

Ballymun, A History
Volumes I & II c.1600 - 1997
Synopsis

As part of the regeneration of Ballymun, Ballymun Regeneration Ltd commissioned an extensive historical research of Ballymun and the surrounding area.

The purpose of this synopsis is to let people know about the wealth of information, maps, photographs and other fascinating details on the history of Ballymun which is now available to researchers and students. The History took over a year to research and write and is presented in two volumes.

The first volume documents the history of Ballymun and the people who have lived there from the beginning of the seventeenth century until the end of the 1950s. The second volume of the History takes up the story of Ballymun from the beginning of the 1960s, when the decision was taken to build the Ballymun Estate.

Ballymun A History

Volumes I & II
c.1600 - 1997

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Dr. Robert Somerville-Woodward

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Images on cover:

Details of the paintings of John O'Donovan, & The Hellfire Club
Courtesy of the National Gallery of Ireland.

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Ballymun, A History 1600-1997:

Introduction

As part of the regeneration of Ballymun, Ballymun Regeneration Ltd commissioned an extensive historical research of Ballymun and the surrounding area. The project was officially launched at a public meeting held at Stormanstown House on 29th June 2000. It included three distinct but interconnected elements, which can be viewed as the Ballymun Community Archive in the Ballymun Library. Many residents were involved in 'The Oral History Project', which complemented the Ballymun History 1600 - 1997.

The purpose of this synopsis is to let people know about the wealth of information, maps, photographs and other fascinating details on the history of Ballymun which is now available to researchers and students. The *History* took over a year to research and write and is presented in two volumes. The first volume documents the history of Ballymun and the people who have lived there from the beginning of the seventeenth century until the end of the 1950s. The second volume of the *History* takes up the story of Ballymun from the beginning of the 1960s, when the decision was taken to build the Ballymun Estate, and ends in the summer of 2001. The *History*, while extensive in its coverage of Ballymun, is not an exhaustive history and no criticism is intended by the exclusion of any person or event from the history.

Volume 1, c. 1600-1960:

Before this research was carried out very little had been published on the history of Ballymun prior to the 1960s. Notable exceptions are the *History of Santry and Cloghran Parishes*, written in 1883 by a former rector of Santry Parish, Benjamin Adams (1827-86), and more recently there is the unpublished manuscript presented to the researchers by Eileen Roche, a resident of Ballymun. Eileen's father compiled this manuscript over several years, together with a number of young people from Ballymun.

Wherever possible the research was based on original sources including old manuscripts, maps, and legal documents*. Many of these, notably the Santry Estate papers, old wills, testaments and land documents, date back to the 1650s. An extensive collection of written records for the Santry Estate has survived from the 1750s, when the Estate passed from the Barry to the Domville family. The number of surviving manuscripts suggests that the Santry Estate is one of the better documented landed estates in Ireland. The Ballymun Community Archive illustrates some of the ways in which the Santry Estate was managed and run in the mid-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and some reproductions of beautiful maps and photographs of early estate ledgers are available to view in the Community Archive.

* Appendix 7 of the first volume of *Ballymun, A History* offers some advice and help for anybody interested in conducting their own research into the history of the area, its buildings and early residents, using the *History* as a starting point.

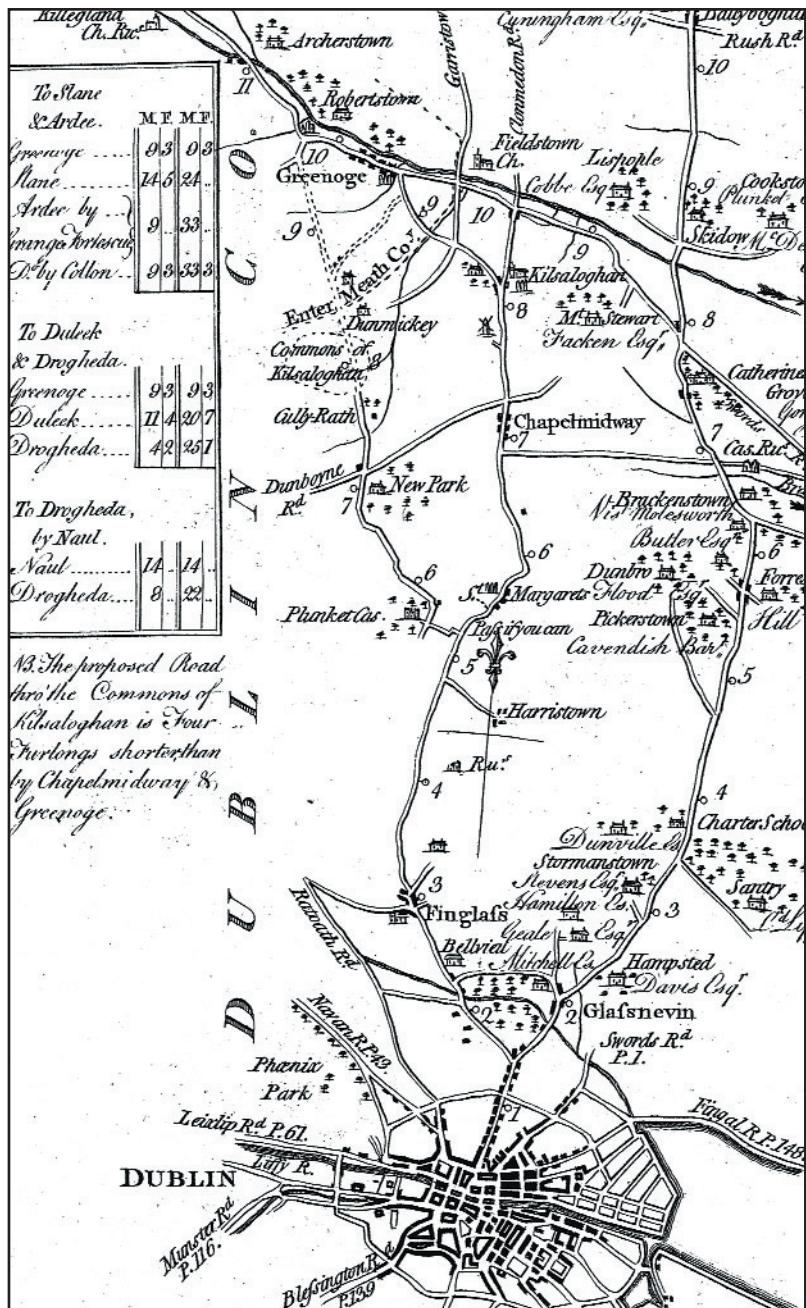
The Landscape of Ballymun.

The name Ballymun refers to one of the most northerly townlands in the parish of Santry. Ballymun is one of twenty townlands in Santry parish in the Barony of Coolock. Townlands still exist as geographical and administrative units. The term 'townland' bears no relation to a town or a city, being derived from the Old-English word *tun* similar to the Irish *tuath*, signifying an enclosure, and was based on a number of ancient and medieval land divisions, such as the Gaelic *Bally Betagh* and the medieval *ploughlands* and *quarters*. It is probable that the farming/land units of extended Irish families had been organised along the lines of the townland system by the eighth or ninth century. Many of the ancient boundaries of these townlands were still recognisable in the form of old walls, footpaths, roadways and hedgerows when construction work began on the Ballymun Estate in 1965. Much of the built environment of Ballymun was named after these ancient townlands: Balbutcher, Balcurris, Coultry, Silloge, Poppintree, and Stormanstown. However, no part of the Ballymun Estate was built in the townland of Ballymun.

In area, the largest townland in the parish of Santry is the townland of Santry, measuring some 630 acres. The smallest, is the townland of Little Dunbro, which measures just over eighteen acres*. The townlands in the Civil Parish of Santry, in addition to those already mentioned are: Ballystraun, Belcamp, Clonshagh, Collinstown, Commons, Dardistown, Dubber, Huntstown, Meakstown, Rock, Santry (including Santry Village), Santry Demesne, Turnapin (Little & Great).

In 1537, which is the first time Ballymun is mentioned in historical sources, it was known as 'Ballymon'. A townland of 180 acres of arable land with one house known as the 'Villa of Ballymon' sited there. Just over two hundred years later, in 1739, Ballymun was known as 'Ballymund' but also as 'Hampton Court'. By 1837 only two houses, 'Ballymun House' and 'Ballymun' occupied the townland. It now consisted of 365 acres of land used for growing oats, wheat,

* The *History* provides a brief history of all the townlands in Santry Parish giving a chronological list of the different names, geography and physical environment for each, as recorded in the historical sources.



The Dublin to Swords Road, from Taylor & Skinners Road Maps of Ireland, 1777. (Courtesy of the National Library of Ireland.)

potatoes, turnips, hay and clover*. The built environment changed little over the next century, and at the beginning of the 1900s there were only six dwellings at Ballymun.

The Early History: c. 600-1500 AD

Santry has been variously recorded in the historical records in English as Sanctrefe, Santrie, Santre, Santreff, Sauntre, Sawntre, Sawntreff, Scanctrife and Sewntreff. The present English rendering of Santry is a phonetic representation of its Irish name, *Sean-treabh*, meaning old tribe or family. The name Santry is a very old one and first appears in the written records in the 9th century, when the *Annals of the Four Masters* recorded the death in 827 AD of 'Cormac, son of Muirgheas, Abbot of Seantrabh'. By the 9th century, the rule of clerical celibacy was not widely practiced in Ireland, and hereditary succession - that is, succession by election within the family - was common in the Irish Church.

St Pappin

The most famous name associated with Santry Parish and Ballymun is that of St. Pappin. He was the son of Aengus McNathfraid, the first Christian King of Munster and the brother of saints Colman, Folloman, Jernoe and Naal. St. Pappin is believed to have flourished in the fifth and sixth centuries. It is thought that St. Pappin, and probably his brother, St. Folloman founded the parish of Santry, sometime in the sixth century.

The feast of St. Pappin was celebrated on 31st July at Poppintree. The name 'Poppintree' is a corruption of the Pattern or feast of St. Pappin. The Pattern was held under the branches of an ancient tree, which was thought to stand somewhere near the crossroads where the Dublin to Naul Road (Ballymun Road) met Santry Avenue, probably in the townland of Balcurris. The Pattern was discontinued sometime after 1846, but was certainly still being observed in 1837, when the 'holy tree' under which the Pattern took

* More detail on the townland of Ballymun, the development of its physical environment, the way the land was used and the different ways the name of Ballymun has been recorded can be found in the *History of Ballymun*. Similar facts are also recorded for the other townlands of Santry Parish.

place was described by the famous antiquarian, Eugene O'Curry. The existence of the holy tree of St. Pappin and its proximity to a 'holy well', indicates that Santry's origins were probably pre-Christian. St. Pappin's holy tree is one of only a tiny number of sacred trees or *bile* that have been identified in the province of Leinster.

The Anglo-Norman Invasion to the 1620s

King Henry II granted the parish of Santry to Hugh de Lacy after the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland. These lands were subsequently granted to Adam de Feipo or Phepoe who erected a church in the parish sometime in the 13th century. It would appear that de Phepoe wished that this 'new' church be dedicated to the French St. Poppon or Poppon, the Abbot of Stavelot. This is a different saint altogether from the Irish St. Pappin who lived in the parish in the sixth century. The manor of Santry seems to have remained in the possession of the de Phepoe family until about 1375, when Johanna de Phepoe married Thomas Marewood, at which time the manor of Santry passed to her husband.

In the fifteenth and early sixteenth century, Santry formed part of the extensive lands of the Cistercian Abbey of St. Mary, Dublin. The last Abbot of St. Mary's, William Landey, surrendered all the estates of the Abbey, including those at Santry, to Henry VIII on 28th October 1539. In 1534 when John Barnewall was indicted for high treason for his part in the Kildare rebellion (Silken Thomas rebellion), his lands in Ballymun and Coolock were forfeited to the king.

The Emergence & Development of the Santry Estate: 1620s to 1935

From the beginning of the seventeenth century until the mid-twentieth century most of Santry Parish was owned by a single family: the Barrys. From 1751 their familial successors by marriage, the Domvilles owned the land, consisting of some 4700 acres of good arable farmland. The influence of the Barry and Domville families on the history and development of Santry parish and their Manorial Estate, including Ballymun, was immense.

Before the sweeping land reforms that took place in Ireland from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, the majority of the Irish population lived as small tenant farmers on landed estates, such as the Santry Estate. Generally, these were estates owned by Anglo-Irish landlords such as the Barrys and Domvilles. The patronage exerted by the powerful, but short-lived Barry dynasty was felt in all walks of life in Santry Parish. From the mid-seventeenth century, the Barrys and, the Domvilles, built and maintained the churches, schools, roads and many of the houses in Santry. As the local Justices of the Peace these families also administered the local law. In the mid-1750s the Domville's could demand that all their tenants, virtually everybody who lived in the parish of Santry, '*were bound by their leases to have their corn ground, paying a toll to the Lord of the Manor for the services*'. The corn was to be ground at the windmill which stood at the entrance gates to Santry Court. Despite the Domville's reputation as fair landlords, as late as the 1850s Sir Charles Domville could demand that his estate workers keep their clothes clean and well-mended. Domville also said of his estate workers: '*his [the workers'] whole time being mine, he is not to leave home without permission as each man is liable to be called in at night in case of fire*' [sic].

The Barry Family at Santry: c.1620 to 1751

The Barry family, a Protestant branch of the Cork Barrymore family, acquired the estate at Santry after it had been confiscated from the Catholic Barnewall family in the 1620s. The estate remained largely intact and in their possession until 1751, when Lord Henry Barry, fourth Baron Barry of Santry, died without a male heir. The first member of the Barry family to live at Santry was James Barry (1603-1672/3), the son of Richard Barry, a Protestant alderman and sometime Lord Mayor of Dublin. James was created Justice of the King's Bench with the title first Baron of Santry (1660-1). This was in recognition of his services at the time of the Restoration of the Monarchy. Portions of the large Santry Estate, including the townland of Ballymun, were already in James Barry's possession before 1641. He was granted the remainder as forfeited land in the early 1650s.

There has been a manor house at Santry since at least the fourteenth, and possibly as early as the twelfth century. However, work on the dwelling known as Santry House or Court was not started until 1702. This was under the direction of the 3rd Baron Barry of Santry (1680-1734) at the time of his marriage to Bridget Domville. The third Lord Barry of Santry had perhaps the greatest influence on the economic and manorial development of Santry and the Santry Estate. Under his direction Santry Court was built in about 1702, and in 1709, at his instigation, the Protestant Church in the townland of Santry was erected entirely at his expense. When the 3rd Baron died in 1734 the Santry Estate was inherited by the last and best-remembered member of the Barry family, the fourth Baron Barry of Santry.

The 'Hellfire Club' & the Fourth Baron

The only known portrait of the fourth baron of Santry was painted in about 1735 by James Worsdale. The portrait, now hanging in the National Gallery of Ireland, depicts Lord Henry Barry and four others, who all founded the infamous 'Hellfire Club'. The Hellfire Club was founded in imitation of an earlier English society of the same name. Members of the Dublin Hellfire club met regularly in the Eagle Tavern on Cork Hill. The Hellfire Club is best remembered for its isolated meeting house at Mount Pelier in the Dublin Mountains above Tallaght.

Many myths have been associated with the Hellfire Club, causing people to speculate about what went on there. One writer believed that *'When rakish gentlemen wished for congenial society they rode up to Mr Conolly's hunting lodge, perched like Noah's Ark on the top of Mount Pelier, among the Dublin Mountains. Here they were reported to drink heavily, indulging in blasphemous oaths, and amusing themselves with preposterous orgies'*. There were also stories of black masses. It is also believed that the members sometimes set fire to the building to recreate the anticipated fires of hell. The satanic image of the Hellfire Club was enhanced by its uniform of red with white stockings. The presiding chairman wore *'horns and a tail'*. The Hellfire Club at Mount Pelier was originally built in the early eighteenth century as a hunting

lodge and only later acquired notoriety. Although the building is still standing, it seems to have been abandoned as early as 1763.

The Fourth Baron Barry's Trial for Murder

Lord Henry Barry, fourth (and last) Baron Barry of Santry was a member of the Hellfire Club but is best remembered for the tragic events of August 1738 at Palmerstown Fair. The Fair, also referred to as 'Saturnalia', was held annually in August. It was only surpassed by Donnybrook Fair for its merriment, drinking and carousing. It drew huge crowds from all sections of Dublin society.

On the morning of 9th August 1738, Lord Barry, a young man of twenty-eight years, had ridden-out with a party from Dublin. On reaching Palmerstown the party dined at a local inn. The remainder of the story of that fateful day is recorded in his trial for murder which took place on 27th April 1739. He chose to be tried by his peers so that his trial took place in front of the Irish House of Lords at the 'new Parliament House' (now Dublin Castle), instead of in the Law Courts before a jury. This was the first trial for murder to take place and one of only three trials before the Irish House of Lords in Dublin Castle*.

Lord Barry was charged with the murder of Laughlin Murphy, who was described as '*a person who with a good deal of industry and difficulty maintained himself, a wife, and three small children, by being employed as a porter, and carrying letters and messages*'. Lord Barry had been drinking at the inn for a considerable time when he began to argue with another man called Humphreys. Barry was too drunk to draw his sword from its scabbard, which seems to have made him angrier. He swore that he would kill the next man who spoke to him. The unfortunate Laughlin Murphy apparently passed Lord Barry in a passageway in the inn, and excused himself as he passed by. Lord Barry in a fit of drunken rage, stabbed him. In fact Murphy did not die for another six weeks, which

* From Professor Niall Osborough, Faculty of Law, N.U.I. Dublin

** A transcript of the trial, together with a number of contemporary newspaper reports, can be seen in the Ballymun Community Archive and can be read about in more detail in the *Narrative History of Ballymun*.

was used in Lord Barry's defence, but to no avail**. The Irish peers found him guilty of murder, and he was sentenced to execution by the sword (decapitation). Lord Barry is reputed to have commissioned an expert swordsman from France to carry out his execution, so that death would be relatively swift and painless. He signed his own death warrant at Dublin Castle on 28th April 1739 and the date of the execution was fixed for 22nd June the following year.

In the event, he was not executed, but received a pardon under the Great Seal of the Kingdom of Ireland in 1739, and a re-grant of his estates in 1741. His reprieve was certainly due to the threat by his uncle Sir Compton Domville, who threatened to cut-off Dublin City's entire supply of drinking water, if Lord Barry was executed. This was no idle threat since the rivers that passed through his Templeogue Estate supplied much of Dublin's drinking water.

The Domville Family and Santry Estate: 1751 to 1960

Sir William Domville established the foundations of the Domville family dynasty in Ireland in the seventeenth century. Like many Irishmen who remained loyal to the crown during the Commonwealth period, William Domville received rewards of office and land, after the Restoration of the Monarchy in Ireland, and was granted the extensive Templeogue Estate. However, it was not until the death of Henry, 4th Baron Barry of Santry, that the Domville family inherited the Santry Estate including Ballymun.

1750-1850

The Santry Estate, including Santry Court, demesne and nearly 5,000 acres of land remained in the Domville family's hands for almost 200 years (1751-1935). Much of the historical records for the Santry Estate date from Sir (Thomas) Compton Domville's inheritance of Santry Estate in 1751, maybe because Domville needed to know exactly what land, tenants and estate workers he had inherited from his nephew. There is some evidence that the Santry Estate was experiencing financial difficulties partly due to the expenses incurred building Santry Court, but also because of the spendthrift habits of the fourth Baron.

Amongst the earliest surviving records of the Santry Estate is the '*Wages Book for Santry Estate, c.1740-1750*'. This shows the employees of the estate, together with their weekly wages. The manuscript also records other expenses connected with the Estate, including the names of Sir Compton Domville's horses, the frequency with which they needed to be shod and the costs involved. The horses had names such as Muke, Squeeker, Sandford, Sniper, Santry Mare and Button. The Wages Book recorded that the daily wage for the Santry Estate workers was six-pence. This shows that it cost the Estate almost as much to shoe a horse as to employ an estate worker for a week

Like his nephew the last Baron Barry of Santry, Sir (Thomas) Compton Domville died without a male heir. In a provision made in his will of 1761, Sir Compton Domville ensured that the Santry Estate would stay in the family's possession. He bequeathed it to Charles Pocklington, his nephew. Pocklington had to adopt the name 'Domville' before he was allowed to inherit Santry Estate. When Sir Charles Pocklington Domville died the Santry Estate became the property of his eldest son, Sir Compton Pocklington Domville.

Sir Compton Pocklington Domville was the eldest son and heir of Charles Pocklington and Margaret, the daughter of Thomas Sheppard. In 1816 Sir Compton Pocklington Domville's application for the Lordship of Santry was granted. The family motto, *Qui Stat Caveat ne Cadat* ('Let the man who is standing be careful that he does not fall'), appeared on his grant of arms.

1850-1960

Sir Charles Compton William Domville (1822-84) was the third son of Sir Compton Pocklington Domville. When Sir Charles inherited Santry Court, demesne and estate from his father in 1857, he set-about the largest renovation and building programme (gardens and house) that the Santry Estate had seen since its construction in the early eighteenth century. A vast number of maps, diagrams and plans have survived from this period*. Sir Charles was the last member

* Copies of many of these can now be seen in the Ballymun Community Archive.

of the Domville family to reside permanently at Santry. He married Lady Margaret Frances St. Lawrence, a daughter of the third and last Earl of Howth. They had no children and Sir Charles died on 10th July 1884.

By the time Sir Charles inherited Santry Estate it had become very profitable. Although it is difficult to gauge the income derived from the Estate, in the 1870s the income from rents was in the region of £17,500. If one considers that in 1871 a skilled craftsman earned about sixty-four pence for a ten hour day (c.£75 per annum) and a general labourer earned about thirty-eight pence for a ten hour day (c.£40 per annum), it is clear that the income from rents was significant.

After the death of Sir Charles, Santry House passed briefly to his brother, Sir William Compton Domville, and then to the Pöe family who were relatives of the Domville's by marriage. Shortly after 1935 Santry House became a residential home for people with learning disabilities. It was later gutted by fire and demolished because of its dangerous state of repair. A series of photographs of Santry House shows its former grandeur clearly*.

Santry Court & Demesne: 12th century - 1960s

A manor house has stood at Santry Demesne (now known as Santry Woods), since at least the fourteenth century and possibly as early as 1172. In 1702, Lord Henry, 3rd Baron Barry of Santry, built Santry Court. This house was constructed on, or near the site of the original residence of the Barry family. The pre-1702 Barry residence was described in 1654 as a '*dwelling house of stone with a barne & an old stable*'. The description of the house shows that the walls of the previous house were still standing. The 'new' Santry Court soon gained the reputation as '*the miniature palace of Versailles*'. It was called this because of the fine murals on the walls and its large number of spacious apartments. Santry Court, was four stories high in the Style of Queen Anne, resembling Blenheim Palace in Oxfordshire, England,

* Copies of these photographs can be found in the Ballymun Community Archive.



John Rocque's Map of County Dublin (1760)
Courtesy of the National Library of Ireland.

(the seat of the Dukes of Marlborough and the birth place of Sir Winston Churchill.)

In John Rocque's 1760 *Map of County Dublin*, Santry Court, labelled as 'Santry House', stands out as by far the largest residence in Santry. Nearly a century later, in 1837, the *Ordnance Survey Map* of Santry showed how substantial the house was. By this time the central portion, the oldest part of the house built by the third Lord Barry, had acquired an east and west wing. These additions can be seen in a number of drawings made by Lady Domville in the 1860s.

The income generated from the rents of the Santry Estate allowed Sir Charles Domville to make sweeping improvements to both Santry Court and the gardens. Domville chose Ninian Niven (1799-1879), probably the best known Irish landscape gardener at the time, to redesign the gardens at Santry as well as the family estate at Templeogue. The extent and detail of the plans bear witness to the ambitious nature of the changes proposed by Niven. The improvements led to the planting of many new trees and the creation of a 'pleasure ground' at Santry. Visiting the demesne in 1883 the Reverend Benjamin Adams, the Church of Ireland rector and historian of Santry parish, was particularly impressed by the gas lights, which lit the main approach to Santry Court. These were spaced at regular intervals on both sides of the main entrance avenue and were an expensive indulgence on the part of Sir Charles. Since 1830 gas lighting had existed in people's homes and along some of the more affluent streets in Dublin City. But by 1872 only 2,700 'small consumers' of gas existed in Dublin. This meant that only five percent of households in Dublin had gas lighting and the '*working classes of Dublin [were] almost universally deprived of the benefit of gas light*'. During his visit Adams also remarked on the large deer-park which was punctuated with pillars and vases in the memory of some of the Domvilles' favourite horses.

Domville's extravagant spending was not restricted to Santry Court and gardens, it extended to a part of Santry village that quickly became known as the 'Swiss village'. This area was commissioned by Lady Margaret Domville in 1839 after she had returned from a trip to Switzerland. The Swiss village

consisted of seven striking buildings on Schoolhouse Lane and a further eleven houses on the main road. These were finished in 1840. Apparently, Lady Domville built the Swiss cottages to replace '*the miserable thatched cottages*' that made-up Santry village. These new houses, all with the names of plants and flowers, were still standing in 1963, when the Dublin Historical Society visited Santry village. The Society reported that the cottages built in the Swiss style struck '*an unusual but not unpleasant note in the countryside*'.

Education in Ballymun: c.1700-1900

From as early as the 1740s the Parish of Santry had been well served by educational establishments. One of the oldest of these was the Santry Charter School erected in the south-eastern corner of Ballymun, at the intersection of Ballymun Road and Santry Avenue. The School House was originally a mill built in about 1700. The Incorporated Society for Promoting English Protestant Schools in Ireland, better known as the Charter Schools, was established by George II's Royal Charter in Ireland in 1733. The Charter School in the Parish of Santry was one of the most prominent and long-lived Charter Schools in Ireland. The Santry or Ballymun Charter School was built in 1739 and was initially an all-girls school. It was patronised by Dublin Corporation and Luke Gardiner who granted the land on which the school was built.

The girls who lived at the school, besides being provided with a rudimentary education, '*were employed in winding silk and spinning cotton*'. Charter Schools in other parts of Ireland taught such manual exercises as ditch digging. To modern sensibilities, child-labour, the high rate of infant mortality and the poor living conditions experienced by the children at the Ballymun Charter School may appear shocking. Whatever the principles behind the school-system itself, it was widely reported by contemporary observers and inspectors alike, that the Santry (Ballymun) Charter School was the best of its kind in the country. The School ceased to operate in the 1840s and in 1900 became known as 'Santry Lodge'.

St Pappin's School, also known as the Ballymun Catholic School, was founded in 1808. It was situated in the townland of Balcurris on the same site as the old St. Pappin's Church.

Surviving records describe the Church as a 'ramshackle Mass House' and graveyard dating from about 1776. Both the old school and church were situated in the townland of Balcurris. They were located about 50 metres to the west of the junction between Santry Avenue and the old Dublin to Naul Road (Ballymun Road) on a small bye-road known as Balcurris Road which still exists. Both the church and the school were known by the name 'Ballymun' rather than St. Pappin's.

On his appointment to Santry Parish, the Rev. Cornelius Rooney began to make changes for the improvement of both the Catholic Church and the National School. In 1846 Rev. Rooney, together with a number of prominent local farmers, including John Dodd of Ballymun House, who occupied the largest farm in the parish, leased land at Stormanstown from Sir Compton Domville to build the new Catholic Church of St. Pappin's and its schoolhouse. The new schoolhouse was necessary due to the poor condition of the one at Balcurris. The same was probably true of the Church as well.

The 'new' Roman Catholic Church of St. Pappin's built c. 1864 is the oldest surviving building at Ballymun. The entire cost of the erection of the new Catholic Church was borne by James Coughlan. The Coughlans were a well-established Santry family and James was the proprietor of the *Cat and Cage* public house at Drumcondra. The stones and other materials of the old church at Balcurris were used to build the new church. The old graveyard at Balcurris continued to be used to bury un-baptised children and people who committed suicide, long after the church moved to its new site in the townland of Stormanstown. The wall around the Balcurris graveyard was still standing in 1883.

Ballymun/St. Pappin's National School is also well documented. The surviving records illustrate how the school was administered, the names of the school's Masters and Mistresses, the type of equipment and teaching aids available to the teachers, together with details of a number of unpleasant events, including cruelty to some of the pupils. Ballymun National School changed its name to St. Pappin's National School in 1907. The land on which much of the Ballymun

Estate was built in the 1960s was purchased from University College, Dublin, the successor to the Albert College*.

The Albert Agricultural College was established in 1837. The history of the College, some of its earliest pupils, together with its connection with Ballymun are well documented. Ballymun's oldest educational establishment, was the Protestant Parochial school, which was built at Schoolhouse Lane in about 1706.

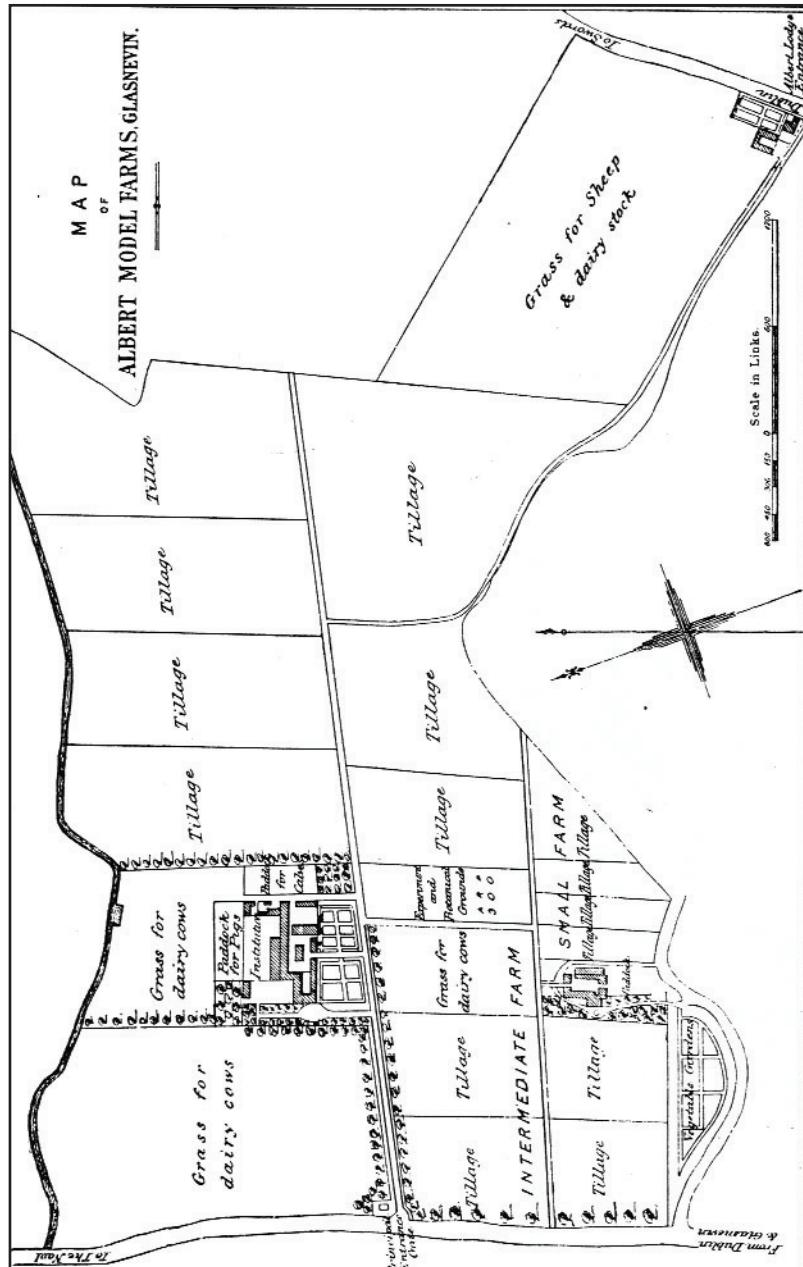
Statistical & Census Substitutes: c.1650-1960

Various historical documents, including census statistics from 1821-1891, the 1901 and 1911 Census of Ireland, the Tithe Applotment Assessment for the Parish of Santry and the *Primary Valuation of Ireland* are discussed in the history on display in the Ballymun Archive at Ballymun Library**. The Civil Survey of Ireland (1654-6), one of the oldest surviving Irish records detailing land owners, buildings and other interesting physical and geographical features. The Civil Survey recorded in 1655 that the 174 acres of arable and 6 acres of meadowland at Ballymun were owned by James Barnewell. At this time there was a thatched house and two or three cottages situated at Ballymun. The Survey recorded that Sir James Barry owned the townland of Stormanstown, which included a tiled house (Stormanstown House), a thatched house and several cottages, together with a garden and an orchard. Many of the townlands in the Parish of Santry, including Silloge, Coultry and Santry itself, are recorded in some detail. The first map of Ballymun, the Down Survey Map, dates from this period (1655)***. Although not a map in the sense that we would understand today, it offers one of the earliest pictorial representations of Ballymun.

* The most comprehensive records relating to the Albert Agricultural Collage, are deposited in the U.C.D. archives

** Using a large number of historical records, the *History of Ballymun* provides a comprehensive account of many of the people who have lived and owned land in Santry Parish over a period of three hundred years.

*** This is a fascinating historical record; a large-scale photograph of this Map can be viewed at the Ballymun Community Archive



Albert Agricultural Collage Grounds (1887)

Highway Robberies & 1798

Over the past 300 years some sensational events have taken place in Ballymun. These include the 1798 Rising and the most infamous highway robbery to have taken place at Santry. In May 1798 two newspapers, *Saunders's News-Letter & Daily Advertiser* and *Faulkner's Dublin Journal* reported that large numbers of rebels had gathered between Crumlin and Tallaght and also at Lucan. Infantry were dispatched in pursuit of the rebels, killing several and taking many prisoners. The newspapers reported that '*the bodies of three of the most active and desperate of these rebels were brought to town, and hung them up in Barrack Street the whole of Friday, with the pikes they carried affixed to them, as dreadful examples to that rebellion spirit, which has been infused into the deluded people*'.



Signal for the Outbreak, taken from the Shamrock Journal, 1898.

Courtesy of the National Library of Ireland.

An attack on the Northern Mail Coach below the walls of the Santry Estate on 23rd May 1798, was the climax of rebel activity in the area. According to eyewitness accounts, the hold-up of the mail coach was the 'Signal for the Outbreak' of the Rising in County Dublin and more than 3,000 rebels were gathered there at the time. Although the mail coach was

stopped and burned, the newspapers reported that nobody was ill-treated, and no possessions were taken from the passengers of the coach. The contemporary newspapers from which these accounts have been taken are amongst the oldest in Ireland*.

The Famine at Santry: 1845-51

The potato blight, *phytophthora infestans*, hit County Dublin in 1845. In the first year of the Famine, between 46% and 50% of Dublin's potato crop was destroyed. The Ordnance Survey Name Book in 1837 shows that potatoes were grown in eight out of Santry's twenty townlands. In the summer of 1846 police constables were ordered to conduct an inventory of the farmland in the areas under their jurisdiction to ascertain the extent of the potato crop. Constable Kelly reported that in the portion of Santry Parish under his jurisdiction, (more than 1,000 acres) only 13 acres of land had been planted with potatoes at the onset of the Famine.

Dublin's close proximity to the country's largest port meant that unlike a majority of the rural population, the residents of county Dublin did not depend on the potato as the staple food in their diets. It has been estimated that in 1840 more than 50% of Dubliners regularly ate oatmeal and in 1836 more than 40% regularly ate bread. Nevertheless, hunger was undoubtedly commonplace, even in Dublin City. From 1847 food riots became increasingly prevalent. Despite the benefits of a varied diet, Dublin City and County were not immune from the hunger, death and pestilence that followed in the wake of the potato blight. In 1849 more than 4,500 people died in County Dublin, many from a cholera epidemic.

County Dublin also witnessed some of the highest increases recorded in Ireland for several other diseases. These included *marasmus* (wasting) which was a general debility not necessarily due to starvation. In 1847 County Dublin experienced more than 250 cases of *marasmus* per 100,000 of the population, higher than anywhere else in Ireland. The high incidence of this disease can be partially explained by the

* This incident, together with a number of other eighteenth and nineteenth century highway robberies on Ballymun Road and Santry Avenue are described in detail in the History

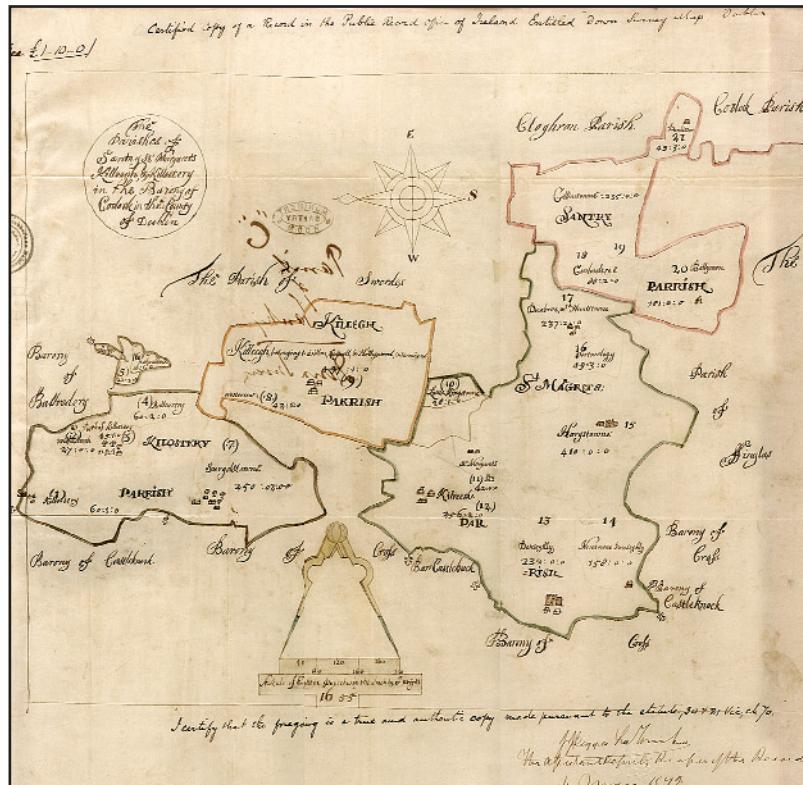
influx of rural labourers into Dublin City and its hinterland (via Dublin port) in search of food. Dublin also experienced the greatest incidence of consumption (tuberculosis) and dropsy in the country.

During the period of the Famine, Santry Parish's population declined from 1,117 to 1,034. However, it is not clear whether this decline was due to an increase in mortality or for more benign reasons, such as migration. The workhouse minutes and registers of admissions for Dublin provide a more personal account of the Famine and its consequences in Santry parish.

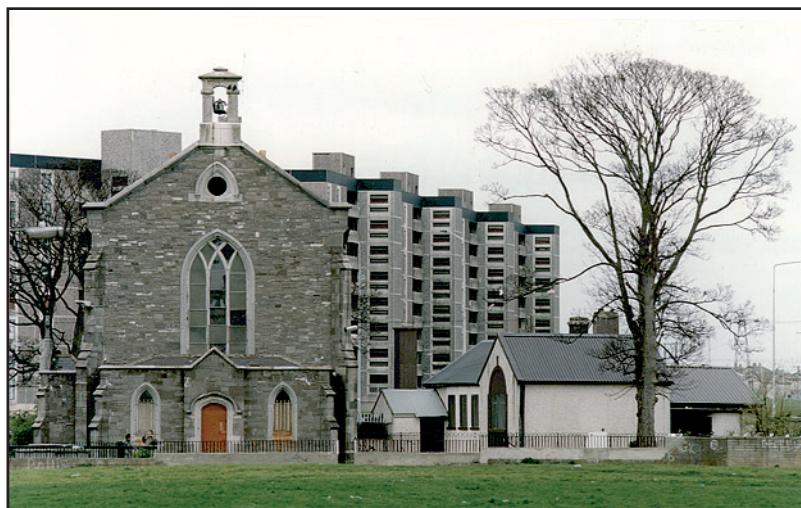
The parish of Santry was in the electoral division of Drumcondra. A number of Santry's residents helped to administer the North Dublin Poor Law Union. John Dodd, Esq., of Ballymun, was the Poor Law official for the electoral division of Drumcondra. Lawrence Carton, Esq., of Poppintree was the Poor Law official for the electoral division of Finglas. The Vice Chairman of Dublin North Board of Guardians was Captain G.H. Lindsay of Glasnevin House. George Kerr, Esq., a china merchant of Larch Hill in Silloge, sat on the Board of the North Dublin Board of Guardians. Apart from the indoor relief provided in the North Dublin Union workhouse people could also apply for outdoor relief. In the first week of January 1849 twenty-five people, some of whom were from Santry applied for outdoor relief. All those who applied for relief were granted it and the nature of the help given in Santry was recorded : *'The Committee purchase the best Red Wheat that can be procured and ground it in a hand mill. The meal so ground, and coal in limited quantities is issued gratuitously to the destitute and to those who are out of employment, on order of the physician in charge of the Dispensary, to whom all persons in a state of destitution must apply. The same meal, which is unmixed and of the best quality, is issued to the labourers, and their families at 2/- per stone, on tickets signed by employers, who must also be contributors to the Relief Fund [...] the supply is limited to ½ a stone of meal per week for each individual in the family'.*

The workhouse admissions registers record interesting information on the people who entered the North Dublin Union workhouse. Between 1848 and 1850 more than 10,000

people passed through the doors of the North Dublin workhouse. These included Elizabeth Meade, a twenty-seven year old pipe trimmer and her four-year-old son from Ballymun; Anne Fagan, a sixteen-year-old servant from Ballymun and Peter Connolly, a fifteen-year-old labourer, 'in delicate health', also from Ballymun. The North Dublin Union workhouse records seem to suggest that Santry parish was relatively unaffected by the Famine during the period 1848-1850. Out of 10,000 people passing through the workhouse system, only seven came from Santry parish. The electoral division of Finglas was not so fortunate. On the 27th August 1849 alone, seven people from Finglas were admitted to the North Dublin Union workhouse with cholera. All of these individuals died from the disease in September 1849.



Detail from Down Survey Map (1655)
Courtesy of the National Library of Ireland



St Pappin's Church with Coultry Road flats in the background (c. 1997)



'The Hellfire Club, Dublin' (c. 1735) by James Worsdale (c. 1692 - 1767)
Courtesy of the National Gallery of Ireland



Santry Court, shortly before its demolition (1947)
Courtesy of the National Library of Ireland



Santry Court & Demesne, from a pen & ink estate map (1812)
Courtesy of the National Library of Ireland



Aerial views of Ballymun before regeneration began (c. 1997)



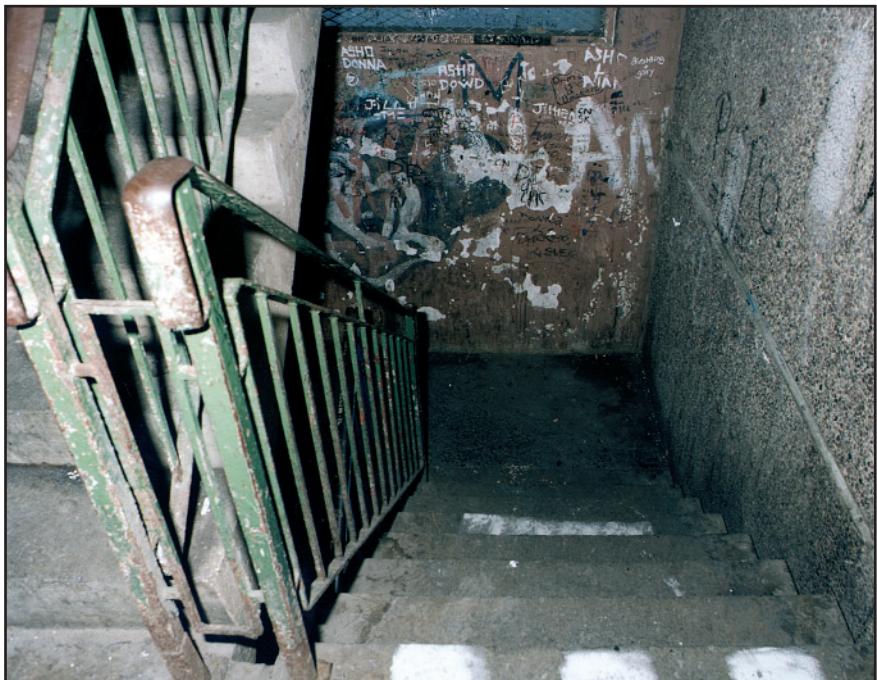
Looking South towards Ballymun (c. 1997)



Ballymun roundabout (c. 1997)



Poor quality open space between the blocks (c. 1997)



A typical stairwell (c. 1997)



Van shop (c. 1997)



Poorly maintained open space near the Virgin Mary Church in Shangan (c. 1997)



Senior citizens flats in Coutry (c. 1997)



Eight storey blocks in a suburban Dublin context (c. 1997)

Volume 2, 1960-1997:

Volume two of the History of Ballymun, 1960-1997 documents the history of Ballymun from the early 1960s. This volume, and many associated maps, photographs and copies of documents can be viewed in the Ballymun Community Archive in Ballymun Library.

Wherever possible it has been researched and written using documents, maps, reports and publications, many never used before. For the period 1960 to 1970, a large proportion of the information was drawn from the Department of the Environment and Local Government housing files (formerly the Department of Local Government), recently lodged at the National Archives of Ireland. There are more than 400 separate files on Ballymun's construction, planning and development, including correspondence to and from the National Building Agency Ltd., the semi-government body responsible for these aspects of the Ballymun Housing Scheme. Many of these official documents have not been used before. Other sources consulted for the history include the published Minutes and Reports of Dublin City Council (formerly Dublin Corporation) from 1960 to the mid-1980s, published Dáil Debates, Taoiseach Files, numerous local and national newspapers and the RTÉ Media Library. For the later decades of Volume Two, a number of interviews with some local people from Ballymun were conducted. The candour, interest and wealth of knowledge revealed by the interviewees is much appreciated, and in a number of instances important sources were mentioned, that might otherwise have been overlooked.

1963-1969

By the summer of 1963 the decision to build Ireland's first out-of-town, high-rise housing scheme became a social and political imperative. In 1947 a Government White Paper on Housing had estimated that Ireland would need more than 100,000 new houses by the beginning of the 1960s to replace old and dangerous buildings, many of which were in Dublin. When the Fianna Fáil Government of Séan Lemass came to office in 1957 the Irish economy was in poor condition and there was little money available for house building. Despite what some people would later see as the 'heroic' effort made by the Irish Government to provide houses, by the start of the 1960s many people in Dublin still lived in old and dilapidated tenement buildings.

Between June and December 1963, tenement houses collapsed or were evacuated in areas all over Dublin. These areas included Hendrick Street, North Great George's Street, Usher's Island, Capel Street, Bride Street, Blackhall Street, Grattan Street, Hogan Place, Holles Street and Kevin, Dorset and Coleraine Streets. Dublin Corporation was forced to adopt '*emergency measures*' following four deaths at Bolton and Fenian Streets. Among the emergency measures adopted by the Corporation was the evacuation of many families, additional inspections of 'dangerous buildings' and the suspension of the Corporation's existing housing priorities list. These measures announced on the 15th June 1963, anticipated that the immediate provision of additional dwellings for those who had been displaced would be announced by the Department of Local Government. Within a week Dublin Corporation inspectors had moved more than 1,000 people from their homes and in a matter of months the Corporation's Housing Waiting List had doubled. In the short-term, evacuated families were placed in temporary accommodation, although some were forced to sleep on the streets. Many of those who were offered permanent housing were reluctant to leave the communities where their families had lived for generations.

At the time, Neil Blaney was the Minister for Local Government and the man ultimately responsible for the nation's public housing. He promised that all of those displaced would be given priority housing status. In addition,

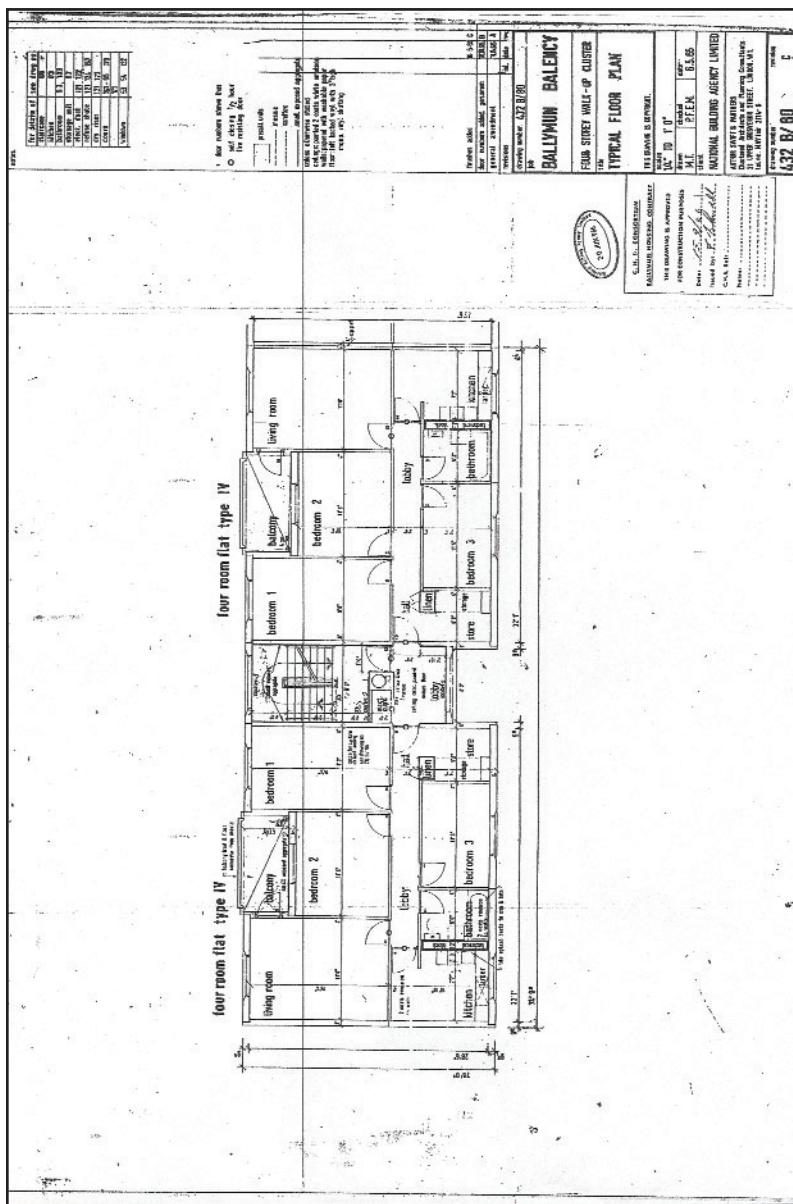
he promised that there would be more houses built in Dublin. Prefabricated system building was popular in Britain and on the Continent in the 1950s and early 1960s. It seemed to be an economic and speedy solution to Dublin's housing crisis. In May 1964, the Department of Local Government recommended the Ballymun Housing Scheme to the City Council. The Government stated from the outset that this project of more than 3,000 dwellings was intended to augment the Corporation's existing house building programme. The timing of the announcement is a strong indication that the construction of Ballymun was in large measure a response to the housing crisis in the Summer of 1963.

Tendering, Planning and Development

While the construction of Ballymun Estate was seen as the answer to a specific housing crisis it was also a product of its time in its technology, size and the optimism it represented for a brighter and better future. Alderman Seán Moore summed this up when he concluded that '*something drastic had to be done and Ballymun was a gift from heaven [....]. The scheme marked Dublin's "march to the new housing frontiers" [....]*'. The time between the first tenement collapses in June 1963, and the public announcement of the Ballymun Housing Scheme, was a little over twelve months. For some, the decision to undertake the Ballymun Housing Scheme was 'high-rise folly'; for others it was a sign of the times, a social and political imperative, an illustration that Ireland had entered the 'brave new world' of public housing. As such Ballymun became the symbol of a new modern Ireland.

The planners and architects were convinced that system building and high-rise architecture was the only conceivable solution to the housing crisis in Ireland. A new well designed and planned housing scheme, built by new methods and constructed where there was sufficient land on the periphery of Dublin, would be an unprecedented undertaking. The Minister for Local Government certainly wished to be associated with the scheme. Neil Blaney's choice of name for this new project was Árd Glas (Green Heights) and this seems to clearly represent his own personal vision of what Ballymun would be like. The Minister stated in 1965 that the Government, in its planning and development of Ballymun,

had set itself clearly defined priorities. These included large volumes of housing, acceptable construction standards and costs and the whole to be completed in a short period of time. Within these objectives, it was anticipated that a high



Typical floor plan of a Ballymun flat, drawn 1965

standard of planning would be applied in order to cater for all the anticipated needs of a new community. These needs were seen to include shops, schools, green spaces and landscaping, play spaces and other social amenities. In short, every social amenity a family in the 1960s could desire.

The plans of the Ballymun Housing Scheme promised much. Ample space to build a state of the art shopping centre which would also house small businesses and offices. In order that the earliest residents could establish themselves more easily as a community, meeting rooms and halls, a health clinic, and a swimming pool were planned. Thirty-six acres of recreational open space, much of it landscaped into parks and gardens and all within walking distance of every dwelling in the scheme were also promised.

This vision of Ballymun was '*an exciting alternative to the squalor of Dublin's tenements*' from which many of the first residents would come. The planning brief for the entire Ballymun Housing Scheme was prepared between May 1964 and February 1965. The contract for developing and building Ballymun was awarded in February 1965 to the Cubitt Haden Sisk building consortium. The consortium was one of almost 100 interested applicants. It was marked-out from the beginning as one of the front-runners because of its experience using the Balency method of prefabricated system building. Ballymun was seen as the biggest, best and boldest housing project in Europe; nothing was to be too good for its future residents. Many had been given Housing Waiting List priority status after they were moved from dangerous tenement buildings in the Summer of 1963. The picture painted of Ballymun by the newspapers at the time was one of '*happy, well-dressed children in school playgrounds, with trees and tower blocks in the background. It was to be a clean and modern counterpoint to the squalor of Dublin's tenements. The Corporation's tenants were lining up to move in, Ballymun was the place to be*'.

By the time the plans for the Ballymun Housing Scheme were completed, high-rise system built developments were being abandoned in the United Kingdom and elsewhere in Europe. The European experience was that the '*lack of upkeep of common areas, poor workmanship, and lack of communal*

facilities could lead to the physical degradation of the buildings and social isolation for those who lived there. The negative image of such projects was even earning them the tag of "vertical slums".

The members of Dublin Corporation, when adopting the Government's proposals for Ballymun, incorporated a motion calling for the '*simultaneous building of shops, public halls, a swimming pool, a library and a clinic on the site*'. There can be little doubt that the inclusion of these ideas in the original plans was more than lip service on the Government's part. But whether the Irish Government could really afford to implement these plans, and whether the constraints of finance and the desire to produce quick results were compatible with these social objectives is the question. At the planning, development and construction stages (1964-1970) neither the Government nor the Corporation had any notion of how they would eventually manage the Ballymun Estate once it was completed. This meant that even before the first sod had been turned the seeds of many of Ballymun's future problems had been sown.

In June 1964, the Government announced that it was putting the 3,000 unit Ballymun Housing Scheme out to tender and called upon all qualified interests to apply. The tender documents emphasised that because of Dublin's housing crisis, Ballymun would have to be constructed '*as speedily as possible, consistent with a high standard of layout, design and construction and to acceptable costs [...]*'. The tender documents made it clear that responsibility for all development and construction work, together with the planning of the project, would rest with the successful applicant. Interested applicants were provided with a 'Housing and Planning Brief', a twenty-four page document outlining the Government's requirements. This document can be seen as an expression of the Government's ideal for Ballymun, given infinite financial resources. However, some of the points made in the briefing document, for example the provision of a swimming pool and comprehensive landscaping, were not included in the contract signed by the Cubitt, Haden, Sisk building consortium in February 1965.

In the course of the contract negotiations for Ballymun many of the facilities proposed for the new Estate in the Planning Brief, including the swimming pool and landscaping, were deemed too expensive to complete within the limited budget made available by the Government. Nevertheless, because of public and political pressure the development went ahead, but with these key amenities excluded from the final contract.

Between the 30th June and 29th July 1964, the Government received more than sixty submissions from construction companies and consortiums, expressing interest in tendering. By the beginning of 1965, only six months after the Ballymun Housing Scheme had first been advertised, the Government, Dublin Corporation, the National Building Agency and the building consortium had placed their plans for the future of the Ballymun Housing Scheme before the Irish public. At this time the target cost for the entire Ballymun scheme was a little under £10 million. This cost was to cover the 3,021 housing units consisting of 2,621 flats and 400 houses. It was anticipated by the Government and the public that the completed project would meet the needs of a substantial portion of the people on the housing waiting list. However, no sooner did construction work begin than the realities of the under-budgeted, under-planned and poorly designed Estate became apparent to the Corporation and National Building Agency staff connected with the project. The four-year contract for Ballymun was signed on 2nd February 1965. The Government's inexperience in undertaking a project of Ballymun's magnitude, the dilution of the construction contract coupled with a lack of clarity as to how Ballymun would eventually be managed, meant that the seeds of many of Ballymun's future problems had been sown from the outset.

The flats at Ballymun were constructed using prefabricated concrete panels, cast and finished on site in a purpose-built factory. The Balency pre-casting factory was officially opened at Ballymun in May 1966.

Tenants arrive in Ballymun

Between August and December 1966 more than one hundred families had taken up occupation of the first of the new homes. At this time the Corporation's Housing Waiting list was lengthy. However, many of the first Ballymun tenants were not chosen for the length of time they had spent on the list. Rather they were selected on the basis of interviews carried out by Dublin Corporation staff, who selected what it considered would be the most suitable tenants for Ballymun which was viewed as a model housing estate. Those who were chosen appear to have been picked on the basis of low or no rent arrears, with a husband in full-time employment, and with two or more children.

A long-term resident recalled the family's excitement at being offered one of the first homes on the Estate at Silloge Gardens in the summer of 1966. She vividly recalled the day she moved into Ballymun, saying that '*it was like a haven; wooden railings dividing each house, with open plan lawns to the front with hillocks of green surrounding*'. She describes the house as 'absolutely gorgeous', with spacious bedrooms, two sitting rooms one of which could be turned into a fourth bedroom, an upstairs bathroom with a second toilet downstairs. The new house was an ideal place to rear young children. Another early resident of one of the four-storey blocks at Shangan Avenue recalled her feelings after being allocated one of the new flats at Ballymun. Her new family home seemed positively luxurious to what she had previously experienced, with three bedrooms and a living room, a tiled bathroom and gas cooker, central heating and '*all the hot water that we could think of [...], heaven*'.

These interviews demonstrate that early criticisms of Ballymun by its first residents were rarely about the accommodation itself, but rather focussed on the lack of amenities. The Ballymun flats and houses were bigger, brighter and better equipped than most houses built in the early 1960s, in particular compared to local authority dwellings.

Problems of Construction and Design

When the flats and houses at Ballymun were originally allocated to tenants, the central heating system was regarded

DUBLIN CORPORATION,
HOUSING DEPARTMENT,
26, Jervis Street, Dublin, 1.

Ballymun Housing Project

Dear

I should like to take this opportunity to wish you every happiness in your new home.

Some notes for the guidance of tenants are attached. If you should want further information or advice on any matter, the Corporation staff on duty in Ballymun will do all in their power to help you. It is important that you should know where the various electrical, gas and water fittings are located and how best to use them.

Much thought has been given to providing amenities to add to the enjoyment of your home and its surroundings. These include playgrounds and space where elderly people can rest, and attractively laid out gardens.

You will appreciate that all new estates take time to have these things available. However, where they have been provided already or are to be provided later, I am sure that I can count on your help to prevent thoughtless or wilful damage.

I am sure also that you will take care of your home.

The enjoyment of your home and its surroundings depends very much on a good neighbour spirit. I know you will do all you can to make the estate a happy and pleasant place to live in.

An Estate Management Office is located in the Scheme where advice on all services, including Welfare, will be available.

Yours faithfully,

G. F. BOWLES

.....
HOUSING ESTATE SUPERVISOR

1-48 Silloge Ave
Offic

as one of the good features of the development. In the Ireland of the mid 1960s, central heating was not common. Its inclusion in Ballymun set a bench-mark in local authority housing. In spite of this, from the mid 1960s onwards, the tenants inability to regulate the heat in their flats became a source of conflict between the residents and Dublin Corporation. There is little doubt that the public protests over inappropriate and costly heating was partly due to the many dashed hopes involving the promised amenities in Ballymun. The central heating system was one of the major 'selling points' of Ballymun. Instead it proved one of the first points of conflict between the Corporation as estate managers and the residents of Ballymun.

Despite the early enthusiasm for their new homes, delays in planning, developing and building social and recreational amenities, including landscaping, meant that much of the early goodwill evaporated. Especially when many recreational and social facilities still remained unsatisfactory or incomplete into the 1970s.

When considering the controversies surrounding the Town Centre and shopping facilities at Ballymun, it must be remembered that from the Government's first public announcement on Ballymun, the Town Centre was intended to be built at the same time as the housing, so that shopping facilities would be ready by the time the first tenants took-up residence. Yet from the earliest planning and development stages of the project, it was clear that the Town Centre and associated amenities would not be completed by the time the first tenants moved into Ballymun.

At the time it was planned and developed it was believed that the town centre would be profitable, and a valuable facility for the entire north Dublin area. In 1965 the estimated price of the commercial town centre was approximately £1.5 million. The building consortium, whose responsibility it was to develop the town centre, detailed their vision of the town centre in the summer of 1966. The consortium held that the town centre was a key feature of a '*closely integrated community*' and would be physically and metaphorically the heart of this new community. Despite this, the town centre

for the projected 14,000 tenants had not progressed beyond the planning stages by early 1967, by which time the first tenants had already taken-up residence.

By the summer of 1969 an entire community had been 'created' miles from Dublin City with none of the amenities necessary to satisfactorily conduct their daily lives. For three years considerable hardships and inconveniences were imposed on the new residents of Ballymun. They had to rely on temporary and inadequate shopping facilities. Inevitably this situation affected relations between the residents and Dublin Corporation. It contributed to misgivings about how the satellite town had been developed. This assessment was confirmed in a private memorandum between the National Building Agency and Dublin Corporation in February 1968. It was stated that the lack of the town centre could create serious social problems.

From the start, all parties involved in the planning and development of Ballymun had anticipated that the development would be a model social housing project. As a consequence of the delay in building the town centre, with its associated social and recreational amenities, the provision of many of Ballymun's community, health and social facilities were also seriously delayed. The original plan was to construct a health centre, swimming pool, library, meeting rooms, community halls and a gymnasium in or near to the proposed town centre. These amenities were to be provided at the same time as the houses and flats so that they would be ready by the time the first tenants moved in. It was believed by both the developers and Government that their inclusion would add to the attractiveness of the town centre.

In 1969, in an attempt to rectify the lack of social and recreational amenities caused by the late development of the town centre, it was suggested by the National Building Agency that some community facilities should be developed in Ballymun away from the town centre. But even as these recommendations were made, it was apparent that decentralised development was unlikely to work, as the driving force behind the development of the town centre was commercial interest.

DUBLIN CORPORATION,
HOUSING DEPARTMENT,
26, Jervis Street, Dublin, 1.

Ballymun Housing Project
and
Notes for the Guidance of Tenants

Maintenance:-

Owing to the high density of the concrete used and concealment of electrical and other services within the Walls and Floors, tenants themselves must not drive nails or drill holes in any wall, floor or ceiling of the Flat.

When a tenant has decided the exact position required for a fitting, the Attendant-on-Duty should be informed and the work will be carried out at no cost to the Tenant.

Bulky refuse, such as cardboard boxes, should be carried down to the designated area in basement for disposal by the Attendant. To force a large object into a refuse-chute will result in it becoming unusable with subsequent inconvenience to all.

Television:-

It is anticipated that a master television aerial will be erected and that each tenant will be connected at a charge and time yet to be determined.

Standard Letting Conditions:-

You have been given a Copy of the above-named document. Please keep it carefully and study it closely. It will guide you on many matters.

District Heating and Hot Water System:-

Space heating is available in all Flats from September to May, inclusive, for sixteen (16) hours per day whenever the outside temperature is lower than 60° Fahrenheit.

Hot water service is also provided.

The following is a weekly scale of charge over the whole year for this Service:-

| | |
|-------------|-----------|
| 2 Room Flat | 10s. 10d. |
| 3 Room Flat | 14s. 10d. |
| 4 Room Flat | 17s. 3d. |

This includes reasonable consumption of hot water. A periodic check on usage will be carried out by

P.T.O.

The confusion and lack of co-ordination surrounding the planning, development and construction of Ballymun was exemplified in the landscaping issue. Landscaping was seen as having an importance above and beyond aesthetic considerations. It was an essential component that would benefit the '*mental and physical*' well-being of the residents of Ballymun. Neil Blaney, the Minister for Local Government, noted as early as 1964 that the provision of comprehensive landscaping ranked in importance to amenities such as shops, schools, a library and a swimming pool. Ballymun would be incomplete, and the development of the new community might be detrimentally affected, if any one of these elements was neglected.

Despite the belief in the importance of landscaping in the development of a new community, the landscaping programme was bedevilled by controversy from the outset, and progress at all stages was painfully slow.

It was anticipated that the public open spaces would be an integral part of the estate. Open spaces consisting of thirty-six acres would be divided into public parks, gardens and children's playgrounds. It was intended that no dwelling in the scheme would be more than one-quarter of a mile from these amenities. Neil Blaney believed that the landscaping of Ballymun would raise 'environmental standards' and that it was one of the numerous ways in which a 'favourable atmosphere' would be created for residents. The provision of landscaping, together with associated amenities would, it was believed, greatly aid the '*development of a good social outlook among the residents*'. The Minister pointed to the fact that other large-scale municipal housing projects, notably in Britain and France, had been developed in the past without a significant degree of landscaping. This deficiency had already proven to be socially damaging to the long-term success of these housing projects.

It was believed that the delays in landscaping Ballymun were the result of a lack of integration of this aspect into the overall Ballymun Project and also because responsibility for landscape design had been handed over to the building consortium. The commonly held view was that responsibility for

the delays in the landscaping and provision of associated amenities such as playgrounds, lay at the door of the Corporation and not with the Government or the building contractors. Like many other aspects of the overall project, the Corporation and the National Building Agency had to undertake stop-gap 'remedial' measures. These types of shortcomings were felt in many areas of the overall development.

1970-1985

In February 1969, when the National Building Agency's contract for Ballymun ceased, Dublin Corporation was given possession of 3,021 dwellings in Ballymun. The Government's role was complete, and contractually it was able to place all future responsibility for the management and maintenance onto Dublin Corporation. Despite the Government's belief that Ballymun was a success, both in the speed of its construction and in its cost, Dublin Corporation was handed a half-finished Scheme. Many of the promised amenities had barely been started and Dublin Corporation had little experience of how to manage a housing estate of Ballymun's scale and complexity.

“Planning Faults and Broken Promises”

In the 1970s the model new town began to exhibit cracks in its social as well as its physical fabric. Financially mobile tenants began to leave and the beginnings of a 'community' at Ballymun began to coalesce around an acknowledged and increasing collective activism. Disorganised and fractured, the development of community activism from this early date came about when it was realised that the community would have to fight for many of the amenities planned and promised in the 1960s. Given the inevitable teething problems associated with a housing project of Ballymun's magnitude, coupled with the fact that high-rise development was unique in an Irish context, the list of the battles fought by, and on behalf of, the tenants, was a long one. Although Dublin Corporation has been heavily criticised for their lack of commitment and financial input to the estate during the seventies, it should also be noted that Dublin Corporation had inherited many of Ballymun's problems and with the

economic downturn of the late 1970s and 1980s it did not have the financial resources to remedy the many faults.

Interviewees remembering the 1970s frequently commented that '*nobody bothered to replace anything that was broken or damaged*'. It appeared to many that Dublin Corporation's door was firmly closed to requests made by residents. The 1970s came to be seen by the residents as a decade of broken promises.

The community in Ballymun gradually withdrew its goodwill and instead built up its own structures and organisations. This was the start of a rich and varied history of tenant and community organisation and action. This vitality was briefly challenged in the 1980s. The sense of neglect experienced by the tenants meant that by the mid-1980s, when the Government and Dublin Corporation concluded that Ballymun could only be turned around with the co-operation and collaboration of local people, community organisations which had developed in response to problems had no history of working with Dublin Corporation towards mutually-agreed goals.

Services & Strikes

One of the most contentious issues in the history of Ballymun between 1970 and 1985 was the 73 lifts in the flats. By the time the first of the flats had been completed and tenanted in 1967, the tenants had already proposed a rent strike because of problems with lift malfunctions. It is clear that Dublin Corporation and the lift maintenance contractors believed that many of the malfunctions and breakdowns were due to tenant misuse and vandalism. Yet this assessment ignored residents' own views that many lift malfunctions were due to ordinary wear and tear. There were no freight-lifts to carry furniture up or down, so that lifts had to carry weight far in excess of what they were designed to carry. There was also the problem of families with young children being housed in the 8 and 15 storey blocks. Families had no gardens for their children, and parents were worried about the distance between the flats and their children playing outside. Broken lifts were also a huge

problem for people with young families, or to families shopping for weekly groceries. In 1978 alone 2,425 complaints were lodged by Ballymun residents with Dublin Corporation regarding malfunctioning and faulty lifts.

Rent strikes were organised by the National Association of Tenants' Organisations (NATO) during the 1970s throughout Dublin and in Ballymun. Residents recalled that one strike lasted for almost a year and it took Dublin Corporation perhaps five or six years to clear the backlog of rent arrears that resulted from the rent strike. The main aim of the rent strikes at Ballymun, as elsewhere in Dublin City, was the introduction of differential rents based on household income. The Tenants' Associations also wanted the right to negotiate with Dublin Corporation on the tenants' behalf over the issue of rents. In the short-term NATO was successful and achieved all of its aims. Many tenants were wholeheartedly behind the rent strikes. Some residents protested every week outside the rent offices at Jervis Street. The strike was subsequently abandoned, but the protesters from Ballymun felt that they had made their point.

Despite the initial positive reaction generated by the provision of central heating in the houses and flats at Ballymun, even before the flats were fully tenanted the District Heating System and the hot water supply became the subject of residents' protests. In 1965 it was decided to provide different central heating systems for the houses and the flats. Residents in the houses were able to regulate their own central heating and hot water supply, but residents in the flats were not. By September 1968 the Director of the National Building Agency was informed that the complaints and protests from the residents, caused by 'teething troubles' with the system, had given the district heating system such a bad name that no other local authority was now prepared to adopt the system, even though it was the most up-to-date, modern and the cheapest heating method available.

Many tenants had concerns about the central heating including cost, and the tenants' inability to regulate heat. There were also concerns about whether it was a possible

contributing factor in certain types of bronchial and stress-related illness.

Amenities

Apart from residents' complaints concerning the lifts and the central heating there was also considerable concern and anger about the lack of promised amenities. The lack of shopping facilities, playgrounds, health facilities, the swimming pool and library, coupled with the poor quality of landscaping, gave the tenants a great deal to be angry about and provided much negative material for the media during the 1970s. Perhaps it was unfortunate that the first television coverage of Ballymun centred on the Government's failures rather than its achievements. Once the media recorded this picture of faults, defects and complaints, it effectively provided the foundations for the negative media image of Ballymun which developed in the 1970s and 1980s.

Residents felt that the need to fight and protest for their basic rights such as shopping facilities was a 'real disgrace'. Severe inconvenience was experienced by residents and many saw this as a central flaw of their new neighbourhood.

As early as January 1967, the chief architect of the National Building Agency prepared a memorandum for his director, in which he stated that: *'It was known at the inception of this Scheme that high-rise living involves social and psychological problems and that these can be offset only by improving the total environment'*. Yet for whatever reasons - political expediency, under-budgeting of the original project and the economic down-turn after 1966 - the landscaping which was supposed to alleviate the possibility of the 'high rise blues', like the provision of community and shopping facilities was not completed by the time the estate was fully tenanted. Another problem was the social isolation experienced by many residents who had moved to Ballymun from the inner-city, leaving tight-knit family and community networks.

The lack of recreational facilities for children also caused concern. As early as 1967 parents protested because the recreational facilities for the growing number of young children, including a central playground, were not built. This

led to questions being raised in the Dáil at the start of the 1970s when the Minister responsible was asked when the needs of Ballymun children would be met. The Government had promised an amenity grant in 1965. The Government's reluctance to provide the Corporation with an amenity grant of 50% of the costs for Ballymun's recreational facilities and the question of costs generally meant that some of the recreational facilities were delayed or postponed indefinitely. In December 1971 the *Evening Herald* reported that very few facilities existed for the estimated 8,000 children, but blamed this state of affairs on the planners, whom it accused of forgetting 'to plan for nature's needs'. RTÉ also reported on the lack of play facilities in 1970 and again in 1973. It seems that recreational facilities had not been particularly high on the planners' agenda and there had been little consideration given to children's needs. It cannot be said that the Government was unaware of the large numbers of children who would reside at Ballymun considering that one of the criteria used for choosing the first families to move onto the estate related to families with children. The absence of adequate educational facilities at Ballymun's planning and development stages was also particularly ill considered.

Nowhere was the residents' fight for their promised amenities more clear than the provision of Ballymun's swimming pool. Building work on the pool went very slowly, it was finally opened in 1974. What Dublin Corporation's Minutes and Reports do not mention was the level of community protest that was necessary before funding was provided for the pool. The site had been re-designated as shop units in the early 1970s. However, as the building work was about to begin, the residents staged protests, and sat in front of the bulldozers to prevent the construction work from starting. This can be seen as a seminal moment in Ballymun's history.

The 1970s in Ballymun could almost be considered a 'training-ground' for community activists who lobbied and protested again and again for amenities. In an interview, one prominent campaigner expressed the belief that at the time there were many specific issues that concerned people. However, the local people who raised these concerns with Corporation officials felt they were, '*sidelined or ignored or blackballed*'. The development of Ballymun, without the

necessary economic infrastructure to support a '*virtually self-contained community*' and a housing policy that could at best be described as indifferent, were major contributory factors in the decline of Ballymun in the late 1970s. They also created a particular set of conditions in which poverty and related social problems were more likely to develop. Ballymun's problems, exacerbated by the global economic recession of the late 1970s and 1980s, had a dramatic effect on employment levels. The cumulative effect of recession and tight controls on Government expenditure tipped the balance and in the first half of the 1980s Ballymun went into a downward spiral of economic, social and physical decline. This was summed up by a local saying - '*when Dublin sneezes, Ballymun catches cold*'.

The period 1980 to 1986 may be seen as the low point in the history of Ballymun. Many of the negative media perceptions of the community that remain today, stem from them. By the early 1980s, the constant campaigning of the previous decade had created strains within the community. It left many local people 'burnt-out' and believing that nothing would ever change in Ballymun. Disillusion and apathy with community politics also meant that although many local people continued to work for specific issues, they did not act outside of their own organisations. Conflict between local groups also undermined their effectiveness.

1985-1997

By the mid-1980s Ballymun had a large unemployed and transient community. But the 1980s also witnessed the regrouping of community led organisations, including the Ballymun Community Coalition and the Ballymun Housing Task Force. These, together with many other community organisations and groups, focused and directed political action at local level. Community inspired and developed projects stimulated plans for refurbishment, and led ultimately to plans for the full-scale regeneration of Ballymun, now underway.

Throughout the 1980s new relationships were slowly forged between the tenants and Dublin Corporation. Tenants led this process, sometimes, but not always, with a reluctant

Dublin Corporation. The inspiration for the large-scale regeneration taking place at Ballymun from 1997 onwards can be seen as the culminating achievement of the tenants' activities and can be traced-back to the 1970s.

According to the Minutes and Reports of Dublin Corporation, one of the key concerns of the residents in the 1980s was the annual turnover of residents, especially the turnover of those living in the flats and tower blocks. Another concern was the changing socio-economic profile of Ballymun. Many of the difficulties experienced were attributed to the transient nature of the area, which was beyond the control of residents.

The Surrender Grant Scheme and Beyond

The transitory nature of residency of many of Ballymun's citizens was not a new trend and many problems were caused by the lack of a stable community from the early 1970s. The national economic decline of the 1970s, coupled with the rapid expansion of the local authorities' house building programme, meant that by 1980 Dublin Corporation had a surplus of housing units, leading to a lack of suitable tenants for the growing number of vacant flats at Ballymun. Despite this, there had been a marked improvement in the stability of Ballymun's population with the number of annual transfer requests levelling-out to a level comparable to that in any local authority housing estate. However, the social composition of the estate changed radically during the 1980s. The introduction of the 1985 Surrender Grant Scheme, caused tenant turnover to reach an unsustainable 50% per annum.

In hindsight Ballymun people see the introduction of the Government's £5,000 'Surrender Grant' in 1985 as a disastrous event for Ballymun. As unpopular with local authority officials as it was with local residents, the Surrender Grant Scheme brought about a mass exodus from Ballymun, by those who could afford to take it up. Some of the most able and active members of the community departed. In 1985 new lettings in the Ballymun flats rose to 1,171, almost 50% of the total, and vacancies throughout multiplied five times in

the following five years. Many contemporary and later observers have seen 1985 as '*the year of crisis*' at Ballymun.

The general lack of confidence among the community in both the Government and Dublin Corporation was reflected in numerous articles in *the Ballymun Echo*, one of Ballymun's local newspapers. In June 1987, in an article criticising newspaper coverage of the Estate, the *Echo* stated that Ballymun was treated as a dumping ground for people with all types of social problems. The *Echo* pointed out that for Ballymun to have any chance of becoming a stable community this would have to stop. The newspapers were reporting the reality of Ballymun in the mid-1980s. Tenants in a position to refuse allocations to Ballymun did so. Up to 25% of all the tenancies offered between 1980 and 1984, were declined. The drop in demand for houses or flats in Ballymun meant that only those most in need and who were often also most vulnerable were likely to accept a tenancy in Ballymun. In real terms this meant single parents, single men, the long-term unemployed, those with alcohol and drug problems and also people with mental illnesses who had been released from institutions were housed in Ballymun.

Towards the end of the 1980s the problems caused by the large number of voids (empty dwellings) had become so bad that many residents perceived Dublin Corporation's policy of 'barricading' voids as a positive step, even though it contributed to an image of urban decay in the area. The attitude of local people and the attitude of officials towards "squatters" and voids was in stark contrast. The impact of the Surrender Grant Scheme on Ballymun had become so severe by 1986, that in order to prevent complete social breakdown, Dublin Corporation allowed existing tenants to have an input into screening applications of new tenants. This had little initial impact, but provided many local residents with a sense of security. More important was the apparent willingness of Dublin Corporation to consult with residents, so that the community at large had some say in the future of their area. The most notable and successful

example of this policy was the pilot project established by the Dublin Corporation and the 'Shangan Community Council'. The result of this initiative showed that while the rest of Ballymun's physical environment was deteriorating, the level of maintenance and the state of repair of the buildings at Shangan appeared to be improving.

The Community Coalition

By the late 1980s, the relationship between the residents and Dublin Corporation was still one based on suspicion. However, the influence and experience of activist-led community organisations had developed apace during this decade. This laid the foundations of a more equal 'partnership'. In large measure, this new relationship was forged due to organisations like the Ballymun Community Coalition. The development of SUSS (later the Community Coalition) in the early 1980s, was a key factor in improving the situation in Ballymun. The Coalition provided a meeting point for the disparate community organisations, and a sounding board for discussion and ideas. It was a positive experience for residents, its main legacy was that it refocused the efforts of local people allowing them to take on issues and build partnerships to achieve results. This in turn generated many local responses from individuals, committees and organisations in a constructive attempt to turn Ballymun around. The extent of community activism by the end of the 1980s was evidenced by the existence of more than 90 local voluntary groups.

The Bank of Ireland, Credit Union and Job Centre

Although the mid-1980s was Ballymun's low point, this period was also the turning-point in the history of Ballymun. The turnaround in Ballymun's fortunes was community-led and directed, and many activists and organisations in Ballymun turned negative events, such as the closing of the Bank of Ireland at the Ballymun Shopping Centre in October 1984, to the community's advantage. One of the most constructive events in the 1980s arose directly from the closure of the Bank of Ireland, which triggered a response from the entire community. The Ballymun Community Coalition used wide community support to lobby for a Credit Union Branch

in Ballymun and to provide essential financial services for the community. By 1997, the Ballymun Credit Union had more than 5,000 members, a quarter of the total population, indicating that it was one of the most successful and best utilised community-led ventures.

In 1986, shortly after the Credit Union opened its doors, another local initiative, the Ballymun Job Centre, was established. First proposed by local residents at the beginning of 1986, the Job Centre soon became an important symbol of community empowerment. The formation of a committee to establish a Job Centre has been attributed to the Ballymun Community Coalition, the same organisation responsible for the establishment of the Credit Union. It was important, from the outset, as a prime example of local initiative and empowerment, that the Job Centre was a community-based co-operative.

In 1995, when the Job Centre had been open for almost a decade, the Ballymun Partnership launched its Local Employment Action Plan. The plan attempted to address Ballymun's immediate need for jobs and to *'elevate the aspirations, skills and ambitions of local people'*. It was recognised that only through better paid and more valued jobs could Ballymun generate enough income to attract a socially-mixed population into the area that would give it the sustainability it needed. The success of this strategy was illustrated by the GREENCAP initiative and the creation of jobs for Ballymun residents at Dublin airport.

Another local initiative was the North Dublin Development Coalition (NorDubCo). Based in Dublin City University, its aim is to promote the economic and social development of the North Dublin region. It was established by Ballymun Partnership, Finglas/Cabra Partnership, Northside Partnership, Dublin City University, Dublin Corporation and Fingal County Council. Each of the founding members is represented on the NorDubCo management board.

Special Committee for the Betterment of Ballymun and the Ballymun Housing Task Force

Dublin Corporation's changing attitude to the Ballymun Estate, exemplified in 1984 by the establishment of the Special Committee for the Betterment of Ballymun, was an important event which had a long term impact on the area. Research conducted on British housing estates at the beginning of the 1980s had shown that it was possible to 'turn around' problem estates. Dublin Corporation officials concluded that many of the solutions to estate management and community development formulated in Britain were applicable. Perhaps the most important aspect of the Corporation's change in official attitudes was a growing understanding that the decline of Ballymun could only be halted with the help and co-operation of the residents.

The establishment of the Special Committee for Ballymun was an important first step in acknowledging Ballymun's 'particular' problems and the necessity of community involvement in the decision-making process. Another important step towards the re-development of Ballymun was the establishment of the Ballymun Housing Task Force. The Task Force consisted of local T.Ds., members of the Ballymun Community Coalition, the Combat Poverty Agency, and officials from Dublin Corporation and the Eastern Health Board. It was formed to implement a three-point programme: to establish social stability, increase physical security and to upgrade the physical environment of Ballymun. In these extremely important areas of development the Task Force quickly established itself as a '*conspicuous unifying structure on the estate*'.

With the advent of the Housing Task Force, Dublin Corporation began to consult with the residents in an attempt to address Ballymun's inadequate housing policy and history of poor maintenance. By the start of the 1990s the Housing Task Force had developed a relationship between the residents, Dublin Corporation and the Eastern Health Board. For the first time since it was built a '*framework for partnership*' was developed between the residents of Ballymun and local authority and the impetus for partnership rested mainly with the community.

One of the first projects undertaken by the Task Force was the establishment and implementation of the Remedial Works Programme. The Housing Task Force saw community involvement as a crucial aspect of its work, and all future work programmes. The Remedial Works Programme, consisting of a detailed reinvestment and improvement plan consisting of eleven phases of work over a ten-year period. It was announced at the beginning of 1988. The eleven-phase programme included, for the first time, an '*integrated housing policy*' for Ballymun. Community organisations were represented under the Ballymun Coalition.

The changing relationship between Dublin Corporation and its tenants was illustrated in 1986, by the Corporation's decision to transfer all the rent records for Ballymun to a Local Rent Office in the Ballymun Shopping Centre. This decision marked a turning point in the relationship between Dublin Corporation and the residents. For the first time residents could express their criticisms and concerns directly to local based Corporation officials. It was widely held by community organisations and tenants alike, that this was an important step forward. The opening of the Corporation's Regional Office had a dramatic impact on the way the 'Corpo' was perceived by local people in Ballymun. With more than a hundred staff, residents now had the opportunity, frequently taken up, to meet with high ranking Corporation officials. Over a period of time a degree of mutual trust has developed.

Time for a Change

Since the early 1970s there were rumours that the towers and flats at Ballymun might be demolished. These rumours reached a crescendo in the mid-1980s during the height of Ballymun's difficulties after the introduction of the Surrender Grant Scheme in 1985. The lack of any clear decision as to whether the flats would be refurbished or demolished, increased local peoples' uncertainty and undermined confidence in the area. The development of the Ballymun Housing Task Force in 1987 gradually changed the way in which local organisations, Dublin Corporation and the Government regarded Ballymun. Between the late 1980s and the mid 1990s, a number of key reports were commissioned

and published by community groups. These covered the economic and social prospects of Ballymunn and the condition of the the ageing and increasingly dilapidated housing stock and focused the attention of the community, Government and Dublin Corporation on how to deal with problems in Ballymun.

The publication of the *Craig Gardner Report* in August 1993 marked a watershed in the history of Ballymun. The report proposed five possible approaches for the physical renewal of Ballymun and these were presented under the premise that "to do nothing" was not tenable. One of the report's key findings was that the co-operation of the people of Ballymun was an essential element for the future success of any renewal project. The consultants stated in their report that the research team had begun the consultative process with the view that Ballymun was a '*community in crisis*'. However, after a few months of working on the Estate, they concluded that the evidence did not support this opinion. The report noted that '*Ballymun is an estate with a very strong sense of community identity, and a level of community activity which is very high [...] this [...] level of activity is a symptom of the difficulties faced by the community, because residents find so many matters about which they feel the need to organise in order to negotiate with those in authority [...]'*'. The report's proposal that Dublin Corporation must involve the tenants fully in all future planning and redevelopment of the estate '*as a necessary and pivotal function to the eventual success of any proposed solution*', may have been surprising in its forthrightness. The framework under which the tenants might negotiate with Dublin Corporation about how the residents would or could become involved in running the estate was designated in the report as the '*Ballymun Compact*'.

The Ballymun Compact consisted of three strands. The first committed Dublin Corporation to explore ways in which the residents themselves might go about making Ballymun more secure physically and socially. It was suggested in the report that the concierge system (introduced at Joseph Plunkett Tower and two spine blocks on Balbutcher Lane during Phase One refurbishments completed in 1993) should be extended across the Estate, as should works related to 'defensible space'. It was also recommended that locally-sponsored

companies should undertake the development of both. The idea of social responsibility was inherent in the concept of defensible space. Each of the residents' associations would be asked to encourage the residents to intervene against anti-social acts against their physical environment. The second strand involved the devolution of Dublin Corporation's services directly to the Estate and the third strand outlined various ways in which the tenants' and residents' associations could become involved in the management of the Estate. In this respect, the report concluded by stating that '*compared with other estates [the report team had] visited, Ballymun residents are quite sophisticated in their appreciation of their potential role in running the estate*'. Probably the most significant result of the report was the fact that it clearly stated the kind of expenditure necessary to undertake a comprehensive refurbishment and/or redevelopment of Ballymun. As such it provided a clear focus for all later discussion on how best to proceed.

In late 1996, three years after the Craig-Gardner Report and a year after the Housing Task Force had published its response to the key recommendations, Dublin Corporation issued its own proposals for Ballymun, which recommended that the flats should be demolished and not refurbished. Dublin Corporation officially recognised Ballymun as an area for renewal and this designation also enabled the Partnership to apply for EU funding from the Urban Initiative Fund.

In July 1997 Dublin Corporation established Ballymun Regeneration Limited (BRL) as its agent in Ballymun: to facilitate community consultation, and to develop and implement a Masterplan for Ballymun's regeneration. The age of piecemeal and patchwork solutions to Ballymun's problems had come to an end.

The sense of optimism for the future amongst all those intimately involved with Ballymun is palpable. All parties involved whether as individuals, organisations or official bodies have made real efforts to ensure that regeneration will result in a sustainable social and economic development. There is a definite sense of hope and achievement amongst the community agencies that have put a lot of hard work into the current regeneration. Naturally there are tensions, a town

is being built within the estate, and some residents are still reluctant to let go of the old for the new. However, much of the 'them' and 'us' attitudes of the past have been improved through literally thousands of meetings. Problems, when they inevitably arise, are thrashed out in a constant consultation process.

At the time of writing: the Ballymun community, local organisations including the Housing Task Force, the Partnership, local area Forums in the five neighbourhoods, and BRL have already conceded that whatever models of community consultation and liaison are adopted during the regeneration process, they can never be perfect. There will always be a degree of dissatisfaction. However, these same parties have also generally accepted that the consultation and dialogue between the community organisations, individuals, and groups together with the state and semi-state bodies is as good as it can be. But, even allowing for a certain inevitable dissatisfaction with the process, the regeneration process of the 21st century is a huge departure from the 1960s. In the 1960s no consultation took place, and the Ballymun Estate was imposed on residents, who were then expected to get on with it as best they could. It is now accepted that the only way estates such as Ballymun can succeed, is through the acknowledgement by State and local authority institutions that the community itself has an important role to play.

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