonous tribe. Still bad as is our plight as regards the rats, our families are threatened with a greater calamity.*
> *Countless millions of bugs have infested several of the rooms in the area and we are in constant bodily pain and our little children can get no natural sleep from the torture of this vermin, and day by day they are growing weaker; mothers are broken hearted watching these pitiable sights. The fathers of the little children, forced by rapacious landlords to pay exorbitant rents (10/- weekly) for one room, are now falling into bad health.*
> *THE LITTLE CHILDREN*
> *Our children are carried away to hospitals and sunshine homes, but when they return – if ever – the living accommodation again saps their strength. Our little pieces of furniture which we pride in, purchased by very hard struggles, is now reduced to matchwood by the bugs. If you could only see the walls of these rooms in damp weather, water pouring down in streams from leaking roofs. Our women folk, many of whom are now growing weak, are unable to carry buckets of water from the yard tank to the top of the house.*
> *There is not even space to dry our clothes! No yard to erect a clothes line, hence we have to dry the clothes in the living apartment. Only one lavatory to accommodate from 20 to 50 persons living in the same house.*
> *Signed*
> *24 York Street – Annie Gervokey, E Cassin.*
> *25 York Street – Thomas Fallon, P Deegan, Bridget Banks.*
> *26 York Street – Thomas Ralph.*
> *27 York Street – Francis J Cooks, Thomas Murphy.*
> *28 York Street – Elizabeth Garland.*
> *54 York Street – Robert Smyth, (Mrs) Mary Davis, James McLoughlin, Florence Fay, John Byrne.*

55 York Street – R McKenna, P. Byrne, John Hanlon, Mrs McNab (York Street Tenant League 1934).

While discussing the many problematic aspects of tenement life it is perhaps a good idea to discuss those parts of it that the residents remember fondly. The sense of solidarity within the community evidenced in many of their oral history accounts (Kearns 2006), (Fagan 2013) which were undoubtedly a survival mechanism, stories of the burial funds were obvious examples of this. We also find a number of accounts of what are often deemed charity coupled with a rejection of mere handouts. The distinction here is important, despite what neoliberal orthodoxy tries to get us to think, people prefer to work for what they get. We must also look at how these handouts are often based on a sense of superiority from the giver towards the recipient and not only fail to challenge the system which creates the distinction in the first place but enforces and preserves it. The fact that the coercive welfare system was based on discipline and connected both to the law (with prisons) and charities (the industrial schools, Magdalene Laundries, fostering and as we have seen above workhouses), shows us the problematic relationship between charity and community. Against this we see a great element of what is defined as charity within the community. The refusal to condemn the prostitutes but instead show their disdain for the madames and their kips[125], demonstrates a recognition of these social and economic conditions and through this some sense of solidarity.

While we can praise the inhabitants for the sense of solidarity that they could demonstrate towards each other, with the caveat that this may not reflect the attitudes they held at the time, the oral histories show that in the tenements life was brutal and at times short so it is important not to romanticise it. While the accounts show the basic good in people it also shows some of their worst characteristics in the form of domestic

[125] Brothels.

violence, and while we should not stop short of condemning those who did so the conditions they lived in fed into the problem, from being paid in the pub so they would not have the money when they came home. Children were lucky to survive and appeared to live in fear of the industrial school, suggesting that it was not exactly secret, which of course suggests widespread collusion from Irish society with the abuses. In conditions that the Irish bourgeoisie would literally not allow animals to be kept in disease thrived. The physical conditions of the buildings themselves had not improved since the Church Street tenement collapse of 1913, and these problems were often exacerbated by changes made by landlords to fit more tenants inside[126]. One account from the Irish Press coverage highlighted the dangers of gas leaks. These conditions expose the nature of the rentier capitalist of the time exploiting the working class through control of the means of living, with no sense of a duty of care towards their tenants.

A brief discussion of spatial organisation of the tenements is important here in order to provide some background to both the areas and the buildings featured in the visual analysis. This spatial organisation is not just at the level of geography but also in relation to the buildings themselves. The oral histories mention a number of locations in Dublin, depending on where they were collected and the relative poverty of the person's family. So the Iveagh baths and Moore Street feature prominently in peoples' memories. It is also notable that Corrigan Kearns[127] includes accounts that show that segregation

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[126] The change in the state of dwellings should come as no surprise, Marx outlined how as the result of capital these could change – "*As a result of the ebb and flow of capital and labour, the state of the dwellings of an industrial town may today be tolerable, tomorrow frightful. Or the local magistracy of the town may have summoned up the energy to remove the most shocking abuses. The next day, masses of ragged Irishmen or decayed English agricultural labourers may come crowding in, like a swarm of locusts. They are stowed away in cellars and lofts, or a hitherto respectable working-class dwelling is transformed into a lodging house whose personnel changes as quickly as soldiers' quarters in the Thirty Years War.*" (Marx 1990:816).

[127] In his latest publication, this time on Lugs Brannigan, Kevin Corrigan Kearns repeats some of his work on the oral history of the tenements. This time emphasising prostitution (Corrigan Kearns

did not just occur where it would be anticipated, with schools separating those from "good" and "bad" areas but that this extended to both sides' own geographies having no visual clues as to how the other lived as they spatially remained within their own areas. This isolation between the classes is important to consider as when reading *The Irish Press* images and article as these confronted the bourgeois and petty bourgeois with the proletariat's living conditions, campaigns against which were otherwise confined to the pages of the *Republican Congress*[128].

The spatial organisation of the buildings themselves is also of interest. Corrigan Kearns suggests that "*(b)asement tenancy was regarded as the lowest and most dangerous form of tenement life. Here the poorest of the poor resided in what were often no more than subterranean caves*" (2006:13). One of his interviewees, Paddy Mooney, described the move from the back parlour to a front drawing room as having "*elevated ourself*" (2006:98) which suggests that this was recognised by the inhabitants themselves. There are also references to the areas around the stairs being used for socialising both as a space for play, trick playing and the telling of ghost stories by the children and flirting among the adults. The hallways of the tenements were given over to the "*knockabouts*" who despite the term dossers[129] being used seem to have been the otherwise homeless. This spatial organisation itself was contributing to the physical but not necessarily financial depreciation of the buildings as they were being used to house more people than they were built to, and the environment was also contributing through exposed areas and damp.

2014:282–4).

[128] A radical paper published by a group of the same name that was the result of an IRA split and were founded on the principles of James Connolly's socialism. After the group collapsed former members rejoined the IRA, joined the Labour party or joined the Communist Party of Ireland.

[129] While today dosser is slang for someone being idle it appears to come from the term doss-house where people could spend the night for a small price. It is one of the enduring images of Victorian London where descriptions suggest these were even more crowded than tenements. It was the poorest who would spend the night in these locations which were run as businesses. It is not clear if the use of the term dosser reflects this second meaning of the term or just means that the speaker saw them as lazy.

Visual imagery of the housing crisis

C THE IRISH PRESS, MONDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1936. 7

BOTH SIDES OF THE HOUSING PROBLEM

These photos, one "shot" in a labyrinth of tenements in the rear of Bolton Street, the other on Lismore Road in the new Corporation housing scheme, illustrate the tragedy of "What Might Have Been" in the case of Dublin's slum problem.

The tenement dwellers herded amid the welter of squalor at left might have been as happily circumstanced in their environment as those cleanly, happy people at right—for they, too, came directly from the tenements, being among the fortunate few whose repeated prayers for self-respecting surroundings were answered by the Corporation.

Will YOU help us speed up the good work?

Figure 11 Both sides of the housing problem (Anon 1936e:7). Image Courtesy of the National Library of Ireland.

These images are quite revealing in regards to demonstrating the ideas behind the response to the housing crisis of 1936, in that they juxtapose what the *Irish Press* see as the problem and the solution. The caption which divides the two reads:

> *These photos, one shot in a labyrinth of tenements in the rear of Bolton Street, the other on Lismore Road in the new Corporation housing scheme, illustrate the tragedy of "What Might Have Been" in the case of Dublin's slum problem.*
>
> *The tenement dwellers herded amid the welter of squalor at left might have been as happily circumstanced in their environment as those cleanly, happy people at right – for they, too, came directly from the tenements, being among the fortunate few whose repeated prayers for self-respecting surroundings were answered by the Corporation. Will YOU help us speed up the good work?*

Taken alongside the caption the images contrast directly, partially because of the lighting of the one showing the tenements. There is an emphasis on dirt and decay in the first picture with what is likely clothing hanging out of windows, although they may

have served to keep out drafts this was primarily for drying. There is differing colouration on the walls of the tenements suggesting either dirt or that the paint is peeling off, and in the building closest to the camera we can see clear evidence of the paint falling off towards the bottom of the image.

This contrasts with the second image in which the building appears to be in pristine condition. The family have their own garden, are well dressed of course, and have what would now considered to be a "middle class" setting if it were privately owned today. The windows all have curtains, allowing privacy, contrasting with the shared spaces of tenements.

This leads us to the groups in the pictures themselves, in the second image we see a mother and four children, with the father presumably at work given the assumption of civility and Catholic family values present in the articles, and given the setting can be assumed to be a single family. The group in the first image have a far greater spread and given that they live in tenements no assumption can be given that they belong to one family. However, given the captions "*What Might Have Been"* it is likely the Irish Press intended that its readers inferred as much.

The caption "*herded amid the welter of squalor at left might have been as happily circumstanced in their environment as those cleanly, happy people at right*" is interesting in a number of aspects. Firstly, it categorises the people living in the tenements as being *"herded*" which as a positive subtly critiques the treatment of the dwellers as being in conditions fit for animals[130], however it also has undertones of passivity and lack of agency, along with the last line of "*Will YOU help us speed up the*

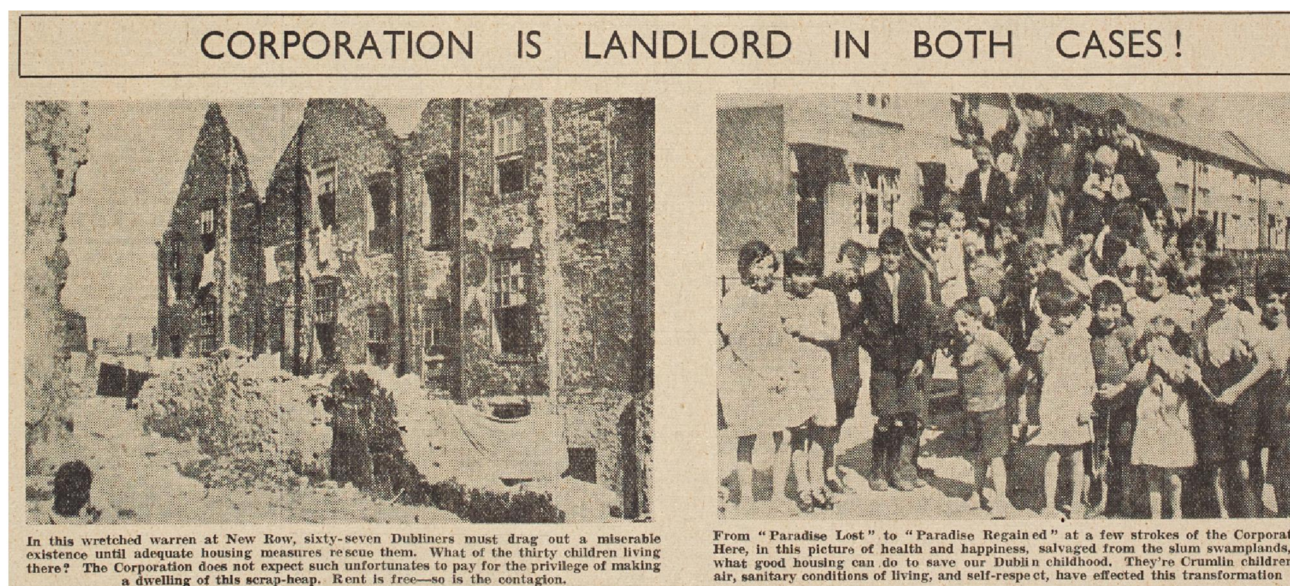
[130] Which itself suggests their attitudes in that direction.

good work?" suggests that only paternalistic aid can change their situation. It also reads as having religious undertones with the term "*good work*" which seems to work with "*repeated prayers*". That they see this paternalistic aid as being directed at provoking intervention from the public authorities is clear from the fact the prayers of the family on the right "*were answered by the Corporation*". The juxtaposition of poverty and comfort/decency is confirmed with "*the welter of squalor*" and the "*cleanly, happy people at right*", interestingly the term "*self-respecting surroundings*" has implications of the tenements degrading such self-respect for its dwellers, and to some extent sets up a dichotomy of a deserving and undeserving poor which would emerge in succeeding years. At its most positive however we see the idea of everybody has a chance of "middle-class" civility with the comment that "*for they, too, came directly from the tenements*", although again this leads to the assumption of two kinds of poor. One clear piece of evidence for this discourse at the time is in Canavan's lecture on the slum crisis in which he contrasts the poor who can be helped with those he terms the "irreformables" (Canavan 1937:22)[131].

This thinking later emerges in *The Irish Press* on how there are "*TWO CLASSES Broadly speaking, the housing problem is one of catering for:- (a) The slum dweller who is, and will always probably remain, a public liability; and (b) The citizen who wishes to own, and is prepared to pay for, his own house*" (Anon 1936u:9). Taken in tandem we see the ideological underpinning of this housing scheme as being led by "middle class" ideals (McManus 2001a:234). This seems to be related to the trope of the deserving and undeserving poor that constantly emerges in public discourse on welfare. It may also be important when we consider that in modern Irish class consciousness that

[131] This discourse appears to represent a form of management of the categories of what in Marxist terms is the relative surplus population, that is the partially employed and unemployed, to separate it from the rest of the workers. This is a theme in this chapter I may return to in later research.

many of the Irish working class tend to interpret themselves as middle class while seeing the working class as unemployed council tenants. A potential avenue for future research could include the role of housing as a material basis for this anti-class consciousness.



CORPORATION IS LANDLORD IN BOTH CASES !

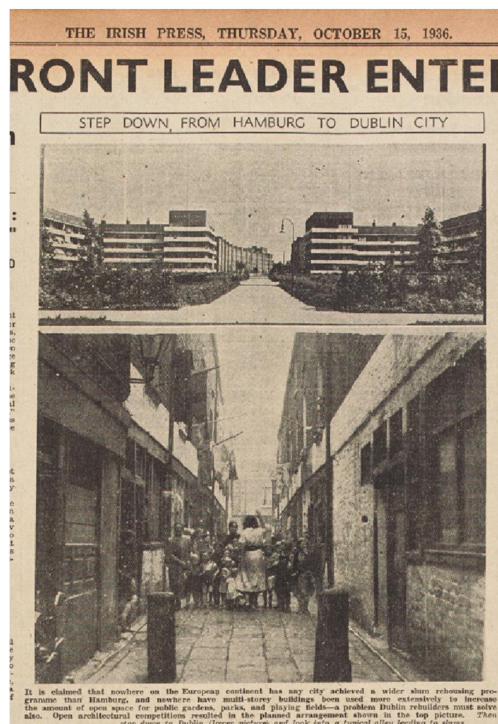
In this wretched warren at New Row, sixty-seven Dubliners must drag out a miserable existence until adequate housing measures rescue them. What of the thirty children living there? The Corporation does not expect such unfortunates to pay for the privilege of making a dwelling of this scrap-heap. Rent is free—so is the contagion.

From "Paradise Lost" to "Paradise Regained" at a few strokes of the Corporat
Here, in this picture of health and happiness, salvaged from the slum swamplands,
what good housing can do to save our Dublin childhood. They're Crumlin childre
air, sanitary conditions of living, and self-respect, have effected this transformation

Figure 12 Corporation is landlord in both cases. Image Courtesy of the National Library of Ireland.

Under the heading "*Corporation is landlord in both cases*" the Irish Press of the 10/10/1936 (Anon 1936j), gives us two images. One focuses on a crowd of happy children in front of newer houses and this will largely be ignored here, to avoid repetition with the previous analysis. Instead the focus will be on the first image which shows a row of dilapidated buildings, again with clothes hanging out of the windows, and the walls appearing to crumble. The window panes appear to have a number of gaps in them suggesting breakages. The surrounding walls on the exteriors have in most instances quite visibly collapsed. Interestingly, given the large group of children in the contrasting image which accompanies it, the first image appears empty giving a wasteland effect. The headline suggests that the Irish Press interprets the difference as either an inconsistency in the way the Corporation is handling the crisis or an inability to meet the demands of the crisis it faced.

Another image excluded from this sample appears alongside a headline of "*Another 20,000 Houses wanted to meet deficit*" (Anon 1936c) and over a caption of "*Dwellers in these particular Dublin tenements suffer all the overcrowding and inconvenience encountered in the slums. They look envyingly down on the new Corporation flats at Avondale House in North Cumberland Street*", we find these images showing the back of a tenement building. Given the scale of the building it is almost certainly a Georgian building. For the most part the windows appear in relatively good repair although there are one or two on the second and third bay from the left which look like they might be broken, again we see the near ubiquitous clothes from the windows, with people in private dwellings having space either in the house or on a back line to dry their clothes. Their appears to be ivy growing up the walls, which given the context we can see as the poor upkeep of the buildings and the upper right shows recognisable discolouration which as we have already seen is usually a visual cue to suggest squalor.



THE IRISH PRESS, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1936.

RONT LEADER ENTER

STEP DOWN FROM HAMBURG TO DUBLIN CITY

It is claimed that nowhere on the European continent has any city achieved a wider slum rehousing programme than Hamburg, and nowhere have multi-storey buildings been used more extensively to increase the amount of open space for public gardens, parks, and playing fields—a problem Dublin rebuilders must solve also. Open architectural competitions resulted in the planned arrangement shown in the top picture. *Then step down to Dublin (lower picture) and look into a typical alley leading to slums.*

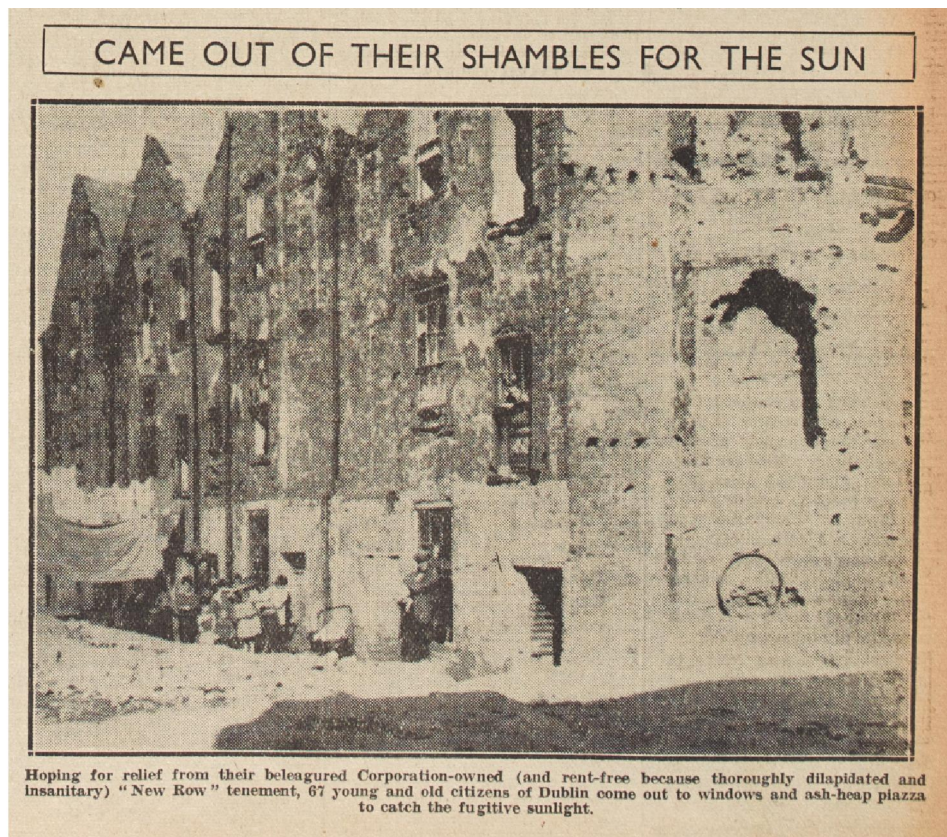
Figure 13 STEP DOWN FROM HAMBURG TO DUBLIN CITY. Image Courtesy of the National

Library of Ireland.

The next pair of pictures under the headline "*STEP DOWN FROM HAMBURG TO DUBLIN CITY*" is accompanied by this long caption:

> *It is claimed that nowhere on the European continent has any city achieved a wider slum rehousing programme than Hamburg, and nowhere have multi-storey buildings been used more extensively to increase the amount of open space for public gardens, parks and playing fields – a problem Dublin rebuilders must solve also. Open architectural competitions resulted in the planned arrangement shown in the top picture. Then step down to Dublin (lower picture) and look into a typical alley leading to slums* (Anon 1936w).

The reference to stepping down from Hamburg to Dublin in both the headline and caption suggests perhaps rightly that Ireland had yet to develop to the extent that Hamburg had done and that what we see in the Hamburg image is what we should aspire to. The contrast between the two images is sharp, the Hamburg image having a long view of a spacious gap between two buildings as opposed to the narrow alley in the Dublin image. Whereas the Dublin image only represents a built space there are clearly green areas in the Hamburg image confirming the captions "*open space for public gardens, parks and playing fields*" that the lack of green space in Dublin was due to private property including in the case of Merrion Square that of the Church, was not considered by the *Irish Press*. As for the buildings themselves the flats are shining and new, while in the example from Dublin, as far as can be made out in the image, the decay that has been noted on other buildings is present here as well.



CAME OUT OF THEIR SHAMBLES FOR THE SUN

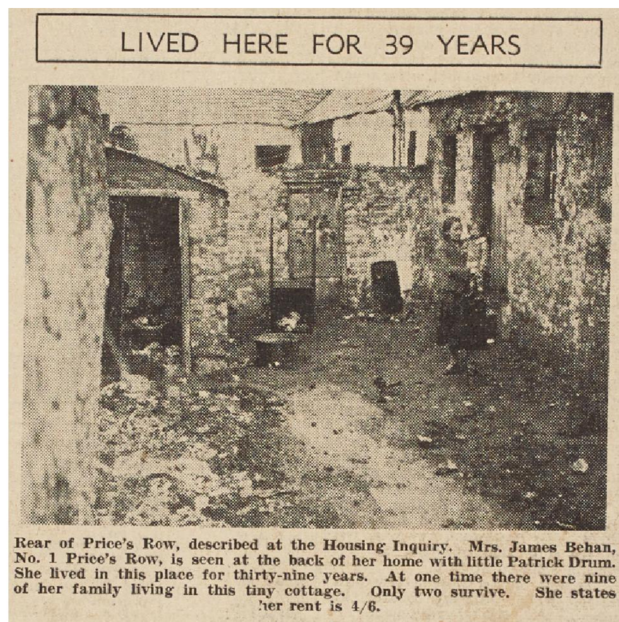
Hoping for relief from their beleagured Corporation-owned (and rent-free because thoroughly dilapidated and insanitary) " New Row " tenement, 67 young and old citizens of Dublin come out to windows and ash-heap piazza to catch the fugitive sunlight.

Figure 14 Came out of their shambles for the sun (Anon 1936f). Image Courtesy of the National Library of Ireland. (previous page)

Under the headline "CAME *OUT OF THEIR SHAMBLES FOR THE SUN*" and with a caption reading "*Hoping for relief from their beleaguered Corporation-owned*[132] *"New Row" tenement, 67 young and old citizens of Dublin come out to windows and ash-heap piazza to catch the fugitive sunlight*". The buildings here are in a clear state of decay, the discolouration on the walls of the buildings is clearly worse than paint peeling off and appears to be structural decay, presumably the result of natural wear and tear, given the quality of the picture the state of the paint is unclear and perhaps irrelevant. The almost ubiquitous washing hanging from the windows recurs here again and again. For the modern viewer this is frustrating as no context is given for this practice, however looking at the *Republican Congress* report from York Street earlier in this chapter we see that the key issue here was lack of any other space. Further evidence of the

[132] And rent-free because thoroughly dilapidated and insanitary.

dilapidation of the building can be seen as some of the windows closest to the camera appear broken. The "*ash-heap piazza*" referred to by the caption is suggestive of dirt and a lack of cleanliness and perhaps relates to fire. The headline used is significant with the term "*Came out of their shambles for the sun*" suggesting an escape from the darkness of the tenements, which may have an unintentional religious reference of coming into the light. This suggests a continuation of the trope of darkness and light that Carville observed in his thesis with regards to nineteenth century images of the Dublin slums (Carville 2005:255).



LIVED HERE FOR 39 YEARS

Rear of Price's Row, described at the Housing Inquiry. Mrs. James Behan, No. 1 Price's Row, is seen at the back of her home with little Patrick Drum. She lived in this place for thirty-nine years. At one time there were nine of her family living in this tiny cottage. Only two survive. She states her rent is 4/6.

Figure 15 Lived here for 39 years. Image Courtesy of the National Library of Ireland.

The image appearing in the Irish Press of 28/10/1936 under the *headline LIVED HERE FOR 39 YEARS* (Anon 1936o) accompanies an article headlined *DUG-OUTS THAT SHELTER HUMAN BEINGS Family of Five in Converted Stable Loft Dr. Russell Testifies to horrors* (Anon 1936m). Illustrating this story, it shows the reader the type of living conditions with a very narrow area with two facing buildings and an open door to what may be an outhouse, the buildings on either side are in a poor state of repair. The

ground between the buildings is littered with muck rubble and dirt. Given the story that accompanies this it is most likely a stable area converted for tenement dwelling.

Figure 16 Patched Roof Bulging Walls. Image Courtesy of the National Library of Ireland.

The final image on the same page as the previous image is accompanied with the caption "*The front and back walls were bulged, the flank wall was holed and bulged and the brickwork crumbling. The roof was ragged, patched and grouted with cement" – Dr. Matthew Russell, Dublin M.O.H., speaking of 23 Marrowbone Lane at yesterday's concluding session of the Dublin Housing Inquiry*" (Anon 1936t). The image in the Irish Press of the 28/10/1936 is clearly aimed at providing visual confirmation of that testimony, although some parts of this are clearly not in the image[133]. What is visible in this image is that the adjoining building on the left appear to have partially collapsed judging by the remains of a window frame at its remaining upper section, the boarded up windows, and clear outline of the former building on the wall of the surviving one. That it was a collapse rather than demolition is clear from the uneven remaining part of

[133] The state of the roof aside from what can be made out in profile, for example.

it. The building itself, a two bay three storey building, appears to have broken windows, on at least the lower two floors and possibly the top. Given the collapse of the adjoining building we can infer that even if this building had been structurally sound before hand, it has now lost a supporting structure and may itself suffer structural weakness. While the image is unclear it appears to support the quote that "*the flank wall was holed and bulged and the brickwork crumbling*" but the bulging on the front is not clear from the image.

As a whole these images of poverty are designed to shock, not just "middle class" (really bourgeoisie) sensitivities but to provoke them to open their pockets by using the imagery of degradation which they find off putting (Reclus 2013:227). This is quite important for our consideration here Georg Simmel in his *The Ruin* (1958) relates not just of uninhabited ruins but also ones which are still inhabited. For Simmel this gives us two key considerations firstly, that at the aesthetic level by having an inhabited ruin it assigns blame to human agency *"men let it decay*" and that these place "*strike us as settings of a life*" (1958:380-1). To follow Simmel on the first in relation to the tenements imagery would be an error because it was not a case of humanity passively letting a building decay. Instead it was rentiers actively colluding in the decay through a combination of alterations made to change the use value of the building, a lack of action to combat the sub standard living conditions which they produced and which were also subject to the natural decay that takes up much of Simmel's concern, and their letting rooms out as tenements. They construct the idea of man or woman as a ruin which generates the idea of it being sad rather than just tragic (1958:383). These are the former dwellings of the nobility and are now in decay. In constructing the inhabitants as living ruins themselves and therefore in need of charity we see the paternalistic nature of the photography under consideration here.

Political context

In their respective research into Irish housing both Conor McCabe (2013) and Ruth McManus (2003) (McManus 2001a) suggest that there was a fear of radicalisation of the working classes, and the popular history[134] written by historians *Come Here To Me* (MacGrath, Fallon, and Murray 2013) includes a number of vignettes from the time illustrating this radical potential. According to Cathal O'Connell *"(t)he housing question acted as a political indicator of deep divisions between the economic and political establishment and the unemployed workers movement, the Communist Party and Republican Socialists, in particular through the medium of the Republican Congress which mobilised workers throughout the country through rent strikes and anti-eviction actions*" (2007:31). These actions included the proposed, but vetoed, assassination of a slum landlord and the establishment of tenant leagues (Byrne 1994). Understood in this context reform staves off class war, as shall be detailed below. Reading through the *Irish Press* news coverage we find statements in praise of Franco, and some in the Catholic hierarchy suggesting that to solve the housing crisis Ireland must follow the example of Mussolini. At this time a situation was developing with some of the former Blueshirt's network and the Irish left were beginning to mobilise for the Spanish Civil War fighting on either side, although the two Irish sides never actually engaged each other.

Back in Ireland the Blueshirts were splitting but the Animal gangs[135] were still

[134] That is to say marketed for general consumption rather than academic consumption, the price tag that academic books are sold at is often a clue.
[135] The Animal gangs have been suggested by Fergus Whelan as emerging from the Lumpenproletariat at the History Ireland Hedge School (2011). This term, which is unfortunate in its connotations, has various explanations for the origins of the Animal gangs have been given from newspaper boys (for which see Corrigan Kearns) to dock workers who worked with animals.

causing trouble. Donal Fallon has recently shown that these were not the same group of newsboys who stood up to the bosses and at one point Sinn Féin (2013), or the Robin Hoods seen in Corrigan Kearns's oral histories (2006) but instead a generic term applied to gang criminality at the time. This appears to have included anti-left action and Fallon draws on a number of sources to show this, and there are hints of a direct connection to the Blueshirts although these tend to come from later sources. In his auto-biography Bob Doyle, who describes the Animal gangs as "*toughs*" rather than criminals, records that he was involved in a number of street battles against the Blueshirts, he also took part in the attack on Connolly House, headquarters of the Communist Party, and joined the same party the next day. He is one of those who claimed a link between the Blueshirts and Animal gangs (Doyle and Owens 2009).

Two articles in particular on the housing crisis make explicit reference to the fight against Communism[136]. One article claiming that "*Communism feeds on the very conditions in which upwards of 110,000 Dublin citizens are forced to live*"[137] (Anon 1936b), this follows directly a comment pointing out the slums were a breeding ground for diseases demonstrating that the writer saw Communism as one. One clergyman, Archdeacon Kelleher, clearly associated abolishing the slums with "*an effective barrier against the inroads of Communism and the dangers to the faith and morals of the*

This unfortunate term is often used by Marxists, Marx's own description of the lumpenproletariat – *"Apart from vagabonds, criminals, prostitutes, in short the actual lumpenproletariat, this social stratum consists of three categories. First, those able to work. One need only glance superficially at the statistics of English pauperism to find that the quantity of paupers increases with every crisis of trade, and diminishes with every revival. Second, orphans and pauper children. These are candidates for the industrial reserve army, and in times of great prosperity, such as the year 1860, for instance, they are enrolled in the army of active workers both speedily and in large numbers. Third, the demoralized, the ragged, and those unable to work, chiefly people who succumb to their incapacity for adaptation, an incapacity which results from the division of labour; people who have lived beyond the worker's average life-span; and the victims of industry, whose number increases with the growth of dangerous machinery, of mines, chemical works, etc., the mutilated, the sickly, the widows, etc".* (Marx 1990:797).

[136] Despite the paper following a left wing of Fianna Fáil bias we see clear anti-communism, this undoubtedly relates to how they are reporting from official sources as well as the public mood at the time, see (Horgan 2001:29–31) for a discussion on the Irish Press's ideology and policy in regard sourcing news. Contemporary socialist documents suggest that Fianna Fáil was not leftwing this contradiction between modern historiography and contemporary experience is linked to a confusion between Republicanism and Socialism.

[137] Under the propaganda model the anti-communism would be significant as this was one of the filters originally proposed under it.

people", which appears to have been based on that the slums were:

> *"the breeding grounds of Communists. The fact that they are not producing the natural destructive effects of typical Communism is to be attributed, in my mind, to the fundamental Christian virtues of faith, charity and humility, which are to be found in greater degree amongst the poorer classes than amongst any others* (Anon 1936h:9)."

Another praised the poor living in these buildings arguing that *"(n)otwithstanding the undoubted deplorable social conditions under which many of the poor exist, it is an extraordinary fact that in these unhealthy, sometimes filthy habitations, is found an unassailable example of charity, fortitude and faith. Communism has been knocking at thir [sic] doors incessantly and perseveringly, only to be repulsed with scorn*" (Anon 1936g:9). Here the image is of organised Communism actively attempting to recruit. This resistance to Communism seems to be reflected in the oral history record as Terry Fagan has recorded one such incident in his book on the Monto despite the fond remembrance of Larkin himself during 1913 (Fagan 2000), James Larkin having been a Communist.

Two letters[138] to *The Irish Press* given prominence by that paper make the claim that eliminating the slums will also remove the threat that the writers believe Communism poses, reflecting the red scare. One from a Mr. T. Curtin appears under "*NO COMMUNIST MENACE THEN*" and reads "We *hear a lot about Communism. Let us tackle the slum dwellings and put the working man and the poor man and the small farmer and their families in decent houses and their [sic] will be very few Communists*" (Anon 1936r:9). This appeared alongside a letter from Mr. G.B. Newe which while agreeing with the sentiments of the other letter had a more understanding tone writing

[138] Again these are important if we were to consider the Irish Press campaign under the propaganda model, as they would form part of the flak, one of the five filters.

"*We are all preaching against Communism these days; but can we blame its taking root in any nation where the poorest of the poor are permitted – are, indeed, forced to live in such horrible surroundings and under such horrible conditions*".

The claim is made by Maud Gonne MacBride in an article in the same newspaper that the *Irish Press* articles *"should at least end the ignorant cry of 'Communism' raised against those of us who, from public platforms, protested against the unchristian conditions in which so many of our fellow-countrymen are forced to live*" (Anon 1936p). Which suggests that Communism may have been used as a label to silence those critics of the consequences of the Irish class system, even if they were not actual Communists.

However in the same set of issues that this series of articles appears we find a number of references to the opposition of communism outside of the housing question, with the Archbishop of Liverpool warning of the "*Imminence and magnitude of the danger*" (Anon 1936q). There is also coverage of how pioneers attended a Communist meeting (Anon 1936l), calls from the Archbishop of Tuam for a campaign of prayer against Bolshevism and Anarchy in support of Spain (Anon 1937), a pro-fascist position echoed in relation to the slums in an interview with Rev. Sir John O'Connell who praised Mussolini's handling of the Italian housing problem and described the conditions as "*a factory of Communism*" (Anon 1936n)[139]. Another proposed emulating the German's methods of solving the housing issue by focusing on physical training and mental health alongside improved corporative planning, "*(w)hile one might disagree with the form of Government*" (Anon 1936v) appears to suggest support for the social rather than political aspects of Fascism. This implicitedly sounds like eugenics which

[139] For further examples see Michael O'Riordan's book on the Irish brigades (1979:211–216).

was not considered pseudo-science at the time. In these articles we also find reference to public book burnings of alleged Communist literature and signs of "*Communists beware*" in Granard (Anon 1936d), a rally held to "*steal the Communist's thunder' by remedying social evils*", both in support of Spain and for concerns at home (Anon 1936i), a letter advocating greater power to the Catholic hierarchy and solidarity between Catholics to prevent a repeat of what was happening there happening in Ireland as well (Anon 1936a).

This red scare reached the level of a moral panic, given the claimed lack of effectiveness of the Communist recruitment in the slums, despite the fact that left wing groups such as the Republican Congress had attempted to organise the tenements. Fantastical conspiracy theories can be seen from the suggestion of a "*Secret plotting that threaten civilisation*" seemingly associated with "*the efforts of various secular governments to capture the child-mind and lead it away from the divinely appointed course marked out by Christ the King*"[140]. The proposed answer to this plot was education (Anon 1936k).

With the trade union movement reported as willing to cooperate to tackle the housing crisis (Anon 1936y), (Anon 1936z) including the IWWU (Irish Women Worker's Union) (Anon 1936aa), the only evidence of domestic potential for mass organisation of the working classes reported in the Irish Press during this period comes from Councillor James Larkin. He claimed that only a mass working class movement could tackle the housing crisis[141] (Anon 1936x). This panic needs to be seen in relation to the small scale mobilisations attached to the Republican Congress, even if the

[140] Given the well known links between this form of Anti-Communism and Anti-Semitism it is unlikely to be an accident that this resembles the notorious forgery *The Protocols of Zion*. This sort of thing is seen on far-right websites to this day.
[141] This had been occurring under the Republican Congress backed Tenant Leagues.

coverage for that month as outlined above firmly links the then current panic to events in Spain[142], which of course involved some of the former members of the Republican Congress.

Preserving the Buildings appearance and the aesthetics of class power

Significantly we find reference to the retention of the Georgian buildings in the near contemporary report of the city manager and town clerk, P.J. Hernon, who quotes that a submission made to him that the reconditioning of Georgian houses has been of poor standard:

> *(i)f Georgian Housing is to be reconditioned it is essential that the character be preserved. This has… not been done in the Gardiner Street Area, where the results, while no doubt hygienic, are offensive aesthetically. It is appreciated that the work was carried out under difficult conditions of supply, but the effect of the removal of area railings and the substitution of bulky concrete walls can at least be described as incongruous and aesthetically unpleasant* (1946:54).

Hernon's response was that with a significant number of railings missing they could not replace them, implicitly due to emergency restrictions during the war. Cement was considered the practicable material to use due to a combination of the expense of other options and a fear of vandalism. He argued other reconditions such as fanashes had a Georgian feel, and they had restored the Georgian doors. While this dealt with the Gardiner estate it perhaps explains why York Street was rebuilt in the Georgian style, as

[142] It is in this context we can also understand decisions by electoralists such as William Norton, leader of the Labour party, to reverse his and his party's previous strong opposition to the blueshirt movement (O'Riordan 1979:204–210) and see Fascism solely as Nazism, failing to recognise that Franco was a fascist also (Geoghegan 1993).

it appears that even at this stage the architectural style had its followers within the corporation, so rebuilding in the style of that architecture is not a surprise.

The most striking part of this section of the housing report is its concern for the appearance of the buildings as much as the living conditions which is the focus of much of the rest of the report. This reflects the continuing bourgeois focus on the appearance of the building but it also shows something about the nature of the rentier capitalist's ownership of the buildings. The use value was dominant to an extent not witnessed either during the building's construction or their current situation, so that aesthetics very much went by the wayside. It is significant that the major turning point in the reception of the buildings as aesthetic was in the emergence of the conservation movement in the 1960s, although its precursors are discernible in the 1930s. For the people living at the time in these tenements the aesthetics undoubtedly would have been cold comfort if their living conditions remained the same.

If we assume that with the use of the buildings we are dealing with what is concrete, then once we enter the realm of the aesthetic we are considering the abstract. So that while the concrete use in the rentier-tenement system was as a way of extracting profits from the working-classes through their dwelling in them. The abstract aesthetic value which is dormant here aside from Hernon's comments relates to issues of conservation and restoration and may be considered a political act as we see the emergence of an Anglo-Irish heritage in the move to preserve the Georgian aesthetic, the city manager expressing a political will in this regard. This sort of question arises out of regime change that occurred in the previous decades which the conservative political revolution was and Michel Makarius has pointed to this question first emerging in the context of the French Revolution (Makarius 2004:167). Markarius provides us

with a way to look at the ideological nature of the choices made in how to restore or conserve the signifiers of a past. At the level of safe-guarding, which seems to be much of the post 1960s conservation movement, if changes are made to them they lose their ability to be witnesses, a point that will be addressed with the discussion on authenticity in forthcoming chapters. In terms of the streetscape what occurred in the 1930s combined both conservation with restoration, for example in York Street the tenements were rebuilt in a Georgian style and this contradiction between conservation and public improvement is evident in both Heron's statement and Dublin City policy. Makarius[143] updated the theories of Alois Riegl and Walter Benjamin to suggest that the ruin could also serve to embody human suffering. Potentially this could provide us with an appropriate symbolic quality for former tenement buildings, but for those in the 1930s these still inhabited ruins and those images that were generated by the *Irish Press* provided a stark visual reminder of the class system and its impact. This presented a challenge to both the Irish capitalist system and those who aligned themselves with it: how could they make capitalism liveable a question which always animates the reformists.

The continued association of the Georgian buildings with their former Anglo-Irish owners is apparent from some of the Press coverage with one article comparing their former glory with the current situation under the headline "*Palatial Homes - Now Hovels Slums on Spacious Streets*". We read "*FORTUNATELY for its inhabitants, Dublin has many spacious streets. The width is a reflex of the sense of luxury in which the well to do of the 18th century and earlier planned their town residences*" (Anon 1936s). This appears to create a nostalgic sense of a golden age of Dublin similar to other narratives of Georgian Dublin witnessed throughout this thesis. In Simmel's *The*

[143] Makarius linked this to the call of "never again" (2004:177), for those reading the Irish Press the call was more it must end.

Ruin as already alluded to this turns them into a tragic aesthetic, suggesting the transience of humanity's dominance over nature (1958). What is of interest here is that it post dates independence, which would suggest that the apparent post-colonial opposition to the Georgian buildings was related to the political and social context of the 1960s, rather than related to having gained independence from Britain. Justin Carville suggests that in the imagery of the ruined cottage the Anglo-Irish foresaw their own decline (2013). What is seen in the discussions of the Georgian houses as tenements at an aesthetic level is the fulfilment of that expectation.

Conclusion

The imagery of the slums and tenements of the 1936 Dublin housing crisis come from a "middle class" and bourgeois viewpoint. This is not to say that the crisis was in any way manufactured but instead it was driven by the class interests of those in positions of power. Kevin Corrigan Kearns claims that "*It was indisputably the 1936 Irish Press series of articles generally entitled "Dublin's Slum Evil" which most strongly mobilised public opinion in favour of drastic government action to finally "abolish the slums to their last tentacles*"" (2006:18)[144]. In doing so it engaged the collective force in the form of cooperative action or social power to effect social change.

While this was broadly beneficial to some of the working classes and drew on the language and inclination towards social justice, it cannot be denied that also lurking

[144] In Marxist theory the bourgeois pursuit of decent accommodation settled on a form that would at the end of the day fall on the public through the state and focus on private accommodation a consideration not always taken into account by those pursing it as a policy. For Marx most campaigns for housing reform ignored this question "*Nor here is it even needful to consider where it would be that, if decent accommodation were provided, the cost ... would eventually fall -whether on landlord, or lessee, or labourer, or public*." (Marx 1990:822)

behind the campaign was an alliance with the conservative powers of the Catholic Church and the bourgeois Irish Free State having been revolutionary during the period of 1916 to 1922 had now become the status quo, interested in conserving their position. The changed political situation allowed, as we have seen with some of the articles, the construction of the problem as being a colonial legacy which ignored historical facts such as the number of nationalist politicians and employees of the corporation who were slum landlords. The landlord figure themselves drew particular ire as being the negative form of capitalism contrasting with an apparently positive counter-part. Scapegoats provided a responsible party for the social problem in the first place, removing any culpability from those in positions of economic and political power, the status quo was safe to preserve from potential working class self organisation. The Anti- Communist movement was very real and evidence could be found to support their fear with left wing groups campaigning on housing issues, survivors of the revolutionary period still maintaining a public profile and a militant left fighting against Franco in Spain. Resolving the housing crisis became a way to starve the left of one of its chief campaigns from which it drew support. In this way as much as justice, the "middle class" and bourgeois were inspired by the need to preserve their class position.

While a number of solutions to the housing crisis were proposed by both those in positions of power and authority. The line followed by the *Irish Press* very much followed that of official Fianna Fáil and local authority policy with a concentration on private cottage housing and flats[145], often in suburban areas. However this benefited only some of the working classes (Reclus 2013b:182). Furthermore, as Conor McCabe has pointed out, these schemes tended to ignore the practicalities of working class life, with families moved from their communities, with limited public transport, few shops

[145] In fact they were more enthusiastic about flats then the officials (2001a),

or pubs and distant from where they worked and socialised increasing the living costs for those moved[146] (2013:25–6). This confirms Reclus's claims that this suburbanisation would exclude the sociability of working class life (Reclus 2013b:184). However, it also contradicts the basic assumptions of suburbanisation as a policy in that it is assumed that these are encouraged by the bourgeois class when services exist (Reclus 2013b:181).

It is within this context that we have to view the photographs taken from a bourgeois and "middle class" lens. The role of the photographs has been described as "*(u)pper-class Dubliners settled comfortably in their suburban homes were visually confronted by pathetically gaunt, staring faces of their poor brethren… For many, the tenement slums suddenly became a stark reality rather than merely a comfortable abstraction*" (Kearns 2006:18). This I argue is really the ruined person of Simmel rendered almost perfectly and in this regard it is a form of turning national poverty into a voyeuristic exercise. The sense that the photographs along with the testimony of those who lived in the tenements were meant to move the readership to action is important in our consideration of the images as they would have been both staged and selected with this motive in mind. In this way the image is not an objective fact, instead they are similar to how Carville has analysed their counterparts from 1913 in that they have a socially constructed history of production and distribution and come with a rhetoric (Carville 2005:302). While in 1913 this was one of authority due to the context of officialdom (Carville 2005:294) this is not necessarily the case for those in the Irish Press over twenty years later.

[146] Corrigan Kearns also argues that inner-city communities were destroyed by the transplantation to new suburbs, without means of sociability, which led to violence on the buses to and from the city (2014:243). One source he cites describes Ballyfermot as "*new, and they had been put out there with no facilities - and any kind of diversion was good. But I remember following the buses, and there'd be trouble with a crowd of lads, after dark, after drink, going home- and there'd be mayhem!*" (2014:249).

On the one hand the images under consideration here are clearly intended to be an example of documentation, so that they provide visual verification of the state of housing conditions in the Dublin tenements. On the other hand they also have a significant tone concentrating on issues of decay and improvement. So we see collapsed buildings, outer walls in disrepair, dishevelled inhabitants but we also see potential solutions in the flat blocks from the continent with wide open greenery contrasting with the dirty narrow Dublin laneway and the new corporation cottage with the health and happiness of the inhabitants emphasised. In this respect the photographs provide useful propaganda for the schemes which were believed to offer a solution.

However the image which juxtaposes the tenement with the corporation house reveals a further discourse, connected with improvement. These improvements not only derive from "middle class" and bourgeois interests but reflect their values so that the emphasis on privacy is seen throughout the sample with the hanging of washing outside the windows, but here stressed with both the curtains to block any voyeuristic gaze but also single family occupancy and it must be remembered that single family ownership was seen as the ideal (McCabe 2013:24–5). The visual contrast between this image and the one it is coupled with demonstrates two opposing concepts of the working classes, those who will become independent and those who will always be dependent on welfare. With the former group when they identify themselves as belonging to a class, often see themselves as middle class. This suggests that while the housing crisis of the day was addressed, but would recur during the next cyclical crisis of capital, in leaving the economic base on which society rests intact it allowed for the assimilation of a section of the working classes into a psuedo middle class[147]. This binary would become

[147] I say pseudo-middle class as the relationship between capital and labour is left basically intact, what has changed as anticipated at the time was that as home owners they were now less likely to engage in class struggle. However that is not to say that their conditions have not been changed, the home owner

more pronounced further into the twentieth century and on into the present.

becomes concerned with the market value of their house, and in many cases this will allow them to claim to be middle class or petit bourgeois ignoring their other economic and social relationships. Had this thesis been concerned with housing I would continue along these lines, however it is worth noting that a similar (not identical) economic relationship exists between home owners and banks when it comes to mortgages and the relationship between landlord and tenant.

Section 4: Soft theming and the symbolism of Georgian buildings

Chapter 9 Uncovering the symbolic canopy of Georgian Dublin on the Malton Trail

Summary

This chapter introduces the concept of soft-theming, and ties it to Althusser's (1971) process of interpellation. It argues against Mark Gottdiener's claim that classical architecture is hyposignificant (that it has no symbolism). Instead it establishes Georgian architects drew on a rich symbolic canopy. It uses as a sample a tour designed to showcase the work of James Malton, an eighteenth century artist and architect. In doing so it analyses those buildings which symbolised powerful institutions.

The Hyposignified Past

In defining what he meant by hyposignification Mark Gottdiener claimed that:

> *With the coming of capitalism at the end of the European Middle Ages (there is no definitive date), religion and local signifying practices were pushed aside in favor of the functional need of accumulating wealth. According to Roland Barthes (1970-1971), the classic city of early capitalism grew around a centre that contained buildings corresponding with the most powerful forces of social organization. 'There was a church, a bank or brokerage house, a court or civic building, and a space for a market... Apart from the church, which retained the symbolic trappings of traditional society, other buildings of the centre possessed little in the way of symbolic embellishments. The structures were known best by their functions-a bank, a court, a commercial brokerage* (2001:23).

He borrows the term hyposignification from Francoise Choay to describe this reduction of signs to the level where there was no overall "*symbolic canopy*" or set of

themes on which to draw. Gottdiener does note that the city as a whole does retain its symbolic nature as a symbol of capital and wealth and the dominance of these, and that a rich symbolic system does survive. Sharon Zukin sees this phenomenon as how the hegemonic ideas of those in power are reflected in the built environment (1993). As mentioned in the introduction Marx observed that the ruling ideas of any time are going to be those of its ruling class. By combining this with Zukin's observation on what symbols tend to be those represented in the built environment we can suggest that the symbolism observed in this chapter do reflect those of the ruling classes. Due to the nature of the symbols that will be observed in this chapter it will be argued that they are being used to represent elements of what in Marxist terms are described as the superstructure.

Gottdiener believes that while an intellectual nostalgia for symbols can be seen from the nineteenth century on, so that richer symbolic landscapes exist on paper based on both nostalgia and progress, it was not until the 1960s that symbols made their comeback. It is suggested that the first of these, nostalgia, was imagined from the rejection of the urban milieu, essentially a re-greening of the city and taking it back from urban sprawl with a green belt.

The progressive model takes as its starting point modernity and draws on modern art and celebrates technological progress, while drawing on and attempting to reinvigorate the symbolic. Gottdiener argues that this model impeded symbolism for years as it generated row after row of plain blocks. Emphasizing efficiency and functionality this architectural movement believed that "*form follows function*" (2001:26) both in terms of individual buildings and the spaces that they were within, so that the city was divided into zones commercial, industrial, residential and recreational.

At the highpoint of this movement Gottdiener informs us we have Le Corbusier's plans for high rise blocks linked only through access by car. In terms of symbols, the idea was to draw from progress so that all nostalgic, traditional or sentimental symbols would be eradicated. Rather than simply existing on paper these models were implemented resulting in the demolition of low rise residential housing and the construction of high rise homogenous blocks. It is interesting given the time period to connect this to the slum clearances in Dublin and building of spaces such as Ballymun and St. Theresa's Gardens. While definitely on a smaller scale the influence is clearly still there. Gottdiener sees the fulfilment of this movement in the city of Brasilia, which is a city of interconnected high-rises and plazas without footpaths. Gottdiener argues that the progressive model was the most hyposignified stage of architectural history, from the 1960s there was a counter reaction to this trend in architecture leading to an increased use of symbolism.

He locates this change in the capitalist economy as in addition to having the means to purchase a commodity “*the thematic appeals in marketing and the influence of fashion also regulate the social process of consuming*" (2001:42). He sees this as being due to late capitalism which is dominated by information and services. In this social and economic environment the symbolic value of the commodity becomes more important as it becomes the fulfilment of the consumer fantasies. Within this he sees the themed environment as "*the material manifestation*" of a society in which the symbolic value is key, and this has moved away from the hyposignificance of industrial capitalism.

When discussing hyposignification Gottdiener claims that:

> *Everyday life has been set free from the wellsprings of religious, ethnic, and family signs by the plethora of popular culture symbols that now pervade our*

> *environment, Françoise Choay (1969) argued that the city under the spell of modernist architecture and planning had become "hyposignificant."' By this she meant that unlike classical and traditional settlement spaces, contemporary cities no longer possessed an overarching theme that organized the symbolic content of the built environment* (2001:175).

While Gottdiener points out that it was always possible to find symbols in the modern city, and he gives examples of "*movie palaces, fantasy fairs or arcades*" (2001:175), he suggests that the norm especially in the modernist city was hyposignification. As the radical geographer Elisée Reclus once argued cities have an individual character "*(e)ach city has its unique individuality, its own life, its own countenance… (s)uccessive generations have left each with its distinctive character"* and so should be looked at independently of each other so that a *"systematic study of cities, which examines both their historical development and the social values expressed in their public and private architecture, allows one to judge them as one judges individuals*" (2013b:173). The implication of this being that two cities may not entirely share the same features, this chapter will suggest that far from being hyposignificant in the case of Georgian Dublin we can find an eighteenth century space in which symbolism was incredibly important. We will identify the overarching theme used and argue that while not popular culture, and partially based on symbols from religion, the symbolic canopy drew heavily from contemporary high culture. Unlike theming in the modern sense this symbolism does not appear to be connected to the selling of commodities rather the expression of ideas connected to the buildings on which the symbols appear. This will be achieved by drawing on George Richardson's *Iconology; or a Collection of Emblematical Figures; containing four hundred and twenty-four remarkable subjects, moral and instructive; in which are displayed the beauty of Virtue*

and deformity of Vice (1779), (Howells and Negreiros 2012:19)[148]. This was a handbook for the inclusion of iconology which provides us with what Gottdiener would term the "*symbolic canopy*" (2001:23), the group of unifying themes on which the symbolism draws.

The inclusion of these images were suggested by other contemporaries as well, John Aheron writer of the only Irish produced architectural manual at the time supported the use of female figures to represent the virtues and vices (1754). As we shall see in the descriptions below these were by and large the main usage of these statues, although it should be noted that Richardson stresses that these are to be used as allegories. Aheron's architectural manual will be dealt with in-depth in the next chapter. While it is true that the buildings were built by the collective force of labour and their employers, and at varying times housed the working classes either as servants or tenement dweller, the design of the buildings is wholly reflective of the bourgeoisie's tastes (Reclus 2013b:173).

About The Sample

The sample used here mostly draws from the Malton trail which is designed around James Malton's *A Picturesque and Descriptive View of the City of Dublin* (1984)[1799]. The Dictionary of National Biography describes him as:

> *an architectural draughtsman and author, accompanied his father to Dublin, where he found employment in the office of the distinguished architect James Gandon ... Subsequently Gandon suspected that Malton was responsible for Letters Addressed to Parliament (1787), which expressed hostile views on the architect's work, but the authorship was not proved... In 1797 he published a*

[148] The use of this text was outlined in chapter 5 of this thesis which set out the methodology.

handsome volume of illustrations with text, A Descriptive View of Dublin. (Saunders 2004).

The trail itself is designed as a self guided tour around various buildings which appeared in the artist's aquatints. This will allow me to work public buildings such as the Custom House in, as well as some of the larger private buildings including two from the Gardiner Estate. The signs used to direct tourists and explain the buildings are found in an appendix (1), but are quoted verbatim here. Where possible the photographs attempt an approximate recreation of Malton's paintings. In total we find eight buildings on this seven of which are included here. Due to it being outside the Georgian core Saint Patrick's Cathedral is excluded. Had it been analysed it would be largely hyposignificant except for in the case of the interior which is organised around the symbols of religion, while on the exterior it is relatively sparse. Also excluded for now are a number of what were at the time private houses Leinster House, the Hugh Lane Gallery and Powerscourt House[149] which will be examined in-depth in the next chapter alongside smaller scale townhouses.

Table 1 Common Features of the signs

Denotation	Syntagm	Connotation/ myth	Cultural Knowledge	Intertextual relations	Blue Guide
Malton trail Sign	Large, nearly 6ft?	A self guided tour for tourists	Signs are dotted around the city centre	Malton trail Aquatints	Malton Trail Sign
Texts	Short Blocks of text (quoted verbatim above)	Provision of information for tourists		Often quote Malton	

[149] Located on William Street, not to be confused with the house of the same name on the Powerscourt Estate in Enniskerry, County Wicklow.

Image	One of Malton's Aquatints	Show the scene in late eighteenth century	Can demonstrate similarities or differences in the streetscape	Malton's A Picturesque and Descriptive View of the city of Dublin	
Frame	Dark, brown or black, supports same colour, 3 Dublin castles and Malton Trail in gold lettering, plastic Covering	Gold stands out against dark colouring, reference to Dublin	Three towers symbol of Dublin		
Sponsorship	Baileys Original Irish Cream, surrounded by the text		A Drinks Company, these companies sponsor a lot of events etc. in Ireland		
Map	Show the route of the trail, bordered by wine background	Points out (though with the exception of Dublin Castle does not name) the locations on the trail			

As was noted above each of these buildings on the Malton trail was accompanied by a sign nearby, except Powerscourt Townhouse, providing a self guided trail of Malton's art. The signs come to between five and six feet in height, and have a dark brown or black frame with the "Malton Trail" in gold coloured letters above it, and the three towers symbolising Dublin which stand out as they are in the same lettering. There is also a Baileys logo at the bottom of the frame; none of these elements are in Powerscourt hence its exclusion. The signs all follow a similar formula first there is a reproduction of Malton's aquatint of the nearby building, this is followed by the title in

large block letters and the text against a pale background which surrounds Baileys logo. Finally there is a map against a wine background showing a map of the Malton Trail. We can identify several levels of intertextuality firstly between the aquatint and the building that it depicts, then the space of the city centre and the map of the Malton Trail. The text is interesting as not only does it provide an intertextual reference to the buildings it describes, it also usually quotes from Malton's *A Picturesque and Descriptive View of the city of Dublin* (1984), giving it a dual intertextuality. The Baileys logo of course serves to highlight their sponsorship of the trail as well as supply them with a continuous advertisement. This logo is absent from the interior Powerscourt Townhouse sign suggesting that it is not part of the tour. Most of these signs are single sided, exceptions being at College Green, where one side describes Trinity College and the other describes the Parliament building, and Dublin Castle, the opposite side of which is a map of the trail suggesting two routes. This panel differs from other panels on the trail having an enlarged map, instead of the aquatint. Against the pale background are two lists for the Malton trail, a long and a shorter one providing an itinerary for tourists, both of which add Dublinia. The Baileys logo is on the bottom of the frame instead of on the sign itself.

In this chapter we have as highly significant structures, the Custom House, Dublin Castle, the Law Courts[150] and the former Parliament buildings on college Green. In terms of ostensibly hyposignificant buildings we have Trinity College, the Rotunda and the Royal Exchange. In the chapter that follows this one we shall examine private houses and show that while ostensibly hyposignificant, they like the two buildings here drew on the same architectural tradition and claimed to follow the same symbolism albeit in a more understated way. Saint Patrick's Cathedral is omitted as it is outside the physical space that is described as Georgian Dublin.

[150] These are better known as the Four Courts.

It is worth noting that this and the following chapter form a section united by the use of soft-theming. Where soft-theming occurs the theme is created through the use of guide-books, tours, plaques and so on with minimal disruption to the space itself. This is enabled through the ideological process Althusser identified as interpellation (1971:174) with the guide acting as a vehicle through which the visitor recognises themselves as being called. The visitor's attention is drawn by this vehicle to the building that is being themed. It is my contention that this is how protected spaces are themed. Due to the potential for alternative readings I am not arguing that theming itself is part of the state apparatus, ideological (ISA) or repressive (RSA), but it can project them when tied to what Sharon Zukin describes in *Landscapes of Power* (1993) in which she describes the landscape as representing hegemonic social organisation. The buildings analysed below when tied to State Apparatus connect to RSA's and not ISA's for example the Law Courts and Dublin Castle. In this chapter we see this through the use of signs while the next chapter we see it through a sample primarily collected with reference to a guidebook (Dargan 2008) as well as a plaque in Henrietta Street. This creates the potential for multiple themes to be placed, palimpsest like, on a single building which forms the basis of the final section of my concluding chapter.

Signified Structures

Figure 17.1 Custom House

Figure 17.2 Frieze and statues

Figure 17.3 Crest

Text of accompanying sign

This masterpiece of 18th Century architecture is one of Dublin's finest buildings, begun in 1781 from designs of James Gandon. The original aquatint was etched by James Malton who had been employed by Gandon during the early years of construction. Malton's dedicated work, A picturesque and Descriptive View of the city of Dublin, from which this reproduction is taken, provides us with a glimpse of Dublin at the height of her Georgian glory.

In some respects, this view differs from what can actually be seen today; the 'soup tureen' urns at the pavilion corners, are absent. Other respects in which this representation differs from what is to be seen now are the niches alternating with windows on the first floor arcades, the four statues, now absent from their positions over the main portico, and the roof of the Long room just visible here behind the dome. These differences are the result of alterations made when the building was restored by the Board of Works after its gutting by fire in 1921.

The copper dome, 26ft in diameter, is topped by the 16ft figure of Hope, resting on her anchor, 12 ft high, and 113ft from the ground.

It was Dublin's most costly and (with the exception of the exchange) most highly decorated building, and generally acknowledged to be the "most sumptuous Edifice" in Europe. Today, the Custom House is owned by the State and is used as offices for the Department of the Environment.

The building itself stretches for thirty one bays[151]. At the centre is a classical portico of four pillars, a triangular pediment and a stepped base. On both sides of the portico is a section of three bays with columns and decorated windows resembling fanlights, a design which is repeated at the ends of the building. Along each of the wings connecting these features is a row of semicircular arches on a stepped base. On the pediment is a frieze representing Neptune driving away Famine and Despair, while Hibernia embraces Britannia and holding peace symbols, along with boats in the image (Anonymous 2010b), (Doyle 2001). This suggests that international trade is beneficial to both Britain and Ireland whose mutual self interest is to have peaceful relations, and these will prevent Famines, an idea which has to be seen in the context of recurring relatively minor Famines, rather than the later Great Famine.

Trade rather than simple colonialism is the relationship that is being emphasised here so that we can see Georgian Dublin's place within imperialism. On the roof of the pediment are four statues representing Neptune, Mercury, Industry and Plenty, personally I cannot see the difference between their position and one shown in the aquatint on the sign. As pointed out by the sign there is a statue on the roof of the dome which it says is representing Hope, however according to archiseek it is Commerce (Anonymous 2010b), which a third source confirms (Doyle 2001). Given the context of it being on the Custom House this seems more appropriate. These statues suggest a

[151] If two sections of a single bay on either side are taken into account.

similar narrative to the frieze, Neptune representing international trade[152], Mercury, the divine messenger known for speed. These taken alongside the personifications of Industry, Plenty and Commerce suggest that the market and industry will lead to plenty. The fact that these virtues are represented by women supports Aheron's directions in that regard (1754:77–8). According to Dargan the dome is a feature inherited from renaissance architecture (2008:64). On the left of the Custom House viewing from across the Liffey is an urn shaped object which is on the far side. An imperial symbol, albeit one which has survived since the building's construction, is the lion and unicorn surrounding the harp on either side of the building. As archiseek points out, it is unusual for them not to use the crest of the reigning monarch; instead it is the crest of Ireland (Anonymous 2010b). Perhaps this reflects an Irish identity, on the part of the ruling classes, within a federal Britain rather than a straightforward colonial identity.

Figure 18.1 Castle Courtyard

[152] That is across the seas, incidentally this had been a key demand of the Volunteers.

Figure 18.2 Justice seen from Street

Figure 18.3 Justice seen from Courtyard

Figure 18.4 Fortitude seen from courtyard

Text of accompanying sign

Dublin Castle was originally built in the reign of King John, (circa 1205) as a "Citadel of Defence, and place to deposit the Royal Treasure."

Later in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, in 1560, its uses were extended to include the holding of Court by the Lord Lieutenants, or Chief Governors of Ireland.

The State Apartments on one side of the Castle Yard include the spacious St.

Patrick's Hall. The painted ceiling and frieze bear the arms of the Knights of St. Patrick. Our President, Mary MacAleese was inaugurated here, as were all former presidents of Ireland.

The Throne Room in the Castle is the place where English kings and queens received their subjects. The huge throne is thought to have been presented by William of Orange. It was last used in 1911 by George V.

Another feature of the building is the oval Wedgewood Room in the blue and white style of Wedgewood china, with a Waterford glass chandelier, Adam fireplace and Chinese-style Chippendale chairs.

Parts of the Dublin City Wall which originally protected Dublin from invaders can still be seen in the basement.

Dublin Castle is used today for state occasions such as the European Summit of 1990. In his Description of the famous View of Dublin, James Malton declared "... it has an air of grandeur superior to what is observable in any of the Courts of Saint James, the Royal Palace of London..

The features of Dublin Castle emphasised by the Malton trail are not the medieval tower or older features but its Georgian courtyard as depicted by Malton. The part of the courtyard providing Malton's background consists of a building facade in which the design of a classical portico is incorporated without being a classical portico. The Redstone building consists of three bays with arches on the first floor, the first floor having large windows topped by a floor with a triangular structure built into the brickwork, the granite stone work resembling a triangular pediment and columns creating the effect of a portico. At the centre of the pediment is a small semicircular window not present in the original aquatint. Just visible in Malton's print is a more traditional portico of five bays, six pillars, large windows on the first floor and a pediment built onto the third floor. The adjoining wings to the first structure are five

bays and three storeys of plain redbrick, while on the second structure we see eleven bays with granite on the ground floor. The uses of the portico at one level show variation but also have the practicality of allowing for a top floor. The focus of Malton's aquatint was the five bay building at the entrance of the Castle, the ground floor has a granite effect, while the first floor on the side bays have a red brick finish. The central three bays have a classical portico over three arches and topped with a domed tower, surrounded by decorative urns. On either side of the building is a statue over the entrance arches, on top of the one visible on the left is the statue of justice facing away from the city (figure 18.2) often taken as a statement for the castle not being the most just institution having been a seat of colonial rule (MacGrath et al. 2013). While it sounds like a later rationalisation, there is a (near) contemporary source for this (Wright 1831:23) in which we find *"mark well her station*, *Her face to the Castle*, *her back to the Nation* ". A similar rational is not used for explaining the second statue also looking away from the city (figure 18.4 see also figure 18.3 for comparison)[153]. The second statue is identified by archiseek as Fortitude (Anonymous 2010a), a symbol of strength which again could have implications of colonial rule. Unusually for these statues fortitude is a male figure (a soldier), standing over a lion which in this context may represent danger, but again we see the use of a female figure (Justice) to represent a virtue (Aheron 1754:77-8). It is more likely that these were seen as ideals which were associated with the administration at the castle so that they perceived themselves as being both just and brave. Fortitude may be a Persian, it is impossible to confirm, which would also comply with Aheron's guidelines however he looks Greek or Roman. Given both statues look in on the courtyard it would appear that they were assumed to be viewed from there, and the folk explanation for Justice looking inward to the castle is a canard. The building is apparently based on Lord Pembroke's villa in Whitehall (Malton

[153] The folk explanation for the positioning of the statue retains some value as it suggests how people interpreted their relationship with the institution of the castle.

1984: np).

Fig 19.1 Law Courts

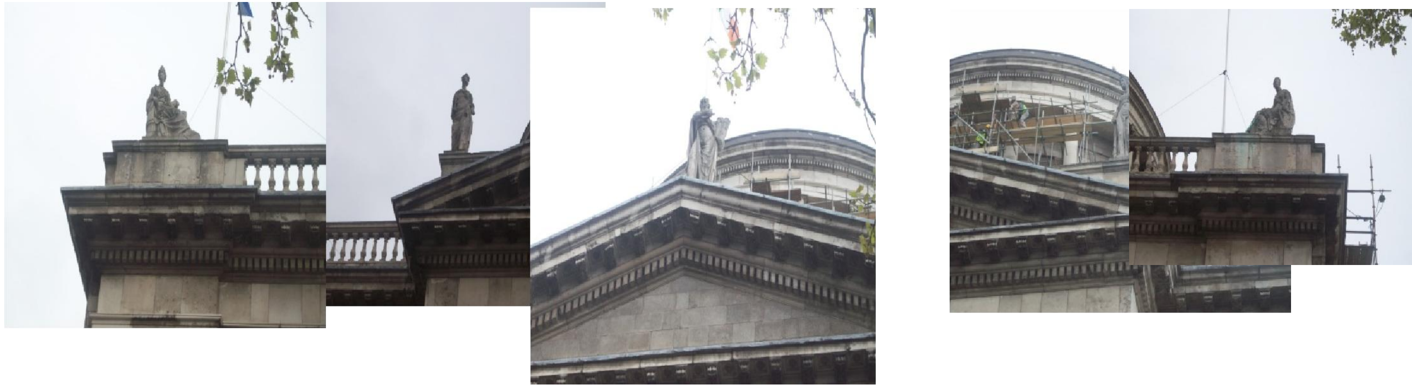


Fig 19.2 Statues

Text of accompanying sign

Situated at Inn's Quay, on the Northside of the river Liffey, The Law Courts (better known as the Four Courts) were designed by James Gandon, one of Ireland's foremost 18th century architect.

This view of Gandon's riverfront masterpiece is taken from James Malton's A Picturesque and Descriptive View of the City of Dublin. Malton's work was highly praised on publication. It reflected Dublin in her Georgian glory and produced a social and historical reference of great value.

The statues at the front of the H and the trophies over the gateways to the quadrangle are the work of Edward Smyth, who was Ireland's greatest 18th century sculptor. Other works by him include his remarkable work on the Custom House, Dublin, a series of 14 Keystones representing the rivers of Ireland, and the fine trophies on the roof.

Today, the building houses the Supreme Court and the High Court, the offices attached to these Courts and the library, consultation and other rooms required by barristers practicing in these courts.

Malton's lively and colourful prints open a window on the past, revealing scenes that can still be visited today.

Malton's version of the Law Courts highlights significant differences between how they appear and how he represents them. The courts themselves are designed as

several blocks and wings with a large domed tower above the central block. As with several other buildings on the trail the dome derives from renaissance architecture. The blocks on either side are three storeys, three bay structures, they are attached to the central structure with an exterior wall with single storey archways, and interior wings set in off the street. From observation the walls of the central building bordering the courtyard stretch for seven bays. The centre of the building is made up of a block with three bays and six Corinthian pillars (Doyle 2001) and a full height central portico with a pediment and a bay on either side with statues on top. If Aheron's assessment of architectural aesthetics is valid these pillars represented luxury (1754:57). In Malton's print the windows are round instead of square and the dome is more subdued than in reality, while other differences are the result of less than faithful restorations in the 1920s (1984:np).

The statues are of Mercy, Moses, Justice, Authority and Wisdom (Anonymous 2010c), the personification figures are most likely aspirational – the courts are assumed to be merciful, just and wise, having also authority. In keeping with Aheron's guidelines the figures are female (1754:77-8). The figure of Moses of course represents a biblical character that is associated with the creation of laws.

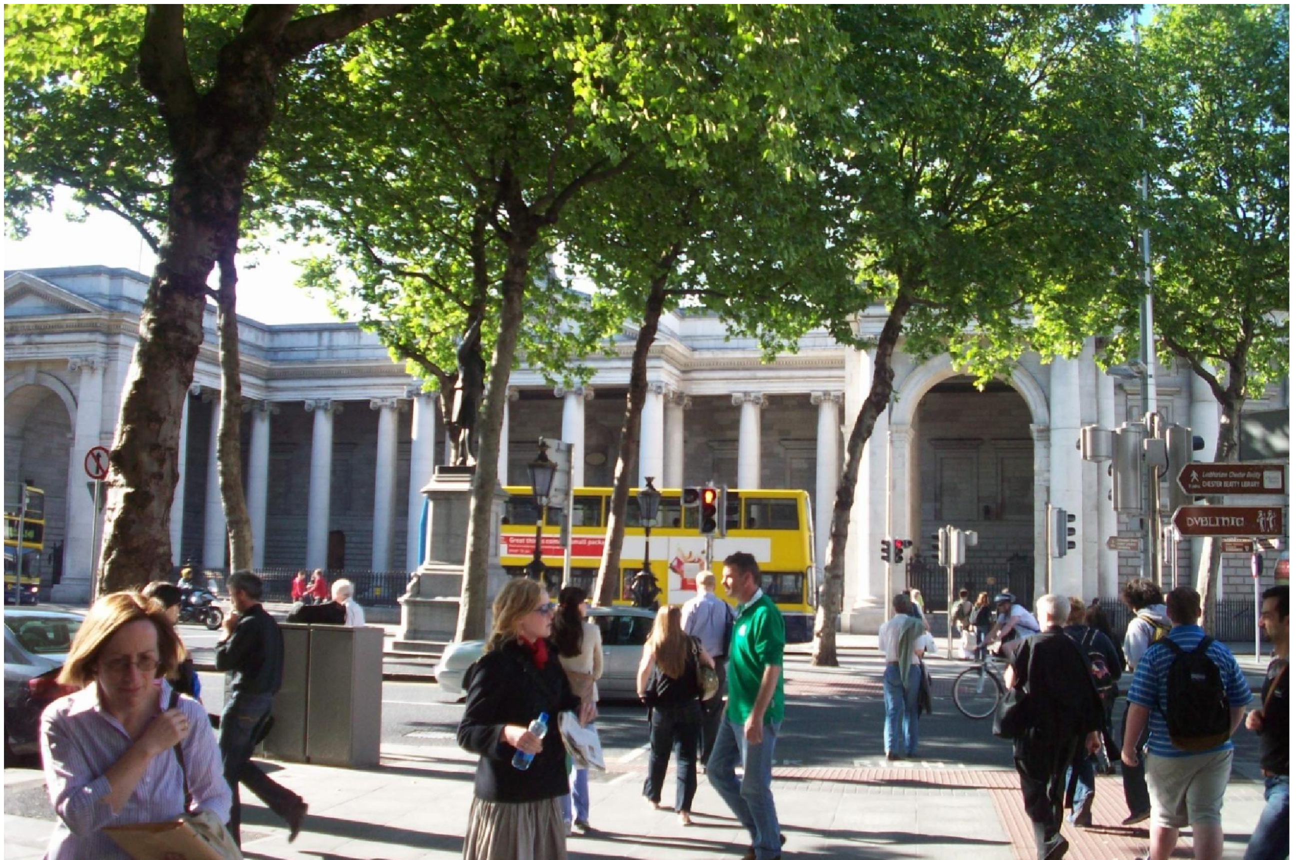


Figure 20.1 Parliament Building

LOOK LEFT

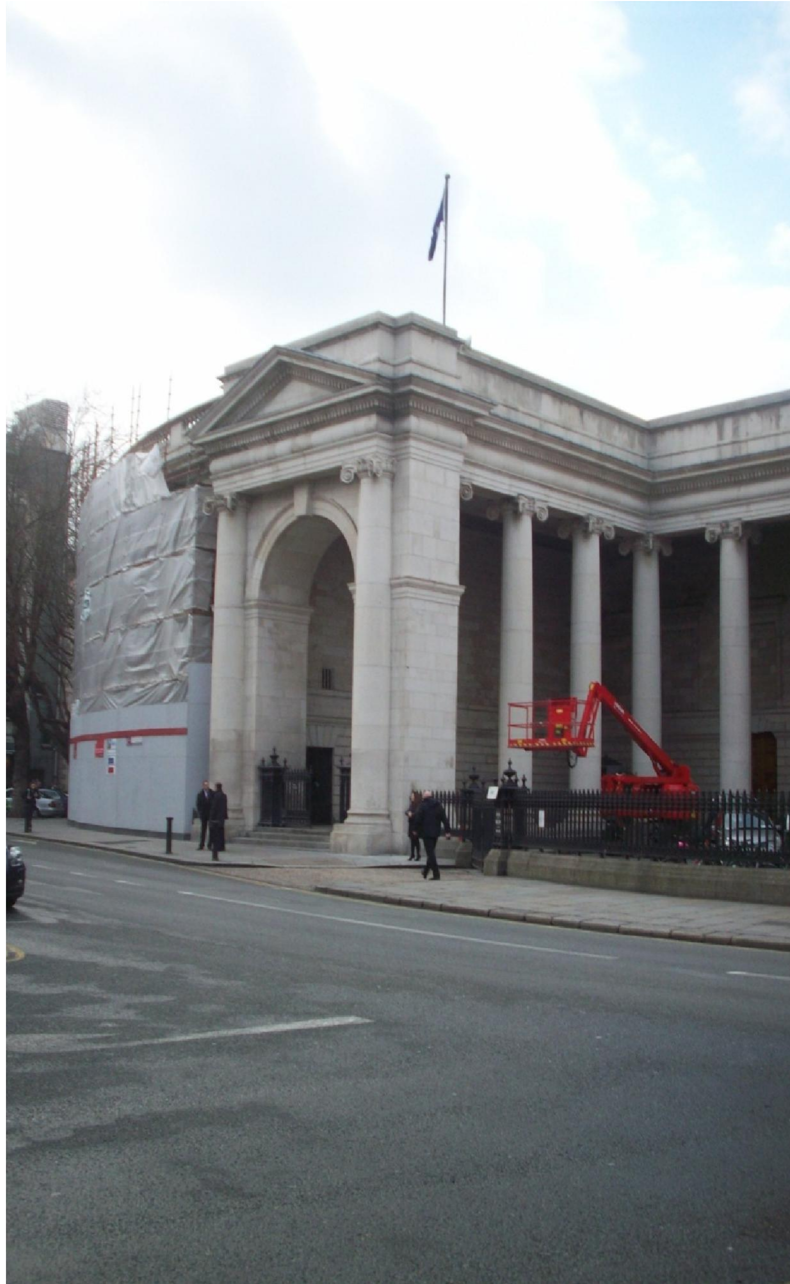


Figure 20.2-20.7 Parliament Building

Figure 20.8-20.11 Statues on Parliament Building

Text of accompanying sign

The building of The Parliament House, (better known today as The Bank of Ireland, College Green), was begun in the reign of George II and completed in 1739.

The elegant structure once comprised The House of Lords, and The House of Commons – evolving on similar lines to the English Parliament until in 1800 it was rendered redundant by the Act of Union with Britain.

Malton's dedicated work, A picturesque and Descriptive View of the City of Dublin, from which this reproduction is taken, provides us with a glimpse of Dublin at the height of her Georgian glory.

"The Parliament House of Ireland," wrote Malton at the time, "is the noblest structure Dublin has to boast; and it is no hyperbole to advance that this edifice, in the entire, is the grandest, most convenient, and most extensive of its kind in Europe..."

"The inside of this admirable building," Malton continued, "corresponds in every respect with the majesty of its external appearance..."

The work of James Malton, which appeared originally at the close of the eighteenth century, presents us with a delightful window on the past.

The Bank of Ireland building consists of[154] a curved structure with columns supporting the roof, ending in a classical portico of two columns supporting a triangular pediment over an arch. The structure moves in off the street at a right angle until it gets to the third pillar, it makes another right angle proceeds until it has another classical portico. This leads to the central part of the building which projects slightly and is three bays wide, with a royal seal at the centre of the pediment implying British allegiance. In figure 20.1 and 20.3 the image of Henry Grattan's statue is just about visible, referring to an eighteenth century reformist politician who as we have seen is associated with the legislative independence of the Irish Parliament. The quote from Malton in the sign across the street from it suggests the architects were aiming to make the building impressive (Figure 14.1). There is another portico at the side entrance not in Malton's print which consists of six columns supporting a plain pediment with statues on top. These statues (figures 14.8-11), by Edward Smyth, represent Wisdom, Justice and Liberty (Anonymous 2010d). These statues, female figures representing virtues, could be claimed to be aspirational, with it being hoped that the politicians will be wise and just and act in the interests of Liberty as it was understood by the Georgians. There are

[154] From left to right.

also three other unidentified statues. Given that it is unremarked on archiseek the crest on the pediment presumably represents that of the reigning monarch reflecting the ruler of Britain at the time, who as mentioned above was George II.

Hyposignified Structures

Figure 21.1 Trinity College

Fig 21.2 Trinity College

Figure 21.3 Oliver Goldsmith

Figure 21.4 Edmund Burke

Text of accompanying sign

This view of the front of Trinity College is reproduced in colour from one of the original aquatints etched by James Malton for his A Picturesque and Descriptive View of the City of

Dublin, which gives us a glimpse of what Dublin must have been like during its finest age, at the close of the eighteenth century.

Quoting from the text that Malton prepared to accompany this view we have "The University of Dublin, or College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity is an extensive pile of building situated on the East side of the City... The College was originally built on an open plain called Hoggin Green, afterwards named from the building College Green ..."

The West Front, as it exists today, with its graceful Corinthian columns and pilasters, was completed in 1759, being built of Irish granite with Portland stone dressing. The facade is flanked by statues of the College's most famous graduates: the orator Edmund Burke (1729-1797) and playwright Oliver Goldsmith (c1728-1774).

Other graduates who achieved distinction included Jonathan Swift, Samuel Beckett, Oscar Wilde, and Bram Stoker (who created the novel Dracula).

Trinity Library, wrote Malton, "is one of the Noblest Repositories for Literature in Europe." The Long Room stretches 210ft and is 41ft wide while it soars 40 ft upwards to a splendid barrel-vaulted wooden ceiling, housing 200,000 of the College's collection of nearly three million volumes.

Among the library's main treasures is the book of Kell's an illuminated Latin text of the four Gospels dating from around 800AD. Malton includes two further views of Trinity in his book: the interior of the Library and the Provost's House seen from the bottom of Grafton Street. Today, Trinity College facilitates the third level requirements of around 10,000 people. On the campus, the Buttery and the Pavilion Bars are popular meeting places for young students in Dublin.

One of the final points of the sign that Malton included images of the Provost's House and the interior of the Library in his Views is of interest. In the case of the latter it shows how it looked before alterations in the 1850s and again in the 1890s but is an interior view (1984:np), while the former is largely obscured from view except on those occasions when the gates are open. This suggests that the selection of this view was chosen simply for the expediency of access. The view itself is of Theodore Jacobsen's west front, the details of which are for the most part outlined above. The choice of columns of which there are four, if we accept Aheron's interpretation of them, reflect luxury so may have been meant to confer that idea on the building (1754:57). The central section is designed after a classical portico complete with a triangular pediment, around an arched entrance instead of a stepped base. The centre also has a larger window above the arch; the flanking wings of seven bays have four floors, with large windows on the ground and second floor before declining in scale on the subsequent floors. These wings attach to large three bay blocks with two square pillars flanking a second floor window which itself is comprised of three smaller windows with a semicircular top over the central window. Above this is a decorative moulding, seemingly in the style of a plant, above which is a single small window. The sign points to the entrance being flanked by notable former students. The image shows lower railings than those in the photograph as they were replaced in the intervening period (1984: np). The building is almost completely non symbolic[155] the only possible symbolism being its former, by centuries, students Edmund Burke and Oliver Goldsmith, it completes the College Green axis beginning in the section dealing with signification.

[155] That being said as an inner city Dubliner I am aware that most people from a similar class and background would see it as an elite institution which excludes many of our class. While some of this reflects being brought up by people who were even more excluded than our generation the fact remains that universal third level education is still outside the experience of much of the working class.

Figure 22.1 Lying In Hospital

Figure 22.2 side view of Rotunda

Figure 22.3 Rotunda from across the road

Text of accompanying sign

Europe's first purpose-built maternity hospital, The Lying-in hospital, which you can see on your right, was founded by Dr. Bartholomew Mosse at his own expense, for the relief of pregnant poor women. It was designed by Richard Cassels; begun in 1751 and opened in 1757. Today, it is best-known as 'The Rotunda'.

The main block closely resembles the design of Leinster House (the Irish Parliament and Senate) by the same architect, not surprisingly since both are, in essence, country-house designs.

This reproduction of an original aquatint by James Malton is taken from his work A Picturesque and Descriptive View of the City of Dublin. It provides us with a fine record of Dublin at the height of her Georgian splendour. His work

has been described as 'One of the most beautiful books on the art of aquatint.' The Rotunda itself (seen in the distance) was designed by John Ensor and built in 1764, as the centrepiece of the constellation of pleasure rooms.

"The entertainments of the Rotunda," said Malton, "form the most elegant amusements of Dublin; it is opened every Sunday evening, in summer, for the purpose of a promenade, when tea and coffee are given in the superb upper room. The receipts of the whole, after defraying the incidental expenses, go to the support of the hospital."

Since 1938, the Gate Theatre has occupied the Great Supper Room, adapted by the architect, Michael Scott. Many famous actors have played here, including the late Michael MacLiammoir (a founder member), and Orson Welles. Today, the Rotunda, which takes its name from the large round hall, 80 feet in diameter, still serves as a maternity hospital.

The view of the Rotunda hospital in Malton's image displays a part of it which is reasonably unchanged since his day, although other parts of it have been significantly modernised. The surviving features make it an almost exact replica of Leinster House, the main difference being a rounded window on the temple front. This may be an individual touch for the building. The building is itself three storeys high and eleven bays across. The sign tells much of the philanthropic elements of the hospital's history both with Mosse's setting it up at his own expense and the subsequent financing through charity, gained from hosting social events. These social events provide a direct link to a square which it overlooked[156] in which some of these events took place, we see in this how "*speculators grab up all the charming sites in the vicinity, divide them into*

[156] Now replaced by the Garden of Remembrance.

rectangular plots, enclose them with monotonous walls" (Reclus 2013a:108), and retained them for private use.

Fig 23.1 Royal Exchange 17.2 Plain Face

22.3 rear view

Text of accompanying sign

One of the principal ornaments of the City, from the combined advantages of an excellent situation, beautiful form, and fine display of architectural elegance...” wrote James Malton of his View of the Royal Exchange.

“On entering this edifice,” he continued, “the attention is drawn to many conspicuous beauties; but above all to the general forms...”

This building, with it fine detailing, set a new standard for the Dublin of the early 19th century, heralding the era of neo-classicism.

Not surprisingly, Malton included it in his A Picturesque and Descriptive View of

the City of Dublin.

"The site of the exchange" wrote Malton, "was formerly occupied by a range of old houses, and a particular one, called Lucas's Coffee-house, which so narrowed the passage to the Castle, that two carriages could scarcely pass abreast, there being no more than twenty feet space from house to house... The exchange is founded on a rock, which extends along Parliament Street, under Essex Bridge, to Liffey Street, on the Northside of the river, and well-known by the name of Stand Fast Dick."

Today this building remains one of the finest eighteenth-century interiors in the city. It is used for Civic occasions and also as the principal offices of Dublin Corporation where the City Fathers meet to conduct their business.

The royal exchange incorporates both classical and renaissance elements with a large classical portico of six columns and supporting a triangular pediment stretching to the height of the building as well as a dome. The building is decorated by the usual urn shaped structures on the stone railings outside the front. One side of the exchange is relatively plain, not surprisingly this was not a side Malton included, consisting of plain second floor windows, larger first floor windows and a series of arches on the ground floor and stretching for five bays. The opposite side which Malton did include in his aquatint includes larger ground floor windows, and four columns supporting a projection from the roof, decorations at the level of the top of the columns seem to resemble plants. The scale of the ground floor windows may be due to the fact that this building was not a private dwelling which needed a Piano Nobile, and was instead a commercial one.

Figure 24 View from Essex Bridge

Text of accompanying sign

Closely modelled on London's celebrated Westminster Bridge, George Semple's design for Essex Bridge was 7 feet wider, though naturally shorter.

Essex Bridge was opened in 1735 and lasted until 1874 when it was replaced by the present Grattan Bridge. This view is reproduced in colour from an original aquatint etched by James Malton for his A Picturesque and Descriptive View of the City of Dublin.

It is interesting to note that ships could sail right up to this point of the Liffey, whereas with bridges in later years, it was no longer possible.

"The annexed View," wrote Malton "exhibits one of the most striking scenes which Dublin in its internal effects furnishes. The opening over Essex Bridge, in the middle of the view, is the confluence of all the commercial and ceremonious intercourse of the major part of the two divisions of the town made by the river.

On examination of the Maps it will be found that Parliaments Street, Essex Bridge, and Capel Street, form nearly a right line..."

"The Quay to the left," said Malton, "was the Quay of the old Custom-house; great part of that building appearing in the view, with high roof and lofty chimneys. The old Custom-house was built in 1707; but the great increase in trade, between the time of its erection and the year 1780, together with its decay, and the badness of the bed of the river there, rendered another site not only expedient, but absolutely necessary."

Malton described Essex Bridge as "A masterly piece of work, conducted by a native Architect, Mr. George Semple."

The sign transcribed above accompanying the picture of the view from Essex Bridge is at a different angle than the one that the aquatint view depicts. This unlike most of the other signs attempts to reproduce the angle of the aquatint; this may be as its angle allows it to be seen by passersby. The view itself has changed significantly with modern and Victorian buildings having been added to the streetscape since the Georgian era and the bridge having been replaced. However, other elements such as the Liffey, some Georgian buildings and the basic layout of the streets remain as does the Exchange visible in the background providing a closing vista for Parliament Street. The aquatint is regarded as the liveliest, in terms of street life, of Malton's work (1984: np). With the changes outlined here the image has the effect of showing how much Dublin has developed since the eighteenth century.

Discussion

There was an aesthetic assumption that the walking Georgian gentleman or lady of fashion wanted to be seen effectively rendering the streetscape into a canvas leading

the eye in a certain direction and providing a frame so people could be seen. A ready-made backdrop is even provided for these walkers in the form of closing vistas such as the Exchange in Malton's *View from Essex Bridge*. The public buildings like these private ones are designed to be viewed hence their inclusion in Malton's views, and their visual presence on the streetscape, and with the exception of Powerscourt in the next chapter their position on the street enables this viewability. It is notable then that both of the hyposignificant buildings tie heavily into the idea of viewability, as we have already discussed the Royal Exchange formed the backdrop or the closing vista of the view that we have from Essex Bridge. The Rotunda hospital similarly hosted promenades in which the patrons, and that term is perhaps more appropriate than guests, expected to be seen. It is possible but unprovable given the nature of the evidence available at this remove that the fact that these two buildings were designed with the idea that people were to be viewed may account for their Spartan appearance as if they were decked with symbols it could take away from the view.

From the evidence presented above we can recognise that far from being hyposignified Georgian Dublin as a whole had a significant level of signification in its public buildings. Of those buildings surveyed here we can see that they drew on a symbolic canopy based on four ideas - contemporary religion, classical literature, virtues and local politics and geography. Contemporary religion can be dealt with quite quickly as the only figure used is Moses on the Four Courts. The fact that the city was essentially a Protestant city may account for the dearth of religious iconography.

Another aspect of the symbolic canopy that Georgian Dublin drew on is that of classical literature and myth. Neptune and Mercury are the main figures featured here both appearing on the Custom House. The use of these figures is perfectly in keeping

with the iconology advocated by Richardson and both were consistent with the function[157] of the Custom House.

While the Roman style statues of Mercury and Neptune are in keeping with the classical architecture, and Moses fits the context of the Four Courts, the presence of female figures representing the virtues such as Mercy, Justice, Authority and Wisdom on the Four Courts tends to confirm Aheron's aesthetics (1754:77-8). This suggests that the frequent use of Corinthian pillars representing luxury (1754:57) were likely not an idiosyncratic interpretation. These pillars and some of the statues, and frontings derive from classical architecture and as will be examined in-depth in the next chapter it is notable that many door cases are made of two pillars often supporting a pediment as if they reflect the same architectural taste rendered at a scale acceptable to the leases. The statues are all dressed in Roman style clothing which is in line with the classical theme. In all the virtues used are Industry, Plenty, Hope/Commerce, Mercy, Justice, Authority, Wisdom and Liberty. This is in keeping with Richardson's Iconology which draws on such figures as allegories so that as we have seen in the example above the figures which provide allegories appropriate to the Courts are employed there, on Dublin Castle we have Justice and Fortitude. Industry, Plenty and probably Commerce appear on the Custom House and Wisdom, Justice and Liberty on the Parliament. These statues essentially act as an expression of the ideas and values connected to each of these.

Perhaps significantly the Custom House presents us with a unique image as two figures which are not virtues but also draw on allegory are used – Famine and Plague. The fact that we see the figure of Neptune driving these off should not be read as a literal belief in divine intervention but instead should be read as the free market and

[157] That function being of course trade.

perhaps benign rule fending off these contemporary problems. In this way it is possible to tie Georgian Dublin into the ideas that we see from Gottdiener and others that even with hyposignification the city conveyed power, wealth, and the progress of capital (2001:38).

Possibly the most important aspect of the symbolic canopy is its local references, firstly there are references to local politics and conflicts and secondly local geographic features. The iconography on three of the public buildings could be interpreted as reflecting a colonial regime although this interpretation becomes complicated when the imagery is considered in-depth. These icons are the lion motifs, the royal crests, and the association of Hibernia and Britannia, although it is noteworthy that the Custom House by favouring the seal of Ireland over George III's suggests a form of Irish identity among the city's elite.

This reminds us that the Georgian boom has been interpreted as an expression of the success of a colonial project, and a reading based on the contemporary of the built environment as supported by Killeen suggests an Ireland tamed (Killeen 2005:150). Looking critically at this idea we see that it is not necessarily as clear cut as it appears, the idea that Justice is looking away from the city while certainly attractive appears to be folklore, as instead she is looking in at the courtyard as the other figure, Fortitude, is doing. The royal motifs need express nothing more than loyalty to the crown and as alluded to above some showed a distinctly Irish flavour suggesting a sense of being of this Island rather than colonisers. They are ambiguous and polysemic.

Finally we turn to the images of Britannia and Hibernia. At this point it would be useful to look at what Britannia actually meant, and to do this we have to turn to

Richardson's book:

> *The Island of Great Britain was among the ancients esteemed so considerable, that they called it Insula Magna, and Ceasar went yet higher, boasting he had found out another world. This subject is not mentioned by Cav. Ripa, but is here introduced as a companion to Italy, and represented by the figure of a graceful woman, fitting upon a globe, and crowned with oak leaves. She holds a spear in one hand, and a branch of the olive tree in other; the latter is an emblem of peace, and the former of war. The cornucopia on the fore ground is emblematical of the various productions of the country, which is greatly improved by the industry of the inhabitants, and their great skill in cultivation. The advantage of the sea surrounding it, is a security against enemies; so it is also against the violent colds to which the climate would otherwise be exposed, and doth in a great measure render the soil fertile; the vapours not only mollifying the air, and by that means nourishing every vegetable; but they also furnish us with gentle showers in their proper seasons. The cap of liberty by her side is in allusion to the happy constitution of this country, to the equity of the laws and freedom of the subject. The trident at her feet signifies that Britannia is the supreme ruler of the waves* (1779:39).

Hibernia is not found in Richardson but instead is a further localisation, the general interpretation of whom is that she represents a passive Ireland.

Britannia on her own, as we see in the description above has only a small reference to colonialism as ruler of the sea, a reference to the British Empire certainly. Taken with Hibernia what we find is that the passive figure of Hibernia is usually seen

as being protected by Britannia, while at one level this could be interpreted as colonial however, instead of dominance perhaps we should read the relationship as one of paternalism. The idea turns the figures into allegories of reliance rather than control. All of this suggests that Ireland's relationship with Britain at the time of the building of Georgian Dublin "*although conquered, remained a separate and federate kingdom*" (Marx 1986:269), in terms of identity as well as in a legal sense, with recognition of dependency on Britain, at least from the point of view of those in power. However taken alongside the other symbols employed on various buildings we see a reflection of a dominance that was not just political through its ruling class but also financial through trade.

Conclusion

As we have seen the symbolic canopy of Georgian Dublin drew on local ideas with both Britannia and Hibernia being adaptations of imagery from Riva's earlier version of Richardson's *Iconology*. We see this again in relation to the rivers represented on the Custom House, Richardson's Iconology presents us with only a handful of rivers – the Danube, the Ganges, the Nile, the Plata, the Thames, the Tiber, the Indus and the Niger (1779:33-8). While as Richardson points out the Thames is his addition again we see further localisation on the Custom House with those of Ireland represented.

To relate this to the concept of the superstructure, in this regard it is important to follow Sharon Zukin and regard the streetscape as reflecting hegemonic interests and ideas (1993). If Georgian Dublin originally represented a view on capitalism and a colonial/federalist relationship with Great Britain it came to represent simply colonialism under the new post colonial hegemony of De Velera era nationalism. This could not accommodate it under the new meaning ascribed to it and provided an excuse, though not the only one, for the developer led destruction of the private buildings.

However at the same time it came to represent a nostalgic golden age for Dublin which countered its postcolonial meaning and seemed to win out, with development as we saw in a previous chapter accommodated. The central argument of Gramscian hegemony is that new ideas can be taken on board without substantive real change being made, so long as they present no effective challenge to the status quo. While the meanings ascribed to it changed what did not change was the hegemonic role of property itself, the proprietors owned the private buildings. This subject will be returned to in the chapter on authenticity.

Returning to Gottdiener's theory we can see that far from being hyposignificant Georgian Dublin drew from a rich international and local symbolic canopy. These innovations also shaped the domestic built environment as well as those of public buildings and it is those that we shall turn to in the next chapter.

Chapter 10 The Symbolic canopy in the private realm.

Introduction Theming Classical architecture

This chapter builds on the previous chapter to demonstrate that the private townhouses drew on the same symbolic canopy as the larger public buildings. I will also argue that the process of suburbanisation has a parallel if not a direct predecessor in what we can see in Georgian Dublin. We will see that the population movement to what was then the outskirts of the city occurred here on both the North and South-Side, with those with wealth following Lord Kildare South of the Liffey. While those who occupied these houses could hardly be described as poor, and in some cases were nobility themselves, the smaller Georgian town-houses were also miniaturised versions of the larger ones three of which[158] are included here. The retention and use of signs led to the spread of classical motifs drawing from the same symbolic canopy that we have seen in the previous chapter and that on these houses these were also a form of conspicuous consumption.

Mark Gottdiener is largely dismissive of classical architecture as a theme:

> *Classical themes seem to have limited uses in our society. Architecture influenced by Greece or Rome is reserved for powerful social institutions such as colleges, banks, and government buildings... Although Las Vegas has casinos using classical motifs, such as Caesars Palace, such themes are not duplicated elsewhere... Despite its limited appeal, however, the classical code remains a*

[158] Leinster House, Powerscourt House and the present Hugh Lane Gallery formerly known as Charlemont House.

sign of power. Consequently, it persists as an important symbolic referent in the design of state buildings (2001:178).

This I will argue ignores the role of distinct local developments in the process of theming, as such I am following Reclus's view that the city must be looked at as an individual (Reclus 2013b:173). As we shall see in the following chapter in Georgian Dublin the classical architectural style was the core motif of the built environment. It was not limited to powerful social institutions but as will be shown here was drawn on by private individuals both the nobility and the bourgeoisie. While the continuation of this style is largely out of the scope for this chapter it will be suggested in the one that follows this that the imitation of Georgian building as a consequence of the activism of the conservationists has led to the retention of that style.

Gottdiener writing on the modern context argues that housing represents a legitimated form of segregation – and that this can occur on the lines of class, even when such discrimination would be illegal in other areas of society. At a basic level this is done at the control of price as buyers or renters are limited to those who can afford it, according to Gottdiener this is often explicitly required in community zoning and building codes (2001:153). He argues that a legal system in which "*potential buyers must be treated equally-is negated by the segregation of housing according to level of affordability... even though it results in inequality*" (2001:154) allows for legal class discrimination within spaces. This results in what Gottdiener describes as "*the ""gold coast and slum". Wealthy, privileged areas of housing were juxtaposed and in close proximity with more modest, sometimes squalid, neighbourhoods of industrial workers*" (2001:4). We can see this in the case of Georgian Dublin with the close proximity of

spaces of wealth and poverty (e.g. the Liberties[159] and Northside).

Within this we have to consider the process of suburbanisation. Gottdiener looking at the American experience claims that those with wealth, often the rich industrialists would flee to enclaves, along what became the suburbs. By the early twentieth century the petit bourgeoisie seems to have followed them to the outskirts of the city. After the Second World War this in theory became available to the majority of Americans (2001:35-6). He later suggests that this financial flight is based on a fear of crime and a need for security, with the architecture sometimes taking on the appearance of being designed for defence (2001:181-2). This reflects the view of suburbanisation that Reclus sees as being the creation of the bourgeois desire for "*peaceful homes, in verdant suburbs*" (Reclus 2013a:108). This should not however be separated from the issue of tax and rate flight, according to Conor McCabe in Dublin the well healed business classes by 1913 had moved to the suburbs, where rates were lower (2013:10–11), Mary Daly provides further evidence of this in that "*rates were kept as low as possible*" (2011:154), and had done so since the 1860s to encourage people to move to Rathmines and other suburbs. So aesthetics and security were not the only factors at play here but are the focus of this chapter.

In other respects however the architecture reflected prestige, in essence as Gottdiener points out Thorstein Veblen's conspicuous consumption. In this way petit bourgeois homes "*ape signs of social prestige and individual affluence*" (2001:37). In Gottdiener's account of the phenomenon we can see the gardens become miniature versions of those on larger suburban estates from the past, requiring work to maintain

[159] Corrigan Kearns identifies the Liberties as a historically and culturally distinct area within Dublin's geography (2014:41). He also emphasises and perhaps romanticises the sense of community in the Liberties in spite of poverty (Corrigan Kearns 2014:42–3).

but not producing crops, and their counterparts in the back of the houses are spaces for leisure. Other aspects of the suburban homes are also following the same idea with "*(f)ront doors and driveways are marked off to signify prestige, even mailboxes are stylized for this function*" (2001:37). These become a miniaturised version of the old country houses as they "*come equipped with a separate kitchen and dining room. Owners also reserve the latter for special occasions*" (2001:37) just like older country homes.

For Gottdiener the fact that these homes are as he puts it "*scaled down replicas*" of the older country houses means that they also replicate the symbolic trappings of wealth and prestige means that they "*use iconic representation to evoke the referent of nineteenth-century estate life*" (2001:37). However bereft of the culture which originally produced these referents the symbols lose their connotations and appear banal and mass produced. He claims that since World War two with mass availability of suburban living the spread of suburbia has led to the retention of a symbolic landscape because of the mass production of these houses drawing on earlier signs. My argument in this chapter will be that a similar process occurred in Georgian Dublin and in doing so allowed smaller scale townhouses to draw on the same symbolic canopy as larger buildings.

John Aheron and his interpretation of Classical Architecture

John Aheron's *A General Treatise of Architecture* (1754) was the only text book on classical architecture produced in Dublin during the Georgian period (Casey 1988:109). Aheron in his introduction, though not explicitly in his text itself, emphasises the Earl of Burlington but also uses Palladio, Vignola, and Inigo Jones

(1754:iii). The selection of some of these architects brings us to the nature of classical architecture it derives from Classical Italian and Greek, and later renaissance ideas, Aheron feels the need to apologise for how he differs from ancients in some measurements which some of his readers may find disagreeable (1754:iv). His main concern is that if a building is built counter to the natural laws it is offensive to the eyes (1754: iii 4) so that he attempts to combine two of the processes identified here as aesthetics and local environmental concerns such as natural light and local resources.

Aheron describes the balcony's function as being so one can easily view what passes underneath, for its aesthetics he recommends that it should be made of iron and gilded to add to its magnificence (1754:86). Wrought iron, particularly railings are easily overlooked in terms of aesthetics, their function in this regard has been explained by P.S. a tourist who came to Ireland in 1797. While discussing the issues he took with St. Stephen's Green, such as cattle grazing, he gave a description of how iron railings could make an improvement "*This square might be made much more beautiful, by being inclosed with iron railing, which is now only by an ugly and uneven parapet wall*" (Loeber and Stouthamer Loeber 2002:146).

Aheron argues that the building should be considered as a whole with each part complementing each other (1754:88) so that plasters on the first story should be lower than they are on the second to add to the appearance, while the 3rd floor or attic, or alternatively the first[160] is suitable to be the office of domestics (1754:87). It perhaps also implies that any symbols used should not contradict each other. Gates and doors should be large, and topped with an entire semi circle; moderate sized doors should have a semi-circle or somewhat less, while small doors should only have a square

[160] Also known as the basement part of the structure.

except subterranean passages. These doors sometimes accompanied with columns or pilasters – with a pediment and balcony and square gates have consoles (1754:80).

Coach Gates which are feature on some buildings are usually two folding doors, if a door has columns it should be raised higher. Windows are usually long squares, aligned perpendicularly and are the same width but when on different floors they should be a different height. Usually the middle floor as master story should have the biggest and most adorned windows (1754:81). Aheron argues that large windows should have a cornice, and warns that Venetian windows done poorly are an aesthetically poor choice (1754:82).

In terms of the symbolic qualities of the buildings Aheron focuses on the pillars so that the Tuscan is described as being the rudest, mossy, rural and resembling a sturdy labourer with simplicity as its main characteristic. The Doric column on the other hand is the gravest, and is described as masculine as, trimmer than the above and sober (1754:56). For femininity Aheron highlights the Ionic which column, while the Corinthian column represents luxury and the last type of column he looks at is Compounded or Roman and is a mixture of the previous types. He suggests that these should not be too high so as not to detract from the views (1754:57). He considers a number of decorations for these pillars with leaves representing buildings of reputation (1754:73) and ornaments in flutings add to the grandeur (1754:75) though these apply more to palaces. In terms of imagery drawn on he advises that women should not be represented as slaves instead as symbols of prudence, wisdom, justice, temperance and fortitude, not too big in case they are "*frightful to the ladies*", religious figures are considered by Aheron to be inappropriate for secular buildings and angels if used should only be used in half bodies (1754:78). Persian figures on columns often represent

slavery though figures can also be used as virtues and vices (1754:77).

In some respects this discussion pre-empts an investigation into whether or not Dublin's Georgian buildings are diverse. We can see that this idea of aesthetic difference between buildings is somewhat applicable to Dublin in the work of William Curry, who wrote *The picture of Dublin, or, Stranger's guide to the Irish metropolis: containing an account of every object and institution worthy of notice, together with a brief description of the surrounding country and of its geology* (1835). His description of Merrion Square demonstrates that the appeal of diversity may have been aesthetic not political:

> *The elegant square…is environed on three sides by lofty houses, all built in the modern style, and though not perfectly uniform, yet so nearly so in their form elevation, and decorations, as not only not to hurt the eye, but, in the opinion of some, to please it by this trifling variety: they in no instance deviate from the same right line*[161]*… the fourth side of this square is formed by the pleasure ground of the Royal Dublin Society, and the rere or that splendid building, which is the chief cause of its superior beauty* (1835:14).

The houses on Fitzwilliam Square are described as having great uniformity, and "*display considerable architectural beauty and elegance*" (1835:14). Mountjoy Square is likewise described as elegant but in addition he tells of its "*elevated and healthy situation*", the square is comprised of 18 houses on each side "*nearly equal in size and appearance – built in the most modern style, and remarkable for their convenience and the accommodation they afford*" the enthusiastic description is not limited to the square itself "*the approaches are through eight streets … all regular, elegant and spacious*"

[161]Presumably refers to how they follow the same line and do not jut out.

(1835:15). Curry's intended audience seems to have been tourists and the rest of his book forms a gazette of notable public buildings, bridges and other sights of interest.

Pool and Cash they note that houses being dissimilar is not necessarily a bad thing noting on Stephen's Green "*there is a great inequality in the houses, yet this in some respect adds to its beauty … the situation is cheerful, and the buildings around it multiply very fast*" (Pool and Cash 1780:14). While Merrion square is "*an elegant and spacious square laid out, and partly erected… where the houses are lofty and uniform … not perhaps surpassed by any buildings of the kind in great Britain*" (1780:15). In addition to the already noted acknowledgement of colonial meaning to the street-scape these authors also note other structural influences on the street-scape citing an act of parliament to remove front projections, new pave streets flag foot passages which "*has contributed greatly to the beauty and convenience, as well as the healthiness of the city*" (1780:16).

Cromwell's *Excursions through Ireland* (1820) applies aesthetics of difference to Stephen's Green quoting Sir R.C. Hoare:

> "*it is not sufficient that a street is wide, or that a square encloses a spacious area; a certain regularity and grandeur in the surrounding houses is absolutely necessary to render them striking... Now it is in these qualities of grandeur, regularity, and symmetry, in the surrounding buildings, that St. Stephen's Green is particularly wanting: and the consequence is precisely such as the observation of the judicious Baronet would lead us to suspect* (1820:87-8).

This interpretation of the uniformity or otherwise of the street-scape has implications for how he receives Merrion Square "*the handsomest street in Dublin …*

three sides are adorned with lofty, well built houses, not precisely uniform in their appearance, nor yet disagreeably contrasted" (1820:90-1). In regards Mountjoy-Square he claims it is "*a distinguished ornament to this fashionable part of Dublin: it is regular, elegant, and sufficiently spacious… possesses, also, the additional recommendation of an aspect in which a peculiar neatness appears the result of tasteful simplicity*" (1820:145).

This appears contradictory; however in the series of letters attributed to James Malton we may find the answer. "Malton" describes the aesthetic problems of Dublin in relation to a number of streets. Especially Dame Street which is now a "*ridiculous melody of the different stile*" while Palace Street to Georges street suffer from "*insipid uniformity*" which he finds "*offensive*" (1787:4), while this may seem confusing it appears that he is suggesting that these emphasise two extremes. While a street-scape should be similar or at least in the same style it should not have every house a clone of each other. Apparently he disliked a response to some of his complaints on this matter as he was unhappy with an explanation that functional consideration outweighed "*symmetry and beauty*" (1787:45-46).

Returning to aesthetics[162] many of the travel writers emphasise the 'elegance' of the Georgian street-scape, for example, McGregor's *New Picture of Dublin* (1821) speaks of "*elegant and spacious streets*" connecting Rutland[163] and Mountjoy Squares on the Northside (1821:56) and "*St. Stephen's Green, Merrion and Fitzwilliam square with a number of elegant streets now occupy this space*" on the South. These '*streets and squares of the most spacious, airy and elegant descriptions*' decline on entering the Liberties though he considers these streets not all bad, Thomas and James Streets being

[162] And returning also to what historians call primary sources.
[163] Since renamed Parnell Square.

spacious though irregular (1821:60). This trend towards the 'elegance' and how fashionable the street-scape is comes out in his in-depth description of the Squares, - Merrion Square is enclosed by a '*handsome iron railing*', with seventy feet between the houses and square and the houses themselves being 'elegant' and 'modern' and '*inhabited by those of first rank*' it serves as a fashionable promenade (1821:293-4). This idea refers to the Square serving as space to be seen, a claim which has also been made for the widened street-scape that developed in Georgian Dublin (Boyd 2005). At the time McGregor was writing Fitzwilliam Square was still incomplete but he claims it promises to match Merrion in '*neatness and elegance'* (1821:294). The elegance of the Squares was also present on the Northside, with Rutland Square's Charlemont House[164] designed in a "*fine style of architecture*" (1821:294). As for Mountjoy Square his description is of:

> *seventy two houses, built in the most elegant modern style, and with exact uniformity. Eight spacious streets form the approaches to this square, the centre of which consists of a fine lawn, inclosed by a neat palisade... The elevated and airy situation of Mountjoy Square, the elegance and convenience of the streets, with the general splendor of the adjoining streets, all combine to render it one of the most agreeable city residences in the British empire* (1821:295).

The Dublin guide or a description of the city of Dublin by R. Lewis (1787) fits into the pattern that is developing in these descriptions but limits himself to Merrion Square as a case study with its spacious houses described as "*lofty and uniform, and most constructed of stone as far as the first floor. This gives them an air of magnificence, inferior to nothing of the kind, if we except Bath*" (1787:39). He also

[164] Now the Hugh Lane Gallery.

describes Powerscourt House in William Street and is one of several writers to complain that there is no place where it can easily be seen but praises its beauty of design. This may actually hint at an important issue in the form of the houses while some such as Charlemont house are built on a wide street and Kildare House and several others formed closing vistas this was not true of every house in Georgian Dublin and this consideration may have influenced the design. On the other hand Aheron argues that in public spaces the buildings cannot be too stately (1754:83) and "*excess is vicious and extravagant*" (1754: iii 3).

Lewis enters into a rich description of the building describing its features both exterior and interior he provides a critique of the Provosts house in Trinity which is "*naked and unadorned by one side without a range of windows to interrupt the deformity*" making it appear awkward if seen from College Green (1787:221). His description of Stephens Green mirrors the descriptions given by him and others of the squares in general it is a "*scene of elegance and taste*" and the houses are "*remarkably handsome*" and he notes continually receiving improvements (1787:239-40).

These views are echoed by other writers such as Ferrar in his *A View of Ancient and Modern Dublin* (1796), Thomas Campbell's A *philosophical survey of the south of Ireland* (1777), and Petrie and Wright merely add that Merrion Square boasts *"the best built and most convenient houses"* in their *An Historical Guide to Ancient and Modern Dublin* (1821). Warburton, Whitelaw and Walsh's *History of the City of Dublin* (1818) adds some additional detail though they disagree on Stephen's Green's eclectic buildings being aesthetically pleasing, describe Grafton Street "a*s precisely the most inconvenient and narrow*". Merrion Square excels Stephen's Green in every respect except size and they consider Leinster House to be part of it so that they "*reflect mutual beauty on each other; and while the chaste simple grandeur of that noble palace*

delights the eye of the passenger, the square, in return, supplies it with a prospect in the midst of a great metropolis, which the town residence of few subjects in Europe can boast". While on Mountjoy Square "*the elevation of the houses, the breadth of the streets, with the dimensions of the lawn so harmonize together, as to give pleasure to the eye of the spectator, and added to the neatness, simplicity, and regularity everywhere visible, entitle this square to rank high among the finest in Europe*" (1818:459-67).

Cromwell seems to emphasise how the visual displays of Sackville Street and Westmoreland Street's perspectives and the "*spacious and convenient streets*" encourage residence (1820:49-50) providing a functional economic purpose to the aesthetics.

Reclus argued that the development of cities took into account the natural requirements of the area (2013b:170–1). We can see this anticipated by Aheron who suggests that buildings should have a basis in climate so that instead of imitating Italians whose walls are thick, with few small windows, they should be more airy and sprightly with larger and more windows to supply the deficiency of light, walls should be thinner to accelerate drying in short summers, as thick walls retain moisture which irritates both health and furniture, also it is easier to bond. An example of how these considerations can add to the aesthetics of a building can be found in Cromwell who points out an advantage of Mountjoy Square, "*The upper windows of the houses command, from their elevated site, an extensive prospect of Dublin Bay, the Hill of Howth, the Wicklow Mountains, and surrounding country*" (1820:145). Aheron himself demonstrates these principles in regards chimneys which he argues should take into account regional winds (1754:59). He bases his designs on a medium between Italians and French[165] makes the height of doors and windows double their breadth which he

[165] Whose houses he considers to be too luminous.

claims is allowed by the best judges among the ancients and modern as they fit modern buildings (1754:vi).

The book attempts to give practical advice, so we find Aheron suggesting that the reader search the foundations first to release any vapours as these could shake the building, his views on windows combined function with aesthetics[166], and their function was environmental as they provide light and should be placed to maximise this (1754:99). He also combines aesthetics and function for doors and windows which he claims should have a symmetry, be few in number and moderate in dimension, at a purely practical level they should be kept away from angled sides of walls to avoid weakening them (1754:58). At the level of aesthetics he advises placing the windows 2 to 3 or 2 to 4 for "*graceful and harmonius contentment to the eye*", number should represent somewhere between light and heat, he likens more to Argus - "*all eyes*", doors should open outwards as otherwise would "*let in as well as keep out worse*" (1754:59). In the case of the Kitchen area it should be spacious and lightsome away from the parlour and it should be located underground at basement level, same with the pantry, bake house, still room, buttery, dairy, servant's offices (1754:100). These ideas can be seen in Warburton et. al's description of Mountjoy Square "*The area in front of the houses is so spacious as to afford abundant light to the lower apartments*" (1819:467). Concerns with lighting continue with the stair area which Aheron argues should be well lit, airy due to use of breath and so as to avoid encounters with others (1754:59).

Aheron's advice on roofing is that they should be made from timber which should be neither too wet in case of rotting nor dry as this would make it hard to work

[166] Absent here is the claim made by tour guides that the declining scale of windows as the building rises was to make the buildings look bigger, not that this is impossible it is just not referenced in the primary literature.

with (1754:60). This is a practical suggestion as at the end of the day the use of rotting material would hasten the loss of use value and hence depreciation would occur quicker (Marx 1992:250). In terms of the tiles the bricks should be red and not be those closest or furthest from the fire (1754:62). He recommends the use of earth tiles which should be near potters earth, and cast up before November 1st, shired and turned before February 1st and not made until March 1st (1754:63). He considers dug stones to be better than gathered ones, preferably moist for fire safety[167].

In terms of brick work the majority of Georgian Houses are of the redbrick façade common in Dublin and likely this brick was mined locally (Kelly 2011). Consulting Roqcue's map indicates a place called Old Brick Field just east of Sackville Street (Lennon and Montague 2010:26), which supports this idea. O'Kane's study of the Fitzwilliam estate found that the presence of a quarry and bricks on the estate provided a great incentive for builders to take part in its development (2010), in this way local environmental factors such as the local availability of brick seems to have had an impact on where Dublin was expanding. Which again sees Reclus's urban theory vindicated that "*(a) city may rise up suddenly at a seemingly inhospitable spot, thanks to the area's subterranean wealth in building stones, clay for molding and sculpting, chemicals, various metals, and combustible minerals*" (Reclus 2013b:171).

We have already seen how both Curry (1843) and Pool and Cash (1780) link the shaping of the street-scape in particular the width of the Streets to ideas of health and well being, this is explained in James Whitelaw's *An essay on the population of Dublin* (1805) which also provides a number of notes on the visual culture of Dublin's street-scape. We have already noted his observation on the colonial character of the city's

[167] This takes into account the houses past labour, that is the labour that has been put into a product in the production process but is now hidden.

development. He interprets a connection between population density, ancient parts of cities and narrow streets and poverty with unsanitary conditions of crowded populations (1805:50-52) suggesting a public health problem and he highlights a number of issues he sees as connected to this. This may explain the concentration on the airiness and spaciousness of streets found in many of the writers encountered here, instead of just being a choice based on fashion considerations of health and well being comes into play. This appears to be a common view as Cromwell's *Excursions through Ireland* (1820) considers the best parts of Dublin airy, elegant and comparable to the West End of London while the Liberties are narrow, excessively crowded and dirty (1820:38), the comparison with London extends to describing Dublin as "*London in miniature*" (1820:50).

It must also be remembered that some of the concern for health and the surrounding environment was related to aesthetics through the prospect. We can see this in the row that built up between the Kildare family and the Fitzwilliam estate over the building of Merrion Square at the back of Kildare House. It must be understood at the time it provided Kildare with an uninterrupted view, and the families' retaliation was to threaten to do likewise to those on Fitzwilliam's estate. The enjoyment of the prospect was part of the entitlement of the nobility or as Finola O'Kane puts it*," indeed, a kind of property in everything he sees"* (2010:100-101).

This is remarkably similar to Reclus' argument about those who dwell in the country "*Everything that can be seen from the threshold—the garden, the meadow, the fields, the groves—belonged to the family, and evidently still does*" (Reclus 2013b:165), the central difference being in ownership. Which may seem odd until we remember these larger townhouses were built as urban versions of country seats, so that we can see

the psychological link between a sense of ownership in the aesthetics even when it does not objectively exist.

The theory behind the architecture as stated by Aheron has to be treated cautiously, and the question of whether his interpretations of the meanings of the various columns where commonly held must remain. If his ideas were idiosyncratic then they may not reflect general contemporary understanding. The same caveat must be considered in terms of the difference between the houses. Does this in fact represent the freedom of the Ascendency or could it be conspicuous consumption with the variations, which are mainly ornamental, representing the spending power of the owners?

Content analysis of a Single Street-scape Henrietta Street

The section above has allowed for the construction of an aesthetic theory of Georgian Dublin, I shall now using a content analysis of Henrietta Street seek to identify common architectural features. One of the earliest Georgian Streets, and in terms of number of original Georgian Houses one of the best preserved, Henrietta Street was laid out in 1729. It was the only property of the Gardiner family not sold as part of one lot in 1874 for £120,000 by the encumbered estates court (NCEA 1991:56). Number 10 was the family Town-house until 1854 when it was converted to Queen's Inns Chambers, and is now owned by a convent, across the street from this was the house of Archbishop Boulter now replaced by the Long Library associated with the King's Inns[168], and itself having replaced three houses that Gardiner had built for Robert Percival, Richard Nuttall and John Power (Heritage Council 2004:16).

[168] Built 1824 – 32.

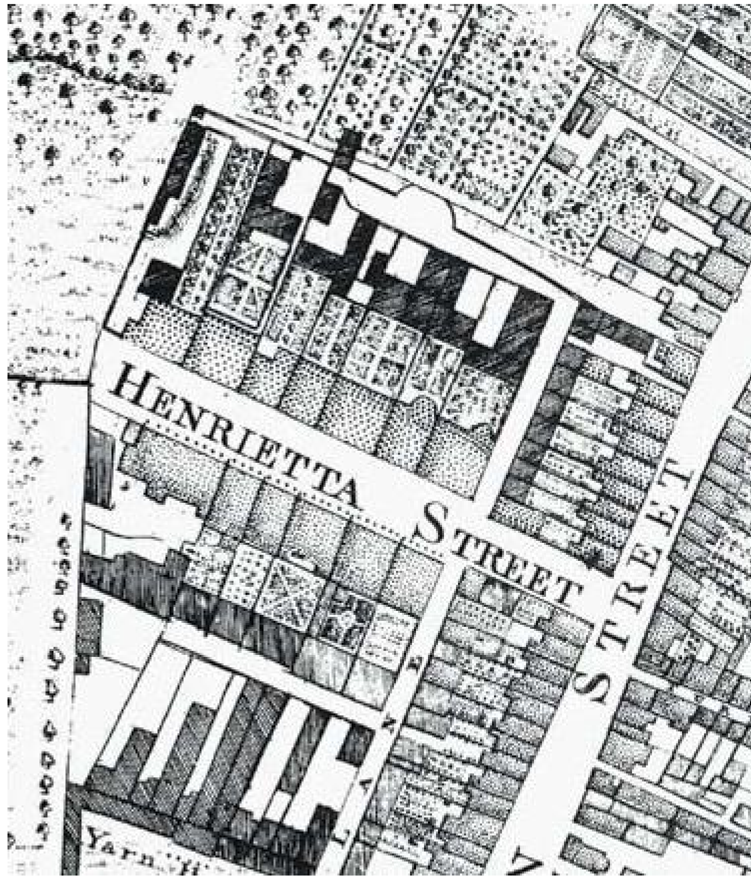


Figure 25. Henrietta Street on Rocque's Map (Lennon and Montague 2010:8).

<u>Original or Pastiche</u>

Of the Georgian style buildings on the street 2 are pastiche, the remaining 14 are original dating to the 18th century with the exception of the Long Library which dates back to 1824, still within the Georgian era as George IV, whose reign lasted from 1820-30) was on the throne. Of the pastiche buildings the development plan claims they are an "*unfortunate and badly scaled Georgian pastiche on the Northside*" (2004: 25). This is not the only issue with authenticity on the street according to the conservation plan:

Street lighting, rubbish bins, and pastiche metal bollards are neither consistent in concept nor matched historically or in quality with the large-scale palatial houses. The limestone sets which were laid in the early 1990s, and which were perhaps intended to give an "historical feel" to the street, are not based on historical precedent (2004: 24).

Here we see a mixture of "objective" authenticity and authenticity as a value judgement. Instead of being viewed as neo-Georgian or designed to an approximate Georgian idiom the new buildings are treated as pastiche. While as shall be pointed out in the sections below there are a number of aesthetic differences between the new buildings and their Georgian counter parts, these may not alone reflect on their quality or otherwise. The fact that the aesthetic of authenticity is being applied in the development plan is not only suggested by the description of the new buildings but also further supported by the description of the surrounding street-scape.

Scale

The scale of the houses vary considerably consisting of a pair of two bay houses, both of which have four floors excluding the basement, four three bay houses – these vary in size and date with two having four floors and two having three floors, one three floored buildings has no basement level and this is one of the pastiches referred to in the original or pastiche section. This probably reflects the concern with scaling that the development plan considered an issue with the two pastiche buildings. Seven of the houses have four bays, of these they have four floors above ground level with the exception of the pastiche building which again lacks a basement and in this case only has three floors. Of the remaining buildings, we find one each with five, six and eight

bays, all three of which have three floors above ground level, in the case of the eight bays building the Long Library there is no basement level visible from the street.

It would be tempting to link the scale of each of these buildings to the status of their occupants, and in this regard it is notable that the developer's house, No. 10, has 6 bays, however the development plan shows that a number of these houses have been merged and divided since they were originally constructed so caution must be used in this regard.

Decoration

In terms of decoration all buildings save the two pastiche ones used wrought iron railings. Three of these buildings have foot scrapers; this may not have any significance given that originals may no longer be extant. Near contemporary documents suggest that iron workings where a way of beautifying buildings and squares and adding to the appearance of opulence (Aheron 1754:86) (Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber 2002:146).

The windows excluding fanlights are for the most part nondescript; three houses have large windows shaped like doors on their second floor. Of these two have second floor windows which are as large as or larger than the ones on the first floor, one of which is a new build pastiche. Additionally the long library has a door shaped false window which may have at one time served as an actual window, if this is the case then it is a third with a larger second floor. Of the buildings without ornate second floor windows nine have windows which are as large as or larger than the first floor ones.

Taken together, if the single larger window in some cases was treated as a substitute for a row of larger ones, these would appear to support the idea that the second floor served as a piano nobile, effectively the social section of the buildings, used for the entertainment of guests. In the Georgian House museum in Fitzwilliam Street this consists of the principle drawing rooms.

In terms of door cases three consisted of 2 rounded columns supporting a base topped with an arch all of which had spoked arches. Two of the buildings one of which was pastiche had 2 plain cubed columns supporting a pediment; the original had a square fanlight, while the new build featured a basic arch fanlight. Also sporting square fanlights are door cases consisting of 2 ornate cubed columns supporting a pediment and 2 ornate cubed columns supporting a 'flat top' of which there is one example of each. There are two door cases with 2 plain cubed columns supporting a base topped with an arch, the fanlights differing between the two as one is spoked the other is plain. The door cases with 2 rounded columns supporting a pediment 'temple top', of which there are three, lack a fanlight as does the one made of 2 rounded columns supporting a curved 'temple top' and the Long Library's temple front design which juts out. The remaining modern building with a modern door-frame also lacks a fanlight.

The consistency with which the 'temple' based design lacks a fanlight suggests that for either practical or aesthetic reasons this design was incompatible with the inclusion of a fanlight, though the sample is too small to reach any firm conclusions. The less ornate the door frame the less likely they seem to be to have a ornate fanlight though again the sample is too small and more recent alterations cannot be ruled out. Of the more elaborate fanlights we have five consisting of spoked arches, 2 sixes, 2 eights and one 10, while all save one of these have rounded columns in their door cases, this exception having eight, it is perhaps too early and the sample too small to suggest a

pattern.

In terms of brick work the majority are of the redbrick façade common in Dublin and likely this brick was mined locally (Kelly 2011), consulting Roqcue's map indicates a place called Old Brick Field just east of Sackville Street (Lennon and Montague 2010:26), which supports this idea. For the most part this plain façade continues down the buildings, the exceptions being the nineteenth century Long Library, number 9 and number 10. Number 10 has a whitewashed frontage which considering it is still in use as a convent is undoubtedly modern so that it is difficult to confirm whether it is red-bricked behind the paint. Number 9 is a large red bricked building. Both of these buildings have a granite façade on their ground floors. The fact that one of these two houses belonged to Luke Gardiner suggests that status is involved in this instance though later modification cannot be ruled out, however the fact that the other belonging to the Master of Rolls, effectively the top judge in the kingdom, would also tend to support this idea. Another possibility could be that as these were earlier houses the Gardiner estate was more willing to spend money; the scale of the buildings being larger than others is consistent with either explanation. The two modern houses are also red bricked though it is of considerably better state of repair. Of the Georgian buildings five of them are still in a good state of repair, while the remaining nine are not. Some of this can be attributed to the historical decline of the Northside in general and the street itself having been home to tenements. Another important aspect is ownership both the Long Library and No. 10 are clearly well maintained and owned by organisations who can afford their up keep (2004:44), number 11 is also owned by the King's Inns and numbers 8-9 form part of the same convent as number 10. In fact three and fourteen both of which are in a poor state of repair are according to the development plan

unoccupied, the remaining buildings with the exception of no 15[169] are in private hands either as private residences or artists' studios (2004:39), whose future tenancy is not assured.

Number 6 has a faded plaque (Figure 26) on it which according to Hanna was placed there by Uinseann MacEoin which reads:

> *This five bay town house, the entrance of which has long been removed was commenced in 1730 by Nathaniel Clements Member of the Irish Parliament College Green, Teller of the Exchequer and ranger of Phoenix Park, who lived for many years here in Parisian luxury. In 1908 its fine door-cases and chimney pieces were removed by Alderman Meade who turned the houses into tenements in which more than 70 lived. Is saoranach Eireann anois e* (Hanna 2010:1030).

[169] Na Píobairí Uilleann

Figure 26 Plaque in Henrietta Street.

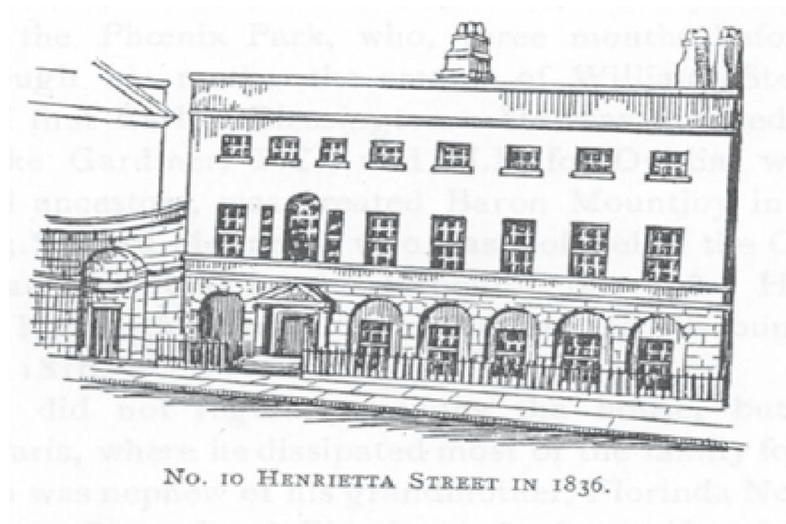
She suggests that this should be read as romantic remembrance of a property developer of Anglo-Irish stock, and a condemnation of a nationalist slum landlord, and is a "*a self-conscious integration of Ireland's two traditions and a symbolic baptism of the house into the nation's history*" (2010:1030). From the perspective of this thesis this highlights a weakness in using content analysis to analyse Georgian Dublin as such meanings would be overlooked.

Of the Georgian buildings all the original houses have basement areas[170]; the Long Library which was never a house does not have one visible from the exterior. Also lacking basements are the modern built Georgian buildings. In the Georgian era these basements would have housed the kitchens and servants areas. Not readily appreciable in a content analysis there is an interesting visual effect were you have to look down in order to see these cellars from the street, this may be an attempt to render menial work and domestic help invisible.

There is what appears to be a converted coach arch on the left of number 10 and this seems to be the only one with the facility. Consulting Rocque's map (Lennon and Montague 2010:9) shows a stable lane running down the side and behind both terraces, it is difficult to make out but it appears that number 10 is not connected to this suggesting that Luke Gardiner had his own private stables. Edward McParland, who confirms that Gardiner had his own private entrance to the stables, in a study of Irish stable lanes suggests that proximity of stables would affect the sale of houses due to the smell and by keeping the stables out of view it meant that hay, manure and stable boys could also be kept out of sight (2010:128). McManus has pointed out that these were often designed with ornate decorations to and in a position so as to hide this from the

[170] Although a number have been filled in.

rear of the houses (McManus 2004:41). McParland's chapter indicates another aesthetic dimension to the stable lane, by having it off to a side street it allows for a continuous unbroken façade (2010:133); this implies that the location of Gardiner's house at the end of the street was planned with this in mind. This complicates the reliability of a drawing of the building which does not appear to feature a stable entrance (Figure 27). Given the streets history it is appropriate to point out here that according to McManus under the process of densification the overcrowding of Dublin's city centre residences often happened in Mews before the tenement system spread to adjoining streets contrary to the views of Prunty (McManus 2004:44).



No. 10 Henrietta Street in 1836.

Fig. 27 No. 10 1836 ***from Georgian Society Records Vol. II, 1910 (2004: 30)***

While there are differences between each of the houses at this stage in the research it is impossible to reach a conclusion as to the significance of this. There is however definite evidence that a pattern is emerging as these differences persist whether the house was commissioned by Luke Gardiner or Nathaniel Clements. Of particular interest is that at least some of these houses were built before being leased (2004: 16-17) raising the question of the buyer's input[171] in their design. Being the first Georgian Street in Dublin (Lennon and Montague 2010:9), Henrietta Street represents the prototype for later developments. It is fortunate then that it "*has remained largely*

[171] Or lack of input.

unaltered and is a rare example in these islands of the preservation of an early eighteenth century ensemble of this quality and scale" (Lennon and Montague 2010:9).

Critical Visual Analysis of Images of Georgian Dublin

The Pembroke Estate

Having laid out the criteria for analysis in our discussion of Henrietta Street it is now possible to move onto a visual analysis of the Georgian Street-scape. To do this I have chosen to follow a route designed by Pat Dargan (2008:65-80). The route was developed in Dargan's words as:

> *the most appropriate way to explore and understand Georgian Dublin is to walk along its streets and squares and absorb their architecture and planning at first hand. For this reason a Walking trail is offered. This consists of a trail map around the area of Merrion Square and Fitzwilliam Square – the sector Georgian Dublin least affected by post Georgian developments... The development dates of the street are offered, in addition to some of the more significant features that might be of interest to the visitor* (2008:67).

The advantage to following this route in addition to those of consistency to the original street-scape, the information provided, and the highlighting of additional features is that the route corresponds with a significant portion of the Georgian core excepting a number of areas from Hume Street to Harcourt Street. Finally other tours either give minimal information or are devoted almost entirely to the public buildings and sculptures.

As the streets have been laid down and built as a unified whole it is necessary to analyse them as such taking the individual buildings selected by Dargan on the way. Key areas that will be looked at are the similarities in the buildings and conversely their significant differences which may indicate conspicuous consumption. A question that will be attempted here is what is the reason for the relative uniformity? It should be noted that this visual examination of the street-scape was engaged in only after an intensive period of reading on the subject so that these interpretations may not be held by someone who goes in "cold" so to speak, however it was necessary to get over my own unfamiliarity with architecture.

The area is for the most part within the former Pembroke estate, and was developed under the Fitzwilliam's from whom they inherited it as well as the agents Elisabeth Fagan, her daughter Barbara Verschoyle and Richard, Barbara's husband. A map of the estate, titled *Part of the Estate of the Rt Honble The Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery situate in the county of the city of Dublin by John Roe 1822* (McCabe 2011:228–9) dating from when it was almost complete demonstrates a pattern of ownership which shows that by the 1820s it had a primarily upper bourgeoisie ownership with a few senior clergy, Judges and Lords still owning property. The houses were not all dwelled in by those named on the map some of whom leased multiple properties notably the Verschoyles, Mr Blackwood, the Dixon family, Sam Sproule[172], Richard Griffith and Lord Longford suggesting that these properties leased for 150 years were investments. Some of these figures have been identified Blackwood was a

[172] This may well be the same Sam Sproule whose career as an informer is described in *Revolutionary Dublin 1795-1801: The Letters of Francis Higgins to Dublin Castle* (2004:52-5). If this is the same person he entered the crown service in the early part of 1798 having apprehended someone who robbed him in Kildare, where he was a prosperous farmer, and through interrogation was able to uncover elements of the United Irishmen afterwards providing accurate information to the Castle which was largely ignored partially as it was not treated as credible, he left Dublin having been threatened in late 1798 before returning in 1801.

Lieutenant in the navy, the Dixons were tradesmen or builders (Hughes 2011:7) and the Verschoyles were the family of agents. While Henrietta Street represented the early phase of Georgian Dublin the Pembroke estate represents the later phase another reason to provide both in the analysis, especially as the estate is to the south side what Henrietta Street was to the North.

Figure 28.1 No.1 Merrion Square North

Figure 28.2 No.1 Merrion Square North front brick work

Figure 28.3 side of house

Figure 29.1 No.11 Merrion Square North

Figure 30.1 No. 26 Merrion Square North

Figure 30.2 No. 26 Merrion Square North Door

Merrion Square North consists of a range of two to three bay houses some of which have rusticated ground floors and or round headed windows. These represent a standard design that allowed for small details that could be customised to the owners' tastes, although some of these could be later alterations. Dargan singles out three houses for comment, numbers one, eleven and twenty six (2008:67). Number one's literary associations need not detain us here for too long, but they are referred to as two of the former residents of this house are commemorated by plaques outside one dedicated to Oscar Wilde, which can be summarized as saying Oscar Wilde lived here. The other far more detailed is dedicated to his father William and this lists his curriculum vitae.

Absent is any reference to William Wilde's wife[173].

Architecturally, its most prominent feature is the large white structure that appears to be built onto the main building; this has a side entrance porch and a green door. It is currently the Irish American College and the name is clearly visible on the side and the otherwise blank fanlight. The building is itself otherwise a typical red brick one with the door being the main custom feature. The door case is a dual pillared temple topped one, a design which is replicated on some side windows, particularly the large one at the Piano Nobile, it also has balcony railings. Number 11 features elaborate wrought iron railings, on top of a small stone wall, its largest windows are on the first floor. A common red brick building the main custom features are a black door with a dual pillar and pediment door-case with a five spoke fanlight. Its present use, or that of the time of writing is O Reilly Consulting, although there was also a "to let" sign. Number 26 has a central window with pediment and balustrade on the first floor which provides extra light. There is a rusticated stone front on the ground floor, it has a yellow door, with a spoke-less fanlight, and a plain door case suggesting the customisation was limited to the rusticated stone. Each of these buildings includes elements of customisation as otherwise they are typical off the peg models. In some cases the location, number 1 is a corner house, or lighting, the windows and fanlights, undoubtedly played a role. The literature points to houses being generally the same with minor elements added to the owners taste. Reclus would have argued that the adherence to an architectural norm stifled innovation and lacked spontaneity while recognising that these gave an individual character to the city (Reclus 2013b:178–9). It is probably appropriate here to mention the park at Merrion Square. Initially this would have been residents only, perhaps confirming Reclus's claim for ownership of what could be viewed from the house (Reclus 2013b:165), its current use is public. The square as a

[173] This being relevant as Jane Wilde, possibly better known as Speranza, was a writer and public figure in her own right as well.

whole is Dublin's largest having been laid out in 1750. It is also the oldest on the south side and with the relatively limited alterations has fared better than its Northside counterparts.

Figure 31.1 No.45

Figure 31.2 No.45 Iron work

Figure 31.13 No.45 Iron work

Figure 32 View of the street

Merrion Square East consists of two to four bay standard houses which were sold off the peg with features such as door frames used to set them apart. A significant house Dargan points out is Number 45 a five bay house (2008:67), made of pink brick although this may be faded redbrick. The central door-case consists of two pillars with a flat top and a six spoke fanlight, along with a red door. By having an uneven number of bays the central door provides symmetry. With the number of bays being greater than others on the street there is a suggestion of greater wealth and or status for its initial owner or occupant. Dargan also points out that the paving is partially the original granite (2008:67) which shows their preservation in the street-scape

Fig. 33.1 Merrion Street Upper

Figure 34.1+34.2 No 20 Merrion Street

Merrion Street upper laid out in 1750 is perhaps now most notable for playing host to Government buildings, themselves of a neoclassical design suggesting that the design was either back in fashion or chosen because it fit the street-scape. The street itself is made up of two to five bay houses and as with several other streets along this axis retains the original granite paving. Dargan singles out number twenty for

examination (Dargan 2008:80). This building boasts a large round headed first floor window on the gable, in common with a lot of buildings it is red brick. With only two bays it is relatively small. It features a double pillar temple top door-case, with a plain fanlight encasing a red door. The window in addition to the practical function of increasing light assists the house in standing out which may be important given its modest scale.

Figure 35.1 No.95

Merrion Square West which includes Leinster House and a complex of Government and public buildings including the Natural History Museum and the National Gallery is otherwise made up of two to three bay houses. Dargan singles out two three bay houses numbers eighty nine and ninety five (Dargan 2008:80). Number eighty nine has a central door-case consisting of two columns and a spoke-less fanlight; it has large first floor windows and black painted railings. It is a pink brick three bay house. When its scale is taken into account the doors position provides symmetry.

Number ninety five is a three bay end house with a side entrance porch, it is a red brick building with a brown door within a white, dual column door-case topped by a spoke-less fanlight, unusually the rails have been painted white. This house would have been quite important as corner houses governed the shape of street, the inclusion of a side door is important as it saves space in the main house by having the door offset.

Large private Town-houses

Figure 36.1 Hugh Lane Gallery

Figure 36.2 Hugh Lane Gallery

Text of accompanying sign

Once the town residence of the Earl of Charlemont, this building was famous in the 18th century for its library and artistic contents.

This View is one of many colourful prints by James Malton whose famous work, A Picturesque and Descriptive View of the City of Dublin presents us with a window on the past, giving us a glimpse of Dublin at the height of her Georgian splendour.

In Malton's words "...The objects most worthy of particular admiration in Charlemont House, are the Libraries few Noblemen exceed, or can contend with his Lordship in this particular. They are three in number, at the rear of the house, and have communication by a corridor from the hall. About half way down the corridor is entrance to a small beautiful Library, erected from Designs by James Gandon, Architect, wherein are deposited a collection of exquisite Statues and Busts, of burnt Egyptian clay, brought by His present Lordship from Egypt..."

Today it is filled with Irish and European 19th and 20th century paintings and sculpture, notably, a fine collection of French impressionists.

The Garden of Remembrance immediately facing this building was designed by Daithí Hanley, the former Dublin City Architect. This peaceful retreat with its

lovely lawns and lake forming the shape of a cross, is dedicated to all who died in the cause of Irish freedom and was opened in 1966.

The Hugh Lane gallery was at one point known as Charlemont House, after the Earl of Charlemont, it is a three storey stone building of five bays. On the left hand-side it is separated from the terrace except for a curved wing which joins it to the neighbouring building. This effect is achieved by having the building set in comparison with the rest of the terrace, on the right hand side the effect is repeated although there is a glass structure here attaching it to the neighbouring building. The centre of the building consists of a two columned projection on a stepped base supporting a flat pediment surrounding the door-case. Being set back off the street along with the width of the street allows it to escape the problem that Powerscourt House[174] suffers from being positioned on a narrow street in such a way that it was difficult to view.

Figure 37.1 Kildare Street Front 37.2 Merrion Square Front

.[174] See below.

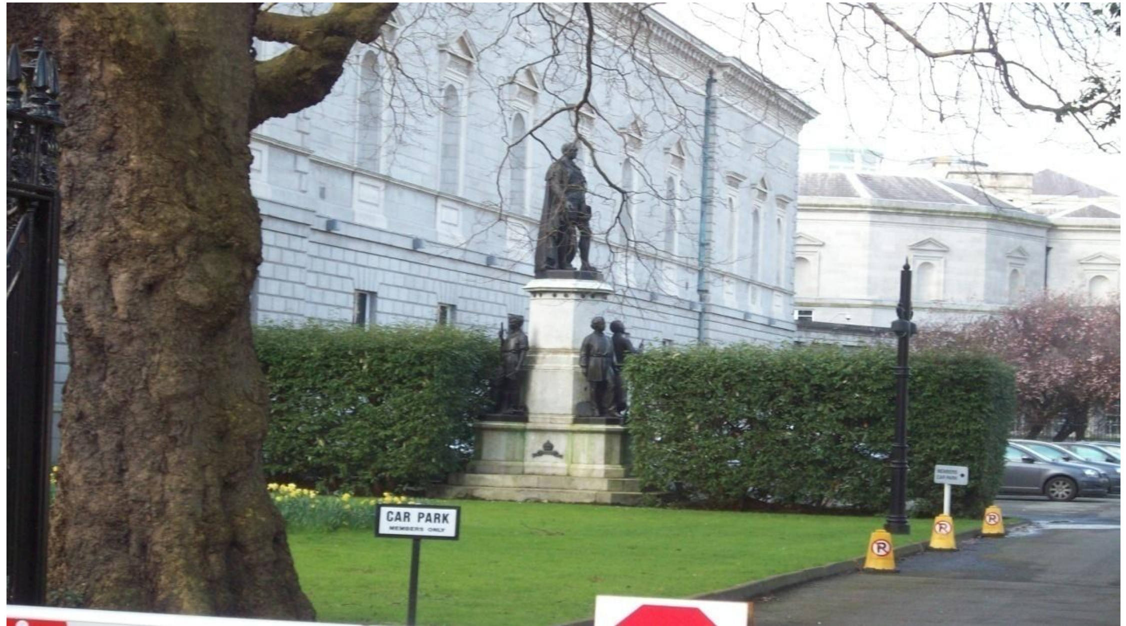


Figure 37.3 Prince Albert

Text of accompanying sign

Since 1924, Leinster House has been the seat of the two houses of the Oireachtas, Dail and Seanad (Irish Parliament and Senate), who meet here a total of 90 days a year.

Designed in 1745 by the architect Richard Cassels, who also designed the Lying-in Hospital off Parnell Square, it was built as a town residence for the duke of Leinster on what was then known as Molesworth Fields, adding a character to the area that has remained to this day.

This view is one of many superb quality aqua-tints by James Malton, showing Dublin city at the end of the eighteenth century.

In his announcement of the work, Malton wrote that he was "struck with admiration at the beauty of the capital of Ireland and was anxious to make a display of it to the world."

In 1834, the building was sold by the Duke of Leinster to the Dublin Society and for the next hundred years it was used as their headquarters.

In 1877, the National Museum and National Library were built on the North and

south sides of the forecourt. The two Houses of the Oireachtas, Dail and Seanad, first occupied the building in 1924.

As you can see, it has hardly changed in appearance since 1792, the date of Malton's famous view.

Leinster House, formally the town-house for the Duke of Leinster and modelled on the design of Country estates, is currently the seat of Government. During the Georgian era Richard Cassels designed it in such a way that while reflecting a rural design, its second front which now addresses Merrion Square once faced open countryside. It also fit the urban street-scape providing a closing vista for Molesworth Street, this dual nature seems to have been incorporated into the design as the building technically has two fronts. The building is set a fair bit back from both streets making it part of but separate from the street-scape. The building itself was designed to classical principles, specifically Palladian, reaching three storeys in height and stretching for eleven bays it emphasised the wealth and power of the Duke. Considering its scale the architect faced the difficult job of maintaining the symmetry of the building. He achieved this through a temple shaped front reaching a full three storeys and stretching for three bays. This was rusticated at ground level and consisted of four classical columns topped by a large pediment, all of which was contrasted with a plain door. This along with the varying and often elaborate window designs, served to display the wealth of the Duke in a show of conspicuous consumption. The other side is relatively plain stripped of the columns and pediment. The steps leading to the front door on the Kildare Street side appear to be less steep than on other houses in the sample. The Merrion Square front has an interesting lawn area with two sculptures of note, a cenotaph which commemorates Michael Collins, Arthur Griffiths and Kevin O'Higgins, and the statue of Prince Albert associated with the Royal family. These display two different aspects of

Irish history, the struggle for independence and the crown forces that the struggle was against.

Figure 38 Powerscourt Town-house

Powerscourt House is an impressive seven bay structure, now an upmarket shopping centre but once a town-house in William Street. There are two side entrances, from the scale of which they could have been coach entrances – although one was the entrance to the stables and the other the left to the kitchens (1984: np), topped with a triangular pediment on either side. The fact that they were to the side kept these aspects of the inhabitants' life safely out of view. The entrance is approached by wide raised steps, the sides of which curve inwards towards the door. This is flanked on either side by four large ground floor windows. For the most part the first floor windows are of a smaller scale, although the central one above the door is clearly larger and meant for the

Piano Nobile or the space for socialising. The next floor windows are smaller again, and are presumably the bedrooms, if the design is consistent with that found in smaller scale and off the peg town houses. The central part of the building is topped with a triangular pediment although no supporting pillars are incorporated into the design. Above this is an attic which at time was described as an observatory (1984: np). As Lewis pointed out the house is on a narrow street hindering the view of it (1787) which I can confirm is still an issue today from having taken photographs there. There does not appear to be a Malton Trail sign at this building, at least none I could find, however there is a series of signs on the interior which includes the Malton aqua-tint. Given its interior location and the lack of any sign stating that it is part of the Malton Trail, this sign is omitted from the thesis.

Discussion

In the section above the differing scale of houses was taken as an indicator of wealth and status and some of the differences may relate to the fact that several of these streetscapes date back to a time when Barbara Verschoyle indicated the economy was not favouring the Fitzwilliam estate leasing the properties, due in part to the increased tensions that would eventually lead to rebellion (Hughes 2011:6). Other plausible reasons for this include that they were aimed at different markets, or even fashion although in some instances such as Merrion Square the mixed scale of these buildings would tend to suggests otherwise. In terms of the scale it is notable that in many instances the bigger houses have similarities to the smaller ones, and are just larger versions of the latter this is perhaps most notable in the way that the steps are designed rising up to a door that is above ground level. While certainly the fact that some of these houses were leased by the newly emergent bourgeoisie suggests that perhaps the aping of the nobility that is suggested by Gottdiener in the case of modern suburbanisation is

occurring here as well. However we cannot exclude the fact that a number of these homes were occupied by nobility in Dublin to do business hence the fact they are called town-houses. Nearly a century later Reclus would identify a similar process with commuting between towns and countryside making only "*fleeting*" visits to their townhouses, enabled to do so by their wealth and part of an overall trend of the desertion of the city at night with the suburban bourgeoisie also leaving (Reclus 2013a:107–8). Just as technology and wealth enabled this in Reclus's day what we see with Georgian Dublin is an earlier version of this, reflecting the era of the horse rather than steam and tram. This suggests that in at least some cases rather than aping the trappings of the larger houses to reflect a nouveau riche these houses were replicating the trappings as the owners were the rich.

The Georgian Streetscape as a canvass

This explains the scale of the streets and the design of the squares. The assumption was that the walking Georgian gentleman or lady of fashion wanted to be seen effectively rendering the street-scape into a canvas leading the eye in a certain direction and providing a frame so people could be seen. A readymade backdrop is even provided for these walkers in the form of closing vistas such as Leinster House closing Molesworth Street and St Stephen's Church doing the same for Merrion Square and Mount Street, or the exchange in Malton's *View from Essex Bridge*. This also partially accounts for the relative uniformity of the houses, they are largely the same brick colour and of similar elevation. Though the fact that they were essentially mass produced and sold off the peg played an important role, from a design viewpoint they would not immediately distract the viewer from the street. The differences between each of these buildings are relatively minor in most cases, but act as visual indicators of wealth and

status, in essence conspicuous consumption. In some cases these had practical applications as well; fanlights and larger Piano Nobile windows allowed light in, iron-wrought railings provided security. Stable gates had practical consequences, while built into the façade of the building; they kept the continuous line of houses going. Maintaining the aesthetic but meant someone would have to lose space in their house, one line of houses addresses this by having the stable lane gate on Lower Pembroke Street not part of any building. A similar strategy to save space is employed by number ninety five Merrion Square West which has a side porch for an entrance also saving space. It is tempting to relate this to homogeneity that is often read into the suburbs and the modernist city[175] but rather in this instance this appears to have been consciously evoked as an aesthetic standard rather than something which detracts from the street-scape.

The issue of the image of the streetscape is combined with the tendency to keep work out of view. While in this chapter this is emphasised with the stable lane we can see elsewhere with the basement and attic areas being preserved for servants use, offering spaces were work can be done and regulated and observed by the family who dwelled in the house as lease holders. Instead of keeping work out of view it is perhaps better to consider it as the keeping of the working class out of view. This process has been noted in the literature on theming and as we shall see in later chapters occurs in themed Georgian Dublin.

This image of the Georgian Street-scape with an uninterrupted row of homogeneous houses seems to be contradicted by the presence of Leinster House however the plans of the street suggest that the positioning of Leinster House closed one

[175] See Gottdiener (2001).

of the streets and if not deliberate this was taken as the function by some contemporaries (O'Kane 2010:104). The principles of land ownership determined the shape of the street-scape and were out of both parties control, Kildare wanted a prospect and Fitzwilliam wanted to build on it. O'Kane defines the dynamic of the resulting street-scape:

> *Ideas about prospects, gardens, long garden side walls, stables and site are reflected in the ultimate form of the Georgian Square itself, its great mansion Leinster House, its attendant smaller mansions such as Mornington House, and the common sort of terraced house. What is most particular to Dublin's squares is perhaps the degree to which they reveal and describe this tension, and the flexible and mutable quality of their resultant development* (O’Kane 2010:109).

The presence of what remains of the garden providing a slight compromise for the Kildare interest, while moving the house off the street itself. The garden hosts a cenotaph dedicated to Irish nationalist figures but it also includes a statue of Prince Albert, the presence of this figure calls to mind the colonialism which many have in the past read into the street-scape itself. This reminds us that at the time many saw the Georgian boom as an expression of the success of the colonial project, and a reading based on the contemporary of the built environment as supported by Killeen suggests an Ireland tamed (2005:150).

The Malton trail focuses on signature buildings such as the aforementioned Leinster House, these buildings are far more unique then the red brick ones, even if the Rotunda is largely a copy of the same architect's Leinster House. Powerscourt and Charlemont however both differ substantially from the rest of their respective streetscapes and so stand out significantly. These presumably reflect the wealth and

tastes of their respective owners. The public buildings like these private ones are designed to be viewed hence their inclusion in Malton's views, and their visual presence on the street-scape, and with the exception of Powerscourt their position on the street enables this view.

It is interesting to note that buildings with an uneven number of bays would often have their door at the centre of the building in order to provide a sense of symmetry which appears to have been important to the Georgian architects or at the very least their patrons. Numbers forty five Merrion Square East is an example of this. Another demonstration of this symmetry is the two adjacent coach arches on Lower Baggot Street (not pictured in this thesis), which form mirror images of each other. This tendency towards symmetry can be understood as from a Reclusian view to be part of the lack of innovation on the part of the artists and architects of the day:

> *They imagine that symmetry will achieve beauty, and think that identical reproductions will give their towns a Parthenon or a St. Mark's. In Europe we have a city whose very buildings render it preeminently banal—namely, the vast city of Munich, which contains many scrupulous imitations of Greek and Byzantine monuments, masterpieces that lack their appropriate environment, atmosphere, soil, and people* (Reclus 2013b:179).

In this way the architecture becomes similar to that of those buildings found elsewhere and appears to be connected with the classical notions of beauty without any originality.

Dargan suggests the route of his tour in the first place as compared to other parts

of the city it has been subject to less changes (Dargan 2008:67). This is demonstrated by the retention of the original granite paths. He also points out, as we will see in the next chapter, where streets on the route have been altered for example on Baggot Street Lower and Pembroke Street Lower (Dargan 2008:79). In doing so he seems to be indicating that this is the best route to get a taste of authentic Georgian Dublin. The issue of authenticity is itself raised when it comes to considering number forty six Fitzwilliam Square, the door on paper is the most photographed Georgian door and stands out even on the *Doors of Dublin* Poster where it is three doors down the column and three doors into the right, certainly it is spectacular but it is not Georgian however the tourist would not be aware of this unless told otherwise, something Dargan does not inform his reader of (Dargan 2008:75). However despite this the door does not appear out of sync with the feel of Georgian Dublin so while objectively it is not authentic it is constructed as such through its location and appearance, this will be given a fuller analysis in the next chapter dealing with authenticity.

Conclusion Symbolic Canopy

As we saw in the previous chapter the iconography on three of the public buildings tended to reflect classical myth, and expressions of patriotism. It is noteworthy that the Custom House by favouring the seal of Ireland over George III's suggests a form of Irish identity among the city's elite. While the Roman style statues of Hermes and Poseidon are in keeping with the classical architecture, and Moses fits the context of the Four Courts, the presence of female figures representing the virtues such as Mercy, Justice, Authority and Wisdom on the Four Courts tends to confirm Aheron's aesthetics (1754:77-8), which suggests that the frequent use of Corinthian pillars representing luxury (1754:57) were likely not an idiosyncratic interpretation. These pillars and some of the statues, and fronting derive from classical architecture.

We also see this reflected in the fronts of the private houses[176] it is notable that many door-cases are made of two pillars often supporting a pediment as if they reflect the same architectural taste rendered at a scale acceptable to the leases. This design is based on the classical temples of Greece and Rome and so are like miniature versions of larger buildings, as we can see from Leinster House and the other larger private buildings[177]. The construction of these porticoes draws on the same symbolic canopy as the public buildings and this means that they retain the symbolism that these were also invested with. This also has implications for the hypo-significant buildings touched on in the previous chapters[178]; while both were bereft of statues they included these classically derived architectural features of pillars, domes and etc. What does it signify however, given the context on which they appear in contemporary times Gottdiener sees this type of symbolism as connected to powerful institutions; however for us the context is different. Instead seeing as it appears on private houses of both the nobility and the bourgeoisie, we should see these as reflecting wealth and status, and it is notable as referred to in the previous chapter architecture of this type would have entered the Irish and British sphere through the medium of the grand tour, the practice of exotic travel prior to entering the world as an adult prevalent among those with wealth at the time.

The fact that this symbolism overlaps should lead us to look at Sharon Zukin's concept of landscapes of power, which basically suggests that space is socially organised to reflect the ideological and class interests of those in positions of power, in Gramscian terms hegemony. The symbolism on private buildings resemble those of powerful institutions because they are the people who maintained and were maintained

[176] Which do not include statues.
[177] The Hugh Lane Gallery (formerly Charlemont House) and Powerscourt House.
[178] The Rotunda and Royal Exchange.

by those institutions. We saw in the previous chapter how the iconography used was essentially an expression of aspects of the superstructure. In this we need then to question our distinguishing between the class positions of the nobility and the bourgeoisie in the context of Georgian Dublin, and whether they are truly distinct. It would perhaps be better to consider them as part of successive ruling classes, with one part vacating the city around the time of the Act of Union (1801) and the other part taking its place.

In this and the preceding chapters the thesis has moved from providing the context in which these buildings were built and in some cases saved, to discussing the symbolism of the buildings. In this chapter a description of the structure of a Georgian building both large scale and smaller scale in the form of town houses was provided. In the next chapter the thesis will build on this to describe the template for the archetypical Georgian Townhouse in order to begin an examination of what makes a Georgian building authentic and what excludes it from being able to have a claim on authenticity.

Section 5: Georgian Dublin's authenticity

Chapter 11 Authentic Georgian Dublin

Introduction: Mark Gottdiener and Authenticity

In this chapter I connect the theming of Georgian Dublin to the concept of authenticity and the process of sacralisation. As has already been established Georgian Dublin was under threat during the 1960s, in the aftermath of which this architectural style and buildings of this age were granted a new protected status. This chapter focuses on examples of Georgian buildings from the Fitzwilliam estate and Dargan trail, although a number such as those on Henrietta Street come from outside this area. This chapter establishes a sliding scale of aesthetic authenticity ranging from the genuine Georgian building to newly built versions which may be faithful reproductions or modern reinterpretations. It shows how in order for authentic themes to be incorporated into the street-scape tactics such as creative use of signage must be employed to accommodate the buildings other usages. Finally it uses the example of a preserved building that has collapsed in on itself to demonstrate the extent to which this aspect of theming can go.

Mark Gottdiener spends limited space on the issue of authenticity, and what he has to say has to be constructed from isolated passages, although he does concede that *"(s)imulated and commodified themed environment are no substitute for genuine local culture and open cities with free public spaces for social action, nor for much-needed natural environments, such as rain forests, and other renewable resources*" (2001:189). He further suggests that "*a growing number of people now recognize that positive aspects of their local culture... are pulverized and swept away by all that neon, media merchandising, and theming*" (2001:132). What appears to be at stake here is that Gottdiener sees a major drive in the process of theming in some environments is based on nostalgia, harking back to a bygone golden age (2001:178-9). However in many

cases these are reduced to kitsch or "*a cartoon-like simulation*" although originals *"still do exist, and some may even bear a resemblance to popularized simulations*" (2001:139). Once we consider themed heritage, whether simulated copies or maintained originals, which structures "*a simulated, idealized version of ... history consumed eagerly by tourists*" effectively acting as substitutes for history books (2001:179). He cites protests against and defeat of Disney's *America*, a planned history theme park near an important battlefield site, as evidence for a growing cultural unease with the simulation of history (2001: 163-5,179). This chapter is structured in a way that it engages with the idea that behind a staged idea of Georgian Dublin as a geographical space it has the reality of authentic Georgian buildings as its "backstage". However as we shall see when discussing a sliding scale of authenticity the reality is that not all these buildings are Georgian and others are used in ways that have to seek, as has been seen elsewhere in this thesis, accommodation with other processes at work within Ireland's contemporary economy.

There has in fact been a debate in the literature that kitsch and authenticity are not so different after all, and if unsuccessful attempts at authenticity may themselves be perceived as kitsch (Royle 2000:16). Similarly Nandinee K. Kutty suggests that when local authorities promote areas through their authenticity many are in fact utilizing cultural kitsch and marketing it as being authentic (2008:9). While both Kutty and Royle distinguish between kitsch and authenticity they show that in certain circumstances they can be interchangeable. For Jane Parrish the links between authenticity and kitsch emerged at the same time as mass production and immediately kitsch became the contrary to authentic (2004). Portigal and Jones have adopted a more nuanced view considering kitsch as developing its own type of authenticity (2009). The same is not always true when authenticity is connected to heritage tourism. The process behind this, as outlined by Chris Rojek, is that at heritage sites history is staged and

represented (1993), while Keith Hollinshead emphasises that historical facts and narratives are being selected for presentation (1998). Opinions on where this leaves authenticity and the search for it differ; Rojek believes it is in decline (1997:71), while Noam Shoval believes that it has been reinvented under the processes of "*theming and McDonaldisation*" (2000:262). This has led to a blurring of the lines between authenticity and staging which concerns theorists such as Fjellman, who has used the term "Distory"[179] to describe this (Hollinshead 1998). When applied to Ireland Kelli-Ann Costa points to the idyllic and backward image of Ireland that is sold abroad which rejects modernism and favours the rural over the urban landscape, and tourists come in search of the imagined Ireland rather than the real one (Costa 2009:70). However Colin Graham does not entirely agree with this, arguing that the image sold and the one that tourists come for is one of traditional and authentic Ireland "*made modern and new*" (2001:70). What is visited here may be history[180] reconstructed, restored or reproduced but it is still presented to tourists as being authentic examples of the real Ireland, a paradoxical "*authentic reproduction*" authorised by officialdom (2001:59-60). He sees this as an ironic authenticity (2001:71) that has entered new media[181] and survived, with the US as a "*consumer and producer of Irishness*" (2001:73), creating multiple authenticities (2001:74).

Template architectural details of a Georgian House

From the Georgian houses already examined here we can consider a template of an authentic Georgian house, ideally it should date to the time period during which the four consecutive Georges reigned, although it can be of a later date and pass for an

[179] Disney history, though the word has connotations of distortion of history which may be the point.
[180] And he (Graham) stresses legend.
[181] Through tourism advertising.

earlier building as we shall see in the case of York Street below. Under the process of sacralisation as a building is found which epitomises its type others are sought out which conform to it (Costa 2009), however looking the part does not appear to be a guarantee of acceptance as a Georgian building, as we shall see with the discussion on pastiche.

What makes an authentic Georgian building? In terms of scale the building will be about four floors above a basement, although the top floor will often have smaller windows, while the first floor often have the largest ones owing to it being the one needed for entertaining. In terms of width they tend to be two to three bays wide, with wider ones still common. They are made out of red brick although in some cases this is hidden with paint and the ground floor can have a facade different to the rest of the brick work. Iron working is quite common, most having basements have an iron fence, as much for safety as for security, and some have iron "balconies" too narrow to be anything other than decorative. One iron feature that has not always survived intact but the buildings frequently had is the boot scraper near the doorways. The doors are among the most distinctive features of a Georgian building, they appear at the top of a short group of steps, in a door case made up of two pillars and a pediment. Above the door case a glass fanlight is found, shaped in an arch. There is also the rare possibility that the pillars of the door case might be flanked by decorative windows.

On the basis of this template we can now consider a number of Georgian buildings which are interpreted variously as authentic and inauthentic by those viewing them.

<u>Authentic Representations</u>

Authenticity and Exclusion in Fitzwilliam Square

Figure 39.1 Fitzwilliam Square East

Figure 39.2 Interior garden as seen from Fitzwilliam Square East

Dargan's tour provides no signature buildings on Fitzwilliam Square East, which like Merrion Square is a garden surrounded by houses, in this case two to three bay ones (2008:72). In other respects this square is the polar opposite of Merrion Square as it is not only smaller, but also private, making it unique among Dublin's Georgian Squares. Mary Bryan attributes the fact that the interior is unchanged to the fact that it is private (2001a:99). The Square dates back to 1791 when the country was in recession, and this is reflected by the scale of the houses. As with elsewhere these were sold off the peg although small scale individual touches were allowed.

Gottdiener discusses the role of theming in the erosion of public space in his book *The Theming of America* (2001), seeing "*the central city remains a public space that allows free interaction among a variety of people for any number of purposes, the mall is a highly regulated, private commercial space that is expressly designed to make money*" (2001:83). He claims that there has been an erosion in public space in part due to the fear of crime and also the process of suburbanisation (2001:126). Gottdiener argues that central to the privatisation of public space is the fear of crime so that "*(c)ity parks, which were purposely dedicated to the concept of public communion, are now rightly perceived as unsafe places. Cases like that of the Central Park jogger (Gottdiener; 1994b: 2 151, and incidents of group violence directed against women, demonstrate the danger of using public spaces*" (2001:159). This cannot apply in the case of a small park that has never been open to the general public except for rare incidents and to key holders. I would suggest that instead the issue here is that of private property, in Proudhon's sense of the idea (Proudhon and McKay 2011). While it meets the possessiveness and usage aspects of his term for personal property that becomes harder to claim when it is considered that it is not used for labour and also as it prevents

free access and intermingling being exclusionary of all but a select few it is quite clearly private property[182]. Theming enters into this not as privatising a public space or generating a semi public space but as a justification for the maintenance of a private space. This leads to a situation in which through the enclosure of spaces, a situation that existed in the Georgian period "(*t)o pedestrians wandering along the muddy roads in this would-be countryside, the only nature in evidence is the trimmed shrubs and clumps of flowers glimpsed through the fences*" (Reclus 2013a:108) is partially reproduced in the present through theming.

Fig 40.1 Fitzwilliam Square West

[182] Proudhon's critique of enclosure's derives from his understanding of the Labour Theory of Property, which divided property into that legitimately owned through the worker's possession and work on the property and that which is property appropriated by the bourgeoisie and their predecessors. The logical extension of this for Proudhon, while you would own what you work with directly, or co-own in labour managed firms, other elements of society would be held in common. These would include natural resources and in the modern context we can apply this to the historic built environment. These would in this way exist as a commonly held form of free capital. See Derek Ryan Strong's Proudhon and the Labour Theory of Property (2014) for more information.

Fig. 40.2 No.46 Fitzwilliam Square West

Figure 40.3 No. 46's door

Fitzwilliam Square West is made up of a series of two bay houses of which number forty six is typical, albeit ivy covered suggesting age, underneath this ivy red brick can be made out. It is an open question as to whether the ivy is cultivated to add to the appearance. The claim has been made that this is the most photographed door in

Dublin; the elaborate door-frame features a seven spoked fanlight (Dargan 2008:75). This door is not Georgian, and was put there in 1907 for a royal visit, a fact not mentioned by Dargan (2008:75). The house itself includes metal balcony rails. This seems to be what Erik Cohen has described as communicative staging (1989), a process by which authenticity is essentially mediated so that if a guide, guide book or plaque tells us that something is authentic we will accept it as such. In this instance the repetition of the door-frame on images of Georgian Dublin and the fact that it has been accepted as the best example of a Georgian door, leads to it being unquestionably accepted as authentic. However despite this, the door does not appear out of sync with the feel of Georgian Dublin so while objectively it is not authentic it is constructed as such through its location and appearance. As with other buildings as can be seen from the above images it fits the basic template in terms of scale, four floors with the windows shrinking in scale the higher up the building the viewer looks.

A similar issue exists for the neoclassical buildings on Upper Merrion Street, which date from later than the rest of the street-scape but are designed to conform to the street-scape, allowing them to feel authentic. The issue of authenticity in this instance cannot be removed from ideas of exclusion and the desire to keep some areas private. If we look at the discussion on Fitzwilliam Square and Merrion Square, we cannot help but see the issue as being one the retention of the exclusivity of the Square in the claims that the reason the Square has retained its Georgian character is that this garden unlike Merrion Square is private (Bryan 2001a:99). The Square was for a time opened up from March to September on Fridays for a market, allowing those who do not have keys to see the inside one of the best preserved Georgian Square, although this was cancelled in 2012 apparently due to "*bureaucracy and red tape*" (Irish Village Markets 2012). Her claims that the Georgian Square survived due to its being private undoubtedly have

merit, particularly when applied to the past where conservation had been of minimal concern to successive Governments (and the decline of Mountjoy Square in particular). However in the more recent political climate protection of the Squares would have been far easier than it had been with the use of protection orders making the case more difficult to sustain.

Challenging the theme

Pembroke Street Lower and Baggot Street Lower – disrupted Streetscapes

Fig 41.1 Pembroke Street Lower Fig 41.2 Coach Arch

Pembroke Street Lower was laid out in 1820 and features a standardised group of two, three and four bay houses (Dargan 2008:79). The range of house sizes indicates differing financial resources and alterations to the built environment showing this area was more affected by development than others. Incidentally the name of the street refers to the heirs to the Fitzwilliam estate. The coach arch here is quite interesting as it is incorporated into a wall that does not make up part of a house meaning that the occupier of that house would not have to give up room. This keeps work, animals, dirt and the working classes out of view. In Mark Gottdiener's study we see this in how work, if

visible, is incorporated into "*the symbolic decor through the wearing of costumes and the like*" (2001:6) to the extent that some appear as tourists themselves (2001:124). In both instances[183] the idea of work is removed from view. The ornate front here confirms some of McManus's observations on how the walls of stable areas were beautified to avoid the appearance of dirt (2004).

Figure 42

[183] Georgian Dublin and Disney theme-parks.

Figure 43

As with Pembroke Street Lower, Baggot Street Lower has also been altered since it was originally laid out in 1791 (Dargan 2008:79), as the short street had been targeted by developers before protections came in. The bank (Bank of Ireland) having been a notable offender in this regard having constructed the large glass building in the street. The houses range three to four storeys and two bays which may be indicative of the financial problems of the time. The bank[184] is an interesting example of this as there remains nearby a number of still extant Georgian buildings. As can be seen from the images (figure 43) no attempt was made to make the building sympathetic with the surrounding Georgian buildings, it being essentially three large cubes of dark glass and grey concrete. In terms of both height and width it bears no relationship with surrounding structures.

[184] Bank of Ireland, numbers 50 to 55 Baggot Street.

Fitzwilliam Street

Figure 44

While Hume Street is generally treated as the great battle ground of Georgian Dublin, Fitzwilliam Street also features prominently in the area's historiography. As can be seen from the picture (figure 44) the ESB[185] buildings begin three doors down from the Georgian House Museum and according to an article in the Irish Times it stretches for 120 metres (McDonald 2013). That article suggests that the building's days are numbered, although there are already calls for its preservation notably from the architect's family. Despite McDonald's claims the building at the very least fits into the streetscape, although its colour is slightly off and its height is slightly higher than the Georgian buildings. Unlike the bank (figure 43) it seems to have been designed with the

[185] Ireland's Electricity semi-state company.

surrounding buildings in mind[186] and as such is different than the Bank of Ireland building in Baggot Street. However the hostility towards it seems to be due to the fact that like that building it disrupts the theme.

Henrietta Street

Figure 45

While Henrietta Street manages to be one of the best preserved and oldest examples of Georgian buildings in Dublin, there are two that could be described as of a neo-classical or neo-Georgian design. Like the ESB building they seem to be designed to fit the streetscape, and these two are in terms of colour quite a good fit. The buildings scale is interesting as it appears that the architect wanted to gradually reduce the scale from the four story neo-Georgian to the two story pub so between them there is a three story neo-Georgian. While the four and three bay design of Georgian buildings are not

[186] Possibly due to contemporary controversies surrounding redevelopment.

unusual, on the four bay building the bay with the door is set in slightly from the street, which would be atypical on a Georgian building. Both buildings integrate well known Georgian features, the larger building having a large central window frame which has two columns and a temple top, clearly evoking the piano nobile of Georgian buildings, The second building has the familiar door case complete with a fanlight arch. Here we see what can be termed a modern reinterpretation of Georgian architecture.

Hume Street

Figure 46.1

Figure 46.2

The Hume Street buildings do more than reinterpret the Georgian architecture it recreates it. Focusing on the building on the right hand corner of the Street as one looks at it from the green, it would be difficult to tell that it was not an original Georgian building, apart from a clumsily constructed blank wall. In all other ways scale, colour, features such as doors and windows it looks the part, they are for the lack of a better word pastiche. In *Dublin's (In)authentic Vistas* (2014) I suggest that these are rejected as the process of sacralisation has broken down because people remember the battle for Hume Street and refuse to accept them whereas if they had been less contentious they would be interpreted as authentic. In figure 46.2 we see a plaque from one of the replaced buildings attributing a 1768 date for the building, anticipating the building's creation[187] by around two centuries. While it presumably attempts to place a date on the entire street it serves as a caption to attribute authenticity for the building itself, not that

[187] But not it should be noted that of the street itself.

this is necessarily recognised by aficionados.

A sliding scale of inauthenticity

Dargan suggests the route of his tour in the first place as, in comparison to other parts of the city, it has been subject to less changes (Dargan 2008:67), this is demonstrated by the retention of the original granite paths. He also points out where streets on the route have been altered, for example on Baggot Street Lower and Pembroke Street Lower (Dargan 2008:79). In doing so he seems to be indicating that this is the best route to get a taste of authentic Georgian Dublin.

However this authenticity is potentially marred when the theme is disrupted, decapsulating[188] the visitor's experience (Jansson 2005). What we have seen here is a sliding scale of inauthenticity, beginning at a building which completely contradicts the theme, as in the case of the Bank of Ireland building, to a pastiche which is designed to replicate the Georgian building, while between the two extremes we have buildings which to varying degrees fit the Georgian streetscape. At the level of theory this presents us with a problem when drawing on the literature of both theme parking and authenticity. According to the literature on theming buildings should be found that fit the theme otherwise the theme does not work, on the other hand the literature on authenticity suggests that the buildings ought to be original in the sense that modern buildings do not replicate old ones. Here we find that neither position holds. Perhaps the best theoretical explanation that can address these two trends in the literature comes from Elisée Reclus who believed that as the built environment was a product of its age, the individuality of a city is destroyed by choices made by architects who tend to draw on a limited pool of designs (Reclus 2013b:178–9), so that historical architecture is

[188] In other words breaking the enjoyment or immersion in the theme.

replaced by modern trends that can be found in other cities.

As already has been suggested what we see here are the recognisable social processes breaking down, Hume Street is rejected from the sacralisation process as memories of the preservation campaign act as a barrier for the building to be reconstructed as Georgian. The Henrietta Street buildings appear to be rejected as copies as well. The Hume Street and Henrietta Street buildings at least preserves the aesthetic unity of the theme, however it is broken to various degrees by the Fitzwilliam Street buildings and the Bank of Ireland, with the former remaining hostility from the conservation battle cannot be ruled out. With the latter what we see is a complete break from the theme.

Visual contradictions to the theme

We have already seen that visual contradictions in terms of buildings not belonging to the theme influence the overall aesthetic unity of that theme. In this section we will consider the use of signage in a similar role. For this we will look at a number of sites in Dublin which will range from intrusive to subtle. The importance of this is that it shows how alongside theming the building has an existing use value which the theme is subservient to. At the same time the buildings themselves have to be used in ways that are compliant with planning legislation, which in Dublin's City Centre means that if you are using a Georgian building your signage has to be kept low key. In this way we see a contradiction between the (primary) use and aesthetic values. This of course derives from how the themed space of Georgian Dublin coexists with the local economy.

Figure 47

Harcourt Street is interesting in this regard as the street mixes newly built Georgians, with originals and neo Georgians. It is quite difficult to tell which are original and which are not without consulting Kevin Corrigan Kearns' article (1982) in which he shows the areas destroyed and under threat at the time. At the top of the street the Harcourt hotel provides a good example. The building appears to be modern but is relatively in keeping with the surrounding buildings, which may themselves be modern, from the first floor up. A second smaller building is also incorporated into the hotel. The larger of the two has a bright maroon painted front on the first floor and higher, while the smaller building is clearly a redbrick one. Just above the first floor windows we can see the large gold sign reading The Harcourt Hotel with the word hotel being between

the two windows. This does not appear to stand out particularly in comparison with the ground floor of the two buildings. This is a lime green painted front with an awning and written in cursive Little Caesar’s. In keeping with the Caesar theme there are painted wreaths underneath the sign. The buildings have three black Georgian doors.

Figure 48

Another building on Harcourt Street called Krystle has a less intrusive appearance. This building houses a night club and has a fairly typical two bay Georgian

House structure. The only evidence that it is a night club is the sign on the front saying Krystle and the three security cameras. In comparison with the Harcourt Hotel it has very low key signage which suggests that this building may be an original Georgian building and planning permission would have been harder to obtain than in the case of a pastiche building.

Figure 49.1 + 49.2 Georgian House Museum

A third building that uses signage is the Georgian House Museum, officially on Fitzwilliam Street the building's front door is on Mount Street, while its basement[189] is on Fitzwilliam Street. Like Merrion Square East, Lower Mount Street retains its original granite paving as it was never required for reuse. Laid out in 1789 St Stephen's Church provides its closing vista. The museum is considered the ESB's apology for destroying several Georgian houses on Fitzwilliam Street. The Georgian House museum is usually referred to as number 29 Fitzwilliam Street the building is a standard red brick building with white painted stone at basement level which incidentally is where access for visitors is, casting them in the role of servants if we look at it through Georgian norms. The blue door, which is on Lower Mount Street, has a two pillar door case, with small windows to the side of each pillar and a seven spoke fanlight. As a heritage centre this

[189] Which also serves as the museum entrance.

can be treated as a hub for Georgian Dublin. The sign for the museum makes use of the visual effects of Georgian Dublin to not be overly intrusive. From across the street on the corner of Merrion Square the only visual evidence of the museum is a removable banner hanging from the fence that surrounds the basement. However if one gets closer and looks down into the basement area the basement has a number of signs on it. There is a large A3 poster of the Georgian House Museum, a long sign with a wine background and white lettering giving the house number and name of the Museum, and there is also a blue ESB sign. In Georgian Dublin the basement was a servant's entrance keeping the poorer classes from view; here we see that visual effect being reused to hide the contemporary signage.

Mount Street has an interesting additional feature from the point of view of signage, graffiti. Considering the street's date it should come as no surprise that there is a coach arch here, which would at the time have provided access to coaches as it was important to keep the working classes out of view as well as the animals and their dirt. This has a similar logic to the basements on Georgian buildings keeping the servants off the street level. The presence of graffiti suggests that it now still allows people to act unobserved, providing something of a subversive potential to the space. This was according to McManus a fear during the Georgian era as these arches and mews provided a space for furtiveness (2004:41).

The use of signage in Georgian Dublin is noteworthy for the variety of ways in which it is used. While the Harcourt Hotel is gaudy and stands out, it is unlikely to be an original Georgian building. However the imagery used seems to distract from the overall Georgian theme. In this regards it is notable that the genuine buildings are far more low key in their use of signage with Krystle having a small sign on the front of the

building and the Georgian House Museum keeping its signage either temporary, in terms of the banner, or completely hidden from view by virtue of the fact that they are along the basement wall. This would suggest a recognition that signage, if intrusive, can take away from the overall effect of the theme, and that techniques are used to preserve its basic integrity. Earlier in discussing the spectrum of inauthentic buildings I suggested that part of the problem was the breach in aesthetic unity, speculatively this may be present here as well.

Fethisizing the "Authentic"

During the discussion about Henrietta Street on the web forums archiseek Hutton recounts a critique of the Dublin City Council approach to authenticity. This was in relation to a house which was incorrectly believed to have had a connection with Richard Brinsley Sheridan who was an eighteenth century author and playwright:

> *In reinstating the public domain, DCC inserted brand new granite slabs rather than appropriate historic paving, some of which I now see have subsequently been removed with tarmac once again featuring as pavement ... it then transpired the house wasn't actually Sheridan's as the street was renumbered - however despite this, the developer has since revised his scheme to reinstate that house and match it with a pastiche, and erect a plaque on the front noting BS's connection with the street. So an amusing and happy ending there - but no thanks to DCC* (Hutton 2009).

The house in question was a shell which had collapsed into itself and this over obsession with authenticity, preserving a building which cannot be reused, and which turned out to be unrelated to the historical figure they thought it was connected to,

contrasts with the general attitude to authenticity in the building of pastiche buildings and use of ahistoric materials in restoration jobs.

Figure 50 “Sheridan's” House on Dorset Street

As can be seen in the image above the building is partially collapsed, the windows are blocked up and the doorway has been boarded up. The fact that this building instead of being targeted for demolition and instead having become a protected structure with the developer planning to place a plaque on it despite it not having any association with Brinsley Sheridan, the playwright who had been assumed to live there until it was established he had not, suggests an irrational authenticity. What we see happening is the fethisizing of authenticity where it does not matter that there is no objective link to the figure that it is being associated with, or that the building no longer

has the capacity to act as a house or office and is effectively just a ruin, but it has been given a constructed sense of authenticity which prevents it from being demolished. While from a constructivist perspective all authenticity is constructed, in this instance we find that it has led to a fethishization of an old ruin of which there is nothing especially remarkable.

Conclusion

Authenticity is central to the theming of Georgian Dublin, as without it Georgian Dublin would not exist. The basic unity of the theme is what creates the place's identity and without it the space could not be described as Georgian Dublin. As part of this we can see the role of sacralisation, so that a basic common type of building is found which the other buildings resemble. While a number of modern buildings follow similar designs, they are copies or only bear a superficial resemblance to the originals so they are treated as kitsch. Due to the importance of authenticity those buildings which deviate radically from the Georgian buildings, rather than being treated as modern innovations are treated with hostility as they break the theme, and threaten the space's place identity. We also see that a variety of ways to advertise the modern buildings, without overly disrupting the theme are employed, and the role of legislation in this practice should not be underestimated. At the same time we see a tendency to preserve anything old creating a fetish for authenticity regardless of whether they have any use.

The incident involving the Brinsley Sheridan House throws up a number of issues relating to the idea of authenticity as jargon. The building would not have been significant in any way if not for the belief that an eighteenth century playwright had

been born there. Once this belief became established the house developed a new value as an authentic representation of the author. There was clearly an interest in preserving this building because of it having a supposed connection to Richard Brinsley Sheridan. The idea of using a theme as a pull factor to draw tourists into what is a working class area is not new. In this context it is interesting to note as well that it would have drawn not on working class or even popular culture but so called high culture. What is especially interesting here is that even after the connection between the writer and the structure was debunked the sense of authenticity was still being sought, now by the developer who had planned on redeveloping the site with a plaque highlighting the connection. The treating of the building as a relic of Brinsley Sheridan suggests a connection to Walter Benjamin's aura (2008), however the apparent retention of that aura once the connection was shown to be false would suggest that it may be possible for it to survive reproduction, itself an issue with ideas of kitsch.

Kitsch buildings, or reproductions, and buildings which do not fit with the Georgian street-scape themselves meet with opposition. Whether or not a building is sympathetic with the street appears to be subjective with a variety of criteria determining it e.g. parapet height, colour, design. At times it appears that an unsympathetic building is deemed preferable to a building which is based on Georgian originals, for example, two of the ones in Henrietta Street. The opposition to reproductions of the buildings was from a website for architects and architectural enthusiasts who frame the practice as essentially being plagiarism. The serial reproduction, and the response to it, can also be explained by a memory of the fact that after Hume Street this became a strategy to allow for the destruction of old buildings which at the time met with hostility from both activists and architects. At the level of theory we can also see it as being related to the concept of originary authenticity which

stresses the uniqueness of the authentic object.

The authenticity of the Georgian buildings is itself challenged by the current usage of the buildings and as shown in the discussion on the signage there is a necessary coexistence of the themed building and the economy in Georgian Dublin under current capitalist relations. While in this instance the theme and the rest of the economy appear to be in a state of compromise as seen elsewhere in this thesis this is not always the case, notably in the so called destruction of Dublin, and sometimes the theme is dominant while others it is the primary use value.

The issue of authenticity in this instance cannot be removed from ideas of exclusion and the desire to keep some areas private. As we have seen in Mary Bryan's discussion on Fitzwilliam Square and Merrion Square, we cannot help but see the issue as being one that retains the exclusivity of the square in the claims that the reason the square has retained its Georgian character is that this garden unlike Merrion Square is private (Bryan 2001a:99). Exclusionary tactics were employed contemporaneously as well, the frequent use of basements, probably best demonstrated with the Georgian House Museum, where tourists can actually enter through the basement entrance on Fitzwilliam Street, this formerly allowed menial labour to be kept out of sight on the street-scape and the circulation of the poor controlled but now hides the building's commercial function as pay per entry museum[190]. We also see this with the frequent use of stable lanes, or rather their entrances, which allowed the occupiers of the house to have their servants drive their coaches, into a back area where the animals were kept in stables, and the animals, their smell and dirt, and those employed to keep them are kept out of sight. The invisibility of the poor and labour, whether successful or not, suggests

[190] It is worth noting, but outside the area of this thesis, that the idea of a commercial museum undermines the public ethos of museums as institutions.

that a key element in urban planning was visuality. These parallel present day tactics of exclusion that Gottdiener observes in modern suburbia. As with modern suburbia, security seems to have been a major concern for Georgian Dubliners. Evidence of this is seen in the exterior metal work and the placing of metal behind the fanlights. The flight from the Northside once the Custom House was built is strongly suggestive of an aversion to the poor and we see this incorporated into the houses design, where as outlined above the stables were kept at lanes to the rear of the houses, servants entered through the basement entrances, in some respects the continued private nature of Fitzwilliam Square is a continuation of this. All things considered it is surprising that we did not see Mountjoy Square built as a proto-gated community as we see in the early plans for it.

This chapter has largely focused in on what in Wang's typology of authenticity (1999) is an objectivist framework of authenticity, albeit with an acknowledgement of the constructivist dimension to it. In the next chapter we will examine how these buildings are interpreted by those who view them, in terms of authenticity and other concerns they project on them. In doing so this thesis enters into one of the core debates of authenticity, its subjective experience and the identification of factors which shape this experience. The following chapter will relate to two specific streets on either side of the Liffey, Henriettta Street on the Northside which has already featured in this chapter, and York Street, near St. Stephen's Green, which has not. The latter no longer exists as a Georgian space so no images of it are used in this thesis.

Chapter 12 Experiencing York Street and Henrietta Street: Constructing the Interpretation of Authentic Georgian Streets

Introduction

As referred to in the introduction one of the key developments this thesis offers on Mark Gottdiener's *Theming of America* (2001) is investigating the viewpoints of those who visit themed locations. This is important from the point of view of authenticity as this allows for a greater examination of the construction of authenticity than looking at it as I did in the last chapter, it being generated through a combination of aesthetics, location and intertextuality from tourist literature. Using wiredmarker to colour code the responses of visitors as recorded on internet forums, this chapter examines authenticity under the broader headings of authenticity ("objective" authenticity and "objective" inauthenticity, along with ambiguity), an authentic sense of place, the space as being a themed space (generic appearance and museumisation), and political framing. It also aids in moving the discussion on from an unproblematic "objective" authenticity in which we find that a building is treated as authentic solely from looking the part and age, to a more nuanced approach.

In this it is important to consider how much authenticity[191] may be a value judgement. Theodore Adorno's central argument in *The Jargon of Authenticity* (1973) is that not only is the assumption of an objective authenticity impossible but that the concept of authenticity itself is based on the assumption, that there is inauthenticity which it can be defined against. He uses authenticity as a discourse to critique how language serves the status quo, when this is expanded into other more recent discussions

[191] Along with its opposite the inauthentic, whether kitsch or pastiche.

on authenticity, which treat it as a socially constructed value or experience, it raises the question whose interests are being served and what are the underlying structures that it supports (1973:124). Adorno also questions the usage of authenticity as a value, in the case of speech of sincerity (1973:90-1), if applied to themed locations looking at them as authentic or otherwise, could sideline the processes involved in their production such as, how they fit into a narrative that is being presented or why they are thought to be authentic or inauthentic in the first place.

The Sites: Henrietta Street and York Street

The Gardiners and their estate loom large in the history of Georgian Dublin as we saw in the chapter on the historical formation of Georgian Dublin as a spatial entity as well as subsequent historical chapters. Henrietta Street itself has already been examined in-depth in the chapter which showed that the symbolic canopy of the public realm was incorporated into the private realm. The importance of Henrietta Street and the Gardiner estate in the city fabric is summed up by J. Seerski, on an archiseek thread dealing with Luke Gardiner and separate to the threads under discussion for the bulk of this chapter:

> *His construction of Henrietta Street set the standard from which the rest of the Georgian City took its measure. He also instigated the construction of Sackville street, which, in its own right, is a landmark development in town planning worldwide. His Grandson, Luke II, went further, though the impact was less ground-breaking. He built more, but was not as ingenious as his grandfather* (Seerski 2003).

However Henrietta Street is not the only survivor of the Gardiner estate, though less intact Mountjoy Square, which in the extracts above was being treated as the pinnacle of Dublin's Georgian period also merits mention.

York Street was chosen for two reasons; firstly it already featured in the tenement chapter of this thesis as the location of one of the major tenant led housing campaigns, as a result of which it was rebuilt. This brings us to the second reason in being a modern street built to a Georgian design and taken to be actually Georgian it provides a useful juxtaposition with Henrietta Street - the original Georgian Street.

"Objectively" Authentic spaces: Interpreting a (mostly) Authentic Street Henrietta Street

Despite being outside the space identified as the Georgian core, Henrietta Street has pride of place in Georgian Dublin as *"Henrietta Street was the first major Georgian street to be built in Dublin*" (J Lobb 1999a). As part of moves to ensure their preservation, their cellars were filled with cement. The council was allowed to do this because "*the cellars did not form part of the structures in the street which were listed for preservation*" (trace 1999). This caused immediate concern for the architects and architectural enthusiasts with Paul Clerkin, owner of the website archiseek asking "*What effect is that going to have on the interior*?" (Clerkin 2001). This highlights two contradictory notions of authenticity at the official level, the council places emphasis on the façade, so that they seek to preserve the veneer. The architects on the other hand see the whole structure inside and out (including the veneer) as authentic.

This general worry for the preservation of Dublin's oldest Georgian Street prompted immediate concern that its authenticity be preserved, with authenticity being tied to the protection of the form of the buildings "*I'm presuming that they're listed but what are the conditions of sale? I'm aware that three at the top of the street have been recently renovated but surely we can make a bit more of a concerted effort to save these, they are magnificent* (Doozer 2002). The importance given to their earlier high status and the apparent official disdain for the buildings prompted Greg F. to ask "*I thought this street was designated a National Heritage Site.........Jesus are they waiting for the*

buildings to fall down before they do anything." (Greg F 2002). However James decided to correct him pointing out that "*Caseys* sic*, no 13 is in very good nick and 4 (Hanrattys)* sic *is pristine internally, don't be deceived by dirty brickwork*"(James 2002). Graham H, an architect, made a claim for how to give an authentic restoration of the street "*(f)rom the image it would appear it is intended to built the parapet in a different brick, matching that of the rebuilt 19th century parapet of the adjoining house. Surely the correct thing to do is to rebuilt both parapets in appropriate brick.*" (Graham H 2008a). This prompted some discussion on the authentic application of brickwork on these period buildings with Gunter claiming that "*These early Georgian houses were all about their heavy brick solidity",* (Gunter 2008a). Hutton (Hutton 2009) suggests that whatever the appearance the aim should be to "*restore the city's oldest street*" while Johnglas accepts that "*OK. it's run-down,*" (johnglas 2009a) making a claim for its position relative to another element of the Georgian street-scape "*Fitzwilliam Square is very attractive and well-maintained, but as a point of interest, it is no more so than Henrietta St.*" (johnglas 2009b). These architectural website users define the authenticity of Henrietta Street by the quality of the buildings (interior and exterior), their age and general appearance of the street as well perhaps as the street's status as the first Georgian Street. In this respect we see authenticity being treated as primarily associated with appearance.

The inauthenticity of Henrietta Street

Not everything about Henrietta Street is interpreted by the forum members as being authentic, Jlobb observed that:

> *In an effort to enhance the obviously lacking historical credentials of the street, Dublin Corporation decided to cobble it, although historically it apparently was never cobbled... Soon after, the cellars started to collapse under this new load.*

> *As a result, for the last five or so years, the street has had concrete-filled barrels left on it, apparently to prevent cars parking on the vulnerable areas* (J Lobb 1999b).

Proposed changes to the street-scape also have a negative effect on the space's authenticity as Gunter, referring to the public display of architectural proposals for the street, claims that "*That last one is off the wall completely. The exhibition seemed to be well worth a look. As usual though, there was no information about how long the exhibition was to be up for and no external banners or anything to entice the public in*" (Gunter 2008b). While generally approving of the changes to the street just outside its Georgian buildings Graham H acknowledged some of the inauthentic problems with its design "*However please do not say it is also intended to incorporate a 'rebuilt' parapet as pictured above ... elevating the scheme beyond that of plain reproduction*" (Graham H 2008b). In response Cstespiphon gave something of a defence for the design noting that:

> *Design approaches were open to each entrant and could include designs sympathetic to the context and setting without being archaeologically correct or historically precise, and which is not pastiche; and infill design that contrasts strongly with the architectural language, setting and context of Henrietta Street* (ctesiphon 2008b).

He further justified it as "*It's not as if this is in the category of 'sham ruin'*" (ctesiphon 2008c). Gunter, somewhat lampooning the idea of architecture as an art and focusing on originality jokes "*'Reconstruction'! that was another forbidden word."* (Gunter 2008c). Johnglas sees some inauthenticity as an acceptable consequence of regeneration "*But what a gem Henrietta St is - I don't care how twee it gets, it just needs a good kick up the arse. I think this will do it*" (johnglas 2008a). Here we see that more than just looking the part, for these users an authentic Georgian Street requires a

historical realism. So the introduction of ahistorical cobblestones undermines the authenticity of the space. The addition of new features to the built environment are more complex with reactions being mixed, especially with some preferring that the streets design differentiate between earlier architecture and modern additions. This is more pronounced in the case of York Street, which was a reconstructed Georgian Street.

<u>(Re)Constructing Authenticity in York Street</u>

Just prior to the buildings on York Street being torn down Graham H[192] went to visit the street and took some photographs. His first impressions were of an objectively authentic Georgian Street, with some modest newer features:

> *It seems these simple but beautifully carved granite doorcases with corbels are original; they are in the fashion of the 1750s-60s but could be later given their secondary location... The plinths of the railings appear to be granite rather than concrete, and could conceivably be original, though the railings are clearly modern. There's lots of old brickwork surviving in the facade too... It's interesting to see how the architect was mindful of the original brick in using a plum-coloured variety to York St* (Graham H 2005a).

He appears to have been particularly impressed by how the fanlights were acting in an authentic manner pointing out that "*It's interesting to see that the fanlights are still serving the function intended 250 years ago, lighting the hallways. They're the only source of natural light*" (Graham H 2005b). On examining the building closely he found that while there were some modern traces, the majority of the building seemed to point to an early date:

> *Here's some detail of the original doorcases. An IT article I've just found says*

[192] This section uses one poster as a major source of comments, this is due to the fact that the poster, Graham H, was at York Street prior to its demolition and provided an in-depth description of the buildings.

the terrace dates to 1750 so that definitely explains these corbelled doors: And some elegantly simple granite moulding round the edges: …and that some of the doorcases were older than others, though did seem reluctant to admit this. Here's the very extensive amount of what can only be Georgian brickwork in the central part of the terrace, with only the top floor rebuilt in plum brick: …and is especially evident in this picture where even an original door case is sited on the old brick (though you can see it was placed here in the reconstruction given the modern brick around the pediment): You can as good as see the original town house! (Graham H 2005b).

He also carefully examined evidence of the effort put into accommodating original elements by the corporation:

Forgot this pic from yesterday - it's very interesting in that it shows the difficulties the Corporation faced in retaining some Georgian elements of the original terrace: The new inner frame clearly had to be adapted to align with the Georgian fenestration. If this doesn't show how intent they were in keeping some of the original fabric of the street, nothing does... The only explanation I can think of for the orangey brick is that the architect decided to reflect the central Georgian part to the front by using an equally different modern brick to the rear, to contrast with the plum coloured parts either side? (Graham H 2005c).

An in-depth examination of the ceilings and floors revealed another hidden aspect to the buildings, "*It seems the floors in the original Georgian sections as pictured below have timber joist floors and ceilings while the wholly 1940s-50s sections at either end appear to be of cast concrete panel construction. Not 100 percent sure as I didn't have time to check properly*" (Graham H 2006). His conclusion was that despite dating to the 1940s the street had an authentic Georgian feel to them and *"(t)he houses seemed*

to be in the majority c1750-60 in character - the doorcases in particular would remind you of Parnell Square and other Gardiner schemes of the mid-18th century, with a lot of doorcases like this but maybe smaller and bulkier in scale (Graham H 2005b).

The background for this was provided in an earlier chapter, to recap - after the housing campaigns of the 1930s, many local residents were moved into suburbs, only transplanting the overall social problem of inequality as these schemes tend to (Reclus 2013b:180). As pointed out by McManus many of the residents preferred to stay local and some drifted back, and a number of flat schemes were maintained in the city centre rather than poorly planned suburbs lacking facilities and often transport distant from their original communities and areas of sociability (2003:50) (2001a). So as Reclus would have pointed out the clearing of tenements and dispersing of the working class to suburbs went against people's tendency for sociability (Reclus 2013b:184). In addition those left behind during urban regeneration schemes faced the stigma that came to be associated with inner city dwelling being assumed to be among the undeserving poor as those who lived in multi-family dwellings (McManus 2001a:225).

On the face of it these buildings were authentic reconstructions, and while having some telltale signs could pass as Georgian buildings barring in-depth inspection. However, not everyone was as positive as Graham H in accepting the streets Georgian character. Victor, on boards.ie, pointing out that "*(t)hey were tenements about a hundred years old, in the style of Georgian houses*" (Victor 2006) and lostexpectation accepting that "*they were handsome but just 1940s replicas*" (lostexpectation 2006). Andrew Duffy agreed that "*They aren't Georgian, they are 1940s replicas. It is possible that some of the doorcases are original*" (Duffy 2005). Graham H revised his opinion somewhat while accepting the character of the street was authentic he pointed to elements that were not:

What was on the c1970 flats' sites on both sides before they were built? And if

tenements, of what kind? Is it proposed to demolish these PVC-clad monsters?... By contrast these (nonetheless elegant) doorcases appear to date from the terrace's reconstruction in the 1940s, and seem to be cast in concrete of all materials, with very light, probably unintentional fluting to the columns due to the way they were cast:... though the railings are clearly modern (Graham H 2005a).

His detailed examination unearthed other inauthentic parts of the buildings including "*a column and plinth from the seemingly concrete doorcases from the 40s:... and that the scheme dates from the 1940s and is not Georgian*" (Graham H 2005d) and "*what seems to be a magnificent Bell fireplace, who were based in Glasnevin. They still seem to be there today on Botanic Road. What a fine piece – the design and tiles used match precisely the late 1940s date of these buildings... Back outside and the 1940s doorcases are being numbered*" (Graham H 2006). He continued to look at the door cases and found that "*(m)ost interestingly though is that there were loads of doorcases as good as identical to those on the opposite side of the street today on these northern houses, the ones that seems to be of concrete*" (Graham H 2005b).

Based on Graham H's findings A Boyle deemed the buildings and door cases as inauthentic and not worth being saved "*The doors are nothing special: they are narrow and very plain. And the photos show that the insides had nothing of interest. We can't keep everything. Stick to saving original things!"* (a boyle 2006). A position that was rejected by Gunter on the grounds that they had their own merit:

It's always easy to scoff at pastiche and 'Georgian' doorcases in cast concrete must have made easy targets for the ridicule that I'm sure was poured on them when the redevelopment options were being considered, but I can't help but have regard for the architects and the Corporation housing officials who fashioned places like York Street flats at a time when their counterparts in Britain were

churning out post-war council blocks on a conveyor belt.... But then, they were only 'mock-Georgians' so lets sic *knock them down!* (Gunter 10/292008).

York Street shows us is that more than just historical accuracy is required for architectural aficionado's to be satisfied as to their Georgian credentials. They also have to be the original buildings themselves. This corresponds with what we have already seen in Henrietta Street where some discussed non-Georgian buildings in the vicinity in favourable terms. This ties into discussions on kitsch and pastiche were the originality of the buildings is a key determinant of its authentic status.

Ambiguity and "soft-theming"

While he was still investigating the buildings Graham h acknowledged a certain amount of ambiguity in relation to these buildings, and not just in terms of their date, which of course is discussed above, but also in relation to their function: "*Yes but from earlier again - i.e. were they originally 18th century town houses and later converted to tenements and then in c1950 rebuilt as what exists today - or were they built in the 18th century/early 19th as purpose built tenements or apartments then?*" (Graham H 2005e).

In doing so he referred to the combined history of the street, and wider discussions on Georgian Dublin's history, with both elite and working class narratives simultaneously competing and co-existing in the same space. In doing so his comments show the potential for "soft-theming" in which the gaze needs to be directed and the narrative defined through the process of interpellation. If for example I was reading a guide book telling me that the street was either one or the other I would likely accept the narrative it puts forward.

Shutuplaura believing these houses to be genuine asked "*They were pretty run down but wouldn't they have been protected from outright demolition?*" (shutuplaura 2006). A similar question was asked by aj also believing the buildings were original and believing that some legal chicanery was involved, likely reflecting suspicion around

planning in Ireland in the context of the Mahon Tribunal which had not by that point published its final report:

> *I have heard that the entire row of Georgian houses in York street are to be demolished and replaced by another faceless apartment block. I thought by now we would have learned the folly of demolishing Georgian houses to put up crap in there place...the city is littered with examples of this... I believe that these building where listed...then the doorways where listed... now nothing is listed. Is there any chance of saving these building or is another Georgian terrace doomed* (aj 2005).

Graham H while realising the buildings were not Georgian originals pointedly compares the attitude of the forties to later political viewpoints "*In the 1940s, Dublin Corporation chose to respect Georgian heritage, and not to 'cleanse' the area, and yet in 2005 that is exactly what the City Council are doing*!" (Graham H 2005d). Gunter also praises the corporation's actions of the time not on aesthetic but on humanitarian grounds "*If we factor in the shortage of resources available to the city and the scale of the housing problem, that they attempted, at all, to address urban heritage issues is remarkable*" (Gunter 10/292008).

Place (Henrietta Street)

There are some discussions as to whether or not proposed alterations to the space offer a good fit for it *"What swings it is that it has a tenement quality reflective of the street's history and current character, and that if built, will be sustained long after the thoroughfare (if ever) becomes a smug tuckpointed enclave of charcoal and lavender doorcases"* (Graham H 2008b).

Peter Fitz suggests an alternative to the proposed structure to be erected "*would simple clear glazing cause such offence? I really think the elevation to Henrietta Place*

has too much going on" (Fitz 2008). Suggesting that it is an over-development, Hutton expresses similar views "*(t)he brick one works for me. Agree with Gunter that the concrete one is "off the wall completely" - what an abomination - who were the culprits responsible for that croc gunter?"* however the proposal was seen as having some merit "*I like the detailing on the side wall of the brick proposal - normally such an elaborate treatment for a side lane would be OTT, yet in this instance given Henrietta Streets significance I think it's quite appropriate*" (hutton 2008).

Cstesiphon sees the issue as not being the newly designed building but an earlier block, on another street "*(t)his competition also highlights yet again how inappropriate and insensitive the corner building on Bolton Street is*" (ctesiphon 2008d). While Stephen C thinks the wrong design won and another would have been more appropriate for the place "*I'd opt for the mesh myself...its hot a very curious quality atht i think would contrast well with the exsting buildings. The glass is boring*" (StephenC 2008). Gunter reckons that not only is it appropriate the newly proposed design has a bit of a humorous interplay with the existing street-scape *"they were the sober anti-dote to the fantastic, precarious, Dutch Billys that predominated in the Dublin urban scene in the 1720s. This winning design takes the sober brick solidity and has a bit of dark fun with it"* (Gunter 2008c).

The continued decline of the street leads GP to ask "*How come this street fails in its potential? It is known widely around the world from the many period films it is used in. What would it cost in real money to fix? Why does it never seem to grab the attention of the legal profession for use as cahmbers* sic *or the like, surely this is a sympathetic solution?"* A pertinent question considering its proximity to the Kings Inns, he suggests that as "*A street of 18th century palazzios in a moribund part of the city - it seems unreal. I suspect that we will have to wait until the next boom*" (GP 2008).

One design sticks out for the architects and aficionado's which is essentially a

lump of concrete, Gunter asking "*It's not a crematorium, is it?*" (Gunter 2008d). This discussion leads neatdesign to refer to the reputation of the area "*Nope Gunter, it's a drug cutting lab, hence the bricked up windows*" (neatdesign 2008), which leads to PVCKing following up with "*Close enough to Dominick St the first mega drug mart in the late 1970's to create cluster of knowledge!! Seriously this is conceptually outstanding; the finish of the brick is just sublime. I really hope this gets built*" (PVC King 2008a). This aspect of theming will be discussed in more depth during the discussion in a later section of this chapter dealing with the presence of working class people on these streets.

In terms of its consistency within the space itself johnglas sees the building as having some appropriateness but at the expense of other areas (g)*ood brickwork is a timeless aesthetic and 'native' to Dublin, BUT what is it - a house, an office, a museum? The rear view shows some interesting contrasts: the Amsterdam School flats, the 'decent' contemporary do., the absolutely dire neglect of the rear façades of the adjoining houses (why is grey cement the default material?) and the rubbish surfacing of the lane*" (johnglas 2008b). Gunter questions whether these judgements may be ill-conceived "*What is so terribly wrong about that building? OK, it's a big square block, but most of the lauded Henrietta Street houses are big square blocks! I think it was one of the better in-fill apartment schemes from the 'Tiger' years"* (Gunter 2009a). However Gunter does not approve of another building which he describes as being "*(t)hat's Daily Star hatchet-job-on-Kate-Moss quality. I know have a shot of it somewhere, before all that pale green glass got bolted on, and it wasn't that bad*" (Gunter 2009b). Before concluding that "*These guys came up with 17 good ideas, but unfortunately they were let use all of them, with the result that the scheme bursts out in all directions, literally and architecturally*" (Gunter 2009d).

What these discussions seem to hinge on is an antagonism between maintaining

an aesthetic coherence to a space and supporting artistic originality in the new designs of buildings. In the literature on authenticity there is an emphasis on the potential for homogeneity which to the phenomenonologists acts as a counter to authenticity. In terms of historical spaces such as Georgian Dublin this is linked to the process of museumisation.

Generic York Street

Ironically given their status as mock Georgians the criticism of a generic York Street related, in the main, to their replacements. While not a criticism that was levelled at the original buildings the newly proposed, and since built, were being criticised as "*(y)et another faceless modern building / apartment block with a very poor relation to the street pavement environment*" (sjpclarke 2005). Another poster, Richards, complained that "*(i)n the attempt to "Clean Up" the area I have not seen more boring corporate architecture in Dublin*" (richards 2005). These comments suggest distaste for the approach of all buildings being the same or generic. The term "clean up" is unfortunate given that some posters complain about the local community.

Asmodeus suggests that he thinks it was a poor decision to keep other tenements while knocking down these ones which "*I'd certainly agree that the mock Georgians were a brave decision on the part of the corporation It seems a shame that they were much easier for people to stomach knocking down compared to the drab flats in Ringsend which currently close off the vista in Grand Canal docks*" (asmodeus 2008).

York Street as a "place"

While investigating York Street Graham H encountered one of those workers employed by the corporation who informed him of much of the background of the buildings "*He was also keen to point out that 'our architecture people' have passed the scheme off as not being of architectural merit, and that the scheme dates from the 1940s*

and is not Georgian" (Graham H 2005d).

Graham H found that the architects in the 1940s had considered the suitability and character of the place when they decided to adapt the eighteenth century style for the buildings:

> *Likewise here you can see how the architect was very conscious of the Georgian character of the street, choosing to respect the varying parapet heights and plot widths that make up Georgian Dublin rather than build a faceless intimidating block: All in all, I think it is a great shame to see a unique Dublin street scape – which is what it is, not just a building – disappearing, only to be replaced with more flats.* (Graham H 2005d).

He connects this to the intellectual and artistic spirit of the times and laments the intended aesthetic and class cleansing of the area:

> *It not only seems to have been built on the back of the fashion of 10-15 years previous in the UK, but also perhaps the beginning of Dublin opening its eyes and appreciating its Georgian heritage. It was the 1930s when this began to happen on a number of levels, including Constantia Maxwell's unusually glowing publication about Georgian Dublin, printed and reprinted in the 1930s, 40s and 50s. The fact that the Corporation chose to rebuild the terrace in a Georgian fashion, even utilising many original elements is nothing short of incredible ... In the 1940s, Dublin Corporation chose to respect Georgian heritage, and not to 'cleanse' the area, and yet in 2005 that is exactly what the City Council are doing... Well would you want to live in them you could ask – I'd gladly live in this refurbished terrace. By all accounts gut the interiors, smash them in fact, but the facades could and should have been retained* (Graham H 2005d).

The generic qualities of the new buildings are also criticised by Richards

"*(g)reat Photos. That whole area around St Stephens Green West has completely changed over the last 20 odd years or so. In the attempt to "Clean Up" the area I have not seen more boring corporate architecture in Dublin. Give us some well designed Social Urban living space and try to increase the local population*" (richards 2005).

Graham h admits to having fond memories of the place with "*(t)he terrace apparently has the most wonderfully sunny south facing gardens: This little leafy corner of the city behind Ardilaun House always looks so well in summer - especially with all the warm brick about the place, including Mercer House*" (Graham H 2005d). Shaun who could be described as relatively local also relived some of his former memories having " *always admired this street since I was a kid, coming into town with my Dad, I used to always try and imagine what it was like behind those red-bricked walls, and with the salvation army down the street... York street will be missed, of that there is no doubt"* (Shaun 2005). The recollection of fond memories may account for why York Street is treated differently than more recent reconstructed Georgian buildings would be as it had a half a century of history behind it giving it an authenticity separate to it being a Georgian Street.

Theming Henrietta Street

In terms of the current and potential future uses of the street it is interesting to note that elements of theme-parking have been proposed. As noted by Ctesiphon "*Also, as noted by the Assessors, the use of this building was thought about, unlike many of the others which proposed 'museum' or 'gallery' etc. (I'd read their comments, but didn't know to which building they referred.)*" (ctesiphon 2008d). This suggestion met with some approval from aj who sees a good deal of potential in such a usage of the street:

> *If ever there was a place for an open air museum of Georgian Dublin this is it. The tourist board are only too keen to stress Dublin's Georgian heritage to the*

> *yanks et al. but where is there any real museum of one of the most important periods in the city's history... Surely Henrietta Street is perfect a such a living museum. What do you think?* (aj 2009b).

Hutton takes a similar view "*the street would make a tremendous amenity for tourism as an intact Georgian open air museum, particularly as it sits on top of what is now the ACA of Capel St - but it may be worth noting that there is absolutely no marketing of here or any other part of north Georgian Dublin"* (Hutton 2009). Hutton's note of scepticism is expanded on by rumpelstiltskin who muses "*Let's hope that the new open air Georgian museum can pay for itself entirely from the entrance fees of intrepid architecture buffs, though I doubt it somehow. It would be as forlorn as the Irish Museum of Modern Art, and the museum at Collins Barracks*" (rumpelstiltskin 2009d). The museum solution is itself problematic as it presents only a partial solution to the problem of Henrietta Street as it neglects how to improve the lot of those who live in its environs, while preserving its look.

<u>The politics of public and private ownership of Henrietta Street</u>

For the most part preservation and restoration of the houses on Henrietta Street has been owner led Donncha commenting on this situation states that "*a lot of the work has so far been done by individuals living on hte* sic *street... overall very little assistance has been given by the state, probably as it would highlight the extremly* sic *run down area on this historic street's doorstep"* (Donncha 1999). A consequence of this private maintenance of the buildings is that not all the details about them are meant for public consumption "*the documents were produced for the owners on henrietta* sic *street and not really as a public document ... A specific document was compiled for each building giving surveys of existing state and proposals its upkeep"* (LOB 2000a).

However this situation is changing through the compulsory purchase of some of

the buildings, one poster, lob "*(n)oticed yesterday that No3 Henrietta street (which was reputed to be the subject of a future CPO by Dublin Corporation) has some samples of render on it, presumably because of the appalling state of the brickwork-hope they don't go ahead with it*" (LOB 2000b). A status which was confirmed by Paul Clerkin "*(t)he corporation has served notice of intention to acquire No3 and 14*" (Clerkin 2000).

Once purchased by the corporation the use of the buildings becomes the issue with some hints having been given as to what the change of ownership will entail *"(a) planning notice has been put up on Number 3 for change of use at ground and first floor and part of the basement for offices with 5 apartments at second and third floor as well as the remaining part of the basement*" (LOB 2001). This prompted Bohemian84 to joke that "*I had an idea. Since Dublin lacks an Aras an Taoisigh why not turn Henrietta Street into a Dublin version of Downing Street. The area around it could really use a boost. Besides, how many countries don't have a home for their own prime minister. Maybe Farmleigh in the park would be better. But Henrietta street looks more democratic (i.e. Non-aristocratic)*" (bohemian84 1999).

PVCKing notes a major issue with the private ownership model of preservation and the state's relatively light touch approach to heritage *"(i)t needs funding very badly; it is a real shame that unlike the UK where you have a very solvent national trust structure both in Scotland and the rest and the US where there are numerous local and specialist national non-profit groups which are extemely* sic *solvent over a five year cycle. In Ireland there is no-one with the money to make an intervention*" (PVC King 2008b). Johnglas agrees with this assessment and adds his own ideas "*That and the fact that your planning department is terminally useless. But why doesn't Dublin Civic Trust get a grant and do it themselves and then lease them off? (Sorry, forgot about the inalienable and untouchable rights of private property, no matter how irresponsible.)*" (johnglas 2009d). The nearest Irish counterpart to the British national trust is the

volunteer based an Taisce.

Hutton provides an overview of the entire preservation and ownership situation on Henrietta Street, along with the cobblestone and subsidence incident (and subsequent related legal proceedings) alluded to above:

> *the council have taken ownership of two houses, numbers 3 and 14 by CPO, previously owned by the Underwoods. The Underwoods no longer own any property on this street... Bought by conservationists in the 60s and 70s as the buildings were under serious immediate threat, a number of the houses have been let to artists since the 70s which at least kept some life - however such lettings I do not believe would bring in much money. Instead should an owner wish to restore one of these houses, they will be further penalised by DCC with a development levies bill somewhere in the order of 40 - 70 thousand euros per house - so a further disincentive.* (Hutton 2009).

In response to which aj sums the situation up as "*in summary DCC are a joke*" (aj 2009c) although Hutton does pay tribute to some of the efforts "*the nuns did receive a substantial state grant when they restored their houses - I meant the other houses*" (hutton 2009). GregF reads a political implication into the decline of Dublin in general and Georgian Dublin's destruction in particular "*I think it is a part of that anti Dub thing........which led to the brutal destruction of Ireland's capital city in the first place*" (Greg F 2002). What is neglected in this discourse is that the destruction of Georgian Dublin was connected to the tenement clearances which lasted until the 1970s as such it ignores that the schemes of the 1960s were in part a whitewash of existing social problems connected to inner city life, rather than just aesthetic and colonial implications (Reclus 2013b:180).

Discourses of Class

As will be recalled neatdesign (2008) and PVCKing (2008a) made comments about Henrietta Street's proximity to Dominick Street and made joking references to drugs. Rumpelstiltskin agrees that the place has social problems which may hinder regeneration plans "*Something has to be done about the surrounding area first. It's actually slightly intimidating walking up there, as I imagine it would be for any tourists. I think this is part of the reason it's so neglected; the fact that it's survived around here at all is pretty amazing*" (rumpelstiltskin 2009a). AJ however points out that Henrietta Street is not the only part of the city with these issues "*true but so is St Patricks Catherdal*" sic (aj 2009a). Johnglas questions some of these attitudes towards the place claiming "*I've visited H St many times and never been 'intimidated': do you people never leave the suburbs?*" (johnglas 2009c). To which rumpelstiltskin defends his position "*Are you denying that that particular area of Dublin is filthy and badly maintained? This creates an unconscious sense of distaste and insecurity. There's absolutely no reason whatsoever that the average person would have to stroll up to Henrietta Street*" (rumpelstiltskin 2009b). Leading to considerations of connections between the structures and the impression of the spaces themselves johnglas retorts that *"(y)ou've gone on to a completely different argument; why should 'distaste' (oddly anally-retentive word) lead to 'insecurity'? OK. it's run-down, but it's interesting compared to the manicured banality of suburbia. The principal reason for strolling up to Henrietta St is Henrietta St!*" (johnglas 2009a). This led rumpelstiltskin to expand his argument "*I think that when streets are dirty and unkempt, even if there's little danger of being mugged, people feel insecure. I'm sure there's some deep-seated psychological reason for it. And plead ignorance if you want, but I know most of you know what I mean. In any case, people are unlikely to randomly wander to Henrietta Street in the same way they would to Fitzwilliam Square*" (rumpelstiltskin 2009c). This allows

johnglas to suggest that the problem is not so much the aesthetics but the middle class perceptions of the place a position he had already hinted at with his comments towards suburbia:

> *It's called being anally-retentive, I'm afraid, or 'bourgeois angst'... Of course, we all want areas that are well maintained (and I am as nit-picking as anyone else in that respect), but to induce a climate of fear as a discouragement to actually going anywhere in a city strikes me as counter-productive and unfair. To repeat, as a tourist I have never had any hesitation in visiting both these areas and it is wrong to discourage anyone from doing so* (johnglas 2009b).

We see in this a connection would those aspects of progress recognised by Reclus as being *"among our civilized people, they must also bear the burden of humiliation and even public loathing. Their living conditions and clothing make them seem sordid and repugnant to the observer. Are there not neighbourhoods in every large city that are carefully avoided by travelers because of an aversion to the nauseating odors that emanate from them? Except for the Eskimos in their winter igloo, no savage tribe inhabits such hovels as exist"* (Reclus 2013:227).

We cannot underestimate of the senses here in that in Reclus's description we find smell emphasised, while in our own the focus is on sight. What we find then is a stigma created by the appearance of particular neighbourhoods. Similar sentiments this timed aimed directly at local communities appear on a thread dealing with York Street on boards.ie:

> *Nice photos, nice street scape, pity about the people. I once was naive enough to think myself lucky to find a parking space so near the Green. Came back after lunch and my car had been cleaned out. Gardai said "Why do you think all those spaces were empty? They watch from the flats, nip out, smash, grab and run back in again. No way would we go in there!* (KerryBog2 2005).

This piece of snobbery does not go unchallenged as Lillian Doyle; a former local defends her former home *"I would like to let you know there were some very decent people in these flats... the criminal group moved in that is when most of the old tenants moved to other accommodation. I would guess you had all your belongings on the back seat of your car"* (Doyle 2005).

We see here a discussion of class which is firmly rooted in cultural elements, a discourse that has in an U.K. context been critiqued by Owen Jones (Jones 2011). By associating class with a cultural dimension and ignoring the economic and social foundations of class as inequality we enter into an area were class is interpreted as a set of lifestyle choices. Reclus would have it that behaviours like the ones described cannot be removed from the context of the social system and this leads to the "*the awful swallowing up of people, the wholesale degradation of character, and the widespread corruption of the naïve souls who brew in the "infernal vat.""* (Reclus 2013b:183) . Reclus would also have pointed out that in renovating the exteriors of the building nothing was done to address the poverty which comes from the class system in which we all live (Reclus 2013b:180).

Graham H briefly touches on this at a historical level by remarking that the street was among the worst tenements in Dublin during the forties, though there is evidence of improvement by the 1960s. However he maintains the Georgian character provides the major sense of place there:

> *Reading some bits and pieces from about the place it seems York St was one of the worst, if not the worst tenement area in Dublin in the 1940s, so it's no wonder the Corpo wanted rid of the southern terrace at least. In one house there were no less than 24 families living in its rooms - and all sharing a single toilet. No doubt conditions improved somewhat by the 1960s, though judging by the half landing pic you'd think otherwise... Either way it's become much clearer as*

to why the Corpor rebuilt the southern block in a Georgian style - simply because the northern Georgian terrace was to remain standing and in use as tenements for many years to come, hence the character of the street was maintained (Graham H 2005b).

However he concludes with an acknowledgement of the conditions that were present in this place ostensibly hidden behind the red bricked walls of former town houses but in reality spilling out and visually manifesting on the streetscapes themselves:

The condition of some of the northern houses is truly shocking, but especially the notion that people were still living in these conditions in the 1960s in the very heart of the capital city ... Outside the pictures taken by the Corpo were naturally of the worst parts, of barely-holding-together railing plinths and wonky railings, and other more significant structural issues (Graham H 2005b).

Conclusions

As can be seen in the two case studies of authenticity, Georgian Dublin can be argued to have a contested sense of authenticity. In the case of Henrietta Street we see an authenticity that could be construed as an objective authenticity. As the first Georgian Street it is given a pride of place that a street in the condition it is in would not otherwise get. The fact that it is well preserved provides it with an additional level of authenticity that is jealously guarded so that there is resistance to alterations made to the street. These alterations can be aesthetic and minded to evoke the time in which it was built, such as the cobblestones, which it had no history of having, or alterations done for preservation reasons such as filling in the cellars.

This produces an interesting antagonism as in order to preserve and enhance the authenticity of Henrietta Street the City Council alter it based on their expectations of

how an authentic Georgian Street should look. In doing so they placed the emphasis on the veneer of the building and street. The architects on the other hand emphasise an "objective" accuracy. In this instance the consequence of this antagonism was the further degradation of the buildings due to the unsuitability of the street for cobbles. To protect the structures the Council had to further undermine the architectural authenticity by filling in the buildings.

If we treat Henrietta Street as the posters do as the pinnacle of design and follow the arguments of Kelli-Ann Costas (2009) and Dean MacCannell (1976) that the process of sacralisation takes place were and if an original building is found, identified as among the best of its kind then this process may be part of what took place around the corner on Dorset Street. In this regard it is of interest that the rejection of reconstruction and copying of Georgian design leads some to support architecture which others would believe to be a poor fit to a Georgian Street.

York Street provides an interesting case study in the response to reproductions, when it was believed that the houses were genuine Georgian buildings the posters supported their retention and were outraged at the demolition. However, as soon as it emerged that the buildings were not in fact Georgian but twentieth century replicas the position switched to a spectrum ranging from dismissal to a pragmatic we can't save everything. This parallels the process identified in the previous chapter in relation to the Brinsley Sheridan building on Dorset Street. However, in this instance we see the “aura” acts in the way we would anticipate, the copy loses it through serial reproduction. This investigation showed that the buildings not only retained the appearance of Georgian buildings but also retained elements from them suggesting that they would fit an objective authentic model. We do see evidence of a secondary authenticity relating to the street itself as due to it having a half century of history the street has an authenticity that is separate to its architecture.

Significantly, until it emerged the buildings were reproductions; it appears no one had a clue that they were not Georgian. This importantly shows us how constructed authenticity can work in a way that we would not anticipate if we treat the building as a front stage to use MacCannell's (1976) concepts. In the case of Georgian Dublin while the creation of the Georgian styled buildings in the mid twentieth century becomes the backstage, here it is the performance area which is constructed as authentic as opposed to an inauthentic front-stage and a backstage or series of back-stages constructed as the authentic reality. The practice suggests that our historiography of the destruction of Georgian Dublin is wrong, with the practice of replacing demolished buildings with replicas pre-dating Hume Street by twenty years, presumably the fact that there was no conservation protests contributed to this architectural amnesia. There is some evidence that this cultural forgetting is part of the reason that these were taken for originals, with weathering also undoubtedly contributing. So to return to the concept of sacralisation, having found significant Georgian buildings similar buildings to Georgian ones were found, or in this case built. Once it was revealed that these were replicas, the process of decapsulation, or when reality intrudes on and breaks both the fantasy and the theme, appears to have taken place suggesting that if information is provided that contradicts the narrative then it can no longer hold. Both the ambiguity of York Street's status and the confusion over whether it reflects an elite or working class space indicate the existence of a space in which "soft-theming" can exist and direct and guide the narrative attached to the space.

It is interesting that in both Henrietta Street and York Street decapsulation can be seen to occur when either through the fear of crime or actually being the victim of crime the experience of the place is broken. This would seem to link to Gottdiener's connecting theming and the suburbs with fear of crime and a search for security (2001), and it is notable that neither of these areas despite one being in an objective sense

Georgian and the other having at the time looked the part and been indistinguishable from Georgian buildings existed outside the established Georgian core or the space that is themed as being Georgian. The central issue here is one of social class, interpreted solely as a cultural phenomenon and ignoring the material inequalities. This allows us to expose theming as effectively coming from the aesthetics of the bourgeoisie who do not like to see the working class. If we combine this with what has been noted in the literature this may account for the exclusion of work, which as shown in an earlier chapter was also part of the visual culture of Georgian Dublin. We have already encountered this with Fitzwilliam Square; whereas streets are public spaces and not sealed off; the enclosed square in Fitzwilliam Square is and has been private. This has been justified through a perceived necessity to retain the authentic character of the square. This can be connected to Outka's commodified authentic where far from being outside the system of commodification the authenticity gives the commodity its value (2008). This leads to what is an exclusionary practice where a green space is kept private, in contrast with other squares in the city. Is this effective? Has the square retained its character in comparison with other squares? With the caveat that I have only viewed it from outside the gates, it appears to have not changed since the turn of the last century unlike the other squares which are parks[193], spaces of remembrance[194], or playgrounds in the case of Mountjoy Square. Whereas Fitzwilliam Square has become a private space and retained its authenticity, it is the public spaces which serve the broader community.

While no one is suggesting the privatisation of Henrietta Street in order to preserve it, there was a suggestion to create an open air museum, a deliberate invoking of the process of museumisation. The reasons for this appear to be the expense of privately funded preservation and ownership of the buildings and Dublin City Council's

[193] St Stephen's Green and Merrion Square.
[194] The Garden of Remembrance.

history of neglect of Georgian Dublin. Relph (1976) sees museumisation as a negative phenomenon which erodes a place's authenticity, part of this is due to the fact that they are chosen and presented for the tourist by others. He sees a significant part of the problem with these as being that their presentation of history is often inaccurate. They can be either simplified for popular consumption or have uncomfortable aspects either partially or completely obscured from the tourist's view. Turning Henrietta Street into an open air museum would represent a commercialisation of it and significantly, considering the supposed contradiction between commodification and authenticity, the online posters propose theming as the solution to Henrietta Street's financial and image issues. This fits how Mark Gottdiener (2001) sees the trend of theming in its usage in urban regeneration such as New York's Time Square. In highlighting this we see a central problematic with theming which is that outside of a literal theme park there is only so far it can actually go and so reveals the absurdity of theming the city and why we will not see the process occurring in a pure form as described by Gottdiener. To show this it is necessary to assume counterfactually that Henrietta Street is to be turned into an open air museum.

An interesting element of this, which links to the previous discussion, would be the requirement that as an open air museum non-tourist people, specifically working class people, could potentially be excluded or kept out of view to make the area presentable which should lead us to consider possible unintended consequences. This would mean museumisation could lead to a "enclosing" of a site that is currently open for all[195], the question of who would ensure the removal of those who are seen as undesirable is left open, it could be the gardaí or private sector security. By whom would this enclosure take place, as the posters do not appear to be discussing privatisation which would presumably include groups such as the IGS or the Historic

[195] A modern counterpart to the enclosure of the commons, this is not too farfetched given the attitudes expressed on the forums used.

Ireland Preservation Trust. It would appear that the most likely candidates would be DCC, whose record on preservation leaves a lot to be desired or a body such as the Office of Public Works. Either way the state would be in the role of the proprietor of a previously public space, providing an example to back up Proudhon's claim that "property is theft" (Proudhon and McKay 2011), if it were to be carried out without finding a method of public ownership which retains open access.

This unmasks the role of authenticity within the context of the built environment and theming around pre-existing environments. Much of the Georgian core is now office space, and office space here is at a premium. By defining the building as Georgian, or rather ensuring their building is part of the Georgian fabric, the proprietor increases the amount of money they can get for renting out space. What we see then is that authenticity is directly tied to property and allows for exclusion from property, it justifies the private or state ownership of a resource, in this case public space, held in common prior to capital's encroachment on it, for the profit of the few. In this way we can reconcile kitsch buildings with their authentic counterparts as their producers want access to the product of which scarce stock exists. In this context the resistance to this can be viewed either as opposition to the commodification of Georgian buildings or more likely a reflection of the desire for the value of property not to be encroached by newer architects and builders risking a devaluation of the existing structure. If Adorno's *Jargon of Authenticity* (1973) asks us to consider how authenticity legitimises certain ideologies in the current context, it is perhaps more useful to view it as the legitimating of property itself.

Section 6: Tying it all together

Chapter 13 Conclusion: Soft Theming Georgian Dublin

The Significance of This Thesis

In the introduction to this thesis I argued that there were a number of ways that this thesis was academically significant, here I will focus entirely on the ways it is theoretically significant. Firstly, in contradiction to the literature on authenticity, Georgian Dublin becomes authentic through the homogeneity of its streetscapes. This cannot be separated from its history as an endangered profane space as both a setting for tenements which had been allowed decay and symbols of a quasi-colonial past. The preservation of older buildings and restoration to the extent of building replicas or reasonably similar buildings has led to a situation where the claim of a building to having a Georgian heritage is dependent on its adherence to a particular concrete form.

Another claim I made for the significance of this thesis was its acknowledgement of processes other than theming having a role in the streetscape which can broadly be defined as economic, environmental and historical although demographic forces are also evident. At a theoretical level I draw this approach from Marx's *Grundrisse* (1986) (1987) in which he argues that a system or totality has multiple organs or processes. Among the most important of these is the environmental processes of depreciation, in Simmel's *The Ruin* (1958) he claims that the reclamation of a building by nature gives it "*a new whole, a characteristic unity*" (1958:380). While this is taking place with the R.B. Sheridan associated building in the chapter on authenticity and the sad aspect of what he (Simmel) would have seen as human ruins can be seen in the chapter on tenements. For the most part what we see here is the process identified by Simmel connecting with the environmental and economic process of physical depreciation identified by Marx (1992:250), with the use of conservation along with changing use values being employed to offset this.

These rely on assumptions of how Georgian Dublin, or indeed any other place,

is viewed by those who see it. This I believe is the third area of significance I checked how it is perceived by looking at often anonymous public statements on message boards. In doing so I investigated in what way Georgian Dublin is authentic beyond the simplistic connection to the physical Georgianness of an individual building, concentrating on two streets (York Street and Henrietta Street) one of which (York Street) was demolished before I started this thesis. These were considered appropriate case studies as one was the earliest Georgian Street and while nearly intact had a subsequent history as a tenement area, and York Street while looking Georgian only dated back to the early to mid twentieth century and some of the rationale behind the reconstruction can be seen in the chapter on the tenements. The Henrietta Street example provided a clear example of museumisation and the reconstruction of York Street suggests a similar process.

Here I can make a claim for two further areas of theoretical significance for this thesis; (1) I argue for a process which is not strictly a linear development of theming, and (2) I argue for the existence of a second form of theming. In Gottdiener's *Theming of America* (2001) he makes a claim for the development of theming along the lines of a continuity from the ancient world into the middle ages which saw built space organised along symbolic lines and this changed at some point in the development of capitalism so that space became organised by function. In the twentieth century and into the early twenty- first century the tendency to build along symbolic lines has re-emerged under the process of theming.

My argument is that while this may work as a general outline for how theming developed globally if the focus is at a local level the development of theming will not fit a fixed theoretical model. I demonstrate through the case study of Georgian Dublin that this process does not occur in a linear fashion. Leaving aside any pre-existing elements of the streetscape which were outside the remit of this thesis it is clear that those living

in and viewing Georgian Dublin understood it to be symbolic of progress and success. This drew on a common symbolic canopy deriving from contemporary architectural fashions, which could be adapted to local conditions both in terms of symbolism (such as the appearance of emblems signifying Ireland on public buildings) and function (the townhouses being effectively scaled down versions of country seats and themselves signifying wealth). At this period of history we see the Georgian built environment organised by both symbolism and use, and the historical literature suggests a tension between the two.

After the economic downturn of the late eighteenth century and the upheaval of the 1798 Rebellion and the Act of Union, we see that the demographics of the space change. This was due to a number of factors, so that much of Georgian Dublin became tenements by the twentieth century. In this context the formerly symbolic space became purely functional and the buildings were used to house the working classes in overcrowded and unhealthy living conditions. The owners of the buildings made conversions in order to render these economical. Judging from P.J. Hernon's (1946) report on the housing crisis in the 1930s the aesthetic value of the buildings was beginning to re-emerge in the context of urban renewal and clearances.

By the 1960s we see that the argument has shifted from use value versus the aesthetic and symbolic level to what is it that the buildings represent? For some they represented a colonial past, for others a golden age, which could be accepted within a cosmopolitan present. To some extent we see here what Simmel understood as the ruin creating "*the present form of the past*" (1958:385), but this would be over simplistic as at the same time as we see a battle between conservation and destruction, as well as over interpretation. We also see the emergence of new uses which are not symbolic so that former houses become places of businesses. While some remained houses, the over whelming trend within what has become the Georgian core, was for the change in use.

Perhaps the clearest illustration of this comes from the examples of two conservationists: Mariga Guinness who planned to open a hotel, as opposed to the slum landlord Ivor Underwood. The change of use is quite easy to miss as the dominant struggle of the time, while fought over the survival of Georgian Dublin, rested on the claims of its interpretation.

The nature of Mariga Guinness' involvement leads to the question is theming connected to gentrification which Gottdiener seems to suggest? The answer to this is somewhat mixed, the Irish Georgian Society members who did live in the houses would have been certainly in a bourgeois, or less likely petit bourgeois (small manufacturers, artisans, and shopkeepers although thanks to their dual existence as workers and property owners may fit as well among the proletariat) bracket rather than proletariat (those who work, have the potential to work or are self-employed without employees), and it is notable that North Great George's Street, was singled out by Erika Hanna (2013) as having been gentrified. However for the most part the building stock was no longer used for housing instead becoming offices. This presents a difficulty for considering it part of gentrification as when Ruth Glass coined the term she had in mind a process which involved the migration of people who came from the petit bourgeois displacing the working class and repopulating the area (2013)[196]. While the working class were displaced, the crucial replacement by the petit bourgeois is missing, the issue being one of depopulation not repopulation. It would perhaps be better to consider theming a concurrent process, occurring at times alongside gentrification.

Finally when we come to the present we see that there are attempts to balance the aesthetics of a space with its use. However we also see the questioning of the continued function of Georgian Dublin, and with the heritage of the city being used to

[196] There are some problematic elements of gentrification as a concept it can, in some circumstances, be used as a cover to justify racism. Likewise with North Great George's Street it would be easy to hide homophobia in an apparent critique of gentrification, particularly if it excludes the widespread homophobia in Ireland both then and now.

promote it as a tourist destination there appears to be an attempt to use it and interpret it within that context. This is perhaps most clear when in the discussion on Henrietta Street brings up the idea of an open air museum which aside from the impracticalities of it is revealing of the nature of Irish capitalism's relationship to these buildings - they have to be used for something.

While written in a linear way what we see in the above is a constantly changing emphasis between use and the aesthetic/symbolic considerations. These interact with each other with an ebbing and flowing of dominance within the same albeit constantly developing built environment. As is clear from the thesis these will be influenced by other processes and specific local and global occurrences so that these need to be taken into account when researching local examples of theming.

The second way in which I want to highlight the significant development to the theory of theming is in my use of what I call soft theming. What Gottdiener deals with is treated as hard theming here and is directly tied to those locations which are either built as themed spaces or during some form of alteration become themed. In this way the symbolic qualities of something that is hard themed are essentially concrete. With soft theming we are dealing with a form of theming that is done in a way that does not disturb the built environment. To understand how this occurs I have suggested that this uses what Althusser referred to as interpellation. Althusser in his *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes towards an Investigation)* describes it as being like:

> *police (or other) hailing: 'Hey, you there!'*
>
> *Assuming that the theoretical scene I have imagined takes place in the street, the hailed individual will turn round. By this mere one-hundred-and-eighty-degree physical conversion, he becomes a subject. Why? Because he has recognized that the hail was 'really' addressed to him, and that 'it was really him who was*

> *hailed' (and not someone else). Experience shows that the practical telecommunication of hailings is such that they hardly ever miss their man: verbal call or whistle, the one hailed always recognizes that it is really him who is being hailed. And yet it is a strange phenomenon, and one which cannot be explained solely by 'guilt feelings', despite the large numbers who 'have something on their consciences'* (Althusser 1971:174).

Applied to theming this means that the visitor or tourist will recognise themselves as being addressed by the tour or theme. The call or as Althusser puts it "hail" is achieved through a medium, in the case of the walking tour of Georgian Dublin this is a guide book, in the case of the Malton trail small framed posters are used. The people buying the guidebook or taking the time to read the sign (that is "the practical telecommunication of hailings" in this case) are expected to have some interest in the subject at hand and so recognise themselves as the subject of the "hail". These are of course not the only "practical telecommunication" that can be used to soft theme: guided tours whether with a person as a guide, or recorded on an mp3 device are other possibilities, as are plaques.

While this allows theming to occur in spaces that under hard theming the process could not, as is clear from a protected space like Georgian Dublin, it also has the potential for the creation of a palimpsest so that alternative narratives perhaps drawing from different sources such as literature or films can be created and counter narratives could also be employed. It is the latter point I wish to turn to in the closing section of this chapter.

An Alternative Theming

If we look at Sociology as a discipline it has always presented itself as inherently critical claiming to utilise the best tools for looking at society, inherently

assuming that what we see is not all there is to daily life and focusing on issues connected to social justice (Buechler 2008). We as sociologists contend that society is socially constructed - rooted in a historical construction, consisting of social structures and reflexive actors who interact with these social structures. What I argue does not differ much from Zukin's landscapes of power (1993), the narratives, images that are constructed in the streetscape. Gottdiener (2001) himself argues that work and the working class are excluded from the narratives, except where they can be appropriated, as are minority groups from theming, and in the case of those who fit the broad working class segregated where theming has occurred. This thesis suggests that the construction and preservation of Georgian Dublin has followed this pattern, except during the period when it was slums and lived in, with internet comments on Henrietta Street and York Street showing some classism. If as is written on Marx's tomb instead of interpreting "*the world in various ways; the point is to change it*" the question becomes how then do we construct an alternative to these landscapes of power within a situation where they already exist. Within theming we are faced with a dilemma in which interpretation is what has to be changed. The rest of the conclusion will attempt to address this arguing that the buildings "aura" can be narrativised in a particular direction, this should not be confused with activism it will however suggest how it can be used to educate, and if it was to become confused with activism it would change some activism into historical re-enactment. In doing so I propose how to use theming as a tool for countering the hegemonic conceptions of class.

Mark Gottdiener argues that resistance to theming can take place in the form of citizen's protests and litigation and he uses anti-Disneyfication protests as an example. This would not be applicable to the case of Georgian Dublin, as firstly, it has already been constructed and secondly, its preservation and museumisation on which its existence as a themed space is predicated is largely the result of protests. Of which those

in favour of what was essentially a parallel process to gentrification won, even if gentrification itself did not take place. The other tactic outlined by Gottdiener that of legal action, has the same problems. Neither of these methods of struggle are suited to where Dublin finds itself today.

I would like to present a third tactic of resistance through use, using the very same logic that Marx once applied to capitalism as a social system, that it has left us with the tools to defeat it once we extract everything we can out of it. I would suggest that soft theming gives the opportunity to present counter narratives. It will be recalled from above that soft theming is what occurs in an already extant built environment which is not going to be altered to create a theme. If we assume that these sites are going to be polysemic how these environments are read will depend not only on the reader but also on the medium for its communication, in the case of the tours described in this thesis, a guide book. This means that other narratives could be employed. This idea was inspired by tours I am aware of and will be referred to below and an area for future research from the participants themselves could look at their narratives, their use of space, the assumptions they make and those that their tour group bring as well. Working class history can be included on such tours, the Jack the Ripper walks in Whitechapel[197] for example, includes this as a matter of necessity, the sex workers he murdered were from the working class[198], the area was largely working class and still is in parts, and the social conditions have an important part in the narrative. Another interesting angle for research could look at the content of these tours from feminist and class based perspectives.

The exclusion of the working class from the theme of Georgian Dublin is deeper than simply the aesthetics of the buildings, it is spatial. It will be recalled that the spatial

[197] There are some very valid feminist arguments that can be made against the ethics of using the killer of sex workers as the basis of tourism.
[198] Some Marxists would unsympathetically place them among the Lumpenproletariat in their class analysis.

organisation of the Georgian buildings and the streetscapes has always had a strong class component to it. We saw this spatial organisation operating through stable lanes and the confinement of those workers employed by the nobility and emerging bourgeoisie to certain areas of the house, most commonly the cellars. During the city's decline as a result of a variety of factors the working class population moved from the then outskirts of the city areas such as the Liberties and into the former homes of the nobility. It is this class history which creates a space to reclaim the space for the working class. My focus on class here to the exclusion of other potential social justice themes is based both on the content of this thesis and my fear of my potential appropriation of other group's issues.

What I want to suggest here is that a tour designed around working class or radical history, the two while not being mutually exclusive are also not necessarily the same, will "hail" those with an interest in these categories and can be used to write the working class back into the streetscape but perhaps more importantly provide a way to educate. Unfortunately it will not change the material conditions of society particularly at the level of the relationship between capital and labour, but these conditions are outside the scope of this thesis.

Fortunately I do not have to design a tour around this approach, as I am aware that others have already themed tours around the experience of the ordinary people as Terry Fagan of the North inner city folklore project does, as do RAG (Revolutionary Anarcha-feminist Group) with feminist walking tours and the 1913 lockout tours some of which are still available online. The most recent I am aware of was Mary McAuliffe's tour of Revolutionary women conducted for the Worker's Party in the north inner city (Anonymous 2014). Combing through this thesis for ideas for this sort of tour the 1798 and 1803 rebellions seem to have a particularly strong potential for this with the surrender lists providing locations where the ordinary rebel lived (Higgins and Bartlett

2004). With this it would be important to juxtapose the rebels with the institutions they fought so sites such as Dublin Castle would be included. Obviously this would differ depending on the site so if a tour included Henrietta Street restoring MacEoin's plaque which identified the former tenement owner as a nationalist politician would be a useful project (and, as an aside, it is interesting that of the plaques in the city, some much older, it is this one that has faded). Outside (barely) of Georgian Dublin, Conor McCabe has conducted tours of the IFSC (Irish Financial Services Centre) which follow a similar idea to this as it explains the IFSC from a left perspective[199]. Any studies on this should of course come from the communities or groups conducting these tours.

Terry Fagan's Dublin folklore tours raise the question of what sources would be suitable for the reclamation of Dublin's working class history. While folklore (or perhaps it is better to say oral history) allows voices that otherwise would not be heard in the historical record to have a voice it can have an issue of reliability. There is also a question of the content some oral historians present a safe version of history that can be neatly packaged for the modern petit bourgeoisie. However there are more or less radical working class oral histories available in *Saothar* and the publications of Uinseann MacEoin. My own use of the *Republican Congress* newspaper in chapter 9 shows a potential different source.

As already suggested it is important not to confuse this with activism although at the level of education it could be used as a tool for activism. It is also important to consider that such activity is unlikely to present any real challenge to the status quo. This is for the simple reason that the hegemonic nature of those narratives employed in theming could easily accommodate counter narratives as reasonably safe historical

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[199] This need not be Dublin centric either during the ongoing refugee crisis the campaign group Uplift organised a solidarity gathering at the Famine memorial in Dublin and encouraged its members to do likewise at local Famine graves. While I would personally use the term of participant rather than member I organised the one in Naas at the grave outside the Hospital in Naas. Uplift as far as I can tell were using a narrative of Ireland as a nation of migrants which suggests ways in which these sites can be used politically to raise awareness. Since this I have been considering how the site in Naas could be used to draw an equivalency with the Workhouse and direct provision an institution which should be abolished.

events, the most obvious example of this was the recent centenary commemoration of the 1913 Dublin lockout which was broadly supported by powers within the state who represent contemporary counterparts of the same interests that William Martin Murphy did in 1913. That said, it also revived interest in an important period in the history of militant labour as a class in Ireland and this was seen in its co-optation by a variety of left groups from social democrats to socialists. In this respect heritage theming presents a space in which hegemony may have a weakness.

Potential Future Research Trajectories

In the short term it is my intention to write papers based on the two chapters on authenticity which will also serve to follow up my previous publication *Dublin's Inauthentic Vistas* (2014). I also intend to combine the chapter on the 1930s tenement crisis with a conference paper I delivered at the 2015 SAI (Sociology Association of Ireland) conference in Trinity College. That paper examined the political context of the housing action carried out by the Republican Congress. I also intend to apply to the Irish Research Council for postdoctoral funding to convert this thesis into a publication.

In the longer term a number of potential trajectories for future research present themselves. A major theme in this thesis has been authenticity and as outlined above this is used as an excuse to keep the working class out. It would be interesting to broaden this out and include all aspects of how authenticity and class interact particularly from a working class viewpoint. At a cultural level there are many representations of working class life, in light of Owen Jones's campaign against depictions of the working class in the UK media (2013), it would be interested to see if depictions similar to those of these film makers are present on tours and presented as an authentic depiction of the working class. Incidentally Jones also provides a point that we should not reduce class to questions of cultural taste so in the context of this thesis a working class person who enjoys looking at Georgian buildings is still working class, just as much as in Jones'

example a working class person at the opera is also still working class (and as he rightly points out an aristocrat watching *X-factor* is still an aristocrat).

A connected question to this is that as identified here authenticity serves to exclude working class individuals not just from the historical narratives, which would be consistent with the literature, but from the physical space itself. It would be of interest for further study and the examination of other themed spaces both hard and soft-themed to establish whether this is common practice or whether Georgian Dublin and specifically York Street and Henrietta Street. Privately (or indeed publically) owned themed spaces which require payment to enter have obvious financial barriers to accessibility. A project such as this could also examine the exclusion of other oppressed and minority groupings, as a self-identifying disabled person I would be keenly interested in reading my research into soft-theming alongside the emerging field of accessible tourism, particularly in the context of listed (historically preserved) environments.

There is some potential from the point of view of demographic studies in using a number of sources identified here and that could easily tracked down including censuses and census substitutes in generating poverty maps from at least the 1790s to the present although any research on these lines must be geared at learning from past attempts at solving the problem of poverty. It could provide the basis for a soft-themed tour as outlined in the previous section.

It could well be useful to expand the observations of interpellation to the use of the built environment as a palimpsest, to see what other narratives are employed within the same space and examine how these utilise the built environment for example Joycean strolls on Bloomsday. A number of locations referred to in this thesis, such as Trinity College, Dublin Castle and Merrion Square all feature in Brian J Shower's book of literary walking tours of Gothic Dublin (2006). The nature of soft-theming allows for

such layers of overlapping and multiple narratives. A case study of this type would require a space, such as Dublin, with multiple tours or similar narratives. It would be potentially quite challenging as the researcher would require at least some knowledge of the subject of each narrative, and some of these events may only exist at specific times of the year, such as Bloomsday. Multiple "genres" of narrative could also be researched for example this paragraph has suggested Bloomsday, a literary tour, while earlier in this chapter political tours were referred to. Additional possible tours include apolitical heritage tours such as Dublin's Viking history or the theatrical Ghost Bus or one of its rivals. Such a project would demonstrate how polysemic space is.

On the question of political tours listed earlier in the chapter as a potential future project research could be conducted into these from the point of view of their educational function. At this point I have identified two major difficulties that would have to be overcome for such a project. 1) A researcher coming from outside the field might place a greater emphasis on the accuracy of the information presented, and may due to their class position have access to greater resources for information verification than those organising the tours. This could of course be worked around if the researcher shared those resources with their research participants. 2) While a single tour could provide material for a paper, any longer research project would likely require a multiplicity of tours which by their nature are sporadic and at times reactive so there is an issue of the viability of such a project.

In this research the potential links between theming and gentrification were not examined as the experience of Georgian Dublin had population displacement without replacement by a new population higher up on the class ladder, instead offices and other uses replaced housing as the use value. While the effect on displaced communities may be experienced largely the same a project to examine how theming and gentrification interact would likely require another space in which this research could be done. This

connects to a further potential avenue for research the experience of individual spaces of the process of theming. A comparison of my work with that of Mark Gottdiener shows that there have been significant differences between the Irish and American experiences, and further international research may lead to further developments in the theory of theming. Depending on resources such research could either follow the same approach as this research and examine another individual case study or it could lead to comparative research project with multiple case studies.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 Images of Mallton Trail Signs

Figure 51.1 Custom House

Figure 51.2 Dublin Castle

Figure 51.3 Hugh Lane

Figure 51.4 Law Courts

Figure 51.5 Leinster House

Figure 51.6 Lying in Hospital

Figure 51.7 Royal Exchange

Figure 51.8 St. Patrick's Cathedral

Figure 51.9 Trinity College

Figure 51.10 Parliament Building

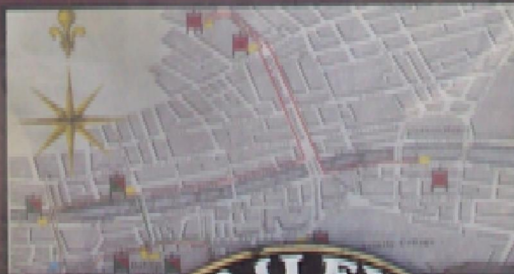


Figure 51.11 View from Essex Bridge

Figure 51.12 Map Sign

APPENDIX 2 FURTHER IMAGES OF POWERSCOURT HOUSE

Figure 52.1 Powerscourt Town-house

Figure 52.2 Powerscourt Town-house

Figure 51.3 Powerscourt Town-house

Figure 52.4 Powerscourt Town-house

Figure 52.5 Powerscourt Town-house

Figure 52.6 Powerscourt Town-house

Figure 51.7 Powerscourt Town-house

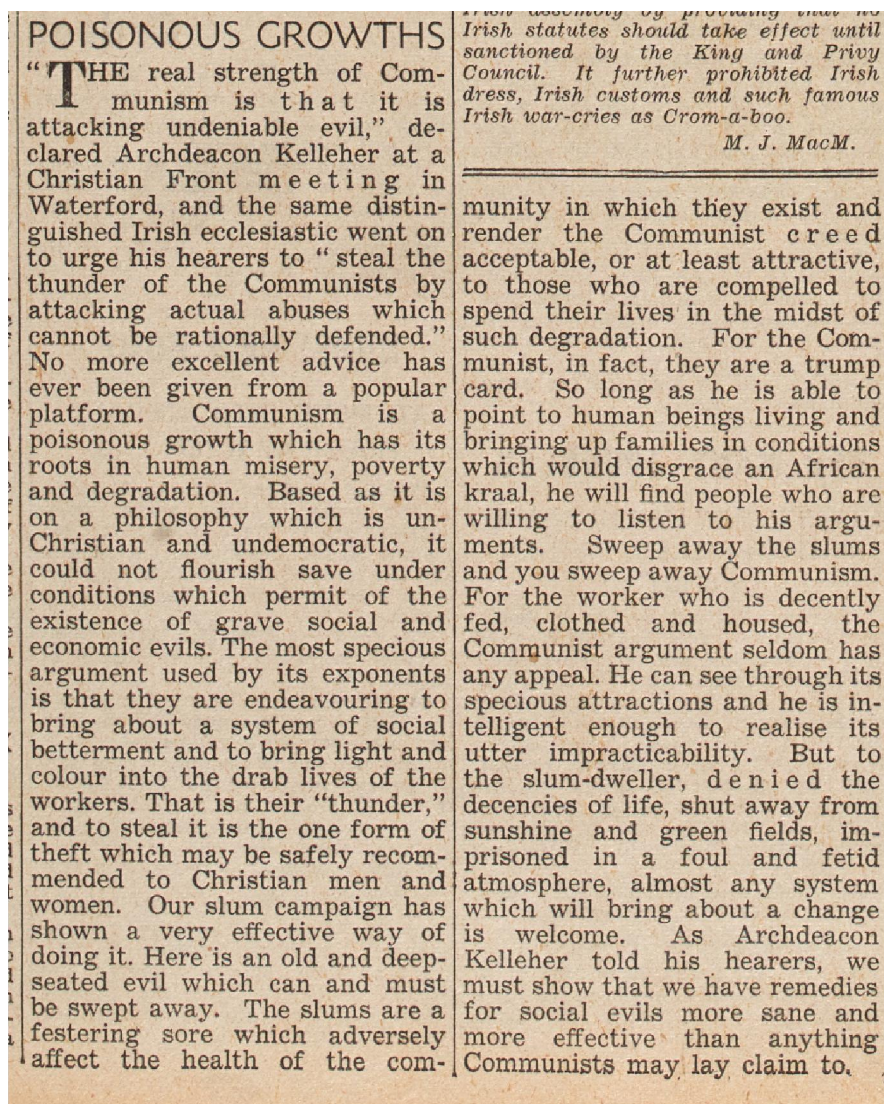
Figure 52.8 Powerscourt Town-house

Figure 52.9 Powerscourt Town-house

Figure 52.10 Powerscourt Town-house

Figure 52.11 Powerscourt Town-house

Appendix 3 Example of 1930s news



Irish statutes should take effect until sanctioned by the King and Privy Council. It further prohibited Irish dress, Irish customs and such famous Irish war-cries as Crom-a-boo.

M. J. MacM.

POISONOUS GROWTHS

"THE real strength of Communism is that it is attacking undeniable evil," declared Archdeacon Kelleher at a Christian Front meeting in Waterford, and the same distinguished Irish ecclesiastic went on to urge his hearers to "steal the thunder of the Communists by attacking actual abuses which cannot be rationally defended." No more excellent advice has ever been given from a popular platform. Communism is a poisonous growth which has its roots in human misery, poverty and degradation. Based as it is on a philosophy which is un-Christian and undemocratic, it could not flourish save under conditions which permit of the existence of grave social and economic evils. The most specious argument used by its exponents is that they are endeavouring to bring about a system of social betterment and to bring light and colour into the drab lives of the workers. That is their "thunder," and to steal it is the one form of theft which may be safely recommended to Christian men and women. Our slum campaign has shown a very effective way of doing it. Here is an old and deep-seated evil which can and must be swept away. The slums are a festering sore which adversely affect the health of the community in which they exist and render the Communist creed acceptable, or at least attractive, to those who are compelled to spend their lives in the midst of such degradation. For the Communist, in fact, they are a trump card. So long as he is able to point to human beings living and bringing up families in conditions which would disgrace an African kraal, he will find people who are willing to listen to his arguments. Sweep away the slums and you sweep away Communism. For the worker who is decently fed, clothed and housed, the Communist argument seldom has any appeal. He can see through its specious attractions and he is intelligent enough to realise its utter impracticability. But to the slum-dweller, denied the decencies of life, shut away from sunshine and green fields, imprisoned in a foul and fetid atmosphere, almost any system which will bring about a change is welcome. As Archdeacon Kelleher told his hearers, we must show that we have remedies for social evils more sane and more effective than anything Communists may lay claim to.

Figure 53 Tenements and anticommunism. Irish Press 13/10/1936 page 8. Image Courtesy of the National Library of Ireland.

Appendix 4

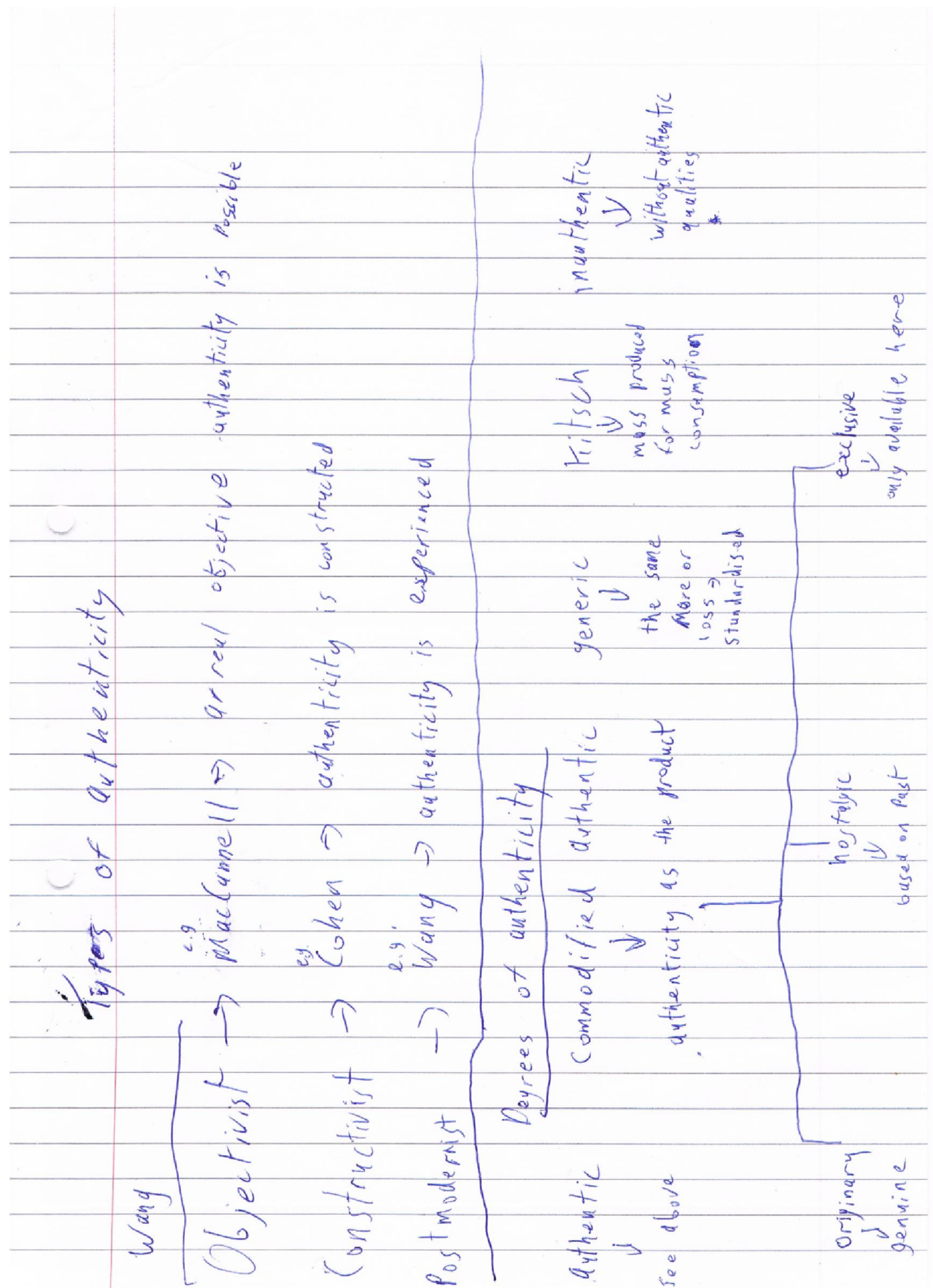


Figure 54 Authenticty outlined