Dublin's lodger phenomenon in the early twentieth century

Abstract

Lodging and boarding were well established housing options which played an important economic and social role in early twentieth century cities, yet there has been little academic study of the phenomenon in an Irish context. For many people arriving to Dublin in search of work, as well as for adults who were not in a position to establish a separate household, lodging was an important accommodation choice. Offering lodgings was also economically beneficial to householders. Drawing on a range of sources, including census returns, city electoral rolls, newspaper and other archival sources, the demographic and socio-economic profile of lodgers and the households in which they resided is examined. A wide variety of arrangements and durations of lodging is revealed for the period centred on the 1911 census, suggesting that this form of accommodation appealed to a diverse range of individuals due to their economic or family circumstances, or need for mobility.

Key words: boarder; lodger; housing sub-tenancy; Dublin; suburb; census

INTRODUCTION: THE LODGER PHENOMENON

Early twentieth-century Dublin was a troubled city, and one of considerable contrasts in terms of its housing.[1] Prosperous middle-class suburbs, including the southern areas of Pembroke and Rathgar, which were still independent of the city, contrasted with the congested central area.[2] The former boasted new single-family semi-detached homes with gardens front and rear, whereas the ageing fabric of housing in the city area combined with increasing levels of overcrowding, to give an overall sense of decay.[3] Within the city proper, one of the most notable – if not notorious – features was the overcrowded and insanitary housing which was so prevalent throughout the capital.[4] No area seemed to be immune from the tenements, and even the more affluent districts of the city such as the Fitzwilliam ward had their share of broken down slum dwellings, many of them hidden in the back lanes and mews behind the grand houses.[5] One-roomed tenements were a particularly problematic feature. Despite these huge variations in housing quality, all areas and social classes shared one thing in common – the lodging phenomenon.

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[1] F. H. A. Aalen, 'Health and housing in Dublin c.1850-1921', in F. H. A. Aalen and K. Whelan (eds), *Dublin city and county from prehistory to present* (Dublin, 1982), pp. 279–304; J. Prunty, *Dublin Slums 1800-1925* (Dublin, 1998); M. E. Daly, *Dublin: the deposed capital, a social and economic history 1860–1914* (Cork, 1984); J. Brady, 'Dublin at the turn of the century' in J. Brady and A. Simms (eds), *Dublin through space and time* (Dublin, 2001), pp. 221–81.

[2] Daly, *Deposed Capital*; S. Ó Maitiú, *Dublin's suburban towns* (Dublin, 1993).

[3] S. Galavan, *Dublin's bourgeois homes: building the Victorian suburbs 1850-1901* (London, 2017) discusses the emergence of the semi-detached house in Dublin's upper middle-class suburbs.

[4] C. A. Cameron, *How the poor live* (Dublin, 1904); Daly, *Deposed capital*; C. Dawson, 'The housing of the people with special reference to Dublin', *Journal of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland*, 11 (1901), 45-56; C. Dawson, 'The Dublin housing question - sanitary and insanitary,' *Journal of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland*, 13 (1913) 91-5; C. Eason, 'The tenement houses of Dublin, their condition and regulation,' *Journal of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland*, 10 (1899), 383-98; Prunty, *Dublin Slums*.

[5] Even the most exclusive suburban Township, Pembroke, contained slum housing, particularly in the older village cores of Ringsend and Irishtown, see J. Prunty, 'Improving the urban environment: public health and housing in nineteenth-century Dublin', in J. Brady and A. Simms (eds) Dublin through space and time (Dublin, 2001), p. 170. Galavan, *Bourgeois Homes*, p. 8 also points to insanitary housing in Dundrum, Merrion and Kingstown.

Approximately one in twenty individuals in Dublin were recorded in the census of 1901 and 1911 as being lodgers/boarders. Sub-letting of housing, specifically by providing accommodation to non-family members within the family home, is a common occurrence which has been studied for a wide range of periods and locations.[6] To date, however, it has received only passing mention in an Irish setting, and this article begins to address that absence. Lodging appears to have provided a common answer to many very different questions. For example, what were the housing choices for migrants who arrived to the city in search of employment? In particular, what options were available to those who were adult, single and of limited means? What happened to individuals who, due to sheer poverty, were unable to set up their own households, or to even fairly well-to-do individuals without the protection of a family? These questions are explored in this article, which reveals the very different worlds of lodging across the early twentieth-century city.

Despite its prevalence, the practice of lodging was seen as socially difficult, particularly in middle-class circles. Davidoff has described the English case where 'on the part of both lodger and householder, it [lodging and boarding] came to be considered a necessary evil and a sign of the loss of genteel status'. She cites the 'ambiguous, mostly negative' reactions to the practice in memoirs, novels and official reports. This is also

[6] The role of lodging and boarding has been explored for nineteenth and twentieth-century cities in North America, Australia, Britain and continental Europe. See B. Bradbury, 'Pigs, cows and boarders: non-wage forms of survival among Montreal families, 1861-91', *Labour/Le Travail*, 14 (1984), 9-46; P. Baskerville, 'Familiar strangers: urban families with boarders, Canada, 1901', *Social Science History*, 25:2 (2001), 321-46; R. Harris, 'The end justified the means: boarding and rooming in a city of homes, 1890-1951', *Journal of Social History*, 26:2 (1992), 331-58; M. Peel, 'On the margins: lodgers and boarders in Boston, 1860-1900', *Journal of American History*, 72:4 (1986), 813-34; S. O'Hanlon, ' "All found" they used to call it': genteel boarding houses in early twentieth-century Melbourne', *Urban History*, 29:2 (2002), 239-53; V. Holmes, 'Accommodating the lodger: the domestic arrangements of lodgers in working-class dwellings in a Victorian provincial town', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 19:3 (2014), 314-31; J. Meek, 'Boarding and lodging practices in early twentieth-century Scotland', *Continuity and Change*, 31:1 (2016), 79-100; B. Moring, 'Gender, class and lodging in urban Finland around 1900', *Continuity and Change*, 31:1 (2016), 47-77. For other periods, see E. Canepari, 'Cohabitations, household structures, and gender identities in seventeenth-Century Rome', *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, 17:1 (2014), 131-54; L. Nussdorfer, 'Men at home in Baroque Rome', *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, 17:1 (2014), 103-29.

captured in a recent volume edited by Briganti and Mezei.[7] In the Irish context, similar responses can be identified in newspapers and short stories of the era. One 1905 advertisement captures this ambiguity: 'Lady on Morehampton Road [an exclusive part of the city] will receive Paying Guest; no children or lodgers'.[8] In a short story published in the *Irish Times*, a character, somewhat embarrassed at 'having to take lodgers' for financial reasons, is reassured by a friend that: 'As to taking lodgers, all the quality does it now'.[9] Affluent Pembroke Township was the setting for another short story published in the *Weekly Irish Times* which described the 'feud of class and rank' between two neighbours. One character 'had to take in "paying guests", which the other lady spitefully referred to as lodgers, and was often making complaint of how the neighbourhood was being dragged down by people who could not pay their way without turning their houses into family hotels'.[10] These fictional exchanges highlight two key aspects of middle-class sub-tenancy – first, the fear of social stigma and unease, especially among the aspiring middle classes, and second, the great fascination with the interactions between lodgers and home owners which resulted in their frequent appearance on the pages of newspapers whether in short stories, court reports, jokes or advice columns.

While direct factual references to lodgers are rarely found, some indications of the way of life can be gleaned from works of fiction. One particularly helpful source is James Joyce's short story, 'The Boardinghouse', from his collection 'Dubliners', set around the turn of the twentieth century.[11] Its detailed depiction of daily life, including the interactions between residents and the parsimony of the landlady who ensures that scraps from the table

[7] Chiara Briganti and Kathy Mezei (eds) *Living with strangers, bedsits and boarding houses in modern English life, literature and film* (London, 2018).
[8] *Irish Times*, 17 June 1905.
[9] L. Ackland, 'Katsy the landlady, a tale of a Dublin boarder,' *Weekly Irish Times*, 21 August 1909.
[10] M. Merchant, 'Slumland under limelight', *Weekly Irish Times*, 18 November 1905.
[11] J. Joyce, *Dubliners* (London, 1914); see also J.V. Ulin, 'Fluid boarders and naughty girls: music, domesticity, and nation in Joyce's boarding houses,' *James Joyce Quarterly*, 44: 2 (2007), 263-89.

are reused, while the sugar is kept under lock and key, provide a sense of what day-to-day existence might have been like for lodgers and boarders in Dublin.

In examining the role of lodging in the city, a number of key questions arise. To what degree were such living arrangements temporary and transitory or long term and stable?[12] Were lodgers generally in-migrants to the city or people at a particular stage of the life-cycle, as Davidoff suggests?[13] It is impossible to answer such questions using the census alone, but by combining a number of sources it becomes possible to tease out some of the issues. The available sources used to uncover Dublin's lodger stories include the 1911 census returns, which are available online in a searchable format; the digitised electoral rolls for Dublin city, currently available for 1908 to 1915[14]; street directories; and online newspaper archives for the *Irish Times*, its sister title the *Weekly Irish Times, Evening Herald, Freeman's Journal* and *Irish Independent*. When used in combination, it becomes possible to disentangle some of the complexity of the lodger phenomenon.

Before exploring the situation in Dublin, definitional issues and a brief overview of lodging at a national level are presented. In this article, both aggregate statistics and specific examples are used to examine the lodger phenomenon and the value and limitations of the available sources. The final section examines some suburban case studies, focusing on the neighbouring areas of Drumcondra and Glasnevin on the north side of the city, where lodger voters were especially prevalent. The evidence suggests that lodging was important to emerging lower-middle class households in the early twentieth century, playing a key role in the suburban economy.

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[12] See the discussion in R. Harris, 'The flexible house: the housing backlog and the persistence of lodging, 1891-1951,' *Social Science History*, 18:1 (1994), 31-53.

[13] L. Davidoff, 'The separation of home and work? Landladies and lodgers in nineteenth-and twentieth-century England', in S. Burman (ed.), *Fit work for women* (London, 1979), pp. 64-97.

[14] The electoral lists for 1908-1915 have been digitised and a fully-searchable database of over 400,000 records is available online at http://databases.dublincity.ie/burgesses/advanced_new.php. Unfortunately the electoral rolls for the Pembroke and Rathmines Urban District Councils have not survived.

Defining Lodgers

In definitional terms, it is difficult to disentangle the lodger and boarder.[15] The basic census unit was taken to be the family, reflecting an evolving narrative from the nineteenth century whereby the family, and the private home, was increasingly seen as 'an idealized refuge, a world of its own with a higher moral value than the public realm'.[16] The convention was adopted in the census that boarders were part of the family of the occupier, where they shared a common table with the family and paid for their subsistence and lodging. By contrast, lodgers (who did not eat with the family) were to be counted as single families with their own separate census schedule.[17] However, it was recognised by the Registrar General that enumerators confused the two and were generally inconsistent in applying these terms.[18] In practice, other than dining arrangements, there may not have been much difference between lodging and boarding with a family. Certainly, newspaper advertisements of the period frequently give prospective tenants the option either to pay for 'board' or 'dine out', suggesting that there was no great distinction made within the family home. Similarly, census returns show both 'boarders' and 'lodgers' residing at the same address.

A variety of dwelling forms existed under the broad heading of boarding and lodging. Most of the examples discussed here relate to individuals residing in a private family dwelling, as lodgers, boarders or what were euphemistically referred to as 'paying guests'. The distinction between a private family receiving one or a small number of lodgers and a premises which could be described as a 'boarding house' or 'private hotel' is somewhat blurred, as demonstrated below. Other lodgers subsisted in a variety of more institutional

[15] Confusion in the use of these terms has also been noted by researchers in other jurisdictions, see for example Harris, 'End justified the means,' 331.
[16] R. Sennett, *The fall of public man* (Cambridge, 1977), p. 19.
[17] Census of Ireland 1911, Instructions to Enumerators. Available at www.histpop.org/resources/pngs/0459/00200/00557_20.png
[18] 'Taking the Census', *Weekly Irish Times*, 16 March 1901.

surroundings, both in the common lodging houses and their charitable counterparts. Given the ambiguity in the use of the terms 'boarder' and 'lodger' which is evident from the various sources, the term 'lodger' will be used hereafter as a blanket term to refer to all sub-tenants, except in cases where the varied terminology is particularly meaningful.

Lodgers frequently occupied the margins, in terms of their appearance in the pages of history and its sources, and often too in terms of their social status.[19] The census of population provides one of the rare points in the Irish historical record where they become visible. The 1911 census defined occupants of each dwelling on the basis of their relationship to the 'head of household', with 'lodger' or 'boarder' among the permitted responses. According to the 1911 census, there were 15,573 lodgers and 98,622 boarders across the island of Ireland, or 2.6 per cent of the entire population, almost two-thirds of whom were male. Distinct geographical variations in the proportion of lodgers and boarders (combined) at a county level, however, point to the largely urban nature of this form of occupancy.

Table 1 lists the ten counties with the highest proportion of boarders and lodgers relative to the overall population of that county. It is immediately apparent that Dublin county, which includes the city area, ranks first, immediately followed by county Antrim, which included most of Belfast city. Relatively speaking, boarders and lodgers appear to be less significant in the other large urban areas. Whereas Cork city and county accounted for almost 9 per cent of the island's population, it was marginally under-represented in terms of lodgers and boarders, with just 8.4 per cent of the island's total. The counties with the lowest proportion of boarders and lodgers relative to their overall population were generally the most rural counties, predominantly along the western seaboard.

[19] See for example discussions in W. Gamber, 'Away from home: middle-class boarders in the nineteenth-century city', *Journal of Urban History*, 31 (2005), 289; J. Modell and T. K. Kareven, 'Urbanization and the malleable household: an examination of boarding and lodging in American families', *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 35: 3 (1973), 467-79; S. O'Hanlon, *Together apart: boarding house, hostel and flat life in prewar Melbourne* (Melbourne, 2002).

[SUGGEST TABLE 1 and CHART 1 ABOUT HERE]

As Dublin city and county was home to the greatest number of lodgers in Ireland, the remainder of the discussion will focus on the experience there. Over 5 per cent of individuals listed in the census returns for Dublin in 1911 were identified as either boarders (21,606 people) or lodgers (2,807 people). Indeed, Martin Maguire has observed that 'taking in lodgers seems to have been an almost universal practice'.[20] The 1911 census returns allow a basic attempt to quantify aspects of the lodger phenomenon, although some limitations concerning reliability must be acknowledged.[21] In Dublin, more than two-thirds of boarders and lodgers were male (68 per cent), while – as one might expect - the majority were either single (75 per cent of lodgers, 82 per cent of boarders) or widowed (14 per cent of lodgers, 10 per cent of boarders). Lodging was frequently related to a youthful stage of the life-cycle, as over half of all lodgers were aged between 20 and 39 years, but across the city lodgers were recorded at all ages from infancy to extreme old age. The discussion below considers the available evidence for lodgers at various levels of the social hierarchy, beginning with the poorest cohorts and ending with the upper middle classes.

The Variety of Lodging Experiences in Dublin, 1911

For the poorest classes, lodging either involved living with families in tenements, or resorting to the common lodging house. As Mary E. Daly notes, the ownership structure of the tenements was complex: 'it was not unknown for the weekly tenant [of a single room or group of rooms] to sublet either a room, or part of a room to a lodger'.[22] In 1911, seventeen families living in Mabbot Street and Tyrone Street, among the worst slums of the city, kept

[20] Martin Maguire, 'A socio-economic analysis of the Dublin protestant working-class 1870-1926', *Irish Economic and Social History*, 20 (1993), 43.
[21] See Dylan Connor, Gerald Mills and Niamh Moore-Cherry, 'The 1911 Census and Dublin city: a spatial analysis', *Irish Geography*, 44:2 (2011), 245-64.
[22] Daly, *Deposed capital*, p. 283.

boarders. In fifteen cases, the family and lodger, frequently more than one, lived in a single room. For example, James McDowell, his wife, adult son, daughter-in-law, grandson and his three other children, shared a two-roomed tenement at 65 Mabbot Street with two boarders, Patrick Lynch and John Whelan. All were recorded as general labourers.[23]

The other accommodation option available for the poorest classes was the 'common lodging house', also known as doss-houses or 'low' lodging houses. These establishments provided accommodation on a nightly basis and they excited great public concern due to the prevalence of overcrowding and the perceived moral dangers which they encapsulated.[24] A typical newspaper article from 1914, for example, draws on the language of Booth's London in referring to 'Dublin's submerged tenth' who lived in such accommodation.[25] The poorest quality lodging house accommodation appears to have coincided geographically with the worst of the one-roomed tenements. This was the case in the slum areas of Gloucester Street and Hammond Lane, where common lodging houses and overcrowded tenements dominated the streetscape. Unfortunately, the identification of common lodging houses in the historical record is not straightforward.[26] Although in the 1911 census some 111 individuals in Dublin, the majority of whom were female, described their occupation as 'lodging house keeper', most resided in leafy suburbs such as Rathgar where their middle-class 'lodging houses' were significantly different to the 'common lodging house' discussed above. While some buildings were listed as 'lodging house' in the Census Form B1, others are recorded in the same

[23] http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/pages/1911/Dublin/North_Dock/Mabbot_St_/19987/

[24] Paddy Mooney quoted in K. C. Kearns, *Dublin Tenement Life: an oral history* (Dublin, 1994), p. 98; J. O'Neill, *The secret world* of the *Victorian lodging house* (Barnsley, 2014), pp. 115-26. The English context is also discussed in Tom Crook, 'Accommodating the outcast: common lodging houses and the limits of urban governance in Victorian and Edwardian London'**,** *Urban History*, 35:3 (2008), 414-36.

[25] 'Dublin's submerged tenth', *Irish Times*, 13 April 1914.

[26] Under the city's bye-laws, common lodging-houses were required to be registered and inspected on a regular basis. Unfortunately, however, the registers do not appear to have survived. The Dublin Corporation Reports and Printed Documents include monthly reports from the medical officer of health, on the state of public health in Dublin and the sanitary work performed therein. These record the number of inspections of common lodging houses carried out in each period, but do not include additional detail.

manner as private residences and their nature cannot be ascertained from the census returns alone. The 'lodging house' at 6 Talbot Place with fifty-four occupants on census night, was probably a poor quality common lodging house frequented by general labourers. Neighbouring premises included a pawnbroker's sale shop, restaurant, refreshment rooms, and tenements.[27] The dwelling at 20 Pembroke Road, which was also enumerated as a 'lodging house', catered to an entirely different class of residents, comprising two widows and their paid companions. The head of household, Elizabeth O'Neill, was a barrister's widow. Her neighbour at 18 Pembroke Road, Ellen Adams, declared herself to be a 'boarding house keeper' who had three lodgers, but the enumerator chose to record this as a private residence.

The disreputable nature of Dublin's common lodging houses was highlighted in 1903 during the court case of Catherine Barrett who sued Dublin Corporation, claiming damages for trespass by the sanitary inspectors and for the 'wrongful and malicious allegation that her house was used as a common lodging house'.[28] Evidence was presented that there had been complaints of overcrowding at her premises from 1901, when the sanitary inspectors found ten beds in one room and nine in another. Such crowding would certainly bear comparison with the 'common lodging houses' described above. However, Mrs Barrett disputed the accusation, saying that she was a widow and took in boarders, but never used the place as a common lodging house. Indeed, she claimed to call her place a 'hotel' in order to keep out 'night lodgers'. The terminology used by Barrett highlights the subtle gradations in the status of different forms of lodging, and the particularly negative connotations of 'night lodging' in the 'common lodging houses', even for those whose accommodation was probably only marginally better in quality. The fact that she took the case, although she ultimately lost, also

[27] A. Thom*, Thom's Irish almanac and official directory for the year 1910 (Dublin, 1910).*
[28] *Weekly Irish Times*, 8 August 1903.

shows the value which this provider of lodgings placed upon her reputation and that of her establishment.

Using the census returns for 1901 and 1911 it becomes possible to piece together some of Catherine Barrett's story. For this young widow, keeping boarders seems to have been an effective life strategy, enabling her not just to make ends meet and raise a family, but to achieve a certain improvement in social status for the next generation. In 1901 she was a 39-year-old widow with five children ranging in ages from six to nineteen years. The household enumeration for her address at 119 Great Britain Street (now Parnell Street) lists eleven male boarders ranging in age from twenty-five to sixty, three of whom were married, the remainder being single or widowed. They were generally engaged in skilled manual occupations, with occupations including a slater, painter, plasterer, upholsterer, compositor and cattle driver. In all, seventeen residents occupied the eight-roomed house. By the time of the 1911 census, Barrett had moved to a better house at nearby 39 Belvidere Place.[29] This thirteen-roomed house had seventeen occupants, of whom twelve were boarders (eleven male and one female). These boarders were generally of a higher social standing than those residing with Mrs Barrett a decade previously, including a veterinary student, insurance agent, 'traveller' (commercial salesman) and an individual 'of independent means'.[30] Of her four surviving children, two were engaged in well-respected lower middle-class occupations including a national school teacher and solicitor's clerk.[31] By making her home into a business, Catherine Barrett could balance income and childcare needs, successfully raising her family and achieving a small degree of upward mobility in the process.

[29] £30 valuation compared to £23 for the Great Britain Street premises, according to *Thom's directory* (1911).
[30] Census 1901, Form A, 119.1 Great Britain Street: http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/pages/1901/Dublin/Mountjoy/Gt__Britain_Street/1325563/
[31] For a discussion of the emergence of the lower middle-classes in the city from the 1830s, see D. Dickson, *Dublin: the making of a capital city* (London, 2014), pp. 344-5.

Given the perceived moral perils of the common lodging house, it was inevitable that well-intentioned citizens sought to provide alternatives. These were and provided by a range of philanthropic organisations as well as by the city authorities. About 42,805 men annually availed of the Dublin Shelter for Men at 52 Poolbeg Street, which was specifically 'intended to counteract the evil influences of the common lodging house' by providing 'clean, comfortable lodgings at a nominal charge for destitute strangers, men out of employment, and casual labourers'.[32] These institutions varied from the Iveagh House (opened in 1905), which provided purpose-built state-of-the-art accommodation for 508 single men as part of a larger project of improvement funded by the philanthropic Guinness (later Iveagh) Trust, to institutions akin to modern-day homeless hostels, such as the Night Asylum for the Houseless Poor in Bow Street, established in 1838. Over the course of the year 1908, this one institution provided lodging for 35,865 destitute persons. Dublin Corporation had itself provided a model lodging house as part of its Benburb Street development (1886-7), with 99 beds available at 4*d*. per night.[33] Young women arriving from the countryside, while not as numerous as their male counterparts, were perceived as being endangered by life in the immoral, vice-ridden city. As a result, a number of societies were established to meet young girls and provide them with somewhere to lodge until they could find their own accommodation.[34] These institutions were specific in their aims – they distinguished themselves from those providing accommodation for 'penitents' (generally in Magdalene laundries) and stressed the morally unblemished character of their charges. For example, the Episcopalian home at Charlemont Street catered 'for young women of good character who had no friends with whom they could stay.'[35] Other homes, generally run on denominational lines, provided accommodation and training for young women who wished to

[32] *Thom's Directory* (1912).

[33] Reports and Printed Documents of the Corporation of Dublin, 1896, II, p.441

[34] Alison Jordan, *Who cared?: charity in Victorian and Edwardian Belfast* (Belfast, 1993), p. 166.

[35] Ladies at the home gave help in finding employment, providing references, maintaining a lending wardrobe stocked with clothes donated by lady supporters to enable the girls to go for interviews (*Thom's directory*, 1910).

become servants,[36] while still others accommodated servants who were between jobs – a significant problem for those who lived-in and had no alternative dwelling place.[37] Indeed Reverend Gilbert Mahaffy worried about 'the squalid and demoralised surroundings of what are known as 'servants' lodging houses' in the lower quarter of the city' and pointed to the value of the Young Women's Christian Association in 'saving young girls from the almost irresistible downward tendency of such circumstances'.[38] The evidence points to some landladies specifically providing for servants. 'Comfortable accommodation' for 'ladies' maids and high class servants' was offered at 89 Lower Mount Street, according to one *Irish Times* advertisement.[39] Another establishment at 107 Leeson Street Upper accommodated four women who appear to have been disengaged or retired servants, presided over by 74-year old Sarah Dowling, herself a former servant. This is in keeping with trends recorded in England, where retired servants sometimes established lodging houses.[40]

Servants were not the only group who found accommodation with their employers. The census records many 'lodgers' who lived over the shops in which they were employed. On Baggot Street Upper, for example, four confectioners and one shop assistant lived with their employer over number 10, which sold confectionery. An ironmonger's assistant, Henry Kierans, lived with the extended Weir family at number 21, above their well-known premises, while the chemist's assistant, John Ford, lived with the general manager and his

[36] The Domestic Training Institute on 37 Charlemont Street catered for 'Protestant Irish girls of good character, over 15 years of age', while the Girls' Training Home at 64 Lower Baggot Street trained 'young women of good character for domestic service'. Source: *Thom's directory* (1910)

[37] *Thom's Directory* (1912) lists institutions such as the Albert Retreat for Aged Females, 64 Eccles Street, founded 1831, 'intended, principally, for servants past their work'; the Home for Aged Governesses and other unmarried ladies, Harcourt Terrace, founded 1838, which 'supplies home, coal, light and medicine for 36 ladies', and the Asylum for Aged and Infirm Female Servants, 15 and 17 Drumcondra road lower (1809). Elderly and infirm males were less well catered for, although respectable destitutes could seek refuge in the Old Men's Asylum, Northbrook Road, Leeson Park (founded in 1811) or St Patrick's House, SCR, Kilmainham 'home for the aged poor'.

[38] 'Young Women's Christian Association Home and Registry, 23 Ely Place', *Irish Times*, 11 March 1901.

[39] *Irish Times*, 16 March 1910.

[40] Davidoff, 'The separation of home and work'.

family above the local branch of Hayes, Conyngham & Robinson.[41] A similar pattern is noted in suburban shopping streets, such as Morehampton Road and Drumcondra Road Lower, where grocer's assistants lived above shop premises at numbers 134 and 140.[42]

Lodging was frequently a choice for young adults who subsequently married and established their own homes, hence the predominance of individuals in their twenties and thirties. At the time of the 1901 census, Daniel Condon, a Limerick-born tram driver, was in his early twenties and lodging with the family of Thomas Slevin, a tram conductor, at 22 Morehampton Road. Ten years later, Condon was married with a small child and living at 5 Elmwood Avenue. Interestingly, while his own days as a lodger were over, Condon's 1911 household included a lodger, Michael Whelan, who was a tram conductor. Clearly lodgings in both cases were found through employment networks.

Although the majority were single people, 8.7 per cent of all lodgers in Dublin (2133) were married. The census reveals married couples and entire families lodging with others. Dublin-born Charles and Frances Morris and their three young children were listed as boarders in the Spiller household on Chelmsford Road. Their circumstances are difficult to ascertain. It is possible that lodging was a more affordable alternative to the costs of establishing a separate household, although advertisements suggest that children were unwelcome in many lodgings. Financial troubles are unlikely to have caused dentist John Murray and his wife to choose lodging over establishing their own home. In other cases, the married individual, usually male, appears to be living away from family. This may be due to

[41] Data compiled from census returns and *Thom's directories*.

[42] Two of these individuals, Timothy Grimes and John Nolan, were registered to vote under the lodger franchise in 1911, and claimed to be paying 15*s* and 16*s* per week board and lodging respectively (1911 Electoral Rolls, online at http://databases.dublincity.ie/burgesses/viewdoc.php?burgessid=&orderby=5875&imagefile=1911c_0068.jpgand http://databases.dublincity.ie/burgesses/viewdoc.php?burgessid=&orderby=5876&imagefile=1911c_0069.jpg.

the nature of their work, but it is also possible that lodging was used in cases of marital breakdown.

Just inside the city boundary, Baggot Street Lower, according to the 1910 *Thom's directory*, was occupied by a substantial number of medics and dentists, but also offered select lodgings under various descriptions: 'furnished apartments' (3) or simply 'apartments' (1), 'private hotel' (4), 'furnished lodgings' (1), 'paying guests' (1), 'private boarding house' (1).[43] Despite the varied terminology used in the directory, the census returns suggest that there was little, if any, distinction between these types of accommodation.

Number 38 Baggot Street Lower, described in *Thom's directory* as a 'private boarding house', but also listed under 'lodging houses, furnished', once again highlighting fluidity of terminology, had two occupants, Mrs Kate Wilson and Arthur E. Moore, dentist. In the 1911 census, three distinct families were enumerated for this address. This might suggest that the house was sub-divided into tenements, but the household forms reveal a different arrangement. The 38-year-old widow Kate Wilson and her two servants (cook and maid), together with three female boarders, two of whom were recorded as a language teacher and 'photo artist', occupied eight rooms in the house. They were distinguished in the census returns from two other individuals living in the same house but described, for census purposes, as separate households.[44] Both were relatively affluent; surgeon Herbert de Leik Crawford, aged twenty-six, and 75-year-old Elizabeth Letitia Fausset (no occupation listed) each had two rooms in the house. The electoral rolls indicate that in 1908 Elizabeth Faussett (*sic*) had been paying £90 per annum for the front and back drawing-rooms, part furnished, at

[43] *Thom's directory* (1911).

[44] This can be confirmed by the census returns. Elizabeth Fausset's separate Form A describes her as a 'lodger' and is signed by Kate Wilson as the 'head of family' (http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/reels/nai000214866/). In the case of 26-year-old Herbert de Leik Crawford, he lists himself as a 'lodger' and while he signs the form A, the enumerator includes the wording 'In the house of Kate Wilson' (http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/reels/nai000214868/).

2 Fitzwilliam Street, another high-status address nearby.[45] It is highly likely that the distinction created in the census form between boarders and lodgers is illusory, and one can envisage the 'lodgers' mixing with the 'boarders' in the drawing room on Sunday afternoons.

The case of the Widow Wilson draws attention to the gendered nature of this story; while males make up the bulk of the lodger/boarder population, there was significant involvement, on different levels, of the lone female – ranging from rural-born women working as servants in the city to women of independent means. The census suggests that many single women who became boarders or lodgers had an independent income or relied on property investments. Some had never married, while others were widowed. Although almost two-thirds of lodgers city-wide were male, proportions varied. Relatively more women were lodging in Rathmines (40 per cent of all lodgers) and parts of Pembroke West. The available evidence suggests that many of these were middle-aged women who had never-married or were widows with means who sought 'genteel' accommodation as 'paying guests' with like-minded individuals. This same group was often responsible for providing lodgings to others, as suggested by the dominance of women in the census listings for both 'boarding house keeper' (87 per cent female) and 'lodging house keeper' (74 per cent female). For women struggling to live within limited means, perhaps suffering from downward social mobility, taking in 'paying guests' could offer a regular source of income as well as potential companionship. This pattern has been found in nineteenth-century London, where lodging-house keeping offered a suitable income for women without detracting from their respectability. Based on the age profile of female lodging-house keepers, Alison Kay

[45] Faussett is not listed in *Thom's directory* for either address in the period 1908 to 1911, and neither she nor Crawford appear in the electoral register for 1911, an indication of its limitations. Such absences are an indication of the difficulty of identifying lodgers given their ephemeral presence in the historical record.

suggests that this may have been 'the best option for middle-aged women who found themselves unsupported and without specialist training.'[46]

Attracting Lodgers and Finding Lodgings

While it is likely that many individuals found accommodation by word of mouth and through informal networks, contemporary newspaper advertisements provide a flavour of the range of lodgings on offer to different sectors.[47] The advertisements also show how providers of lodgings were selective in their choice of lodgers, by specifying requirements for prospective tenants such as preferred religious affiliation or occupation. For example, in March 1910 an *Irish Times* advertisement offered 'comfortable board and lodging' to a 'respectable tradesman' in a private house for 15*s* per week at 29 Ballybough Road.[48] In another case, lodgings on Castlewood Avenue in Rathmines were offered specifically for 'drapers' assistants'.[49] Occasionally accommodation was offered to undergraduate students. More frequently, *Irish Times* advertisers appealed to higher status individuals, specified as 'suit gentleman' or 'businessman', also mentioning 'select accommodation' with 'highest references' or inviting 'paying guests'. The provision of references by both parties was an important first step in establishing a genteel paying guest relationship. Costs were rarely stipulated, although the term 'moderate' was sometimes used. Amenities noted in the advertisements included 'electric light', 'bath', 'piano' and, occasionally, 'tennis'. The status of those offering accommodation might be mentioned, 'clergyman's widow', 'doctor's daughter', 'gentlemen's family' and 'good social position'.[50] Although *Irish Times*

[46] Alison C. Kay, 'A little enterprise of her own: lodging-house keeping and the accommodation business in nineteenth-century London', *The London Journal*, 28:2 (2003), 41-53.
[47] The discussion in this section is based on analysis of classified advertisements in the *Irish Times* and *Evening Herald* of 1910 and 1911.
[48] *Irish Times*, 16 March 1910.
[49] *Irish Times*, 27 May 1910.
[50] *Irish Times*, 12 February 1909, 6 January 1910, 19 May 1910, 10 March 1911, 13 March 1911.

advertisers sometimes specified that 'Protestant' lodgers were desired, there was no general pattern of religious segregation in lodgings.[51]

By contrast, advertisers in the *Evening Herald* generally targeted the skilled working classes. Typical wording in advertisements referred to 'quiet', 'clean' and 'comfortable' lodging for either 'respectable' or 'working' men. The availability of separate beds was sometimes specified, as this was not always guaranteed. In general, such accommodation cost from 2*s* to 5*s* per week, or 12*s* to 13*s* including board, at locations including the North Circular Road as well as the city centre, where accommodation was offered above shops. Tobacconist Ellen Dwyer supplemented the income from her business at 43 Capel Street by offering lodgings at 3*s* per week.[52] The 1911 census records four male lodgers, ranging in age from 40 to 60 years, at this address. Their occupations were coachman, groom, carpenter and general shopman.

It is probable, but difficult to establish conclusively, that lodging offered a solution for individuals whose lifestyle departed from the accepted norm. There are intriguing possibilities of unconventional living arrangements being facilitated by lodging, as has been demonstrated elsewhere.[53] This is suggested in the possibly coded language of advertisements referencing 'modern' or 'artistic' households.

There was no one 'type' of individual who became a lodger. Instead, as this discussion has illustrated, Dublin had a diversity of lodgers from across the social spectrum. Their geographical spread reflects the broader socio-economic structure of the city, as lodgers tended to find accommodation with others of similar backgrounds. The final section of this

[51] This point is clear from analysis of census returns for Drumcondra, Glasnevin, and for parts of Rathmines and Pembroke. These findings are also in line with Maguire '*Socio-economic analysis of the Dublin protestant working-class*,' who found that Protestant households frequently contained both Protestant and Catholic lodgers, while Protestant lodgers were often enumerated in Catholic households.
[52] *Evening Herald*, 29 April 1911.
[53] O'Hanlon, *Melbourne*.

article considers lower middle-class families in newer suburbs such as Drumcondra, who appear to have relied on lodgers to supplement their income and facilitate the rental or even purchase of respectable homes.

Suburban Lodgers in Drumcondra and Glasnevin

The newly-emerging neighbouring suburbs of Drumcondra and Glasnevin were brought under the jurisdiction of Dublin Corporation at the start of the twentieth century. Suburban development had taken off in the 1870s, and new housing was still under construction at the time of the 1911 census. The area was an emerging and aspiring suburb, mixed in terms of religious affiliation and social character, but predominantly lower middle-class. For accommodation providers in the newer suburbs, having lodgers could be an economic necessity which made house purchase or employing servants possible.

From 1898, lodgers became entitled to vote in local elections, once they had reached the minimum age of 21 (for men) or 30 (for women), and provided they were lodging for more than twelve months at the same address, in accommodation valued at 4*s* weekly (£10 yearly). However, no actual payment of rent was necessary in order to claim the lodger vote.[54] The Dublin City Electoral Rolls reveal that the lodger electorate was very distinctive spatially. The city had twenty-one wards, and the number of registered lodger voters in each ward varied from less than ten individuals (as in the case of Merchant's Quay and North City wards) to highs of 401 in Glasnevin and 618 in Drumcondra (in 1908). Although the overall numbers and proportions varied somewhat over the period 1908 to 1915, between one fifth and one quarter of the lodger voters for Dublin city were registered in the Drumcondra ward, far out of proportion to its overall population size. In the same period, a further 15 to 18 per

[54] See 'Women and the lodger franchise', a letter by Anna Haslam, honorary secretary of the Irish Women's Suffrage and Local Government Association to the editor of the *Irish Independent*, 19 July 1910, which detailed how women lodgers could obtain their vote.

cent of the lodger franchise was registered in neighbouring Glasnevin. These two wards, combined, accounted for as much as 44 per cent of the lodger franchise in the city in 1908.

Proportionally, lodger voters in Dublin, as a percentage of the total electorate, varied between 4 and 5 per cent in the period 1908 to 1915.[55] The electoral rolls for 1910 record just 1,984 lodger voters for the city out of the full complement of voters (48,163), which in turn was under 16 per cent of the overall population of Dublin city at the time of the 1911 census. The information recorded for each registered lodger included his or her address, name and address of landlord, and voter number. Most usefully from the perspective of social and economic history, however, is the inclusion of details regarding the amount of rent paid, a description of the room(s) occupied and whether or not they were furnished. For example, the 1910 electoral register records landlord Patrick Fitzgerald at 18 Hollybank Road, Drumcondra, where his two lodgers, Jeremiah Ryan and William Sullivan enjoyed furnished accommodation, the former in the 'return room' at 9*s* weekly, and the latter in the 'top back bedroom' at 25*s* monthly. The electoral register was finalised each December, and in theory the 1911 register should reflect individuals living at that address at the time of the census taken in April, given the one year residency requirement. However, this was dependent on individuals re-registering annually. Yet, while Jeremiah Ryan was recorded at this address on census night 1911, he is absent from the 1911 electoral register. Nevertheless, the 1911 census provides a clear picture of the household. The head is 40-year-old Patrick Fitzgerald, a Limerick-born commercial assistant, who has been married for 12 years to Winifred, with whom he has one child, Mary Brigid. Also listed on this return is one 'boarder', Jeremiah Ryan, a 48-year-old single commercial traveller born in Tipperary. Presumably the other lodger at this address in the 1910 electoral roll, William Sullivan, has moved to other

[55] The full complement of voters was dominated by the category of Rated Occupiers and Inhabitant Householders, while Freemen of Dublin were also eligible to vote. Details about the regulations and voting entitlements for each class of voter may be found at http://databases.dublincity.ie/burgesses/about.php.

lodgings. Ryan is still registered to vote at this address in 1915, indicating the longevity of this particular lodging arrangement. While this example shows some of the useful data on lodgers which may be obtained from the electoral rolls, it also suggests that their use is not unproblematic.

At a micro-level, by examining a single street, it is possible to start to unpeel the layers of lodging in a suburban context. Hollybank Road, a street which straddles Drumcondra and Glasnevin, is located about one mile (1.6 kms) north of the centre of Dublin, and was developed in a piecemeal fashion from the late 1880s.[56] The earliest advert for houses on Hollybank Road appears in November 1888 when the appeal is 'to small capitalists – safe investments, well built and let to respectable tenants'.[57] These were among the first houses on the street, judging by a slightly later advertisement from 1894 which points to the 'two superior well-built modern houses', numbers 17 and 19, for which the lease dated from 1892.[58] Batches of houses were frequently sold, as with numbers 95, 97, 99 and 101 which were advertised in 1896 as being well built of red brick, the only other apparently noteworthy attraction being the tramline.[59] As late as 1905, numbers 25 and 27 Hollybank Road were being offered for sale together as a 'capital investment',

> two well-built modern houses, in good order. Each contains three sitting-rooms, five bedrooms, hot and cold bath, servant's room, kitchen, scullery, garden etc. held for 500 years, subject to £3 10s per annum each and let at £40 per annum each, tenant paying taxes.[60]

[56] The development process is discussed in R. McManus, 'The Growth of Drumcondra 1875-1940', in J. Kelly (ed), *St. Patrick's College, Drumcondra, 1875-2000: a history* (Dublin, 2006), pp. 41-66.
[57] *Irish Times*, 9 November 1888, p. 8.
[58] *Irish Times*, 15 June 1894, p. 8.
[59] *Irish Times*, 13 April 1896, p. 7.
[60] *Irish Times*, 29 August 1905, p. 8.

Similarly, two of the three-storey houses on the street were being sold as a 'good investment', 'best situation' in 1906 for £1000, or £525 for one.[61] The attractions mentioned in these early advertisements included hot baths, while an advertisement for the letting of 9 Hollybank Road in 1895 noted that this seven-roomed house was 'airy, dry', had a good garden, its bathroom was 'self-supplying', it had 'splendid sewerage' and the sanitation was 'perfect'. The rental was £40 per annum.[62]

The framing of these advertisements suggests that most of the Hollybank Road houses were not sold to owner-occupiers, but rather purchased by investors who then let them to tenants. In turn, some of these tenants began to engage in various sub-tenancy arrangements, by taking in lodgers, to supplement their incomes or pay the rent. Some of the houses may have been occupied by the investors, however. By the turn of the twentieth century, aspiring home owners could avail of a range of sources of funding for their house purchase, through building societies, banks and insurance companies.[63] A further stimulus was provided by the Small Dwellings Acquisition Act 1899, which enabled local authorities to advance loans for the purchase of existing houses (below a specified cost).[64] This legislation was to prove significant in the shifting pattern of housing tenure in Ireland over the course of the century which followed its introduction.[65] It is possible that some of those households taking in boarders or lodgers were stretching their means in order to undertake a house purchase.

[61] *Irish Times*, 9 November 1906, p. 12.
[62] *Irish Times*, 25 July 1895, p. 2.
[63] See for example the classified advertisement for 'Herbertville', 18 St David's Terrace, a modern semi-detached house which was offered in a private sale in 1911 as follows: 'about £100 cash sufficient; 30 years to pay balance', *Irish Times*, 25 March 1911, p. 3.
[64] The ceiling purchase price of houses qualifying for loans under the Small Dwellings Acquisition Act 1899 was initially set at £400, while up to four-fifths of the money could be advanced. These details were subsequently amended on several occasions beginning with the Housing (Ireland) Act of 1919.
[65] See P.J. Meghen, *Housing in Ireland* (Dublin, 1963); R. McManus, 'Suburban and urban housing in the twentieth century,' *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 111C (2011), pp. 253–86.

The earliest advertisement relating to the practice of lodging identified for Hollybank Road dates from 1894, where a 'gentleman can have large front room, bed and sitting room; cleanliness, attendance'.[66] In 1899 unfurnished rooms on Hollybank Road were on offer, complete 'with use of a bathroom' 'at a moderate rate to a respectable couple'.[67] The notion of married couples choosing the comfort and lower costs of lodging rather than setting up their own home was seen as problematic in other countries. Mulholland notes objections to lodging and boarding houses in Britain on the grounds that 'they encouraged transience and discouraged domesticity'.[68] Lodging also suited the growing numbers of young lower middle-class men and women coming to the city to work in the white-collar service sector, as suggested in the 1905 advertisement for 'nicely-furnished apartments, suit business ladies or gentlemen, hot and cold bath' at 3 Hollybank Road.[69] In 1910, a 'comfortable, airy bedroom, use of sitting room, hot bath, moderate, 1*d* tram' was being advertised at 17 Hollybank Road.[70] In fact, the 1911 census shows three lodgers – two male civil servants and a female dressmaker –residing at this address, together with 45-year-old widow Bina Tierney and her daughter Mary.

Of the 532 individuals residing in Hollybank Road's ninety-six houses in 1911, some forty-five were lodgers (i.e. 8.5 per cent), while seventeen houses accommodated lodgers, just under 18 per cent of the total. Analysis of classified advertisements for houses on Hollybank Road in 1910 and 1911 suggests that rents and purchase prices had changed little since the houses were built.[71] The letting prices for houses ranged from £32 to £46 per

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[66] *Irish Times*, 3 March 1894. According to Davidoff, 'attendance' included services such as cleaning, carrying water and coal, emptying slops, making fires and running errands.
[67] *Irish Times*, 18 July 1899.
[68] T. Mulholland, *British boarding houses in inter-war women's literature: alternative domestic spaces*, (London, 2016), p. 11.
[69] *Irish Times*, 10 August 1905.
[70] *Irish Times*, 16 March 1910.
[71] Classified advertisements were checked for the following four newspapers: *Irish Times, Freeman's Journal, Irish Independent* and *Evening Herald*. The greatest number of relevant advertisements appeared in the *Irish*

annum.[72] Sales prices, where mentioned, were from £350 (for a quick sale) to £425 and £450 respectively (for two semi-detached houses with possession).[73] Based on these figures, the considerable financial contribution made to household income by lodgers becomes clear. Data from the electoral rolls shows that typical payments for board and lodging ranged from 5*s* per week up to 30*s*, with a median of 12*s* per week (i.e. over £31 per annum).[74] Even with only one lodger present in a household, and allowing for costs such as food and other services, the additional income provided was substantial in relation to rent or mortgage payments. The 1911 electoral rolls show that Michael Joseph O'Rourke paid his widowed landlady at 70 Hollybank Road 14*s* per week for board and lodgings. If Catherine Biggar was renting her house, the annual income of £36 from her lodger would have covered the rent. In the event that she was a home owner, such an income would have paid for many household necessities. Similarly, John Troy's £1 per week payment for board and lodging at 34 Hollybank Road would have comfortably covered the annual rental of the house. With a second lodger in the Rickard household, together with the income from the head's employment as a shopkeeper, the family could have enjoyed a comfortable standard of living. At nearby 225 Clonliffe Road, the electoral rolls show that, between them, four male lodgers paid their widowed landlady a total of 42*s* weekly (for board and lodgings in three cases and

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Times (43) and *Freeman's Journal* (23). In total, 15 different properties were listed in the former, with 5 in the latter. Neither the *Evening Herald* nor the *Irish Independent* yielded relevant results.

[72] £32: 82 Hollybank Road, 3 bedrooms; £34: 2 Hollybank Road, 7 rooms; £38 p.a.: 10 Hollybank Road, 6 rooms; £42 p.a.: 15 Hollybank Road, sevens rooms, and £46 p.a. (81 Hollybank Road, 8 rooms). These data are compiled from advertisements appearing in the *Irish Times* and *Freeman's Journal* in 1910 and 1911 (*Irish Times*, 6 January 1910, 14 July 1910, 17 October 1910, 1 December 1910, 25 March 1911, 3 April 1911, 13 May 1911, 29 July 1911, 24 November 1911; *Freeman's Journal*, 5 September 1910, 27 August 1910).

[73] Several houses were also sold by auction.

[74] This analysis is based on 'true' lodgers identified by combining the electoral rolls and census returns. It excludes those lodger voters who were related family members on the basis that the information provided may be as bogus as their claim for the franchise.

'room only' in the fourth). Her weekly earnings, therefore, would have exceeded those of a skilled building worker of the same period.[75]

Widows were particularly dependent on lodgers to supplement their incomes. Almost one-fifth of widowed heads of household in Drumcondra ward received lodgers in 1911. However, many other household types were involved in sub-tenancy arrangements, suggesting that lodging was relatively common and that a great variety of forms of the practice existed. On Hollybank Road, for example, lodgers had the same occupation as heads of households and were employees, others came from the same rural location as heads of households, while others may have been distantly related. The households were sometimes headed by widows or single females, or by young childless couples, and sometimes comprised families of older, unmarried siblings. There was no one 'typical' lodger, in terms of age or occupation, nor was there a 'typical' host household.

In an area such as Drumcondra, and other similar suburbs, lodgers provided an important additional source of household income. It has also been mooted that the keeping of servants could be related to the lodger phenomenon.[76] This was alluded to by a correspondent to the *Irish Times* in 1910, who bemoaned the fact that

> poor and less fortunate [girls], many of whom are taken from the workhouses, orphanages, and industrial schools [to become servants]... by people who can ill afford to pay the rents of the houses they occupy, but, for the sake of being

[75] D'Arcy has demonstrated the daily rates of skilled building workers for 1911 at between 74*d* and 76*d* per day, see F. A. D'Arcy, 'Wages of Skilled Workers in the Dublin Building Industry, 1667-1918', *Saothar*, 15 (1990), 1-37.

[76] The 1911 census shows that servants made up almost two-fifths of the female labour force in Dublin, many of them in the suburban wards (38.2%). Although there was a significant fall in the number of women in this sector when compared with 1881, there were still 11,611 women described as 'indoor servants' in the city. This reliance on domestic help is unsurprising given that even the most modern houses built around the turn of the century were difficult to manage. A live-in 'general' or a daily charwoman eased the burden of the constant cleaning important in a city fuelled by smoky coal fires and where older houses lacked a running water supply. See McManus, 'Suburban and urban housing', p. 258.

> respectable, are obliged to keep "paying guests" or lodgers, and of necessity a servant: but a cap and apron do not make a servant….[77]

The assertion of the letter writer that industrial schools and reformatories were an important source of domestic servants has been demonstrated by Mona Hearn.[78] However, the evidence linking servants to 'respectable' individuals who kept lodgers in order to pay the rent is far less clear cut. In one case at Clonliffe Road in Drumcondra, a married sorting clerk in the GPO with two children, on an annual wage of approximately £146, was able to employ a young general servant because the family kept a boarder which gave them a higher income.[79] By contrast, a neighbour and colleague with a larger family was unable to keep a servant. However, Hearn's work suggests that income was only one indicator of the likelihood of keeping a servant, as social class was the single most important factor affecting their employment. This analysis of the Drumcondra ward has not determined a correlation between the presence of servants and lodgers. Although it was sometimes the case that households with lodgers also had live-in servants, this by no means the norm. It appears more likely that the additional income derived from lodgers went towards rent or mortgage payments as well as general household expenses.

Detailed analysis of the Drumcondra electoral rolls casts some doubt on the validity of those registered to vote under the lodger franchise. There are numerous cases where the 'lodgers' share a surname with their landlord, which suggests that they were not genuine lodgers, but rather were adult family members who could not otherwise qualify to vote as they were not householders. When the 1911 electoral rolls were correlated with the census returns for that year, some 324 individuals were found at the specified address (of a total of 485 registered lodger voters). Of these, just over one fifth were 'bona fide' lodgers (67

[77] R.P.C. letter to the editor, *Irish Times*, 20 October 1910.
[78] Mona Hearn, *Below Stairs, domestic service remembered in Dublin and beyond, 1880-1922* (Dublin, 1993).
[79] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

individuals), while over three-quarters of registered lodger voters were related family members (247 individuals). The majority of these 'false' lodgers were adult children (193), while siblings (34) and other relatives (20) were also found. [80] Ten individuals who were listed as household heads in the census were found to have registered for the lodger vote. In addition to the abuse of the lodger franchise seen in the designation of family members as lodgers in order to obtain voting rights, it is noteworthy that of the 93 women who were registered to vote as lodgers in 1911, over half (49 individuals) were under the official voting age of 30 years. 'Bogus lodgers' were not confined to the suburbs, although one newspaper article made particular mention of the prevalence of the practice in Rathmines and Clontarf.[81] An examination of 535 registered lodger voters in the eight wards on the southside of the city in 1910, identified over two-fifths as family members, while over one-quarter could not be found at that address in the census returns.[82] While allowance must be made for population movement, the frequent difficulty in identifying lodger voters in the census returns points to potential electoral fraud, which calls the accuracy of the electoral rolls into question.[83] The overwhelming dominance of the newer suburbs within the lodger franchise for the city is more an indication of a politicised group asserting their (doubtful) right to vote, rather than a sign of exceptionally high levels of semi-permanent (i.e. in residence for more than one year) lodgers. Unfortunately, therefore, the rich detail provided in the electoral rolls on type and cost of accommodation must be treated with caution. While it is quite likely that individuals related to heads of households who claimed a lodger vote were contributing financially to the

[80] These included brother-in-law, cousin, father-in-law, mother-in-law, nephew, 'relative', son-in-law, step brother and uncle (compiled by correlating the Electoral Roll with the 1911 census household returns).
[81] 'Lodger franchise, audacious tactics, Rathmines and Clontarf manufacturing claims', *Irish Daily Independent*, 15 September 1904.
[82] Based on an analysis of the electoral rolls for the following wards: Fitzwilliam, Trinity, Usher's Quay, Wood Quay, Mansion House, Merchant's Quay, South City and South Dock.
[83] See, for example, the newspaper report into 'alleged bogus lodgers' in Drumcondra in 1908, *Irish Times*, 15 September 1908, p. 3; 'Dublin city: more bogus claims', *Irish Times*, 28 September 1904, p. 7, 'Rathmines Lodgers' Claims', *Freeman's Journal*, 1 October 1910, p. 8. A solicitor in Limerick claimed that 90 per cent of lodger claims in the city were bogus, see *Weekly Irish Times*, 1 October 1904, p. 14.

household, there is no guarantee that the figures presented on their claims regarding rent paid are accurate.

Despite these limitations, Dublin's lodger franchise reveals an aspect of urban life which is difficult to examine by other means. If caution is employed and related family members are excluded, it is possible to gain a sense of the impact of lodgers within individual households. For example, Iona Road which straddles the Drumcondra-Glasnevin boundary was still under construction in 1908 when the lodger register was compiled. In number 4, Mrs Jane McGuinness earned £1 per month (i.e. 20*s*) from the lodger in her furnished front room, John O'Shaughnessy, while she provided Joseph Molloy, the occupant of the furnished back room, with partial board and lodging for 7*s* per week (i.e. 28*s* monthly).[84] In a neighbouring street, Edward Walker paid 25*s* weekly (i.e. 100*s* / £5 monthly) for board and lodging to Miss Annie O'Neill for a furnished back room at 3 Lindsay Road. Two doors down at number 7 Lindsay Road, William Stack lodged in the 'top back and front unfurnished', for which he paid 5*s* per week (i.e. 20*s* / £1 monthly) to landlord Thomas Murphy. James W. Redmond, the lodger at 12 Lindsay Road, had a furnished front bedroom at £60 per annum (equivalent of £5 monthly) from landlord Samuel Walton. Note the range of different arrangements, from unfurnished rooms, to weekly board and lodgings, to an annual rate of payment, all of which provide clues as to the degree of security or permanency of these sub-tenancies. Those paying up to £5 monthly were also clearly supplementing the living costs of the household, given that builder Alex. Strain was advertising a 'bright house' on Lindsay Road for £48 per annum in 1911.[85]

Combining the electoral register information, which provides names and addresses of lodgers and landlord/landlady, accommodation types and financial arrangements, with the

[84] The first amount stated is the rent listed on the electoral rolls, while the amount in brackets is provided for ease of comparison.
[85] *Irish Times*, 18 January 1911.

census data, which lists age, occupation and marital status, broadens our understanding of both lodger and host. Checking the 1911 census, Edward J. Walker [who lived with landlady Miss Annie O'Neill in 1908] is listed as a boarder on Crawford Road (an earlier name for part of Iona Road), in a substantial nine-roomed property. Walker was a 51-year old single man employed as a compositor and born in Co. Carlow. He resided with the O'Neill family, which comprised national school teacher Annie, a single woman of 47 years, her brother John, a 69-year-old retired teacher, and their 30-year old servant Mary Anne Brady. This indicates the long-term nature of the lodger relationship, with an on-going sub-tenancy of at least three years. Significantly, the household was located at 3 Lindsay Road in 1908, but had moved to 8 Crawford Road by the date of the 1911 census. Walker remained with the family through this change of address. A similar long-standing relationship is evident in the case of lodger James Redmond and the Walton family mentioned above. The census reveals that 64-year-old widower Samuel Walton, a Methodist retired draper, and his two adult daughters, were still living on Lindsay Road together with their boarder, 55-year-old James Redmond, in 1911, as they had done in 1908. Armagh-born Redmond was an unmarried member of the Church of Ireland who managed a flour mills. The cases of Walker and Redmond show that lodging could be a longer-term dwelling choice. This is suggested by the many newspaper advertisements which offer 'permanence', but can be demonstrated conclusively by combining the evidence of the electoral rolls and census returns. Lodging was not just associated with those who were young and mobile, but could provide fixed accommodation for an older demographic.

Conclusion

Due to their often transient nature, many lodgers may be completely absent from the historical record, unless their occupancy happens to have coincided with an enumeration such as the census. The limitations of the sources helps explain the lack of inquiry into lodging in

Dublin, despite the fact that one person in every twenty in the city was a lodger in 1911. This article has begun to bridge this gap using a range of digitised materials, including newspaper archives, census data and electoral rolls, together with contemporary street directories. In combination, these sources can address some of the key questions which were raised at the start of this article, beginning with the nature of housing choices for individuals who arrived to the city in search of employment. Depending on their employment, many in-migrants to the city 'lived-in' either as domestic servants or shop assistants who occupied accommodation over the premises, frequently sharing with their employer, their family and other colleagues. Others lived with relatives, as is suggested by the census returns.[86] Some young women availed of the services of charitable homes which provided training as well as accommodation. For the remainder, lodging with a family was a very common choice. Newcomers in white-collar employment tended to locate in areas of a similar social class, such as the emerging suburbs of Drumcondra, Glasnevin and Rathmines. The vast majority identified such lodgings by word of mouth through informal networks, although prospective tenants occasionally placed classified advertisements in newspapers, or responded to those of accommodation providers.

Lodging was an option for individuals of all social classes. Adults of the most limited means could pay a nightly rate to stay in a common lodging house, which also suited the most transient populations. Cheap accommodation could also be found by sharing lodgings with a family in a room or rooms within a tenement house. Higher up the social scale, lodging offered a degree of stability and home life to people without their own family. Such living arrangements could be long-term and not merely temporary and transitory. Lodgers were not always in-migrants, nor were they all at a youthful stage of the life-cycle.

[86] Yoshifumi Shimizu, 'Family structure in the city of Dublin in early twentieth century', *St. Andrew's University Sociological Review*, 48:1 (2014), 1-32.

For women without the protection of a male relation (including widows, deserted wives and never-married women), offering lodgings was a safe, respectable means of earning a living which could, where necessary, be combined with raising a family. The economic benefits of taking a lodger could be considerable, as demonstrated for Drumcondra, where the typical annual income from just one lodger was broadly equivalent to the rent for a reasonable suburban dwelling. It is likely that offering lodgings was a useful supplement which contributed to mortgage repayments, as in the modern-day 'rent a room' tax relief scheme. Unfortunately, sufficient data is not currently available to test these assumptions more fully.

The diverse social stratification of Dublin city in the early twentieth century is reflected in the huge range of lodging arrangements that were enjoyed by different social groups. With the exception of a degree of moral panic around common lodging houses, other forms of lodging were accepted as part of everyday life. Despite the suggestion, conveyed through newspaper coverage, of some slight nervousness, and indeed mild titillation, at the notion of taking strangers into the family home, in fact these lodgers were generally well vetted in advance of their arrival, either through the networks which had connected the interested parties or by way of references. Indeed, the available evidence for Dublin accords with Baskerville's study of Canada, which suggests conceptualising lodging as 'the taking in of familiar strangers, men and women who, while not personally known to their new hosts before their arrival, are in the more general sense of class, religion, occupation, and ethnic background very familiar and compatible and not strange at all'.[87]

This exploration of Dublin's lodger phenomenon has revealed many different worlds within the city. The diverse experiences and characterisations of boarders and lodgers ranged from Charles Booth's 'lowest class, vicious, semi-criminal,' who occupied the common

[87] Baskerville, 'Familiar Strangers,' 322-3.

lodging houses, to the institutional and philanthropic attempts to improve lodging for the poor, and provide moral protection for lone females, as well as the highly respectable and often upwardly mobile lodgers who once occupied the streets of Dublin's emerging suburbs. This is a multi-faceted tale of various social classes, migratory statuses and gendered experiences of urban life. Further exploration will facilitate a greater understanding of the social and economic impacts of the 'lodger phenomenon' of the early twentieth century. By shedding light on this forgotten group, a deeper understanding of Dublin's social history will also be achieved.

Acknowledgements

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LIST OF TABLES and CHARTS

Table 1: Ten counties with the highest proportion of boarders and lodgers, 1911

County	Total population	Boarders	Lodgers	Boarders as % of county pop	Lodgers as % of county pop	Boarders per 1 lodger	Combined boarders and lodgers as % of
Dublin	48,0296	2,1605	2,804	4.50	0.58	7.7	5.08
Antrim	47,7699	2,0315	2,035	4.25	0.43	10.0	4.68
Wicklow	60,572	1,556	273	2.57	0.45	5.7	3.02
Down	30,5356	7,897	697	2.59	0.23	11.3	2.81
Waterford	81,930	1,747	495	2.13	0.60	3.5	2.74
Londonderry	140,974	3,449	402	2.45	0.29	8.6	2.73
Cork	392,874	8,439	1,393	2.15	0.35	6.1	2.50
Limerick	143,328	2,880	626	2.01	0.44	4.6	2.45
Louth	63,902	1,322	183	2.07	0.29	7.2	2.36
Wexford	102,426	2,034	303	1.99	0.30	6.7	2.28

Source: compiled from Census of Population, 1911.

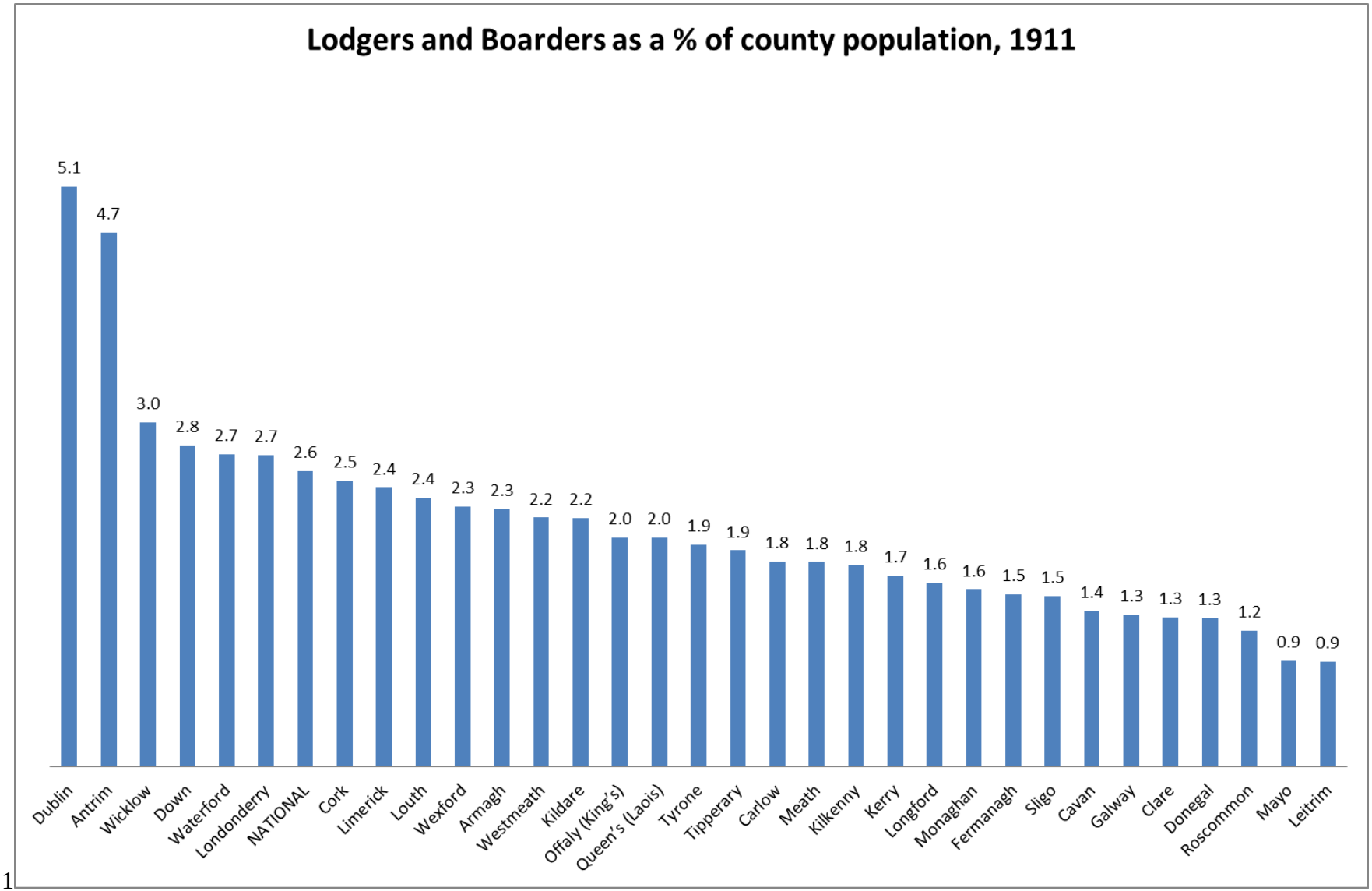
Lodgers and Boarders as a % of county population, 1911
5.1
4.7
3.0
2.8
2.7
2.7
2.6
2.5
2.4
2.4
2.3
2.3
2.2
2.2
2.0
2.0
1.9
1.9
1.8
1.8
1.8
1.7
1.6
1.6
1.5
1.5
1.4
1.3
1.3
1.3
1.2
0.9
0.9
Dublin
Antrim
Wicklow
Down
Waterford
Londonderry
NATIONAL
Cork
Limerick
Louth
Wexford
Armagh
Westmeath
Kildare
Offaly (King's)
Queen's (Laois)
Tyrone
Tipperary
Carlow
Meath
Kilkenny
Kerry
Longford
Monaghan
Fermanagh
Sligo
Cavan
Galway
Clare
Donegal
Roscommon
Mayo
Leitrim

Chart 1

Source: compiled from Census of Population 1911.