



‘An Eel is not more slippery than an Irish Gentleman’: managing a jointly held estate in Cork and Dublin, 1778-1845

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THE ARCHDEACON FAMILY BUILT MONKSTOWN CASTLE, ‘ONE OF THE GREAT SEMI-fortified houses of the 1630s’, on rising ground overlooking the entrance into the West Passage of Cork Harbour.¹ Murrugh Boyle, 1st Viscount Blessington, inherited the castle in 1702 from Michael Boyle, the Archbishop of Armagh.² In 1758 the viscount’s heir, Charles Dunbar, of Blessington, commissioned John Rocque to survey his Monkstown estate in Cork. Well known for his eighteenth-century surveys of cities, including his famous *Survey of London* (1746), various surveys of Dublin city and environs (1756-60), *Survey of the City of Kilkenny* (1758) and *Survey of the City and Suburbs of Cork* (1759),³ Rocque also mapped the Kildare estates of James FitzGerald, 20th Earl of Kildare (later 1st Duke of Leinster).⁴ Until recently these eight volumes of Kildare townland maps were considered the only privately commissioned estate maps that Rocque had made while in Ireland.⁵ However, the 1758 estate survey of Monkstown in Cork (Plate 1), discovered among the uncatalogued maps in the Pakenham Papers as part of this research, demonstrate that Rocque worked on other private estates.⁶ Its production closely coincided with that of his 1759 *Survey of the City and Suburbs of Cork*. Rocque probably accepted the commission because it lay conveniently close to his much larger project of surveying Cork city.

Maps of Ireland in the eighteenth century generally marked the gentry’s residences, representing the place of the elite in the Irish landscape and society.⁷ Estate surveys were commissioned for different purposes – to mark succession to an estate, to settle disputes, to introduce new management strategies, to lease holdings or when property was sold. The principal objective was to determine the extent of the property in terms of boundaries or acres, sometimes with a secondary purpose of measuring land quality.⁸ Rocque’s 1758 map is the first detailed mapping exercise of Monkstown. A prestigious display object, it

1 – John Rocque, ‘A Survey of Monkstown, Situated in the County of Cork, belonging to Charles Dunbar Esq.’, 1758 (detail) (Pakenham Papers)

was designed to be hung on a wall but also had the practical purpose of establishing the boundaries, land use and extent of Dunbar's estate. It depicted such man-made features as buildings, enclosures and plantations alongside the natural topography of ridges, slopes and rivers.⁹ It provided Dunbar with an overview of his estate by relating one townland to another while marking out the field boundaries and the numbered building plots. It also depicted existing cabins, houses and churches and provided descriptions of the quality of the land.

The hallmark of Rocque's cartography was the unprecedented amount of detailed information his maps contained on the cities and landscapes he mapped.¹⁰ The *Survey of Monkstown*, hand-drawn in ink and watercolour, employed Rocque's various symbols for landscape types and land use.¹¹ Townland boundaries were drawn in deep pink lines, while the level changes across the steeply sloping terrain were depicted using hachures – lines drawn close together to represent ground in three dimensions.¹² The map provided valuable information on the extent and nature of enclosures, settlement patterns and road networks. House plans are indicated, although it is possible that many cabins were omitted or mapped inconsistently.

The title cartouche, drawn with black ink with variety in tone, incorporated a local view and allegorical figures in the bottom right- and left-hand corners, all surrounded by a delicate rococo frame of volutes and swirls.¹³ John Montague describes these cartouches as 'a kind of Rocquian signature to a work otherwise carried out by a wide range of assistants'.¹⁴ The cartouche is placed above the northern boundary of the estate beside the functional reference table, demonstrating the careful balance between decoration and practical estate information. The essential cartographical elements of the scale bar and north point were incorporated into the main sail of the ship (Plate 2a).

Rocque's *Survey of Monkstown* also highlights the spatial reach of the Parker family. Tenants of the estate, they resided in Passage West from the early eighteenth century

2 – Details of John Rocque, 'A Survey of Monkstown', 1758 (*Pakenham Papers*)

(a) showing scale bar and north point, Monkstown Castle, the castle farm and the townland of Monkstown

(b) showing Alderman Harding Parker's garden

opposite, 3 – John E. Bosanquet (fl.1854-71), *GLENBROOK AND THE TURKISH BATHS*

c.1858, watercolour (detail) (*Crawford Art Gallery*)

(from left: Royal Victoria Monkstown & Passage Baths, also known as Glenbrook Baths, with Lackeroe House to the right, Glenbrook Place, Glenbrook Terrace and Victoria Terrace further right towards Passage)





and were prominent in the life of Cork city. The garden of Alderman Harding Parker, Mayor of Cork, was specifically identified (Plate 2b).¹⁵ Park Farm, lying west of Maulbaun, was leased to Harding Parker and contained a dairy house and garden, barn, meadow, stone field and a rye-grass field.¹⁶ Michael Parker, surveyor, prominent tenant and the local agent for the Monkstown, Cork estate leased more than 136 acres.¹⁷ A 1769 advertisement for letting ‘that part of Monkstown and town of Passage (the estate of Charles Dunbar, Esq.) called Maulbawne, containing 31 acres’, asked for proposals to be sent to ‘Mr. Parker of Passage’ who would ‘send a man to shew the land’ and would also ‘faithfully transmit’ all proposals ‘to Dunbar in London’.¹⁸

When Charles Dunbar died in 1778, Thomas Vesey, 1st Viscount de Vesci, and Edward Michael Pakenham, 2nd Baron Longford, inherited this large Cork suburban estate of 1,500 acres and a similar suburban estate in county Dublin, both, coincidentally, in parishes of Monkstown.¹⁹ They jointly owned and managed these lands until 1835 when they became the sole property of John Vesey, 2nd Viscount de Vesci (1771-1855).²⁰ This article examines the transformation of the Monkstown estate in Cork from a rural agricultural landscape in the mid-eighteenth century to a coastal resort suburb by the 1830s. Its three coastal suburban towns of Glenbrook, Monkstown and part of Passage West were situated approximately ten miles south-east of Cork city (Plate 3).²¹ The Longford and de Vesci families and their important tenants, the Parker and Shaw families, influenced the design, formation and development of these nineteenth-century suburban landscapes. Tenurial conditions imposed by the estate controlled the construction of houses by speculative developers who responded to the changing market demands of Cork’s growing middle class. Streets, terraces and villas were laid out by the estate to create attractive residential environments. The article also explores how the Dublin and Cork estates differed in their respective levels of involvement and investment by the ground landlords.

Many letters had to be exchanged between the two landlords in order to manage their joint estate effectively, and such letters are particularly revealing as the ground landlords were more direct when writing to each other as equals than in their letters to agents

or tenants. Pakenham wrote to Vesey in 1787 to describe an encounter with a Mr Bateman, who had visited him at Pakenham Hall about his rent but had failed to inform Pakenham of his earlier interaction with the estate's local agent, Michael Parker, in Cork.²² In the letter, Pakenham complained that 'an Eel is not more slippery than an Irish Gentleman, if you take his word and honor for the Payment of a sum of Money'. He reassured his co-landlord that they had Bateman 'fast now' and that it would be their own fault if they did not get the correct rent.²³

When Michael Parker died in 1791, his son, Richard Neville Parker, inherited the position of agent from his father.²⁴ He built Waterview House in 1803, on land leased from lords Longford and de Vescei for three lives renewable forever (Plate 4).²⁵ As was common with this type of renewable forever lease, he quickly sublet 'Water-View House and Demesne' to his brother William Parker. In 1805 the Parker family applied for lease of the whole of the townland of Maulbaun in perpetuity, but their request was refused by the estate and in 1806 Parker was replaced as agent by the Dublin-based firm of Stewart & Swan.²⁶ In an 1814 letter to John Vesey, Thomas Pakenham suggested why when he wrote that 'a whole townland should not be let to any one family or individual' and that he 'was never in favour of granting leases in perpetuity'.²⁷ In the eighteenth century 'the most common method of managing large estates in Ireland was to split them into considerable tracts of from 100 to 1,000 acres or more, and then to give them to middlemen on long leases'.²⁸ But by 1790 it was generally accepted that 'letting out an estate to substantial, industrious, local Protestants was no longer the optimal strategy'.²⁹ This policy shift was typically implemented when large holdings fell out of lease and landlords could choose to exclude the claims of old families and to break up large holdings by giving direct leases of smaller parcels of land to those families' under-tenants.³⁰

When Pakenham and Vesey jointly inherited their Monkstown, Cork estate in 1778, Passage was 'a small place ... where all ships of burthen unlade, and their cargoes are carried up to Cork, which is five miles distant, either on cars, or in small vessels'.³¹ Consisting of a long street with some small lanes leading off it and a busy seafront with dockyards, Passage played an important role in the commercial life of Cork city in the early nineteenth century. In 1813 a ship's chandlery was set up in Passage, and by the late 1820s it was the busiest anchorage in Cork.³² The Parker's seat of Waterview House, its walled garden and surrounding land, inhibited the town's expansion. A row of small workers' houses or cottages, with no gardens or yards, faced onto Church Hill Road,³³ while south of these, three terraces faced the River Lee. Lucia Place, named after Michael Parker's daughter, was built by the family between 1800 and 1830, and they also built Rock Cottage (Plate 4).³⁴ Waterview House was sold in 1816, but Richard Neville Parker, who became Lord Mayor of Cork in 1826, regained possession of it before his death when the Parker family were still substantial landholders in Maulbaun.³⁵ Neville's brother, William Parker, imported and exported goods from his warehouses and yards in Passage and Cork city, and sublet numerous houses to tenants.³⁶ William's other property included a lime kiln, baths and a salt works, and he was responsible for the construction of a retaining wall between the river and the road at Passage.³⁷ Continuing tensions between the Parker family and the de Vescei estate were evident in 1843 when Richard Neville Parker junior requested a longer lease on ten acres adjoining Waterview. The land agents, Stewart



4 – Sherrard & Brassington, 'Survey of Monkstown, Cork, the joint estate of Thomas, Earl of Longford and John, Lord Viscount de Vesci', 1805, showing the townland of Maulbaun, Waterview House and the village of Passage (Pakenham Papers)

& Kincaid (previously Stewart & Swan), brought his letter 'by desire of Lord De Vesci before his son the Hon Thomas Vesey'.³⁸ Parker did not get the lease terms he wanted and complained that he 'thought this a hard matter to a son of an old tenant who with my grandfather managed the estate for many many years, I believe to the satisfaction of Mr. Dunbar and of your lordship & Lord Longford'.³⁹ The Parker family had 'expended thousands upon parts of the estate ... planted and cultivated land surrendered to your lordship who receives the advantage of the outlay', estimating that £7,000 has been 'outlaid at Waterview alone'.⁴⁰ Despite the slow erosion of the Parker family's control, they were still a powerful dynasty in 1846 when Neville Parker lived at Waterview, Captain Nicholas Parker lived at Bellevue, Richard Neville Parker at Bath Terrace, and Catherine Parker at Rock Cottage.⁴¹

Wealthy Cork residents began to discover Passage and Monkstown as summer resorts in the early nineteenth century, while the July fair at Passage was a major social event for residents of Cork city and rivalled Dublin's suburban Donnybrook Fair.⁴² In 1833 William Brown began construction of a dry dock called the Victoria Dock between the Beach Road and the sea on the Longford de Vesci estate. Brown's ship-building and repair business provided 'employment to a considerable number of artisans; and many other of the labouring classes'.⁴³ Bathing strands were located between Toureen and Glenbrook and at the Strand Road in Monkstown, and in June 1807 a salt-water bathing house was established near Ferry Point. The baths were extended and improved over the following years, and in 1810 a special stage coach ran from Cork to these baths three times a day. In that year, Passage was described as a 'small but bustling town' which was 'much more convenient for travellers and sea-bathing than either Cove or Monkstown', though it was still 'much in want of a few bathing machines'.⁴⁴

The important ferry crossing from Ferry Point to Cove (now Cobh) was 'the only regular one from Cork downwards', and provided 'a communication with Cove and the great island'.⁴⁵ It was 'chiefly for passengers, market goods being most usually conveyed to and from the city in boats'.⁴⁶ In 1808, a year after the salt-water baths opened at Ferry Point, the Ferry Hotel and Tavern opened.⁴⁷ In 1812 horse-drawn cabs carrying four passengers known as jingles started operating between Cork and Passage, and two years later a jaunting car started running between Monkstown and Cork, a trip which took an hour and a half. River transport between the city and harbour towns also increased, and in 1815 a new paddle steamer service started operating between Cork city and the lower harbour.⁴⁸ William Parker had a number of building plots close to Ferry Point for sale in the early nineteenth-century and insisted upon an exact uniformity in the house façades. Instead of the landlord, Parker seems to have enforced a form of planning control as head tenant, demonstrating again the family's control of the area's development.

In contrast to the terraced housing built parallel to the shoreline near the baths at Ferry Point, large detached villas on substantial grounds were built on the hillside between Glenbrook and Monkstown, and some of these were let as summer resorts for the season. Laurel Hill (c.1800) was for let in 1805, with 'offices, a garden in very good order, quite convenient to the salt water, commanding a great prospect, with two acres of choice meadow'.⁴⁹ Lackeroe House (c.1800) stood on an elevated site of fifteen acres overlooking the harbour (Plate 5).⁵⁰ In 1828 the popularity of this villa landscape was growing, and Rockville Cottage was advertised to let as 'one of the most eligible sites in Cork Harbour for erecting villas, commanding a handsome prospect of the river, fine springs of fresh water, and one of the best bathing places in Ireland at all times of the tide' (Plate 5).⁵¹ Dean's Quay, which stood at the water's edge just below Rockville Cottage, provided shelter for boats and yachts. The cottage was replaced by the present-day larger three-bay, two-storey Rockville House, described in 1838 as 'quite new, finished in a superior style of workmanship'.⁵²

The importance of sea-bathing for attracting tenants to these villas was evident in an 1825 advertisement for Rock Lodge (1813), a detached five-bay, two-storey house with private bathing facilities and about fifteen acres 'under gardens, plantations and pleasure grounds' (Plate 6).⁵³ It was built in 1813 on a long north-south plan to maximise



5 – Sherrard & Brassington, 'Survey of Monkstown, Cork ... townland of Gleen', 1805 showing Lackeroe House, built c.1800 and Rockville Cottage built c.1800, which was rebuilt as a larger house, Rockville, in 1838. The townland of Gleen was otherwise known as Lackeroe. (Pakenham Papers)



6 – Griffith's Valuation Map based on the 1843 O.S. Map, showing the townland of Lackeroe including Laurel Hill (c.1800), Lackeroe House (c.1800), Rockville (rebuilt in 1838) and Royal Victoria Baths (1838); the townland of Monkstown including Carrigmahon House (1820s) and Rock Lodge (1813).

the fine harbour views to the east, and was described in 1851 as one of 'many beautiful seats placed in delightful situations'.⁵⁴ In 1838 the appeal of the area as a resort was further enhanced by the construction of the Royal Victoria Monkstown and Passage West Baths, with gardens and a promenade on the river side of the new Glenbrook to Monkstown road, and by 1846 they had been 'fitted up with elegance and every appropriate convenience' (Plate 7).⁵⁵ Carrigmahon House (1820s) was built as the marine residence of the O'Grady family in the mid-1820s (Plate 6). Situated between Rockville Cottage and Rock Lodge on the wooded hillside overlooking the river, it was purchased in 1852 by Dr Timothy Curtin who developed it as a health resort, with an emphasis on a 'water-cure' treatment. A modern Turkish bath was installed in 1858, and in 1861 it was extended with a new suite of bedrooms.⁵⁶

Stewart & Kincaid, the Dublin-based agents for the estate from 1829, were one of the two most prominent land agency firms managing estates in county Cork in the nineteenth century.⁵⁷ They generally appointed local agents to collect the rents and to supervise improvements.⁵⁸ Joseph Kincaid stated in 1843 that on estates where the landlord was not resident, it was their practice 'to have a respectable gentleman resident managing the estate' under their 'immediate control and direction'.⁵⁹ Robert Bailey, their local agent in Cork in the 1840s, dealt with the day to day management of the estate and passed on queries from prospective tenants to Stewart & Kincaid.⁶⁰ He did not have the authority to set the terms of leases, which were negotiated by Stewart & Kincaid, who would visit the estate twice a year. This management at one remove was in marked contrast with the very active role Stewart & Kincaid played on the Monkstown, Dublin estate. There they lived and worked on the estate, investing in house-building themselves.⁶¹ Their management of the Cork estate was much more remote and impersonal.



7 – *Royal Victoria Baths, also known as Glenbrook Baths, with Rockville House behind it and Lackeroe House to the right, c.1890*
(Lawrence Collection, National Library of Ireland)

opposite, 8 – *‘Plan of Ground in Passage West, the estate of Lord Viscount de Vesce as laid out for building, G.R. Paine, 1834’*
(copied by M.H. Carroll, 1839); this scheme was not built)

On both the Monkstown, Dublin and the Monkstown, Cork estates, the ground landlords typically invested in road infrastructure to encourage suburban developments. Although the Cork investments were less substantial, improvements were made to the network of local roads and boreens, with minor access roads improved and new roads constructed. A major infrastructure project was completed in 1835, when two new sections of road along the waterfront connected Glenbrook and Raffeen with Monkstown. Foot and horse-drawn travel between Passage and Monkstown no longer had to negotiate a steep hill, and the older Strand Road and other small local roads and pathways were incorporated into these 1830s developments. A road was also cut through the Giant’s Stairs at Monkstown, ‘a rocky promontory with receding ledges of rock, having the appearance of a rude staircase when viewed from the opposite bank of the Lee’.⁶² Designed by Robert Shaw, Esq., of Monkstown Castle, its ‘estimated cost was £2700, one third of which was to be paid by the barony, the remainder by the county’.⁶³ The *Dublin Penny Journal* enthusiastically described this new road, ‘which winding around the base of all the sloping and wooded hills, and four feet only above the highest tides will unite Cork, Passage, Monkstown, Carrigaline and Kinsale, by one uniform level: and thus open and improve a large extent of country’.⁶⁴ The road’s potential to ‘open and improve’ a large area, thereby preparing it for significant residential development, was evident to the public and the ground landlords.⁶⁵

John Vesey continued to support infrastructural investment on his Cork estate as sole landlord post-1835 when he could make decisions more quickly without the need to confer with Lord Pakenham. His son Thomas was active in the management of the estate in the 1840s and often dealt with queries from the agents. In 1841 Robert Bailey reported on the route of a new road which the estate intended to build in the Raffeen and Ballyfoulou townland:

I had Mr. Roberts and the surveyor with me yesterday looking at the Lands thro which our proposed line of road had best be surveyed. The First best line we considered – To enter below at the Raffeen side, west, and continue a gradual ascent to a certain point then cross the Ballyfoulou glen.⁶⁶

The new road through Ballyfoulou was a measured 264 perches in length and the cost to the estate was ‘not to exceed £200’.⁶⁷ Vesey’s investment in road-building increased the long-term value of his estate and opened up new areas for further development.⁶⁸ The sloping ground between Waterview House and the sea was soon identified as an attractive site for housing, and in 1834 Vesey commissioned surveyor G.R. Paine to prepare a ‘Plan of Ground in Passage West ... as Laid out for building’.⁶⁹ Paine designed a curved terrace of semi-detached houses east of Waterview, arching from the lower end of Church Hill to the site of the present Wesleyan church on Beach Road (Plate 8).⁷⁰ This proposal was similar in its ambition and design to Martin Carroll’s 1839 plan for Monkstown, Dublin, which showed semi-detached villa sites located close to the proposed terraces of De Vesci Terrace and Vesey Place.⁷¹ John Vesey took a close interest in all these plans for large semi-detached villas, with views and side entrances, on generous plots in close proximity to existing terraces.

The proposed villas were planned on 50ft-wide plots, with the entrances moved to the side façades, so that each pair of houses could be treated as a single elevation. This enhanced the illusion of social distinction by giving a pair of fashionable semi-detached houses the appearance of one single great villa, a design strategy which was also employed by Vesey on his own speculative houses, Tudor Lodge and Tudor Hall in Monkstown, Dublin, as well as at nearby Willow Bank.⁷² The estate called these semi-detached identical villas which resembled one grand house ‘Siamese houses’.⁷³ The laying out of the semi-detached houses in a crescent form was a device that became increasingly common after 1800 in London’s suburbs.⁷⁴ The proposed form would also have created an impressive crescent of substantial villas when viewed from the sea. Paine’s 1834 scheme did not proceed, but the proposal re-emerged in 1849 when a Mr Dargan inquired about a road that





9 – Nos 1-16 Maulbaun Terrace, Glenbrook
(photographed October 2017)

had been ‘blocked out’ for the plan but that had been ‘done very badly’.⁷⁵ Stewart & Kincaid informed Thomas Vesey there was still ‘much to be done in forming the ground before it would be fit for building’,⁷⁶ commissioning ‘Mr. Benson the present Co. Cork engineer to make a plan and specification for laying out the ground & forming road’.⁷⁷

To a greater extent than on the Dublin estate, tenants on the Monkstown, Cork estate often sought a financial contribution from the estate before commencing a building project. In 1843 John Hayes proposed terms for a lease for about twelve acres, to ‘plant immediately one thousand Forest trees and to build a dwelling house of forty feet long fifteen feet broad in the clear and 10 feet high exclusive of four gables, to loft the rooms at each end thereof with boarded floors and to cover said house with best Bangor slate’.⁷⁸ His conditions included ‘immediate possession’ and ‘such assistance & encouragement towards building said house as Charles Callaghan has got convenient thereto’.⁷⁹ This comment referred to John Vesey’s payment of £20 to Charles Callaghan for constructing ‘a very good slated house consisting of a good kitchen & a room at each end’ at Ballyfouloo.⁸⁰ In 1845 the developer William Brown junior wrote to Robert Bailey that Paine’s proposed crescent would require the road to be ‘cut further back so as to form more of a crescent which would correspond with your plan’.⁸¹ He was willing to invest in ‘two of the lower lots of about one hundred feet front each near the South end’ of the crescent so long as he received ‘good encouragement’ to ‘build on a piece of ground that in its present state is very uninviting’ because of the proliferation of industrial yards and small workers’ housing nearby.⁸² Brown could not agree terms with the estate as he requested a lease of 150 years, which they were unwilling to provide.

At Passage there was a greater demand for smaller terraced housing for the ship-builders and the repair industry’s workers, while Monkstown remained a residential and leisure landscape with larger semi-detached villas set out in generous plots. This dual character, with residential marine villas lying in close proximity to a busy, noisy industrial landscape, may have deterred developers from building Paine’s proposed villas at

Passage.⁸³ As Brown had warned, the site was ‘very uninviting’.⁸⁴ However, the concept of pairs of semi-detached houses assuming the form of single free-standing villas was later used at Alta Terrace, Monkstown, in the 1840s. Located further from the ship-building at Passage, this was a more suitable setting for a villa. Had Vesey been resident at his Monkstown, Cork estate, he might have realised sooner that Paine’s 1834 crescent plan was essentially proposed for the wrong place.

Maulbaun Terrace (c.1820), later known as Victoria Terrace, was one of the earliest nineteenth-century terraced developments on the Monkstown, Cork estate (Plate 9).⁸⁵ In 1830 Henry P. Best signed a lease with the estate for land on Maulbaun Terrace on which he had recently built ‘a Dwelling house containing in front to the terrace seventy six feet and in depth from front to rear forty feet (more or less)’.⁸⁶ Building on the terrace continued in the 1840s, and in 1843 Robert Bailey ‘agreed with the Widow Kelliher for the house adjoining mine on the Terrace Maulbaun with the view of connecting the three in part with the new house’.⁸⁷ These were his own three central houses on the terrace – nos 11 to 13.⁸⁸ Houses nos 14 to 16 were developed by Samuel Ahern, who lived himself at no. 14. This pattern of a local resident speculative developer investing in constructing a house for himself and another two or three houses to lease continued along the length of the terrace. Robert Bailey’s houses, nos 11 to 13, had a higher ridge height than the rest of the terrace and rounded arches over the doors. This variation in Maulbaun Terrace is a key difference between development on the Monkstown estate in Cork and the Monkstown estate in Dublin. In Dublin, lords Longford and de Vesce insisted, where possible, on approving plans and elevations for terraces and went to great lengths to ensure that parapet levels were maintained along terraces and that a unity of façade was achieved.⁸⁹ This was particularly evident in the development of Longford Terrace, De Vesce Terrace and Vesey Place in Monkstown, Dublin, between 1835 and 1855.⁹⁰ The numerous letters between the ground landlords and their agents regarding the detailed design of these high-end terraces in Dublin show that they both took a keen interest in regulating development on their joint Dublin estate. In contrast to this, John Vesey and his Dublin-based agents Stewart & Kincaid allowed developers to build on Maulbaun terrace in a less controlled manner. This terrace was a far more modest development than the prestigious terrace developments in Monkstown, Dublin, and probably both less valuable and less interesting to Vesey.

In keeping with the leisure character at Monkstown, a row of six semi-detached marine villas, called Lower Marine Cottages, were constructed close to the shore in the 1830s (Plates 10, 12). Lewis described them in 1837 as ‘new and very handsome’, ‘constructed in the pure Elizabethan style’ and ‘chiefly occupied by respectable families as bathing-lodges, for which purpose the village’ was ‘most favourably situated’.⁹¹ The description of the houses as ‘bathing lodges’ indicated a non-permanent use, with the houses being let to residents for the summer months. The term ‘villa’ was more commonly used on the Dublin estate in the nineteenth century, while the term ‘cottage’ was more common on the Cork estate, indicating the more temporary, seasonal nature of the Monkstown, Cork developments at this time.

In July 1843 the local agent Robert Bailey informed Stewart & Kincaid that the lower row of Marine Cottages was complete and that Mr Shaw had started construction



10 – Monkstown, Co Cork, c.1890, showing Lower and Upper Marine Cottages (Lawrence Photograph Collection, courtesy National Library of Ireland)



11 – Griffith's Valuation Map based on the 1843 O.S. Map of Monkstown showing Monkstown Church, Rock Lodge (1813), De Vesce Place (1830s) and Lower Marine Cottages (1830s)

12 – Lower Marine Villa, Monkstown (photographed June 2018)

opposite

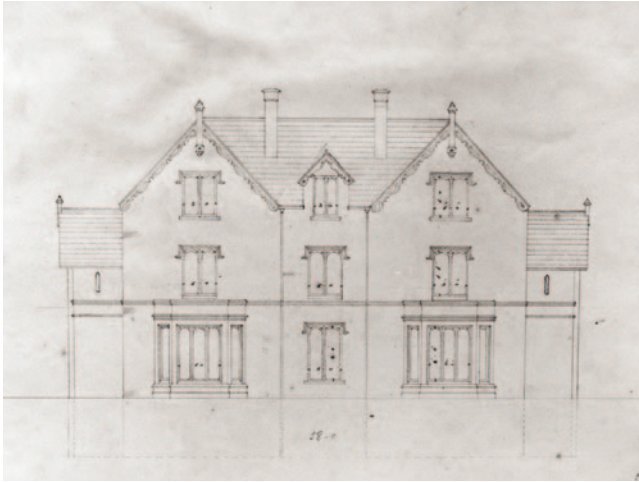
13 – Alta Terrace, Monkstown, east elevation (photographed October 2017)



on the upper row: ‘He is about forming a Terrace of Twin cottages ... and builds his own buildings – 144 feet deep with back entrances and a lane way to stables. Mr Shaw and son are building apace & his architect is to build another piece.’⁹² The Ordnance Survey map of 1843 shows the first pair of Upper Marine Cottages (Plate 11). Mr Shaw’s architect, Mr Westropp, also built houses on the upper row of Marine Cottages.⁹³ All of this development was strongly orientated towards the waterfront, while the steep topography was exploited to ensure the houses enjoyed sea views. In the late 1830s a row of terraced housing called De Vesci Place was constructed in Monkstown village.⁹⁴ Further north, Glenbrook Terrace had been constructed near the baths, and Maulbaun (Victoria) Terrace, Lower Terrace and Bath Terrace had all been built along the road to Passage (Plate 11). Houses on Glenbrook Terrace were advertised to let in 1846, containing ‘a drawing room, parlour, kitchen with a range, 4 bedrooms, pantries a w.c. and servants’ quarters’ with ‘an abundant supply of spring water conveyed by pipes’.⁹⁵ The houses had 99-year leases, granted by John Vesey in 1846.⁹⁶ The *Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland* praised Monkstown’s recent developments in 1845: ‘Its newer parts extend along the shore, and down the face of a verdant northerly slope and its whole character though straggling and diversified is romantic and delightful.’⁹⁷

In 1838, the travel writer Charles Fraser described the small seaport of Passage, ‘about 5 miles from the city; and a little beyond it is the beautifully situated hamlet of Monkstown, around which there are many delightfully circumstanced villas’.⁹⁸ He recommended viewing the area by boat from ‘the estuary of the Lee, which stretches out into magnificent arms of several miles in length and is bounded on all sides by high and finely varied banks, covered with the well wooded lawns and pleasure grounds, connected with the handsome seats which rise successively to view as the vessel glides along the graceful windings of this, our most beautiful bays’.⁹⁹ In contrast, Fraser criticised Cove, which was ‘irregularly built’ and possessed ‘no good streets’.¹⁰⁰ The incompatibility of noisy industry with a leisure retreat landscape was articulated in 1852 by the speculative developer F.H. Lloyd who had built houses on the de Vesci estate at Passage. He complained that letting ‘the strand in front of the Terrace houses’ for ship-building purposes





*Henry Hill (1807-1887)
W.B. Hoare's Houses,
Monkstown, Co Cork, 1848*

*14 - 'East or Principal
Elevation of Houses now in
Progress of Building at
Monkstown for W.B. Hoare
Esq., Henry Hill, July 1848'
(elevation towards sea)*

*15 - 'West or entrance
elevation'*

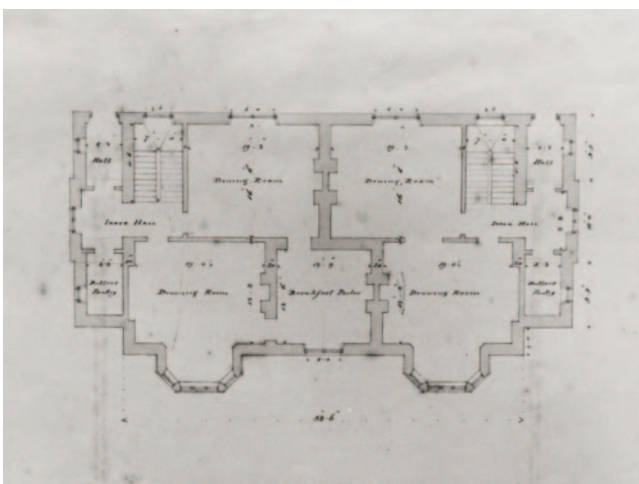
*16 - 'Principal floor'
(ground-floor plan, with larger
house on left)*



opposite

*17 - Henry Hill,
House at Monkstown, Co Cork
framed watercolour, undated*

*(all drawings courtesy
Irish Architectural Archive)*



‘would inflict so serious an injury’ on his business.¹⁰¹ He had expended ‘some thousands of pounds in improving your lordships estate under the impression that the water accommodation and view would not be cut off in the way now contemplated’.¹⁰² In addition, ‘the hammering and noise of repairing a vessel’ would be insupportable ‘to persons who reside in this place for health and recreation in summer’.¹⁰³ Lloyd’s complaints about the negative impact of industry on the leisure function of Passage sums up the dual character of this part of the de Vesci estate. In contrast, Monkstown village was located further from the ship-building yards and maintained its resort character.

Further south, away from the noisy industry of Passage, Alta Terrace dates from the late 1840s and was also known as Alta Cottages and the Upper Terrace (Plate 13). It originally consisted of eight houses, and a further two were built at the Monkstown village end in the early 1860s. The houses were designed by Cork architect Henry Hill, the brother and partner of William Hill, in July 1848. They are a variation of a house type he had designed five years earlier for Richard and Thomas Exham at Monkstown, which harmonised with the semi-rural idyll he was trying to create. Henry Hill’s watercolour perspective of one of his earlier designs for an ideal twin villa at Monkstown in Cork shows some of the suburban design concepts he favoured (Plate 17).¹⁰⁴ Unusual elements of these villas on Alta Terrace include the fact that the principal elevation is not the entrance elevation. Instead, in a similar way to houses at Montenotte in Cork, the water-front-facing eastern elevation is given greater importance (Plate 14), indicating that the view of the houses from the water (and that of the water from the house) was considered more important than views to and from the entrance façade. The principal waterfront elevation has a bay window to maximise the view. This decision to locate the entrance to the house in the rear west elevation, with the entrance doors discreetly located to the side, was influenced by the steep topography of the area (Plate 15). It was easier to construct a level access road to the back of the houses and to allow the gardens to slope away from the houses towards the waterfront than to build an access road to the front with steps up to the houses.

These semi-detached houses were designed to resemble large single-villa mansions



facing onto the waterfront. In order to give the impression of one large mansion house, the houses are not equally divided, with one house having an additional breakfast parlour (Plate 16), and the front façade of the house was treated as a single elevation. This created the illusion of one large three-bay-wide villa when viewed from the water, giving the aesthetic quality of an elite villa landscape, while each large ‘villa’ actually provided two semi-detached affordable houses of a suitable scale for middle-class professionals. In this way, the semi-detached houses of Alta Terrace resolutely distanced themselves from the more pedestrian terraced houses of nearby Passage West. This is another distinction between the Dublin and Cork estates: in Cork, the maritime character dominated the design.¹⁰⁵

All this development of desirable seaside middle-class homes was progressing at a time when much of Cork was suffering badly from the Great Famine of 1844-49. In March 1845 Vesey stated clearly that he did not want to spend money on his Cork estate: ‘With respect to my being called upon to lay out a large sum of money, I am desirous to avoid every expense at present in order not to increase my debt but if possible to diminish it.’¹⁰⁶ David J. Butler has found that ‘substantial landlord debt was exacerbated by, rather than caused by the Famine’.¹⁰⁷ In 1846 John Vesey was criticised for his minimal assistance offered to his poor tenants on the Cork estate. Neither John Vesey nor his son Thomas understood the living conditions of their tenants and were justifiably criticised for their indifference as absentee landlords.

The Longford de Vesci Estate at Monkstown, Cork, was transformed from an eighteenth-century agricultural landscape into a seasonal seaside resort in the early nineteenth century, and then into a permanent residential suburb in the 1830s. While the fishing village of Passage developed its ship-repair industry and became the busiest anchorage in Cork by the late 1820s, Monkstown was dotted with suburban villa residences for the wealthy elite who visited on a seasonal basis from the city. The role of the Parker family, and the attempts by the estate to limit their influence by refusing to lease them an entire townland, demonstrate how the estate changed its management practices to retain control of its increasingly popular and valuable coastal property. The Monkstown, Cork estate was managed differently to the Monkstown, Dublin estate, particularly after it became the property solely of John Vesey in 1835. The use of a local agent, the infrequent visits by the main agents Stewart & Kincaid, the loose control of leases, the variations permitted in house types and the more modest scale of the houses overall, illustrate some of the differences between the Cork and Dublin estates. Vesey did not require the developer to submit plans or elevations for approval for modest terraces like Maulbaun Terrace. However, he did commission G.R. Paine to prepare ambitious plans for a new curved street of semi-detached villas. He also encouraged the construction of the large semi-detached Lower and Upper Marine Villas, and inspected and approved their design. The plans and elevations of Alta Terrace prepared by Henry Hill in 1848 were also subject to estate approval. The marine character of these villas, and the prioritisation of a resort landscape orientated to enjoy sea views, is another key difference between the Dublin and Cork estates. On the more densely developed Dublin estate, semi-detached villas in seafront locations were not encouraged, while, further inland, terraces were often orientated towards pleasure gardens rather than towards the sea.¹⁰⁸ The design strategies employed by the estate in Monkstown, Cork, were always marine in orientation.

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I am grateful to Thomas Pakenham for granting permission to reproduce maps from the Pakenham Papers held at Tullyally Castle, Co Westmeath.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ David Dickson, *Old World Colony; Cork and South Munster 1630-1830* (Cork University Press, 2005) 24.
- ² Michael Boyle, Archbishop of Armagh, was a cousin of the 1st Earl of Cork.
- ³ Rocque's Dublin Surveys are listed by John Montague, 'John Rocque and the Exact Survey of Dublin', in Colm Lennon and John Montague, *John Rocque's Dublin: a guide to the Georgian city* (RIA, Dublin, 2010) xi.
- ⁴ Unlike the eight volumes of townland maps Rocque produced for the Earl of Kildare, which included over 160 maps, his *Survey of Monkstown* is a single large detailed estate map.
- ⁵ Anne Hodge, 'The Practical and the Decorative: the Kildare Estate maps of John Rocque', *Irish Arts Review Yearbook*, 17, 2001, 134.
- ⁶ Tullyally Castle, Mullingar, Pakenham Papers, T/3763/Q9, John Rocque, *Survey of Monkstown, Situated in the County of Cork, Belonging to Charles Dunbarr Esq., 1758*.
- ⁷ Patrick Duffy, 'Colonial Spaces and Sites of Resistance: landed estates in 19th century Ireland', in Lindsay J. Proudfoot and M.M. Roche (eds), *(Dis)Placing Empire* (Ashgate, Aldershot, 2005) 21.
- ⁸ J.H. Andrews, 'Map-Makers and Surveyors', in Andrew Carpenter et al (eds), *Art and Architecture of Ireland, volume II: Painting 1600-1900* (RIA, Dublin, 2015) 58.
- ⁹ *ibid.*, 57.
- ¹⁰ *ibid.*, 56.
- ¹¹ Montague, 'John Rocque and the Exact Survey of Dublin', xii.
- ¹² Finnian O'Cionnaith, *Mapping, Measurement and Metropolis* (Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2012) 9.
- ¹³ The childlike figure on the left appears to be a putto.
- ¹⁴ Lennon and Montague, *John Rocque's Dublin*, 79.
- ¹⁵ Alderman Harding Parked is named as the lessor of further plots of 9 and 4 acres on Glen Farm.
- ¹⁶ Harding Parker's holding consisted of 51 acres, 2 roods, 37 perches. West of Park, the townland of Rathanker was also leased out as large farm holdings.
- ¹⁷ Michael Parker is listed as 'surveyor customs' at Passage.
- ¹⁸ Charles Dunbar was resident at South-Street, Grosvenor Square, London, in 1769.
- ¹⁹ Thomas Vesey and Edward Michael Pakenham also jointly inherited the 2,300-acre Ballyhindon estate in Cork, and land in Cork city, Limerick and Silchester, Hampshire.
- ²⁰ NLI, De Vesce Papers, MS38,744/6. In the partition of the joint Cork estate, Pakenham got the Ballyhindon estate, baronies of Fermoy and Condons and Clongibbons, which contained 2,300 statute acres.
- ²¹ Passage West (known as Passage until the nineteenth century) and Glenbrook have no evident division between them today, whereas the boundary between Glenbrook and Monkstown is marked by steep cliffs and woodland.
- ²² NLI, De Vesce Papers, MS 38,916, Lord Longford to Lord de Vesce, 19th June 1787.
- ²³ *ibid.*
- ²⁴ NLI, De Vesce Papers, MS 38,915/1-2, two folders of letters, rentals and accounts of the 1st Viscount de Vesce, 1780-1804.
- ²⁵ Waterview House, offices, gate lodge and land consisting of over 77 acres were leased to Richard Parker for £208 per annum. Parker sublet eight small houses on the grounds to various tenants. He was appointed Captain of the Monkstown Infantry in 1803.
- ²⁶ The Stewart family had strong links to the Pakenham family and to the Monkstown estate in Dublin. Henry Stewart was married to Elizabeth, a daughter of Lord Longford, and was the Pakenham family land agent and MP for Longford Borough. Following Henry Stewart's death in 1840, the firm was continued by his son James Robert Stewart and his business partner Joseph Kincaid. In the early 1840s James R. Stewart lived at no. 11 Longford Terrace.
- ²⁷ De Vesce Papers, NLI, MS 38,921, Guard-Book Containing Letters and Accounts of the 2nd Viscount de Vesce & of His Agents, 1799-1806.
- ²⁸ James S. Donnelly, *The Land and People of Nineteenth Century Cork: the rural economy and the land question* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London and Boston, 1975) 9.
- ²⁹ Dickson, *Old World Colony; Cork and South Munster 1630-1830*, 329.
- ³⁰ *ibid.*

- ³¹ Richard Twiss, *A Tour in Ireland* (Dublin, 1775) 134.
- ³² Isaac Slater, *Slater's National Commercial Directory of Ireland* (Manchester, 1846) 302.
- ³³ These cottages had been demolished by 1843. Ordnance Survey map of townland of Maulbaun, 1843.
- ³⁴ Catherine A. Parker lived at Rock Cottage in 1850 and was the immediate lessor of seven of the fourteen terraced houses of nearby Lucia Place. In 1850 Waterview House was valued at £76, while the small cottages on the demesne were valued between 8s and £1 4s.
- ³⁵ Mr Parker, Waterview House and 80 acres; William Parker, 10 acres; lords Longford and De Vesce, 28 acres in building plots and waste ground; Miss Lucy Parker, house and 17 acres; Mr Cantillon, two acres; Captain Parker, Belleview House and half an acre; Mr. Martin Andrews, 13 acres. Tithe Applotment Books, Maulbaun Townland, Monkstown Parish, Cork, 1834.
- ³⁶ Colman O'Mahony, *Mansions and Monuments: people and places of bygone Passage West and Monkstown* (Rosmathun Press, Cork, 2011) 189.
- ³⁷ In 1820 William Parker emigrated to South Africa and returned in the mid-1820s and resumed his business interests, employing 300 people. He died at his home in Canning Place in 1837; O'Mahony, *Mansions and Monuments*, 189.
- ³⁸ The 73-year-old 2nd Viscount de Vesce had effectively stepped aside to allow his son Thomas make decisions regarding the Cork estate.
- ³⁹ NLI, De Vesce Papers, MS 39,008/3, R.N. Parker to Lord de Vesce, 2nd February 1849.
- ⁴⁰ *ibid.*
- ⁴¹ The Waterview demesne remained intact through the first half of the nineteenth century and was offered for sale in 1858 with 30 acres, 18 of which were set out as lawn.
- ⁴² Dickson, 'City, Seasons and Society', in J. Crowley, R. Devoy, D. Linehan, P. O'Flanagan (eds), *Atlas of Cork City* (Cork University Press, 2005) 134.
- ⁴³ Slater, *Slater's National Commercial Directory of Ireland*, 302.
- ⁴⁴ Will West, *A Directory and Pictures of Cork and its Environs* (Cork, 1810) 11.
- ⁴⁵ Horatio Townsend, *Statistical Survey of the County of Cork, with observations on the means of improvement; drawn up for the consideration, and by the direction of the Dublin Society* (Dublin, 1810) 567.
- ⁴⁶ *ibid.*
- ⁴⁷ *Cork Mercantile Chronicle*, 24th Feb 1808.
- ⁴⁸ Colman O'Mahony, *The Maritime Gateway to Cork: a history of the outports of Passage West and Monkstown, 1754-1942* (Tower Books, Cork, 1986) 29.
- ⁴⁹ Rockville House was available to rent from Mrs Taylor at Canning Place.
- ⁵⁰ *Cork Morning Intelligencer*, 13th Aug 1812. It was available for let with up to 15 acres.
- ⁵¹ *Cork Hibernian Chronicle*, 10th May 1828.
- ⁵² *ibid.*, 3rd Oct 1838.
- ⁵³ Rock Lodge was built in 1813, was occupied by J. Galwey in 1837, and by Henry W. Perry in 1851.
- ⁵⁴ *Cork Hibernian Chronicle*, 10th May 1851.
- ⁵⁵ Slater, *Slater's National Commercial Directory of Ireland*, 302.
- ⁵⁶ *Cork Hibernian Chronicle*, 20th June 1861.
- ⁵⁷ Stewart & Swan were the agents for the estate from 1806. Joseph Kincaid joined the firm after G.C. Swan's death and it became known as Stewart & Kincaid in 1829. Gurnett, Mahony & Co were the second prominent firm of land agents in county Cork in the nineteenth century. Donnelly, *The Land and People of Nineteenth Century Cork*, 184.
- ⁵⁸ Desmond Norton, *Landlords, Tenants, Famine: the business of an Irish land agency in the 1840s* (UCD, 2006) 14.
- ⁵⁹ Minutes of Evidence Taken before Her Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry into the State of the Law and Practice in Respect of the Occupation of Land in Ireland, 12 December 1843, H.C. 1845, pt. 4 (7) 30.
- ⁶⁰ NLI, De Vesce Papers, MS39,260/3, De Vesce Accounts, 1849. He had an annual salary of £15. MS 38,956/1-9, Robert Bailey to Stewart & Kincaid re. Monkstown and Passage West Cork, 1840-1846.
- ⁶¹ Laura Johnstone, "'On one level to the eye": visions for suburbia on the Longford de Vesce estate in Dublin', *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies*, vol. XVIII, 2015, 84-105.
- ⁶² Samuel Lewis, *Lewis's Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, 2 vols (London, 1837) II, 389.
- ⁶³ *ibid.*
- ⁶⁴ 'Monkstown Church, Co. Cork,' *Dublin Penny Journal*, 3rd Aug 1833.
- ⁶⁵ The estate also made smaller ongoing investments, including building a wall at Cottrell's

- holding at a cost of £14 18 shillings and paying a £6 subscription towards making foot path in Church Lane in Passage in 1835. NLI, De Vesci Papers, MS39,260/1, De Vesci Accounts, 1835.
- ⁶⁶ NLI, De Vesci Papers, MS 38,956/1, Robert Bailey to Stewart Kincaid, 20th Nov 1841.
- ⁶⁷ *ibid.*
- ⁶⁸ This road probably followed the route of older pathways in an area formerly known as Gleann Mór. Another road, known as the Board of Works road from Straw Hill to Old Court, was constructed as a relief scheme during the famine years.
- ⁶⁹ NLI, De Vesci Papers, MS Map 221 L, 'Plan of Ground in Passage West the Estate of Lord Visct. de Vesci as Laid out for Building by G. R. Paine', 1834.
- ⁷⁰ *ibid.*
- ⁷¹ Johnstone, 'Visions for suburbia on the Longford de Vesci estate in Dublin', 92.
- ⁷² *ibid.*, 100.
- ⁷³ *ibid.*
- ⁷⁴ Chris Miele, 'From Aristocratic Ideal to Middle-Class Idyll, 1690-1840,' in Julian Horner (ed.), *London Suburbs* (Merrell Hollberton, London, 1999) 49.
- ⁷⁵ *ibid.*
- ⁷⁶ *ibid.*
- ⁷⁷ *ibid.* This work was 'carried out by Mr. Dargan as payment for the stone taken out of the Quarry'.
- ⁷⁸ NLI, De Vesci Papers, MS 38,960, John Hayes to Stewart Kincaid, 16th Feb 1843.
- ⁷⁹ *ibid.*
- ⁸⁰ *ibid.*
- ⁸¹ NLI, De Vesci Papers, MS 38,956/4, William Brown, Victoria Dock Yard, Passage West, to Robert Bailey, 4th April 1845.
- ⁸² *ibid.*
- ⁸³ Some traces of Passage's industrial heritage still remain. The dockyard boundary wall still dominates part of the town, and traces of the railway infrastructure are still extant.
- ⁸⁴ NLI, De Vesci Papers, MS 38,956/4, William Brown to Robert Bailey, 4th April 1845.
- ⁸⁵ Maulbaun Terrace was renamed Victoria Terrace, after Queen Victoria's visit in 1849.
- ⁸⁶ NLI, De Vesci Papers, MS 38,766, Lease to Henry P. Best from Henry Stewart, Earl of Longford and Viscount de Vesci for Land on Maulbaun Terrace, 25th March 1830.
- ⁸⁷ NLI, De Vesci Papers, MS 38,956, Robert Bailey to Stewart Kincaid re. Maulbaun Terrace, 6th Oct 1843.
- ⁸⁸ Bailey also occupied offices to the rear of 1 Maulbaun Terrace.
- ⁸⁹ The exception to this careful control of development on the Dublin estate was in the area of Kingstown from Tivoli Road to the sea, which had been leased out in 1804 and 1812 on 99 year leases with few restrictions.
- ⁹⁰ Johnstone, 'Visions for suburbia on the Longford de Vesci estate in Dublin', 88.
- ⁹¹ Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, 389.
- ⁹² NLI, De Vesci Papers, MS 38,956/3, Robert Bailey to Stewart Kincaid, 27th July 1843.
- ⁹³ *ibid.*
- ⁹⁴ De Vesci Place was built on plots leased in March 1839 for 97 years and were advertised for sale in 1888; *Cork Examiner*, 22nd Sept 1888.
- ⁹⁵ 'Glenbrook Terrace', *Cork Constitution*, 31st Jan 1846.
- ⁹⁶ 'Glenbrook Terrace', *Cork Constitution*, 26th Aug 1856.
- ⁹⁷ *Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland*, 1845, 796.
- ⁹⁸ James Fraser, *Guide through Ireland, descriptive of its scenery, towns, seats, antiquities etc.* (John S. Folds, Dublin, 1838) 158.
- ⁹⁹ *ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁰ *ibid.* Cove was renamed Queenstown in 1849 after a visit by Queen Victoria and is now known as Cobh.
- ¹⁰¹ NLI, De Vesci Papers, MS39,008/4-6, F.H. Lloyd to Lord de Vesci, 19th June 1852,
- ¹⁰² *ibid.*
- ¹⁰³ *ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁴ Richard and Thomas Exham also lived locally in houses on upper Monkstown Terrace.
- ¹⁰⁵ In 1866 the residents of Alta Terrace included Thomas Exhara and A. Newman, both church wardens.
- ¹⁰⁶ NLI, De Vesci Papers, MS38,926/4, John Vesey to Stewart Kincaid, 12th March 1845.
- ¹⁰⁷ David J. Butler, 'The Landed Classes during the Great Famine', in John Crowley, William J. Smyth and Mike Murphy (eds), *Atlas of the Great Irish Famine* (Cork University Press, 2012) 275.
- ¹⁰⁸ See Johnstone, 'Visions for suburbia on the Longford de Vesci estate in Dublin'.