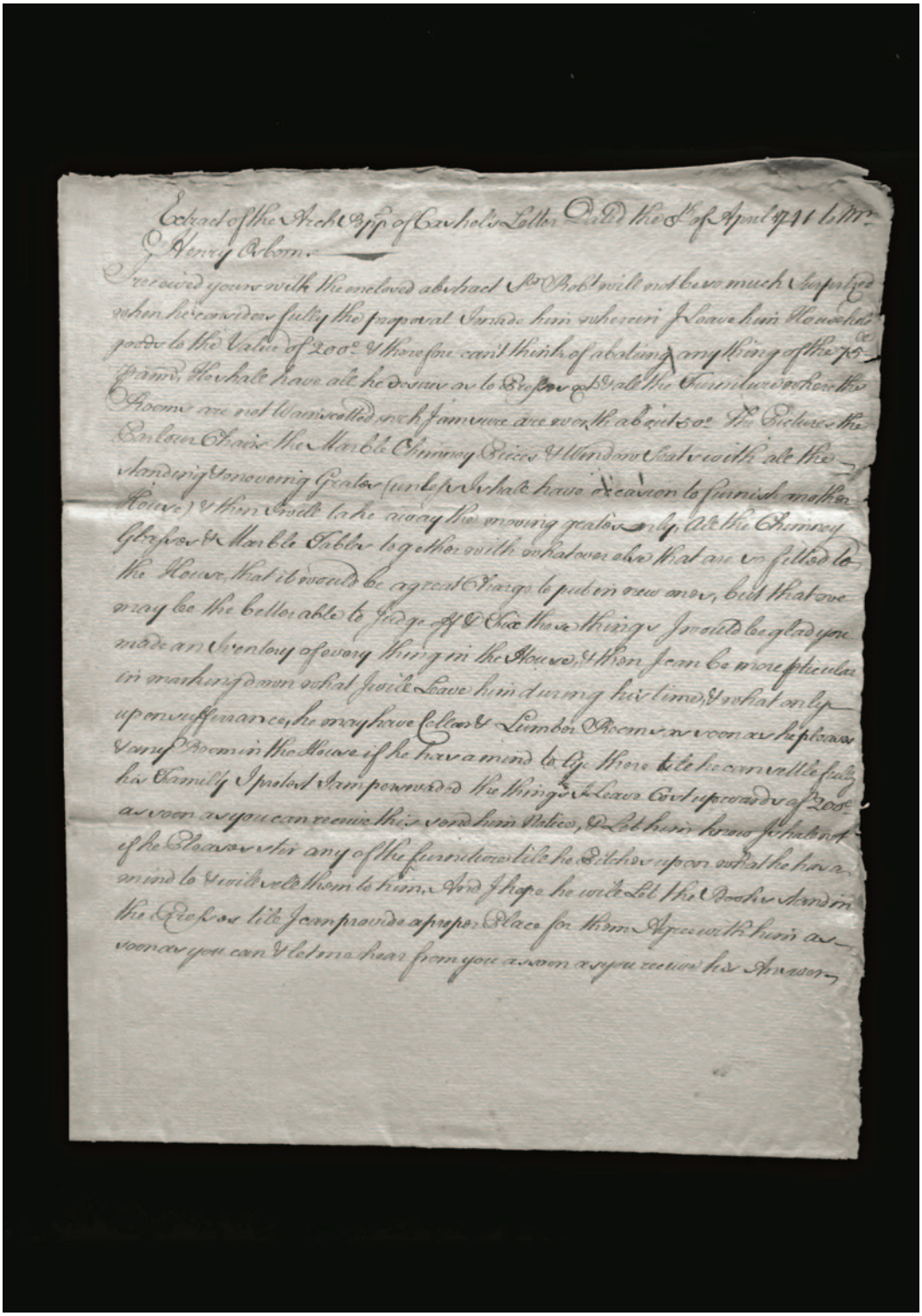


Extract of the Archbpp of Cashels Letter Dated the 8th of April 1741 to Mr Henry Osborn

I receivd yours with the enclosed abstract & Bob will not have much surprise when he can view fully the perpetual Inmate him wherein I leave him Household goods to the Value of 200li & therefore cant think of abating any thing of the 75li p Annm, He shall have all he desires in lieu of Dale the Furniture of those Rooms are not Wainscotted such Furniture are worth about 50li The Pictures the Carlean Chairs the Marble Chimney Pieces & Window Seats with all the standing Moveing Goods (unless he shall have occasion to furnish another House) & then I will take away the moveing goods only, All the Chimney Glasses & Marble Table together with whatever else that are so fitted to the House, that it would be a great Charge to put in new ones, but that one may be the better able to Judge of & Value these things I would be glad you made an Inventory of every thing in the House, & then I can be more particular in marking down what I will Leave him during his time, & what only upon performance, he may have Cellar & Lumber Rooms as soon as he pleases & any Room in the House if he have a mind to lye there till he can build for his Family I plead I am perswaded the thing & Leave Cost upwards of 200li as soon as you can receive this send him Notice, & Let him know whether he will accept of the Pleasure for any of the Furniture till he & I shall agree upon what he have a mind to & will take them to him, And I hope he will Let the Books stand in the Press till I can provide a proper Place for them Agree with him as soon as you can & let me hear from you as soon as you receive his Answer

House refurbishment in mid-eighteenth-century Dublin

BRENDAN TWOMEY

In March 1747, Mrs Ann Bolton, widow of the recently deceased Theophilus Bolton, Archbishop of Cashel, received a one-page memorandum headed 'Tradesmen's Bills for Work done at the House in Queen Street Tenanted by Sir Robt. Echlin'.[1] The document concluded: 'Madam I have read over the above files & do believe they are right, they amount in all to £109: 16: 7½ which ought to be paid to Mr Mathews to be by him applied to Discharge the Sevl. Tradesmen.'[2] The preparation of these 'files' represented the penultimate stage of a project to carry out an extensive set of repairs to Bolton's house on Queen Street in the Smithfield area of Dublin. The final step took place some three months later when Edward Mathews duly 'applied' the payments to the tradesmen. While the works had taken place the previous July and August, the negotiations between the then property owner, Archbishop Bolton, and his putative tenant Sir Robert Echlin had started at least as far back as 1741 (Plate 1). This article is based on an archive of twelve documents that represent the surviving papers for these works. They contain details of pre-letting correspondence, an estimate of costs, a summary of the final costs, and nine of the ten tradesmen's bills. The archive is however incomplete as it does not include the final tenancy agreement, contractual documentation, technical specifications or drawings that might have been generated over the course of the works.

This article seeks to bridge the gap between studies that have focused on the architecture and construction of grand or prestigious buildings and those typical Dublin town houses that featured widely across the city. It also contributes to a more nuanced understanding of house typologies in eighteenth-century towns and cities, drawing on recent scholarship that has examined these houses in terms of patterns of occupancy, use of internal spaces, and their design, finance, construction and maintenance.[3] The first part of this article discusses the understudied (or, as William Baer has put it, the 'largely ignored') topic of the eighteenth-century urban landlord-tenant relationship.[4] The second part reviews each of the documents in the Bolton/Echlin papers and relates their contents to contemporary building and business practices.

1 – Copy of letter from the Archbishop of Cashel to his agent, Henry Osborne, in April 1741, outlining the conditions for the house rental

In the eighteenth century, most urban dwellers of all classes were tenants, lessees, lodgers or renters.[5] The duration of these rental or tenancy agreements or leases could vary from days to years, and on occasion could endure for decades. In many instances the landlord was also a long-term leaseholder who sub-let all or part of their holding. Many urban dwellers were therefore simultaneously both a tenant, paying rent to a head landlord, and a landlord collecting rent from their tenants. These rental agreements could relate to an entire house, including the family reception and living quarters, business offices and servants' quarters, as well as a garden, stabling and facilities for horses and carriages, and in many instances on-site workshops, malt houses and factories. Tenancy, rental and lodging agreements that extended to only a single floor or room, or for access to a shared bed within a room were also common. Hogarth's 1736 engraving *The Distressed Poet* presents an enduring contemporary image of the cramped, one-room garret accommodation that was the norm for many in the eighteenth-century urban environment.[6] Being a long-term tenant was therefore an unexceptional experience in this period, even for members of the upper echelons of society. In Dublin it was standard practice for the rural gentry and for non-Dublin-based members of parliament to rent houses, either furnished or unfurnished, for up to six months during the biannual parliamentary season. There was also considerable churn in this market as urban renters and tenants moved frequently. For example, Jonathan Swift moved from one London lodging to another in 1710-13 in search either of a better price, a more convenient location, superior facilities, or, on occasion, simply to find a more accommodating landlady.[7] The Bolton/Echlin house is an example of one such long-term tenancy, as it endured from about 1741 to at least 1756.[8]

2 – Bishop's palace, Cashel, Co Tipperary (1732), designed by Edward Lovett Pearce for Archbishop Bolton
(© National Library of Ireland / Lawrence Collection, 1865)

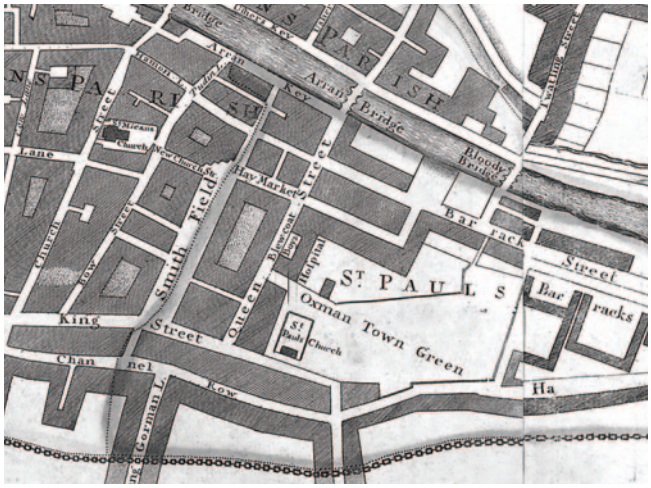
3 – Cashel cathedral chapter house designed by William Tinsley, home of the Bolton Library since 1836
(photo: Alamy)

opposite 4 – Charles Brooking, 'A prospect of the City of Dublin from the North' (1728)
detail from A MAP OF THE CITY AND SUBURBS OF DUBLIN
(© Royal Irish Academy)

It is not clear when Archbishop Bolton acquired an interest in the Queen Street property. He had held several ecclesiastical appointments in Dublin before being appointed Bishop of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh in 1722 and, two years later, Bishop of Elphin. In 1730 he was translated to the archbishopric of Cashel, which he held until his death. There he built a new palace designed by Edward Lovett Pearce (Plate 2), and on his death bequeathed his enormous collection of 8,000 volumes for the use of the diocese (Plate 3) .[9] Besides his palace and the Queen Street house, he also had a dwelling on St Stephen's Green, where he died in January 1744.[10] Bolton was therefore an experienced operator in the property world of early eighteenth-century Ireland.

The tenant, Sir Robert Echlin, 2nd Baronet, was the son of Robert Echlin, MP for Downpatrick, 1692-93, and Newry, 1695-1706. In 1729 Sir Robert and his wife Elizabeth Bellingham settled in Kenure House in Rush, adjacent to other property he owned there, and in Balrothery, county Dublin.[11] He was a typical man of business of the ascendancy class. In 1738 he was one of the subscribers for the building of the new theatre in Smock Alley, along with other notables such as James Grattan and Dr Richard Helsham.[12] Although Rush was but seventeen miles from Dublin, a residence in the city might have been considered necessary, and this may have prompted his initial negotiations with Archbishop Bolton for the Queen Street house in 1741.

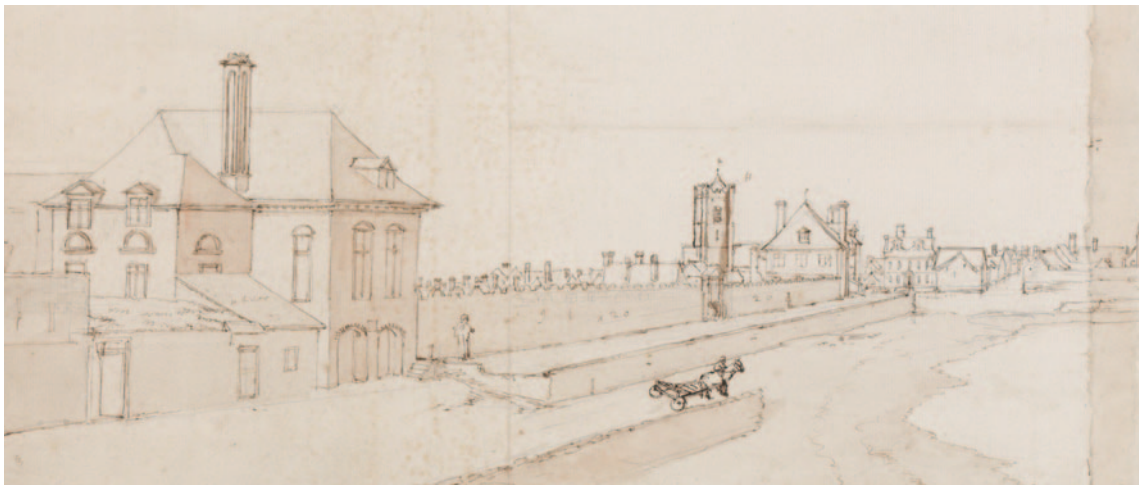
With so many buildings subject to tenancies of varying duration, it could be far from clear as to who was responsible for ongoing maintenance and for conserving the fabric of the building. In general, for lengthy tenancies the tenant was responsible for maintenance, while for shorter lettings the landlord undertook such works. Not surprisingly, the incentive for the leaseholder to engage in expensive maintenance and refurbishment diminished as the termination date of the lease approached.[13] The need to refurbish houses to make them attractive for the rental market was a staple of contemporary rental advertisements. In 1755 Adam Fitz-Adam noted how 'I have observed that many of the sagacious landlords of this great metropolis who let lodgings, do at the beginning of the winter, new vamp, paint and stucco the fronts of their houses, in order to catch the eyes of passengers, and engage lodgers.'[14]



5 – Charles Brooking, A MAP OF THE CITY AND SUBURBS OF DUBLIN, 1728
(© Royal Irish Academy)

6 – Francis Place (1647-1728), DUBLIN FROM THE WOODEN BRIDGE (1690s)
(© National Gallery of Ireland)

This complex, pervasive, and, on occasion, decades-long interaction between urban landlords and their tenants remains a largely under-explored topic in both Irish and British urban history.[15] Issues to be researched include the link between the rental market and economic cycles, the details of rebates or rent reductions that would apply after improvement or maintenance expenditure, and the application of restrictive covenants on refurbishment, usage and sub-letting. This relative lacuna is in contrast with the extensive studies devoted to the rural landlord-tenant relationship, as well as the issue of nineteenth-century urban housing conditions in Ireland.[16] Though the country house has been well studied, the number of such houses pales in comparison to the thousands of more modest owner-occupied or rented town houses that were built in Dublin and in other Irish cities and towns over the course of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[17] A perusal of contemporary urban visual panoramas, such as the Brookings' Dublin map of 1728 (Plate 4) or the Francis Place drawings from the 1690s (Plate 6), and Van der Hagen's views of Waterford and Drogheda, show not just the well-known features of the



towers and spires of churches and civic buildings, but also the serried ranks of terraced, narrow houses.

Based on William Baer's assumptions for calculating the ratio of landlords and tenants in London, there could have been about 4,000 landlords and some tens of thousands of tenants, renters and lodgers at any one time in eighteenth-century Dublin.[18] These urban landlords would have included institutional landlords who oversaw extensive portfolios of properties such as those of the King's Hospital and Dublin Corporation. There were also the large property developers who managed a complex and ever-changing portfolio of land, building plots and leases of varying duration, such the Gardner, Fitzwilliam and Pembroke estates. There would also have been numerous minor private landlords. This later group included many widows, for whom property rental was a significant source of their income and for whom such ownership was an important part of their family's intergenerational financial management strategies.[19] Rental income would therefore have been a significant component of the wider urban economy.[20] In the case of the Bolton/Echlin house, the archbishop sought an annual rent of the not inconsiderable sum of £75 per annum. This rental can be compared to the annual income of about £30 for skilled tradesmen and only half that for unskilled labourers.[21] In 1786 John Trusler, in his *London Adviser and Guide,* observed that 'a private house 24 feet in front, and about seventy feet deep, two or three rooms on a floor, unfurnished, in the best streets, will let from 100 guineas a-year to 150'.[22] Dublin prices would have been somewhat lower. Short-term rental agreements could be even more expensive. In 1725 Pole Cosby recorded that his father rented a furnished house on Stephen's Green for £50 for six months during the parliamentary season.[23]

In the middle of the eighteenth-century, Dublin was by far the largest urban conurbation in Ireland. The city patriciate frequently and proudly declared their city to be second only to London within the Hanoverian empire.[24] However, the expansion of Dublin over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was fitful, and dependent on economic cycles. At its height it would have involved the construction of, at most, some couple of hundred new houses each year.[25] This level of construction activity could not

have provided sufficient work for the many hundreds of tradesmen, such as masons, carpenters, bricklayers and plumbers, that worked in the city.[26] More likely, repairs and maintenance, besides updating, extending and adapting, kept tradesmen busy.

Bolton's House on Queen Street was located in the Oxmantown and Smithfield area of the city, north of the River Liffey. It had been originally conceived in the 1660s as part of a new fashionable residential suburb (Plate 5). In the first half of the eighteenth-century the street retained its position as a relatively high-status residential area, notwithstanding the location of both cattle and hay markets in the adjacent Smithfield. The residence there of notables such as Thomas Keightley, Lady Grandison, Colonel Allen, Lady Middleton and Sir Thomas Taylour was sufficient to maintain its character. But other residents of lower social classes, such as hatters and victuallers, were also recorded there.[27] Over time the elite status of the area was challenged by the development of more fashionable districts elsewhere in the city.[28] The combination of the Phoenix Park and the military, hospital and penitentiary complexes to the immediate west and north of Queen Street, and later industrial development in the area, eventually ensured that by the end of the nineteenth century its status had declined to a point where it did not feature in the five volumes of the *Georgian Society Records* that documented the fading and endangered splendour of that era.[29]

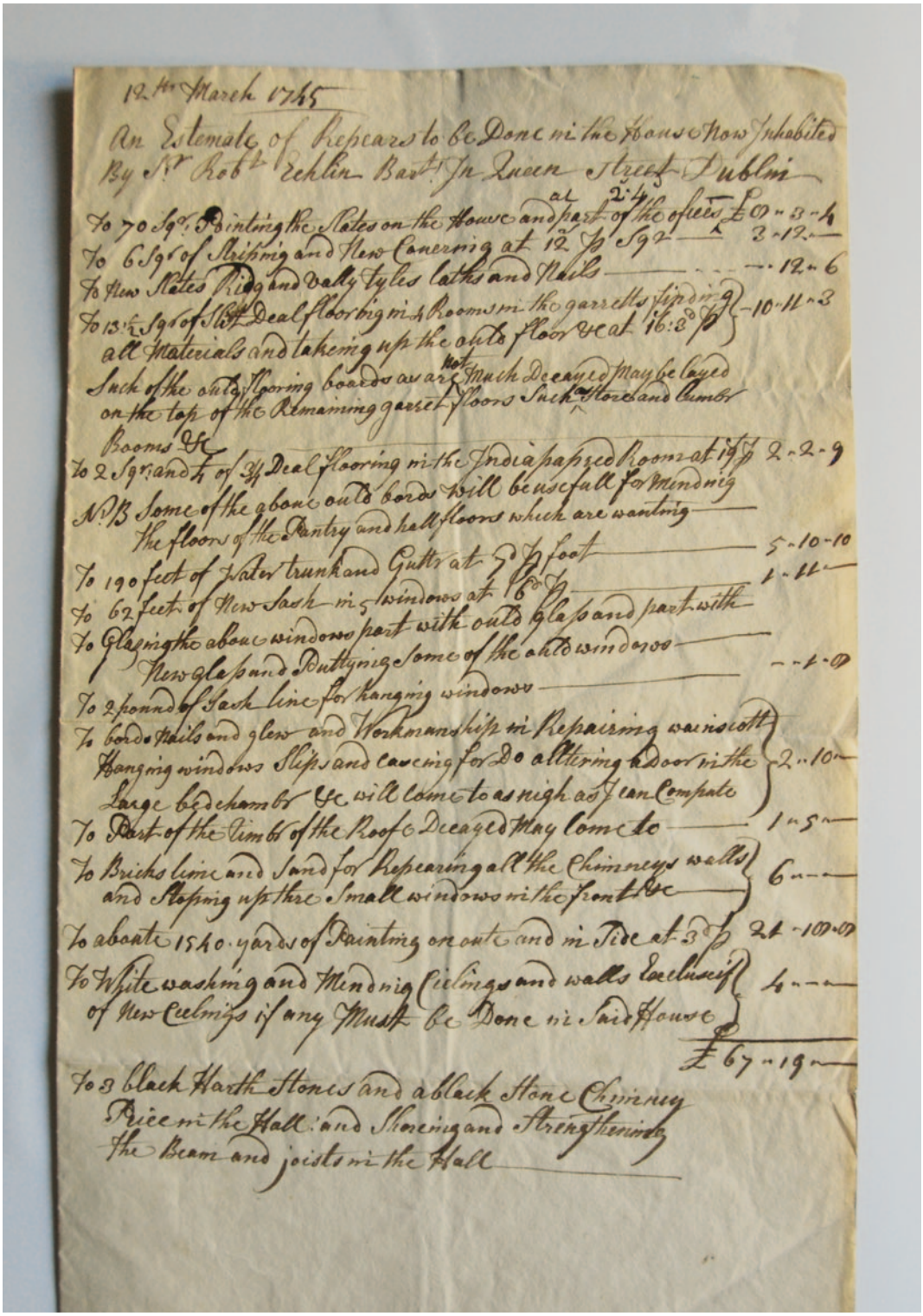
Building work had commenced on Queen Street shortly after the allocation of plots in the 1660s so it is possible that some of the buildings on its east side might have been up to eighty years old when work was carried out on the Bolton/Echlin house in the 1740s. The houses pictured in the Francis Place drawing would seem to vindicate this view, where several large structures are clearly visible in the Queen Street area (Plate 6). In addition, the estimates for repair works indicate that parts of the roof had 'decayed' and that all chimneys' walls required attention. However, it is hard to be certain, as the pace of urban development in Dublin was slow and fitful. For example, in the 1720s William Hendrick signed building leases for the construction of new brick houses in nearby Hendrick, Barrack and Queen streets.[30] The Hendrick Street houses were almost certainly newly built on vacant sites, but it is possible that the Queen Street leases might have been for the replacement of existing buildings.[31]

There is no direct evidence in the Bolton/Echlin papers to pinpoint the precise location of the house owned by Archbishop Bolton. In 1740 the churchwardens of the parish of St Paul noted that the paving in front of the 'Ld A: B: of Cashell' in Queen Street were 'so very dirty that we couud not know whether the pavment is good or bad'.[32] In March 1756 the churchwardens noted pavement damage on 'Sr. Robt. Echlins Side' in Hay Market. The 1756 Rocque map of Dublin shows a large house facing onto the north side of Hay Market, with two other buildings running up to the corner of the Queen Street and Haymarket intersection (Plate 7).[33] In 1740, when the house was advertised for sale or rent, it contained '2 great and 3 lesser rooms on each floor, [a] great staircase and two pair back stairs, stables for 10 horses and a large garden'.[34]

The negotiations for Sir Robert Echlin to rent the house began at least as far back as August 1741, when Henry Osborne, acting as the negotiator for the archbishop, was in correspondence with Sir Robert. Between 1738 and 1740 Osborne was in frequent correspondence with the archbishop in respect of book sales and other purchases.[35] Osborne

7 – John Rocque, Exact Survey of the City and Suburbs of Dublin, 1756
detail showing Oxmantown and Smithfield, with Bolton's house at the junction of Queen Street and Haymarket
(© Royal Irish Academy)

may have been related to Bolton through his wife, Ann Osborne. He is likely to be the Henry Osborne who, in 1718, was involved in the assignment of a sizeable mortgage for £1,210 with Archbishop William King, Samuel Dopping and others for land in Tyrone where he was described as an esquire with an address in Dardistown, county Meath.[36] In negotiating with Echlin, Bolton refused anything less than £75 per annum for the Queen Street premises. This large sum suggests that the entire building, outhouses, stables and garden was to be rented. These negotiations were conducted at a time of exceptionally severe weather conditions, which caused not only widespread death but also significant migration to towns and cities.[37] But what impact this influx had on Dublin property prices and houses such as Bolton's is uncertain, given that most of the demand would have been for humbler accommodation.[38]



12th March 1765

An Estemate of Repears to be Done in the House Now Inhabited By Sr Robt Echlin Bart In Queen Street Dublin

To 70 Sqrs Painting the Slates on the House and part of the offices at 2/4 pr Sqr £0-3-4
To 6 Sqrs of Slateing and New Canering at 12/ pr Sqr 3-12-
To New Slates Ridg and Valy Tyles Laths and Nails 12-6
To 13½ Sqrs of 1st Deal Floorbg in 4 Rooms in the garretts stripping all Materials and takeing up the outs Floor at 16:8 pr 10-11-3
Such of the outs Flooring boards as are not much decayed may be layed on the top of the Remaining garret Floors Such Stone and Lumber Rooms &c
To 2 Sqrs and ¼ of 1st Deal Flooring in the India papered Room at 19/ 2-2-9
N.B Some of the above outs boards will be usefull for Mending the Floors of the Pantry and hall Floors which are wanting
To 190 feet of Water trunk and Gutter at 7d pr foot 5-10-10
To 62 feet of New Sash in 5 windows at 6d pr 1-11-
To Glazing the above windows part with outs Glass and part with New Glass and Puttying some of the old windows 1-0
To 2 pounds of Sash line for hanging windows
To boards Nails and glew and Workmanship in Repairing wainscott Hanging windows Slips and causing for do altering door in the Large bedchamber &c will come to as nigh as I can Compute 2-10-
To Part of the Timber of the Roof decayed May come to 1-5-
To Bricks lime and Sand for Repearing all the Chimneys walls and Stoping up three Small windows in the front &c 6-
To abeate 1540 yards of Painting on out and in Side at 3d 21-10-0
To White washing and Mending Ceilings and walls Exclusive of New Ceelings if any Must be Done in said House 4-
£67-19-

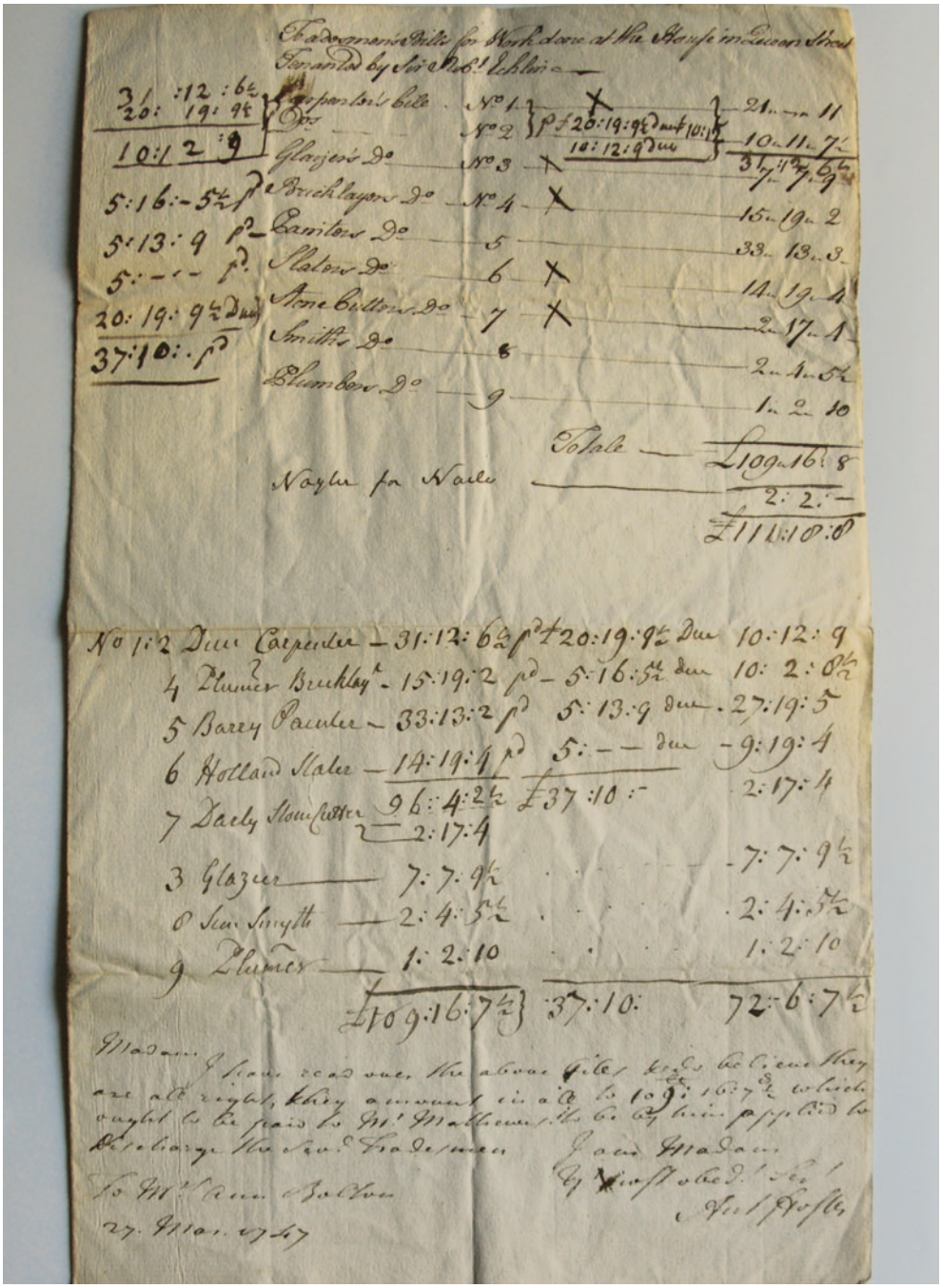
To 3 black Harth Stones and a black Stone Chimney Piece in the Hall and Shoreing and Strengthening the Beam and joists in the Hall

THE DETAILS OF THE FINAL RENTAL AGREEMENT DO NOT SURVIVE. HOWEVER, IT SEEMS that Bolton had agreed to carry out extensive repairs to the house amounting to £67 19s (Plate 8). The estimate was prepared by a Dublin carpenter, Michael Dunn who appears to have been acting as the lead contractor. Carpenters, and, to a lesser extent, bricklayers, were often the main building entrepreneurs and contractors in eighteenth-century Dublin.[39] Dunn was prominent in his trade, having been made a freeman of the city in 1734, and later represented the Carpenter's Guild on its common council from 1753 to 1756.[40] His estimate recorded fourteen separate items of work, including 70 square yards of slate pointing, 16 square yards of new deal floor covering, 190 feet of water trunking, 62 feet of new sash windows and 'about 1,940 yards of Painting'. While some of the proposed works are described and costed in detail, others had been calculated 'as nigh as I can Compute', while another had the proviso that the cost 'may come to'. Allowance was made for the reuse of 'such of the ould Flooring boards as are not much decayed', where it was proposed that they would be 'layed on the top of the Remaining garret floor such as store and Lumber Rooms &c'. Likewise, the glazing estimate took account of the reuse of the existing glass.

The estimate and the various tradesmen's bills do not provide a clear picture of the number of rooms or the layout of the house, though at least twenty separate spaces, including a large bedchamber, dining room, garrets, storerooms, pantry, halls and offices are referred to. Tantalisingly, there are references to 'the India papered room' and a 'red room'. (In this period, Chinese wallpapers were usually described as 'India papers' because of their association with the East India Company.)[41] The letter of March 1741 referenced fixed household goods to the value of £200, which included presses, marble chimney pieces, window seats and fire grates, and some furniture and paintings. Recent research has indicted that the speculative builders who built most of the eighteenth-century town houses used a relatively limited palette of layout typologies. However, this building was built in an earlier period where rooms and their layout were less standard.[42]

While Michael Dunn may have been the major contractor, it appears that project and financial management was provided by Edward Mathews. Little is known of Mathews, except that he is likely to have been resident at Abbey Street and had property interests in Drumcondra.[43] He is mentioned on most of the tradesmen's bills, and was responsible for making most of the interim payments when the repairs to the house were completed in 1746. In all, £111 18s 8d had been expended on the works (Plate 9), which represented an increase of sixty-five per cent on the original estimate (Table 1). Bills from the carpenter, glazier, bricklayer, painter, slater, stonecutter, smith, plumber and 'nayler' were itemised. Paying these tradesmen varied. Three months after they had been itemised, Mathews paid off the outstanding bills. In autumn 1746, Dunn had made interim payments to the carpenter, bricklayer, painter and slater, constituting eighty-five per cent of the total cost. The advances paid to the individual tradesmen ranged from a high of sixty-six per cent for the carpenter to a low of seventeen per cent for the painter. Granting extended credit to customers was a universal feature of the eighteenth-century commercial world.[44] The papers give no indication of the method of payment. It is likely that, notwithstanding

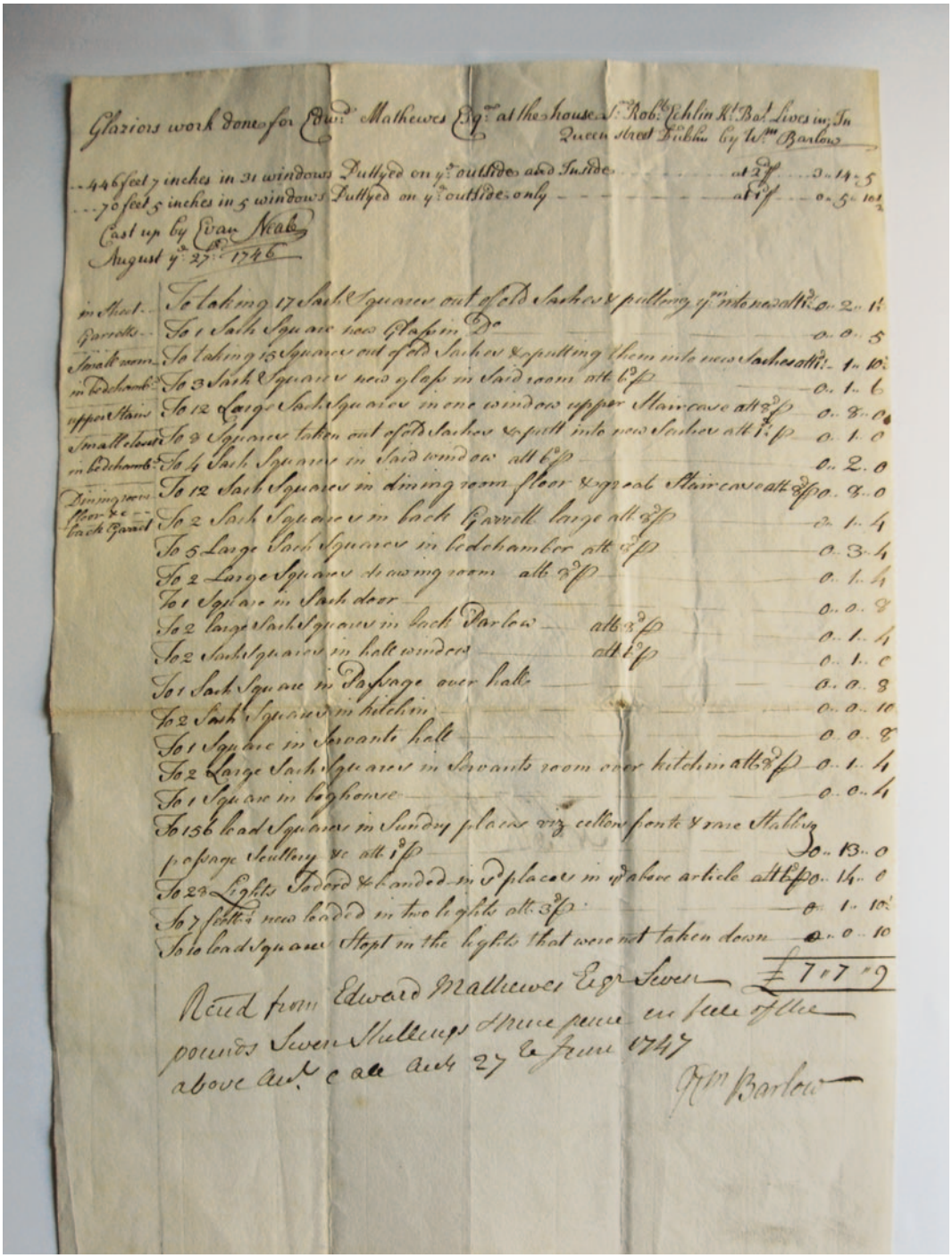
8 – Estimate prepared by Michael Dunn dated 12th March 1745 for repairs totalling £67 19s



9 – Final list of bills of 27th March 1747 prepared by Edward Mathews, totalling £111 18s 8d

opposite *Table 1 – Details of the content of the Bolton/Echlin papers*
Note: the carpenter's bill for £31 12s 6½d, which included the substantial interim payment of £20 19s 9½ d, is not among the Bolton/Echlin papers (source: Irish Architectural Archive 2022/85 Bolton/Echlin 1746/7)

archive reference	*document description*	*individual tradesmen's bills £ s d*	*% of total contract price*	*interim payment £ s d*	*% of individual tradesmen's bills*	*details*
B/E01	Copy of a letter from Archbishop Bolton to Sir Robert Echlin					
B/E02	Pre-project estimate prepared by Michael Dunn					
B/E03	Tradesmen's bills for work done at the house on Queen Street, tenanted by Sir Robert Echlin					
B/E04	Glazier's bill	7 7 9	7			Puttying at varying rates per ft (mainly 6d), + charges for removing and replacing glass
B/E05	Bricklayer' s bill	15 19 2	14	5 16 5½	36	Daily rate of 2s for the bricklayer and 1s for the labourer and direct charges for materials
B/E06	Painter's bill	33 13 3	30	5 13 9	17	Charged at 3d per ft for internal rooms and varying rates per ft for external work, plus a charge for 'cleaning the place'. Measured by Laurence Purfield.
B/E07	Slater's bill	14 19 4	13	5 0 0	33	Priced at 2s 4d per ft for existing fabric; 12s and 17s per ft for new work. Measured by Laurence Purfield.
B/E08	Slater's receipt	14 19 4				Signed by John Mc Loughlin and Thomas Holland (his mark)
B/E09	Stonecutter's bill	2 17 4	3			Priced per ft at varying rates depending on the quality of the materials
B/E10	Smith's bill	2 4 5½	2			Price specified for several pieces of work
B/E11	Plumber's bill	1 2 10	1			Price specified for several pieces of work
B/E12	Nailer's bill	2 2 0	2			Detailed list of prices by type of nail supplied



Glaziers work done for Edwd Mathewes Esqr at the house S.r Robt Tehlin Bt Bad Lives in Jn Queen Street Dublin by Wm Barlow

446 feet 7 inches in 31 windows Puttyed on y.e outside and Inside at 2d ... 2.. 14.. 5
70 feet 5 inches in 5 windows Puttyed on y.e outside only ... at 1d ... 0.. 5.. 10½

Cast up by Evan Neale
August y.e 27.th 1746

in Matt. Garretts	To taking 17 Sash Squares out of old Sashes & putting y.m into new Sashes att 2d	0.. 2.. 10	
Small room in Bedchamb.r	To 1 Sash Square two Glass in Do	0.. 0.. 5	
upper Stairs	To taking 12 Squares out of old Sashes & putting them into new Sashes att 1d	1.. 10	
Small closet in Bedchamb.r	To 3 Sash Squares new glass in said room att 1½d	0.. 1.. 6	
	To 12 Large Sash Squares in one window upper Staircase att 2½d	0.. 8.. 0	
	To 2 Squares taken out of old Sashes & putt into new Sashes att 1d	0.. 1.. 0	
	To 4 Sash Squares in Said window att 6d	0.. 2.. 0	
Dining room floor &c back Garrett	To 12 Sash Squares in dining room floor & great Staircase att 8d	0.. 8.. 0	
	To 2 Sash Squares in back Garrett large att 2½d	0.. 1.. 4	
	To 6 Large Sash Squares in bedchamber att 2½d	0.. 3.. 4	
	To 2 Large Squares drawing room att 2½d	0.. 1.. 4	
	To 1 Sq.re in Sash door	0.. 0.. 8	
	To 2 large Sash Squares in back Parlow att 3½d	0.. 1.. 4	
	To 2 Sash Squares in hall windows att 1½d	0.. 1.. 0	
	To 1 Sash Square in Passage over hall	0.. 0.. 3	
	To 2 Sash Squares in kitchin	0.. 0.. 10	
	To 1 Square in Servants hall	0.. 0.. 8	
	To 2 Large Sash Squares in Servants room over kitchin att 2½d	0.. 1.. 4	
	To 1 Square in backhouse	0.. 0.. 4	
	To 156 load Squares in Sundry places viz cellors ponte & mare Stables passage Scullery &c att 1½d	0.. 13.. 0	
	To 28 Lights Sodard & bandied in 9 places in y.e above article att 6d	0.. 14.. 0	
	To 7 Sashes new loaded in two lights att 3½d	0.. 1.. 10½	
	To 10 load Squares Stopt in the lights that were not taken down	0.. 0.. 10	
		£ 7.. 7.. 9	

Recd from Edward Mathewes Esqr Seven pounds Seven Shillings three pence in full of the above Acct & all Acts 27 th June 1747

Wm Barlow

10 – Glazier's bill of 27th August 1746 for £7 7s 9d submitted by William Barlow

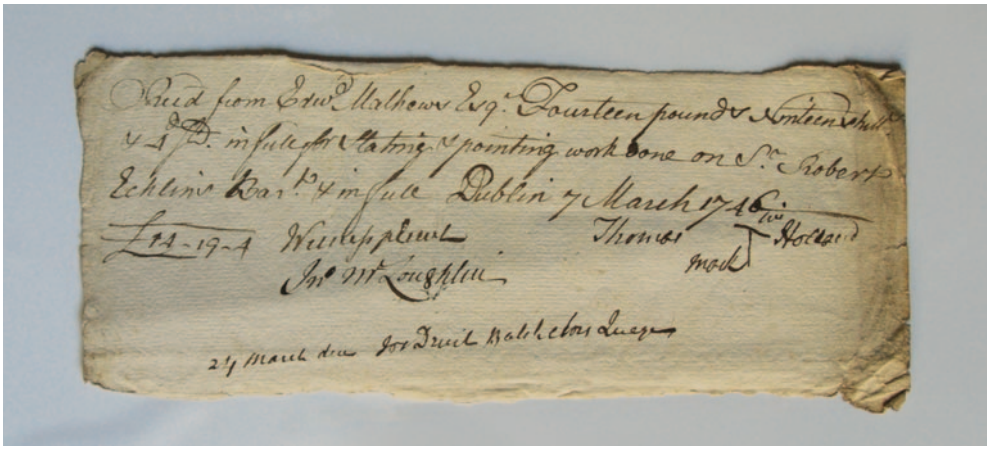
opposite 11 – Slater's bill of 7th March 1746 for £14 19s 4d submitted by Thomas Holland

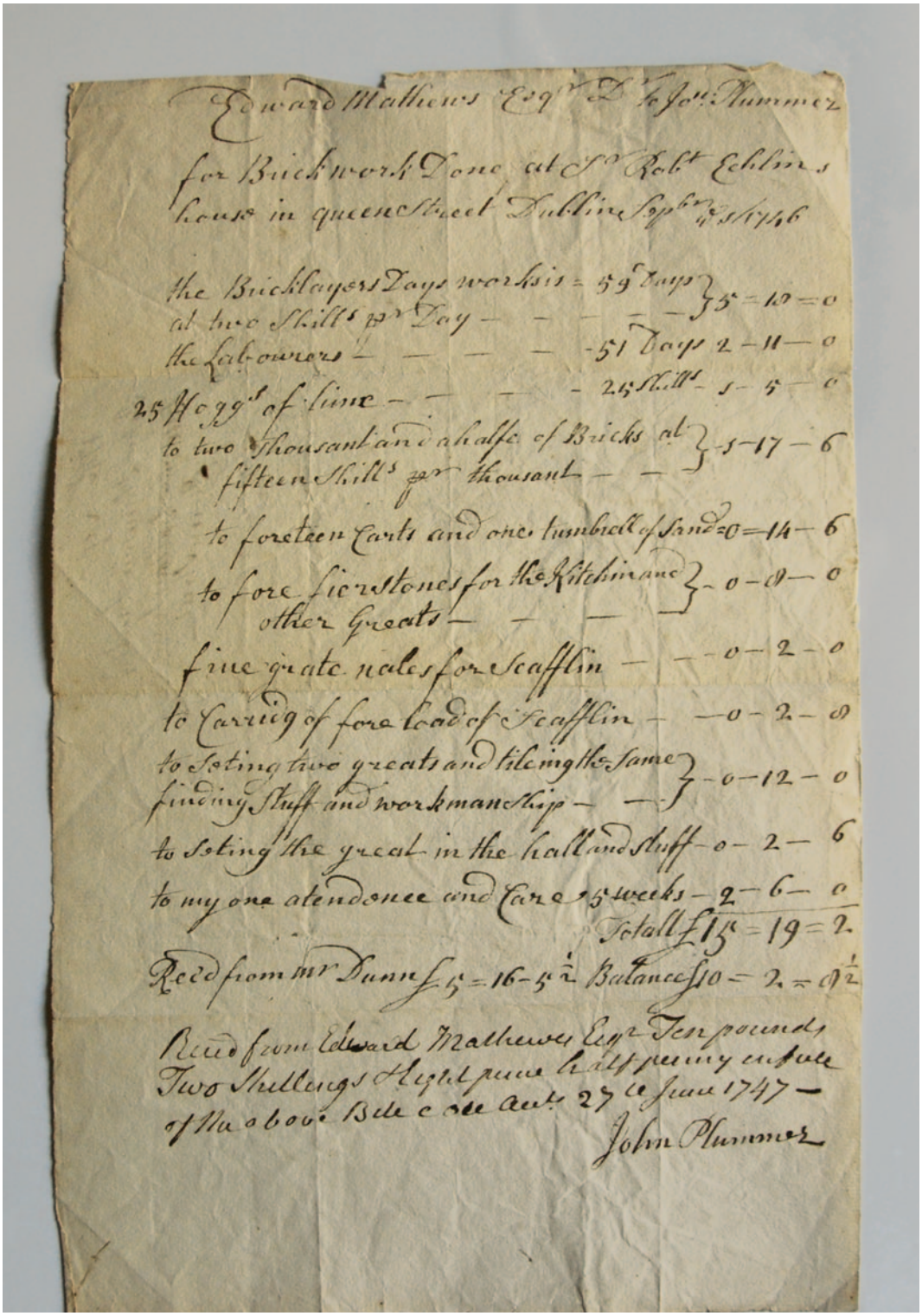
the severe shortage of coin in this period, the smaller sums were paid in cash while the larger amounts may have been paid by a bill.[45] The use of financial managers to manage disbursements was a standard practice at the time.[46]

The glazier's bill was submitted by William Barlow, although an Evan Neale is recorded as having carried out the work (Plate 10). Barlow seems to have been of a humble background, occupying rooms in Mary Street in 1737 and of a closet shared with other tenants of the Pied Horse Inn.[47] The bill amounted to the modest sum of £7 7s 9d. This total was made up of puttying work for thirty-six windows, of which a total of '446 feet 7 inches in 31 windows Puttyed on ye outside and Inside at 2d pf' and '70 feet 5 inches in 5 windows Puttyed on ye outside only' which totalled £4 3½d. The remaining £3 7s 5½d was for other work, such as removing existing glass and inserting new panes. The bill included removing seventeen old sash squares for inserting into new frames. The bill listed glazing work in a dining room, great staircase, bedchamber, drawing room, passage over hall, kitchen, servants' hall and bog house. Barlow's bill was dated 27th August 1746, which had been paid by 27th June 1747.

The core of the bricklayer John Plummer's bill was for fifty-nine days of bricklaying at two shillings per day, and fifty-one days of labourer's time at one shilling per day (Plate 12). He charged a further £2 6s for 'my one [*sic*] attendance and care 5 weeks'. This last charge implies a daily rate of only 1s 7d per day, suggesting that his superintendence was part-time. The remainder of the bill consisted of direct charges for lime, bricks (priced at fifteen shillings per 1,000), scaffolding and some repairs to 'grates'.[48] Plummer received an interim payment of £5 15s 5½d from Dunn, and acknowledged receipt of the outstanding balance on 27th June 1747. The quantity of bricks at only 2,500 is consistent with the initial estimate for repairs to the chimney and other limited work, although this amounted to an average of just forty-two bricks laid per day. Plummer resided at Boot Lane, a short walk east of Smithfield.[49] Like most of the tradesmen involved in the works, he was not a freeman of the city. He died in 1748, a short obituary appearing in *Faulkner's Dublin Journal* calling him 'an eminent bricklayer and undertaker of building'.[50]

James Barry's bill of £33 13s 3d, amounting to thirty per cent of the total cost, was for painting an area of 1,839 yards 4 feet at 3d per foot. Seventeen rooms were painted,





Edward Mathews Esqr Dr to Jon: Plummer

for Brickwork Done at Sr Robt Echlins
house in queene Street Dublin Sept 4th 1746

the Bricklayers Days worksis = 59 Days at two Shills pr Day — — — —	5	18 = 0
the Labourers — — — — 51 Days	2	11 — 0
25 Hogs of lime — — — — 25 Shills	1	5 — 0
to two Thousant and a halfe of Bricks at fifteen Shills pr thousant — —	5	17 — 6
to foreteen Carts and one tumbrell of Sand	0	14 — 6
to fore Hearthstones for the Kitchin and other Greats — — —	0	8 — 0
fine grate nales for Scafflin — —	0	2 — 0
to Carrieg of fore load of Scafflin — —	0	2 — 0
to Seting two greats and tileing the same finding Stuff and workmanship — —	0	12 — 0
to Seting the great in the hall and Stuff	0	2 — 6
to my one atendonce and Care 15 weeks	2	6 — 0
Totall £	15	19 = 2
Reed from Mr Dunn £	5	16 — 5½
Balance £	10	2 = 8½

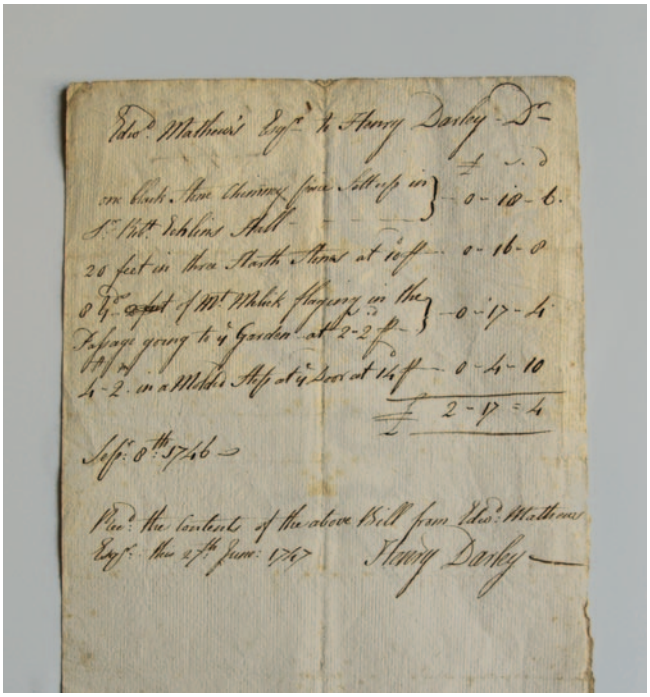
Reed from Edward Mathews Esqr Ten pounds
Two Shillings Eight pence halfpenny on this
the above Bill the 27th June 1747 —

John Plummer

13 – Stonecutter's bill of 8th September 1746 for £2 17s 4d submitted by Henry Darley

opposite

12 – Bricklayer's bill of September 1746 for £15 19s 8d submitted by John Plummer


Edwd Mathews Esqr to Henry Darley Dr

£ s. d

on Back Stone Chimney piece Setting in } - 0 - 10 - 6.
S.t Patt Dublins Hall

20 feet in the North Stairs at 10 p.f - 0 - 16 - 0

8 ½ feet of Mr Whites flagging on the } - 0 - 17 - 4
Passage going to y.e Garden at 2-2 p.f

4-2 in a Middle Aff at y.e Door at 14 p.f - 0 - 4 - 10

£ 2 - 17 - 4

Sept.r 8.th 1746

Rec.d the Contents of the above Bill from Edwd Mathews Esqr. this 27.th June: 1747 Henry Darley

including the 'Common hall & settle', several parlours and their closets, a 'tapestry room', and what was termed the 'great stairs & Lobby'. The internal painting came to £23, while the remainder was for painting windows, cornices, joists, ironwork and gutters. The bill noted that the total area did not include 'the back of the Pictures ... in the red room', nor behind 'hangings'. All had been carefully calculated by the measurer, Laurence Purfield, who was possibly a brother of the better-known William Purfield, who was also as a measurer and surveyor from the 1750s to the 1790s.[51] Barry's bill also included three days for 'cleaning ye place', work done by a labourer.

The slater's bill, submitted by Thomas Holland, totalled £14 19s 4d (Plate 11). This was costed by the square yard, and most was described as pointing. Specific areas mentioned included '2 large parlours, Inner hall, Great stairs ... the frontpiece & brick Cornice at the front to the building'. There were also references to a shed, a coal hole and a hen house. The slating work was priced at different rates. The pointing was priced as 2s 4d per foot, whereas what was described as 'new work' and 'new stuff on the cole hole' was priced at the much higher rates of 12s and 17s per foot respectively. The measurements were again confirmed by Purfield. Holland received an interim payment of £5, acknowledging it with his mark, indicating that he was illiterate. Perhaps it was for this reason that it was countersigned by a John McLoughlin. Another bill from William Barrett, a blacksmith on Pill Lane a short walk from Queen Street, amounting to £2 2s, detailed nails supplied between 16th July and 29th August 1746.

Henry Darley, the stonecutter, submitted his bill of a very modest £2 17s 4d on 8th September 1746, which was paid on 27th June 1747 (Plate 13). He was then twenty-five years old, the son of Moses Darley, also a stonemason. He was made a freeman of

the corporation at around the same time as he was working on the building, suggesting that it may have been among one of his first independent commissions after his apprenticeship. Two of his sons, John and Frederick, were to become important figures in the Irish building, stonecutting and architectural world into the nineteenth century. Darley's bill specified work on a chimney, a step and eight yards of 'Mt Melick flagging'. Darley's bill pales into insignificance compared to the £4,402 6s 5½ d he was paid for work on the new Lying-in Hospital a decade later.[52] Simon Smith, the blacksmith, charged £2 4s 5½d, which offset 2s 2d for disposal of some reusable materials. The bill was dated July and September 1746, and was acknowledged as paid in June 1747.

Shortly after the works had been completed, Sir Robert Echlin decided to dispose of his interest in the house. In January 1748 Alexander Hamilton of Henry Street, who seems to have been acting on Echlin's instructions, advertised the sale or letting of the remaining duration of Echlin's lease.[53] It may be that Echlin wished to profit from a better sub-lease on the back of the repairs to the building, or simply gave up the idea of using the house. It is not clear if the house was successfully let, for it was still referred to as Sir Robert's house in parish vestry books until the mid-1750s. But it demonstrates the complexity of the Dublin leasehold market and the potential for the quick exchange of property.

Arthur Gibney identified three types of building contract: those that paid each trade separately for quantities based on measures, a second that agreed a fixed sum for works to be done, and another that paid by the day.[54] The Bolton/Echlin works has features of both the measured and the daily contracts. The advantage of the measured contract was that both client and tradesman were aware of costs. In a period of relative price stability, this form enshrined measurement standards and, as highlighted by Arthur Gibney, an accepted profit margin for the tradesman. Quantifications were facilitated by builders' and measurers' manuals, including William Hawney's *The Complete Measurer*, which went through more than twenty editions, of which five were printed in Dublin. Towards the end of the century, Levi Hodgson's *The Complete Measurer* and *The Modern Measurer* purported to explain the specifically Irish features of this business.[55]

In 2019 Erika Hanna and Richard Butler argued that modern Irish history is truly an urban story.[56] Much of this story can, however, be traced to an earlier period, particularly the eighteenth century, when building practices and tenancy arrangements were evolving quickly.[57] This study points to the complexity of pre-letting negotiations with prospective long-term tenants, demonstrating how pre-contract estimates for proposed work were prepared, how the tradesmen's bills were collated following endorsement from a professional measurer, how interim payments were organised, and how the tradesmen were ultimately paid on the completion of the project. The Bolton/Echlin papers also record how building materials were reused and sold over the course of such works. This study confirms that the measurement practices described in contemporary building industry manuals were accepted both by clients and by their tradesmen. It shows that mid-eighteenth-century Dublin was a complex business world, where a cadre of (for the most part) literate, competent and sophisticated practitioners deployed a set of well-understood business and technical practices, which in this case has left an intriguing document trail, even for a relatively modest set of repairs.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author wishes to express his thanks to architect James Kelly for his help both in interpreting the Rocque map and the Place drawings, and also for his valuable comments on technical aspects of the tradesmen's bills in the Bolton/Echlin papers

ENDNOTES

The following abbreviations are used:

NLI	National Library of Ireland
PRONI	Public Record Office of Northern Ireland
RCBL	Representative Church Body Library
RD	Registry of Deeds, Dublin

1 This essay is based on an archive of twelve documents that was purchased by the author in 2004 from Mealy's Auctioneers. In 2022 these papers was donated to the Irish Architectural Archive, 2022/85 Bolton/Echlin 1746/7.

2 Contemporary orthography and spelling have been retained for citations from the archive and from other contemporary sources.

3 For the earlier approach, see John Summerson, *Georgian London* (London, 1945), and Maurice Craig, *Dublin 1660-1860: a social and architectural history* (Dublin, 1969). For more recent studies, see Peter Guillery, *The Small House in Eighteenth-Century London* (London and New Haven, 2004), Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: at home in Georgian England* (London and New Haven, 2010), and Conor Lucey, *Building Reputations: architecture and the artisan, 1750-1830* (Manchester, 2018).

4 William C. Baer, 'Landlord and tenants in London, 1550-1700', *Urban History*, 38, no. 2, 2011, 234.

5 *ibid*., 234-55.

6 Alexander Wakelam, *Credit and Debt in Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 2022).

7 Abigail Williams (ed.), *Journal to Stella: letters to Esther Johnson and Rebecca Dingley, 1710-1713* (Cambridge, 2013) 23.

8 RCBL, P.273.5.2, 84-85, Vestry Minute Books of St. Paul's, Dublin, 1750-1769.

9 Robert S. Matteson, *A Large Private Park: the collection of archbishop William King*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 2003).

10 *The Georgian Society Records of eighteenth-century domestic architecture and decoration in Ireland*, 5 vols (Dublin, 1910-13) II, 92.

11 RD, 92-475-65357 and 107-6-72884.

12 RD, 92-122-64093.

13 William C. Baer, 'The institution of residential investment in seventeenth-century London', *The Business History Review*, 76, no. 3, 2002, 515-51.

14 Adam Fitz-Adam, *The World by Adam Fitz-Adam, volume the third* (London, 1755) 3-4.

15 Gillian Williamson, *Lodgers, Landlords and Landladies in Georgian London* (London, 2021). The interaction between landlord and tenant are a recurring feature of eighteenth-century novels such as Samuel Richardson's *Clarissa* and Frances Burney's *Evelina*.

16 Jacinta Prunty, *Dublin Slums 1800-1925: a study in urban geography* (Dublin, 1998); Mary Daly, *Dublin, the Deposed Capital, 1860-1914* (Cork, 1984); Melanie Hayes, *14 Henrietta Street: Georgian beginnings, 1750-1800* (Dublin, 2020); Timothy Murtagh, *14 Henrietta Street: grandeur and decline*, 1800-1922 (Dublin, 2020). For discussion of rural landlord-tenant relations and tensions, see W.E. Vaughan, *Landlords and Tenants in Ireland, 1848-1904* (Oxford, 1984); Patrick J. Duffy, 'Colonial spaces and sites of resistance: landed estates in 19th century Ireland', in L.J. Proudfoot and M.M. Roche (eds), *(Dis)Placing Empire* (Aldershot, 2005) 15-40.

17 For recent English work on the town house, see Susanna Avery-Quash and Kate Retford (eds), *The Georgian London Town House: building, collecting and display* (London, 2020), and for a compendious review of the development of Irish cities in this period, see D. Dickson, *The First Irish Cities: an eighteenth-century transformation* (London and New Haven, 2021).

18 In a series of innovative articles, William Baer has applied sophisticated and modern, but not anachronistic, historical, economic, business and institutional history and urban planning perspectives to many aspects of the housing market in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century London. Baer's estimate of the scale of what he terms the all-pervasive nature of the urban landlord tenant relationship is based on the complex interactions of number of factors, including the estimated population of London in 1690 of *c*.600,000, the average occupancy rate per house at *c*.5 persons, the ratio of owners to renters at 1:3, and the average number of tenancies per landlord at 3. Baer, 'Landlords and tenants in London, 1550-1700', 234-55; *idem*, 'The house-building sector

of London's economy, 1550-1650', *Urban History*, 39, no. 3, 2012, 409-30; *idem*, 'Is speculative building underappreciated in urban history?', *Urban History,* 34, no. 2, 2007, 296-316. The above estimate for the rental properties in Dublin is based on an assumption that London was approximately six times the size of Dublin in the early decades of the century.

19 Lesley Whiteside, *A History of the King's Hospital* (Dublin, 1975); J.T. Gilbert et al (eds), *Calendar of the Ancient Records of Dublin*, 19 vols (Dublin, 1889-1944). Also Finola O'Kane, 'Spatial subversion in eighteenth-century Dublin: the suburban design practices of the Fitzwilliam Estate', *Built Environment*, 41, no. 4, 2015, 463-76.

20 Jon Stobart and Alastair Owens (eds), *Urban Fortunes: property and inheritance in the town, 1700-1900* (London, 2000).

21 For a discussion of the value of money in the eighteenth century and a translation into modern value, see Brendan Twomey, 'Personal financial management in early eighteenth-century Ireland: practices, participants and outcomes' (unpublished PhD thesis, TCD, 2018); Robert D. Hume, 'The value of money in eighteenth-century England: Incomes, process and buying power – and some problems in cultural economics', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 77, no. 4, 2014, 373-416.

22 John Trusler, *London Adviser and Guide* (London, 1786) 1-2.

23 Pole Cosby, 'Autobiography of Pole Cosby, of Stradbally, Queen's County', *Journal of the Kildare Archaeological Society*, III, 1907, 172.

24 Sir William Fownes, *A letter to the Right Honourable Humphry French, Esq.; Present Lord Mayor of the City of Dublin* (Dublin, 1733) 3.

25 Robin Usher, *Protestant Dublin, 1660-1760: architecture and iconography* (Basingstoke, 2012). The population of Dublin in the eighteenth century has been the subject of some scholarly attention; see Patrick Fagan, 'The population of Dublin in the eighteenth century with particular reference to the proportions of Protestants and Catholics', *Eighteenth Century Ireland / Iris and dá chultúr*, 6, 1991, 121-56. For example, the *Calendar of the Ancient Records of Dublin*, VII, 577, lists the number of houses in 'the several parishes of the city of Dublin and suburbs thereof, with the increase since the year 1701 ... to 1718, as taken by survey in March, 1718', noting an increase in the number of houses of only 200 per annum for the first two decades of the century. In 1718 these parish-based returns totalled 10,004 houses. At the turn of the nineteenth century the Rev. James Whitelaw, using local administrative districts as his base, reported a total of 16,234 houses for 1804, thereby implying what appears to be a surprisingly small annual increase of only 72 new houses per annum. James Whitelaw, *History of the City of Dublin*, 2 vols (London, 1818) II, Appendix 1, viii.

26 For a sense of the number of tradesmen, see Dublin City Council, Ancient Freemen of Dublin database, https://databases.dublincity.ie/freemen/advanced.php, accessed 1st Oct 2022.

27 Brendan Twomey, *Smithfield and the Parish of St Paul, 1695-1750* (Dublin, 2005); *idem*, 'Financing speculative property development in early eighteenth-century Dublin', in Christine Casey (ed.), *The Eighteenth-Century Dublin Town House* (Dublin, 2010) 29-45; RD, 2-529-612 and 57-301-38578; N.P. Hardiman and M. Kennedy (eds), *A Directory of Dublin for the year 1738* (Dublin, 2000) 194-95.

28 Loughlin Kealy et al, *The Georgian Squares of Dublin: an Architectural history* (Dublin, 2007); Melanie Hayes, *The Best Address in Town: Henrietta Street, Dublin and its first residents, 1720-80* (Dublin, 2020).

29 *Georgian Society Records of eighteenth-century domestic architecture and decoration in Ireland*, 5 vols (Dublin, 1910-13).

30 Twomey, *Smithfield and the Parish of St Paul, 1695-1750*.

31 This site was remodelled in the mid-nineteenth century, and the Smithfield Market Square apartments were built on the site in the 1990s. For archaeological reports on the Smithfield area, see Excavations.ie 2003:0581 – Smithfield, Dublin, https://excavations.ie/report/2003/ Dublin/0009761/, accessed 1st Oct 2022, and Franc Myles, 'Final Excavation Report, Tram Street and Phoenix Street, Dublin 7', 2002.

32 RCBL, P.273.5.1, 153, 158 and P.273.5.2, 84-5, Vestry Minute Books of St. Paul's, Dublin, 1698-1750, 1750-1769.

33 Paul Ferguson, *The A to Z of Georgian Dublin; John Rocque's maps of the City in 1756 and the County in 1760* (Kent, 1998) 12; John Montague and Colm Lennon, *John Rocque's Dublin: a guide to the Georgian city* (Dublin, 2010).

34 *Georgian Society Records*, III, 21

[35] PRONI, D562/ 677, Henry Osborne to Archbishop Bolton, 13th March 1738; also D562/457, D562/459, D562/ 499 and D562/456.
[36] RD, 21-379-11873.
[37] David Dickson, *Arctic Ireland: the extraordinary story of the great frost and forgotten famine of 1740-41* (Belfast, 1997).
[38] James Kelly, 'Charitable societies: their genesis and development, 1720-1800', in James Kelly and Martyn J. Powell (eds), *Clubs and Societies in Eighteenth-Century Ireland* (Dublin, 2010) 89-108.
[39] Twomey, 'Personal financial management in early eighteenth-century Ireland'; *idem*, 'Financing Speculative Property', 29-45.
[40] Gilbert (ed.), *Calendar of the Ancient Records of Dublin*, X, 501.
[41] Margot Finn and Kate Smith (eds), *The East India Company at Home, 1757-1857* (London, 2018).
[42] Neil Burton and Peter Guillery, *Behind the Façade: London house plans 1660-1840* (London, 2006); Joanne Harrison, 'Approaches to the analysis and interpretation of elite terraced houses in the long eighteenth century', *Postgraduate Perspectives on the Past,* 2, no. 1, 2016, 37-58, https://doi.org/ 10.5920/ ppp. 2016.214, accessed 1st Sept 2022.
[43] Faulkner's *Dublin Journal,* 12th February 1740.
[44] Wakelam, *Credit and Debt in Eighteenth-Century England*.
[45] John Mannon, *Waterford's Maritime World: the ledger of Walter Butler, 1750-1757* (Dublin, 2022) 35-64.
[46] NLI, Kiladoon (Clements) Papers, MS 36,013, 'Account, Feb. 1749-Feb. 1754 of disbursements made by Mr Handcock, to the artificers of his houses on Sackville Street ... the work being supervised by Mr. Ensor'.
[47] RD, 112-313-78203.
[48] London in 1787 'picked grey stocks' bricks were prices at £2 per thousand, Alan Cox, 'A vital component: Stock bricks in Georgian London', *Construction History*, 13, 1997, 59.
[49] RD, 83 38 57439.
[50] Faulkner's *Dublin Journal*, 30th August 1748.
[51] Finnian Ó Cionnaith, *Mapping, Measurement and Metropolis: how land surveyors shaped eighteenth-century Dublin* (Dublin, 2012).
[52] *The case of Bartholomew Mosse of the city of Dublin, surgeon and licentiate in Midwifery* (Dublin, 1755).
[53] Faulkner's *Dublin Journal*, 12th January 1748. For the relationship between Echlin and Hamilton, see RD, 75-238-52744.
[54] Arthur Gibney, *The Building Site in Eighteenth-Century Ireland* (Dublin, 2017) 38
[55] W. Hawney, *The Complete Measurer or the whole Art of Measuring* (Dublin, 1730); Levi Hodgson, *The Complete Measurer* (Dublin, 1779); *idem*, *The Modern Measurer* (Dublin, 1793); *idem*, *A new set of tables of solid and superficial measure* (Dublin, 1763).
[56] Erika Hanna and Richard Butler, 'Irish urban history: an agenda', *Urban History*, 46, no. 1, 2019, 2.
[57] Valerie Mulvin, *Approximate Formality: morphology of Irish towns* (Dublin, 2021).