

# ‘Guinness is good for you’: experiments in workers’ housing and public amenities by the Guinness Brewery and Guinness/Iveagh Trust, 1872–1915

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We have the greatest pleasure in announcing this morning the most splendid act of private munificence that has been contemplated and carried out in our time by any Englishman. SIR EDWARD CECIL GUINNESS GUINNESS, the head of the great Irish firm of brewers . . . has placed in the hands of three trustees, LORD ROWTON, MR. RICHIE and MR. PLUNKETT, the sum of a quarter of a million sterling to be held by them in trust for the ‘erection of dwellings for the labouring poor’.<sup>1</sup>

The story of how Edward Cecil Guinness Guinness (1847–1927) established the Guinness Trust, London and Dublin Funds in 1890 has been frequently acknowledged as one of the most generous philanthropic donations in British and Irish history. Providing housing and ancillary facilities for the working poor of both cities regardless of employer, the Dublin Fund was renamed the Iveagh Trust in 1903 and centred its activities in the Liberties area of the city.<sup>2</sup> In Dublin the work of the Trust commenced with the building of two blocks of dwellings at Thomas Court (1892), adjacent to the Guinness Brewery on James’ Gate, and containing 118 flats. Three larger blocks of 336 flats followed at Kevin Street (1894–1901), a short distance south of St Patrick’s Cathedral. The Guinness/Iveagh Trust’s third scheme at Bull Alley, between Christchurch and St Patrick’s Cathedrals and in the vicinity of the Guinness brewery on James’ Street, was the most ambitious project undertaken by either Dublin or London Trusts. Between 1901 and 1904 it provided 250 flats in eight architecturally distinctive, five-storey, T-shaped blocks on Patrick and Bride Streets. To this were added twenty-six shops, a six-storey hostel to accommodate 508 homeless men

<sup>1</sup> ‘The dwellings of the poor’, *Times*, 20 Nov. 1889, emphasis original. By this time Edward Cecil Guinness was the richest man in Ireland. <sup>2</sup> The Liberties area was Dublin’s industrialized centre and the industries established there tended to be those that could take advantage of water, the area’s greatest resource. This resulted in a growth of textile manufacturing in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, overtaken by alcohol production in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As the nineteenth century unfolded the number of alcohol manufacturers diminished due to the increasing dominance of the Guinness Brewery and its acquisition of smaller concerns.

(1905) and a community centre and children's care facility (1915). This group of buildings occupy the perimeter of a site enclosing a central courtyard with gated access that is accessible from the surrounding four streets. Adjacent to these were added a public swimming pool with twenty-seven private baths (1906) built opposite the hostel, and a public park with park-keeper's house (1903) occupying the area between the Bull Alley complex and St Patrick's Cathedral. An indoor market for local traders displaced by the complex (1906) was built some distance away on Francis Street.

In some ways the expression of such civic generosity in this particular area was not unexpected; it followed a pattern of substantial philanthropic gestures by the Guinness family dating back to the second Arthur Guinness (1768–1855) who had made several donations to the maintenance of St Patrick's Cathedral.<sup>3</sup> However, the establishment of the Guinness/Iveagh Trust,<sup>4</sup> which provided in total 680 flats and ancillary facilities in Dublin alone, was ambitious in gesture and physical scale beyond any donation the family had previously made. Unusually, the initial intention was to 'reach the very poorest of the labouring population' – as opposed to the artisan worker favoured by other housing schemes – although this aspiration was not achieved.<sup>5</sup> Of the initial donation of £250,000 made collectively to the Dublin and London funds, £50,000 went to Dublin supplemented by an additional c.£367,000. This brought the total donation close to £617,000 or almost €81 million in contemporary terms.<sup>6</sup>

Yet, in spite of the centrality of the Guinness Brewery and family to Irish cultural history there is little substantive research on the Guinness/Iveagh Trust schemes beyond short appraisals within architectural texts and volumes on cultural history.<sup>7</sup>

**3** Arthur's son, Benjamin Lee Guinness (1798–1868), father of Edward Cecil Guinness, continued in the same spirit, financing the rebuilding of St Patrick's Cathedral in 1856 with a contribution of £150,000 and began the restoration of the adjacent Marsh's Library. Edward Cecil Guinness's brother, Arthur Edward (1840–1915, Lord Ardilaun from 1880), finished the library restoration and financed the construction of a new wing for the Coombe Lying-in Hospital (1877). Arthur Edward's most famous philanthropic gesture was the purchase of a 30-acre site at St Stephen's Green from local inhabitants which he had landscaped and handed over as a city amenity (1882). Edward Cecil Guinness donated the back garden of his Dublin city centre home, Iveagh House, to University College Dublin (1908) and it is now a public garden. **4** I collapse the Guinness Trust, Dublin Fund and the Iveagh Trust together with this descriptor to avoid confusion around the provenance of individual buildings by virtue of the organization's change of name in 1903. **5** 'The dwellings of the poor'; the city's poorest were excluded from the Trust by virtue of the fact that they would have been in casual employment and therefore not able to make the necessary advance rent payments. **6** F.H.A. Aalen, *The Iveagh Trust: the first hundred years* (Dublin, 1990), pp 27, 50. The conversion of the original donations is approximately €80,719,182: I'm very grateful to James Kavanagh, Economic Analysis and Research Division, Central Bank of Ireland, for providing this information. The additional monies for Dublin involved the clearance of slums occupying the Bull Alley site, the landscaping of St Patrick's Park and the building of the Iveagh Market and Iveagh Play Centre. **7** Short

The most significant contribution is the pioneering research of F.H.A. Aalen. He analyses the Guinness/Iveagh Trust within broader surveys of Irish housing, urban development and planning legislation and was commissioned by the Trust to write its commemorative publication in 1990.<sup>8</sup> This essay focuses on the Bull Alley scheme and expands contextualization of the project to consider the ideological and architectural antecedents of the Trust.<sup>9</sup> The ebb and flow of philanthropic discourse between London and Dublin in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is of particular importance here as Dublin was, at that time, part of the British Empire. The Trust was administered from London until 1903 and at the time of its establishment Edward Cecil Guinness was largely domiciled in the English capital. In establishing the Trust he sought advice from London-based philanthropists, including his friend Lord Rowton, followed closely the pioneering projects of American banker and diplomat George Peabody (1795–1869) and his London-based Peabody Donation Fund (1862–), and employed London-based architects for the Bull Alley complex. The architectural practice comprising Nathan Solomon Joseph (1834–1909), his son Charles Sampson Joseph (1872–1948) and partner Charles James Smithem (d.1937) was one of the most prolific and experienced in the design of block dwellings and worked for a number of London's philanthropic and semi-philanthropic trusts in addition to various municipal authorities.<sup>10</sup> The distinct architectural treatment of the Bull Alley complex – reflecting a hybrid of popular, contemporary styles – provide an unusual typology within Irish architecture, although this is commonplace in Britain. It is argued here that the Dublin buildings are emblematic of the philanthropic discourse that permeated British society in the nineteenth century and are an imported archetype modified for local circumstances. In so doing, this essay is mindful of Aalen's comments that the history of working-class housing provision in Dublin needs to be placed in the 'wider British context' to be fully understood.<sup>11</sup> This essay will explore these narratives while also demonstrating how the Bull Alley buildings were the culmination of almost two decades of architectural experimentation in Dublin that began with housing

architectural references to the scheme can be found in Annette Becker et al. (eds), *20th-century architecture: Ireland* (Munich and New York, 1997), pp 92–3; Seán Rothery, *Ireland and the new architecture: 1900–40* (Dublin, 1991), pp 38–41. For historical approaches see: Jacinta Prunty, 'Improving the urban environment: public health and housing in nineteenth-century Dublin' in Joseph Brady and Anngret Simms (eds), *Dublin through space and time (c. 900–1900)* (Dublin, 2001), pp 207–11 and Jacinta Prunty, *Dublin slums, 1800–1925: a study in urban geography* (Dublin, 1998), pp 142, 176–7. **8** Aalen's *The Iveagh Trust* is a slim but densely packed volume with specific and contextual information and remains the most substantial study of the complex to date. **9** This contribution evolved from my unpublished MA dissertation 'Progressive housing: the role of two industrial families in the development of philanthropic architecture in Dublin', National College of Art and Design (Dublin, 1994). **10** The practice operated under two different names during the period of this study: N.S. Joseph and Smithem (1886–98) and N.S. Joseph, Son and Smithem (1899–1904). **11** Aalen, 'Health and housing in Dublin', pp 279–304. Prunty, 'Improving the urban environment', also makes a similar point, p. 207.

provided by Edward Cecil Guinness specifically for Guinness workers. While the Brewery and Trust have always sought to maintain distinct identities and while housing in the Guinness/Iveagh Trust was open to all workers regardless of employer, Edward Cecil Guinness's personal involvement ensured that there was a relationship between these various projects.

ARCHITECTURAL AND IDEOLOGICAL ARCHETYPES:  
LEARNING FROM LONDON

The Guinness/Iveagh Trust is the only large philanthropic trust to have been established in Ireland and provides a localized example of what John Nelson Tarn has described as the 'second wave' of philanthropic and semi-philanthropic housing societies that became commonplace in British cities during the nineteenth century.<sup>12</sup> It has similarities with several pioneering London experiments but the strongest ideological and architectural comparisons can be made with the housing complexes and public amenities provided by the Peabody Donation Fund; the work of heiress Angela Burdett Coutts (1814–1906); and the provision of the semi-philanthropic 4% Industrial Dwellings Company (1885–), for whom the Bull Alley architects, N.S. Joseph and Smithem, also worked. In harnessing contemporary middle-class anxieties around health, sanitation, class mobility, societal agitation and social improvement, combined with genuine altruism and strong religious faith, these philanthropic organizations provided housing solutions reflective of such concerns at a time when municipal authorities were wrestling with housing provision.<sup>13</sup> Tarn contextualizes such motivations against the backdrop of mass industrialization:

A society newly rich, attempting to recompense the people out of whom its wealth was made for the inconvenience – the inhumanity – of their homes and indeed their lives. The haughty sanctimonious, the earnest evangelical, the apostles of self-help, the prophets of socialism: all were motivated by a deep and abiding sense of guilt, of a peculiarly Victorian kind.<sup>14</sup>

In London much philanthropic endeavour focused on the East End of the city which experienced 'the full flowering of social investigation as armies of reformers, "slummers" and missionaries beat a heroic path to the heart of darkness' and here early prototypes for working-class block housing were established.<sup>15</sup> Susannah Morris suggests: 'The housing problem was therefore considered to be one of the most major

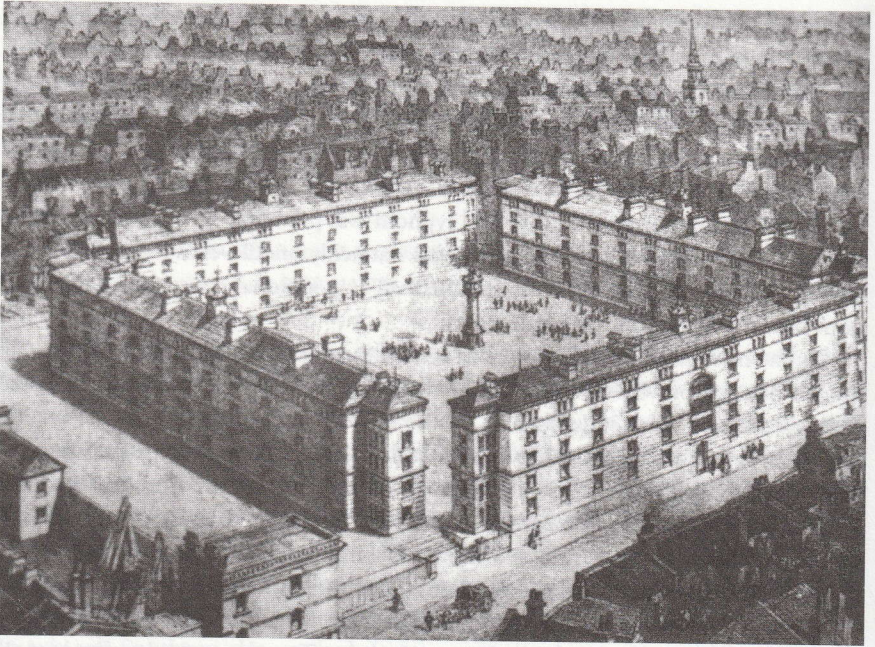
<sup>12</sup> John Nelson Tarn, 'The Peabody Donation Fund', *Architectural Association Quarterly* (Winter 1968/9), p. 33. Tarn's seminal volume on this subject is *Five per cent philanthropy* (Cambridge, 1973). <sup>13</sup> Dublin Corporation had begun to provide housing in 1887 but in a reactionary, piecemeal way hampered by inadequate legislation. <sup>14</sup> Tarn, *Five per cent philanthropy*, p. 31. <sup>15</sup> Drew D. Gray, *London's shadows: the dark side of the Victorian city* (London, 2010), p. 118.

public problems of its day, which threatened to harm the physical, moral, social, and even economic health of society.<sup>16</sup> Morally, there was particular concern about families sharing cramped conditions that would necessitate children and adults sleeping in the same beds; pragmatically, typhoid and cholera affected all classes, de-stabilizing middle-class confidence in the benefits of putting physical distance between themselves and the working classes.<sup>17</sup> Dublin experienced several outbreaks of Asiatic Cholera in the nineteenth century and typhoid was prevalent throughout the 1870s and 1880s, including an outbreak within the staunchly middle-class Pembroke Estate (1879). However, middle-class industrialists had an additional concern: the effects of poor housing conditions on productivity.

By the mid-nineteenth century, Britain had formulated three models of privately funded housing provision for the urban working classes: the endowed or charitable trust established as a consequence of the benefaction (including Peabody and Guinness) or bequest (Samuel Lewis, 1901 and William Sutton, 1900);<sup>18</sup> the subscription charity which raised monies through patrons' donations (for example, the Society for Improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes, 1844); and the model-dwelling company, run as a limited-liability company which raised capital from investors (for example, the 4% Industrial Dwellings Company, 1885).<sup>19</sup> The third – and often the second – model provided a modest dividend on investment; capped around 4–5 per cent they embodied a provision that Tarn famously described as '5% Philanthropy' and by virtue of this return for investors these organizations can be categorized as semi-philanthropic.

Amid this rush of developments, a number of distinct architectural and ideological paradigms emerged. The building of cottages or terraces of houses proved expensive and the majority of companies focused on the block dwelling form so that the number of people displaced by slum clearance could – notionally at least – be rehoused in high-density replacement schemes. Blocks consisted of five or six storeys built in parallel rows, as per the Guinness/Iveagh Trust housing at Kevin Street,<sup>20</sup> or

**16** Susannah Morris, 'Changing perceptions of philanthropy in the voluntary housing field in nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century London' in Thomas Adam (ed.), *Philanthropy, patronage and civil society: experiences from Germany, Great Britain and North America* (Indiana, 2004), p. 143. **17** Ruth McManus, *Dublin 1910–40: shaping the city & suburbs* (Dublin, 2002), p. 428. The British housing reform movement of the nineteenth century stemmed from the investigation into public health issues in the wake of cholera and typhoid outbreaks in the 1830s by the first secretary to the Poor Law Board, Edwin Chadwick. His *Report on the sanitary conditions of the labouring population and on its means of improvement* (1842) firmly established the link between poor housing and inadequate sanitation in the context of public health and was a landmark in mobilizing the rapidly expanding middle classes into philanthropic and charitable activity. **18** These organizations are still operational and all but the Iveagh Trust have changed their names recently. The Peabody Donation Fund is now known as Peabody; the Guinness Trust became The Guinness Partnership (2007); the Samuel Lewis Trust is now the Southern Housing Group (2001). **19** Morris, 'Changing perceptions on philanthropy', p. 144. **20** The Birkenhead Dock Company were probably the first to provide block buildings for workers in 1847, Tarn, *Five per cent philanthropy*, p. 4.



1 Peabody Square, Greenman Street, Islington, London, 1865, Henry Darbishire for Peabody Donation Fund. Courtesy: <http://greenmanstreet.wordpress.com/category/history/plans-and-images/>

utilized the Peabody principle of four perpendicular blocks forming a square as evident at Bull Alley. The eclectic range of styles typical of nineteenth-century British architecture was reflected in the elevations of the housing solutions. Mid-century 'Italianate' designs were favoured by early Peabody schemes, although these were routinely criticized for their 'barrack-like' appearance and contemporary reports describe a 'cross between the reformatory and the workhouse . . . Everything about the buildings . . . has been made as dull-looking and heavy as it could be'.<sup>21</sup>

Mid- to late-nineteenth-century schemes often included neo-Gothic references (as preferred by Coutts) or referenced Dutch revival styles through the use of red brick, distinctive triangular and curvilinear gables and mansard or dormer roofs, to minimize the monumentalism of the structures. Yet, the designs were still relatively austere despite attempts to soften these with a modest amount of applied decorative detail. By the late nineteenth century many housing organizations deliberately tried to shake off criticisms of institutional-like austerity and embraced a style loosely referred to as 'Queen Anne' that had become popular for middle-class domestic architecture. This hybrid of Dutch revival, Arts and Crafts, vernacular architecture,

<sup>21</sup> *Telegraph*, 24 Dec. 1868, cited in Tarn, 'The Peabody Donation Fund: the role of a housing society in the nineteenth century', *Victorian Studies* (Sept. 1966), 14.

coupled with the sporadic Art Nouveau flourish, was popularized by Scottish architect Norman Shaw (1831–1912) and featured good quality brickwork, multi-pane sash windows, varied fenestration, asymmetrical elevations and integrated decorative detail.

Of the earliest phase of block housing, architect Henry Astley Darbishire (1825–99) was the most prolific exponent through his work for Peabody. He evolved a template of four or five units, of one-to-three rooms per floor, accessed off a central staircase containing 'associated facilities' (lavatories and sinks shared between families). Pram sheds were available for tenants within an internal courtyard that doubled as a children's playground, and communal bathhouses were also provided. Edward Cecil Guinness, his architects and advisors, followed the work of the Peabody Fund very closely, modified extant Peabody plans, and in London, Guinness Trust housing was often built near or adjacent to existing Peabody schemes. The enclosed courtyard model, separating the block housing from its immediate surroundings and also evident in the Dublin Bull Alley scheme, was favoured by Darbishire and was the physical manifestation of the rhetoric of self-improvement and social control:

The estates were cut off from the surrounding district by great iron railings, complete with gates, which were locked each night. Inside, men and women could live quiet lives and children could play in safety, not only from traffic but also from contamination with the undesirable people in the slums outside. Peabody tenants were expected to live improving lives, sober and clean, thrifty and honest.<sup>22</sup>

Physical separation was complemented by a strict system of monitoring the behaviour of residents ensuring that social order was imposed and maintained. The Guinness/Iveagh Trust adopted the staff structure of Peabody, ensuring that resident superintendents were ex-military and porters had a practical trade.<sup>23</sup> These men enforced a strict code of conduct for tenants, including temperance and a rota of cleaning communal spaces. Peabody had stipulated that his donation was dependent on maintaining the 'virtues of moral character and good conduct' and while excluding the very poor, favoured a 'respectable poverty' defined by the artisan who could afford regular rent payments.<sup>24</sup>

In *Discipline and punish* (1977) Michel Foucault argues that architectural forms became more politicized in the late eighteenth centuries as a consequence of the plague that gripped seventeenth-century Europe.<sup>25</sup> He suggests that the segregation of people into ill and healthy – a consequence of quarantining a plague town and its inhabitants – gave rise to cultures of surveillance from which 'disciplined' societies

**22** Tarn, 'The Peabody Donation Fund', p. 32. **23** Ron Lear, 'My goodness' (n.d., n.p.), courtesy of the Guinness Trust. **24** Tarn, 'The Peabody Donation Fund', p. 15. **25** Michel Foucault (Alan Sheridan, translation), 'Panopticism', *Discipline and punish: the birth of the prison* (Middlesex, 1977), pp 195–228 and Paul Rabinow (ed.), 'Space, knowledge and power', *The Foucault reader: an introduction to Foucault's thought* (Middlesex, 1984), pp 239–56.

emerged, controlled through stringent organizational and surveillance systems. Of these, the Panopticon – the prison that allows inmates to be observed at all times – is the most emblematic structure. Foucault argues that this technological system, comprising architectural form and human intervention, was adapted to suit a variety of needs, including military barracks, the form of which, with its stacked, high-density units, can be seen as an antecedent of model block housing.<sup>26</sup> The ultimate aim of the panoptical system was control of the working classes ‘... to strengthen the social forces – to increase production, to develop the economy, spread education, raise the level of public morality’.<sup>27</sup> In considering the architectural typologies examined here, Foucault’s analysis is particularly pertinent as he makes reference to the fact that ‘charities’ (and philanthropic organizations can be included in this definition) have had a long-standing interest in developing such technologies with the express purpose of ‘moralization’ but also with an eye to economic development and the neutralization of social agitation.<sup>28</sup> In nineteenth-century London such threats to the social order included the rise of trade unionism, while in Dublin there was an additional layer of anxiety reflective of the social unrest heralded by the rise of the Home Rule movement and the growing popularity of Parnell. For a staunch Unionist like Edward Cecil Guinness such societal shifts may have provided some degree of concern.

Yet, situated within the city and exposed to myriad changes, trust housing could not be as tightly controlled as the model or industrial village concept that also found favour in Britain, Europe and the US in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and with which it shared some ideological commonalities.<sup>29</sup> The model village was the romanticized alternative to the congestion and revolutionary influences of the industrial city and provided cottage-type housing in a rural environment. Built around the factory of the industrialist, panoptical systems dominated and close monitoring of the workforce stretched from housing across a range of ancillary services – including schools, churches, libraries – and of these Cadbury’s Bourneville (1895) and Lever’s Port Sunlight (1890) would be particularly well known. The latter two schemes also had considerable influence in popularizing Arts and Crafts and ‘Queen Anne’-inspired architecture as a template for workers’ housing of all forms as locally sourced materials (for example brick and stone), combined with vernacular forms (including sash windows, dormer roofs), satisfied Victorian ideas of the domestic and picturesque. Due to its relative lack of industrialization Ireland did not experience this phenomenon to the same extent as mainland Britain although model villages were built by the Malcolmsons, at Portlaw, County Waterford, around their cotton mill (1830s); and by the Richardsons in Bessbrook, County Armagh (1852), around their linen-weaving factory. These ‘benevolent dictatorships’ exerted almost total control over tenants and flexed a level of authoritarianism that was a constant reminder of

**26** Foucault, ‘Panopticism’, p. 215. **27** *Ibid.*, p. 207. **28** *Ibid.*, p. 212. **29** See Vittorio Gregotti (ed.), *70 Rassegna: company towns: themes in architecture* (Bologna, 1997) for analysis of a range of models across Europe and the United States.



the links between industrial productivity, moral conduct, maintaining a home and the penalties for non-conformity.

In providing cottages grouped in picturesque clusters model villages can also be likened to the earlier archetype of the 'estate village' built by local aristocracy for their rural employees. Both typologies have similarities in that they were forms of corporate architecture where the elements of the parent building (factory or house) were modified for the smaller buildings creating recognisable designs that linked across all provision. It is argued here that the later provision of the Guinness and Iveagh Trusts operated on this level in evolving a recognizable corporate style that visually connected its housing projects. In Dublin the housing was not explicitly connected to the brewery, and in fact brewery workers were excluded from applying to the scheme for the first ten years of the trust's existence;<sup>30</sup> the prominent display of the name of the benefactor on the exterior of the buildings in an area intrinsically linked to both the brewery and other philanthropic gestures by the Guinness family suggest that the buildings were likely to have been connected back to the source of the benefaction by the public. In this way an implicit but highly visible link between the Trust, the Brewery and Guinness family philanthropy was maintained and this has undoubtedly contributed to the common misconception that Guinness/Iveagh Trust flats were exclusively for Guinness workers.<sup>31</sup> The breadth of facilities provided by the Trust at Bull Alley also aligns it more closely to the model village concept than typical trust provision in mainland Britain.

#### HOUSING, HEALTH AND PRODUCTIVITY: HOUSING INITIATIVES OF THE GUINNESS BREWERY

By the end of the nineteenth century Dublin had some of the worst slum conditions in the United Kingdom and the Liberties area of the city was particularly impoverished. The dominance of one-roomed tenement flats was of particular concern and mortality rates for Dublin were the highest in the British Isles and amongst the highest in Continental Europe or the US.<sup>32</sup> As industrial employers, Guinness and Pim (the textile manufacturers) were particularly vocal in recording the links between health and housing as a matter of public record and the city already had a short history of privately-funded workers' housing provision.<sup>33</sup> For the most part this followed the cottage model and complexes include Pim's Cottages, Harold's Cross,

<sup>30</sup> Guinness Archives: GDB/1004-11/0017, John Lumsden, *Report on the inspection of dwellings occupied by the employés (sic) and pensioners of A. Guinness, Son and Co. Ltd*, 17 Nov. 1900 to 17 Jan. 1901, p. 12. <sup>31</sup> See, for example, Neil Hegarty, *Dublin: a view from the ground* (London, 2007), p. 227. <sup>32</sup> Joseph V. O'Brien, *'Dear, dirty Dublin': a city in distress, 1899-1916* (Berkeley, CA, 1982), p. 22. <sup>33</sup> See, for example, Frederick W. Pim, *The growth of sanitation in Dublin* (address given to the nineteenth annual general meeting of the Dublin Sanitary Association, 27 Mar. 1890); while Edward Cecil Guinness gave evidence at the royal commission on the housing of the working classes (1884).



2 Belview Buildings, Dublin (1872–1980), for Guinness Brewery.  
Photo: author's own (c.1980).

built beside the company's textile mill (1844 and 1864); the Watkin, Jameson, Pim and Co. Ltd houses adjacent to its brewery, Ardee Street (1860s); and the Great Southern and Western Railway cottages, library, dispensary and dining room at Inchicore (1850s).<sup>34</sup>

In 1872 Edward Cecil Guinness financed the Belview Buildings (1872–1980) for brewery workers. Comprising austere, yellow-brick, three- and two-storey blocks – in one perpendicular and two parallel rows – and four cottages, these were situated beside the brewery at School Street. Reputedly designed by the brewery's engineer, Samuel Geoghegan (1845–1928/9), seventy-three units were provided – some with deck access – and the buildings were entered through iron gates off the street,

<sup>34</sup> Nonetheless, the overall provision in the city was modest. Pim provided 36 one- and two-storey, yellow-brick cottages; Watkins, 87 one- and two-storey, yellow-brick cottages; GSWR built 149 two-storey, red-brick, granite and concrete cottages.

creating a contained environment similar to the Coutts and Peabody schemes.<sup>35</sup> Some 180 families or c.350 people were housed and the complex was well received, with one witness at the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes (1884) commenting that they were: '... most wonderful ... To my mind they are the best buildings I have seen'.<sup>36</sup> Some of the more distinctive features of the complex were that each flat had separate facilities and a communal bathhouse was provided for residents' use.<sup>37</sup> Although the Belview Buildings provided a much higher standard of accommodation than most and despite claims that they increased the healthiness of the tenants,<sup>38</sup> they were out-dated and in need of improvement as early as 1889.<sup>39</sup> Their location may have contributed to their deterioration as the complex was tucked away between brewery buildings at a distance from the main thoroughfare of James' Street. In 1905 Arthur Hignett, the engineer-in-chief at the Guinness Brewery, commented that:

Attention should be drawn to the moral atmosphere in the neighbourhood of the Bellevue [sic] Buildings. The streets, dark corners and gateways, appear to be the regular nightly resort of 'corner women'; and the foul language and behaviour of such women and drunken men are such that respectable married men refuse to live in the neighbourhood *even rent free*.<sup>40</sup>

Between the establishment of the Belview Buildings and the founding of the Guinness Trust, Edward Cecil Guinness became an enthusiastic supporter of the Dublin Artisans' Dwellings Company (DADC, 1876–1979), a semi-philanthropic organization based on the 5% philanthropy model, which supplied a total of 3,379 housing units for approximately 16,000 people.<sup>41</sup> Its preferred architectural prototype was the cottage for the skilled or artisan worker although it also built a number of block dwellings, including Echlin Street (1878) and Crampton Quay (1891), the latter

**35** Guinness Archives, GDB/Co09/0386 'The housing question: Belview, Thomas Court and opinions from Mr Gowan'. Housing with deck access is a cheaper model of provision as many units can be accessed from the one balcony. **36** Stanley Raymond Dennison and Oliver MacDonagh, *Guinness, 1886–1939: from incorporation to the Second World War* (Cork, 1998), p. 127. **37** The brewery dispensary was also on the site from 1870 until it moved in 1901. At the time of their construction the only other block tenements in the city were the New Model Dwellings (c.1868): six red-brick, four-storey tenement houses comprising fifty units on the corner of Meath and South Earl Street in the Liberties built by the Industrial Tenements Company (1867). They quickly degenerated into slums, partly as a consequence of having only six external latrines, Aalen, 'The working-class housing movement in Dublin, 1850–1920', pp 142–3. **38** Prunty, 'Improving the urban environment', p. 208. **39** Dennison and MacDonagh, *Guinness, 1886–1939*, p. 129. **40** Guinness Archives, GDB/ENOI/0059, 'Workmen's dwellings: general matters' (1905), emphasis Hignett's. The buildings were later reserved for members of the brewery Fire Brigade and became the subject of many Corporation summonses for breaches of public health throughout the 1930s before being handed over to Dublin Corporation in 1941. **41** King, *Progressive housing*, p. 16.



3 Rialto Buildings, Dublin, 1883, C.H. Ashworth for Guinness Brewery.  
Photo: L. King (2012).

built around a courtyard with deck access. Strict codes of conduct were enforced on all tenants and many of the schemes were centred in the Liberties area. The establishment of the DADC was informed by legislation in 1868 and 1875 that permitted local authorities to demolish unsanitary housing for private companies to develop, provided the number of replacement units matched those demolished.<sup>42</sup> By the late nineteenth century the DADC board, investors and trustees read like a who's-who of Dublin industry and included several members of the Pim family and both Edward Cecil Guinness and Arthur E. Guinness. In 1913, a member of the Pim family commented at the Local Government Board of Ireland Housing Inquiry: 'Nearly all the people who were interested in industrial progress at the time shared in this company'.<sup>43</sup> Another witness at the Inquiry – Revd P.J. Monahan – commented that Powers Distillery, another Liberties industry, had an 'arrangement with' the DADC that in exchange for a 'fixed certain sum' its houses were let to its employees, suggesting that other industrialists might have had similar arrangements.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>42</sup> For more detailed discussion of the DADC see Prunty, 'Improving the urban environment', pp 195–207. The acts were: Artisans' and Labourers' Dwelling Act (1868) and the Artisans' and Labourers' Dwelling Improvement Act (1875), otherwise known as the 'Cross Act'. <sup>43</sup> Local Government Board for Ireland, *The report of the departmental committee appointed by the Local Government Board for Ireland to inquire into the housing conditions of the working classes in the city of Dublin* (London, 1914), p. 185. <sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 119.

By the turn of the century it was estimated that approximately one-third of all Guinness employees were living in DADC buildings, which would have eased the pressure on the brewery to provide more housing for its workers.<sup>45</sup>

Eleven years after his first foray into workers' housing provision Edward Cecil Guinness commissioned the DADC to build eighty-seven units in three austere, red brick, three-storey blocks for Guinness employees at Rialto Court, near the brewery on James' Street (1883). The flats were clustered around a central staircase exposed to the elements, reflecting contemporary beliefs that fresh air dissipated disease. These were also constructed some distance away from a main thoroughfare. Designed by C.H. Ashworth, architect to the DADC, they were sold at a loss to the DADC in 1885 after criticism by Rowton.<sup>46</sup> Notably, Alfred Barnard in his appraisal of breweries across Britain (1889) mentions both Belview and Rialto as 'villages', 'colonies' and 'townships' erected by Guinness. His comments seem to have been influenced by the fact that additional facilities, including medical supervision, recreational grounds and a 'flourishing cooperative store', were provided.<sup>47</sup>

Federico Bucci has argued that the provision of housing by any industrialist is a 'paternalistic project' reflecting a desire to exact total control over a workforce and that this is inherent in the relationship between 'Protestant ethic' and the 'spirit of capitalism'.<sup>48</sup> He argues that the factory system – defined by the 'functional relation of surveillance and discipline' – inevitably spills over from the workplace into other 'territories', including that of the workers' private lives. While many Dublin industrialists realized that good health was integral to maintaining an industrious workforce, none matched the facilities provided by Guinness, which included educational programmes, social clubs and free medical assistance. A brewery doctor ensured that there was a constant monitor of how the quality of housing affected individual productivity levels and Dr John Lumsden, medical advisor to the brewery and the head of Guinness' social and medical services, regularly documented his concerns on the links between poor sanitation, housing and health.<sup>49</sup>

Lumsden undertook a detailed analysis of Guinness workers' housing between November 1900 and January 1901, which provides an illuminating comparison between the living standards in early Guinness housing projects, Dublin's philan-

45 Aalen, 'The working-class housing movement in Dublin', p. 145. 46 The DADC extended the complex with the addition of two-storey cottages in 1890 that served to integrate the complex visually into its surroundings. Critics claimed that the rents were too high and the buildings were too far from the brewery (although this distance was a quarter of a mile), Dennison and MacDonagh, *Guinness, 1886–1939*, p. 128. 47 Alfred Barnard, *Noted breweries of Great Britain & Ireland, volume I* (London, 1889), p. 42. 48 Federico Bucci, 'Territories of surveillance' in Gregotti (ed.), *Company towns*, p. 64. 49 John Lumsden, 'The history of medical and social services in James' Gate 1894 to 1943' (unpublished manuscript), p. 55, Guinness Archives, GDB / C004.9 / 0002.09. Comment is made on the loose-leaf document that 'This was never printed, but typescript copies were bound.' Lumsden's tenure spanned 1894 to 1943 and he was particularly concerned with the spread of tuberculosis.

thropic and semi-philanthropic housing organizations, privately owned tenements, and the Guinness Trust units that were in the midst of construction. Addressing the company board directly, he noted that 33 per cent of employees lived in 'ideal' self-contained artisans cottages which were in the main owned by the DADC and the Corporation; 10.5 per cent in artisans' tenement buildings also owned by the same organizations; 19.8 per cent in self-contained houses; 0.6 per cent in private tenement buildings; 8.5 per cent in old cottages 'unfit for human habitation' and 24.2 per cent in similarly problematic tenement houses. He concluded, in relation to the latter: 'The very large majority of these houses in my experience are dens of disease, are so impregnated with filth and so utterly rotten they should be regarded as unfit for human habitation and dealt with as dangers to public health.'<sup>50</sup> Lumsden gives scant mention of the Belview Buildings, noting that 'recent improvements and reconstruction' were 'excellent' but otherwise he had not been 'satisfied with the general condition of the people' living there.<sup>51</sup> By comparison, he had visited two or three employees who had just moved into Guinness Trust buildings in Bride Street, observing that the buildings were nearly as perfect as anything he could imagine, concluding that they were 'admirably managed'.<sup>52</sup>

Lumsden's record of the visits is revealing as to the complex relationship between philanthropy, surveillance and employment. His aim was '... to gain knowledge of its [brewery] houses and manners of your [the board of the brewery] people', indicating a perceived entitlement to survey all workers' accommodation although most were privately rented. However, by the time the report was published the assumption of an employer's entitlement to view their employees' accommodation was being challenged; Lumsden notes that he was denied access to only one house by the 'gate porter who holds strong socialist views ... He held that it was no business of an employer how or where his servant lived'.<sup>53</sup> The report consistently emphasizes the benevolence of Guinness as an employer, making clear the links between generous working conditions and subjugation: '... as a class I look upon our men, as a most respectable and well conducted body of operatives, they are proud of their employment, always ready to listen to the advice and amenable to reason', they were aware that amongst their peers they were '... better paid and better cared for employés [sic] of a firm that treats them so well'.<sup>54</sup> In emphasizing the links between health, housing and productivity he called on the board to provide more purpose-built housing for employees:

If the firm could only see their way to erect more tenement buildings or self-contained cottages, similar to those already in existence ... I am convinced our people would flock to them ... Thus the heartfelt gratitude of many employés [sic] would be earned, the mortality returns would be diminished,

<sup>50</sup> GDB/1004-11/0017, J. Lumsden, *Report on the inspection of dwellings occupied by the employés (sic) and pensioners of A. Guinness, Son and Co. Ltd*, 17 Nov. 1900 to 17 Jan. 1901, pp 9-10. <sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44. <sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12. <sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4. <sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 8-9.

greater contentment and happiness made possible, less sickness, want and misery would be evident and a stronger community, physically, mentally and morally would in time be developed.<sup>55</sup>

Lumsden's concluding suggestions that 'an inspector of dwellings be appointed' and that allowances, including sick pay and medical provision, be withdrawn from any employee '... who, after due notice has been given, continues to reside in a house condemned as insanitary and unsatisfactory by the firm', were rejected by the board until such time as the supply of suitable dwellings was adequate.<sup>56</sup>

THE GUINNESS TRUST LONDON AND DUBLIN FUNDS:  
IMPORTED INFLUENCES AND MODIFIED ARCHETYPES

This modest experiment with housing for brewery employees is significant in that it enabled Edward Cecil Guinness to test and modify established housing archetypes before beginning work on the Bull Alley site. Benjamin Lee Guinness had attempted to develop this area as early as 1865, Edward Cecil Guinness and Arthur Cecil had unsuccessfully tried to turn it into a park in celebration of Queen Victoria's golden jubilee in 1887, and Dublin Corporation were keen to clear the site of the warren of tenement houses, brothels, pubs, abattoirs and open markets that were routinely criticized.<sup>57</sup> Housing provision directly tied to an industrial concern was partisan and favoured the artisan worker as opposed to the very poorest who were not in steady employment. In founding the Guinness Trust, Edward Cecil Guinness took the model of benefaction established by Peabody, but broadened the scope for application to all workers. Rents were kept modest but were still not affordable for the poorest, typically the casual worker, a demographic that had to wait some decades to be catered for by the large-scale municipal housing projects that emerged during the early decades of the Free State.

The Guinness Trust, London and Dublin Funds, produced its first housing complexes in 1891 and for the first ten years a multiplicity of solutions were employed before a distinct architectural treatment began to emerge that identified the complexes in both London and Dublin as emerging from the same source. In Dublin the DADC built the first Guinness Trust housing at Thomas Court on the

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19. <sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 19, 50. Lumsden also suggested annual prizes be awarded for 'houses kept in an exemplary and creditable manner' which was adopted. <sup>57</sup> Benjamin Lee Guinness had formed the St Patrick's Building Company in 1865 with the intention of clearing and landscaping the Bull Alley area but died before this could be achieved. Between 1871 and 1878 local distiller Henry Roe employed the Gothic Revivalist George Edmund Street to 'restore' the dilapidated nearby Protestant cathedral of Christ Church. This ensured that there were two grandiose, religious monuments to the generosity of two of Dublin's most successful industrial families, which book-ended one of the worst slums in the city.



4 Thomas Court flats, Dublin, 1892, Meade and Company for the Guinness Trust, Dublin Fund. Photo: L. King (2012).

periphery of the Belview Buildings site (1892), comprising two three-storey, red-brick blocks of – mainly – single-roomed units with shared facilities.

Designed by Meade and Company building contractors, with revisions by Ashworth as architect, the blocks had enclosed stairwells and attempts were made to soften the elevations with the inclusion of triangular gables and modest decorative detail. Yet, these were also considered to be unsuccessful and were sold to the DADC at a loss in 1895 after criticism by Rowton.<sup>58</sup> The buildings were then acquired by the brewery for its own workers around 1901 and were managed as part of the Belview complex before being handed over to Dublin Corporation at a substantial loss in 1939.<sup>59</sup> The Dublin Trust built only one more complex before Bull Alley commenced: Dublin architect R.J. Stirling provided three parallel rows of five-storey

<sup>58</sup> Aalen, *The Iveagh Trust*, p. 23. As the Iveagh Trust archive is not accessible to the public it is difficult to establish detail around some decisions made by the Trust. <sup>59</sup> Guinness Archives, GDB/EN01/0059, 'Workmen's dwellings: general matters'. The Belview Buildings were valued at £11,473 in 1879 and £975 in 1939; Thomas Court was valued at £7827 and £3248 for the same dates.





5 Kevin Street flats, Dublin, 1894–1901, R.J. Stirling for the Guinness Trust. Photo: L. King (2012).

blocks and a bathhouse at Kevin Street in mostly small, two-room units where facilities were shared.

A variety of elaborately shaped gables and heavily projected doorways distinguish the elevations from Thomas Court but otherwise the blocks are rather crudely resolved. The first Guinness Trust complex in London, at Brandon Street (1891–1967), Walworth, was substantially larger. Nine five-storey blocks containing 190 tenements were designed by N.S. Joseph and Smithem/N.S. Joseph, Son and Smithem – with similar elevations to Thomas Court – but which were virtually indistinguishable from the designs of other housing trusts within the London area. The rhetoric of social improvement typical of the model village concept was very much evident: the complex included a range of ancillary facilities including a crèche for working mothers run by Lady Iveagh and a clubroom containing games and reading materials.<sup>60</sup> Seven more complexes were completed in London (1892–1901) using a number of architectural firms: Draycott Avenue, Chelsea (1892), and Vauxhall Walk, Lambeth (1894–1975), both by Mervyn McCarthy; Columbia Road, Bethnal

60 Frederick Mulally, *The silver salver: the story of the Guinness family* (London, 1981), p. 35.



6 Fulham Palace Road flats, Hammersmith, London, 1901, N.S. Joseph, Son and Smithem for the Guinness Trust. Copyright: Robert Freidus/George P. Landow. Courtesy: <http://www.victorianweb.org/art/architecture/homes/48.html> (2011).

Green (1892), by E.L. Pilkington; and Lever Street, Finsbury (1893), Page's Walk (1895), Snow's Fields (1897), and Bermondsey and Fulham Palace Road, Hammersmith (1901), all by N.S. Joseph, Son and Smithem. All followed a template of five- or six-storey brick blocks built in parallel rows – except for Draycott Avenue which was built around a courtyard – connected by decorative archways, bathhouses (with reclining baths) and clubrooms. Although the architectural styles were somewhat disparate, prominently displayed decorative cartouches stating the date of completion and name of the Trust formed a strong visual link between the complexes. Snow Fields and Fulham Palace Road share the closest stylistic features with the Bull Alley buildings.

The treatment of the facades, terminal gables and prominent chimneystacks

establish a distinct corporate style of architecture distinguishing the housing of the Guinness Trust from other London-based philanthropic trusts. Many of these complexes have been demolished while those surviving have been radically altered and dormer stories removed, ensuring that the Dublin scheme is the most architecturally faithful to the original designs of the Guinness/Iveagh Trust complexes.<sup>61</sup>

ARCHITECTURAL INNOVATION AND THE RHETORIC  
OF SELF-IMPROVEMENT: THE BULL ALLEY COMPLEX

As the Kevin Street flats were under construction, Edward Cecil Guinness began buying land and clearing the Bull Alley site at personal expense.<sup>62</sup> The warren of streets and alleyways was cleared, roads were straightened and new and modified street names bestowed. By the time N.S. Joseph, Son and Smithem were employed to work on the scheme the principal partner had accrued considerable experience in designing trust housing influenced by his mother, a charity activist in the East End of London.<sup>63</sup> N.S. Joseph became a driving force behind the 4% Industrial Dwellings Company (IDC, 1885–), a Jewish-run, semi-philanthropic organization established by Lord Nathan Rothschild. Rothschild was a merchant banker and Britain's first Jewish MP and it was through the IDC that his theories on workers' housing were put into practice.<sup>64</sup> The IDC focused activities in the Spitalfields area of London's East End where the population largely consisted of Jews fleeing Eastern Europe and Russia, and Irish immigrants. The company was non-sectarian and early projects included formidable looking block dwellings of which the Brady Street Dwellings, Spitalfields (1890–1978), are typical examples. Similar to the Peabody model, IDC elevations were severe as external decorative detail was sacrificed to provide a high standard of internal fittings and private facilities for all units. Internal staircases, open to the elements, provided access to four units on each landing and a resident superintendent enforced a policy of free access to each home. The *Irish Builder* voiced its disapproval that an Irish architect had not been chosen to design the scheme and, in the process, wrongly attributed the designs to N.S. Joseph's nephew, Delissa Joseph, an architect famous for work on London's underground system. It commented: 'It is rather regrettable that Lord Iveagh should have again thought it necessary to go across the water in search of an architect. Was there no practitioner here capable of

<sup>61</sup> The removal of dormer stories, at Snow Field's, for example, was to 'allow more daylight into the courtyard' while Fulham Palace also had one block removed: Gillian Aver, the Guinness Trust, letter to author, Apr. 1994. <sup>62</sup> He did so with powers he acquired under the Dublin Improvement (Bull Alley Area) Act of 1899; see Aalen, *The Iveagh Trust*, p. 27.

<sup>63</sup> Sharman Kadish, 'Joseph, Nathan Solomon (1834–1909)', *Oxford dictionary of national biography* (Oxford, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/74454>, accessed 13 Apr. 2012]. <sup>64</sup> The company changed its name to the Industrial Dwellings Society in 1952 and is still operational as the IDS, maintaining over 1,400 properties, many of which occupy the original late nineteenth early twentieth-century buildings.



7 Patrick Street Flats and shops, Dublin, N.S. Joseph, Son and Smithem for Iveagh Trust, 1901. Photo: L. King (2012).

meeting his lordship's views?'<sup>65</sup> Local expertise was employed and the Dublin firm of Kaye-Parry and Ross, who had substantial experience in the design of bathing facilities, were assigned to oversee the scheme's construction.<sup>66</sup>

The five-storey Guinness/Iveagh Trust flats were built in two stages lining Patrick Street (1901) and Bride Street (1904), negating the original proposal of four parallel blocks typical of the London complexes. The one-, two- and three-roomed units, accessed from enclosed internal staircases, provided a range of accommodation with both associated and self-contained facilities, the latter reserved for what the *Irish Builder* referred to as a 'superior class of tenants able to pay for their own separate laundry, balcony and conveniences'.<sup>67</sup> The publication also claimed that this demographic embraced a substantial number of Guinness Brewery and Jacob's Biscuits Factory employees and that a number of those displaced by the construction of the buildings had not been re-housed in the scheme as they could not afford the rents of the new dwellings.<sup>68</sup> While the buildings did not cater for the poorest of the working

65 *Irish Builder*, 30 Jan. 1901. Joseph is recorded as advising on modifications to the Belview Buildings in 1899 during discussions to erect 'Workman's dwellings' at 'Christchurch Fields', Guinness Archives, GDB/Coo6/0085, Board minutes, London, volume 1, but it is not clear if this work proceeded. 66 *Irish Builder*, 16 June 1906, credited Kaye-Parry and Ross with the design of the baths, p. 484. It's not clear how much input the Dublin company had in the design as the publication sometimes mistakenly credited Irish designers over British.

67 *Irish Builder*, 6 Apr. 1907. 68 'Housing reform', *The Irish Architect and Craftsman*, 20

classes, families earning more than 25s. per week were also disqualified from applying and, as had become commonplace with trust housing, the tenants were closely supervised and monitored.<sup>69</sup>

The Bull Alley development marks a notable architectural shift for the firm away from the barrack-like structures typical of its early work towards a more eclectic aesthetic influenced by populist styles that defined London's late nineteenth-century housing provision. The 275-foot long elevations of Patrick and Bride Streets use a vibrant red brick, feature cut stone dressings at ground floor level, incorporate decorative panels in coloured-concrete, have sash windows of varying sizes and shapes, and display striking gable ends terminating in coloured concrete cartouches stating the source of benefaction and date of completion.<sup>70</sup> Decorative brickwork and copper domes top the entrance doorways of the stairwells – a popular local motif in distinguishing significant public buildings – indicating the importance the Trust attached to the complex in the context of urban planning, and sinuous Art Nouveau style railings encircle the complex.<sup>71</sup> The overall aesthetic of the buildings has more in common with the architectural firm's mature work for the 4% Industrial Dwellings Company, Chelsea Borough Council, and City of Westminster Council as can be noted in, for example, the Grosvenor Estate, Vincent Street, 1903, the building of which ran concurrently with the completion of the Bull Alley project.<sup>72</sup> In 1898/9 Joseph's son Charles joined the practice and this appears to have been the catalyst for shifting the company's rather ponderous aesthetic towards a lighter Queen Anne inflection.<sup>73</sup>

Joseph and Smithem provided two more buildings at Bull Alley. The hostel on Bride Road is a miniaturized version of a 'Rowton House', the 'poor man's hotel' concept that Lord Rowton had successfully established in Britain. Six storeys high with a more austere elevation than that of the flat buildings, it was built in an E-shape formation with cubicles arranged off central corridors, divided by wooden partitions, eighteen inches from the ceiling. Superintendents were located on each floor, gambling and drinking alcohol were strictly forbidden and meals could be bought at cost. A dining room, a reading room, library, smoking room, tailor, shoemaker, laundry and barber's shop were also provided, underlining the contemporary discourses on cleanliness, education and social enrichment.<sup>74</sup>

Sept. 1913, p. 418. **69** Aalen, *The Iveagh Trust*, p. 68; Guinness Archives, GDB/C004.9/0002.09, 'History of the medical and social services in James' Gate, 1894–1943, by Sir John Lumsden', p. 58. **70** Seán Rothery comments that the gables demonstrate the influence of Scottish Art Nouveau architect, Charles Rennie Mackintosh, in *Ireland and the new architecture*, p. 40. **71** As Art Nouveau had little impact in Ireland, this detail is most unusual. Similar railings can be found in the company's work for 4% IDC and London City Council (LCC). **72** Work for the 4% IDC includes the Evalina Mansions (1901) and Navarino Mansions (1905); work for Chelsea Borough Council includes Sir Thomas More Dwellings, Beaufort St (1903). **73** *The Builder*, 19 June 1909, 'Mr Joseph' (obit.). For comments on shifts of style in workers' housing provision, see A. Stuart Gray, *Edwardian architecture* (London, 1985), pp 22–3. **74** A mix of permanent flat



8 Vincent Street Flats, Pimlico, London, N.S. Joseph, Son and Smithem for London City Council, 1903. Copyright Derek Harper. Courtesy: <http://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/1449939> (2009).

More ambitious, but in keeping with nineteenth-century anxieties of public health, was the provision of a public swimming pool and private reclining baths, at a time when Dublin had only one other such facility at Tara Street (1886–1986). Teresa Breathnach, in an assessment of the steam or ‘Turkish Bath’ popular amongst the Victorian middle classes, argues that bathing was another middle-class reaction to outbreaks of cholera and typhoid, but that memory of the Famine must also be considered as a catalyst for similar provisions in Ireland:

The bath was regarded as a tool for the moral and physical advancement of society and was seen to play a part in the civilization of the ‘masses’, and in turn in the maintenance of the status quo. This was not simply about the shaping of their own class culture, but also about the control of others, an assertion of middle-class dominance.<sup>75</sup>

As principal Guinness medical officer, bathing had been of concern to Lumsden for some years. The Belview Buildings were provided with reclining baths for women and children and were opened up to all employees and their families in 1903. By July of that year it was noted, with some concern, that the facility, which could accom-

modation with temporary hostel accommodation had already been tried, albeit unsuccessfully, by Dublin Corporation at Benburb Street (1887). <sup>75</sup> Teresa Breathnach, ‘For health and pleasure: the Turkish Bath in Victorian Ireland’, *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 32:1 (2004), pp 162–3.



9 Iveagh Hostel, Bride Street, Dublin, N.S. Joseph, Son and Smithem for Iveagh Trust, 1901. Photo: L. King (2012).

modate up to 100 people per week, had no clients some weeks and a maximum of eleven on others.<sup>76</sup> The Iveagh Baths were erected on land donated by Dublin Corporation and unlike the flats or hostel were intended as a public amenity providing bathing facilities (reclining baths, showers and foot baths), a 65 x 30 foot swimming pool for leisure and exercise, and a viewing gallery at mezzanine level, which ensured the pool was popular for local sporting competitions. The building is recognizably similar to both the flats and the hostel but the asymmetrical frontal elevation is the most striking of the three: featuring a bold archway topped with decorative panels, a copper dome and cut-stone dressings, Seán Rothery suggests that it is typical of an English Art Nouveau style formulated by Charles Harrison Townsend (1851–1928) who designed the striking Bishopsgate Institute (1895) and Whitechapel Art Gallery (1896) in London's East End.<sup>77</sup>

The two-and-a-half acre park between the Bull Alley buildings and St Patrick's Cathedral displaced the numerous street traders who operated stalls in the immediate area and, protected by royal charter, an alternative site had to be provided. The Iveagh Market (1906) was built at some distance from the other facilities at the edge of a

<sup>76</sup> Guinness Archives, GDB/PE03.01/0350, 'Women's baths, Belview'. <sup>77</sup> Rothery, *Ireland and the new architecture*, p. 34. The building was sold to Dublin Corporation in 1951, after having been on loan to the municipal authorities for some years. The Corporation cited falling numbers and structural damage before deciding to close the baths in 1985. The building is now a privately owned leisure centre with very little remaining of the original internal design.



10 Iveagh Baths, Bride Street, Dublin, N.S. Joseph, Son and Smithem for Iveagh Trust, 1906. Photo: L. King (2012).

DADC estate (1882) on nearby Francis Street and reflects another dimension to the discourse on health and hygiene: the selling and disposal of foodstuffs. This particular model had been championed by Burdett Coutts who provided a Gothic-revival style indoor food market (1869–86)<sup>78</sup> for local traders at Columbia Market, Bethnal Green, placed at a distance from her housing provision at Columbia Square (1859). Part of Burdett Coutts' motivation was 'to harness the disorder of the streets', and similar pleas to provide an alternative to outdoor trading were commonplace in Dublin by mid-century.<sup>79</sup> An enclosed fruit and vegetable market had been built at Mary's Lane (1892), designed by Spencer Harty and replacing the notorious Old Pill Lane market, while the Pim family had invested in an enclosed, arcaded market at South Great George's Street (1881), designed by Lockwood and Mawson. The Iveagh Market, designed by a British architect living in Dublin, Frederick G. Hicks, is Neo-Classical in design and therefore radically different in style to the other buildings. It

<sup>78</sup> These are the dates the building was operational as a market. The building's original purpose proved unpopular as local traders preferred to sell outdoors and it was subsequently turned into warehouses and workshops. It was demolished sometime between 1958 and 1961: see <http://archiseek.com/2012/1869-columbia-market-dwellings-london/> [accessed: 05.05.12]. <sup>79</sup> Susan Lewis 'The artistic and architectural patronage of Angela Burdett Coutts' (PhD, Royal Holloway, University of London, Jan. 2012), p. 20; *Irish Builder*, 1 Feb. 1859. Edel Sheridan argues that Dublin markets came under scrutiny from the seventeenth century onwards as a cause for concern: 'Designing the capital city: Dublin, c.1660–1810' in Brady and Simms (eds), *Dublin through space and time*, p. 78.



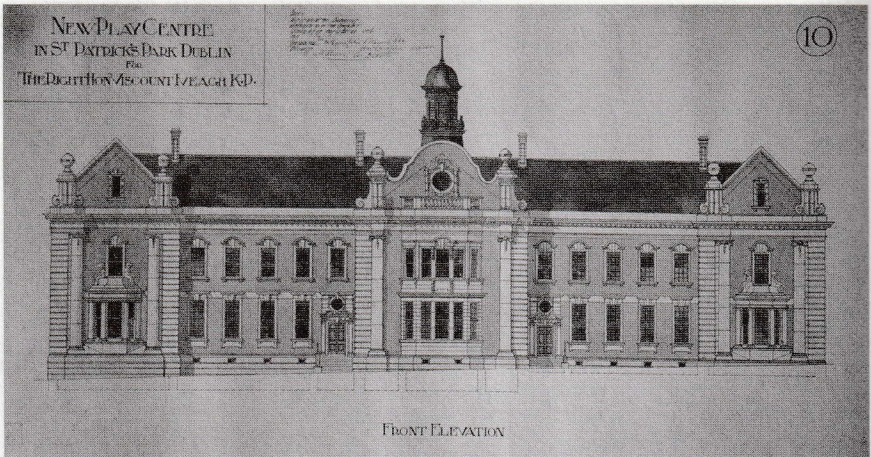


II Iveagh Market, Francis Street, Dublin, FG Hicks for Iveagh Trust, 1905. Photo: L. King (2012).

specialized in the sale of old clothes and bric-a-brac in the front section of the building – which contained some enclosed units similar to those in a contemporary shopping centre – and the sale of fish and foodstuffs at the rear. A disinfecting chamber and washhouse to launder goods were provided and on completion the building was handed over to Dublin Corporation, which had the responsibility of monitoring the city's markets.

The final building of the complex, The Iveagh Play Centre (1915), provides the fourth elevation of the Bull Alley site and was conceived as a community centre and educational facility designed by Dublin-based architects McDonnell and Reid. It was influenced by the People's Palace, Mile End, East London (1887), a facility established for the working classes to which Edward Cecil Guinness had donated monies. It combined popular entertainment with education, technical tuition and entertainment in the form of a concert hall, library, swimming pool, gymnasium and winter garden.<sup>80</sup> Known locally as the 'Bayno' – from the word 'beano' meaning feast – the Iveagh Play Centre similarly consisted of an assembly room, gymnasium and classrooms, providing skills training and after school care and meals – buns and cocoa – for local children from the ages of three to fourteen. Architecturally, its Flemish Baroque design bears no resemblance to the other buildings in the complex but its

80 For a contextual study of the origins of the People's Palace, see: Simon Joyce, 'Castles in the air: the people's palace, cultural reformism and the East End working class', *Victorian Studies*, 39:4 (Summer, 1996), pp 513–38.



12 Iveagh Play Centre, Bull Alley, Dublin, original drawing by Mc Donnell and Reid for Iveagh Trust, 1906. Photo: L. King with permission of the Iveagh Trust.

appearance is in keeping with the grandioseness of its British archetype. The Play Centre was based on an earlier project founded by Edward Cecil Guinness on Francis Street (1909), the popularity of which inspired the construction of the larger building. The Play Centre remained in high demand until the 1950s when the city centre became heavily depopulated in the wake of the Corporation's suburban housing schemes.

The range of facilities provided at Bull Alley and the rhetoric of social improvement they reflected were extraordinary within philanthropic provision generally and are more typical of – and in some cases exceed – provision within the model village concept. Almost all the buildings are still in use and broadly in the manner for which they were intended. The housing and hostel have undergone substantial refurbishment and units are much sought after, the baths were privately sold (1990) and now comprise – substantially altered internally – a leisure centre, while the Play Centre was sold to Dublin Vocational Education Committee (1977) and became the Liberties College. The Market has been the only casualty: sold off by the Corporation c.2000 and rejected for conversion into a hotel, it is now derelict.

#### CONCLUSION: GIFT GIVING AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

As others have argued, the study of philanthropy is a complex weave, reflective of personal and societal concerns that have broad cultural impact. The motivations of nineteenth-century industrial philanthropists have long been problematized and it has often been argued that the establishment of the Guinness/Iveagh Trusts 'bought' titles for Edward Cecil Guinness and eased his passage through Victorian society; the

fact that he was made Baron Iveagh (1891), Viscount Iveagh (1901) and Earl of Iveagh (1919), certainly supports this thesis.<sup>81</sup> In choosing to make a public announcement in the press and establishing a housing trust bearing his name while he was still alive, Edward Cecil Guinness replicated the actions of Peabody, combining genuine civic concern with the desire for public recognition. While this strategy was not unusual in the nineteenth century it was not without disapproval and the American benefactor was criticized at his own funeral for his 'ambition' and 'ostentation' in this regard.<sup>82</sup> From an historical distance, it is impossible to be clear as to an individual's exact intentions, whether they were acting in their own interest, altruism or both. Depending on perspective, the Bull Alley scheme can be alternately 'read' as symbolic of working-class containment or, conscious of the area's extreme poverty, segregation in support of the rhetoric of self-improvement.<sup>83</sup> This theory is supported by local folklore; in 1980 one resident offered: '... to get one of these places [Iveagh Trust flat] your father would have to be an artisan ... they [the flats] compared as palaces against living in the slums of Dublin'.<sup>84</sup> Edward Cecil Guinness's donation was incredibly generous, the facilities he financed had a positive and lasting impact on the fabric of Dublin life, but the emphasis on social conformity that trusts like Guinness/Iveagh espoused ensured that access to quality housing, leisure, educational and trading facilities came at a price for individuals and society. Marcel Mauss argues that gift giving always has a 'contractual' exchange value and that with the acceptance of a gift are expectations of a reciprocal payment: 'In theory such gifts are voluntary but in fact they are given and repaid ... the transaction itself is based on obligation and economic self-interest'.<sup>85</sup> Mauss' comments have a particular resonance with regard to philanthropic gestures as he states:

**81** In 1903, King Edward VII visited the hostel, then under construction, while in 1911 King George V and Queen Mary visited the Francis Street play and education centre, which may have had some bearing on Edward Cecil Guinness's accolades. **82** Robert Winthrop, philanthropist, politician and friend criticized Peabody for not having '... a pre-eminent measure of that sort of charity which shuns publicity, which shrinks from observation, and which, according to one of our Saviour's well-remembered injunctions, "doeth its alms in secret"', cited in Morris, 'Changing perceptions of philanthropy', p. 50. **83** Prunty argues that nineteenth-century urban Dublin produced 'geographical segregation' emblematic of 'social stratification and class self-consciousness' and that each social group was 'anxious to place an indisputable distance between themselves and those beneath them, further enforcing class distinctions', 'Improving the urban environment', p. 167. **84** Department of Irish Folklore, UCD, Urban Folklore Project, NFC\_2002\_201-4, Móna Ní Ailbheartaigh, interview with Ambie Collins, Iveagh Trust, New Bride Street, 26 Mar. 1980. **85** Marcel Mauss, translated by Ian Cunnison, *The gift: forms and functions of exchange in archaic societies* (London, 1966), p. 1. While Mauss was primarily concerned with the history of gift exchanging and contemporary systems in Polynesia, Melanesia, and north-west America, he notes '... the same morality and economy are at work, albeit less noticeably, in our own societies, and we believe that in them we have discovered one of the bases of social life', p. 2.

The gift not yet repaid debases the man who accepted it, particularly if he did so without thought of return . . . charity wounds him who receives, we must always return more than we receive; the return is always bigger and more costly.<sup>86</sup>

These observations are particularly interesting when the implicit and explicit connections between the Guinness Brewery, Edward Cecil Guinness, and the Guinness/Iveagh Trust are considered. It is impossible to ascertain the exchange value of this philanthropic gesture but at the very least the buildings were the visible and constant reminder of the munificence of an individual benefaction as linked to a specific industrial concern and a popular commodity. The architectural evidence of this relationship can be understood as suggesting an innate understanding of brand identity and corporate advertising in an age before such concepts were formally articulated. Barry Berdoll comments that by the end of the nineteenth century 'business and industry also began to assert claims through the manipulation of architectural imagery, exploiting the urban prominence of buildings such as factories and warehouses with a nascent sense of advertising' and cites breweries as being one of the industries most prone to this strategy.<sup>87</sup> In outlining the 'kindness of the late Lord Iveagh', the interest he took in 'his men' and the recognition of this by employees and 'the general public in Ireland', Lumsden reflected on almost fifty years of service to Guinness, stating: 'The "human touch" as a matter of "good business" and the "employer's conscience" have never been lost sight of, and I venture to think, quite apart from the humanitarian standpoint, it has been a splendid advertisement.'<sup>88</sup>

The Guinness/Iveagh Trust Buildings and the Guinness Brewery bookend a compact area of Dublin's city centre, providing permanent and monumental reminders of Dublin's premier industry. The Bull Alley buildings are conspicuous – unlike the Belview, Rialto, Thomas Court and Kevin Street buildings – and concretize specific nineteenth-century values and anxieties, imported into a city that was on the cusp of seismic change and social and political revolution. Post-Independence, different perspectives on block housing emerged and this model of housing became the domain of the poorest in society. Nonetheless, the work of the Guinness/Iveagh Trust and the Guinness Brewery serve as a visible and tangible reminder of the influence of philanthropy on the development of municipal housing strategies in the move towards a welfare state.<sup>89</sup>

**86** *Ibid.*, p. 63. **87** Barry Berdoll, *European architecture: 1750–1890* (Oxford, 2000), pp 275–6. **88** Guinness Archives, GDB/C004.9/0002.09, Lumsden, 'History of the medical and social services in James' Gate, p. 1. **89** The Iveagh Trust continued to build. Projects include the Iveagh Gardens – 136 cottages – in Crumlin (1926–36) and 112 sheltered units in Rathmines (1960–73). Recently it has focused on maintaining and improving the original buildings but has also taken ownership of some new building programmes including the 50-unit Eleveden House, Cork Street (2010), 130 units at Clongriffin, north Dublin, 110 units at Applewood, Swords. The organization currently houses 1088 people: *The Iveagh Trust, annual report*, 2010, p. 10. The Guinness Trust, London, is now the Guinness Partnership and operates nationally. It has provided 60,000 homes for 120,000 people.