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John Rocque and the making of the 1756 *Exact Survey of Dublin*

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John Rocque and the making of the 1756 *Exact Survey of Dublin*

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Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Trinity College Dublin

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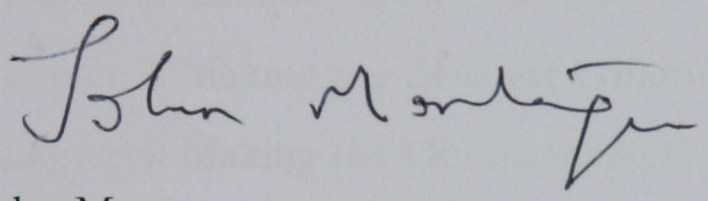

John Montague

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Summary

This dissertation is an examination of the career of John Rocque, and of his publication of *An Exact Survey of the City and Suburbs of Dublin* in 1756. The major themes of the dissertation comprise a consideration of John Rocque's professional identity as mapmaker, as artist and engraver, and as a publisher with a prolific output, on the one hand, and the nature of his Dublin map, its reliability, its qualities and faults, and how it came to be made and was made, on the other. Emphasis is laid upon a visual or art historical analysis of his works in general, and of the *Exact Survey* in particular, in order to understand technical issues to do with the surveying of the Dublin map, and of its engraving, and other aspects of its production. The historical circumstances of Rocque's coming to Dublin are also examined. In the face of a fairly limited supply of documentary sources to do with the mapmaker, greater emphasis is put on a thorough examination of all of his works instead, as a foundation not fully or properly tapped to date. How the *Exact Survey* might best be understood as a primary source for our understanding of the architecture of Dublin at the time, is the object of much of this enquiry.

Some of the major themes and findings of the thesis are as follows. Chapter 1 comprises a re-appraisal of the narrative history of the mapmaker's life and career. Issues to do with his Huguenot background, where he came from, how he received his training, and what was the real nature of his professional identity, are refined. Some new insights into Rocque's circumstances, immediately prior to his coming to Dublin, are established by the recovery of a pair of letters in an archive in Mannheim, which had been considered by one of Rocque's most important biographers in the 1940s, but which had not been published then, or seen since.

Chapter 2 continues with the theme of Rocque's professional identity, by making an extended study of the estate surveys Rocque published during the first ten years or so of his career. Their artistic, decorative and topographical content is re-appraised. That Rocque was in fact an engraver first, and a

cartographer second, is suggested by this research, and some of the implications of what this means for our understanding of his work is also filled out as a result. Rocque was involved with a much wider range of endeavours – book publications, the publications of landscape views, and decorative and ornamental pattern books in the new rococo style – that are considered here for the first time, and contrasts with the more prevalent understanding of Rocque as a mapmaker or surveyor only.

Chapter 3 takes a look at Rocque's most famous work, his 24-sheet map of London, published with John Pine and John Tinney in 1747. This was Rocque's first venture into city or town mapping, and characteristically was a precocious debut for someone who had not produced anything but country estate plans before this. The details of how this map might have been made, particularly how it was surveyed, are re-considered, with a mind to trying to establish how Rocque acquired the skills that he would eventually use in Dublin. The essentially French graphical idiom used throughout Rocque's cartographical work is suggested, despite the fact that it is argued here that Rocque had no direct relationship to the great cartographers at work for the French state at the time. Nevertheless, through the agency and assistance of some members of the Royal Society – whose record in terms of advancing the science of cartography was otherwise pretty dismal – the theories of the great Parisian cartographer, Guillaume Delisle, seem to have been applied in the creation of the London map. This involved an overarching trigonometrical framework, which in turn was filled in by a street traverse. This second aspect of the city survey is not likely to have differed much from techniques being used in London to survey the city after the Great Fire some eighty years previously.

Chapter 4 takes an extended look at the circumstances of Rocque's coming to Dublin, the team of assistants he assembled, how he surveyed the Dublin map, whom he used to draft and engrave the map, and the reception he got from a Dublin audience. Ironically Rocque had lost control over the final appearance

of the London map, for which he is most famous, and it differs considerably from the visual idiom of all his other works. While the principal engraver on the Dublin map was Andrew Dury, the map remains absolutely Rocquian in its appearance. It is argued here that Rocque managed to maintain that cohesiveness, despite the work being carried out by a large workshop, because of his own mastery over all of the roles of the mapmaker, unlike anybody else at work in his field at the time. The Dublin map, however, is unique in the whole of Rocque's *oeuvre*, in being a house-by-house map, while all his previous and later town plans – including the London map – were block-by-block only. It is argued here for the first time, that it was the rival plans of Roger Kendrick, the Dublin City Surveyor, that goaded him into creating this type of map for the first time in his career, and the citizens of Dublin were the winners of their competitive propaganda battle in the newspapers, as a result.

Finally Chapter 5, considers the reliability of the *Exact Survey*. A host of comparisons is made with other visual and documentary evidence, which at times, badly exposes the record of individual structures on the map, including some of Dublin's most important public buildings such as the Parliament House and Christ Church Cathedral. On the other hand, Rocque's record stands up very well as a visual inventory of the city, its contents, and its layout, in the face of the first revision of the map, made by his former apprentice and brother-in-law Bernard Scalé in 1773. More importantly a recently developed piece of computer software (MapAnalyst) is applied to Rocque's map to determine to what extent his record deviates from the later more scientific first Ordnance Survey map. Surprising and clear visual evidence is the result, and Rocque's map fares much better than we might have expected.

Acknowledgements

This work would not have been possible without the help and encouragement of so many people. However, my supervisor Edward McParland stands out above all. It was Eddie in the first place who chided me after a mini-retirement from academics after my Masters degree, to complete my studies and take on a PhD. At the time, I was a medievalist, and although he did not suggest changing, it was through his assistance in my putting together a lecture for undergraduate engineers on 18th-century Dublin, that I first encountered Rocque, and some kind of scales fell from my eyes, and the idea for this dissertation came to me in a gulp. Eddie is the best supervisor of all. He is inspired, and unrelenting in his appetite for his subject, and I guess for mine. Most of all, it was his skills as a 'man manager', that have got me to finish this work in good time. He has met all of my frequent *longueurs* of spirit with urgent good humour, deep sympathy and understanding, and lots of shared laughter and reciprocated hunger for the hunt. I will be eternally grateful, and I enjoyed every minute of every one of our meetings.

I am blessed with a patient, and encouraging, cheerleading family, and am equally eternally grateful to them for that. Thanks in particular to my Mam and Dad, Anne and Terry Montague, and to Andrew and Peter Montague and Itziar Bardeci, for inquiring and encouraging and listening, and cheering along. There has been endless practical help along the way: the all-day Sunday spent fixing my computer and the meals-on-wheels delivered on the last Monday before submission, and even an ironed shirt, are just some of the many benefits in kind.

Besides these, my uncle Philip MacDermott, and my aunty Mary McDermott, have financially sponsored me (not for the first time) for the last twelve months. They are my moral and financial patrons, and have always believed in me and my abilities. They are great friends, and even better relations. My good friend Tony Halligan has also thrown wads of cash at me from time to time too. My cousin Cláir MacDermott, and Mike Daly, and Matty and Patti McGee, hosted me for part of my trip to America last year in search of Rocque, and I am grateful for their kindness and interest in my work, and the great fun that we all had.

My great friend Gráinne Shaffrey was at hand at the vital closing stages to help with assembling and printing this thesis, and with a slightly previous dinner out to celebrate its completion.

Soldiers-in-arms for the closing stages are Patricia McCarthy and Livia Hurley: it has been great to have comrades in these last days of the project in particular. However Patricia and I have been friends and have shared the journey since we both began as undergraduates together, and I'm proud of us both. Other scholarly comrades include, Anna Moran, Ellen Rowley, Michael O'Neill, Kenneth Clarke, Jenifer Ní Ghradaidh and Imogen Magnus. Imogen is researching Bernard Scalé, Rocque's brother-in-law, and she has brought me in her car to the map library in Cambridge, to Chiswick, to Wanstead, to Richmond, and even finally got me to Rhetoric House in Maynooth to see the Rocques behind the curtains. Our shared 'mappism', and love for cities – London and Dublin especially – have brightened the endeavour enormously. Robin Usher has also been a very important influence, and good friend, and I have learned enormously from his prolific knowledge of 17th- and 18th-century Dublin.

This dissertation is founded on the previous research of John Andrews who seemed to have found out everything about Rocque in Ireland already. His work is scrupulous and exhaustive, and is the essential *alpha* and *omega* for all research on Rocque's Irish career, and on all issues to do with mapping. Professor Andrews has made his personal archive available in digital form to students, and much of what is contained in this thesis was founded on his pioneering documentary research. I am grateful to him for having made this available to me. Ashley Baynton-Williams has created an almost complete inventory of all of Rocque's printed maps, and all of the text contained therein. My dissertation would not have been possible without his instantly accessible and word-searchable data base of maps (which can be downloaded at MapForum.com). I am also greatly in the debt of Laurence Worms of Ash Rare Books in London, perhaps the most important authority on 18th-century English mapmakers and their working practices. He is currently completing a new Biographical Dictionary of English map engravers. He has welcomed me to his home at short notice, and given freely of his expertise, by means of instantly returned email inquiries on more than one occasion. I am also grateful to Peter Barber, the Keeper of Maps at the British Library, for a welcome exchange of views on the nature of

Rocque's work, and to Catherine Delano-Smith likewise, and for encouragement, and for the conference she organised on maps and art at Oxford in 2006, which influenced this thesis so much. The art historical nature of this work has also benefited greatly from conversations with John Harris, and from my reading of his research on topographical artists of the 18th century. John also welcomed me to his home, and handed over his whole Rocque archive to me in a Harrods bag as I left. Finally in these regards, Paul Ferguson of the Map Library in Trinity College Dublin – himself a published expert on Rocque's *Exact Survey* – has been endlessly helpful, and inquisitive, and knowledgeable, and encouraging. I am grateful to him for all his help, and to his assistant Simon Fernandez.

Others who have helped me or with whom I have spoken on this subject include Franc Myles, Claire Walsh, Annaleigh Margey, Colm Lennon, Mark Hennessy, Stuart Kinsella, Lisa Marie Griffith, Paddy Ryan, Macushla Baudis, Jane Meredith (who gave me her full-size photocopy pasted *Exact Survey* map when I started the project), John McCullen (who was my key to accessing the Ordnance Survey for my MapAnalyst work), Tony Hand and Charles Duggan. Peter Harbison was immensely helpful to me in tracking down Rocque's letters to his nephew, Bartholomew, in Mannheim. My friend Helmut Sundermann helped in translating an important German article on the subject of Rocque's nephew, and another friend, Ingrid Harley, helped me with the translation of Rocque's weird French grammar in his letters to the same nephew.

I am grateful to the following libraries and repositories and their staff for all of their help and allowing me access to their images: Nottingham Archives, British Museum, British Library and the very obliging staff of the map room there, Cambridge University Library, London Guildhall Library, New York Public Library map room, Boston Public Library map room, Trinity College Early Printed Books and to Charles Benson, and Lydia and Simon, Trinity Library in general, and their good humoured and helpful staff, King's Inns Library and to Jonathan Armstrong, Marsh's Library and Muriel McCarthy and for the tea and biscuits!, the National Archives, the Registry of Deeds, the Gilbert Library and to Mary Clark and all of the staff, Mary Kelleher and the RDS library, John O'Reilly and Michelle Jordan at the Ordnance Survey Phoenix Park. Finally the Center for British Art at Yale must be particularly recommended for their welcome to scholars, their facilities, the quality of their archive, their willingness to allow scholars photograph images and books for

themselves, and for the friendliness of their staff, particularly Elizabeth Fairman, John Monahan, Adrianna Bates and Lori Misura who gave me a special welcome.

Finally I am very grateful to the Irish Research Council for the Humanities and Social Sciences, from whom I had the Government of Ireland Scholarship during the first three years of preparing this dissertation, and for the very generous grant from the Thomas Dammann Memorial Trust who paid for my ~~very~~ trip to Yale in Summer 2007.

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Fig. 4.2 *Exact Survey* south-east sheet.

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Fig. 4.4 *Exact Survey* north-west sheet.

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Introduction

Introduction

John Rocque's *Exact survey of the city and suburbs of Dublin,* 1756, was the most comprehensive and detailed mapping of any city in these islands before the establishment of the Ordnance Survey in the early 19th century. Rocque was responsible for the production, although not always the surveying, of maps of cities throughout Europe including ones of Rome, Paris and London. However, despite their considerable detail and large scale (the London map comprised 24 sheets and measured 7ft by 13ft), they were all limited to the depiction of the city block. The Dublin map, by contrast, was the only one of Rocque's works to attempt a detailed plan of every single house plot, out-building, avenue, laneway, courtyard and garden, within the precincts of the mid-18th-century city. As a result Rocque is a first port of call for all those who are engaged in the study of the archaeology, architecture or urban geography of Dublin.

However it appeared to this author that the immense historical riches of the Dublin map remained largely untapped, or at least that the authenticity of these potential riches had not been assessed in any systematic way. Here was what appeared to be a relentless record of every space and built unit, of a city that had largely disappeared, but which contained the ancestral germ of the city which has survived. In some fabulous way there is nothing generic about Rocque's map of Dublin. Some aspect of his method allowed, by means of what may have been a primitive empiricism, a truly *exact survey* to be realised in print. This was a pattern of a city; intricate, intimate, street-by-street, lane-by-lane, house-by-house. Had one the time – and at least one scholar had – one could count the houses on the map.

But Rocque's map is not a satellite photograph, or a Google map, for all the appearances to the contrary. This 'overhead view' of the city was not achieved by purely mechanical means, but is a construct which reflects, as all maps do, not only the methodology used to achieve it, but the historical and artistic milieu in which it was created. For example all maps involve choices about what is or is not included or depicted. Again, despite the appearance, this is *not* a universal or

in any way a fully comprehensive map. Political and ownership boundaries are not included. Unlike Rocque's London map, for example, there are almost no references to commercial premises, despite the fact that there is on the other hand, vitally important demarcations made in the Dublin map only, between residential, institutional and utilitarian buildings – i.e. stables, outbuildings, warehouses, factories and workshops. For the most part, and this may come as a surprise, Rocque did almost no real surveying of individual buildings in the city. With very few exceptions, a very broad outline form of even the most august institutions, appeared to be sufficient to him for this map. This was not the case in the London map, nor indeed for his treatment of some of the more important buildings on his later town maps in Ireland. We will also find that to make the mapping of Dublin a commercially viable venture, unsurprisingly involved expedient excisions, short-cuts and omissions. The Dublin City Surveyor, who was wholly unacquainted with the imperative exigencies of commercial map-making, and who sought to compete with Rocque in creating a new map of Dublin, learned this to his cost.

One of the features, however, that underlies not only the qualities of this map and the nature of its necessary compromises has been almost completely overlooked in scholarly circles at least: that is the aesthetic and art-historical qualities of the *Exact Survey* as an image. The *Exact Survey* is an engraving. It is an artefact. Unlike modern wholly mechanical means of printed image production, the early modern print, like any work of art, betrays the characteristic signs of human workmanship in what is left behind. Indeed despite the fact that maps and other prints of this type were made in multiple copies, no two of these images will be absolutely alike. Every copy involved a re-inking of an ever deteriorating metal plate, that was worked exclusively by hand, and was re-worked over and over again, in response to wear and tear, as well as to artistic and editorial changes executed over the long life of each plate. Thus every mark on Rocque's map, as any other map or print of this period, is a direct archaeological remnant of a human action, a human intelligence, and an artistic as well as a cartographical endeavour.

Looked at from this point of view, a whole series of fairly traditional art-historical questions come into play. How was the engraving of the *Exact Survey* made? What was the nature of Rocque's workshop, both in terms of its practice, and in terms of its personnel? The only acknowledged engraver on the Dublin map was Andrew Dury. So what was Rocque's role? Were there other engravers involved too? In general terms, Rocque's practice has always been considered from the point of view of cartography, to such a point that his role in engraving the maps and all of their ancillary pictorial elements – views of buildings, cartouches and other decorative and allegorical features, naturalistic map symbols, images of boats and ships on the river – is either completely unexplored, or by at least one important Rocque scholar, ruled out completely. As well as considering the workshop methodology involved in creating the map image, an art historical approach also involves perhaps, a different sensitivity, if not appetite, for the appearance of the artefact; the exact nature of the line being used, the processes by which meaning and appearance are communicated by graphical means; indeed a critical appraisal of the impact of these means, in terms of their legibility and their aesthetic qualities, all become points of critical interest.

Thus from the point of view of the initially planned dissertation – a deep and systematic new examination of the *Exact Survey* as historical and archaeological resource – the question of Rocque's professional identity and of his working practice forced its way into the foreground. An attempt, for example, to understand fully how the Rocque Dublin map was made was likely to expand considerably our understanding of the limitations as well as the qualities of that map, and thus how it may be more meaningfully mined for historical information.

The other overarching question regarding Rocque's map must of course be to do with the business of how the survey itself was made. Again this must have an impact upon the question of the reliability and authenticity of the *Exact Survey* as

historical record. How long did it take to measure and survey the city? How long was Rocque actually in Dublin? How many assistants did he have? What was the scientific rationale, if any, that underpinned Rocque's surveying approach? What involvement did the city authorities, individuals and other groups have, again if any, with the creation of the *Exact Survey*? What kinds of sources might Rocque have used in order to create his map? For example was the map a wholly original creation, or was it a refinement of something that already existed? Why did Rocque come to Dublin, and who might have invited him or helped him while he was there?

In order to make an adequate attempt at properly investigating these questions to do with Rocque's Dublin map, a critical re-assessment of Rocque's earlier career seemed an essential prerequisite. What is known about Rocque from documentary sources, is remarkably sparse for someone with such a prolific and influential output. Why this should be so remains a mystery. This dissertation begins with a reappraisal of the scholarly treatment of Rocque to date. In terms of his career path a good deal had already been achieved, especially by the work of John Varley in the late 1940s. Sources to do with his Huguenot background, and his exact origins were exhausted without definitively establishing whether Rocque was born in London, or if he had come (as some of his family had) from Geneva, or indeed from what part of France this family had originally hailed. As a result we do not know where Rocque got his training, or with whom, or indeed what kind of training that might have been, i.e. as a surveyor, or a cartographer, or as an engraver, although the latter seems never to have been considered before now. Chapter 1, then, will seek to amplify the complete nature of Rocque's output, and by this means come to some general assessment of the nature of his career. One of the most important sources dealt with by Varley was a pair of letters from Rocque to his nephew Bartholomew (also an engraver) who was based at the time in Mannheim. No other biographical material of this nature has survived, and indeed since Varley read these letters in the 1940s, their explicit content has not been accessed. One of the important first successes in the preparation of this dissertation was their eventual re-discovery in a

repository in Mannheim. Some important new information such as Rocque's almost complete retirement one year before he came to Ireland, comes to light as a result. Other scholars have also considered many of the possible sources for information about Rocque's career, and these were reconsidered. The decision was made *not* to look to spend enormous amounts of time trawling through estate papers and city and town muniments to eke out documents that may expand on our knowledge of Rocque's professional relationships with those whose properties he surveyed and published. Rocque has been a subject of academic interest in the U.K. since the beginning of the 20th century and a good quantity of these potential sources had been mined already without much success. The blatantly obvious overlooked source was the huge corpus of his works which had never been systematically assessed as a whole.

There are some important exceptions to this, and these acted as an essential platform for my own researches. The first was the enormously useful attempt at a complete catalogue of Rocque's known printed maps, produced by Ashley Baynton-Williams (amongst other articles on Rocque) on his online journal MapForum. Not only were all known printed maps listed on this, but their complete titles, subtitles, and nearly any text that appears on every one of Rocque's maps, were included also. This printed corpus, which is without commentary, and thus includes almost exclusively, only the text on the maps, runs to a total of over 30,000 words. In the course of my researches I have found perhaps only five to six Rocque maps not included on this catalogue. The type of research I was able to undertake then on Rocque's output – a large part of which is considered in Chapter 2 – would not have been possible without this word-searchable document as a starting point.

The other major secondary source for this project was the incomparable and authoritative scholarly work of John Andrews. Andrews has published on all aspects of Rocque's work in Ireland, and explicitly on Rocque's *Exact Survey*. It was John Andrews who first brought to the attention of the academic public the existence of Rocque's superlative eight-volume Kildare manuscript maps, and in

turn was the first to publish on Rocque's *Exact Survey*. Outside of Andrews's work it would appear that to some scholars, Rocque had never come to Ireland, and certainly the value of his Irish work, and the length of time that he spent in Dublin, remains underappreciated in some quarters. As well as this seminal published work, John Andrews has made available his magisterial corpus of notes on Irish cartography and surveying, in digital form, for scholars who are lucky enough to find out that he has done so. Thus like the Baynton-Williams catalogue, John Andrews's files are word-searchable, and are an overwhelming source of primary information and scholarly insight.

Chapter 2 relies on the Baynton-Williams catalogue in particular as a starting point to reconsider Rocque's body of work. However, this is not a complete assessment, as such an object would have been outside the time resources for the dissertation, and would have taken from the study of the Dublin map. Instead, as a case study, and in an attempt to understand the nature of Rocque's work, the estate portraits he created during the first ten years of his career are looked at in great detail, particularly with an eye to their art-historical qualities and nature as argued above. Other non-map publications with which Rocque was involved, or over which he played a central part, expand considerably upon this understanding. Rocque's professional ties, and the nature of his estate portraits, show a considerable penchant for topographical art in his works. Whether Rocque was directly responsible for all of the artistic content or not will be considered at length. However it seems certain, that Rocque *was* indeed an engraver, of some considerable skill, and this is demonstrated by the number of books in which he appeared as engraver only, and through which in turn he played an important role in the dissemination of continental decorative styles, that had nothing at all to do with cartography. Rocque was absolutely unique in the range of tasks he directly executed in the creation and distribution of his maps. At different times in his career, Rocque was surveyor, draftsman, engraver, printer, publisher, and mapseller, and in some particular instances – especially at the beginning of his career – he was all of these things. This all-encompassing facility appears to be the principal reason for the consistency of

his house style long after he had stopped being the principal engraver on his own works, or indeed in some cases, the principal surveyor. This all-round ability was also absolutely unique at this time or perhaps at any other. Mapmakers were usually engraver-publishers, or surveyors who had others engrave their work. That Rocque combined all these aspects of the profession has also been largely overlooked to date.

Chapter 3 returns to a more fundamentally cartographical concern, as it attempts to come to grips with the making of the London maps of 1746 and 1747, particularly the 1747 24-sheet map ultimately published by John Pine and John Tinney. This map, for which Rocque is most famous outside of Dublin, was his first map of this type and on this scale – before Rocque began to work on the London maps in 1738 he had only worked on estate maps – and an understanding of the historical circumstances of, and the technical methodology that underpinned the creation of this city map seemed an essential prerequisite to approaching his Dublin work, published a decade later. The great majority of the ground work on this subject had already been undertaken by Ralph Hyde, the former keeper of maps at the Guildhall Library in London. Important work had also been carried out by Henry Wheatley in 1914. Rocque's relationship with the Royal Society, and their impact on how his London map was made, is of cardinal importance, and much of this, if not all, had been assessed with great depth already. However the question of how it was that Rocque was approached by the antiquarian and engraver George Vertue to survey the map, when Rocque was arguably at this time a small-scale surveyor, and cartographical engraver, is considered in detail here. This is coupled with an assessment of the then state of cartographical science in London, especially as it compared with the sophisticated state-sponsored work being carried out in France at the same time. An argument is made for the strong influence of Peter Davall of the Royal Society upon the methodology, which would as a result, incorporate the techniques of the French academy in general, and be based on the published findings of Guillaume Delisle in particular. How the map fits into the

chronology of London maps, and the so-called 'ichnographic' map tradition in general, is also considered in some depth.

Chapter 4 takes a similarly in-depth approach to the historical circumstances of the method by which Rocque went about making the Dublin map. This is prefaced with a full assessment of Rocque's work in Ireland, especially the printed maps – his manuscript estate surveys having been treated comprehensively already by Ann Hodge, amongst others. Consideration is also given to why Rocque might have come to Ireland, how long he stayed, how many assistants he had working for him, what part Irish artists played in the creation of the work, and how Rocque managed to infiltrate himself into Irish society as a means of marketing his map. A significant part of the early narrative of the making of the *Exact Survey*, is the degree to which his hand appears to have been forced by the competitive concurrent attempt by Roger Kendrick, the Dublin City Surveyor, to make an equivalent map of Dublin. Much of this is founded on the extensive research into newspaper archives, already made by John Andrews. Nearly all of the particular articles cited and quoted in full by him, in the years 1754-5, have been re-visited, and his record found to be scrupulously accurate. Many others from U.K. and non-Dublin newspapers, and articles not dating to that time period, have been taken directly from John Andrews's work while referring to the particular newspapers directly in the notes. However the interpretation of the impact of Kendrick in particular, and other aspects of the period, is fresh to this dissertation. Besides the circumstantial narrative of the creation of the Rocque map, much work is done in this chapter on the possible methods used in measuring the Dublin survey and in the creation of the engraved map that resulted from it. Conclusions are based on a wide-ranging assessment of secondary research into this subject, particularly work by Mary Pedley, Laurence Worms, and J.B. Harley *inter alia*, and on a great deal of internal evidence which can be gleaned from exhaustive studies of the map itself.

The thesis concludes in Chapter 5, with a thorough consideration of the nature, and reliability of the *Exact Survey* itself. This is based on wide-ranging comparisons with contemporary and other maps of Dublin, other visual evidence, such as views of the city, and estate plans, documentary evidence from the Registry of Deeds, newspapers and other textual sources, as well as from an examination of some buildings that have survived, and a study of the corpus of archaeological research in Dublin that pertained to Rocque's work, as carried out in recent years in particular. The first section involves a series of concerted case-studies, in which Rocque's record of individual buildings is considered critically. Some unusual anomalies of record-making arose, as well as some new insights into some aspects of the socio-architectural history of the city at this time. The second section involves a close comparison between Rocque's *Exact Survey* of 1756 and this same map as it came to be revised by Rocque's former apprentice Bernard Scalé, in 1773. Although for the most part this revision involved an updating of Rocque's record of the city, in so far as it had materially changed in the seventeen intervening years, Scalé's map may also be viewed as a first visual critique of the earlier map. Finally the thesis will conclude with a computer-based map analysis which compares with surprising effect, Rocque's 1756 map to the first Ordnance Survey of Dublin carried out some eighty years later. That such a piece of software should become available only in the last two years has proven a great boon to the study of the accuracy of Rocque's map. However securing the raw materials for this research – particularly a GIS-based Ordnance Survey map, and a complete scan of Rocque's *Exact Survey* (which in turn had to be sewn together digitally) – took an inordinate amount of time, and may be considered an essential part of the overall achievement, of getting that particular part of the research over the line.

All of this textual work is backed up by extensive visual evidence supplied in Volume 2. The vast majority of the images that are included have been examined in their originals, and appear from photographs taken and edited by the author. Illustrations play a vital part in the argument and are not a decorative addendum. Sources include the very important collection of Rocque materials collected in

four volumes in the Early Printed Books collections of Trinity College, Library. The extraordinary Fagel collection of maps, also at Trinity, allowed for considerable comparative work to be done to contemporary continental mapmaking, and the Map Library also at Trinity provided a considerable back-up resource to all of this research. The British Library houses the most comprehensive collection of Rocque materials, and these works were mined over two extended study trips to London. Other repositories in the U.K. that were used in this way, included the Cambridge University Library map room, the Guildhall Library in London, and the British Museum prints and drawings room. The most important collection from a practical point of view for this dissertation was that in the Center for British Art, at Yale University at New Haven. This houses a very comprehensive collection of Rocque maps, but crucially allowed this author to photograph at will every or any map in its collection. The largest proportion of illustrated materials in this dissertation comes from photographs taken by the author, of Rocque maps in the Yale collection.

What started potentially as an architectural historical thesis – in so far as Rocque's map is such a resplendent source for the appearance of the city of Dublin in the mid-eighteenthcentury – necessarily became entangled with evidently relevant narratives and issues to do with cartographical history. After all, the *Exact Survey* is a map. However the critical shift in viewpoint in this dissertation, away from the point at which it started, and indeed away from traditional approaches to Rocque's work, has been the recognition of the *Exact Survey* as a visual artefact, of considerable beauty, and of great complexity, and of enormous cultural importance as a work of art. Recognising Rocque's role as artist, as someone responsible for all of the graphical choices that this involved, opens up an avenue of great potential for assessing the value and meaning of the *Exact Survey*, but also for our understanding of the incomparable breadth and scale of Rocque's achievement during his reasonably short (twenty-eight-year) professional career. Despite the progress made in this thesis, a great deal of work remains to be done in this last regard.

Chapter 1 : Rocque Biography

Chapter 1 – Rocque Biography

1.1 A critical assessment of what is known about Rocque to date

What is known of John Rocque's career is sparse at the very best. For a map-maker who is celebrated today as amongst the most accomplished and original of his era, and upon whom so much reliance is put for our imaginative reconstructions of the 18th-century cities of London and Dublin, Rocque seems to have been overlooked in the contemporary biographical accounts, as some side-player to the main event.[1] This is largely to do with that liminal zone in which he and other map-makers operated, between the commercial field of cartography as it operated at that time, on the one hand, and the art of image making and engraving, on the other. Rocque seemed not to have been considered an important member of the school of topographical engravers in a way that his colleague Chatelain or his friend Vivares had been. Rocque's output contains a large number of important topographical images, yet they

[1] 'J. ROCQUE. Flourished, 1735. He was probably a native of France, but resided in England. We have by him, among other engravings, two large views, length-ways, of *Wansted House in Essex* [Wanstead], from drawings made by himself. They are in every respect very indifferently executed.': Joseph Strutt, *A biographical dictionary; containing an historical account of all the engravers, from the earliest period of the art of engraving to the present time; and a short list of their most esteemed works.* Vol. 2, (London: Robert Faulder, New Bond Street, 1786), 272; Rocque is not mentioned in Horace Walpole (ed.) *A catalogue of engravers who have been born or resided in England; digested by Mr. Horace Walpole from the MSS. of Mr. George Vertue; to which is added an account of the life and works of the latter* 2nd ed. (Strawberry-Hill: 1765), although his French colleague Gravelot figures (p. 135), as does John Pine (p. 135), and Rocque's colleague on the production of *Sixty different sorts of ornaments invented by Gaetano Brunetti Italian Painter*, published in 1736, Henry Fletcher, who appears on p. 137; nor does Rocque appear in Samuel Redgrave, *A dictionary of artists of the English School: painters, sculptors, architects, engravers and ornamentists: with notices of their lives and work.* (London: George Bell and Sons, York Street, Covent Garden, 1878), although his French engraver colleagues, Vivares and Chatelain do; Rocque's appearance in George C. Williamson (ed.) *Bryan's dictionary of painters and engravers. New edition revised and enlarged.* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1904), vol iv pp. 262-3 is extremely brief and based on Strutt as quoted above. Finally Rocque does not appear in E. Bénézit, *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs, de tous les temps et de tous les pays par un groupe d'écrivains spécialistes francais et étrangers. 8 vols.* ([Paris]: Librairie Grund, 1957).

were not perceived as part of the European landscape tradition as defined by art historical canon, either then or since. In the context of a broader social or scientific history, Rocque fares little better. Despite the fact that the Royal Society had long seen the great need for a comprehensive re-mapping of Britain, no significant scheme was supported, and the work of independent commercial map-makers was largely overlooked.[2] This was in great contrast to the state-sponsored cartography in France, established by Colbert in the late-17th century.[3] We would nevertheless expect to find any number of references to this prodigious cartographer in the family and estate papers of the great houses for whom Rocque made estate surveys, or in the muniments of the corporations of the cities and towns, for which he made his seminal plans. This is not the case. Despite publishing many images of Royal estates, and identifying himself in print as topographer to the Prince of Wales and later to the King, there is barely a reference to Rocque in the household accounts of the Royal family during his life.[4] While there is a good deal of research work still to be done, those who have made dedicated studies of Rocque as evidence for contemporary landscape or as a source for the topography of town and county, have failed so far to uncover references to him in the household accounts of the great estates for which he made engraved surveys, while his

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[2] A record of a correspondence between Rocque and the Society for the Encouragement of Arts and Industry in 1753 survives, and Rocque did receive some support from the Royal Society in the preparation of his London map, both of which are discussed below. However these are almost passing references, and Rocque's importance is nowhere acknowledged, in the way in which for example Delisle must have dominated in the cartographic considerations of the French Académie des Sciences.

[3] Josef W Konvitz, *Cartography in France 1660-1848: science, engineering, and statecraft* (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), Chapter 1.

[4] According to John Varley, 'John Rocque. Engraver, surveyor, cartographer and map-seller' *Imago Mundi* v (1948): 87, fn 16, there is only one known record, of a James Rocque, Chorographer, in the household accounts of George III when he was Prince of Wales. While the misnomer is telling, the reference was almost certainly to our subject.

presence in the municipal record of London, and indeed in Dublin as we shall see, was minimal.[5]

Although the avenue of documentary evidence as yet offers little more than empty files and closed doors, it should nevertheless be possible to make considerable headway on the nature of Rocque's career by way of a close analysis of his artistic and cartographic output. Following an initial assessment of what has been discovered to date, an attempt will be made here to make just such an analysis. Aspects of Rocque's career as artist cartographer will be considered critically in what follows, in part by means of a reclamation of his importance as artist, and in part as a means of eliciting a far more comprehensive understanding of the professional processes by which these works came to be carried out, and the workshop practices they involved. One overarching question must be Rocque's cartographic or indeed his art historical lineage. We have no knowledge of his training or apprenticeship, yet he seems to appear fully formed in his precocious 1734 debut, the engraved survey of the country villa of George II and Caroline and their recalcitrant son

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[5] It is difficult to footnote an absence of information. However John Varley, 'John Rocque', 87 states that 'No documents devoted exclusively to the personnel of the [Royal] Household whether manuscripts or published lists, contain his name', based on information obtained from the Librarian, Windsor Castle. John Harris, *The artist and the country house: a history of country house and garden view painting in Britain 1540-1870* (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1979) & pers. comm., can report nothing more fruitful regarding what Harris tellingly calls Rocque's 'estate portraits', although he also suggests that there are still some collections of estate papers which remain untapped. Finally, the likely sources of information regarding the London and county maps have all been extensively trawled by previous Rocque scholars such as Varley as cited; Henry Wheatley, 'Rocque's plan of London, 1746' *London Topographical Record* IX (1914): 15-28; Hugh Phillips, 'John Rocque's career' *London Topographical Record* xx (1952): 9-25; Ralph Hyde, 'The making of John Rocque's map' in *The A to Z of Georgian London. Facsimile of John Rocque's 1746 map of London*, (Lympne Castle: Harry Margary, 1981), v-viii; Ralph Hyde, 'Portraying London mid-century: John Rocque and the Brothers Buck' in *London 1753*, edited by Sheila O'Connell (London: The British Museum Press, 2003), 28-38; Paul Laxton, 'Rocque, John (1704?–1762)', rev., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37907, accessed 21 Oct 2008].

Frederick Prince of Wales, at Richmond and Kew (Fig. 2.1). There is something inherently entrepreneurial about the Huguenots in the 17th and 18th centuries, as there is with refugees and economic migrants of all ages.[6] This must surely be to do with the fact that their previous professional and personal identities were necessarily wiped by the process of being forced to flee their homes and established professions. Tradition, and one's place in society, had already been expunged, and the chance, indeed the necessity, for re-invention was a dominating force. Hence the amazing versatility of the Rocques of whom we have some little knowledge. John Rocque's brother Bartholomew was a renowned horticultural innovator. Based at his 40-acre farm at Waltham Green between Chelsea and Kensington, Bartholomew specialised in cultivating crops of exceptionally high yields, and was referred to by one of his contemporaries as 'this great artist in agriculture'.[7] Bartholomew's godson, Bartholomew, son of John's brother, Claude, demonstrated both the specialist knowledge and the bravura of both of his uncles, when he offered to make a complete engraved survey of the Electorate of Mannheim, while at the same time carrying out a radical review of agricultural and industrial practices there. This was to involve *inter alia* the introduction of a silk production industry, whereby the Elector was to distribute between 500 and 1,000 mulberry trees to every farmer. Needless to say the Elector balked at the suggestion.[8] Rocque himself, who started his career producing reasonably straightforward (although as we shall see innovative) estate images, went on to make the great surveys of that century of

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[6] David Dickson, 'Huguenots in the urban economy of eighteenth-century Dublin and Cork' in *The Huguenots and Ireland: anatomy of an emigration*, edited by C.E.J. Caldicott, H. Gough, and J.P. Pittion (Dun Laoghaire: 1987), 321-32.

[7] Sir James Caldwell, 'A letter to the Dublin Society, from Sir James Caldwell, Baronet, Fellow of the Royal Society; giving an Account of the Culture and Quality of several Kinds of Grass lately discovered. Volume V.' in *Museum Rusticum et Commerciale: or select papers on agriculture commerce arts and manufactures drawn from experience and communicated by gentlemen engaged in these pursuits*, (London: 1765), 13-22, 19.

[8] Friedrich Walter, 'Zur Levensgeschichte des Kupferstechers: B. Rocque (de la Rocque).' *Mannheimer Geschichtsblatter* XXI, no. 7/8 (July/August 1920): 99-105, 102.

the principal cities of these islands and impressive county maps, without any ancestry in the cartographic business that has so far been established.[9]

1.2 Rocque as an artist cartographer, and how this should affect our approach to the corpus of his work

In order to consider these aspects of Rocque's professional origins, evidence of patronage, and issues of workshop practice, it is necessary first of all to acknowledge the extraordinary range of his output. Regardless of the numbers of maps and plans produced – approximately one hundred[10] – Rocque stands out amongst his contemporaries for the unique range of his professional activities, and it is this perhaps most of all that makes the nature of his *oeuvre* so difficult to define. Rocque first referred to himself as a '*dessinateur de jardins*'.[11] This has led a number of scholars to speculate that Rocque was involved with his brother as a landscape designer of sorts.[12] This is to misunderstand both the nature of Bartholomew's business – his interest was as a cultivator of crops principally for animal husbandry – and also the French word *dessinateur*. The latter in its most common usage means a person who

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[9] The engraver and medallist, Olivier Laurent Rocque, was active in Caen in the early-18th century, as was his descendent Olivier Françis Rocque in the later 18th century according to Ulrich Thieme, and Felix Becker, *Allgemeines lexikon der bildenden Kunstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (Leipzig: Seemann, 1965-66), 453. However no obvious connection can be made between John Rocque and these two Normans.

[10] Varley, 'John Rocque', p. 83. However of the 141 different maps and atlases listed in the MapForum's catalogue of John Rocque's engraved works (http://www.mapforum.com/p5/rocqlist.htm), seventy-nine (79) of these are original publications, with the remainder making up editions and states. There are, however, another three original Rocque map publications not listed on the MapForum catalogue, i.e. the *Pocket Plan of Dublin*, and the *Parishes map of Dublin*, both published in 1757, and a *Plan of the Camp near Thurles*, published in 1755.

[11] John Rocque, 'Plan of the House, Gardens, Park & Hermitage of their Majesties, at Richmond; and of their R.H. the Prince of Wales, and the Princess Royal at Kew.' (London: John Rocque, 1734)

[12] Renzo Dubbini, *Geography of the gaze*, Translated by Lydia G. Cochrane. (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 2002), pp. 42-3; hinted at by Varley, 'John Rocque', pp. 83-4.

draws or records the designs, i.e. a draughtsman, and so we must understand the expression in this instance as meaning a draughtsman of gardens and estates.[13] Rocque will use the same word again when he describes the equal number of draughtsmen and engravers, '*tant Dessinateur* [sic] *que graveur* [sic] …' he has working for him on his county and town maps in the late 1750s.[14] And when during the same decade, Charles Bridgeman enticed the French painter Rigaud to England, it was in order that he 'be employed by [Bridgeman] to make designs of Gardens, Views &c. etc.',[15] i.e. make drawings of gardens which Charles Bridgeman designed. There is no evidence that Rocque was involved in that high art profession, as it had become in the 18th century, of the estate or garden designer, although no doubt he may have been happy to trade on any ambiguity that might be attached to his use of the word. However, these were not merely estate surveys in the traditional sense, i.e. the Spartan pen-and-ink outline drawings of estates based on a boundary traverses, and closely calculated areas, used principally in the management and letting of estates.[16] Rocque's were highly detailed engraved plans (meant for resale, and not merely for the owners of the estates), which included not only a complete plan of the estates themselves, but also uniquely for this type of image, a series of insets or 'picture boxes',[17] that illustrated orchestrated views of the estates, and elevations and perspectives of their principal buildings. These elements were combined with elaborately framed titles and 'Explanation' tables and arranged in a highly pictorial fashion across the

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[13] Beryl T. Atkins et al, *Collins Robert unabridged French-English/English-French Dictionary* 5th edition (London: Harper Collins & Dictionnaires Le Robert, 1998).

[14] Mannheim, Gesellschaft der Freunde Mannheims und der ehemaligen Kurpfalz, MS. 'Letter from John Rocque to Bartholomew Rocque.' (2 October, 1753), photocopy from archive without reference or manuscript number.

[15] Roy Strong, *The artist and the garden* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 217, n. 52, citing George Vertue, *Notebooks,* Walpole Society, XXX, 1995, p. 194.

[16] This type of functional estate surveying is described at length in J.H. Andrews, *Plantation acres: an historical study of the Irish land surveyor and his maps* (Omagh: Ulster Historical Foundation, 1985), *passim.*

[17] An expression used by John Harris, pers. comm.

printed area, to form deeply original idiosyncratic designs. These plans were estate portraits: flattering, evocative and highly pictorial. They must be seen as part of a tradition of topographical image-making typified at this time by Jacob Knyff and Johannes Kip, John Harris the Elder and Younger, Samuel and Nathaniel Buck and Thomas Badeslade, which in turn found their source in the kind of Netherlandish verisimilitude or naturalistic image-making of the 16th and 17th century, typified in England by Wenceslaus Hollar.[18]

As well as making these printed estate portraits, Rocque is known to have carried out a number of significant manuscript surveys, the most magnificent of which was the 8-volume survey of the Kildare estates.[19] One must wonder

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[18] The seminal and most complete account to date of this tradition, and one in which Rocque is firmly placed, is in John Harris, *The artist and the country house: a history of country house and garden view painting in Britain 1540-1870* (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1979). Harris is responsible too for the phrase 'estate portrait' making, which far more acccurately describes the process than the traditional 'landscape' picture making. Cf. Renzo Dubbini, *Geography of the gaze* Translated by Lydia G. Cochrane. (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 2002), pp. 36-48. For a partial corrective to this, see Sheila O'Connell, 'Curious and entertaining - prints of London and Londoners' in *London 1753*, edited by Sheila O'Connell (London: The British Museum Press, 2003), 39-43, 41 in which she refers to these artists (the Knyffs & Kips and Bucks and Rocque) as the 'topographers', and contrasting a more serious landscape tradition that emerged in the 1760s as a result of the visit to London of Canaletto.

[19] The earliest surviving manuscript estate surveys made by Rocque include a survey of an estate at Wrington in the Mendip Hills, Somerset in 1738: Members of a University of Bristol Extra-Mural class held at the John Locke Hall, Wrington (ed.) *Wrington Village Records* (Bristol: University of Bristol, 1969); one made in Essex in 1741 and another at Walton on Thames in 1744: A. Stuart Mason, 'Some Huguenot surveyors and the Irish Connection: abridged version' pers. comm. (1989), 6. The eight volumes of the Kildare survey, which have been dispersed, are described in Anne Hodge, 'The practical and the decorative: the Kildare estate maps of John Rocque' in *Irish Arts Review* 17 (2001): 133-40 and Robin Halwas, *John Rocque's survey of the Kildare estates: manor of Kilkea, 1760. A rediscovered atlas ornamented by Hugh Douglas Hamilton* (London: Robin Halwas Limited, n.d. [2005]). Cf. Arnold Horner, 'Cartouches and vignettes on the Kildare estate maps of John Rocque' in *Irish Georgian Society Quarterly Bulletin*, xiv (1971): 57-76; Arnold Horner, 'New maps of Co. Kildare interest in the National Library of Ireland' *Journal of the Co. Kildare Archaeological Society*, xv (1975-6): 473-89.

whether this activity might have served as a preliminary for the printed works, although these manuscript surveys differ a good deal from the engraved ones, as well as from the more prosaic tradition of estate surveying already referred to. Indeed so resplendent was the best of these manuscript surveys, the set carried out in Ireland from 1755 to 1760, that Rocque is said to have spawned a tradition and style of so-called French Surveying which continued some 150 years after he left the country.[20] Extensive as the Kildare survey was, it was the only one of its type carried out by Rocque in Ireland, and only one of four that we are certain he executed throughout his career. Many of the Kildare folios included inset views, just as in the printed maps, and thus are also part of the topographical tradition referred to already. Indeed Rocque also published a number of topographical prints, as stand-alone images from at least as early as 1736, with his views of Geneva and of Kensington gardens in London.[21] These must be considered in the context of the co-publication with Chatelain of *A New Book of Landskips Pleasant and Useful for to learn to Draw without a Master* in 1737,[22] as well as the cheeky and now very rare publication with Thomas

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[20] J.H. Andrews, 'The French school of Dublin land surveyors', *Irish Geography*, 45 (1964-68): 275-92, *passim*.

[21] Hyde 'Portraying London', 33 for the Geneva view, without mentioning where this might be located. 'View of the Royal Palace at Kensington' by John Rocque, engraved by Vivares, BL Maps K.Top.28.10.e.2. The latter was amongst the images included in the Badeslade and Rocque publication referred to below.

[22] *A / New Book of / Landskips / Pleasant & Useful for / to learn to Draw with= / =out a Master // Publish'd According to an Act of parliament by J. Rocque 1737. Chatelin inv. Sculp.* There are five pages to this small booklet, two copies of which are known to this author: British Museum 1882-4-11-1330 to 1334 and Yale British Art Center: Prints & Drawings, Cabinet 93, Shelf 10. There are five pages to this small booklet, stitched together. Cf. Elizabeth McKellar, 'Peripheral visions: alternative aspects and rural presences in mid-18th-century London' in *The metropolis and its image: constructing identities for London c.1750-1950*, edited by Dana Andrews (London: Blackwell Press, 1999), 29-47, 45.

Badeslade of *Vitruvius Brittanicus* [sic] *volume the Fourth* in 1739, that collected together most of Rocque's estate portraits published by that later date.[23]

Following on chronologically, and in terms of how he has come to be remembered, Rocque must principally be defined as a commercial map-maker. While the initial phase of his career was taken up by the engraved estate portraits as described above, from 1738 when the first survey work began on the London map,[24] through to its publication in 1746 and 1747, and followed through to the end of Rocque's career, his fundamental work would be as a surveyor and publisher of maps. As we shall see, his particular style of rendering these maps, owed a great deal to the type of pictorial language that he developed during his years as a *dessinateur de jardins*. Yet he somehow transformed himself from surveyor and topographical artist to cartographer in the short intervening years from 1734 to 1738. There is much to be considered regarding this, not least his methods and working practices, and these will be discussed in the succeeding chapters. What must be acknowledged here is the scale of his ambition, as well as the thoroughness of his craft, carried through in an entirely independent entrepreneurial fashion, without any significant financial support that can be identified. Rocque was the first London map seller since the 17th century whose maps were mainly drawn and engraved from his own surveys. We can only look on in awe at his almost foolhardy ambition in taking on simultaneously two epoch-making maps of London, while at the same time carrying out city plans of Bristol, Exeter and Shrewsbury,[25] a printed estate map of Wilton and manuscript estate surveys of

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[23] Thomas Badeslade, and John Rocque, *Vitruvius Brittanicus [sic], Volume the Fourth. Being A Collection Of Plans, Elevations and Perspective Views, Of The Royal Palaces, In Great Britain.* (London: John Wilcox in the Strand, 1739)

[24] Wheatley, 'Rocque's plan of London', 27 & Hyde 'Portraying London', 30.

[25] Rocque published the town plans of Bristol, Exeter and Shrewsbury in 1743, 1744 and 1746 respectively. The majority of dates and information about the corpus of John Rocque's published work reproduced here is based on the comprehensive list prepared by Ashley Baynton-Williams, *John Rocque: catalogue of his engraved works. Map Forum list.* [WWW document]

the village of Wrington in Somersetshire, a farm at Parsfield Hall, High Ongar in Essex for Earl Tylney, of Wanstead, and at Walton on Thames, in Surrey.[26] The explanation as to why Rocque carried out almost all of his own surveys (during these years)[27] lies almost certainly in the fact that the reproduction of already established maps, albeit altered and updated in a random and unstudied way, was entirely sewn-up by a small number of map and print publishers who owned the plates of the earlier important late-16th-century county maps and the two great late-17th-century London maps (John Ogilby and William Morgan's 1676 *A Large and accurate map of the City of London* and William Morgan's *London &c. Actually Surveyed* of 1682), all of which they re-hashed ad nauseum.[28] The only option for Rocque was to strike out and survey his own maps. This involved an enormous initial investment of time and risk of capital, but also meant that Rocque had some of the first up-to-date county maps since the late-16th century which his rivals did not, and the first original map of London since William Morgan's *London etc. Actually surveyed* that was

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URL http://www.mapforum.com/05/rocqlist.htm & http://www.mapforum.com/05/rocqlis2.htm (1999?) *Visited*, 11th September, 2006.

[26] 'A Survey of Wrington Tything, belonging to the Rt. Hon. Wm. Pulteney, Esq., taken and drawn by John Rocque, 1738'. Original map lent by Mr. P.F. Bennett, Wrington, and now in Bristol Records Office. (Ref. 22160 (1-3), according to Members of a University of Bristol Extra-Mural class held at the John Locke Hall Wrington (ed.) *Wrington Village Records* (Bristol: University of Bristol, 1969), 44; for Parsfield Hall, see Essex Record Office, D/DCW P46, referenced in A. Stuart Mason, *Essex on the map: the 18th century land surveyors of Essex* (Chelmsford, Essex: Essex Record Office, 1990), p. 71; for Walton cf. A. Stuart Mason, 'Some Huguenot surveyors and the Irish connection: abridged version' lecture typescript (1989), 6.

[27] In later years he was to commission some original surveys. However all of the London and Dublin works were surveyed under his direct supervision.

[28] For Saxton, Norden and Speed and their Elizabethan and early Jacobean county surveys, as well an account of how these were endlessly re-hashed see Catherine Delano-Smith and Roger J.P. Kain, *English maps: a history* (London: The British Library, 1999), 68-78; for an account of Philip Morgan's 1682 map, and its impact see Ralph Hyde, 'Portraying London mid-century: John Rocque and the Brothers Buck' in *London 1753*, edited by Sheila O'Connell (London: The British Museum Press, 2003), 28-38, 28-30 & Laurence Worms, 'The maturing of British commercial cartography: William Faden (1749-1836) and the map trade', *The Cartographic Journal*, 41, no.1 (June 2004): 5-11, 5-7.

published in 1682. This involved an enormous strain. Thomas Jefferys, a slightly later contemporary whose practice bears comparison to Rocque's in many respects, went bankrupt very soon after he began to make his own attempts at county surveys.[29] While Rocque himself managed throughout it all to keep his head above water – he left a very small fortune in his will of 1762 – he was already contemplating his retirement from business when still a relatively young man.[30] In 1753 he wrote to his nephew, Bartholomew, that he planned to quit the business, as soon as the few projects he had in hand were complete.[31] He had no children or heirs, and hoped that his nephew might consider coming and eventually take charge of affairs. Although Rocque was to go on to make his Irish sojourn, and complete some of his greatest work there, it seems at this time, that for some unspecified health reasons, he was anticipating his own demise. Not only were Rocque's maps surveyed by Rocque himself, they were also characterised by their exceptional attention to detail, and the intense quality of the information they contained, as well as for their beauty and originality of expression: 'No one has exceeded him in this respect; the information he gives is amazing, not only of rivers, roads, paths and hills, but the care with which he indicates lesser detail, the distinctions between arable and pasture land, woodland, hedged land, coalpits, etc., always presented in a way most pleasing to the eye, makes him not only one of the best surveyors but also one of the greatest engravers of his time.'[32]

As we shall see Rocque allowed the majority, if not all, of his later work to be engraved by others. The great 24-sheet London map was engraved by John Pine, his 16-sheet *London and ten Miles around* map, published almost

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[29] J.B Harley, 'The bankruptcy of Thomas Jefferys: an episode in the economic history of eighteenth-century map-making', *Imago Mundi*, XX (1966): 27-48.

[30] Hugh Phillips, 'John Rocque's career', *London Topographical Record*, xx (1952): 9-25, p. 9.

[31] Mannheim, Gesellschaft der Freunde Mannheims und der ehemaligen Kurpfalz, 'John Rocque to Bartholomew Rocque', 11th May, 1753.

[32] R.V. Tooley, 'Map making in France from the sixteenth century to the eighteenth century' *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London* xviii (1947-1952): 473-79, p. 479.

concurrently, was engraved by Richard Parr, and his *Exact Survey of Dublin* was engraved by Andrew Dury. It is certain too that Rocque used a good many engravers, especially those who made up part of his workshop, who were not acknowledged in the titles to these works, and this has led one scholar at least to speculate (erroneously in this author's view) as to whether Rocque engraved any of his maps at all.[33] Rocque almost at the very beginning tried to clarify this issue when he stated that the Wanstead plan was 'measured, designed and engraved by himself'.[34] Despite the fact that at a later stage in his career, Rocque farmed out certain parts if not all of the engraving to others, nevertheless there is an unusual degree of artistic control throughout his career, by which means a very clear and recognisable engraved idiom emerged. It is only in the 24-sheet London 1747 map, which was in fact engraved and published by John Pine and John Tinney, that this control broke down, demonstrating by contrast the unity of expression of all of his other maps.[35] The fact that Rocque was indeed a skilled engraver will be established in Chapter 2 below.

Rocque was also a publisher of maps.[36] This is not necessarily the same thing as being an engraver and printmaker. The publisher paid for, and retained, ownership of the copper plates. No more than today, he was responsible for a

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[33] Paul Laxton (ed.), *A topographical map of the county of Berks, by John Rocque, Topographer to his Majesty. Introductory notes by Paul Laxton* (Lympne Castle, Kent: Harry Margary, 1973).

[34] 'Levé Dessienné / et Grave par J. Rocque. 1735.'

[35] This aspect of the London 1747 map will be discussed in full below.

[36] There are also some lesser instances of Rocque's being involved in non-cartographic and non-topographical book publishing. One example was George Voorhelm's *A treatise on the Hyacinth*... (1753), inscribed on the title page as follows: 'To be had of Mr. Bartholomew Rocque flowrist at Walham Green near Fulham, at Mr. John Rocque topographer to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and at Mrs. Cooper's, and no where-else' (Found on English Short Title Catalogue online, referring to copy in the collections of Hunt Institute for Botanical Documentation, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania). Rocque appeared as a distributor, if not co-publisher, on at least one of his brother's books: *A practical treatise of cultivating lucern*... (London, 1761).

dissemination of these images, in order to justify his initial investment. As well as the large quantities of his own original work, Rocque also published a considerable quantity of maps that he did not survey himself. Sometimes this was acknowledged, sometimes only partially so, and sometimes not at all.[37] Although we know that Rocque visited Paris in 1751 to renew his stock after a fire had destroyed his premises the previous November, he did not survey the map of Paris which he published in 1748, nor had he ever visited and surveyed Berlin (1749), Rome (1750), Chebuctoo (1750)[38] or Madras (1751). As noted already, the commercial publication of maps during the 18th century in London greatly contrasted with the situation that pertained in France, where both commercial and institutional, surveying and publishing, were largely underwritten by the state. Rocque would look to all sources as we shall see for patronage and support for his projects, very often with little success. As Mason has pointed out, Rocque's London map was made '[w]ith the cooperation but not the cash [at least not initially] of the city fathers'.[39] On the other hand, this commercialisation of cartography, traditionally a military function of the state, had a democratising effect. Once the science of princes, geography in the hands of the cash-strapped Rocque and others of his ilk, must of necessity become a commodity attractive to the emerging middle class. Some aspects of how the maps were used, and how Rocque expected them to be used will be discussed in due course. However, even the great multiple-sheet maps were often sold as single sheets, and were thus popular to a localised audience. These single-sheet part-maps were generally sold for approximately a shilling, not outside the financial range of the newly

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37 John Varley, 'John Rocque. Engraver, surveyor, cartographer and map-seller' *Imago Mundi* v (1948): 83-91, p. 85 classifies Rocque's maps into three groups: 'a) independent maps and plans, b) reproductions and/or revisions and improvements of existing works, and c) maps and plans exhibited for sale by Rocque but not authenticated under either category'.

38 Copy of this map in TCD Fagel Portfolio XXII, 70.

39 A. Stuart Mason, 'Some Huguenot surveyors and the Irish Connection' (typescript of lecture given to The Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland: 1989), 5.

burgeoning consuming artisan class.[40] Rocque's output, besides his large stock of other maps for sale, included estate plans, town and county maps, maps of great European cities, as well as of forts and battle plans from the colonial world of the Americas and India. Rocque did some private survey work to bolster this business, and he also sold many maps, which he neither re-engraved nor re-touched. In his last catalogue published in the year of his death, Rocque offered the following for sale: 'Foreign Maps, Plans, Battles, Sieges, compleat Atlas's, / Sea Charts, &c. by De L'Isle, Roberts, Bellin, D'Anville, / Broukener, Le Rouge, the Academy of Berlin, &c.'[41] As Baynton-Williams has pointed out, the sheer diversity and variety of his work is one of the factors which explains his survival in an extremely high-capital business.[42]

1.3 Rocque's origins

Having outlined the nature and variety of Rocque's career, as artist, cartographer, engraver, map publisher and map seller, it remains to consider what has been established from documentary evidence to date regarding his origins and the outline of his life. What little there is to be gleaned from such sources was comprehensively harvested by John Varley in his seminal 1948 article in *Imago Mundi*.[43] Rocque was of Huguenot extraction. His family seems certain to have been amongst those Reformed Protestants (Calvinists) who fled France in the years following the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in

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[40] See for example Peter Guillery, *The small house in eighteenth-century London: a social and architectural history* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), 9-14 & for a full list of the growing literature on the so-called birth of consumer society, fn. 12.

[41] *A LIST of the WORKS of / JOHN ROCQUE, / GEOGRAPHER and TOPOGRAPHER, near Old Round Court in the Strand.* [c. 1761/2]. Listed in 'Rocque's Proposals' http://www.mapforum.com/05/rocqprop.htm accessed 21 October, 2008.

[42] Ashley Baynton-Williams, *Rocque Biography* [WWW document] **URL** http://www.mapforum.com/05/rocque.htm (1999?) *Visited*, 11 September, 2006.

[43] Varley, 'John Rocque', but cf. Wheatley, Phillips, Hyde and Laxton, as listed in footnote [5] above.

1685.[44] From the surviving application for court employment made by Bartholomew Rocque to the Elector Karl Theodor of Mannheim in 1753, we learn that Bartholomew's father, Claude, (John's eldest brother), was French, but that Bartholomew had grown up in Geneva, the city in which John Calvin had established his own base when he was driven from France in the 16th century.[45] There is no record of whether John Rocque passed through Switzerland. However, his brother, Bartholomew, is known to have stood godfather to their nephew Bartholomew as late as 1720 in a church in Geneva.[46]

Some time in the intervening years both John and his brother, Bartholomew, had come to England. In 1764 Bartholomew the horticulturalist reckoned that he had been in England for forty years, so we guess that he was in England by about 1724.[47] Although 1734, the date of his first publication, is the earliest certain date which we can attach to John Rocque, we can be fairly confident that the Jean and Martha Rocque who stood as godparents to Francois Vivares's son, Jean, in 1728, were the cartographer and his first wife.[48] Vivares was one of the most accomplished engravers working in England at this

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[44] J.-P Pittion, 'The French Protestants and the Edict of Nantes (1549-1685): a chronology based on material in Marsh's Library, Dublin' in C.E.J. Caldicott, H. Gough, and J.-P. Pittion (eds), *The Huguenots and Ireland: anatomy of an emigration*, edited by (Dun Laoghaire: Glendale, 1987), 37-66.

[45] Friedrich Walter, 'Zur Levensgeschichte des Kupferstechers: B. Rocque (de la Rocque).' *Mannheimer Geschichtsblatter* XXI, no. 7/8 (July/August 1920): 99-105

[46] Walter 'B. Rocque', 100; Varley 'John Rocque', 84.

[47] Sir James Caldwell, 'A letter to the Dublin Society, from Sir James Caldwell, Baronet, Fellow of the Royal Society; giving an Account of the Culture and Quality of several Kinds of Grass lately discovered. Volume V.' in *Museum Rusticum et Commerciale: or select papers on agriculture commerce arts and manufactures drawn from experience and communicated by gentlemen engaged in these pursuits*, (London: 1765), 13-22, p. 14.

[48] Varley, 'John Rocque', p. 84.

time,[49] and we know of a number of projects, including, 'View of the Royal Palace at Kensington' (1736),[50] upon which both he and Rocque jointly worked. However there is a strong possibility that Rocque may have arrived in London as early as 1709 as a young boy of four or five-years-old, accompanied perhaps by guardians. A 'John Rocque' was recorded in the Oath Roll Naturalisations, in 1709, although Baynton-Williams has plausibly suggested that Rocque might have been too young in 1709 to have been registered thus, and that the John Rocque here could perhaps refer to the father of the future cartographer.[51] Varley computed his likely age at this time by counting backwards from the date of his first publication in 1734. He is likely to have begun an apprenticeship at 14 years old, and done approximately seven years each as an apprentice and as a journeyman, making him approximately 28 to 30 years old in 1734, and thus born between c.1704 and c.1706. Finally it may be worth noting that in one of his publicity newspaper notices during the preparation of the 1756 *Exact Survey of Dublin*, Rocque announces himself 'willing to introduce the same Method of engraving Topographical Maps into this Kingdom [Ireland] which *he formerly brought into England*' [this author's italics].[52] This might be interpreted to mean that in bringing this technique to England, he arrived there with this technique already formed, i.e. as an already trained engraver, and was not a child when he arrived, never mind being born in London, as might be implied by some of the other information garnered to date.

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[49] Timothy Clayton, 'Vivares, Francis (1709–1780)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28335, accessed 8 Sept 2006].

[50] John Rocque and Francois Vivares *Veue du Palais de Kensington du Coté de L'Orient* 1737 (see Fig. 2.17).

[51] John Varley, 'John Rocque, the map-maker, and his Huguenot associations', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, xvii, no. 4 (1942-47): 457-61, p. 460; Baynton Williams, 'Rocque Biography'.

[52] *Dublin Journal*, 26 October 1754.

Nothing at all is known of how Rocque became the artist cartographer he turned out to be, what training he might have had, the nature of his workshop practice, nor how he came to make the images that he did. There are no surviving memoirs from Rocque himself, nor is he mentioned in any comprehensive way by others in his profession or by those whom we might expect gave him patronage. There is no great stash of letters or business records to be analysed. One clue towards a source for Rocque's training must be the particular idiom of engraved marks and symbols which he introduced afresh to an English context. His style, however, is not as original as most commentators have contended to date, for it is entirely French in its approach, as we shall come to see when we consider this in greater detail below. If we consider for now Claude Seraucourt's 'Plan Géometral De La Ville De Lyon',[53] after which Rocque was to publish an engraved copy in 1746,[54] we find in the Seraucourt map of 1735 a form of depiction almost identical in approach to Rocque's later work, at a time when the Huguenot map-maker was cutting his teeth on his very first estate surveys, and a decade before Rocque completed his own first significant town plans.

This is not to suggest any direct connection between Seraucourt and Rocque. This style of depiction: strictly planimetric, in which city blocks are stippled, public buildings are diagonally hatched, and in which changes of level – hills and ground depressions – are depicted by a system of parallel lines (called hachures) suggestive of the shaded sides of three-dimensional ground, finds its source in late 17th-century map-making supported by the French military and the government-sponsored *Académie Royale des Sciences*. Rocque took this

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53 *PLAN GÉOMETRAL DE LA VILLE DE LYON / Levé et Grave par Claude Seraucourt verifié et orienté par le R.P. GRÉGOIRE de Lyon / Religieux de Tiers-ordre de S.t Francois. en 1735…* 1740 edition (Paris, 1740) [see e.g. TCD Fagel Portfolio XXV 26 or BL K.68.62.TAB].

54 *PLAN DE LION / Levé par le S.r C: SERAUCOURT / Verifié et Orienté par le R.P. GREGOIRE / de LION. [1a, olb] R. Parr sculp. [5e, orb] TO / PHILIP FUHR Esq.r / this Plan of LION / is humbly Inscrib'd by his most hum.ble Serv.t / J: Rocque. / 1746.* [see e.g. copy in London Guildhall Library].

system of hachures and symbols, and refine and extend it considerably, most brilliantly indeed in the Dublin map itself. But the language had long since been established as we shall see, and it is entirely a French invention.

That Rocque learned his technique from some academic French source, or indeed in France itself, seems unlikely to the present author, however. Much has been made of Rocque's French connections.[55] The majority of Rocque's maps have titles in English and in French, while some, such as the Chiswick plan, in French only.[56] It was to Paris as already noted, that Rocque went to replenish his stock of prints in 1751, and indeed the majority of the images which he sells that are not of his own creation, come from Parisian map-makers.[57] A majority of the engravers of his town and county maps are French: Moreau, Aveline, L'Empereur, Chatelain, Deharme, le Parmentier, and J.J. Perret, as well as Robert Benning (who Varley suggested was a foreigner) and Peter Andrews and Andrew Dury.[58] Rocque's first known address when he established himself as a *dessinateur de jardins* was in 'Ye Green Canister and Sugar Loaf in Great Windmill Street, St James', i.e. Soho – a French quarter at this time.[59] When John Rocque addresses his nephew based in Mannheim in Germany, it is to French that they both resort for communication (Figs 1.1-2). However it is seems possible from the poor spelling, and some misconstrued grammar, that this was not Rocque's first

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[55] Paul Laxton, 'Rocque, John (1704?–1762)', rev., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37907, accessed 15 Oct 2007]: '[Rocque] always remained in close touch with the French protestant community in London and many of his works have bilingual titles.'

[56] *Plan du Jardin & Vuë des / Maisons de Chiswick, Sur la / Tamise a deux Lieves de Londres / Dedié / A Tres Haut et Tres Puissant / Seigneur RICHARD BOYLE / Comte de Burlington de Cork, … J: Rocque del: et sculp. / Publish'd pursuant to an Act of Parliament 1736 / Sold by the Proprietor at y.e Canister and Sugar Loaf in Great Windmill S.t Jame's. London.*; MapForum cat.6.

[57] See list referred to above (fn. 41), based on Rocque's 1762 Catalogue of prints for sale.

[58] Baynton-Williams, 'Rocque biography'.

[59] Hugh Phillips, 'John Rocque's career', *London Topographical Record*, xx (1952): 9-25, p. 9.

language, and certainly not one in which he was entirely literate.[60] Some of the words are spelt phonetically, so that it is difficult to argue that Rocque had had any French-based education. Rocque appears not to have habitually read French. If we compare this to his use of English, for example in the 1759 letter from Rocque who was seeking funding from this body, and that survives in the Royal Society of Arts, we find a much more accomplished grasp of grammar, syntax and tense, and virtually no spelling mistakes (Fig. 4.29)[61] Finally it is also the case that French from about 1730 onwards had become the *lingua franca* of international communication, and the use of such titles was more a reflection of the need to make them accessible as marketable goods throughout the continent (not just in France), rather than an indicator of Rocque's national origins.[62] It seems entirely likely, then, that Rocque was raised amongst a French speaking community, but within an over-arching English speaking setting, in which English was the principal written language,

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[60] Mannheim, Gesellschaft der Freunde Mannheims und der ehemaligen Kurpfalz, John Rocque to Bartholomew Rocque, 11th May, 1753 e.g. 'vous deve ' Être persuade mon cher neveu que je n'ay rien plus a cœur que de vous remettre mon Etablisement n'ayant point d'enfants ni Espérance d'un avoir quoique je sois marier en cegonde noce, celle ci pas les bon sentiments ne penses pas mon bien sur votre conte que je fait moi même ainsi consulté vous sur les avantages qui vous apres aquetuellement & se que vous pourrir Espérer en Allemagne avec laquelle vous pourrir faire ici'; Mannheim, Gesellschaft der Freunde Mannheims und der ehemaligen Kurpfalz, John Rocque to Bartholomew Rocque, 2nd October, 1753.

[61] London, Royal Society of Arts, RSA PR.AR/103/10/146 'Sir, I h[ope] it will not be disagreeable to the Honourable and Laudable Society for Incouraging of Arts and Sciences, To acquaint the[m] that I am now taking an accurate Topographical survey of the [Co]unties of Berks, Oxford & Buckingham, the first six sh[eet]s of which I take the Liberty to send you, requesting the favour you would shew them to their Honours, By which Specimen the Honourable Society will be able to judge of the great care I take to give the publick satisfaction…' It should be acknowledged however that this letter is not in Rocque's own hand, but was at least transcribed by no doubt one of his engravers who specialised in a copper-faced script. Rocque was likely, however, to have drafted it first.

[62] Timothy Clayton, *The English print 1688-1802* (London: Yale University Press, 1997), xii: 'Such text as [prints] carried was almost invariably in the international language. Until the early 18th century this was the language of scholarship, Latin, but around 1730 it became usual for the international translation to be in the modern common tongue, French.'

and that it was in this context that Rocque found his education, such as it might have been.

We shall also see that, although the language of cartographic expression that he used was a French one, Rocque seems to have been ignorant of the practice of triangulation until he was taken in hand by Martin Folkes and Peter Davall of the Royal Society, after he appears to have begun to flounder during the survey of the London maps.[63] The science of triangulation, was a *sine qua non* of French academic cartography from the beginning of the century, and was combined with a strict system of longitudinal lines based on a fixed meridian since DeLisle's map of Paris of 1716, if not before.[64] It seems certain that John Rocque was *not* 'a pupil of Cassini the astronomer and topographist', as Thomas Davis had once claimed.[65]

The astronomical aspects of cartographical surveying, the establishment of map parameters by means of meridians, were arguably not as important, however, to French military (as opposed to academic) cartographers at this time. The cartographic arts for building, surveying, and indeed architecture were all part of the profession of the military engineer, especially those in Vauban's French army or amongst Coehoorn's Dutch engineers.[66] One strong possibility is that Rocque learned his requisite techniques from a retired-on-half-pay military engineer.[67] One such figure was Captain Engineer John Thomas (1670-1739), also a Huguenot refugee, and veteran of both Vauban's

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[63] This is discussed more fully in Chapter 3.

[64] Konvitz, *Cartography in France*, Chapter 1; Jean Boutier, Jean-Yves Sarazin, and Marine Sibille, *Les Plans de Paris des origines (1493) à la fin du XVIIIe siècle: étude, carto-bibliographie et catalogue collectif* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2002) pp. 224-5.

[65] J.W. de Courcy, *The Liffey in Dublin* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1996), p. 331, referring to Thomas Davis, *Literary and historical essays*, James Duffy and Co., n.d., based on edition of 1883 (first published 1845), no page number cited.

[66] A. Stuart Mason, and Peter Barber, ' "Captain Thomas, the French engineer": and the teaching of Vauban to the English', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society*, xxv, no. 3 (1991): 279-87.

[67] Such an idea was first suggested to me by Peter Barber pers. comm.

and Coehoorn's armies. He was known to have given lessons on military surveying to the young Duke of Cumberland. While independent classes which he also ran were often filled by a kind of militarily-minded dilettante elite, it is likely too that he taught some who were looking to take up surveying as a career. It is unlikely that Rocque learned his craft from this practitioner, however, particularly because of Thomas's use of old-fashioned (in a French context at least) bird's-eye view of buildings on his maps. Engraving too was a highly specialised craft, not a part of the work of the military engineer, and Rocque would have looked elsewhere anyway for this part of his armoury of skills. Further research is needed. However for now a French non-academic, military retired professional, based in London, seems the most likely source, and it is to lists of such practitioners that we might look in the future.

Rocque's earliest works, as noted, were his estate surveys, and these are discussed at length in the chapter which follows. During the final years of the 1730s Rocque began the arduous task of surveying London, which was to take him until 1746 and 1747 respectively for his two great London maps (also discussed below). Throughout this time, his output continued to diversify, with the ambitious inclusion of large-scale county surveys beginning with that of Buckinghamshire whose first folio was published, along with a prospectus of the work to come, in 1750. Rocque moved from Soho to a house and workshop based close to Cheare's stone yard on Piccadilly during these years, and in late 1749 he purchased the much larger premises at Whitehall: 'Next the Rummer, Charing Cross'. This building was destroyed by fire on 7 November 1750, with the complete loss of Rocque's printed stock.[68] It should be noted that despite the destruction of his total stock of prints, none of his plates

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[68] Hugh Phillips, 'John Rocque's career', *London Topographical Record*, xx (1952): 9-25, p.20. The fire took place on 7 Nov, 1750, and the house and all of his stock were destroyed. A Mr Field was later fatally injured when rummaging amongst the rubble. Reported in the *General Advertiser* 9 November 1750; cf. *London Daily Advertiser* of 18 June 1751.

seems to have been lost,[69] which suggests perhaps that no engraving was taking place there, and that by then all of Rocque's engraving work was farmed out to contracted or semi-independent engravers. With that wonderful resilience that Rocque seems to show throughout his life, in 1751, he replaced his stock and married for a second time. His new wife,[70] Mary Ann Bew, was herself a widow, of the druggist Edward Bew, when she married Rocque.[71] Formerly Mary Ann Scalé, she was the elder sister of Peter Bernard Scalé who was to become Rocque's apprentice around the time Rocque came to Dublin. The latter was fifteen years old at the time. His efforts to convince his nephew the previous year to come to London to take over the business had come to nothing. In fact it was the young Scalé who, as a new member of his extended family, was to play the role of the trusted family member originally planned for the nephew. Rocque and Scalé came to Dublin in August 1754. Rocque set up shop in its entirety at a premises in Dame Street, and later at Bachelor's Walk opposite the Bagnio Slip, close to the location of the present Halfpenny Bridge. He seems to have lived in Dublin for considerable lengths of time, even if after the fire he had established himself in what was to be his permanent and last address on the Strand, in London. Although we find him back in London in July 1759, when he makes his written application to the Society for Encouragement of Arts and Industry for funding for some of his county maps, he returned to Dublin again, to stay at least until the 19 August, 1760.[72]

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[69] There are no serious omissions of earlier plans made by him from any of his later catalogues.

[70] Rocque's first wife Martha …

[71] A. Stuart Mason, and John Bensusan-Butt, 'P.B. Scalé: surveyor in Ireland, gentleman of Essex', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society* XXIV, no. 6 (1988): 508-18, p. 509.

[72] 'John Rocque, geographer, intending to return to England in a few days . . . Armagh & Dublin now finished. Any gentleman that may choose to have any of his works are desired to send to said Rocque's on the Bachelors Walk, as he has no opportunity of leaving any for sale in this Kingdom — NB all persons to whom the said Rocque may be indebted, are desired to send in their Accounts.', *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, 16-19 August 1760.

Towards the end of his life, Rocque began to take steps to lighten his workload, and to minimise the risk involved in the large outlay of capital and time involved in the large-scale surveys. Those which he carried out in Ireland may well have been his last. His Berkshire map, published in 1761, appears to have been surveyed by Josiah Ballard under Rocque's direction, albeit from a distance, when he was residing in Ireland.[73] William Faden, whose career began in earnest in the 1770s, and who is one of the rare examples of a map publisher to retire with a considerable fortune, farmed out the risk in exactly this way. He made no surveys himself, nor did he engrave or print plates, but as publisher sustained the role of orchestrator of all of these activities.[74] Rocque made his will in November of 1761, in which he left only shillings to his nephews.[75] His death on the 27 January, the following year, was announced in the *London Magazine*.[76] Both Pierre André, who was named as one of the witnesses to Rocque's will, and Andrew Dury, the engraver of the Dublin map, were involved by means of various partnerships, in assisting Rocque's widow to continue the business, and completing some of Rocque's unfinished projects. Scalé had stayed on in Dublin, and was running a successful independent surveying business from around 1758. Mary Ann Rocque continued to run the business to full effect until 1769.[77] Many new editions of older works appeared, as well as fresh works, which may have been in preparation before Rocque's death. However, it is possible that for example 'A

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[73] Paul Laxton (ed.), *A topographical map of the county of Berks, by John Rocque, Topographer to his Majesty. Introductory notes by Paul Laxton* (Lympne Castle, Kent: Harry Margary, 1973).

[74] Mary Pedley (ed.), *The map trade in the late eighteenth century: letters to the London map sellers Jefferys and Faden* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2000), p. 12 notes that the surveying portion has been estimated as being at least 50% of the total costs of map production at the time, contrasting with the copper and engraving costs of approximately 20%. Faden had only to pay for the engraving of the copper plates and the printing. Laurence Worms, 'The maturing of British commercial cartography: William Faden (1749-1836) and the map trade', *The Cartographic Journal* 41, no.1 (June 2004): 5-11, pp. 8-11

[75] Hugh Phillips, 'John Rocque's career' *London Topographical Record* xx (1952): 9-25 pp. 23-4.

[76] *London Magazine* 27 Jan 1762.

[77] Phillips, 'John Rocque's career', 25.

Set of Plans and Forts in America Reduced from Actual Surveys', 1763, was a project of Mary Ann Rocque's own inception. There is a considerable record of women: widows, sisters and daughters of deceased printmakers taking over the reins of their men's businesses, suggesting the likelihood of their involvement in what must have been intense household operations, during the lives of the original map-makers themselves.[78] Bartholomew Rocque the horticulturalist died in 1767. The nephew, Bartholomew, had some limited success in Mannheim after all, and produced a number of engraved views including plans and perspectives of buildings of that German city.[79] He disappears from the record however around 1758.[80] Finally the apprentice brother-in-law, Bernard Scalé, was to return to Essex in the 1760s from whence he originated, and married the daughter of an established family there. He brought her back to Dublin where they successfully carried out estate surveys in the style of Rocque's Kildare watercolour maps. In 1785, however, when Scalé was only 46, his wife inherited an enormous fortune, so much so, that he and she were able to retire the following year. Scalé managed to enjoy

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[78] Adriana Valerio (ed.) *Archivo per la storia delle Donne II* (Napoli: M. D'Auria Editore, 2005), 16, assembles a considerable list, including sisters, daughters and widows of the 'nomi "monumentali" ' come Cassini, de Fer, Jaillot, Beaulieu, Delisle, Buache, Sanson, Duval… Van den Keere, Hondius…'. Some of the English names include Ann Lea widow of Philip Lea, Mary Cooper, widow of Thomas Cooper, Mary Senex, widow of John Senex, and Mary Ann Bew Rocque. Roussel's widow, Anne-Louise Renart, re-issued her dead husband's Paris map (a copy of which is in TCD, Fagel Portfolio XXV, 2), cf. Jean Boutier, Jean-Yves Sarazin, and Marine Sibille, *Les Plans de Paris des origines (1493) à la fin du XVIIIe siècle: étude, carto-bibliographie et catalogue collectif* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2002), 226; Mary Pollard, *A dictionary of members of the Dublin book trade 1550-1800 : based on the records of the Guild of St Luke the Evangelist Dublin* (London: Biographical Society, 2000), *passim.*

[79] One cannot help wondering whether Bartholomew Rocque II had learned something of his trade directly from his uncle John, or did they both come from a shared family background in which some ancestor had these skills. According to Phillips 23-4, this was unlikely to have been Bartholomew's father, Claude, the eldest, but the most anonymous and seemingly unsuccessful of the three brothers.

[80] Friedrich Walter, 'Zur Levensgeschichte des Kupferstechers: B. Rocque (de la Rocque).' *Mannheimer Geschichtsblatter* XXI, no. 7/8 (July/August 1920): 99-105, p. 105.

this new condition for the following 41 years, until he died at the age of 87 in 1826, 65 years after the death of his master![81] There were no instruments or books amongst his effects to suggest that he had ever plied his trade as a surveyor or map-maker.

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[81] A. Stuart Mason, and John Bensusan-Butt, 'P.B. Scalé: surveyor in Ireland, gentleman of Essex', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society* XXIV, no. 6 (1988): 508-18.

Chapter 2: Rocque's estate surveys

Chapter 2 – From Richmond to *Vitruvius Brittanicus Volume the Fourth*: Estate Surveys and other works before the London and county maps

2.0 Introduction

Part of the problem of dealing with Rocque's earliest output is the way in which it seemed to straddle a number of different visual disciplines, namely the cartographical, the topographical and the ornamental, and to a lesser extent the discipline of the manuscript estate survey. While all of these may be related in that they offered a visual record of the shape of the physical world, they involved separate professional disciplines, each with its own visual language. Elements of each can be detected in Rocque's earliest work. We shall see that common to them was an essentially French cartographic style. It seems likely, as already hinted, that Rocque received at least part of his training from a military surveyor.[1] This relationship to contemporary French work is especially evident in Rocque's graphical rendering of visual information. However his early works were not maps of a traditional kind. Although the principal element was a large-scale plan, these works were topographical records of high-status estates, and were related, both by the practitioners that Rocque used (as we shall see), and by the inclusion of detailed topographical views, to a well established English tradition of what John Harris has called estate portrait-making.[2] Before and after Rocque, cartography and topographical images were independent fields, and in fact estate portraits would occupy Rocque for only a limited period in his career, after which his work was dominated by more exclusively cartographical endeavours.

By examining Rocque's first known published work (the Richmond Survey of 1734) the first section in this chapter will tease out some of these strands of tradition. This will include a short summary of the other 'estate portraits' made

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[1] See Section 1.3 above.

[2] John Harris, *The artist and the country house: a history of country house and garden view painting in Britain 1540-1870* (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1979), *passim.*

by Rocque, as well as some comments on the importance of the estate plans as art historical creations in their own right. If further evidence were needed for the non-cartographic aspect of Rocque's early work at this time, there are also a number of ventures that involved the publication of exclusively topographical views, either as single images, or as books. These will be listed, and Rocque's connection to them will be examined. Despite Rocque's claiming to have engraved the earliest of these estate plans, there is considerable internal evidence that some parts of these works were engraved by others. Amongst these others were engravers prominent in the field of topographical art at this time. Rocque's topographical output culminated in his publication with the topographical engraver, Thomas Badeslade, of what purported to be a fourth volume of Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and this section will be brought to a close by a short examination of this work in the light of the ideas outlined here.

One mystery remains largely unanswered regarding this phase of Rocque's career; that is the nature of the patronage for these works. No substantial evidence has emerged connecting Rocque to any of the owners of the estates which he published. These included a number of royal estates as well as estates and houses which were associated with Lord Burlington, William Kent, and Colen Campbell amongst others.

2.1 The estate surveys and Rocque's other topographical works: an art historical assessment

In 1734 a 'Plan Of The House, Gardens, Park, & Hermitage Of Their Majesties, At Richmond; And Of Their R.H. The Prince Of Wales, & The Princess Royal At Kew' appeared (Fig. 2.1).[3] It was dedicated to the King 'Par son tres humble tres obeissant et tres fidele Serviteur & Sujet Jean Rocque dessinateur de Jardins'. This accomplished published plan appeared fully formed, a mature and original work, without anything by its author with which

[3] John Rocque, *Plan of the House, Gardens, Park & Hermitage of their Majesties, at Richmond; and of their R.H. the Prince of Wales, and the Princess Royal at Kew.* (London: John Rocque, 1734)

to compare it. There is no record of Rocque having been commissioned to prepare this engraved plan, of his having sought or secured sponsorship for it from the owners and summertime residents there, the senior and junior royals. An example of the earliest state known of this work is preserved in George III's great geographical collection now in the British Library.[4] This sheet appears, however, to have been a second state of the first edition of the print, as the imprint of John Bowles has been roughly erased from just below the royal coat of arms on the bottom left of the image.[5] Other than the two great London maps, this was the only time in which Rocque shared the publishing credits on any of his cartographic works, and the erasure of Bowles's imprint suggests that Rocque had bought out the rights and was capable of proceeding on his own without the well-known London map and print publisher's assistance.[6]

This was a large image (landscape format) made up of two imperial sheets.[7] These contain a complex and idiosyncratic composition made up of a number of very tightly and eccentrically packed elements. At the centre, running in a diagonal from top left to bottom right, is the large plan of the estate,

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[4] British Library, BL Maps K.Top.41.16.f.

[5] This point and its interpretation is first noted by Ashley Baynton-Williams, *John Rocque: catalogue of his engraved works. Map Forum list.* [WWW document] http://www.mapforum.com/05/rocqlis2.htm (1999?) accessed 11 September, 2006. Bowles imprint read: 'Printed for Iohn Bowles at the Black Horse in Cornhill.'

[6] Although some aspects of this plan, particularly the depictions of the buildings in the insets, lack the refinement associated with many of the later Rocque estate plans, all of the elements of these later works appear here, and a close consideration of this work will serve us well as an introduction to Rocque's complete corpus of estate plans. A chronological list of these works as they appeared, and all of Rocque's other works is laid out in the chronology which forms Appendix I to this thesis.

[7] The digital image in Fig 2.1 is a photomerge (carried out in Photoshop) of digital images of each sheet. This explains the peculiar diagonal shading down the centre of the image. Such a procedure was necessitated by the limitation in the distance it was possible to get from the map during photography. However all such images came from the Yale Center for British Art, whose generosity in this regard knew no limits.

delineated on its north-eastern edge by the river Thames. The river acts as a graphical division on this side, and separates a triangular stack of twelve inset views of the residential and garden buildings on the estate. These include 'The Queen's House at Kew', the 'Summer House in ye Wood', 'A Plan of the Hermitage', 'The Green House or L'Orangerie' and 'The South Prospect of His Majesties [sic] House at Richmond'. On the upper left corner, wrapped around an outlying field of the estate plan are two panels of densely packed text, which give a rambling history of this historic estate (Fig. 2.1):

> 'This Princly place was not undeservedly cal.d Shene which in the Sax: Tongue signifies Bright or Shining it being so beautifully situated on the lofty Bank of the spatious Thames…'.[8]

On another small aperture to the bottom of the estate plan, is fitted a compass rose, and below this, on the bottom left-hand corner is coat of arms of the royal house, of a type not usually seen on later Rocque works, and likely to have been Bowles's input – his own imprint, before it was removed, had been located below it. Across a good deal of the rest of the bottom of the image is a table giving explanations of all of the features on the map, a small scale bar squeezed above this, and finally in a fairly rudimentary cartouche, the titles in English and French. The format is inventive, if not eccentric, and this manner of fitting the ancillary portions around the shape of the planned estate would remain a characteristic of Rocque's later estate portraits. It is worth re-iterating

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[8] Although Rocque goes on to evoke the early Saxon kings, the earliest known royal association with the palace was that of Edward II. This suburban villa was revived considerably in the time of Henry VII, who gave it the name Richmond, and later still it was in the possession of the 2nd Duke of Ormond before he was attainted in 1715 and the house and estate reverted to the crown. Ostracised from the court at St James's, the Prince and Princess of Wales (the future George II & Caroline of Ansbach) took a fancy to the place and began to develop the property as their principal accommodation: Ray Desmond, *Kew: the history of the Royal Botanic Gardens* (London: The Harvill Press with The Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, 1995), *passim*; Bridget Cherry & Nikolaus Pevsner, *London 2: South. The buildings of England* (Harmondsworth, 1983), 26.

that this is an engraved, or more specifically, an etched image.[9] The production of the piece not only involved the accurate measurement and surveying of the estate, and the drafting of the architectural and ancillary images, but also the transfer of all of this to a copper plate and the printing of multiple copies for sale.

Rocque's Richmond image was produced during a time when English garden design was beginning to come into its own. Charles Bridgeman, William Kent and others were creating a new style of garden.[10] The estate that Rocque chose for his debut publication was one of the most important not only for its royal associations, but also for its innovations. It was at the centre of a zone on the banks of the Thames from Hampton Court in the south to Chiswick in the north. This area, as Ray Desmond has noted, has been referred to as the

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[9] This image at least, and it would appear the majority of Rocque's images, is an etching. There is some debate on whether or not these are etched or engraved lines, in so far as the lines on an etched plate are more vulnerable to damage through wear and tear, and become fainter more quickly. This of course would have had important implications for the quantities of images that could be produced and for the profitability of any venture. Whatever of the curvaceous hatched and cross-hatched lines to build up form that we normally associate with line engraving, the unevenness of wrist action of the pin in wax can be seen close up as well as a rounded tip to the lines. This question will be explored in greater depth in Section 4.4.2.4. below.

[10] The revolution of Lancelot 'Capability' Brown would not begin until the last decade of Rocque's life, when Rocque had moved on to more far-ranging projects. However Rocque's 1746 published map of 'London… and Country Near Ten Miles Round Begun In 1741 & Ended In 1745', MapForum Cat. 25, also captured an incomparable record of country estates dating from the Elizabethan and the Jacobean to the early Georgian, which makes John Rocque a vital source for English garden design studies, for which see John Harris, ' "A grand design of an ichnographical survey": a tour of London's gardens with John Rocque' in *London's pride: the glorious history of the capital's gardens*, edited by Mireille Galinou (London: Anaya, 1990), 102-21. Rocque's London maps, in fact, is our only comprehensive record, of so many estates that the Brownian revolution did so much to obliterate. Cf. Jean O'Neill, 'John Rocque as a guide to gardens' *Garden History* 16, no. 1 (Spring 1988): 8-16.

'cradle of the English garden movement'.[11] Rocque would go on to publish images of Hampton Court and Chiswick as well as Richmond, and many others of similar status: Wanstead and Wrest in 1735, Kensington Palace and a second image of Richmond in 1736, Esher, Oatlands (Henry Pelham's estate) and Claremont (Thomas Pelham-Holles, the duke of Newcastle's estate), South Dalton, Windsor and Wilton and so on. As noted, no direct connection between Rocque and any of the owners of these estates has been uncovered. Issues of Rocque's motivation or the market to which he directed himself will need to be considered.

However, it is the nature of Rocque's image, as a visual construct *per se*, that concerns us first. There already was a well established tradition in Britain of topographical image making, and more specifically the publishing of engraved topographical views, before Rocque began to produce his own characteristic works. These had usually involved some kind of single all-encompassing view of a great house in its landed estate, from a single vantage point – usually at bird's-eye level. Perhaps the most well-known were the wonderful Leonard Knyff (painter) and Johannes Kip (engraver) views, latterly collected together in their *Brittania Illustrata* first published in 1707.[12] The most important precursor to this tradition in an English context, and the most obvious link to the Netherlandish tradition, was Wenceslaus Hollar. Others, more contemporary with Rocque, included Samuel and Nathaniel Buck, Thomas Badeslade, John Harris the elder and John Harris the younger, Jacques Rigaud and Baltasar Nebot.[13] Most of these continued an essentially Netherlandish, or latterly French and Dutch-influenced tradition, of naturalistic, detailed, non-idealised images of prospects or views. However they did not represent an

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[11] Ray Desmond, *Kew: the history of the Royal Botanic Gardens* (London: The Harvill Press with The Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, 1995), xiii.

[12] L. Knyff delin. & I. Kip sculp., *Britannia Illustrata or views of several of the Queen's Palaces as also of the principal Seats of the Nobility and Gentry of Great Britain, curiously engraven on 80 copper plates*, (London: D. Mortier, 1707).

[13] Harris, *Artist & the country house*, Chapter IV, & *passim*.

accurate visual record actually made from these implied viewpoints. Taken as if from mid-air, they were intellectual constructs based presumably on draft surveys of the estates, that do not survive. The widespread interest in these images partly reflected the increase in internal tourism during the 18th century with improvements in road communications throughout England, as well as a parallel development in antiquarianism. In the 17th century there had been the pioneering figures of Aubrey, Evelyn and Dugdale, while in 1717, the founding of the Society of Antiquaries confirmed antiquarianism as an establishment activity of real importance.[14]

However Rocque's estate plans differed from the traditional country estate view in some important respects. In the first instance Rocque's image was founded upon the orthographic plan or map which was at the centre of, and which remained in all cases, the most important aspect of his images. The orthographic projection is one in which the complete terrain including its features and relief (by means of hachures) are depicted in plan form, i.e. in a horizontal section, undistorted by any attempt at perspective, or any other manipulation of the elements of the area depicted. The contemporary word was 'ichnographic', although Rocque would not use this himself until the publication in 1747 of a title page for a bound edition of his 1746 'London…and Country, Near Ten Miles Round…'.[15] This was a far more

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[14] Harris, *Artist & the country house*, 154.

[15] John Rocque, 'A New and Accurate SURVEY of the CITIES of London and Westminster, THE BOROUGH of Southwark, WITH The Country about it for nineteen Miles in Length and thirteen in Depth, In which is Contain'd an exact Description of St. James's,… Delineatio Ichnographica Anno 1741, incohata / 1745, absoluta. A Johanne Rocque, Topographo.' (London, 1747), MapForum Cat. 38. No doubt Rocque first heard the expression – although certainly he had been using the technique from the very beginning – from George Vertue, who first proposed the London map to him and was reported by Oldys, who overheard the conversation, as referring to 'his grand design of an Ichnographical Survey', 'Diary of William Oldys, Esq. Norroy King-at-arms' *Notes and Queries* 2nd S. XI (February 16, 1861): 121-24. For an account of the earliest use of the expression, and to an extent the technique, cf. John A.

objective manner of picturing an estate. The loss of the traditional view was made up for by the insertion of the picture box insets – in the case of Richmond stacked tightly in a corner at the top right-hand side.

It is important also, however, to distinguish these engraved images created in multiple editions for publication, from the much more laboured and limited manuscript estate surveys being carried out in towns and in country estates for landlords as a means towards conveyancing and managing land. These were also orthographic in the strictest sense, but generally renounced any detail other than the strictest of boundary traverses, accounting in a rigid manner, generally by means of a single contour line, for every turn or angle on a field boundary. To confuse matters a little bit, Rocque was also responsible for some manuscript surveys, but these were of an exceptional descriptive hand-coloured kind, related to his engraved works for the degree and richness of their information and detail, but a species onto themselves. However, Rocque's works were generally engraved surveys, meant for multiple and widespread consumption, not for the management of a country estate or the private delectation only of a land-owning patron.

Rocque's separation of a series of discrete views – the insets – from the overall visual depiction of the estate, in plan form, has implications in terms of the meaning of the image and the way in which it might have been used and perceived, but also in terms of our attempt to establish a lineage or a tradition into which Rocque's work might fit. A slightly more scientific approach than the bird's eye view common in other 18th-century topographical works as described, was taken for example by Hollar in his image of Windsor castle (Fig. 2.3).[16] Hollar combines two perspective drawings of the castle enclosure

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Pinto, 'Origins and development of the ichnographical city plan' *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* XXXV, no. 1 (1976): 35-50.

[16] 'Prospect of the Castle from the S.E / Windsor Castle' Wenceslaus Hollar, 1659, engraving. Richard Pennington, *A descriptive catalogue of the etched work of Wenceslaus Hollar, 1607-77* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), Cat. 1072.

and surrounding countryside, but stacked one above the other. At the top is a long strip drawing of the castle with the tops of the enceinte wall at eye level. This has the effect of an elevational drawing, and combined with the almost overhead positioning of the bird's eye view below it, they share aspects of the nature of the elevation-over-plan combinations common in architectural practice since Palladio's *Quatro Libri* at least.[17] Rocque's images were an advance on this, in so far as they combined a strict orthographic plan with elevational-type drawings of the buildings.[18] There was a flavour of empirical accuracy and legibility to this that must have attracted the more scientifically minded of his patrons and customers. In terms of the practical planning of an estate, the image would have been particularly useful, although it must be stressed that these were produced as multiple images meant for sale. But in this a vicarious ownership, or surveyorship might be experienced. It is this planometric aspect of Rocque's work that makes his estate plans, and the plans of estates that turn up on his county maps, so important to historians. If Rocque's approach was not entirely original, establishing the threads of possible influences upon his manner of depiction should add to our sense of the nature of his work, if not the nature or identity of his professional and artistic origins.

One possible influence, as suggested by John Harris,[19] is Colen Campbell's seminal collection of building plans and elevations in the three volumes of his *Vitruvius Britannicus* published from 1715 to 1725. Harris suggests the connection principally on the basis of an image in Volume III which depicts the Narford estate in Norfolk (Fig. 2.4).[20] This plate comprises a geometrical

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17 Andrea Palladio, *The four books on architecture* Translated by Robert Tavernor, and Richard Schofield. (Cambridge, Massachusetts & London: The MIT Press, 1997).

18 This was the case at least in the earliest of Rocque's estate survey images. However as this series progressed the insets favoured more and more complex perspectival views over the initially stiff quasi-elevational drawings.

19 J. Harris, *Artist and the country house*, 128. 185.

20 Colen Campbell, *The third volume of Vitruvius Britannicus: or, the British Architect. Containing the geometrical plans of the most considerable gardens and plantations; also the plans, elevations, and sections of the*

plan of the estate, and includes two inset panels, with elevations of two of the garden buildings. The inclusion of estate plans in the third volume was an advance in itself, despite the fact that these had been left over images intended for the first and second volumes, and were of gardens with designs 'already going out of fashion in 1725'.[21] Also, the presentation of 'geometrical plans' of gardens was an innovation in an English context, despite the fact that this approach was already well established in Italy and in France in the 17th century.[22] This format was generally outside the English topographical tradition. Its only precursor as identified by John Harris was a painted image of Wilton House dating to c.1707 by an unidentified artist, in which a bird's eye view was combined with three panelled images below it of different elements of the architecture on the estate.[23] It is likely, and is no doubt an attractive idea, that Rocque was indeed at least intrigued by Campbell and his work. The most important proof of this was the back-handed compliment made by Rocque with his own *Volume the Fourth* of Campbell's work, published with Badeslade in 1739, of which more below.[24] The particular types

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most regular buildings, not published in the first and second volumes. With large views, in perspective, of the most remarkable edifices in Great Britain. Engraven by the best hands in one hundred large folio plates. By Colen Campbell, Esquire, architect to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales Vol. III, (London: Colen Campbell & Joseph Smith, 1725), p.95.

[21] Eileen Harris and Nicholas Savage, *British architectural books and writers 1556-1785* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 143.

[22] Harris & Savage, *British architectural books*, 144, cites D. Barrière's *Villa Aldobrandini*, published in Rome in 1647, and Michel Le Bouteux's *Plans et Dessins Nouveaux de Jardinage*, published in Paris c. 1680.

[23] J. Harris pers. comm. has since the publication of *Artist and the country house* come across an earlier example of a topographical image which includes insets of house and other views, i.e. a watercolour of Hampton Court (Herefordshire) by an unknown artist, dated to before 1699. Private collection of J. Harris.

[24] Thomas Badeslade and John Rocque, *Vitruvius Brittanicus [sic], Volume the Fourth. Being A Collection Of Plans, Elevations and Perspective Views, Of The Royal Palaces, In Great Britain not exhibited in any Collection of this Nature hitherto published. Design'd by J. [sic] Badeslade and J. Rocque, &c. And engraven by the best hands.* (London: Printed for, and sold by John Wilcox, George Foster, and Henry Chapelle, 1739).

of elevations in Rocque's earliest estate plans have something of the staid solemnity and seriousness of purpose – albeit in Rocque's case made by an altogether weaker architectural practitioner - demonstrated in Campbell's *magnum opus*. It may be no coincidence that Wanstead House, which was such an important design in the Campbell oeuvre as well as in the first volume of his *Vitruvius Britannicus*, was the second estate to be published by Rocque.[25] Rocque's designs will become much more complex, lively and accomplished in the later works in the series of estate plans between 1734-39, but we cannot discount a knowledge, if not a direct influence upon him, of Campbell's garden design images.[26]

However, the source for Rocque's use of the picture box or inset panelled image was in fact a long and well-established cartographic tradition. This type of image existed at least from the middle of the 17th century, both in Dutch and in French, as well as in some earlier English cartographic publications. A well-documented example is Nicolas Visscher's map of the 'Seventeen Provinces of the Netherlands', of c.1650, which appears prominently in the background of Vermeer's *The Art of Painting* image of c.1667 (Fig. 2.5).[27] Nicolas Berey's 1650 bird's-eye map of Paris included a wide horizontal legend across the bottom of the map and a strip of vignettes or picture boxes on both of the sides, including images of Notre Dame Cathedral, and the King on

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[25] 'The PLAN of the HOUSE GARDENS PARK & PLANTATIONS of Wanstead in the County of ESSEX… Lieves de Londres, Levé Dessienné et Grave par J. Rocque. 1735.'; MapForum Cat. 4.

[26] Campbell's symbolic language and visual style were quite similar to those used by Rocque as we shall see. However both were likely to have looked to French sources. The other cartographical inclusions on Rocque's estate images as listed in the next paragraph as well as the detailed nature of his linear idiom both point to a generally widespread French cartographic style, rather than to the single isolated example of Campbell.

[27] James A. Welu, 'The map in Vermeer's *Art of Painting*' *Imago Mundi* 30 (1978): 9-30 Vermeer's painting which is in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, is reproduced in colour, plate 2, in Svetlana Alpers, *The art of describing: Dutch art in the Seventeenth Century* Pelican ed. (London: Penguin, 1989)

horseback, amongst others.[28] A similar approach is taken by Nicolas de Fer in his 1697 *Le nouveau plan de Paris … Corigé, augmenté, et Enrichi des Veues de Versailles, et de ses Bosquets…* (Fig. 2.6).[29] The decorative vignettes on both of these earlier maps were add-on, separately printed, images, designed with the maps in mind, but not integrated into them in the dynamic manner used by Rocque. An even earlier example is John Norden's so-called 'London Panorama'.[30] This has an added border along the bottom featuring a cavalcade of mounted aldermen. However the topographical panorama of the city above, also incorporated a map of the City of London in an inset on the right hand side, and a remarkable plan of Westminster set within the a landscape which is peeled back in *trompe l'oeil* strips to reveal the map underneath (Fig. 2.7). Of course Charles Brooking's 1728 *The City of Dublin*, also incorporated the inset views and elevations of buildings around a central map.

A remarkable engraved combination of plan and framed views, not a map of the traditional type, but an early estate portrait, is C. Huygens, *Vitaulium Hhofwijck Hofstede van den Heere van Zuylichem onder Voorburg*, published in the Hague in 1653. This is a single integrated image with a strict ichnographical plan in a broad strip along the bottom, a perspective view of the estate in a squat vertical strip above this, with three inset views and one plan of the main house and garden buildings on either side (Fig. 2.8).[31] Rocque's dynamic and graphically wayward approach to the integration of these insets within the margins left behind after the map was laid-out on the page, is a considerable

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[28] Jean Boutier, Jean-Yves Sarazin, and Marine Sibille, *Les Plans de Paris des origines (1493) à la fin du XVIIIe siècle: étude, carto-bibliographie et catalogue collectif* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2002), 141-42.

[29] Boutier *Les Plans de Paris*, pp. 187-9.

[30] 'John Norden's London panorama, 1600', referred to and reproduced in Peter Whitfield, *London: a life in maps* (2006: The British Library, 2006), pp. 42-3.

[31] Roy Strong, *The artist and the garden* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2000), 194. Another example of a painted topographical image, albeit one made outside of England, which must predate those suggested by Harris is Cornelis Elandts, *De Werve*, published in Vooruburg in 1666, also reproduced in Strong, p.195.

development of these earlier geometrically conservative compositions. However, marginal pictorial images were a particular feature of map work far more so than of the topographical tradition. James Millerd's *Plan of Bristol* 1673, has a series of views on the left-hand-side, and along the bottom, which were integrated with the overall image, in a way that anticipates Rocque although perhaps lacks his dynamism, and there are many more examples of what was absolutely *de rigueur* in map work but not in the separate topographical estate portrait tradition.[32]

There are some more fundamental aspects of Rocque's approach to image making that betray the cartographical tradition from which he undoubtedly hailed, despite the influence of the topographical tradition, which will be explored in greater depth later in this chapter. On the one hand the very nature of Rocque's engraved line, particularly the manner in which he signified naturalistic and symbolic detail, was entirely consistent with an idiom already established in French maps at this time, as will be demonstrated. On the other hand, the contents of Rocque's estate images, compass roses, title cartouches and scale bars, as well as the inset picture boxes as we have seen, were strictly cartographical features not generally used by topographical printmakers. Crucial too to this overall picture is the very use made by Rocque of a strict ichnographical plan, completely alien – outside of Campbell's unique work – to the topographical tradition. However, Rocque's linear idiom or style is also critical to our understanding of all of his work. This was already alluded to in the first chapter on Rocque's biography and needs now to be established in some depth. This issue principally concerns neither the accompanying cartographical appendages – compass rose, scale-bars, title cartouches – nor the nature of the inset illustrations, but the maps themselves, and the visual language used there to communicate spatial information as well as to create visual pleasure. This is crucial, in so far as Rocque's later career was almost exclusively concerned with map-making *per se*. That there would be no

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[32] M.D. Lobel, 'The value of early maps as evidence for the topography of English towns' *Imago Mundi* 22 (1968): 50-61, 55.

substantive change in Rocque's style of depiction throughout his career, and that it appeared, more or less fully formed in the Richmond image, should be enough to convince us to look to other sources for the formation of his style. Finally it is also the case, that whenever Rocque used other engravers – either attributed or otherwise – he still managed to keep an extremely tight control on this aspect of their work. Andrew Dury's engraving of the Dublin map was one of the finest examples of this, while the Pine and Tinney published Rocque London map of 1747, perhaps the one for which Rocque is best remembered, proved to be the single exception to this rule, as we shall see in due course.

In order to understand fully Rocque's depictive idiom, we must briefly begin by re-iterating Rocque's insistent use of the ichnographic plan throughout his complete oeuvre.[33] This is in stark contrast to the topographical engravings being made at this time in England, and even contrasts with the contemporary English approach to most town plans. The former as we have seen were dominated by the bird's eye view, usually taken from some oblique angle, approximately 45 degrees, from some short distance – as if from the top of some very high hill or a mountain close by. An exception to this was the almost overhead bird's eye view sometimes used by Hollar, such as in the Windsor map already described. Nevertheless this was a perspective reconstruction, not a map. Contemporary published town maps in England, used a mixture of the ichnographical plan, mixed with a persistent bird's eye view or elevations of some sort for each of the important buildings featured. In some cases, such as in, for example, Newcourt and Faithorne's *An Exact Delineation of the Cities of London and Westminster and the Suburbs Thereof*... of 1658, all of the buildings are presented in standardised 'monopoly house' clusters by

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[33] For more on the use of the expression 'ichnographic plan', and for its development in the Renaissance see John A. Pinto, 'Origins and development of the ichnographical city plan' *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* XXXV, no. 1 (1976): 35-50; and Maier, 2006, *Imago Mundi*, 58, Part 1, 113-14. This subject will be treated further in the Chapter 3 on the making of Rocque's London map of 1747.

means of a series of quasi-perspective views (Fig 2.9). In most other cases, such as for example in William Morgan's *London &C. Actually Survey'd* of 1682, select buildings were presented either in perspective or in other instances in elevation, within the context of an otherwise orthographic record (Fig. 2.10).[34] A happy hybrid, but hardly scientific. One isolated exception in the English context was Ogilby and Morgan's *A Large & Accurate Map of the City of London*… of 1676, which is an extraordinarily detailed, strictly ichnographic, survey plan of the City area of London, and anticipates Rocque's survey of the whole city by some seventy years (Figs 3.5 & 3.6).[35] Rocque, like Ogilby & Morgan in 1676, resisted the temptation to mix it up, and Rocque compensated in his estate engravings by providing elevations or perspective views of the principal buildings in inset panels as we have seen. This strict adherence to the ichnographical plan was exactly the practice in France at this time also, and was reflective of the scientific approach of state-instituted academic and military mapmaking.[36] Commercially produced French maps adhered to the ichnographical approach too, while also making the compensating gesture of including inset images as we have seen. However it was not merely the choice of an orthographic approach but the exact way in which this was expressed and filled out in detail, that confirms the French connection.

Catherine Delano-Smith has recently used the expressions macro-line and micro-line to distinguish between two principal types of engraved marks used

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[34] '…Part of the Eminent Buildings are raised, the rest double hatched to keep the truth of the Groundplott, which being a Survey, we chose to preserve, though the other would have been more beautiful…', part of the title on the Morgan 1682 map. BL Maps Crace Port.2.58.

[35] BL Maps Crace II.61. Created on a larger scale – 100ft per inch (1:1,200) – than Rocque's 200 ft per inch (1:2,400) London map, Ogilby's survey allowed every house to be delineated, something that would not be repeated for London until Richard Horwood's map of 1799. Of course this feat *was* repeated by Rocque in the Dublin map which is the subject of this thesis.

[36] Josef W. Konvitz, *Cartography in France 1660-1848: science, engineering, and statecraft* (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1987).

on maps to achieve very different results.[37] Succinctly expressed, macro-lines depict the subject of a map, while micro-lines describe its content. Macro-lines delineate the major thoroughfares and other key components of a map, while the micro-lines include the symbols, text, or even linear shading which expand the meaning of the overall content. This is all particularly evident in the engraved image, where even modelling in light and shade, to create the effect of three-dimensionality, must be done by series of small lines, and not blocks of shaded colour. Having already explored some of the more important compositional aspects of his works, including the key elements that he chose to include, Rocque's idiomatic mode of expression can be further explored by means of a consideration at this closer level.

Strictly speaking Rocque did subvert, albeit in an entirely conventional French manner, the strictures of the ichnographic record. This took place on two levels. The first was his preference for strikingly naturalistic map symbols – some conventional, and others of his own invention – to depict features of the landscape, the character of land-use, and in some cases lyrical quasi-narrative content (Figs 2.11-13). The second aspect of the same approach was his practice of modelling these map symbols in light and shade, by means of various traditional types of linear methods namely hatching and stippling. A subset of the last was his use of the hachure, a device also typical of contemporary French maps, used to indicate ground levels – a pre-cursor to the contour line to be found in later maps (Fig. 2.14). Excluding the hachure, which alone of these features did not appear on the Richmond map, all of the other aspects of Rocque's engraved idiom or style appear fully formed in Rocque's first production. In fact it is the richness of his approach to these features, the artistic imagination at play, the quality of his chiaroscuro, and the compositional management of passages of intense information balanced by

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[37] Catherine Delano-Smith, 'For whom the map speaks' in Paula van Gestel-ven and Peter van der Krogt (eds), *Mappae antiquae: liber amicorum Guenter Schilder*, ('t Goy-Halten: Hes and De Graaf, 2007), 627-36.

lighter areas of delicately treated 'negative' space, that marks his style throughout his career and makes his maps so readily identifiable.

Hence, although all of the buildings are indicated in a strictly planometric form, the outlines on two adjoining sides are always picked out in a heavier line, as if to suggest some three-dimensionality. Trees – drawn with trunks and naturalistic clusters of foliage – although doggedly regular in the earlier works, and essentially symbolic, are modelled both by an absolutely consistent shading on one side, but also by the meticulous use of cast shadow.[38] Different tree symbols or cluster dispositions are used across the Richmond map, representative of either so-called wilderness plantations, or the more geometrical and ordered ranks of trees planted for the *patte d'oie*. This coded approach to descriptive symbols is particularly inventive in the Richmond map when we come to the types of arable or parkland being depicted. Corn fields, grass fields, 'wild ground with furzes / broussailes, grass plots before ye [King's] Palace, Kitchin Garden, Flower Border, The Wood,…'[39] etc., all had their separate evocative linear code (Fig. 2.15). For a field without a hedge boundary, the edge is graphically defined instead by a kind of perspective angle on the long grass or crop therein, with a typical three-bar farm gate also in perspective being an added naturalistic or visually hybrid, touch. There are also a number of quasi-symbolic figures in this otherwise strict map view, such as for example the greatly over-life-size deer in the deer park. Chased by a dog, the linear cipher used for their depiction in this pastoral narrative, is a type repeated regularly in subsequent Rocque maps, and found in other images of

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38 The general habit in most of Rocque's works is for the cast shadow to fall to the right hand side, which, if the map is orientated north to south, gives a mid-evening westerly sun. However the five o'clock shadow seems to be subordinate to the right-hand-side shadow – i.e. cast to the right regardless of whether the map is orientated to the north – which is the most consistent habit in his work.

39 The descriptive linear symbols to depict land-use and content, was matched by this list in the Explanation or Key contained in the panelled legend at the bottom of the map.

the period.[40] There are also swans in the lakes, and two sets of figures walking the land quite near to the Kew end of the estate. In what has been marked no. 53, a grass field, two men and a woman walk the boundary with their two dogs cavorting along beside them. In a field just to the right (north), another two men cross the field along a rough track which runs in a diagonal from one corner to another.

The essence of this approach, and an aspect absolutely established within the French idiom as we shall see, was what might be labelled 'total-mapping'. Whether this was part of the scientific approach to unbiased comprehensiveness or not, French maps at this time were characterised by a comprehensive visual treatment of the complete area being mapped. Thus there was a coded symbolic hatching (or micro-line) used for every type of ground whether waste, scrub, arable, grass or parkland. All areas were given some value in visual and informational terms. The almost universal tendency in maps before this, or outside France, was for the main features to be fore-grounded against an otherwise lightly stippled or evenly blank background. This all-inclusive, and comprehensively informative aspect of Rocque's style of depiction, was visually rich, and as a result, has suggested itself as a repository of vital geographical and historical knowledge.[41] It is this aspect of Rocque's work which is so akin to other forms of picture making, in which generally, the whole canvas is treated in light and shade, not only the main figures, and this is one of the most important aspects which explains much of the pleasure to the eye in all of his works.

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[40] Almost identical figures appear in Campbell's own estate plans in the third volume of his *Vitruvius Britannicus*, such as for example in both the Houghton and the Narford estates in Norfolk, amongst others.

[41] The exact reliability of Rocque's visual record of land-use is a moot question, especially regarding the much larger areas covered in the county maps, and the outlying gardens and estates in his town plans, such as that of Dublin. Some aspects of this question will be dealt with in Chapter 5 below.

Contemporary examples of this type of approach in French cartography are numerous, if not universal. An important early example is the work of Nicolas de Fer (1646-1720), most strikingly evident in his *Nouveau Plan de Paris* of 1697 (Fig. 2.6).[42] This has all of the visual qualities of a Rocque town plan: the total-map treatment of all of the area under consideration, the complete system of symbolic micro-lines to represent different types of buildings, and different types of land-use in the outlying areas, an otherwise strict ichnographic approach, *and* on all sides a large series of inset picture boxes, with views from all kinds of angles, bird's eye and sophisticated horizontal perspectives, of all of the key sites and buildings of Paris. De Fer may be an important source for much of what we find in Rocque and perhaps indeed in Colen Campbell's map-like estate records. Like Rocque, de Fer was a great popularizer,[43] and is best remembered for his two important volumes of European maps published in the late 1690s and early 1700s, namely *Le Theatre de la Guerre, en Allemagne, ou Representations des Principales Villes avec leur Fortifications* and *L'Atlas Curieux*.[44] Both of these works, and other volumes in the *Le Theatre* series, are

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42 *Le nouveau plan de Paris Dressé sur les Mémoire de M.r Jouvin de Rochefort, Trésorier de France. Corigé, augmenté, et Enrichi des Veues de Versaillees, et de ses Bosquets: de Meudon, Fonaine-bleaus, S[ain]t Germain, et de quelques autres Maisons Royalles, Situées aux Environs. Dressées sur les Lieux / Par N[icolas] de Fer, Geographe de Monseigneur le Dauphin; C[harles] Inselin sculps[it]…* (Paris: chez S[ieu]r de Fer. Dans l'Isle du Palais sur le Quay de l'Orloge à la Sphere royale, 1697); also 1716. Reproduced and documented in Jean Boutier, Jean-Yves Sarazin, and Marine Sibille, *Les Plans de Paris des origines (1493) à la fin du XVIIIe siècle: étude, carto-bibliographie et catalogue collectif* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 2002), 187-8.

43 '… il [de Fer] ne se posa jamais en topographe, mais en vulgarisateur. A la différence des Sanson ou de Duval, il s'intéressa peu à la géographie historique ou sacrée alors qu'il édita des documents très actuels et "utiles": cartes de frontières, villes fortifées par Vauban, mesures de l'Académie des sciences, voyages de découvertes, etc.', Mireille Pastoureau, *Les Atlas Francais XVIe-XVIIe siècles: répertoire bibliographique et étude* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale Département des Cartes et Plans, 1984), 167.

44 Nicolas de Fer, *Le Theatre de la Guerre, en Allemagne, ou Representations des Principales Villes.avec leur Fortifications.* (Paris: Nicolas de Fer, 1698); Nicolas de Fer, *Le Theatre de la Guerre, en Allemagne, ou Representations des Principales Villes.avec leur Fortifications.* (Paris: Nicolas de Fer, 1698). Copy in TCD Fag A.4.38,39.

representative of this total-mapping style as described above (Fig. 2.16). However this superlative collection of maps, covering large estates and tracts of land equivalent to the county maps made in England in the mid-18th century, must have had an important impact on English connoisseurs, garden designers, and visual practitioners: the earlier publication for its maps of military fortifications, the latter for its inclusion of some of the most important landscaped estates on the continent, particularly in France. Images such as de Fer's map of Versailles, or the Forêt de St Germain might easily have slipped out of Campbell or Rocque's oeuvre, although the style is much closer in intensity to Rocque's. However de Fer's works were completed at the end of the 17th century, not in the second quarter of the 18th.[45]

This so-called total-mapping approach may well be associated with the late 17th-century movement in France, to arrive at a complete cartographical record of the country – a desideratum which was to have had a considerable impact on the scientific development of cartographical method. This was the national map survey, executed under the direction of the Cassini family from 1681 until the Revolution, and principally sponsored by Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619-83), Louis XIV's chief minister when the project began.[46] Indeed one of the principal reasons for the foundation of the Académie Royale des Sciences, and certainly one of its main activities, was the development of a scientific method that would properly facilitate such a sophisticated and comprehensive scheme of cartographical recording as was being attempted.

This involved the bringing together of a number of long and not so long established techniques many of which were otherwise dormant, or remained undeveloped and isolated. Chief amongst these was the principal of

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[45] This is not to suggest that de Fer was the inventor of this style, merely that he is a clear earlier protagonist of a type of mapping that seemed to have been well established in France by the end of the 17th century at least.

[46] Josef W Konvitz, *Cartography in France 1660-1848: science, engineering, and statecraft* (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), ch. 1 & *passim*.

triangulation, which had been developed as early as the 16th century by the Dutch physician Gemma Frisius (1508-56).[47] Triangulation involved measuring a baseline – as much as one or two kilometres today – and then constructing a series of triangles off that, based on angled measurements taken from elevated stations along the original line, to other stations away from it. The lengths of these lines, and the exact position of the other stations can be determined by means of trigonometry. The precision of the logarithmic tables developed to facilitate these calculations – brought to as many as five decimal places – greatly surpassed the measuring instruments available then, and until towards the end of the 18th century.[48] These included the circumferentor, the astronomer's quadrant, and the recently developed theodolite which could measure vertical as well as horizontal angles. The complete triangulated system that was recorded at this time for France, was also combined with the more astronomically elusive longitude, so that not only the relationships between all places in France, but their exact relationship to, and location on, the globe was thereby established. Finally the French were the first to introduce on a widespread basis the method of representing relief on their maps – so important for military surveying – by means of what has come to be known as *hachures*.[49] These 'hairy caterpillars' – as John Andrews calls them – are an almost universal feature of French maps at this time, and complete this picture

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47 Konvitz, *Cartography*, 2.

48 Rocque would use an instrument made by John Sissons to measure the triangulated survey of London. However there were greater advances soon afterwards, and much of the error in that map, and the Dublin map, may well be accounted for by the lack of precision in the instruments, rather than in the know-how of the cartographers. However this will be discussed at greater length in the section on the making of the London map, below.

49 According to Helen Wallis, and Arthur H Robinson (eds.) *Cartographical innovations: an international handbook of mapping terms to 1900* (St Albans, Herts: Map Collector Publications Ltd. in association with the International Cartographic Association, 1987), 218-19, hachures were first used by the Maltese cartographer Giovanni Francesco Abela on a map of the archipelago of Malta , of 1647, published in his *Della Descrittione di Malta isola…* The earliest map in France was David Vivier's 'Carte particulière des environs de Paris,' prepared by Vivier and others under the auspices of the French Académie Royale des Sciences in 1674 and engraved by F. de la Pointe in 1678. A copy of the latter is in TCD Fagel Portfolio VII: no. 10, 1-9.

of a 'total' approach to representing in line and in an ichnographic manner, the character as well as the extent and location of a place.[50]

While the hachure does not appear on Rocque's Richmond image of 1734, it is a constant feature of nearly all of his later work.[51] All of these graphical features, including the intense and all encompassing character they have when combined – what I have called 'total-mapping' – are strikingly present in Rocque's works. Bar the use of the hachure, they appear fully formed in the earliest of his works, and only grow in originality of expression as his career progresses. Combined with the fact that Rocque had somehow or somewhere imbibed the technique of land-surveying – albeit not necessarily by means of triangulation at this stage in his career – this complete picture of his graphical style points undoubtedly to a schooling in cartographical image-making of some sort, by means of a master proficient in the techniques of French cartographical engraving. The issue of whether or not Rocque was proficient at a type of map surveying that incorporated triangulation techniques at this early stage in his career, and what this might tell us about his technical lineage will be explored more completely in Chapter 3 below.

2.2 Rocque's links to other types of topographical and ornamental publications

Despite the overriding cartographical nature of his earliest work, we must not overlook Rocque's connections, and what might be implied by them, to the broader topographical tradition at work at this time. In the first instance the

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[50] John Andrews, 'Maps in those days' (Unpublished draft, 2006), chapter 2 'A science of facts?', p.8.

[51] The hachure appears throughout Rocque's county maps, in both his London maps, and in the Dublin 1756 map, e.g. on both sides of the 'Road From Castleknock' in the north-western sheet; in an area north-east of the Royal Hospital and south of the Kilmainham Road in the south-western sheet, and to the south of the Road To Donnybrook at the bottom right-hand corner of the south-eastern sheet. Cf. Figs 4.45, 4.51 & 4.69.

subject matter and as a result the likely patrons, and any broader commercial market for his estate plans, was likely to have been much the same as that for more traditional engraved prospects and views. Throughout this period Rocque was himself involved in the publication of a number of engraved topographical works of a more traditional kind, concurrently with the issuing of his engraved estate plans. These included a number of single-sheet topographical views, some of which may have been published as early as 1736, a collection in 1737 called *A New Book of Landskips Pleasant and Useful for to learn to Draw without a Master*, and an ambitious co-publication with Thomas Badeslade of *Vitruvius Brittanicus, Volume The Fourth* in 1739. Most significantly, all of the estate plans incorporated inset topographical views which became increasingly more sophisticated during the period in which Rocque was carrying out these works (c.1734-39). Rocque was also responsible for some of the earliest publications of rococo ornament at this time, such as Gaetano Brunetti's *Sixty Different Sorts of Ornaments … Very useful to painters, sculptors, stone-carvers, wood-carvers, silversmiths etc* in 1736, and significantly an edition of Meissonnier's *Livre d'Ornemens* in 1737. His rococo cartouches which first appeared in the estate plans of Chiswick and Hampton Court in 1736, were extremely precocious for their exposition of this newly imported continental style. None of this is really to gainsay the proposition partly argued above, that Rocque was a somehow trained in the tradition of cartographical image-making, but these other topographical and ornamental publications and the complex business of the integration of the topographical insets and rococo ornament that were essential to the estate images, need to be explored if not explained further.

In the first place it would be reasonable to wonder whether there is any significance to the fact that Rocque's first work was co-published by John Bowles, 'at the Black Horse in Cornhill', London.[52] Was it possible for example that it was Bowles who trained Rocque, or maybe more likely, invited

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[52] Rocque, 'Plan of Richmond', partially erased imprint below the Royal Coat of Arms in the bottom left-hand corner.

him into the fold or encouraged him to carry out these topographical maps? The career profile of map engraver, publisher and dealer, with a shop in London, was one that Rocque would eventually share with Bowles.[53] Bowles (fl. 1724-79) was a member of a prominent family of publishers operating in the topographical market in London throughout the 18th century.[54] Generally Bowles specialised in maps and atlases, as well as prints of a wide range of topographical subjects, particularly those of antiquarian interest – cathedrals, abbeys, old buildings as well as battles and portraits, and fairly conventional city views.[55] However the Bowleses generally plagiarised or borrowed from earlier images and maps, and were not involved in any original surveying work. The year before his co-publication with Rocque of the Richmond image, John Bowles had published a map of Middlesex which was originally surveyed by John Seller in 1679, some 56 years earlier.[56] This approach to map work was fairly standard fare.[57] A collection of three volumes of antiquarian images published by Bowles during the previous decade which included *Several Prospects of the Most Noted Publick Buildings, in and about the City of London with a Short Historical Account Relating to the Same* (1724) and *Several Prospects of the Royal Palaces and Publick Buildings of England, also ye views of Some of ye Most Considerable Seats and gardens Belonging to the Nobility and Gentry with Short Remarks Relating to*

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[53] As we shall see in Section 2.3 however, Rocque was unique in combining these activities, with that of directly carrying out his own surveys for original maps.

[54] Donald Hodson, *County atlases of the British Isles published after 1703: volume I, atlases published 1704 to 1742 and their subsequent editions* (Tewin, Welwyn, Hertfordshire: The Tewin Press, 1984), 186.

[55] Sheila O'Connell, 'Curious and entertaining - prints of London and Londoners' in *London 1753*, edited by Sheila O'Connell (London: The British Museum Press, 2003), 39-43, 52; Timothy Clayton, *The English print 1688-1802* (London: Yale University Press, 1997), 5, 9, 35, 75-6, 105-6; Harris, *Artist & the country house*, 154 & *passim*.

[56] 'Midlesex actually surveyed and deliniated by John Seller Hydrographer to ye King cum Previlegio Regis…Printed and Sold by Thomas Bowles Print and Map Seller next the Chapter House in St Pauls Church yard and John Bowles Print and map Seller at the Black Horse in Cornhill, London 1733.' Copy in TCD, Fagel Portfolio XV, no. 15.

[57] Laurence Worms, 'The maturing of British commercial cartography: William Faden (1749-1836) and the map trade' *The Cartographic Journal* 41, no.1 (June 2004): 5-11, 6-7.

them (c.1725) was mainly based on re-worked, or 'plagiarised' larger prints belonging to previous practitioners.[58] However the connection to the type of subject to be found in many of Rocque's works in the 1730s and afterwards, is evident.

As already noted, Rocque would only share the publishing credits again on the two London maps of the 1740s, and in all other instances he was to release his works as exclusive enterprises. Bowles's name remained on the print for a short time, but in later states of the first edition his imprint was roughly removed. It seems more likely then, given the originality of all of Rocque's materials, and the fact that he was responsible for their original surveying and visual creation, that this association was one of convenience and circumstance rather than a formative one. One might speculate instead that Rocque, newly established as a printmaker, or even newly arrived in London, approached the largest and most obvious engraving company in town to have his already engraved image printed by Bowles. The evidence of the co-publication, i.e. the imprint at the bottom of the page, was then quickly removed after Rocque – who must have owned the plates – became more firmly established in his own right very soon afterwards. It is reasonable to conclude that any idea that Bowles might have suggested the scheme to Rocque, or that he was the entrée that Rocque needed into a circle of patronage, might be discounted at this point.[59]

Within two years of having produced the Richmond plan in 1734, Rocque was beginning to publish a small number of single-plate and multi-plate topographical images in association with some of the most important topographical engravers at work in England at this time. Rocque's role in their production is somewhat problematic. It would seem remarkable maybe that

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[58] Clayton, *English Print*, 76.

[59] I am grateful to Lawrence Worms with whom I teased out this point, and on whose close knowledge of the London map trade at this time, this conclusion was based.

someone proficient at surveying, and at engraving maps, could also be responsible for creating images of landscapes, with architecture and figures. Even the combination of surveyor and engraver-publisher of maps, was an unusual one at this time, whatever of combining this with a facility for creating populated landscape images of reasonable artistic quality.[60] As noted already of course, the estate plans, engraved by Rocque between 1734 and 1739, all contain inset views of developing quality, and arranged with increasing vigour over the succeeding years. Rocque's role in the production of the inset views themselves will be considered in the next section. Of the topographical views published at this time, Rocque's name has become associated with at least three in 1736: one of Kensington with Francois Vivares (1709-80),[61] another of Geneva, and an image of Richmond, engraved by Jean-Baptiste Claude Chatelain.

The most certain of these was the *View of the Royal Palace of Kensington*, which was engraved by Vivares, but ascribed as having been drawn or *delineavit* by Rocque (Fig. 2.17).[62] The image shows a distant view of Kensington Palace, through a stage set of boxed hedges and high-pruned trees, with a number of

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[60] A. Stuart Mason, *Essex on the map: the 18th century land surveyors of Essex* (Chelmsford, Essex: Essex Record Office, 1990), ix, has noted 'only a slight connection between surveying and cartographic publishing…', with three Huguenots, Rocque, his apprentice Bernard Scalé and his associate Peter André, as three rare exceptions'. Another figure after Rocque who also combined original survey work with publishing, was Thomas Jefferys, who it has been argued, became bankrupt as a result of it: J.B Harley, 'The bankruptcy of Thomas Jefferys: an episode in the economic history of eighteenth century map-making', *Imago Mundi*, XX (1966): 27-48, 27.

[61] This is the Francois Vivares, whose child Jean, Rocque and his first wife stood for in 1728, as noted in the first chapter.

[62] *Veue du Palais de Kensington du Coté de L'Orient. Publish'd According to Act of parliament 1736. J: Rocque delineavit // To the R.t Hon.ble the LORD VISCOUNT CASTLEMAIN, This View of y.e ROYAL PALACE / at KENSINGTON Is most humbly Inscrib'd by your Lordship's most Obedient hum.ble Serv.t / John Rocque. Vivaret Sculpsit* . Copy in British Library K.Top.28.10.e.2. This image also appears in Badeslade and Rocque's *Vitruvius Brittanicus* [sic] volume iv (1739), pls 2-3.

stylish men and women arranged in twos and threes in leisurely idleness on the other side of a pond with a fluster of swans in the foreground. Some gardeners tend to the lawn on the right hand side. A very similar compositional approach is taken in a number of Rocque's inset images in the estate plans made this year, particularly the insets in the Chiswick plan (Fig. 2.18), and that of Kensington itself, also significantly made in the same year as the *View*. The figures are of a new French style, in the manner of Watteau, whose works were just beginning to be studied closely in England at this time. While the majority of buildings depicted by Rocque during this period reflected the predominant Palladian taste, these separately published Prospects, and the inset vignettes within the estate plans, reflected a growing taste for a more feminine continental – mostly French and Italian – attitude: leisurely, gay, and with a characteristic lightness of touch. Much of the compositional approach, the type of tree, and the flouncy, feathery nature of the foliage in all of these matches closely similar elements in the image known to have been engraved by Vivares. It is impossible to say with certainty what exact role Rocque had in its creation, but he has put himself forward as the initial draughtsman if not inventor of the image, whatever of the engraved style of Vivares himself, which was light and airy, and confident. However the explicit association with this capable and renowned topographical engraver must raise the possibility at least of cooperation, albeit unacknowledged, in many of the inset views which form such an attractive part of the estate plans Rocque published during these years.[63]

Rocque seems also to have been associated professionally with Jean-Baptiste Claude Chatelain (c. 1710-71) in a similar fashion at this time. Two important Chatelain engraved views of Richmond appear in Rocque and Badeslade's 1739 *Vitruvius Brittanicus* (Figs 2.19-20).[64] They are both dated in that volume

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[63] This possibility is discussed in greater depth in Section 2.3 below.

[64] Thomas Badeslade, and John Rocque, *Vitruvius Brittanicus [sic], Volume the Fourth. Being A Collection Of Plans, Elevations and Perspective Views, Of The Royal Palaces, In Great Britain not exhibited in any Collection of this Nature hitherto published. Design'd by J. [sic] Badeslade and J. Rocque, &c. And*

to 1736 – the book is a compendium of previously published images by each of the two authors – and are both ostensibly claimed as Rocque productions. Other than dominating the titles, Rocque does not specify his role here other than that they were for sale at his shop.[65] However original copies of these engravings – 'View of Richmond Ferry as it was' by Goupy (*direxit*) & Chatelain (*fecit*) after a painting by Marco Ricci (*pinx.t*) and 'A prospect of Royal House at Richmond', also by Goupy and Chatelain after Ricci – do not refer to Rocque at all.[66] Nor is there any mention of Rocque on the original drawing that survives for the 'Prospect of the Royal House', despite its erroneous label which latterly claims as much (Fig. 2.21).[67] While Rocque most likely was not involved in their original creation – a cast of Goupy, Chatelain, and Ricci, hardly needed Rocque to sustain it – some elements from these confident '*fêtes galantes*', as we shall see, were re-used by Rocque in some of his images at this time, and this suggests the possibility of Chatelain's involvement in them. However Rocque's and Chatelain's co-publication, the following year,

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engraven by the best hands. (London: Printed for, and sold by John Wilcox, George Foster, and Henry Chapelle, 1739), pp. 8-11.

[65] 'VEVE [Veue] de la Maison ROYALE de RICHMOND, du Cote du Midy a 3 Lieues de Londres 1736. To the Rt Hon.ble the LORD VISCOUNT CASTLEMAIN, This view of the ROYAL PALACE at RICHMOND in Surry, Is most humbly Inscrib'd by your Lordship's most Obedient Serv.t John Rocque. Publish'd According to Act of Parliament. Sold by J. Rocque at the Cannister and / Sugar loaf in Great Windmill Street St James. Chatelain Sculp.' And 'VEVE de la Maison ROYALE de RICHMOND, du Coté de la Tamise a 3 Lieues de Londres 1736. To the Rt Hon.ble the LORD VISCOUNT CASTLEMAIN, This view of the ROYAL PALACE / at RICHMOND in Surry, Is most humbly Inscrib'd by your Lordship's most Obedient Serv.t John Rocque. Publish'd According to Act of Parliament. Sold by J. Rocque at the Cannister and / Sugar loaf in Great Windmill Street St James [5a] Chatelain Sculp. Londini'.

[66] BL Maps K.Top.41.17.g and K Top 41.16.l.

[67] British Museum: MS 1880.11.13.5556. The drawing is labelled as being by John Rocque and Jean-Baptiste Chatelain. However Rocque's only association with the piece is the reappearance of the printed image in his *Vitruvius Brittanicus*. Had he been the draughtsman of this image, he would no doubt have appeared on the original imprint, as do the artist and engravers, Goupy, Ricci, and Chatelain, and august enough group without the need for Rocque's assistance.

of the very rare *A New Book of Landskips* (1737) (Fig. 2.22),[68] is enough proof, for now, of at least some professional connection between them, at this time. Rocque claims no role other than as publisher of these very fine rural idylls. Chatelain displayed a confidence in his depiction of observed architecture (Fig. 2.23), missing especially within the earliest of Rocque's inset views, although Chatelain's figures are less assured – in these his own complete creations – than in the imaginative images of Richmond, put together by Goupy, based in turn on Ricci's original paintings.

A third case, although far from being an original composition, appears to confirm that Rocque in his own right had at least the facility, as any good engraver, to copy a sophisticated topographical image. This was his 1738 *Prospect of Greenwich from the Observatory at the Top of the Hill.*[69] Record of authorship is confined to the all-encompassing *Rocque fecit*, although its inclusion within one of the many bound volumes of the King's Topographical Collection in the British Library, proves the immense value of such a collection, as Rocque's image is immediately preceded in that volume by the original, 1736, *Vue de Greenwich, dessinée à coté de l'observatiore au haut de la colline, par* [Jacques]*Rigaud* on which Rocque's image is based.[70] This is an exact copy, in as much as such a thing can be achieved. It is likely that Rocque used some

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[68] *A / New Book of / Landskips / Pleasant & Useful for / to learn to Draw with= / =out a Master // Publish'd Accourding to an Act of parliament by J. Rocque 1737. Chatelin inv. Sculp.* A copy in British Museum, 1882-4-11-1330 to 1334. There is a second copy, this time no long stitched, although there are holes for it, can be found in the Yale British Art Center, C.93 Sh.10.

[69] *Rocque fecit 1738 [5a] PROSPECT OF GREENWICH from the Obseratory at the Top of the Hill. / From this Place the eye commands a vast and most delightful Prospect on every side of Greenwich, what recomends [sic – but not mistaken in the original Rigaud] is most / in the distant Views of the City of London and the Course of the River Thames with its innumerable Shipping from all parts of the Worlds. [5 a-5c]// VEUE DE GREENWICH dessinné a coté de l'Observatoire au haut de la Colline / De cet endroit on apercoit de tous les cotes de Greenwich un vaste et délicieux Pais, et la Ville de Londres dans l'Eloignement, avec le cours / de la Tamise chargée d'une quantité étonante de Vaisseaux de toutes grandeurs, et de toutes les nations du monde; ce qui fait un aspect admirable [5c-5e].* Copy in BL K.Top.17.1.3.b.

[70] London, British Library, K.Top.17.1.3.a.2.

kind of reverse transfer system to make such a close simulacrum, as there is no reversal in his engraved image of the original, which preceded it by only two years.[71] The first of a pair of important Engraving Copyright Acts came into being in 1735, and it is difficult to see how Rocque might have carried out, or gotten away with, such an unacknowledged piracy.[72] One of the weaknesses of the first Act was that it only protected images invented and engraved by an artist. Engraved images after other original works were not thus protected.[73] However Rigaud was a capable topographical artist and engraver in his own right, and this image was likely to have been of his own invention.[74] Perhaps, because it did not in fact cite the Act in the usual way – 'published According to the Act' and other such variants – Rigaud's image may not have qualified for its protection. Either way Rocque recreated a close copy of the image without any reference whatever to its original author. Other topographical images produced by Rocque include possibly an engraved View of Geneva dating to 1736,[75] a 'Prospect of Greenwich Hospital by the River' published in

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[71] Coolie Verner, 'Copperplate printing' in *Five centuries of map printing: the Kenneth Nebenzahl, Jr., lectures in the history of cartography at the Newberry Library*, edited by David Woodward (London: University of Chicago Press, 1975), 51-75, 53 notes the difficulties of (or more correctly perhaps, our lack of understanding of) transferring drawings to avoid reversal in the printing process. Methods suggested include e.g. burnishing the original image face down on the plate, which might leave behind a mark, or using tracing paper – prepared by varnishing – to copy the original, and then by means of some kind of carbon paper, transferring the copied image onto the plate. Either way, the faithfulness of the copy made by Rocque of Rigaud's original suggests that such techniques were firmly within the teehnical arsenal of Rocque if not most other practitioners at this time.

[72] 8 Geo. II. c. 13, 1734/35. The second Act was 7 Geo. III c. 38, of 1767.

[73] David Hunter, 'Copyright protection for engravings and maps in eighteenth-century Britain', *The Library*, IX, Ser 6 (1987): 128-47, 137-41.

[74] As noted in Chapter 1 above, Rigaud was invited to England by Charles Bridgeman to record his work at Chiswick. He created a number of important watercolour images of that estate which survive, but the engravings were never produced because, as it is understood, of a disagreement with Burlington over payment. See footnote number 14 in chapter 1.

[75] Hyde, 'Portraying London', 33, however without any reference to an original location for the Geneva image.

1739 (Fig. 2.24),[76] and a 'View of Constantinople taken from the Helespont' of 1750. This last was engraved by Chatelain after an original image created by Mason.[77] It is likely that by this time, Rocque was hardly more involved than as publisher or co-publisher of the work: there is no suggestion on the piece that he contributed more to the project in terms of its visual creation.

All of this topographical work culminated, in 1739, in the publication by Rocque in co-operation with Thomas Badeslade (ca.1715-1750) – a topographical engraver and engineer of some renown[78] – of their so-called *Vitruvius Brittanicus* [sic] *Volume the Fourth.*[79] This incredibly rare book – known only in four copies[80] – is a very substantial *folio*-size production, that includes a large collection of Rocque's original estate plans, as well as some of his prospects and views as just described, alongside an equally large collection of Badeslade's own impressive bird's-eye views of country houses (e.g. Fig. 2.25), with a smaller number of views and topographical images by other engravers as well. Broadly speaking, despite the precedence of Badeslade's name in the title, Rocque's work appears to have had the upper hand, especially towards the beginning of the book. A slightly re-worked version of the King's House, taken from Rocque's 1734 Richmond estate plan, forms the frontispiece on the title page (Fig. 2.26). This is followed by the Vivares and Rocque view of

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[76] BL Maps K.Top.17.1.3b; cited & reproduced in Hyde 'Portraying London', 33.

[77] Maps K.Top.113.75.c.; cited in Hyde 'Portraying London', 33.

[78] According to A.W. Skempton, M.M. Chrimes, R.C. Cox, P.S.M. Cross-Rudkin, R.W. Rennison, and E.C. Ruddock (eds.) *A biographical dictionary of civil engineers in Great Britain and Ireland* (London: Thomas Telford & The Institute of Civil Engineers, 2002), 27, Badeslade was a drainer of the fens, a land surveyor, a topographical draughtsman and the author of a book on fen drainage. He had been employed by the Corporation of King's Lynn to carry out the drainage of the 'Great Level… of the Fens'.

[79] Thomas Badeslade, and John Rocque, *Vitruvius Brittanicus [sic], Volume the Fourth. Being A Collection Of Plans, Elevations and Perspective Views, Of The Royal Palaces, In Great Britain.* (London: John Wilcox in the Strand, 1739). Cf. Colen Campbell, and others, *Vitruvius Britannicus or the British architect by Colin Campbell First published in three volumes, London, 1715-25. Reissued 1967 in one volume by Benjamin Bloom, Inc., New York* (New York: Benjamin Bloom, 1967).

[80] Harris & Savage, *Architectural books*, pp. 142-3.

Kensington from 1736, as described above, then by Rocque's estate plan of Hampton Court (Fig. 2.27), and after that, the two Richmond views by Chatelain – on which Rocque had now claimed a role – and by Rocque's second Richmond estate plan of 1736, all before Badeslade's first appearance in the volume with his perspective view of Kiveton House.[81] In total, the volume includes ten of Rocque's engraved estate plans in the following order: Hampton Court 1736, Richmond 1736, Claremont 1738, Rest 1737, Windsor 1738, Drumlangrig c. 1739,[82] Weybridge 1737, Chiswick 1736, South Dalton 1737 & Echa [Esher] 1737. Besides the re-worked vignette of the King's House in the frontispiece, none of the estate plans made by Rocque during his first two years at work appears here. There was a considerable advance in the look of his estate plans in this short time, and this may have been a result of Rocque's use of others' engraved images in the vignettes, without acknowledgement, as will be argued in the next section.

Four designs associated with the architect John Price also appear in this volume, and Harris and Savage have suggested that these were left over from the original series and had been intended by Joseph Smith – the original publisher – for Campbell's own Volume III of *Vitruvius Britannicus.*[83] Rocque's and Badeslade's was not the programmatic exposition of British architecture to be found in the first volumes, but rather a vehicle for the display of, and for securing patronage for, a collection of already executed engravings.[84] The names of the owners of the houses feature prominently on all of the plates, and many of the images represent houses, e.g. Windsor or Warwick Castle,

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[81] pls 11-12.

[82] MapForum Cat. 19 dates this to ca. 1740. But as it appears in this 1739 publication, it was at least published by that date.

[83] Harris, *Architectural books*, 142-3.

[84] Harris, *Architectural books*, 142, quoting Bernard Adam's description of *Britannia Illustrata* and *Le Nouveau Théâtre* as a printseller's 'vehicle for disposing of topographical engravings issued over a considerable period of time by a number of publishers'.

which were far from at the forefront of architectural fashion.[85] What role Rocque played in the creation of the insets to his estate plans will be examined shortly. However his involvement with Badeslade in the publication of this impressive and comprehensive volume, as well as his own part in the publication of topographical images, some of which he appears to have engraved himself,[86] once again cumulatively suggests the extraordinary versatility of his abilities on display in the wide range of his activities. It also points to professional associations much broader than those of the traditional surveyor, or engraver of maps.

As if all of this extra-cartographical topographical work were not enough, Rocque was also responsible for, or involved in the production of, some of the earliest rococo design publications to appear in England, during these same early years of his career, 1734-39, before he became seriously, or more exclusively involved in the creation of maps. His exact role, whether as creator or engraver, or merely as publisher, is at times also unclear. However his enterprising instincts are certain. His links to the continent no doubt played a role in his vanguard activities in this regard. More importantly, many of these rococo features, the ornamental work in particular, found their way into his own later publications throughout his career after about 1736. The first of these early rococo works was his publication with Henry Fletcher in 1736 of a volume of plates called *Sixty different sorts of ornaments invented by Gaetano Brunetti, Italian painter; very useful to painters, sculptors, stone carvers, wood carvers, silversmiths, etc* (Figs 2.28-9).[87] A copy of this book, which Rocque no doubt referred to as a source of design ideas himself, remained in Rocque's possession throughout

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[85] John Archer, *The literature of British domestic architecture 1715-1842* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1985), 197.

[86] E.g. the *View of Greenwich* after Rigaud, as discussed above.

[87] 'by John Rocque, London, Publish'd pursuant to an act of Parliament, June ye. 25. 1736.'. A copy of this book can be found at Yale University Library, British Arts Center NK1535 B89 1736.

his career, as it appears in the catalogue of his works for sale, he released in Dublin in 1754.[88] Brunetti was a decorative painter from Lombardy, who was working in Paris around 1730.[89] Known for his baroque *quadratura* work, he spent two years in England, where he produced this collection of *rocaille* designs, which Fletcher and Rocque engraved and published for him.[90] The ornament of shell-work and other asymmetrical shapes was entirely new in England at this time, and it is likely that the book, which was the first of its kind, had a considerable influence on the introduction of rococo designs into that country. Snodin has identified some of the motifs re-used by craftsmen in various disciplines: a cartouche re-appeared in a pediment in Doncaster Mansion House (1745-8), another image was used for the creation of a Dublin silver coffee-pot of 1737 (in the Ashmolean Museum).[91] The Brunetti book was also used by other practitioners: the copy belonging to the painter J.M. Rysbrack, survives in the Avery Library in New York. Another similar early rococo publication by Rocque was his 'counterfeit' re-issue of Meissonnier's *Livre d'Ornemens* in 1737 (Figs 2.30-31).[92] This reversed version of the 1734 original – evidently traced directly from a copy of the original – was used *inter alia*, by the Dublin architect and designer Joseph Jarratt in his creation of a design for a mirror or picture frame, possibly for the Essex Bridge company of

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[88] TCD OO.a.59 no. 1B; http://www.mapforum.com/05/rocqprop.htm accessed 2007-03-31.

[89] Peter Ward-Jackson, *English furniture designs of the eighteenth century* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1984), 35.

[90] Christine Casey, 'Gaetano Brunetti' *The GPA Irish Arts Review Yearbook* (1988): 244-45.

[91] Michael Snodin, and Elspeth Moncrieff (eds.) *Rococo: art and design in Hogarth's England* (London: Trefoil Books/Victoria & Albert Museum, 1984), Cat. B11, p.38; illustrated in Casey 'Brunetti', 244.

[92] *A Book of Ornaments Invented & Drawed by J.O. Meissonnier Architect & Designer to the Cabinet Chamber of the French King* (1737) Published by John Rocque, Plates Engraved by Bartholomew Rocque and François Vivares.

Mirror makers, the original drawing of which survives in an album of drawings in the Irish Architectural Archive.[93]

Of even greater significance perhaps is the fact that some of the earliest rococo cartouches to appear in English art, did so as the titles to three of Rocque's estate maps, published in 1736, namely Chiswick House, Hampton Court, and Richmond (Figs 2.32-4).[94] Inventive cartouches with playful putti would remain a predominant feature of nearly all of Rocque's works from then on. It is not certain who exactly was responsible for these. Snodin has suggested either Chatelain, Gravelot, or Rocque himself.[95] There is little reason to doubt that these cartouche images were engraved by Rocque. He was also responsible, for example, with Gravelot, for the rococo headpieces that appear in Thomas Shaw, *Travels or Observations relating to Several parts of the Levant*, which was published in 1738 (Fig. 2.35).[96] Rocque's is the third of five images in the book – the others all by Gravelot – and despite the fact that all of them are based on previous designs by Sir Charles Frederick, it seems unreasonable to doubt that this expressive rococo design which was used to evoke a chapter entitled 'Geographical Observations relating to Syria, Phoenice, and the Holy Land', was engraved by Rocque. It is certainly possible, if not probable, that Rocque went on to create many of his own designs, in the numerous rococo cartouches employed in his own published maps, including the Dublin map, even though it has also been demonstrated that he, at least on some occasions, used others to at least engrave them. However there is a consistency in all of these vignettes throughout his work, marked at times, by a lyrical penchant for the comical and the entertaining, and this controlling or orchestrating of a

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[93] Joseph McDonnell, 'The influence of the French rococo print in Ireland in the eighteenth century', *Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society*, XXXVI (1994): 63-74.

[94] This is a completely new image, from the 1734 estate plan, of Richmond, this time, dedicated to Charles Lenox, Duke of Richmond. MapForum Cat. 11; it appeared as pls 9-10 in Badeslade & Rocque, *Vitruvius Brittanicus*.

[95] Snodin, *Rococo*, Cat. B2, p. 35.

[96] Copy in TCD PP.d.19.

consistent house style, is one of the most significant aspects of his work, which as we have seen is made up of a number of otherwise diverse visual disciplines, practised in the main by members of different professions – cartographic, topographic, and decorative arts.

2.3 Topographical insets and some issues of authorship

A great deal of comparative work remains to be done on the extensive collection of topographical and ornamental images that appeared on Rocque's estate maps, in terms of establishing their authorship, and as a means of understanding Rocque's working methods better. Close comparisons may be made for example with the considerable body of engraved work of Jean-Baptiste Chatelain and François Vivares in particular, with whom we know Rocque had professional links. If Rocque was not responsible for any, or merely not responsible for all, of the inset materials on his maps, then his consistent control of their appearance across the whole of his oeuvre, is remarkable. The following section, takes a concentrated look at some examples of works in which there appeared at first view to be some evidence of others' hands in some at least of the insets. It offers a small sample of some of the kinds of traditional art-historical ways this research might be brought forward in the future, in the face of the great dearth of original documentary evidence regarding Rocque's work. All of this has important implications regarding what we know of Rocque's workshop practice and the composition and organisation of his studio. Aspects of this subject will also be examined in Chapter 4 on the creation of the Dublin map itself.

There is a significant portion in each of the estate images which involves landscape content. What part Rocque had in their creation has never been examined before this. If Rocque was responsible exclusively for their content, then his talents as a topographical artist in his own right have been completely overlooked. If on the other hand, Rocque's role was as a visual impresario, orchestrating a team of surveyors, draughtsmen and engravers, we may note

the remarkable visual coherence of the complete body of his work, as well as taking some kind of cognizance of this as a working method. Either way Rocque's work was a type of hybrid activity, combining traditional cartographic images with highly pictorial ones. Despite the fact that he generally did not include the topographical or architectural insets in most of his city and county maps – albeit Dublin Harbour & Environs and all of the Kildare manuscript maps are important Irish exceptions – this approach must also have had an effect on the pictorial qualities of the rest of his cartographic work, including on the 1756 Dublin map.

2.3.1 Argument

Rocque's first publication of any kind was the estate map of Richmond (1734). For the next five years or so, Rocque specialised exclusively in a long and impressive series of estate plans: Richmond in 1734; Wanstead and Wrest in 1735; Chiswick, Hampton Court, Kensington and a second plan of Richmond in 1736; Esher, Oatlands (Weybridge) and South Dalton in 1737; Claremount, Windsor and Drumlangrig Castle in 1738.[97] This is the period in which Rocque's style was established with a consistency that persisted throughout the remainder of his career. This was characterised amongst other things by an intense all-encompassing covering of engraved marks – which I have referred to already as 'total mapping' – as well as an idiosyncratic playfulness and compositional invention. The latter is especially evident in the integration of the topographical insets and the decorative features and legends around and through the estate plans themselves which in turn formed the centre of these works (Fig. 2.36).

It must have been as a result of this initial impressive body of work that George Vertue approached Rocque, as we shall see in greater detail in Chapter 3, to take on the compilation of the vast London map which was a

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[97] See also the Chronology in Appendix one, and the MapForum catalogue of Rocque's works referred to in Chapter 1.

desideratum of the Society of Antiquaries for some time. Rocque had not tried his hand at either city or county mapping before he was approached by Vertue to undertake the London map. Indeed there is no evidence, other than what might be implied by the otherwise reasonably straightforward estate surveying, that Rocque was a cartographer in the traditional sense of the word – although how Rocque learned to survey an estate remains the one serious problem with the arguments being teased out in this section. Strictly speaking, cartographer simply means a maker of maps. This may entail any part or all parts of the process, from surveying, to map projection, to drafting the map, to engraving and publishing it. However there is a sense in which estate surveying as carried out by a great diversity of amateurs and only mildly trained practitioners, is in a different order to the process that was taking place on a grand and scientific scale in Holland and in France during the 17th and 18th centuries. During the whole of his career Rocque would never use the words cartographer or geographer in reference to himself, as the great 17th and 18th-century mapmakers in France would have done. As we shall see, he used words such as Chorographer and Surveyor, as well as designating that the maps were engraved, designed, and drawn by himself. We shall see in due course that the London map was made under close guidance, if not tutelage, of some of the key members of the Royal Society – its secretary and its president, P. Davall and Martin Folkes.[98] But it was only after Rocque began to work on the pair of great London maps in 1738 (they were published in 1746 and 1747 respectively), that he began publishing other city maps, such as his map of Bristol in 1743 which was engraved by John Pine (but 'Survey'd and Drawn by JOHN ROCQUE'), his map of Exeter in 1744 and that of Shrewsbury in 1746. It remains a mystery then, why it was Rocque who was approached as

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[98] *Alphabetical index of the streets, squares, lanes, alleys. &c. contained in the Plan of the cities of London and Westminster, and the borough of Southwark : with the contiguous buildings / engraved by John Pine ... from an actual survey by John Rocque, and printed on Twenty-four Sheets of Imperial Paper... London: Printed for John Pine, at the Golden Head in King Street Soho; Thomas Bowles Printseller in St. Paul's Church-Yard; and John Tinney Printseller at the Golden Lion, in Fleet-Street. M DCC LV.* E.g. copy in Yale Folio A.G.11.

the most likely candidate to take on the surveying of London, but again this will be dealt with in greater detail in the following chapter.

What is most difficult to explain in the bringing together of the so many disparate skills that Rocque possessed, at least by the very end of his career, is the idea that he was a qualified cartographer, and also a highly skilled metal engraver. The first activity was usually associated with the occupation of the professional military engineer – although in France during the late-17th century it became associated more and more with the state-sponsored scientific endeavours of members of the Académie Royale des Sciences and the Obervatoire Royale. Either way mapmaking on this level (again as opposed to estate surveying) was a profession not a craft. The ability to engrave, on the other hand, did not result from military training or an academic course of scientific learning, but stemmed from a craft tradition, with its own guilds, and system of apprenticeship.

There were engravers who specialised in engraving maps, but in England, before Rocque, these were rarely if ever the ones who undertook the complicated and expensive business of a cartographic survey itself – especially those of large cities or counties as Rocque went on to make.[99] Rocque's style as I have argued is very much in a French cartographic idiom. But, just as Harley has argued in his important article on the career of Thomas Jefferys, the work of a map engraver should not be confused with the skills of a cartographer.[100] These skills Rocque acquired later in his career, and never (it

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[99] One other was Thomas Jefferys (ca. 1720-71), whose career, partially overlapped, but for the most part followed Rocque's.

[100] 'There is no record of how [Jefferys] was trained as a cartographer. We could easily visualize him as the apprentice of a London mapmaker such as John Senex or John Bowles – yet proof is lacking of any such association. A second possibility, perhaps more plausible, is that he was apprenticed, not to a cartographer, but to an engraver. Certainly, throughout his career, he regarded himself first and foremost as an engraver and he was styled as such on many of his maps: on his trade card he appears as 'Engraver, Geographer' – in that order, and he appears as an engraver both in his bankruptcy proceedings and in his will. He could,

might be argued) with the complete precision and facility of his colleagues working for the crown in France. Systematic surveying based on scientific techniques was in a much less advanced state of development in England than in France in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, and many of the maps published by Bowles and others when Rocque first appeared on the scene in London were bowdlerized versions and re-hashes of earlier maps, many dating to the previous century and before.[101] Indeed it was because the market for maps was so swamped with material of very dubious cartographical value, that the newcomer Rocque was forced to construct original surveys, both of landed estates for the aristocracy, and later of cities and counties in England and in Ireland.

Any re-working of the facts, or re-interpretation of the order in which Rocque acquired his skills has implications for our understanding of Rocque's professional identity. It also affects our understanding of the nature and reliability of Rocque's maps, in particular of the 1756 four-sheet map of Dublin. Hitherto, Rocque's reputation as a cartographer has been so fundamental to the historiography of his work, that his involvement in the craft element has been either completely overlooked or, in at least one instance, more or less denied. Paul Laxton has stated that '[t]here is no evidence that Rocque himself was an accomplished engraver'.[102] Indeed in his article on Rocque in the current edition of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Laxton summarises Rocque as: 'land surveyor and cartographer,…', only.[103] As

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therefore, have been trained outside the map trade. J.B Harley, 'The bankruptcy of Thomas Jefferys: an episode in the economic history of eighteenth-century map-making' *Imago Mundi* XX (1966): 27-48, p. 30.

[101] Laurence Worms, 'The maturing of British commercial cartography: William Faden (1749-1836) and the map trade', *The Cartographic Journal*, 41, no.1 (June 2004): 5-11.

[102] Paul Laxton (ed.), *A topographical map of the county of Berks, by John Rocque, Topographer to his Majesty. Introductory notes by Paul Laxton* (Lympne Castle, Kent: Harry Margary, 1973).

[103] Paul Laxton, 'Rocque, John (1704?–1762)', rev., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37907, accessed 15 Oct 2007].

we shall see this contradicts the abundant evidence of Rocque's estate maps of the 1730s, as well as his many engraved plates in books of topographical and decorative materials, also made at this time. Rocque's close involvement at all levels and aspects of the production of his maps is also important because it is worth attempting to explain how he was capable of such an extraordinary output – close to 80 original map publications[104] – in a career that spanned a mere 28 years.

Some questions need to be posed in order to establish all of this more clearly. What is the evidence that Rocque was indeed a competent or skilled metal engraver? Alternatively what is the evidence for the incorporation into Rocque's maps of a series of topographical insets, exclusively or even only sometimes, by other well-known topographical engravers who were nevertheless not acknowledged in any of the estate maps? In the light of either of these positions being established, how, and to what extent did Rocque manage to maintain a consistent house style, during the 1730s and in his later career when there is ample evidence of a multiplicity of surveyors, draughtsmen and engravers involved in his production line? And what might the implications be in regards to our understanding of his craft? Finally what corroborating or contextual evidence can be evinced that Rocque was a trained craftsman – a topographical engraver – who turned his hand to the profession of cartographer only as his career advanced, and as the extraordinary opportunity and challenge of the London maps arose?

2.3.2 Evidence

2.3.2.1 Evidence for Rocque as engraver

The most important evidence that Rocque was his own engraver in the first phase of his career is of course to be found in all of the textual imprints of the estate surveys. Indeed it is only because of the dramatic change in quality of

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[104] See note 10, Chapter 1.

these architectural and topographical images between the first three publications (from 1734-5) and all those that followed, that it became necessary to hypothesise the possibility that there was a great deal of unacknowledged collaboration going on. There are also quite a few other, not well known, publications in which Rocque was employed by others exclusively as engraver. The possibility that this group of works was by another craftsman hidden under John Rocque's name, especially in the very earliest years of his career, is more or less nil.

To begin with, the following is a short list of the expressions used by Rocque to demonstrate his exclusive part in the complete authorship of nearly all of the published estate maps of the years 1734-39. The very first expression used, is the one that in this author's opinion has caused the greatest confusion.[105] The royal estate at Richmond, Rocque's only known work of 1734, and his first publication, is inscribed as 'Par son tres humble tres obeissant / et tres fidele Serviteur & Sujet / JEAN ROCQUE / *dessinateur* / *de Jardins*' [my italics]. As has already been argued in Chapter 1 this does not mean that Rocque was a landscape designer. Nor indeed was his brother, as is often claimed to corroborate this misinterpretation. Used in this context 'dessinateur' meant draughtsman, and all of the considerable contemporary documentary evidence suggests that Rocque's brother, Bartholomew, was in fact an horticultural innovator, who specialised in a kind of 18th-century genetic engineering, i.e. the creation by hybridisation of specialized high-yield crops suited to the English climate. These were mostly grasses and other animal feeds. This is not at all estate designing, and there is absolutely no evidence to suggest that William Kent was assisted or advised or usurped by Bartholomew's brother John Rocque at Richmond or that Bridgeman or Burlington needed him at Chiswick.[106] Only in this very first of the estate publications is Rocque not explicit about the issue of engraving, and yet he acknowledges no other practitioner.

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[105] See fn 12, Chapter 1.

[106] See Chapter 1.

The two estate plans of the following year – Wanstead and Wrest – are more helpful in this regard. They are both inscribed as 'Levé dessienné et Gravé par Jean Rocque'. *Levé* means planned, drawn-up, drawn or what we may assume in this case meant surveyed.[107] *Dessienné*, as already referred to here, and elucidated at greater length in Chapter 1, means drawn. More likely, in the sense that the image was a complex design, the word refers to the visual creation of the map, or in that sense, its design. Again one must insist this is absolutely different to being the designer of the gardens themselves. *Grav[é]* means engraved. Rocque engraved. A second and different Richmond estate plan, also in 1736, bears the same inscription, while Kensington was 'tres Exactement Levé dessiené & Gravé par / Jean Rocque'. Hampton Court is simply 'Inscrib'd by His Highness's most / Obedient Servant J: Rocque', while perhaps the finest estate map of them all, Chiswick, was 'del: et sculp', i.e. drafted (or drawn) and engraved, by 'J. Rocque'. In 1737 we have a 'levé et Gravé par J: Rocque' (Esher), a 'Levé dessiennée et Gravé par Jean Rocque' (Wrest), and for the first time, two maps with English inscriptions: South Dalton, 'Surveyed & Engraved by John Rocque' and in the only instance amongst all of his estate publications of an acknowledged other engraver, Weybridge (Oatlands) was said to have been 'Survey'd and Engraved by / B. Rocque', presumably John's horticulturalist brother Bartholomew.[108] In the

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107 '*Lever* … f) (= établir) [+ plan] to draw (up); [+ carte] to draw': Beryl T Atkins, Alain Duval, Rosemary C. Milne, Pierre-henri Cousin, Hélène m.A. Lewis, Lorna A. Sinclair, Renée O. Rirks, and Marie-Noelle Lamy (eds.) *Collins Robert Unabridged French-English English-French Dictionary* 5th ed. (Glasgow & Paris: Harper Collins Publishers/Ditionnaires Le Robert, 1998), p. 515.

108 This last makes John Rocque's and his brother Bartholomew's training and vocation all the more mysterious. It is not the only case in which an engraving was ascribed to Bartholomew Rocque rather than John, as we shall see. Although Bartholomew made his reputation as a horticulturalist, he must have trained as an engraver too. That he quickly turned to the far more lucrative work in high yield crops, and that John Rocque moved from engraving to cartography, is typical of the enterprising spirit necessary for all Huguenots to survive at this time.

following years the estate maps of Claremount, Windsor, Drumlangrig, and others were also inscribed using one of the formulas from amongst those already listed. All of this is evident assertion, if not proof, should it be needed, that Rocque was indeed the engraver of his own estate plans.

Once Rocque began to publish the more ambitious town and county maps, as well as all the other maps in which he could have played no part in their initial surveying, other engravers and practitioners were used, or it least began to be acknowledged. The very first of these, and one certainly not surveyed by Rocque, was the 1742 *A Plan of Constantinople. Published by I. Rocque According to Act of Parliament* in which the French engraver 'Moreau' was acknowledged.[109] The next publication was the very first of Rocque's ambitious town and county surveys for which he was later most renowned. This was the 1743 *A PLAN OF THE CITY OF BRISTOL Survey'd and Drawn by JOHN ROCQUE* [and] *Engraved by JOHN PINE.* John Pine would also engrave the 24-sheet London city map of 1747 over which Rocque was ultimately to lose control, in so far as it was published by Pine and John Tinney. A comparison between these two maps is very telling as we shall see in the section after next on the cohesiveness of Rocque's style. But the Bristol map, save for some of the decorative features which will also be discussed in due course, is a Rocque map, conceived in the Rocque idiom already discussed at length. Rocque is open about the fact that it is engraved by Pine. No doubt, there was a business relationship between Pine, who was a well established figure at this time,[110] and Rocque, and it could be argued that that would explain the explicit nature of Pine's acknowledgement here. In other words, for the Bristol map, Rocque was likely to have been the draftsman, but not the engraver, and the style of that map was absolutely in tune with all of his other works. That was not the case with the London map, as we shall see in Chapter 3.

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[109] MapForum cat. 20.

[110] Susan Sloman, 'Pine, John (1690–1756)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22293, accessed 15 Oct 2007].

However this naming of engravers continues more or less indefinitely in the maps which follow. The 1744 *Plan de la ville et faubourgs D'EXETER* was *tres Exactement Levé & dessiné par I. Rocque*, but was engraved by *R: White.*[111] The London map of the *Country near Ten Miles round* which Rocque pre-emptively published before Pine and Tinney's publication of his own 24-sheet city map in 1747, was a creation of '*Ioanne Rocquis Topogropho*' or as repeated in English 'By John Rocque Land Surveyor', but 'Engrau'd by Richard Parr'. It appears that the scale of these undertakings, and indeed of his business as a whole at this stage, quite justifiably, militated against his engraving the images himself. Engraving was the most painstaking of the tasks in the whole map-making process, it could be argued (Fig. 2.37).[112] But it is one that Rocque continued to control closely by means of his overseeing of the surveying, and quite probably his actual draughting of these images. It is only this that will explain the degree to which all of his works remain in an obviously and closely identifiable style. Rocque produced two other maps (besides that of *London and ten Miles around*) with Richard Parr in 1746: one of Lyons and another of Shrewsbury, both using very similar compositions. The consistency by which at this time Rocque acknowledged the role in his maps of fellow professionals is tellingly illustrated in their map of Lyon. Here Rocque not only acknowledged that it was engraved by Richard Parr, but that the map was '*Levé par le S.r C: Seraucourt*' and '*Verifié et Orienté par le R.P. Gregoire de Lion*'.[113] Finally another map of 1746 appears to seal the point of view that Rocque's acknowledging of those who engraved his works represented less a change in

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111 Rocque also used R. White to engrave the estate map of Wilton two years later in 1746.

112 Detail of De Fehrt, *Gravure en Taille-douce*, from Diderot and d'Alembert, *Encyclopédie*, 1767, British Museum, London. reproduced in Timothy Clayton, The English print 1688-1802 (London: Yale University Press, 1997), 14. Copper engraving practice.

113 PLAN DE LION / Levé par le S.r C: SERAUCOURT / Verifié et Orienté par le R.P. GREGOIRE / de LION. [1a, olb] R. Parr sculp. [5e, orb] TO / PHILIP FUHR Esq.r / this Plan of LION / is humbly Inscrib'd by his most hum.ble Serv.t / J: Rocque. / 1746: (MapForum cat. 33) see e.g. copy in London Guildhall. This pair of maps has already been discussed in regards to the nature of the French idiom used by Rocque, in chapter 1.

his degree of disclosure, than a change in his actual working methods brought about because of the scale of his operations. In that year Rocque was to publish his first new Estate Map since 1739, that of Wilton for the Earl of Pembroke.[114] Here we see that the work has been engraved by R. White – who had also engraved Exeter in 1744 for Rocque. Should it have been Rocque's practice to suppress this kind of information in the estate maps, he surely would have done so again here.

The second body of work during this time that points in strong graphic terms to Rocque's experience and competence as an engraver is the group of books – not terribly well known to date – in which Rocque acted as engraver only, and had a lesser or no part in their overall conception and publication.[115] These forays into book illustration, and their implications in terms of Rocque's involvement in topographical and decorative pursuits, as opposed to merely the strictly cartographic, has been discussed already in Section II above. However it is sufficient in this section to re-iterate these in terms of Rocque's clear role as engraver as attested by his imprint, and to visually assess them as an indication of the sophistication of his ability as a copper engraver. This is a useful juncture too to look briefly at the remarkable rococo cartouches which appeared on the estate plans of 1736, and are considered by today's scholars as at the frontline of the emergence of rococo in England in the 1730s.[116]

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[114] MapForum cat. 36: *An Exact PLAN / OF THE / Gardens and Park at Wilton / The SEAT of / HENRY Earl of PEMBROKE… This Plan is most hum[bly] Inscrib'd by his Lordships / Dutifull Serv.t J. Rocque. R. White sc.* . Copy e.g. London Guildhall 914.2 Wil/wil.

[115] Of less concern in this section are the books also being produced in the 1730s by Rocque, in which he acted as publisher, and not necessarily as the principal engraver. These include the Chatelain engraved, but Rocque published *Book of Landskips* of 1737, as well as the Rocque and Badeslade publication of a fourth volume of *Vitruvius Brittanicus* [sic] in 1739, in which of course many of Rocque's estate engravings did appear. Both of these books are fully documented in earlier footnotes.

[116] Michael Snodin, and Elspeth Moncrieff (eds.) *Rococo: art and design in Hogarth's England* (London: Trefoil Books/Victoria & Albert Museum, 1984), 35.

The Gaetano Brunetti book - *Sixty different sorts of ornaments invented by Gaetano Brunetti, Italian painter; very useful to painters, sculptors, stone carvers, wood carvers, silversmiths, etc* – published in 1736, has already been introduced in Section II. While Rocque was clearly not the original author of these ornamental images (Figs 2.28-9 & 2.38), his facility as their engraver – is unambiguous. His is a sure and unequivocal line, fluid, and uninhibited by any lack of familiarity with the sinuous and novel nature of the materials he reproduced (Fig. 2.38). Of the sixty-two images in the book, Rocque was responsible for the engraving of forty-one; Henry Fletcher engraved the remaining twenty-one. In 1737, there is evidence to suggest that Rocque again appears as an engraver, in a series of cartouche patterns that are included in Edward Hoppus's *The gentleman's and builder's repository*.[117] This fact was asserted by Michael Snodin in the catalogue of his *Rococo: art and design in Hogarth's England* (1984), who detected the signature of Jean Rocque on plate LXXIII.[118] The existence of this signature could not be confirmed by the present author on the copy of the book he examined. However there is the slightest trace of what might be Rocque's signature on plate LXVIII i.e. '…cque', although the c before the q is far from definite.[119] There was also what may be the upper portion of the capital R at the beginning. An illustration of these plates taken from what must be a third source for the book shows no evidence of the signature (Fig. 2.39). However the very characteristic rocaille is of a type found elsewhere in Rocque, but perhaps with a lighter touch than those found in the Gaetano Brunetti book.[120]

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117 *The gentleman's and builder's repository, or, Architecture display'd : containing the most useful and requisite problems in geometry ... / the designs regulated and drawn by E. Hoppus, surveyor, and engraved by B. Cole* (London: J. Hodges, 1737) – copy in Yale Beinecke Jaf42 H779 737.

118 Snodin, *Rococo*, 140.

119 Copy of Hoppus' *Gentleman's and builder's repository* in Yale Beinecke Library, Jaf42 H779 737.

120 Possible Rocque engraving in Edward Hoppus, *The Gentleman's and Builder's Repository*, 1737, image taken from 18th-Century Online. The point about the lighter touch is based on this author's examination of an original copy of the book, not on the poor illustration provided here from an online source.
http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/ECCO?dd=0&locID=tcd&d1=1182401000&srchtp=a

Nor should we have any reason to doubt the evidence cited by Snodin based on the copy of the book he examined.

In 1737 also, we have the unusual case of Rocque's so-called 'counterfeit' version of some at least of Meissonnier's *Livre D'Ornemens* (Fig. 2.30-1).[121] Although published by John Rocque, two out of seven of the images were in fact stated to have been engraved by B: Rocque, i.e. Bartholomew, his horticulturalist brother, while the rest were engraved by François Vivares, Rocque's close friend.[122] There are in fact only seven images from this publication surviving, and just as in the case of the *Landskips* of the same year, we can have no idea of how many copies were circulated, and in this case how many of the images from Meissonnier's original publication, were in fact engraved.[123] Apart from those engraved by François Vivares – who was responsible for the *View* of Richmond published and drawn by Rocque the year before – this is the second instance in which we find Bartholomew Rocque engraving for his brother John.[124] It further confirms a picture of a family trained in engraving, but breaking out into other ventures, under the economic pressures of emigration and exile. We may remind ourselves here

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&SU=0LRL+OR+0LRI&c=1&df=f&d2=156&docNum=CW3306671307&h2=1&vrsn=1.0&af=BN&d6=156&d3=156&ste=10&d4=0.33&stp=Author&n=10&d5=d6&ae=T040731. Viewed 27th October 2007.

[121] This also has been discussed in Section 2.2 above.

[122] Peter Fuhring, *Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier: Un genio del rococò 1695-1750*. Vol. 2nd, (Torino & Londra: Umberto Allemandi & C, 1999), 324, catalogue 24b. The seven engraved plates are in the Prints and Drawings Department of the Metropolitan Museum, New York.

[123] There are in fact at least two copies of the *Landskips* surviving, one in the British Museum (as referenced above) and a second copy, no longer held together by the ribbon which still binds the copy in England, in the British Art Center at Yale: C.93 Sh.10.

[124] It has been suggested by Ashley Baynton Williams in his, *Rocque Biography* [WWW document] **URL** http://www.mapforum.com/05/rocque.htm (1999?) *Visited*, 11 September, 2006, that at least one of the two B: Rocque images, referred to here already, was engraved by Bartholomew II, the nephew of John Rocque. However nothing in Rocque's two letters to his nephew of 1753 suggests that they had ever worked together before Rocque made his appeal to the younger man to come to England in order to do so at that later date.

that Bartholomew Rocque II – i.e. the nephew of both of these men – was also an engraver, although he probably was not trained by them. On this basis, one might be tempted to give some credence to the outside chance that the two London-based Rocques were related to the Olivier Laurent Rocque and his son Laurent François Rocque, two engravers who lived and worked in Caen on the west of France, during the early- and mid-18th century.[125] Other biographical hints to date, however, although also by no means altogether convincing, have suggested origins somewhat east of this.[126]

In 1738 John Rocque appears as engraver once again, this time with Hubert Gravelot, in Thomas Shaw's *Travels or Observations Relating to Several Parts of Barbary and the Levant* (Oxford: Printed at the Theatre, 1738). Rocque appears only once amongst only five engraved plates in the book – the remainder were engraved by Gravelot, and all seem to have been based on the designs of Charles (later Sir Charles) Frederick.[127] Rocque's image appears as the headpiece for a chapter called 'Geographical &c. Observations relating to Syria, &c. Egypt, &c.' (Fig. 2.35).[128] Once again, just as in the case of the Brunetti's, we find a very competent metal engraver copyist, completely at home within the given genre. The lines are fluid, un-halted and confident. It is interesting, perhaps, that the Charles Frederick designs were based in turn on the Meissonnier *Ornemens* images. The copy that Frederick was likely to have seen was that published by John Rocque, and engraved by his brother, Bartholomew, and his friend, François Vivares.

Finally we should remember the already mentioned *Prospect Of Greenwich Hospital from the River* of 1739, which Rocque claimed to have *fecit*, but was based on Rigaud's exact same image, albeit unacknowledged by Rocque. We

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125 Benezit, *Dictionary of artists* vol 11, (Grund, 2006).

126 Discussion in chapter 1.

127 Snodin, *Rococo*, 52, Cat D4.

128 Copy in Dublin, Trinity College Library, PP.d.19.

can only conclude here, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, that he did indeed *make* or engrave it, as he claims.[129]

On the basis of the above evidence we may have no doubts that it was Rocque himself who was the engraver of the rocaille cartouches on his 1736 estate maps. Perhaps he didn't invent all of their motifs exactly, but he was well versed in this style, and absolutely competent in their rendering in engraved line. The significance of these images, as well as the Brunetti and Meissonnier images that Rocque introduced into England, makes his role as an artistic, (not merely cartographic), innovator much more important than has been acknowledged heretofore.

2.3.2.2 Evidence for emerging subcontracting

Nonetheless, despite the evidence above, some aspects of Rocque's earliest series of publications, i.e. those made between 1734 and 1736, have raised the question as to whether Rocque was responsible for their entirety as engraved images, including their inception and the creation of the fair copies that preceded them? This latter point is especially difficult to disentangle. One can spend a great deal of time trying to discern microscopic aspects of style based on habitual types of line, and signature visual habits. This does not in turn tell us much about who was responsible for the actual draughting of the fair copy upon which the engraving was based. It will be established that in Rocque's later career, and especially when he came to Dublin, that the division of labour in his practice was highly specialised and organised. The master engraver of the Dublin map (Andrew Dury), was also helped in the engraving process by many assistants and specialists. We have Rocque's own testimony in the first

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[129] For discussion of this image, and its source, see Section 2.2 above. The expression *fecit* in a 16th-century Italian context at least meant engraved it – see David A. Woodward, 'Paolo Forlani: compiler, engraver, printer, or publisher?', *Imago Mundi*, 44 (1992), 47. However there is no clear evidence for what exactly was meant by this expression in an English context in the 18th century, except that in the example cited, no engraver or other practitioner besides Rocque is cited.

place for that, when he speaks of the ten outsiders he had working for him, five draughtsmen and five engravers: a statement made just before he came to Dublin.[130] These men might have been employed on separate ongoing projects, including the fair number of maps that Rocque produced which were re-workings or simply re-engravings of foreign published maps, such as those of Paris and Rome. But that a single engraving was regularly carried out by a number of specialist engravers is supported by other evidence. For example in a little book called *The Parent's and Guardian's Directory, and Youth's Guide* (1761), whose author Joseph Collyer had apprenticed his son to an engraver, the author described how the map publisher would engrave the maps, but would regularly farm out the work on cartouches and insets.[131] Based on her study of the imprints, and addresses of 18th-century cartographic engravers in Paris, Mary Pedley has found that: 'Many engravers were involved with the production of a single map: the map engraver, the letter engraver, the cartouche designer and the cartouche engraver. They often did not sign their work; when they did sign a map, they rarely gave an address unless they also published the map.'[132] This conclusion is confirmed by her later research into the case of the law suit between the Delahaye family of engravers and Antoine Boudet (publisher) over the latter's dissatisfaction with the production of the maps for (the cartographers) Gilles and Didier Vaugondy's *Atlas Universel.* Documents concerning the case give very detailed descriptions of the processes of making these maps, the creating and checking of proofs, and the distribution of work amongst the engravers themselves. 'An engraver's signature did not mean he or she was the sole engraver. Engravers ran

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130 'For I have been, & still am, unhappy with the outsiders that I employ who ____ actually ten, as many draughtsmen as engravers'. ('car j'ai été & fuis en corre malheureuse par les Etrangers que j'employe, qui ___ aquetuellement Dia [Dix?] tant Dessinateur que graveur,…' Letter from London to his nephew Bartholomew in Mannheim, 11th May, 1753. Mannheim, Gesellschaft der Freunde Mannheim und der ehemaligen Kurpfalz.

131 Referred to in Laurence Worms, 'Thomas Kitchin's "Journey of life": Hydrographer to George III, mapmaker and engraver. Part two' *The Map Collector* 63 (Summer 1993), 17 & n. 53. I am grateful to Laurence Worms pers. comm. who first brought this to my attention.

132 Mary Pedley, 'The map trade in Paris, 1650-1825' *Imago Mundi* 33 (1981), 40.

considerable workshops in which the work was divided between a number of specialists – one person might engrave the mountains, another the rivers, another the lettering.'[133]

However at the earliest point in Rocque's career, it is doubtful whether he would have had the resources for such a body of employees. Instead, it is possible that he simply sub-contracted some of the insets out to some of his engraver associates, such as for example François Vivares, or Jean-Baptiste Chatelain, with both of whom, we know he worked during the 1730s on various projects already outlined. It is also possible that he did all of the work himself, as his imprints suggest. An initial examination of the estate plan of Richmond published in 1734, and those of Wanstead and Wrest Park from 1735, compared to any of the estate maps of 1736, especially that of Chiswick, suggests a vast improvement in Rocque's ability as a topographical artist. Either that or the introduction of new but unacknowledged practitioners.

The architectural insets of the Richmond map of 1734, are stacked in regimented fashion one on top of the other on the right hand top corner of the design (Fig. 2.1 & 2.40). Rather than true topographical images depicting architecture in a landscape setting, these are elevation drawings, 'folded-out' in poor attempts at perspective. In the image of the 'Prince of Wales's House at Kew' (the central horizontal panel in Fig. 2.40) the vanishing points for the two garden walls and the wing of the house on the right-hand side, do not match up. In all of the images, although there are some isolated trees, there is no sense of the buildings being set within a real landscape. The figures are naïve staffage, which give an almost comical effect to the whole when examined closely. A horse looked at in detail appears to be made of spaghetti! (Fig. 2.41). The engraved lines used to render the architecture are overly careful. The shading and cast shadows for example are made up of parallel lines rigidly perpendicular to the lines which describe the surface of the

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[133] Mary Pedley, *Bel et utile: the work of the Robert de Vaugondy family of mapmakers* (Tring, Hertfordshire: Map Collector Publications, 1992), 57.

buildings. There is no indication of the varieties of texture, which is such a joyful aspect of the later inset pieces. In comparison, the Chiswick estate map, which appears only two years later, is a compendium of fantastically conceived, complex but lyrically composed, images, each involving a novel integration of architecture, landscape and figures (Fig. 2.42). Consider for example the more successful rendering of the difficult perspectives involved in the Pavilion building in the 'Arriere Façade du meme Pavillon' in Chiswick (Fig. 2.18) as it compares to the folded-out elevations at Richmond (Fig. 2.40), and the clumsy draughting of the quadrants between the main building and the pavilions in the closely followed image (1735) of Wanstead (Fig. 2.44). What is more impressive is the assured integration of the Chiswick architecture into a delightful riverine scene, where the diagonal of the river, the arches of the bridge, the vertical accents of the trees and the figures (albeit still a little naïve), disposed on the river and on its banks, all come together in a sophisticated play of light and shade, and silhouetted shapes, all encompassed within a successfully realised perspective.

However a close examination of the work of the two most likely contenders for this engraving based upon their known association with Rocque at this time, namely Vivares and Chatelain, yields unconvincing results. François Vivares was closely involved in at least two of Rocque's early publications in 1736 and in 1737. Also a Huguenot, and possibly from the same region in France,[134] Vivares and Rocque are known to have been close friends for at least six years by the time the earliest of Rocque's works was published – Rocque stood as godfather to Vivares's son Jean in 1728.[135] Vivares was one of the two engravers, along with Rocque's brother Bartholomew, of the Meissonnier *Book of Ornaments* in 1737, as noted already, and he was also the engraver of one of the key opening images in the Badeslade and Rocque *Vitruvius Brittanicus* [sic] of 1739, a view of Kensington, whose invention is

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134 One interpretation of some evidence related to the watermark on copies of Rocque's *Exact Survey*, which will be reviewed in Chapter 4, tentatively suggest that possibility.

135 See Chapter 1.

attributed (on the image) to Rocque himself (Fig. 2.17).[136] Both the Kensington *View* and the Meissonniers were published by Rocque. Some aspects of the Kensington view, whose drafting after all was attributed to Rocque, may resemble to a small degree some of the later insets in Rocque's Chiswick map. Compare for example the use of high-pruned trees as a compositional device both in the Kensington view and, for example, in the view of the rear of the Pavilion, already noted.

The increasing sophistication of composition in all of Rocque's insets also suggested the possibility of an artist such as Vivares, whose own work became increasingly impressive in this regard over a long career. However the nature of the engraved lines does not match up. Compare the Grand Tour type image illustrated in Fig. 2.43, which was to be sold, and published by Huguenot bookseller *J. Regnier at the Golden Ball in Newport-Street* in 1739 but which was '*delin*' and '*sculp*' by Vivares.[137] This was published only three years after he had produced the image of Kensington for Rocque. It bears little resemblance in pictorial approach, or in terms of its engraving, to the Chiswick 'Pavilion' scene or even the Rocque/Vivares Kensington view itself. We must admit that here we have an artist of another order. Although Vivares learned drawing and engraving in Paris, he worked in the studio of the Venetian painter Jacopo Amigoni, where, alongside fellow engraver Joseph Wagner, Vivares engraved images of Amigoni's work for publication. This is Vivares's first independent publication after Amigoni and Wagner had returned to Venice. There is no

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[136] The Badeslade and Rocque *Vitruvius Brittanicus* was made up of a series of images many of which had already been published as individual pieces, including, for example, many of Rocque's own estate maps of the previous five years. This Kensington image is stated on the inserted engraving to be dated from 1736.

[137] This untitled image is taken from an album bound in the 18th century called *A Book of Sundry Prints* to be found in Yale British Art Center, B1977.14.14228. Reference to Regnier's origins, and some other biographical points about Vivares in what follows, come from Timothy Clayton, 'Vivares, Francis (1709–1780)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28335, accessed 31 Oct 2007].

evidence that Vivares had ever gone on a Grand Tour himself, and it is likely that this image closely resembled models he had worked on while employed in Amigoni's studio. However his engraving style and the sophistication of the composition is wholly different from that to be found in the Kensington image he engraved for Rocque after Rocque's drawing. It would appear from this small evidence that the familial similarities between the Kensington image and that of many of the insets in Rocque's estate map images was because of Rocque's own input, rather than that of Vivares.

Regarding Chatelain, the evidence for his involvement with the estate plans of the 1730s is no more convincing. At least two elements to be found in Chatelain's *View of the Richmond Ferry* (Fig. 2.19) seem to re-appear in closely copied form in two separate Rocque works. One of these is to be found in one of the insets in Rocque's Wanstead of 1735, and the other in a later re-working of the Richmond estate map dating to 1748 (Figs 2.44-8). Confusion might be added to this case by the misattributed association between Rocque and the Richmond Ferry image, in which Rocque did not in fact play a part.[138] However a hooded horse-drawn car to be found in the Richmond Ferry image, closely matches a similar vehicle in Rocque's Wanstead map of 1735 – the year before the Richmond Ferry image is said to have been published (Figs 2.45-6). The type of car and horse, and the posture of the passengers match

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[138] The manuscript watercolour fair copy of this the second image of a pair to which the *Ferry* image belongs, i.e. *View of Richmond House*, has survived (London, British Museum: 1880.11.13.5556) (Fig. 2.21), and is catalogued in the British Museum collection as having been created by John Rocque himself. The reason for this is most likely because Rocque's imprint appears on an edition of the printed image (originally dating to c. 1736), which in 1739 appeared in the Badeslade and Rocque *Vitruvius Brittanicus*, and the latter version of the print has become more generally known because of the facsimile reprint of that book in 1967. However there is no reason to believe that Rocque had anything to do with its creation, when all of the following are accredited on both of the originals: Goupy (*direxit*) & Chatelain (*fecit*) and [Marco] Ricci (*pinx.t*). This image will be discussed further below.

each other fairly closely.[139] A more convincing pairing, relates to a motif in the *Richmond Ferry* image which appears to be exactly copied in Rocque's Richmond estate map of 1748 (Figs 2.47-8). The significance of the second example is somewhat diluted by the passing of time between its first appearance in the Chatelain image, and its re-appearance in Rocque's work some twelve years later. It is clear, however, that the engraved style does not match, either here, in the Wanstead inset or indeed in any others of Rocque's published works – apart of course from those, such as the *Landskips*, in which Chatelain was directly named. Chatelain has a particularly vigorous and expressive line. There is a signature nature to his pictorial handwriting, particularly evident in the lines used in the Willow tree to the right of the mound in the *Ferry* image (Fig. 2.47), which is not altogether dissimilar to the pen and ink landscape drawings of Van Gogh some 150 years later. These are unlike any of Rocque's insets. Once again the issue of the double source – designer and engraver – for all engraved images is relevant here. However, the character of his line, consistent throughout his extensive work, allows us to mark Chatelain off our list of possible engravers of the Rocque estate insets.

Although we have only crossed off two possible engravers from a host that Rocque might have used, his involvement in the creation of the fair copy image for the view that Vivares engraved of Kensington, his re-engraving of Rigaud's *Greenwich Royal Hospital* view, and his proficiency as an engraver as demonstrated in works in which he was employed solely as such during this decade, gives us some grounds at least to argue that he was the author of the published estate maps in their entirety, as indeed he claimed in their imprints. It is possible that the two elements that compare closely to the *Richmond Ferry* image will be better explained in terms of Rocque's copyism in general, and

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[139] Justice to the actual similarities of motif, is not done by the quality of the photocopy image of Wanstead reproduced here, in which the nature of the engravers line is not discernable. However the similarities were detected on the basis of a close examination of both images *in situ* in the British Library (Chatelain's *View of Richmond Ferry* BL Maps K.Top.41.17.g and Rocque's *Wanstead* 1735, BL Maps K.Top.13.30.a.11).

indeed by means of the manner by which images such as these were constructed in the first place. Neither Chatelain, Vivares nor Rocque were trained artists, in the academic meaning of the word, as it was understood at the time. Traditionally, an original painting that involved landscape, architecture and figures, was known as a *historia* or history painting because of the way in which it portrayed a narrative. However, a new tradition of landscape painting had arisen in which figures played a subsidiary role, and in which the landscape itself took a lead in indicating meaning. Poussin and Claude Lorraine were two leading exponents.[140] There was also at this time the work of artists such as Watteau in France, who introduced a new, more playful genre, in keeping with the aristocratic mood of the time. These images, known as *fête galantes*, were less serious in terms of their narrative intent. Their invention, and especially the disposition of the figures, was still founded upon a keen understanding of figure drawing, based on an academic training in life-drawing. Such a training was necessary for any artist attempting to create *tableaux vivants* of true originality.[141] The engravers Rocque, Chatelain, and Vivares, who possessed great visual skills, and although they were more than copyists, nevertheless appear to have borrowed widely from other more original works. Their figures especially were likely to have been culled from a multiplicity of sources, and pasted, as it were, onto the stage backdrops of architecture and landscape, recorded from the estates themselves. We have already seen examples of Rocque lifting a Chatelain image directly to his own Richmond inset of twelve years later. A great deal of work on this subject –

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[140] Indeed Chatelain engraved a large suite of Poussin landscapes for publication, found at Prints and Drawings Room, Yale British Art Center, C.23.S3.

[141] According to Sheila O'Connell in 'Curious and entertaining - prints of London and Londoners' in *London 1753*, edited by Sheila O'Connell (London: The British Museum Press, 2003), 41, around mid-century the non-academic topographical tradition – Badeslade, the Buck brothers, Johannes Kip and Jacob Knyff, and Rocque himself – was finally usurped in Britain by the arrival there of Canaletto, who transformed the painting of London scenes from merely topography, to the discipline of the history painter. His work was characterised by the unusual point of view, often low, with big skies, and often from peculiar vantage points, revealing the rears of buildings often not very well known.

outside of the remit of this particular project – has also been done on, for example, the inset images in Rocque's manuscript estate maps of the earl of Kildare's possessions in Ireland, in which many of the figural images used have been traced back to their French or Dutch origins.[142]

However, the ability of journeymen topographical artists such as Rocque, Chatelain and Vivares to compose and orchestrate disparate pictorial sources into one final image can be particularly impressive. Although it seems clear that Rocque was *not* in fact involved in the pair of Goupy/Chatelain/Ricci views of Richmond (despite their being attributed in some places to him), an examination of the manner in which they were assembled, may still prove instructive in the context of the present argument. How the image was put together is not made completely clear by the imprints on the printed images, i.e. Goupy (*direxit*), Chatelain (*fecit*) and [Marco] Ricci (*pinx.t*). Nor are we confirmed in any single interpretation by the surviving fair-copy drawing of the *View of the King's House*, in the British Museum (Figs 2.20-1). The *King's House* view is the second of the pair, the other being the *View of Richmond Ferry* also discussed above. What appears certain is that the final image of the *King's House* was engraved by Chatelain, and that somehow this was based on an original painting, no longer extant, by Marco Ricci. Ricci had made a fair impact on Britain, during his brief 'soggiorno inglese' of 1708 to 1716, and the majority of his English images have survived in the form of copies, although some of the originals have also survived.[143] Some aspect of their composition, or Italian sophistication, pleased a British audience. Yet these images often took on an altered form in their reproduction. For example, there is a copy (by

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[142] Anne Hodge. 'A study of the rococo decoration on John Rocque's Irish maps and plans, 1755-1760', (Unpublished B.A. thesis, Faculty of History of Art and Design and Complementary Studies, National College of Art and Design, 1994); Joseph McDonnell, 'Apendix II: the rococo frontispiece' in *The cries of Dublin: drawn from the life by Hugh Douglas Hamilton, 1760*, edited by William Laffan (Dublin: Irish Georgian Society, 2003), 197-98.

[143] Dario Succi, and Annalia Delneri (eds.), *Marco Ricci e il paesaggio veneto del settecento* (Milan: Electa, 1993), 97-112.

Giacomo Leonardis) of an image Ricci painted of Pall Mall in London whose original *has* survived.[144] None of the figures in the Leonardis copy of the Pall Mall scene comes from the Ricci original. Also it appears that, in at least the case of the depiction in this image of Orleans House, some of the architectural detail was fabricated in the original. The architecture in the background of the Pall Mall view has been changed by Leonardis in his engraved image. Although Ricci's artistic conception must certainly have struck a chord amongst artists and patrons, the architectural features were sometimes revised, and the figures replaced, re-worked or simply entered where none had been before. It seems likely that it was Goupy (*direxit*) who invented the figures for the Richmond pair of images. While Ricci created the *mis-en-scene*, Goupy conceived the prominent figure groups disposed across it. His must have been the drawing in the British Museum, which has been wrongly attributed to Rocque (Fig. 2.21).[145] Goupy was a competent and original figurist, capable of inventing his own vignettes from life as well as from his imagination. His ability to conceive original figure groups can be seen, for example, in one of his more famous satirical images depicting *Walpole addressing the cabinet* (Fig. 2.49).[146] And while Chatelain has left behind a very impressive collection of his own invented scenes of London topography,[147] he was not noted for his ability as a figurist.

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144 Reproduced in Succi, *Marco Ricci*, 105.

145 See discussion above in notes 77 & 144 above

146 'Sir Robert Walpole addressing the Cabinet', Gouache sketch on paper, British Museum 1920-2-14-4. Online image source: http://images.google.ie/imgres?imgurl=http://217.207.178.138/cgi-bin/bridgemanImage.cgi/600.XJF.5229620.7055475/266046.JPG&imgrefurl=http://www.bridgemanartondemand.com/index.cfm%3Fevent%3Dcatalogue.product%26productID%3D132466&h=600&w=470&sz=79&hl=en&start=6&tbnid=IO7ifJRS2ayObM:&tbnh=135&tbnw=106&prev=/images%3Fq%3Djoseph%2Bgoupy%26gbv%3D2%26svnum%3D50%26hl%3Den%26sa%3DG

147 Elizabeth McKellar, 'Peripheral visions: alternative aspects and rural presences in mid-18th-century London' in *The metropolis and its image: constructing identities for London c.1750-1950*, edited by Dana Arnold (London: Blackwell Press, 1999), 43-5.

Despite the fact that it is likely that Rocque was *not* involved in the pair of Richmond views by Chatelain, Goupy and Ricci, we can conclude that their practice of constructing images, based on cut-and-paste designs, that maximised upon the strengths of a team of disparate artists, was one used by Rocque as well. This cut-and-paste approach may well explain the versatility within his works from an early stage, and allow us to support the idea that he was indeed their author. The consistency of the engraved style within the early images is greater than the impressive leap in visual language between 1734 and 1736. Indeed there is a greater familial connection in terms of their engraved lines between the insets of Chiswick and those in the first Richmond map of 1734, than there is between the engraving of Rocque's insets and the lines used in the works of Vivares and Chatelain. Moreover, there is an extraordinary consistency in terms of their compositional approach, in the idiom and the types of lines used, as well as in their visual impact, in all of John Rocque's published works. In the absence of other evidence at this stage, we may conclude that, not only was Rocque likely to have been the visual orchestrator of all of the inset images in his estate maps, but that this could only have been founded upon the fact that he was himself an engraver of considerable ability. This consistency of visual language across Rocque's whole career will be explored in brief in the next section.

2.3.2.3 The consistency of Rocque's house-style

Unfortunately we do not possess a manuscript version of any of Rocque's printed maps, never mind one that we can safely assert to have been in his own hand.[148] The issue then of who was responsible for the invention and

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[148] There are, however, a number of surviving examples of working maps thought to have been in Rocque's hand, which were associated with the production of the watercolour manuscript surveys of the Kildare estate. However these preparatory drawings were the raw materials for the production of further pen and wash drawings, and not for engraved prints in the case of the published maps. Ms map of Ballyburn Manor of Kilkea dated 1755, with Rocque's signature and with names of landholders. NLI Ms 22004 described in Arnold

detailed preparation of Rocque's published images as far as the fair copy, or as far as the engraving itself, has to be taken from an oblique angle. As noted in Chapter 1, Rocque used a style of engraving that was already fully developed by cartographical engravers in France from the late 17th century. It seems likely on that basis that Rocque received his own training either in France, or from a French engraver in exile. The overarching thoroughness in surface signification, or a complete colouring-in as it were, with engraved micro-lines, which suggested types of land use or other topographical information (in city maps the types of buildings), was also a medium of compositional chiaroscuro. I have labelled this approach as 'total-mapping'. Although deeply French in that regard, there were other signature features of Rocque's maps, such as the rich rococo labels with playful putti, a quirky approach to composition, in which insets are artfully squeezed into the interstices around the surveys themselves, and certain characteristic ways of indicating scales and compass roses. The level of attention that was put into the control of the idiomatic system of micro-lines, as we shall see in the Dublin map, also marks out the Rocque maps from others of the French type. All of these things make a Rocque map readily identifiable, to a tutored eye.

Indeed the Dublin map itself is a case in point. Nearly all of the works published by Rocque after c. 1739, were not in fact engraved by him. Consistent with this, Rocque was *not* the engraver of the Dublin map. In this case, the engraver was Rocque's Huguenot associate, Andrew Dury, who had preceded Rocque to Dublin in the summer of 1754.[149] Should we not ascribe the particular heights to which this map reached in its attention to detail on a minute scale – at least in terms of its descriptive linear language, whatever of the survey it represented – to Andrew Dury instead? In at least one instance in which the Dublin map itself was re-engraved, Dury's later work (although on a

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Horner, 'New maps of Co. Kildare interest in the National Library of Ireland' *Journal of the Co. Kildare Archaeological Society* xv (1975-6): 473-89; I am also grateful to Arnold Horner pers. comm. for first bringing this material to my attention.

[149] See Chapter 4 below.

smaller scale) fails to match, in its dedication to a neat code of micro-lines, his earlier work done under the guidance of Rocque himself (Compare Fig. 2.50 to Fig. 2.51).[150] In Andrew Dury's *Boston* map of 1775 (Fig. 2.52 & detail in Fig. 2.53), the strictly French idiom of an all-over treatment of the printed surface, has been replaced by a quieter clearer style, less burdened by meaning, and micro-line information, which no doubt was hard to come by in the circumstances in which the map was made.[151] The fact that this map was made as a popular print representing a military engagement also affected its final appearance. Indeed as one might suspect, the engraver's art far more closely matched that of the original manuscript survey – which has survived – than it does a generic Dury style.[152] This too is an argument in favour of Rocque's having a type of graphical control over his engravers. This could only have been achieved, if Rocque were either personally to draught the fair copy of the map, or if he very closely supervised its completion, and was technically equipped to do so.

More convincing as a demonstration of Rocque's aesthetic or idiomatic control of the engraved versions of his works, is a comparison between the Dury-engraved (1756) Dublin map, and the (1743) Bristol and (1747) London maps engraved by John Pine. All of these were Rocque maps in one form or

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150 'Dublin' plate in A[Andrew] Dury, *A Collection of Plans of the Principal Cities, of Great Britain and Ireland: with Maps of the Coast of the said Kingdoms; Drawn from the most Accurate Surveys; In particular, those taken by the late M.r J. Rocque, Topographer to His Majesty.* (London: Printed & Sold by A. Dury in Dukes Court, S.t Martin's Lane, [1764]).

151 Andrew Dury, *A Plan of Boston, and its Environs shewing the true Situation of His Majesty's Army. And also those of the Rebels. Drawn by an Engineer at Boston. Oct.r 1775.* Boston Public Library, available for consultation on http://maps.bpl.org/id/05-04-000063/ accessed 26 October, 2007. I am grateful to Ron Grim, Boston Public Library, Map Room, for allowing me access to this map originally, and discussing with me at length some aspects of its origins.

152 According to Boston Engineering Department, *List of maps of Boston published between 1600 and 1903, copies of which are to be found in the possession of the city of Boston or other collectors of the same* (Boston: Boston Municipal Printing Office, 1903), 55, the original drawing is in the British Museum. However there is a fine photstat copy of the British Museum drawing in the map room at Boston Public Library, which this author has consulted.

another. However there is a greater familial connection between Rocque's earliest city map, i.e. the Bristol map, made in 1743, and the Dury map of Dublin made some thirteen years later, than there is between the Pine-engraved (Rocque) map of Bristol and the Pine-engraved (Rocque) map of London, both by the same engraver, and yet separated by only three years (Figs 2.54-6). The visual idiom of the Pine map of Bristol is that of all Rocque town and city maps. Familiar is the use of diagonal hatching to signify public buildings, and a stipple graded at the edges to give a decorative effect of false three-dimensionality, used to indicate all other town buildings. There is a clear demarcation between the buildings and landscape and the negative space of the roads, which as usual are the only areas on a Rocque map, *not* to be given any shading or symbolic micro-lines. The types of marks used, as well as the delicate compositional management of surface textures and of light and shade, is very similar to the approach used in the Dublin map, engraved by Andrew Dury, in 1756. However the style of the London map, engraved no doubt in parts concurrently with the Pine Bristol map, is unfamiliar to us, at least in terms of Rocque's other works. Although the public buildings are dealt with much greater attention than in most of Rocque's works, including the Dublin map, a relentless brick-pattern is used for all other buildings.[153] Shaded on all four sides by Pine on the London map, the playful hint of three-dimensionality by being shaded on two sides used in other Rocque maps, is here rendered neutral and flat as a result. It is not that this is necessarily aesthetically inferior to Rocque's approach in all of his other works, it is simply that this was not rendered using his particular linear idiom or style. Rocque was the surveyor of all three maps, and yet the London 24-sheet map of 1747, for which he is most famous, is the one least like any others over which he had complete control. For financial reasons that have never been ascertained, the final management and publication of the London 24-sheet map was yielded by

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153 The difference in the rendering of public buildings on this map, will be considered in greater depth in the chapter on the London map below.

Rocque to John Pine and John Tinney before the map came to publication, and in this regard, and no doubt as a result, its appearance too.[154]

A close look at all of the insets from all of the published estate maps also suggests an abiding consistency, despite some of the awkward constructions to be found in the first couple of maps. Generally there is a charming and attractive approach to composition. Unlike the very first of Rocque's compositions, trees, and hedgerows and grasses are integrated into, or sometimes form compositional foils for, the main architectural subject. Figures – not as sophisticated as those in the Goupy, Chatelain and Ricci Richmond images just discussed – are nevertheless used for their playful foreground interest. Particular attention is given to the portrayal of the textures of grasses, hedgerows and gravels, subtly contrasting and yet woven together in a delicate overall surface treatment. Indeed the types of micro-lines used in the inset images are in close sympathy with the total all-over treatment used as symbols for grasses, or different crops or landscapes, on the maps themselves. (See Figs 2.57-8). The telling approach this artist engraver has to horses is also maintained over a number of years of image making (despite the awkward start made with his 'spaghetti horse on *Richmond* 1734). Note their small conical heads, and the characteristic management of the reins and other tackle connecting them to the carriages. (See Figs 2.59-62).

As noted at the outset of this section, not being in possession of a manuscript preparatory drawing or fair-copy for any of Rocque's maps, it is impossible to say how he maintained that consistency. One is tempted to state that Rocque must have been responsible for drafting the fair copies, and that the marks contained therein were sufficient enough to maintain the character of representation in the engraved works as well. No doubt, Rocque passed on his style to his apprentices, and the draughtsmen that he employed. However it was as a craftsman himself, as one trained in engraving, that Rocque was

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[154] This will be discussed in full in Chapter 3 below.

proficient enough to maintain that control. It can only be that insider's eye, that would have guaranteed such consistency across a full career.

2.3.3 How unique was Rocque as topographical & cartographical engraver, specializing in maps, and as a surveyor of his own maps?

When the 24-sheet 1747 London map is dealt with in greater detail in the next chapter, the main focus will be on the extent to which this offers intellectual as well as professional context for the creation of the Dublin map, some ten years later approximately. The aesthetic differences between these two maps and the limitations to his surveying knowledge suggested by some of the recorded events associated with the creation of the London map, may now be seen as part of the evidence that suggests that Rocque was an engraver who specialised in cartographical and topographical work, and only latterly in large-scale cartographic surveying. Once again, in the light of the paucity of documentary evidence for Rocque's significant body of 18th-century work, this knowledge allows us to interrogate both maps in new ways. We shall see, for example, that the more architecturally satisfying method of rendering used by Pine and Tinny in the London map betrays the Enlightenment endeavours of the Society of Antiquaries and the Royal Society to both of whom the map owed its inception and some assistance in its completion. The delicacy of approach of Rocque's French idiom covered-up some of the architectural deficiencies of the Dublin map. It was because Rocque was a metal-worker and not an academic cartographer trained in classical surveying techniques, or indeed the rendering of architecture and the human figure, amongst other things, that his record of Dublin public buildings contrasts greatly in authenticity and accuracy, to that in the London maps. These important issues of archaeological verisimilitude, are partially clarified by this attention to authorship and the engraving style. Our understanding of Rocque's *modus operandi* is equally important, and may prove as fruitful. Some consideration, then, must be given to how others practised at this time, and the extent to which Rocque was unusual in this regard.

A survey of other map-makers both in France and in England before and during the 18th century shows just how unusual Rocque was in fact. In England, the majority of those who were now known as mapmakers were in fact publishers of maps (and frequently engravers as well). New map images were an amalgam of purloined, re-hashed and re-figured earlier map works. There had been very little original surveying on a large scale for quite some time. Indeed before the beginning of the 19th century the most significant body of original English map surveying on a large scale had all taken place in the 16th and early 17th centuries. Indeed many of the original plates had survived and were being up-dated after a manner and re-used. Examples from this classification of engraver-publisher map-makers in the late 17th and early 18th centuries include the most prolific of all the publishing dynasties, the Bowleses and the Overtons.[155] Based in London, these two families were metal engraver printmakers and publishers, who did great business in topographical and other types of printmaking, as well as in maps. As we have seen, Rocque briefly looked to John Bowles to have his first estate map (Richmond 1734) published, no doubt a practical acknowledgement at the time of their dominance in the map publishing market. Rocque retained the plates and soon afterwards had Bowles's name burnished out. So the relationship was based on Bowles's ability to have the map printed in the first place, and more importantly at this early stage in Rocque's career, to have the print distributed. Based on the arguments already rehearsed, this map was engraved by Rocque himself.

The dominance of the engraver-publishers who compiled maps, atlases and published 'geographies', but who were not surveyors themselves, was very much the rule at this time in England. For example, Herman Moll, the German-born, but England-based map publisher – responsible for instance for the fictional maps in Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* and for Swift's

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[155] Cf. e.g. Laurence Worms, 'The maturing of British commercial cartography: William Faden (1749-1836) and the map trade' *The Cartographic Journal* 41, no.1 (June 2004), 6.

Gulliver's Travels – was also principally an engraver. He worked for other map publishers initially, but eventually was responsible for a number of successful compilations such as his *System of Geography* and the later *The World Described.*[156] None of this work was based on original surveys for which Moll was responsible, either by commissioning, or by directing himself. His predecessor Robert Morden had suggested that maps were to be made by 'examining and comparing of the relations, discoveries, observations, draughts, journals, and writings, as well of the ancient as modern geographers, travellers, mariners &c'.[157] Similar work was being carried out by J.B. Homann in the Netherlands at this time. The work involved compilation and the engraving-publishing of the maps principally, but again there is little to suggest that Homann was responsible for supervising or even commissioning original surveys for his maps.[158]

There was certainly some original surveying going on in the 18th century in England, although until the introduction of the Society of Arts Premiums for the creation of large-scale county maps in 1761, this work was generally less ambitious in the first half of the century. Laurence Worms has tried to redress the historiographical balance somewhat in terms of the accusation of a complete paucity of such work at this time.[159] Of the map publishers who engaged in the compilation of original maps, however, virtually none actually surveyed the ground themselves, and indeed rarely enough commissioned the surveys. The corollary of this, is that almost none of the original surveyors engraved their own work. According to Worms, for example, Charles Price and John Senex brought a thorough and Enlightenment sense of scientific

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156 Dennis Reinhartz, 'Moll, Herman (1654?–1732)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18912, accessed 16 Oct 2007].

157 Worms, 'Maturing', 6.

158 Markus Heinz, 'Research Paper on the Copper-Plates of the Maps of J. B. Homann's First World Atlas (1707) and a Method for Identifying Different Copper-Plates of Identical-Looking Maps', *Imago Mundi*, Vol. 45. (1993), pp. 45-58.

159 Worms, *op cit*, *passim*.

knowledge and expertise to their work. Both came from the engraver-publisher tradition, but their projects were informed by the latest developments in the science of surveying and with the latest instruments made by Price himself. They did not seem to have made any on-the-ground surveys themselves, but commissioned others to do so.[160] Emanuel Bowen was another engraver-publisher who went to great lengths to produce original work, according to Worms. In fact, although nearly all of the authentic works that he published were based on commissioned surveys, he did begin his career by making a survey of South Wales in 1729.[161] This is one of the very rare instances in which an engraver-publisher, other than Rocque, was directly responsible for an original survey. However this was an isolated instance in Bowen's career, and not one he repeated in his later work.

Finally, Emanuel Bowen's apprentice, Thomas Jefferys, whose career path in many ways paralleled John Rocque's, has been noted in recent literature for the bankruptcy that came about as a direct result of his entering into the world of the original surveying of large-scale county maps.[162] Jefferys was an engraver-publisher, who had initially built an enormously successful career. He was known especially for his maps of North America: he had a thriving business during the Seven Years War in particular. His fortunes seemed to have declined somewhat directly after that, and it was this that perhaps led him towards the ultimately crippling field of original map surveying. However, in all cases Jefferys commissioned others to do the surveying. At least one of his apprentices (John Ainslie, 1745-1828),[163] went on to carry out similar work and indeed to directly manage the surveying, which suggests that Jefferys was somehow directly involved, but never as the surveyor *per se*.

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[160] Worms, *op cit*, p. 6.

[161] Worms, *op cit*, p. 7.

[162] J.B Harley, 'The bankruptcy of Thomas Jefferys: an episode in the economic history of eighteenth-century map-making' *Imago Mundi* XX (1966): 27-48.

[163] Worms, 'Maturing', 9.

For the most part those who managed to carry out real or large-scale regional surveys at this time were men outside of the craft-based print publishing industry. One of the most important was William Roy, whose pioneering work in Scotland, was to lay the principles and foundations for the Ordnance Survey in the following century.[164] Roy was a military cartographer/engineer, trained in scientific map-making. He certainly was not an engraver, and all of his published work was farmed out to, managed and distributed by engraver-publishers. A number of others also got involved in surveying: gentlemen farmers, masons, clergymen, school teachers and former soldiers.[165] Unlike the arduous apprenticeship undertaken by the copper engraver, one could pretty much pick up the principles of surveying by oneself, through studying any one of a number of manuals for this purpose that were published in the 17th and 18th centuries.[166] At a time of considerable changes in agricultural practices, and land ownership throughout England, many a surveyor learned his skills through their own proprietorial interests in land. Indeed the mathematical and practical art of surveying had been at issue in England since the dissolution of the monasteries and the redistribution of their lands during the reign of Henry VIII in the 16th century. The great original Elizabethan and Jacobean surveys of Christopher Saxton, John Norden, William Smith and John Speed, came from this initial impetus.[167] None of these engraved their own maps it should be said. And of the 18th-century surveyors of original regional maps, Benjamin Donn, the surveyor of maritime maps, William Yates of Warwickshire (1793), Thomas Milne (Hampshire 1791), Joel Gascoyne (Cornwall 1699), Thomas Martyn (Cornwall 1748), and the prolific Isaac Taylor (Herefordshire 1754, Hampshire 1759, Dorset 1756, Worcestershire

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164 R.A. Skelton, 'The military surveyor's contribution to British cartography in the sixteenth century' *Imago Mundi* 24 (1970): 77-83.

165 J.B Harley, 'The re-mapping of England, 1750-1800', *Imago Mundi*, XIX (1965), 63.

166 Aaron Rathborne's *The Surveyor* (1616) and William Leybourne's *Complete Surveyor* (1653) remained popular well into the 18th century. Cf. A.W. Richeson, *English land measuring to 1800: instruments and practices* (Cambridge, MA. & London: Society for the History of Technology and The M.I.T. Press, 1966), *passim*.

167 Delano-Smith, *English maps*, 51.

1772, Gloucestershire, 1777), only P.P. Burdett, author of the map of Cheshire in 1777, was known to have done some engraving.[168] However Burdett, the polymath geographer, and reputed inventor of the aquatint, was *sui generis*, and is known to have engraved a map only once, with unsurprisingly disappointing results.[169]

In France the division between those who engraved and those who surveyed was even more distinct, despite the cohesive nature of the industry which was state-sponsored and regulated. The compilation, creation and overseeing of the surveying of maps was done by a school or class of geographers, with scientific and humanistic training.[170] All of their maps were engraved by specialist map engravers, who had no professional geographical training, but who, like their English counterparts, were also involved in the initiation of projects, and the creation of originally compiled atlases, maps and other topical publications. They did not, however, make any original surveys. This separation of activities is very well illustrated in the controversy and law suit already alluded to, regarding the quality of maps made for the Vaugondys by their engraver, the Delahaye family.[171] Like the Vaugondys, Guillaume Delisle and his dynasty, the Sansons, Jaillot, and the Cassinis were all geographers of some kind, without any practical experience in engraving. For certain, each one in his own way exercised a good deal of control over the compilations of these maps, the creation of the fair copy, and their visual appearance. But the actual engraving, and to a greater extent much of the decorative details – vignettes, cartouches, insets, legends and all lettering – was the preserve of the engraver, with all the aesthetic and graphical results this must have implied.

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[168] Paul Laxton, 'The geodetic and topographical evaluation of English county maps, 1740-1840' *Cartographic Journal* 13 no. 1 (1976): 37-54: 42-3.

[169] Laxton, 'Geodetic and topographical', pp. 42-3; J. B. Harley, *A survey of the county palatine of Chester by P. P. Burdett 1777* (Warrington: The History Society of Lancashire & Chesire, 1974).

[170] Josef W Konvitz, *Cartography in France 1660-1848: science, engineering, and statecraft* (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), Chapter 1.

[171] Mary Pedley, *Bel et utile: the work of the Robert de Vaugondy family of mapmakers* (Tring, Hertfordshire: Map Collector Publications, 1992), pp. 51-5.

Rocque's essentially visual origins may be summed up by his use of the word chorographer throughout his career, not only because he never claimed the more professionally-based geographer as a moniker, but perhaps also because of the implications in terms of the meaning of the word in the first instance. Ptolemy, who first coined it, made a distinction between those who created maps or other visual records of local topography (chorographers), and geographers, whose work involved the mathematical projection of information regarding the disposition of countries and continents upon a two-dimensional surface. The first was according to Alpers's interpretation, an essentially visual and artistic activity, the second, was mathematical, geometrical.[172] These meanings were picked up upon in Renaissance and post-Renaissance cartographers, it appears. As we shall see when we go on to recover the history of the preparation of the London maps, this distinction between an engraver-publisher who happened to survey and a geographer map-publisher will be a vital one, towards an understanding of how these maps came about.

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172 Svetlana Alpers, *The art of describing: Dutch art in the Seventeenth Century* Pelican ed. (London: Penguin, 1989), 134.

Chapter 3: Making the 24-sheet London map (1738-47)

Chapter 3 – The Making of the 24-sheet London map (1738-47)

3.0 Introduction

HAVING spent much of the last chapter establishing the fact that Rocque was an engraver first and a cartographical surveyor second, the thrust of this chapter will paradoxically run in the opposite direction. Rocque's role as surveyor takes the lead in his map producing projects from around this time. The enormous 24-Imperial-sheet London map (Fig. 3.1),[1] published in its entirety in 1747 (although appearing in its first parts in 1746), is arguably the publication for which Rocque is most well known.[2] Ironically it is the map over which Rocque had least control in terms of its graphical appearance, and the cartographical idiom used for its engraving. Rocque had somehow lost the publishing rights somewhere between the inception of the map in early 1738, and its final appearance in 1746-7.[3] Rocque is cited in the title instead as 'Land

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[1] *A PLAN OF / the CITIES of / LONDON and WESTMINSTER, / and BOROUGH of / SOUTHWARK; / with the / CONTIGUOUS BUILDINGS; / From an actual SURVEY, taken by JOHN ROCQUE, / Land-Surveyor and Engraved by JOHN PINE. / BLUEMANTLE Pursuivant at Arms, and Chief / Engraver of Seals, &c. / To HIS MAJESTY.* (as cited in MapForum catalogue, no. 31). The map was estimated by its publishers (in the *Alphabetical Index* – full citation below) to be '13 feet in length and six feet and three quarters in depth'. Again according to the *Alphabetical Index* the map covered an area '6 miles west to east and a little more than 3 miles north to south' and contained 'about eleven thousand five hundred Acres of Ground; And, as it is laid down by a Scale of two hundred Feet to an Inch.'

[2] According to Ralph Hyde, 'The making of John Rocque's map' in *The A to Z of Georgian London. Facsimile of John Rocque's 1746 map of London*, (Lympne Castle: Harry Margary, 1982), vii, Pine and Tinney forced the publication date to late 1746 in order to be able to dedicate the map to the Lord Mayor Sir Richard Hoare, who had been a key supporter of the map, and whose term of office expired in the Michelmas term of that year. The complete set of sheets did not appear until 27 June, 1747, and thus to distinguish this from Rocque's own 16-sheet *London and 10 Miles Around* map which also appeared in 1746, I refer to the 24-sheet Pine and Tinney map throughout this thesis as *London* 1747. The *Alphabetical Index of the Streets, Squares, Lanes, Alleys, &c.* (full citation below) from which so much information can be gleaned appeared in November 1747.

[3] Its inception, as recorded on the map itself, is to March 1737 (old style). We know that Rocque was at first considered one of the two publishers from a *Proposal* that appeared in

Surveyor' and as the author of the 'actual Survey'. But the map was 'Engraved by John Pine, Bluemantle Pursuivant at Arms and Chief Engraver of Seals, &c. to His Majesty', and was to be had at his premises 'at the Golden Head against Burlington House, Piccadilly' and from 'John Tinney at the Golden Lion, Fleet Street'.[4] In addition the inscription 'Published by John Pine & John Tinney in October 1746 according to Act of Parliament' was engraved on each of the twenty-four sheets.[5] It appears that from about this time, Rocque stopped engraving his own work. As we have noted already however, with the exception of this 24-sheet London map, Rocque managed to exercise a very close control over the graphical appearance of all of his works despite this change in working practice.

This chapter will concern itself with two principal subjects. The first may be referred to as a narrative description or re-assessment (for this has been a much-studied subject)[6] of how the London map came to be made, and most importantly, how Rocque emerged, with the support of the learned members of the Society of Antiquaries and the Royal Society, as its surveyor. The

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c.1740, and is reproduced in Hyde 'The making of John Rocque's map' iv, based on a copy in Chetham Library, Manchester.

[4] Tinney (c.1706-61), like Pine, about whom more will be said below, was an engraver-publisher, who had ceased engraving by the time the London map appeared, pers. comm. Laurence Worms; cf. Timothy Clayton, 'Tinney, John (*c.*1706–1761)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27467, accessed 22 Jan 2008].

[5] The information and cited quotes come from the title of the map which appears in a cartouche spanning sheets D3 and E3, and is reproduced in its entirety, along with many other helpful transcriptions from the later *Index* to the London map, published by Pine and Tinney in 1747 [?], in Henry Wheatley, 'Rocque's plan of London' *London Topographical Record* IX (1914), 15.

[6] The principal commentaries on the making of Rocque's *London* 1747 map are Henry Wheatley, 'Rocque's plan of London', *London Topographical Record*, IX (1914): 15-28; Ralph Hyde, 'The making of John Rocque's map' as cited above (note 2); Ralph Hyde, 'Portraying London mid-century: John Rocque and the Brothers Buck' in *London 1753*, edited by Sheila O'Connell (London: The British Museum Press, 2003), 28-38.

second concern of this chapter will be a short critical assessment of the London map, in terms of city mapping in the 18th century and before, and in terms of earlier maps of London. Any lessons that can be learned from this assessment of Rocque's London map – for which there is a reasonable quantity of records and contemporary commentary – will equip us better to understand the making of the Dublin map, which is the subject of the next chapter.

3.1 Narrative

3.1.1 How Rocque came to make the London map: antiquarian and other contexts

The most important commentary on the creation of Rocque's London maps comes from Ralph Hyde, the former keeper of maps in the Guildhall Library, London, in two articles published in 1982 and in 2003 respectively.[7] These are based on a thorough reading of the maps themselves, especially the text therein, and most importantly an assemblage of most if not all of the related advertisements, proposals and announcements made by the publishers on the subject in contemporary newspapers, as the map was in development. What follows will entail a very brief rehearsal of some of that, alongside some slight re-interpretations of the facts, as the analysis therein is very sound. However, one substantive aspect of the narrative deserves re-assessment, one that provides an important possible insight into the methodology used in creating the map, especially as it pertains to the surveying, of which Rocque was in charge. That is to do with the role of Peter Davall, the then Secretary of the Royal Society, before and during the map's creation.

It was Hyde who first discovered the early but aborted role that the antiquarian engraver, George Vertue, played in the gestation of the London map.[8] This fact appeared in a very short quote from a diary belonging to

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[7] See note 2 & 6 above.

[8] Hyde 'The making of John Rocque's map', v.

William Oldys (an antiquary and herald)[9] who, with his friend 'Mr Ames', met George Vertue in Leicester Square in March 1738: 'Went to Leicester Square with Mr. Ames, and saw Mr. Vertue there, and had some discourse about his grand design of an Ichnographical Survey, or Map of London and all the suburbs; but Mr. Rocque and he are not yet come to an agreement.'[10] Vertue was an engraver of significant reputation at this time, whose key interests lay in antiquarian matters, as might be demonstrated perhaps by this overly serious and old-fashioned-looking engraving of *The Royal Procession of Queen Elizabeth* (Fig. 3.3).[11] Vertue was a member of the Society of Antiquaries, and had himself already engraved a number of London maps: one in 1723 depicting London just after the 1666 Great Fire (Fig. 3.4), and another, which he engraved on pewter, was based on the so-called 'Agas' map of c.1560, which he presented to the Society of Antiquaries in March 1737, just a year before his conversations with Rocque.[12] Notably, however, neither of these maps was based on an original survey, and this was evidently where the need was greatest, and explains no doubt, why Vertue had approached Rocque in relation to the survey rather than the engraving.

It seems remarkable that Rocque, whose qualifications as a surveyor to date were confined to estate maps, should be the only person present in London at this time, deemed capable of carrying such an enormous undertaking to fruition, as indeed he did. We shall see when we come to analyse the maps in relation to others published in London over the preceding eighty years or so since the Great Fire, that there had been times when there was no such shortage of surveying expertise in London. Most notable was John Ogilby and

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[9] Paul Baines, 'Oldys, William (1696–1761)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20699, accessed 18 Jan 2008].

[10] In James Yeowell (ed.) *A literary antiquary: memoir of William Oldys, Esq. Norroy King-at-arms, together with his diary.* (London: Spottiswoode & Co, 1862), 19.

[11] Timothy Clayton, *The English print 1688-1802* (London: Yale University Press, 1997), 172.

[12] Hyde 'Portraying London', 28.

William Morgan's *A Large and Accurate Map of the City of London*, 1676 (Fig. 3.5), which is a detailed and most plausible house-by-house map of the area of central London (Fig. 3.6). It too was an ichnographical plan, and Hyde in his article on the Ogilby map has shown the scientific context from which it emerged: 'It was inevitable that Ogilby, moving in the same circle as Hooke, Wren, and Flamsteed [John 1646-1719] , daily coming into contact with Fellows of the Royal Society, should have adopted the most mathematically precise and scientific surveying methods.'[13] The core of this was the ichnographical, or what we might call orthographic, plan of the city, as opposed to the kinds of bird's-eye map views, more prevalent at this time, and indeed during much of the first half of the 18th century. Amongst those who assisted on Ogilby & Morgan's post-Fire survey was William Leybourn, author of the popular and multi-edition textbook on surveying techniques – the *Compleat Surveyor* (first published in 1653)[14] – as well as the great polymath Gregory King, who had claimed to have played a key role in the decision to survey the 1676 map in such detail.[15] It is likely, as I will argue below, that Leybourn's book, or other similar texts, were likely to have been the foundation for the greater part of Rocque's own methodology.

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13 Ralph Hyde, 'The Ogilby and Morgan survey of the city of London - 1676' in *A large and accurate map of the city of London ichnographically describing all the streets, lanes, alleys, courts, yards, churches halls and houses, &c actually surveyed and delineated, by John Ogilby, Esq; His Majesties Cosmographer*, (Lympne Castle, Kent: Harry Margary in association with Guildhall Library, London, 1976), vii.

14 William Leybourn, *The compleat surveyor: or, the whole art of surveying of land, by a new instrument lately invented;. Containing plain and easy directions in several kinds of mensurations,. By William Leybourn. The whole altered and amended, The fifth edition, in IX books. and an appendix. by Samuel Cunn* (London: 1722).

15 Ralph Hyde, 'The Ogilby and Morgan survey of the city of London - 1676' in *A large and accurate map of the city of London ichnographically describing all the streets, lanes, alleys, courts, yards, churches halls and houses, &c actually surveyed and delineated, by John Ogilby, Esq; His Majesties Cosmographer*, (Lympne Castle, Kent: Harry Margary in association with Guildhall Library, London, 1976), 5.

Ogilby's 1676 map was expanded upon – albeit on a smaller scale, this time without indicating each and every house plot – in William Morgan's 1682 map of the whole city and its suburbs (Fig. 3.7).[16] This would become the standard from which all later maps of London (until Rocque's) would be based.[17] There would be no new surveys until that begun by Rocque in late 1738, and completed in 1747. Even for maps on a large scale of smaller areas, it would appear that standards had deteriorated considerably by the early 18th century if we are to judge by the map of the parish of Westminster (1720), which appears in Strype's *Survey of London*.[18] Compare a detail from this illustrating the plan of Burlington House to the same detail as depicted in the Rocque/Pine map of 1747. (Figs 3.8 & 2.56).

Hyde has plausibly suggested that as Rocque was in receipt of patronage from Frederick, prince of Wales, in connection with the Hampton Court map – although as I have already pointed out the evidence for direct patronage in all of these cases is circumstantial and not backed-up to date by documentary evidence – Vertue who was also briefly in this circle came across Rocque in this way.[19] However, remarkably, by the time the first public announcement had been made regarding plans for the map – in an undated Proposal of c. 1740 – Vertue had been inexplicably dropped from the project and replaced by his rival, the even more celebrated engraver, John Pine (1690-1756).[20]

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16 *London &c. Actually Surveyed*

17 Hyde 'Portraying London', 28-9 lists an edition by Morden and Lea in c.1692, other dated to c. 1720, of which one was in the possession of Vertue, another slightly updated by George Willdey in 1732, and indeed an edition without revisions published by Thomas Jefferys (who had purchased the plates) in c.1749-50.

18 John Strype, The Parish of St James's Westminster [1720]. Guildhall Library, Corporation of London, reproduced in Todd Longstaffe-Gowan, *The London town garden 1740-1840* (London: Yale University Pres, 2001), 14.

19 Hyde, 'Portraying London', 28.

20 *A Proposal, by John Rocque, Surveyor, and John Pine, Engraver, For Engraving and Printing, by Subscription, a New, Accurate, and Comprehensive Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and*

Pine, like Vertue, was an engraver who specialised in antiquarian and heraldic subjects (Fig. 3.9). It has been argued that John Pine was much better placed, almost than anyone at this time, to secure patronage through subscriptions.[21] The list of patrons to John Pine's edition of *Horace* – a technical *tour de force* in which the entire text was engraved rather than created by moveable type – was one of the great subscribers lists of its era.[22] The subscribers list to the London 1747 map, which appeared with the *Alphabetical Index*, reflects equally well Pine's position in society (Fig. 3.10). Top of the list here are names such as Frederick, the Prince of Wales, and his brother William, the Duke of Cumberland, and those from the higher echelons of English society who might be attracted to the work of one of the most famous members of the Slaughter House Inn clique of artists.[23] Incidentally, although there is no documentary evidence for Rocque being directly linked to this group, his use of the rococo style, and the types of estates that he chose to work on, as well as the ultimate choice of partner – John Pine – suggests a strong likelihood of such an association. Next on the Subscribers List is Hardwicke (1690-1764), the Lord Chancellor, a leading Whig, and one who is reputed to have been at

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Borough of Southwark with the contiguous Buildings, from an actual Survey thereof copy in Chetham's Library, Manchester, reproduced in Hyde 'The making of John Rocque's map', iv.

21 Hyde, 'Portraying London', 30; cf. Prescott article (as cited below), who also makes the connection between Pine and the issue of patronage.

22 'The subscription list printed at the beginning of the book [John Pine's *Horace* published in 1733] must be one of the most illustrious of its kind, naming the great and the good from every corner of Europe, including the kings of England, Spain, and Portugal.' Susan Sloman, 'Pine, John (1690–1756)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22293, accessed 22 Jan 2008].

23 Hyde, 'Portraying London', 32, lists 'eighteen Dukes, ninety-six Lords, the Lord Mayor of London and six other Aldermen' amongst the many subscribers. Compare this to the numerical analysis of the Subscribers List to the 1756 Dublin map, discussed in Chapter 4 below.

the heart of Royal Society politics and patronage.[24] Hogarth and Pine were close friends, the former most famously portraying the latter (against his wishes) as a merry friar in his *Gate of Calais* engraving of 1749.[25] Indeed Andrew Prescott – admittedly in a journal exclusively dedicated to the subject – has described his Masonic connections as being at the heart of Pine's access to elite patronage.[26] Responsible each year (from 1725 to 1741) for updating the lists of lodges, all engraved, and with accompanying heraldic signs appropriate to each lodge, Pine had an intimate connection with all of the lodges and their members. Amongst those listed by Prescott as having been members of Masonic Lodges in London at this time were William Hogarth, at the Lodge of the Hand and Apple Tree Inn at Little Queen Street; John, the 2nd Duke of Montagu, who was the 'first nobleman to serve as Grand Master of the Grand Lodge in London'; and James Thornhill, the painter who is said to have exerted a key influence in Pine's professional life. Frederick, the Prince of Wales, who headed the subscribers list both of the *Horace* and the *London* map of 1747, was a freemason too.

Whatever of Vertue and Pine's respective merits as image makers, the London 1747 map is one of the Pine's most important and significant works. One wonders how he might have perceived the commission in the context of his other works at this time. Certainly the London map was of huge political and historical importance. We might consider merely some of the uses to which

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[24] David Philip Miller, 'The "Hardwicke Circle": the Whig Supremacy and its demise in the eighteenth-century Royal Society" *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 52, no. 1 (January 1998), 73-91.

[25] Hyde, 'Portraying London', p. 30 & Fig. 7.

[26] Andrew Prescott, 'John Pine (1690-1756): engraver and freemason' (Lecture given to 3rd International Conference 2001: Canonbury Masonic Research Centre, 3-4 November 2001) downloaded in December 2007 from feemasonry.dept.shef.ac.uk/pdf/crfessays.pdf. Prescott also points out in the same article that Martin Folkes, the President of the Royal Society, while the map was being made and a co-signatory of the affidavits in favour of the map, was also a Grand Master of the Freemasons, and it was likely through this route also that Pine secured this crucial Royal Society support.

the *Alphabetical index* itself suggested the map might be put. The map – or sheets thereof – was of use to both strangers [tourists or visitors] for finding their bearings:

> 'The Undertakers [of this map] can only say that they have used their utmost Endeavours to make it answer both Ends: to be a sure Guide to the Street-Traveller, and an accurate Scale to the political Calculator. As a Guide to Strangers, the most common Use of a Map or Plan, such Degrees of Exactness are necessary, as may shew the true Bearings, Extent, and Proportions, of the several Streets, Lanes, Alleys, &c. as well as the Figure and Dimensions of remarkable Buildings. No Place or Object of Importance should be omitted, either in the Draught or the Description: In a Word, the Ground Plot should be so laid down, that the most incurious Observer cannot well mistake when he looks for Information…'[27]

and for citizens who sought to manage the public realm or their private estates

> 'the particular Uses that may be made of this Plan, in tracing out the Boundaries of Parishes, measuring the Contents of Estates, and for various other Purposes equally advantageous and entertaining, are so obvious, that it seems needless to enumerate them. Private Gentlemen and publick Companies will perceive how much it concerns them to be possessed of such a Companion and Assistant..'.[28]

Yet for all the use that this would be to those interested in the metropolis, Rocque hardly gets a mention in contemporary biographies of artists, scientist or antiquarians. Perhaps this was because of his status as a craftsman. Rocque

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[27] Pine & Tinney *Alphabetical Index*, p. iv.

[28] Pine & Tinney, *Alphabetical Index*, p. iv.

was a craftsman engraver, but also one who had surveyed a map of the greatest metropolis in the west at this time. However for all his achievements he may yet not have been perceived as a cartographer, as the word was understood at this time. Indeed as was noted in the previous chapter, he never once used the expression about himself in any of his publications. He was not of that learned profession of map projectors – to the extent that such a profession existed outside of Paris – despite the level of his achievement. It should be noted too that Rocque continued with a series of parallel and sometimes extremely ambitious cartographical works during the making of the 1747 London map. The most ambitious of these was his 16-sheet map of *London and Ten Miles Around* (Fig. 3.11), which encompasses many large estates which Rocque seemed to have specially measured for this map, and which he managed to complete (in 1746) before the publication of the 24-sheet map published by Pine and Tinney. Rocque published the 1746 map himself, and the engraver he used was Richard Parr. Parr was also the engraver on Rocque's map of Lyon (closely based on a Seraucourt original) published also in 1746.[29] More important are the maps of other cities based on original surveys by Rocque himself which he published during this time: Bristol in 1743 (engraved by Pine) (Figs 2.54 & 3.12), Exeter in 1744 (engraved by Richard White), and Shrewsbury in 1746 (once again engraved by Richard Parr). As noted in the last chapter the cartographic idiom in the Bristol map, although it was engraved by Pine, was absolutely in keeping with the one used by Rocque in all of his other work. However some of the aesthetic aspects of the border and cartouche design resemble closely those of the 1747 London map over which Rocque exercised much less influence. It is worth noting too in terms of the

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[29] *PLAN DE LION / Levé par le S.r C: SERAUCOURT / Verifié et Orienté par le R.P. GREGOIRE / de LION. R. Parr sculp. TO / PHILIP FUHR Esq.r / this Plan of LION / is humbly Inscrib'd by his most hum.ble Serv.t / J: Rocque. / 1746.* MapForum cat. 33. The original Seraucourt map: *PLAN GÉOMETRAL DE LA VILLE DE LYON / Levé et Gravé par Claude Seraucourt verifié et orienté par le R.P. GRÉGOIRE de Lyon / Religieux de Tiers-ordre de S.t Francois. en 1735.* is to be found in copies in TCD Fagel Portfolio XXV 26; and BL K.68.6.2 Tab, as considered by this author.

volume of his output, that right at the beginning of the process of creating the city map of London, Rocque also completed a manuscript town-plan survey of the village of Wrington in the Mendips in Somerset.[30]

Of principal concern to us then might be how the surveying of the London map came to pass. How indeed did Rocque bring to fruition the surveying of the London 1747 map, whatever about all of the other publications he made during this time? Considering Rocque's lack of qualifications, at least in terms of the scale of this undertaking, and notwithstanding the apparent paucity of others in England with anything resembling better qualifications, Rocque was deemed by his contemporaries, at least in the guise of some of the leading members of the Society of Antiquaries (Vertue) and of the Royal Society (Folkes and Davall) as best placed to survey this vast burgeoning city. Perhaps this was because he was a Frenchman, deemed to have an appropriate *savoir fair* merely because of his consanguinity to those who did know these things. As I have demonstrated already, the idiom Rocque used – a sophisticated series of varied micro-lines used to distinguish between different types of ground, types of buildings, as well as between negative space and positive objects, and one in which everything is given some graphical treatment, that is consistent in meaning across different maps – may have attracted him to those who understood the progress that French cartography had made during the previous fifty years or so. If this was the case, it is at least consistent with the desire of one of the principal actors to emulate a thoroughly French approach to surveying, as we shall presently see.

3.1.2 How Rocque made the London map

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[30]'A Survey of Wrington Tything, belonging to the Rt. Hon. Wm. Pulteney, Esq., taken and drawn by John Rocque, 1738'. Original map lent by Mr. P.F. Bennett, Wrington, and now in Bristol Records Office. (Ref. 22160 (1-3), according to Members of a University of Bristol Extra-Mural class held at the John Locke Hall Wrington (ed.) *Wrington Village Records* (Bristol: University of Bristol, 1969), 44; Ralph Hyde, 'The making of John Rocque's map', v-viii, vi.

The method used – the surveying techniques, and the ideas that informed them – may be recovered from the surviving sources and a little bit of educated guess work. Such an understanding may help in our later attempt – viz the Dublin map – to inform ourselves as to the levels of mapping accuracy in a particular Rocque map. This is one of the principal goals of the thesis, a set of parameters of reliability by which a Rocque map, particularly the Dublin map, might be read. The approach to surveying, which I think can be fairly guessed at according to what follows, has implications for the levels of accuracy, or dependability, as one ranges across the map. This is something hinted at in Bill Frazer's article on the Dublin map: a hierarchy of dedication to detail, at its lowest in some of the minor streets of the Liberties, at its highest in several of the city's grandest areas.[31] The figure who turns out to be key in our understanding of all of this, will be Peter Davall, who at the time the map was published, was Secretary to the Royal Society.

Davall's part in the piece is signalled by two facts. The first was the series of corroborating statements he made in conjunction with the President of the Royal Society, Martin Folkes, while the map was being surveyed. These statements, which first appeared in newspaper advertisements during the years when the map was being prepared, were reproduced by Pine and Tinney in their *Alphabetical Index* which appeared in late 1747. These affidavits came on the back of Davall's actually partaking in, indeed supervising, some of the most important measurements as they took place over the course of the nine-year preparation of the London map. The second aspect of Davall's involvement was his own twenty-year campaign for such a map to be made, as demonstrated by the published statements he had already made on the matter, some ten years before this particular map of London was first mooted by George Vertue. It is the opinion of the present author that some of his key comments in his article of 1728 accompanied by what we know from Pine and Rocque's own documentation of the making of the map, are enough to

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[31] Bill Frazer, 'Cracking Rocque?', *Archaeology Ireland*, 18, no. 2 (2004): 10-14.

establish a clear methodology used by them while making the London map. No doubt, the essence of this technique was also re-applied during the making of the Dublin map.

Davall (1695–1763) was a barrister with a strong amateur bent towards science and mathematics.[32] He had been a student of the great statistician and mathematician Abraham de Moivre,[33] and was later the Secretary to the Royal Society.[34] He assisted George Parker, the earl of Macclesfield, in his successful campaign for the adoption of the Gregorian calendar in 1752. According to David Philip Miller, Davall 'drew up the Bill and prepared most of the astronomical tables'. He was also a key member of the Hardwicke circle in the Royal Society, which appeared to have close control of patronage and the direction that the Society took at this time.[35] As noted Davall was the author (with Martin Folkes the President of the Royal Society) of a pair of crucial affidavits in support of the Rocque/Pine enterprise.[36] Their detailed statements, and those from the map-makers themselves, are extremely useful in coming to an understanding of some of the ventures and misadventures that took place during the making of the map, and of many of the details to do with the surveying of the map in particular. However Davall had already made detailed statements on the issue of mapping London in a pair of articles published in the Royal Society Journal which presaged the Rocque London map, and outlined a methodology which has been until now overlooked in this

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32 David Lemmings, *Professors of the law: barristers and English legal culture in the 18th century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000): 'although Davall had been a bencher and a treasurer at the Temple Inn, his practice rarely interrupted his activities in the Royal Society, obviously his principal interest', 161 & n. 46.

33 David R. Bellhouse & Ghristian Genest, 'Maty's biography of Abraham De Moivre, translated annotated and augmented' *Statistical Science* 22, no. 1 (2007), 131 & n. 94.

34 Davall was Secretary from 1747-52 according to the Royal Society's website: http://royalsociety.org/page.asp?id=1725 accessed January 23, 2008.

35 Miller 'The "Hardwicke Circle" ', 83.

36 Both reproduced by Pine and Tinney in their *Alphabetical Index* 1747.

context. Both these articles and his published interventions during the making of the London map will be dealt with shortly.

A word should go first, as it is how Pine and Rocque first appeared on the scene in this matter,[37] to their relationship with London Corporation and the manner of that body's support for the map. The commercial benefits to having such a map were clear to the aldermen of the city. Their support for the map, presented to them in a rough draft by John Pine at a meeting of 16 October 1739, was generous and unequivocal, although not financial at this stage. The boundaries of city wards were a key concern, and they asked that they be included on the map. In turn all assistance by city employees and officials would be given. Nothing like that level of interest or practical assistance was given to Rocque by the equivalent assembly in Dublin. The advertisement in the *London Daily Post and General Advertiser* insists, by direction of Lord Mayor [Micajah] Perry, that 'the several Deputies, Common-Council-Men, and other Citizens, and Inhabitants of this City, … be assisting to the said Mess. Rocque and Pine, in the Prosecution of so useful a Design; and the said Deputies and Common-Council-Men of the several Wards of this City, are desired to give Directions to their respective Beadles, to inform the said Mess. Rocque and Pine, from Time to Time, as they shall apply, of the Boundaries and Extent of each Ward, that the Liberties of this City may be the more exactly set out and ascertained, in the said Plan.'[38] The gathering of names of streets alone – up to 5,000 according to Hyde – was a gargantuan task.[39] Their approach to this task was conscientious and scientific, based on

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[37] As already noted Pine delivered a manuscript draft of the map to the Aldermen of London Corporation on the 16 October 1739, and was given permission by them to publish their response in the *London Daily Post and General Advertiser* (Hyde 'The making of John Rocque's map', v.)

[38] *Alphabetical Index* quoting the directions given by the Lord Mayor in 17 October, 1739, and as announced in the *London Daily Post and General Advertiser.*

[39] Hyde, 'The making of John Rocque's map', vi. This 5,000 street names compares to only c. 600 on the Dublin map, based on a rough count of the names in index to Paul Ferguson (ed.)

an original survey of names, *in situ*, which was tested and revised. Thus, according to the *Architectural Index*:

> 'Every Part was not only actually surveyed, but the Name of each Spot was collected on the very Place, and not taken from any former Account. By this Means we have obviated all the Difficulties that might have arisen with Regard to Spelling or Pronunciation, and reduced the whole to the Standard of Custom, which is the only certain Rule on such Occasions. But at the same Time these Names are compared with those in former Accounts, and where any great Disagreement was found, Enquiry was made into the Cause of it, and the Truth cleared up with as much Exactness as possible.'

This kind of street names work, this rigour, anticipates by eighty years or more that of the Ordnance Survey as demonstrated for example in their 'Name books' preserved in the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.[40]

The assistance of the London Corporation was practical, but not financial, although there would be a gift of £50 to Pine and Tinney on the final presentation to them of the map in late 1746.[41] Nor was there any financial patronage of any significant amount for the creation of the map, either from the sovereign or members of the aristocracy, the city. Nor indeed did any financial remuneration hail from the Royal Society, although as we shall see, this body was of great practical and promotional assistance to the production. There is indeed a side-swipe at this lack of substantial support in the *Alphabetical Index*: 'Tho Berlin, in Comparison of London, be but a small City, the making a Plan of it is at this Time thought worthy the Care of a Minister of State, and the Patronage of a King who is an avowed Encourager of Useful

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The A to Z of Georgian Dublin (Lympne Castle, Kent: Harry Margary in association with Trinity College Library Dublin, 1998).

[40] Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, Ms Orndance Survey Field Name Books.

[41] Hyde, 'The making of John Rocque's map', p. vii & fn. 17.

Undertakings.'[42] However they go on to acknowledge the subscribers – who would pay 3 guineas each for the map – and note that 'we have done what Mr. Maitland thought was impracticable by a Subscription.' In his preface to his *History of London* 1739, as also partly transcribed in the *Alphabetical Index*, Maitland had stated that if he had a decent map of the great city he would have included it in his *History of London* – but all were 'very defective, and perhaps the worst of the Kind extant, the best of them would rather be a Disgrace than an Embellishment to the Work…'. Again in another swipe at those who otherwise might support such a project Maitland had said:

> 'And as it cannot be reasonably imagined, that the vast Expence, which would necessarily attend the making a new and accurate Survey of this great City and Suburbs, can be raised by Subscription; such an Undertaking is only fit for the Citizens in their publick Capacity, or some generous and publick spirited Person of Fortune, who has the Honour and Grandeur of this incomparable Metropolis at Heart.'[43]

This continues to be one of the most remarkable and still largely unexplained features of all of Rocque's work, and perhaps most notable in this map of London in particular. Setting out on such an enormous endeavour, to undertake and underwrite the surveying of a city on this scale, and to this level of accuracy, as well as the enormous expense of buying copper plates, having them engraved, and printed, was all done by means of the single guinea collected upon subscription, with the rest being paid upon delivery of the maps. No doubt there were many sales afterwards to non-subscribers. Single sheets of the map, when completed, were sold as such, there being a great interest amongst the public no doubt in a map of their own area. And this must have helped somewhat. It is no surprise that Rocque needed to join forces with Pine, and eventually – no doubt because he had over-reached

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[42] *Alphabetical Index*, p. iv.

[43] Quoted by Pine and Tinney in their *Alphabetical Index*, p. iv.

himself in carrying out so many contemporaneous publications – was squeezed out of the final publishing and replaced by John Tinney. However, in nearly all other cases Rocque raised funds for the rest of his projects in this way, i.e. by means of subscription. In nearly all other instances, without any evidence of real patronage, or indeed of investment by other map-makers. Conger publications were very common in the book publishing world, less so amongst map-makers,[44] but aside from the London map with Pine and Tinney, and the very brief liaison with John Bowles for the first edition of Rocque's Richmond estate maps, there are almost no other joint ventures in the rest of Rocque's map-making *oeuvre*. However we might also say, based on the explicit statement of the case by Pine and Tinney, that Rocque was likely in a similar fashion to have relied exclusively on subscriptions – as opposed to substantial patronage – in all of his works, including for the Dublin map. This is in keeping with the lack of evidence to date of any payments to Rocque amongst the papers of the gentry whose estates he published. We might also discount any such patron for the Dublin map, despite Rocque's ingenuous, 'Being sollicited by many of the Nobility and Gentry' remark in a proposal for that map, dating to 1754.[45]

The other significant supporter during the creation of the map, as already noted, was the Royal Society. It was through them for example that a theodolite built by the Strand-based mathematical and astronomical instrument-maker Jonathan Sisson (?1690-1747)[46], was given to Rocque for the survey. Indeed in one of Rocque's characteristic visual devices to promote the authenticity of his technique, the taking of angles from a steeple was

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44 The meaning and significance of Conger publications will be discussed and explained in Section 4.1.4.2 below.

45 Advertisement or Proposal for Rocque's 1756 *Exact Survey…of Dublin* , published in September. From copy in TCD OO.a.59 no. 1.

46 Derek Howse, 'Sisson, Jonathan (1690?–1747)', rev. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37970, accessed 4 Feb 2008].

illustrated in a vignette on his *London and Ten Miles Around* map of 1746 (Fig. 3.13). This image closely resembles another illustration of Rocque as 'surveyor at work', in the scale-bar cartouche for the 1756 Dublin map (Fig. 3.14). It is however strange that in nearly all Rocque's own illustrations of himself,[47] as surveyor at work with one of these instruments, the instrument in question had some sort of sights added, which are more reminiscent of the more conservative circumferentor than the up-to-date theodolite mentioned in the *Alphabetical Index*. (Figs. 3.13-15).[48] For example if we compare the contemporaneous image of a surveyor at work – that of Rocque upon the church tower – to a photograph of a surviving theodolite built by Sisson, Rocque's is a kind of hybrid instrument. Some kind of vertical sights to be found on circumferentors are present (see Fig. 3.17), but a very noticeable crescent-shaped feature is prominent both in the Rocque image and in the image of Sisson's theodolite in the Science Museum (compare Fig. 3.13 to 3.16). Thus it is not absolutely clear from the illustrations at least, what kind of instrument Rocque was using.

The illustration of the use of the theodolite itself would be an important clue for us as to their method, if we did not hear so much on the subject in their own various pronouncements on the map. A theodolite implies the measurement of angles and the use of trigonometry for triangulation, although the latter word is not actually used. The *Alphabetical Index* leaves us in do

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[47] Of course these are illustrations of a surveyor, and not necessarily John Rocque himself. There is a strong familial similarity between all of the surveyor figures, the long-tailed coat, the 3-cornered hat, and most notably, by means of a combination of what can be seen in four of the images, what seems to be a long pony-tail tied into place by a large dark ribbon of sorts. See Figs 3.13, 3.15, 3.19 & 3.20.

[48] The third of these images (Fig. 3.15) is taken from one of the Kildare estate maps carried out while Rocque was in Ireland from 1754-60, and J.H. Andrews, *Plantation acres: an historical study of the Irish land surveyor and his maps* (Omagh: Ulster Historical Foundation, 1985), 308 has pointed out that this seems to have been a later modification. In fact this instrument, otherwise most closely resembles the Sisson theodolite in the Science Museum, illustrated in Fig. 3.16.

doubt, however, that this was their method, albeit in combination with chain measurements on the street:

> 'The Method followed in making this Survey, has been by ascertaining the Position and Bearings of the Churches and other remarkable Buildings, by Trigonometrical and other Observations from the Tops of Steeples, Towers, and other Places, whence such Buildings are visible; by taking the Angles at the Corners of Streets, &c. with proper Instruments, and measuring the Distances by the Chain: And by comparing, from Time to Time, the Position of Places, found by this last Method, with the general Observations before-mentioned, so as to correct the one by the other.'

Some confusion in the exact working technique, however, is thrown up by Davall & Folkes's statements on the subject. Measuring angles by means of the new more sophisticated and highly accurate theodolite from steeples and towers, implies triangulation as noted. But it depended – as this above passage suggests – upon a clear line of sight between one station and another. An overarching system of triangulation only was not appropriate at this time, or would have been far too complicated, for measuring on the ground. Triangulation was strictly done by means of angles only, that is after an initial base line was measured and verified. No other measurements of lengths needed to be made. The angles between all stations visible to each other would be measured (by means of the theodolite) and by means of trigonometry and the associated mathematical tables, the distances and the orientation of each point, one to another, could be established with considerable accuracy. Indeed, until later in the century, it was the limitation of the accuracy of the instruments rather than any methodology employed by Rocque or other surveyors that delimited the accuracy of the maps.[49] But as pointed out in the

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[49] Josef W Konvitz, *Cartography in France 1660-1848: science, engineering, and statecraft* (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), 2-3.

passage from the *Alphabetical Index* already quoted, there was some compromise between the on-the-street measurement (see Rocque's image of himself using a waywiser Fig. 3.19) and the station to station trigonometrical techniques. The affidavits supplied by Folkes and Davall suggest that this caused them considerable problems.

> 'We cannot… in Justice to Mr Rocque and Mr Pine refuse to acquaint the Publick, that the Finishing of their intended Plan of London and Westminster, has only been *delayed by the more rigid Examination to which they have been desirous to submit the same* [my italics]: And as this has been done with the sole View of presenting it more perfect to the World, they humbly hope their Subscribers will not be displeased with them on that Account.
>
> 'THEY have in our Presence taken the true Bearings of a very great Number of Steeples, and other remarkable Places, from different Stations, with an excellent instrument of Mr. Sisson's; and they have had the proportional Distances of a great many Points in different and very distant Parts of the Town computed trigonometrically, to which Computations they have strictly confined their Map. They have also taken the best Methods they were able to make Use of, for the adjusting to it a true Scale: *And whereas some of the Distances calculated by Trigonometry were found to differ somewhat, though not very considerably, from the same Distances before collected from the Mensuration of the Streets; they have not thought much of the Trouble of drawing the main Plan over again, before they began to engrave* [my italics]; and which last they have deferred till we could venture to give them this additional Recommendation, by which we assure those it may concern, that we are well satisfied the Work will be carefully performed and therefore well deserves their Favour and Encouragement.'
>
> M. FOLKES

P. DAVALL. London, July 24, 1742.[50]

There seems to be an implication here that a good deal of the overall plan, or skeleton of the city plan, had already been essayed before the application, or perhaps a *correct* application, of the results of the measures of the angles taken at the various stations with the theodolite. Some comments by the Royal Society men forced a re-think mid-project and a complete re-drafting of the map, before it went to the engravers. The above final recommendation of the pair of Royal Society scientists, given in July 1742, appears to have been conditional upon these alterations being made.

Context for all of this, both in terms of the historical and polemical milieu from which the map emerged, as well as a partial explanation for the way in which this combination of techniques was conceived, if not operated, is given by Davall's article published by the Royal Society in 1728, some ten years before work on the Rocque/Pine map was begun.[51] Davall's was a reaction to an article published by the great Paris map-maker Guillaume Delisle, some three years earlier. In 1725 Delisle had claimed that his map of Paris published in 1716 (Fig. 3.21),[52] had finally proven that Paris was bigger than London and in this way showed that Paris was the most important metropolis in Europe at this time.[53] This had implications at the time, not only in terms of the relative

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50 *Alphabetical Index*, p. vi.

51 Peter Davall, 'Some reflections on Mr. De Lisle's comparison of the magnitude of Paris with London and several other cities, printed in the memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris for the year 1725, communicated in a letter to Dr. Rutty, Secretary to the Royal Society, by Peter Davall, of the Middle Temple, Esq.' *Philosophical Transactions (1683-1775)* 35 (1727-28): 432-36.

52 Guillaume Delísle, *Plan de la Ville et Faubourgs de Paris* (Paris: Guillaume Delísle sur le Quai de l'Orloge, June 1716).

53 M[r Guillaume] Delísle, l'Aîné, 'Examen et comparaison de la grandeur de Paris, de Londres, et de quelques autres villes du monde, anciennes et modernes' *Memoires de l'Académie royale des Sciences* (1725): 48-57. It is worth noting here also that the controversy was still a live one when Pine and Tinney published their index in November 1747 (p. iii): 'AFTER all the

sizes of the two cities, but also in terms of the implied status of their scientific communities, and their relative abilities to map their domains.[54] Davall scrutinised Delisle's technique in great detail and found an error in his manner of calculation. This, according to Davall, was based on Delisle's 'false' assumption that at the Parallel of Paris, 20 degrees of Longitude was equal to 15 degrees of Latitude. This relationship of 1:75, Davall adjusted to one of 1:6580326, and on this basis the proportions of the two cities would be instead Paris 56:60 London, rather than the 63:60 (favouring Paris) Delisle had given. The details are less important here, just as, in fact, whether or not the calculation was true. However, the result was Davall's call, in the same article, for 'a more exact mensuration of London than any we yet have'. This was one of the more important polemical contexts for the ultimate creation of the 1747 map. However, what has been overlooked is Davall's surprising recommendation in the same article that whoever should undertake such a survey could not 'follow a better Method than that Mr de Lisle has taken'.[55] So while registering his protest at the implications Delisle had drawn from his 1716 Paris map, he nevertheless clearly recommends the use of Delisle's technique for the surveying of a map of London.

Demonstrations which Englishmen think they have given to the contrary, the French still retain their Prejudices in Favour of their beloved Paris. The Abbé le Blanc, the last Gentleman of that Nation who has visited us and published his Remarks, in spite of his good Sense, cannot help discovering his Bias in this Respect.' The Abbé le Blanc had visited England in 1737-8, and had published his disparaging remarks in *Lettres d'un Francais concernant le gouvernement, la politique et les mceurs des Anglais et des Francais.*' See J Lough, '*Un voyageur-philosophe au XVIIIe siècle: l'abbé Jean-Bernard Le Blanc* by Hélène Monod-Cassidy' *The Modern Language Review* 38, no. 4 (October 1943): 365-66.

[54] Cf. Stéphane Van Damme, 'Measuring the scientific greatness: the recognition of Paris in European enlightenment' (Lecture given to Enlightenment Seminar: Voltaire Foundation, University of Oxford, 9 February 2004), http://www.mfo.ac.uk/recherche/module/Histoire/LectureParisphilocapital.pdf viewed 12th February, 2008.

[55] Davall 'Reflections', 436.

Some note may thus be given to Delisle's method for surveying the Paris map, especially because of the close involvement of Davall himself in the preparation and measurements for the London survey during the years 1738-47. There were two articles of note published by Delisle on this subject in 1720 and 1725 respectively. Guillaume Delisle (1675-1726) introduced into French map-making an altogether new academic and empirical rigour. Deference was given to information and sources, ancient and modern, only in so far as they could be corroborated by other sources to back them up.[56] A compiler of maps rather than a surveyor, he brought a new thoroughness to his use of sources of information, often indeed footnoting his images with references to the sources upon which places were located, how they were named and other geographical information.[57] His principal advance was his original use of the new astronomical findings of the recently founded *Observatoire Royale* and the *Académie Royale des Sciences* as a foundation for his map projections of France, of the world, of North America and in the case in point, of Paris in 1716. Thus location was first dependent on establishing by

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56 The contemporary context was the so-called 'Battle of the Books' or the debate between the 'Ancients and the Moderns', with Delisle consciously taking the side of the moderns. Previous unmitigated deference to the words of Ptolemy, and the portolan charts of the ancients was being replaced by a new reliance on empirical measurement. This theme would also be played out amongst some of the early to mid-18th-century county map-makers, with Charles Price and John Senex taking a lead on behalf of the empirical moderns, according Laurence Worms, 'The maturing of British commercial cartography: William Faden (1749-1836) and the map trade', *The Cartographic Journal*, 41, no.1 (June 2004), 6.

57 'It was in eighteenth-century France that compilation reached its zenith, first with Guillaume Delisle and later with Jean Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville. Neither put any of his talents into surveying, travelling, engraving, instrument-making or any map-related activity apart from turning primary into secondary statements. Their special merits lay in the quantity, variety and up-to-datedness of their sources, their gift for interpretative analysis, and their unwillingness to be intimidated by the reputations of earlier cartographers ancient or modern.' John Andrews, 'Cunningly compiled' in *Maps in those days*, edited by John Andrews (Forthcoming). I am grateful to John Andrews for allowing me access to a copy of this book in draft form.

these means an exact longitude and latitude, and in this way, an exact position on the globe.

As its title suggests, his astronomical technique was also the foundation for the construction of Delisle's seminal Paris map: *Plan de la Ville et Fauxbourgs de Paris. Dressé sur les Observations Astronomiques de l'Académie Royale des Scicnces* (sic) *et sur les Operations Geom[etrique]s de Guillaume Delisle de la même Académie* (Paris: chez l'Auteur sur le Quai de l'Orloge, juin 1716) (Fig. 3.21).[58] However, the detail, as outlined in Delisle's article of 1725, was founded upon a combination of astronomical techniques, triangulation, and the previous street-by-street mensuration of an earlier map-maker.[59] Unlike Rocque, Delisle did not carry out his own on-the-ground surveys. The baseline for triangulation was the already established Paris Meridian, between the Observatoire and the West Tower of Notre Dame, as can be seen on the map itself. Note that the whole is gridded by parallels and meridians – lines of latitude and longitude – while the key meridian, is emphasised by a bolder line (Fig. 3.22). Interestingly enough, the context for Delisle's plan was also the contemporary debate between the relative sizes of London and Paris. Delisle considered that previous maps were unreliable in regards to the issue of exact size, and so in 1716 decided to draw up a fresh plan. He was very critical of previous work, which was based on street-by-street measurements only: 'que est celle de mesurer les rues, et de prendre les angles à chaque détour, parce qu'alors ces opérations sont si fort multipliées, que pour peu qu'il y ait d'erreur dans chacune, le total ne peut pas étre exact'.[60] In other words a street traverse, in

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[58] Copy in TCD Fagel Portfolio VII, no. 17. Cf. Jean Boutier, Jean-Yves Sarazin, and Marine Sibille, *Les Plans de Paris des origines (1493) à la fin du XVIIIe siècle: étude, carto-bibliographie et catalogue collectif* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2002), 224-5.

[59] M[r Guillaume] Delísle l'Aîné, 'Examen et comparaison de la grandeur de Paris, de Londres, et de quelques autres villes du monde, anciennes et modernes' *Memoires de l'Académie royale des Sciences* (1725): 48-57.

[60] Delísle, 'Examen et comparaison de la grandeur de Paris', p. 50; Jean Boutier, Jean-Yves Sarazin, and Marine Sibille, *Les Plans de Paris des origines (1493) à la fin du XVIIIe siècle: étude, carto-bibliographie et catalogue collectif* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2002), 225.

which measure was made from one junction or turn to another, at which points an angle was taken, and then the next measure and so on from station to station, results in a situation that if there is a single error it is compounded into every subsequent measurement.

Delisle used triangulation instead to establish his overarching framework. For his base line he took the line between the Observatoire and the 'Donjon des Tours de Nôtre-Dame', all the more reliable because it was a line already measured by the Académie. Accompanied by his brother he used a '*demicercle*' graded in minutes to establish the positions of the church towers or spires (*les clochers*) and other points visible from a number of stations: the Observatoire, the towers of Notre Dame, the Luxembourg, the tower of the Bastille, and the principal gates or entrances to the city. Having established this framework of key locations, Delisle filled in the detail based on a previous street traverse and maps of the public quarters made by M. d'Argenson in 1714, which he subjected to his new measures.[61] It was on this basis finally that he was able to measure accurately the extent of the city, and to establish by means of lines of latitude and longitude every 20 degrees, a squared grid, where every location could be identified by a letter/number combination. It was specifically this approach, as outlined in Delisle's 1725 article, that Davall recommended for any future map-maker of London, and based on the fact that Davall was so closely involved in the surveying and the supervision of Rocque's 1747 map, we will do well in considering it as a principal methodological context for the later map.

However, in the first instance there is no indication whatsoever of a knowledge or use of lines of longitude and latitude in the creation of the

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61 'Ces points etant ainsi fixés, je me suis servi pour le détail des Plans que feu M. d'Argenson avoit fair de chaque Quartier de Paris en particulier, & je les ai assujettis à ces mesures': Delísle, 'Examen et comparaison de la grandeur de Paris', p. 50; Boutier *Les Plans de Paris*, 225, identifies the map as one rather made by Jean de La Caille, made in 1714, which in turn appears in Boutier, as catalogue no. 176.

London map, nor reference to astronomical techniques in the *Alphabetical Index* or any of the other related publications. The gridded lines employed on the London map were used as a reference system as in the Paris map, but as regards to astronomy, there the resemblance ends. As argued above in Chapter 1, this fact alone is a strong argument against Rocque's receiving an academic or geographical training in Paris, where Delisle's approach became *de rigueur* after 1716. Delisle was le Premier Géographe du Roi, from 1718,[62] while, as noted in Chapter 2, Rocque never used either the word cartographer or geographer about himself in any of his maps. However, as we have already seen, Rocque certainly established a framework for the overall structure of the map by means of station to station measurements from high visible points, clock towers, city gates etc., just as Delisle had, and used trigonometrical techniques, or triangulation, to tie these together and confirm locations. Something of the difficulties and the revisions ingenuously reported in the *Alphabetical Index* suggests the possibility that this was either an afterthought, or something forced upon them by the Royal Society. In either case there were considerable difficulties reconciling the street-by-street measurements (traverse) and the positions established by means of the triangulation. As noted, this entailed at a late stage a complete revision of the map skeleton. One cannot help surmising that this was Rocque's (and no doubt Pine's, to the extent he was involved) first experience with triangulation. The theodolite came by way of the Royal Society, and the considerable revisions were demanded by Davall and Folkes.

What Rocque no doubt brought to the piece was the filling in of the real street-by-street detail, which Delisle had depended on M. d'Argenson's earlier map for, in his 1716 Paris map. This lower-grade surveying, if we may call it that, must have been in Rocque's bag of professional know-how, if he were in a position to carry out the large estate surveys which were the hallmark of his career up to this. If, as I have argued, Rocque was trained as an engraver, how

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[62] Josephine French (ed.) *Tooley's dictionary of mapmakers: revised edition* 4 vols, (Tring, Hertfordshire: Map Collector Publications, 1999), vol. 1.

did he come by these skills? It seems clear, on the basis of the wide range of well-versed amateurs who engaged in sophisticated county and estate surveys, that this was a skill reasonably easily acquired.[63] There were numerous manuals available at the time, and a small investment in measuring instruments – chains, a rod, and a circumferentor or some type of theodolite for measuring angles – made this skill available to far more than would the seven years of apprenticeship and seven more of being a journeyman, necessary for anyone who might seek to casually learn to engrave. One of the more likely manuals that Rocque might have used was *The Compleat Surveyor* published by William Leybourn first in 1653, in three more editions during his lifetime, and in a fifth edition edited by Samuel Cunn that appeared in 1722.[64] That there were no other significant surveyors at work in London between the heyday of the 1660s to 1680s approximately, and the 1740s, suggests that this manual, or another like it sufficed for anyone at work in this field.

The passages in Leybourn on streets surveying are explicit and relatively easily understood. Leybourn recommended the theodolite or semicircle as being 'more apt and fitter for [the work of surveying streets or lanes in cities or towns] than the Circumferentor', an instrument that relied on the use of a needle compass, and was therefore subject, on such a detailed scale, to a much greater degree of error.[65] It has already been noted that the illustrations of such instruments used by Rocque are ambiguous, appearing closer to the traditional

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[63] '... the types of men who became surveyors [in the period 1725-83] also became more varied, with those known to have been land agents, gardeners and valuers becoming both numerically and proportionally more prevalent. More teachers also surveyed although the proportion of such men did not increase. At a time of increasing religious toleration, the number of surveyors who were nonconformists also grew.' Sarah Bendall (ed.) *Dictionary of land surveyors and local mapmakers of Great Britain and Ireland. 2 vols.* 1997), vol. 1, 41.

[64] Sarah Bendall, 'Leybourn, William (1626–1716)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16623, accessed 14 Feb 2008].

[65] Leybourn *Compleat surveyor*, 110; cf. Andrews *Plantation Acres*, 302ff for his notes on the limitations brought to circumferentor work, because of the use of the compass.

circumferentor – which was equipped with vertical sights – than to the more up-to-date theodolite, which, however, we know was supplied by Jonathan Sissons, the most capable instrument-maker of this type at this time. Leybourn's technique involved a measurement not only of the principle angles of a street from a starting point through a series of junctions, but also to take some account by means of 'Rods or other Bevels' of the smaller bends and turns along a street, as well as 'all manner of Breaks, Courts, Allies, Houses of note, and other publick Remarks, with the true Perpendicular distances from your Chain,…'.[66] At the end of the section on street surveying he noted that 'This is the best and most accurate way that I can prescribe for the plotting of Cities or Towns, and is the way which I my self use in my Survey of the City of London [the Ogilby/Morgan 1676 map], as it is now re-edified.' A close examination of this map indeed gives credence to Leybourn's claim.[67]

In summary what has been elucidated here is the method by which the London map was surveyed by John Rocque over the decade from 1738 to 1747. Considerable insight was given by the publishers Pine and Tinney, in their *Alphabetical Index* published within months of the final sheets of the map in late 1747. The map involved some kind of compromise – not always comfortable it would appear – between the creation of an overarching structure or skeleton to the map by means of triangulation, and the more detailed street-by-street mensuration which was the more common practice in England at least since the mid- to late-17th century. However, the hands-on involvement of Davall, as well as his advocacy of the London map, suggested the possibility that some greater clarity might be given to all of this, by means of a consideration of his earlier, to some extent overlooked, advocacy of Delisle's map compilation techniques for his Paris map dating to 1716. In this

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[66] Leybourn *Compleat surveyor*, 110.

[67] And an examination of the internal evidence of the Leybourn-surveyed Ogilby map, Rocque's London 1747 map, and indeed Rocque's 1756 Dublin map, reveals much as to the relative ambition in each case in this regard. Some aspects of this will be tested more closely in the discussion in the Dublin chapter on the methodology used for its survey.

regard it is notable that no astronomical techniques or other geodetic means were attempted by Rocque or his team, regardless of the assistance of the august Royal Society men. Triangulation was used, but seems to have been either an afterthought, or caused considerable difficulties in regard to its integration. Threading an on-street survey into this framework, however, matched the approach taken by Delisle for his Paris map. Ironically Delisle was not a surveyor, and had relied on an earlier survey of Paris for these details. Rocque, a engraver by training, was nevertheless taken on to survey the London map, and his close measurements were used in conjunction with the triangulation techniques, to form what may have been at times a compromised, if not cohesive whole. I have suggested that Rocque was reliant on the kinds of techniques outlined in a textbook such as William Leybourn's for this work, as this kind of surveying approach had hardly changed since Leybourn first published the *Compleat Surveyor* in 1653. While this historical comparative work may not have radically altered our idea of how Rocque worked, his modus operandi is given some context, and is to some extent tested by it. Something of the professional tradition from which Rocque hailed, and the kinds of skills set we can guess that he may have possessed, are also elucidated some more by this background. An examination of the internal evidence of the maps may help to clarify the matter further, and some aspects of this will be examined more closely by a comparison between this London map, the previous Ogilby and Morgan map of 1676, and John Rocque's map of Dublin in 1756, in Chapter 4.

3.2 Critical Assessment of Rocque's London Map

3.2.1 City mapping up to 1747

ONE of the most crucial characteristics of the Rocque/Pine London map of 1747 was the ichnographic manner of its depiction. It is this aspect of the map that most strongly contrasts to previous map forms, and indeed for that matter to the Renaissance-discovered single-view perspective system of

imaging the real world. We have already noted Vertue's use of the word when he spoke of 'his grand design of an Ichnographical Survey, or Map of London' to William Oldys in Leicester Square in March 1738.[68] While Davall aspired in his 1728 article towards a more empirical approach to establishing the framework for a survey by means of triangulation as used by Delisle for his 1716 map of Paris, Delisle's map was ironically a much less scientific compromise between the purely ichnographic and the bird's eye view (Fig. 3.22). His street plan was ichnographic, but was infilled by quasi-perspectival bird's-eye views of the principal buildings that the streets enclosed.

What may have been lost in three-dimensional descriptive detail from the bird's-eye or map-view images, was gained in the ichnographical maps by an empirical exactitude, and more importantly in reliable measurability. After all if Rocque's map was to have been 'an accurate Scale to the political Calculator' or to be used for 'measuring the Contents of Estates',[69] Delisle's approach to representation was inappropriate for such a purpose. This leaning in favour of the empirical, or measurable, ichnographic plan, was one of the most characteristic and original aspects of Rocque's estate surveys as we have already seen. Although he was deeply immersed, by means of his professional associations, and by his technical approach as an engraver, within the pictorial tradition of the topographical artist, his work was always and uniquely characterised by a strictly orthographic plan, coupled with separate images of the elevations or views of buildings. Despite the evidence of Delisle's hybrid image of 1716, the degree to which Rocque's style or idiom of representation was a well-established – although as Delisle's Paris map shows, not exclusive – French approach to map depiction at this date, has already been outlined.[70] This included both the ichnographical approach, as well as an approach to comprehensive signification across the complete surface of an image, which I have called total-mapping. Whatever of the (total-mapping) idiom, there were

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[68] See note 10 above.

[69] Quoted from the *Alphabetical Index*, p. iv.

[70] Some aspects of this issue are also addressed in Section 2.1 above.

earlier precedents in France for the use of a strictly ichnographic plan, such as that used by Nicholas de Fer in his *Noveau Plan de Paris*, first published in 1697 (Fig. 2.6), as discussed in Chapter 2. However, as late as the 1730s, M. Bretez published an extraordinarily detailed map of Paris which was exclusively a map-view image, comprising detailed axonometric or bird's-eye images of all of the buildings in Paris (Fig. 3.24).[71] A similar pattern of equivocation can be seen in England over a similar time span. Ogilby & Morgan's post-reconstruction map of London published in 1676 (Fig. 3.5-6) is also strictly ichnographic, and indeed claims as much in its title: *A large and accurate map of the city of London ichnographically describing all the streets, lanes, alleys, courts, yards, churches halls and houses, &c…* A crucial map in the planned reconstruction of the city after the Great Fire of 1666, this manner of working was far more logical and appropriate, than the more traditional map-view image. As noted earlier, there was no shortage at this time of trained surveyors in London, tutored in a scientific method, inspired and guided by men in the Royal Society.[72] However, when Ogilby's step-grandson William Morgan made his more wide-ranging map of London in 1682 (Fig. 3.7 & 3.25), he returned to the hybrid version of orthographic street plan, mixed with bird's-eye views of the key buildings, somewhat in the manner of Delisle's Paris map of 1716.

Further research is needed to establish the source as well as the exact reasons for the re-emergence of the more empirical technique in the late-17th and early-to-mid-18th centuries, but the Renaissance origins of the ichnographic map have already been traced with a good deal of precision by an article on

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71 *Plan de Paris. Commencé l'année 1734. Dessiné et gravé sous les ordres de Messire Michel Étienne Turgot, Marquis d Sousmans, Henary Millon, &c. Achevé de graver en 1739…Levé et dessiné par Louis Bretez. Gravé par Claude Lucas, et éscrit par Aubin* (Paris, 1739), British Library Maps C.11.d.10. Image copied from Norman B. Leventhal Map Center, Boston Public Library G1844.P3.B74 1739 http://maps.bpl.org/id/06_01_001821/, accessed 11th December, 2007.

72 Section 3.1.1 above, and fn. 14.

this subject by John A. Pinto.[73] The word *Ichnographia* was first used by Vitruvius in his *De Architectura*, and was used by him to signify a ground plan.[74] The Greek source for the word are *ichno*, meaning a tracing of sorts – and *graphia*, meaning writing or drawing. Like much else that stems from Vitruvius, the exact meaning, and indeed the art of creating such a plan on a large scale, had to be rediscovered. There is a good deal of evidence that Alberti had made significant inroads into this. Although no images survive, the text of his *Descriptio Urbis Romae* (1443-53) and some of his writings in his *Ludi Matematici* (?) show that he had conceived of a technique of circumscribing the location of buildings on a circular plan of Rome by means of mathematical co-ordinates.[75]

These advances took place during the first decade of the 16th century. According to Pinto, on Leonardo's map of Imola (Fig. 3.26),[76] dated to c. 1502, 'every point on the map is rendered equidistant from the observer, and the distortions of parallax are eliminated. The result is a comprehensive and accurate city image, [and] the earliest true ichnographic plan which survives.'[77] Leonardo's techniques appear to have been consistent with those also used by Raphael and described by him in a 'well-known' letter to Pope Leo X.[78] The

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[73] John A. Pinto, 'Origins and development of the ichnographical city plan', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* XXXV, no. 1 (1976): 35-50. The following paragraph is based on this work.

[74] Pinto (p.35, n. 2), has suggested that the word was first used in its adjectival form by G.B. De'Rossi in his *Piante icnografice e prospettiche di Roma anteriori al secolo XVI* which was published in 1879. However as already shown above the word was used as an adjective by Oldys and Vertue in 1738, and by Ogilby and Morgan in the title of their 1676 map of London.

[75] Pinto 'Origins', 38.

[76] Windsor 12284. Reproduced in Pinto 'Origins', Fig. 1, and Kenneth Clark, and Carlo Pedretti (eds.) *The drawings of Leonardo da Vinci in the collection of Her Majesty the Queen at Windsor Castle. 3 vols.* 2nd ed. Vol. II, (London: Phaidon, 1969) 12284; cf. *ibid* Vol. I, 10-11.

[77] Pinto 'Origins', 40.

[78] Pinto 'Origins', 40-2 & n. 26 referring to V. Golzio, *Raffaello nei documenti e nelle testimonianze dei contemporanei e nella letteratura del suo secolo* (Vatican City, 1936), p. 78-92, which reprints the full text of Raphael's letter.

map, which is inscribed within a circle divided along its circumference into even units, seems to have been founded on a method not dissimilar to that of Alberti's, although descriptions of the instruments used, as well as the amount of detail on the dispositions and shapes of the streets and buildings, suggest the use of a transit or measuring dial, which included a compass. Although Pinto doesn't say as much, the description of this instrument and an illustration of a so-called 'transit dial' from 'Bartoli 1564',[79] bears remarkable similarity to the circumferentors being used in the late-17th century by Leybourn and probably in the mid-18th century by Rocque as we noted above (Compare Fig. 3.27 to Fig. 3.17). The most comprehensive city map made according to these principles at this time was that made by Leonardo Bufalini who had came to Rome as an engineer to Pope Paul III. By this time the techniques were being regularly applied by engineers in building and site surveys, Bufalini 'recognised the implications of this method and used it in the delineation of an accurate ichnographic city plan [of Rome]' (Fig. 3.28).[80] An illustration of one of his surveying instruments also bears remarkable resemblance to the circumferentor being used in the 17th and 18th centuries (Fig. 3.29).[81]

In a brief article describing her PhD thesis on the Bufalini map, Jessica Maier notes that as a visual encomium to a city similar to the bird's-eye views, but very different as a map, it did not simulate a visual experience. This ichnographic format was essentially non-mimetic, and for this reason perhaps, was a commercial failure. 'Renaissance viewers seem to have had a strong, visceral preference for pictures over diagrams.' No comparable map of Rome

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79 Referred to without source in Pinto, but no doubt an illustration in Cosimo Bartoli, *Del modo di misurare le distantie, le superficie, I corpi, le piante, le prouincie, le prospettiue, & tutte le altre cose terrene…secondo le vere regole d'Euclide, & de gli altri più lodati scrittori* (Venetia: F. Franceschi, 1564) as listed in the British Library catalogue.

80 Leonardo Bufalini map of Rome 1551, as reproduced in http://www.iath.virginia.edu/waters/bufalini/bufalini_14.jpg accessed 18th May, 2006.

81 Pinto, 'Origins', Fig. 6.

was published until Giovanni Battista Nolli's plan of 1748, an era when as I have noted the ichnographic approach had once again taken precedence. 'Renaissance spectators were accustomed to a clear visual hierarchy in city imagery, and [Nolli's] map must have appeared unsettlingly neutral with its ostensibly uniform system of measured representation.'[82] It is these very qualities of neutrality and measured representation that so appealed to the Enlightenment scientists and city administrators in the late-17th century and mid-18th century as we have seen. In this regard the stupendous Bretez 1739 map of Paris was ignored by contemporary Parisian map-makers & map buyers, for the very reason of its all-over treatment of bird's-eye views of all of the city's buildings.[83] And although, as Hyde suggested,[84] John Pine may have borrowed the Bretez' decorative border treatment, a strict ichnographic plan was adhered to in the 1747 London map.

3.2.2 Descriptive analysis of Rocque's London map

Some brief comments upon the appearance and style of the London map should also be made. The issue of the reliability of the map, and the nature of its recorded detail and what this tells us of Rocque's surveying technique and its fallibility will be treated with greater care in the following chapter, where Rocque's 1747 London map, his 1746 *London and Ten Miles Around* and Ogilby & Morgan's map of 1676 will be considered in conjunction with the Dublin 1756 map, in order to further elucidate the approach to surveying and recorded detail evident in the Dublin 4-sheet map.

Thirteen feet by seven feet, the London map is a magnificent image which when pieced together makes an impression that is independent of its strictly

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[82] Jessica Maier, '*Imago Romae*: the Bufalini plan of 1551 and Renaissance visions of the eternal city', Doctoral thesis in progress in *Imago Mundi* 58, part 1 (2006), 113-14.

[83] James Elliot, 'The baroque city: the town plans of the eighteenth century' in *The city in maps: urban mapping to 1900*, edited by James Elliot (London: The British Library, 1987), 56.

[84] Ralph Hyde, 'The making of John Rocque's map' in *The A to Z of Georgian London. Facsimile of John Rocque's 1746 map of London*, (Lympne Castle: Harry Margary, 1982), v-viii, p. v.

street-representational meaning. If William Morgan's 1682 map, and the copies that it generated, was considered to give London the appearance of a Whale, then John Pine's image (based on Rocque's survey) may be compared to some roaring leopard, the body hunched on gigantic Picassoesque spine and legs made up by the River Thames (Fig. 3.1). The manner by which the whole composition of a map is designed is far from clear, but it is certain that this was a consideration. The exact placing of the city within the bounds of the four edges of the map, was not merely a question of geographical considerations, but quite obviously an aesthetic one too. We do not know who was responsible for the over-arching 'invention', or design, but based on his experience with this kind of work, no doubt Rocque was closely involved, even if the final object was engraved by Pine. The map of course was rarely seen in one piece and was, as suggested already, often purchased in single sheets by many to get a grasp of their own locality or properties. The copy given by Pine to the aldermen was hung as a single image on a rail in Hall of the London Corporation, but for the most part the sheets were gathered together in volumes by contemporary subscribers.[85] The type of micro-lines for shading used by Pine – a consistent, unmodulated brick pattern within the city blocks – lends itself to a very pleasing overall decorative effect, that can be read at a distance or in the single view one gets from a digital sewing together shown in the British Library image of Fig. 3.1. However the kind of highly significant coded information carried by the micro-lines within the outlines of the buildings in the Dublin map was consequently not present in this earlier work.[86]

3.3 Conclusion

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[85] It is rare to see the Rocque/Pine 1747 map in its entirety as one single joined-up image. However the recent exhibition of London Maps in the British Library showed it to its best effect. There is also a hand-coloured copy in the porch space of a London map shop in Kensington.

[86] This aspect of the Dublin map will be considered in greater detail in Chapter 4.

While the overall thesis of this dissertation is in the direction of a re-assertion of Rocque's role as artist, and engraver, in the face of his more traditionally recognised role as cartographer, the map of London – for which Rocque is most famous in academic and other circles – was *not* engraved by Rocque, but by his more famous and successful contemporary, John Pine. The aesthetic and linear qualities of the map, suggest that Rocque did not create the fair copy for this map either. Based only on his estate surveys, Rocque was approached to become the surveyor of the London map, in 1738, and successfully accomplished this – along with several other manuscript and city and town maps – by 1747. This he did, unsurprisingly, with the specific and active intervention of some members of the Royal Society, in particular Martin Folkes and Peter Davall. The latter can be shown to have had the crucial impact on the method by which this work was carried out, based (for the most part) on a methodology annunciated by Guillaume Delisle some decades earlier, about which Davall had stated his admiration some ten years before the London map was begun. While Rocque's exact idiom was not used for the map's graphical expression, especially in terms of its micro-lines – linear shading and map symbols – his principal mode of approach to map work, i.e. the ichnographic plan, must have been one of the things that attracted the Royal Society and others to him most.

Chapter 4: Making the Dublin map (1754-6)

Chapter 4: Making the Dublin Map 1754-56

4.1. Introduction

4.1.1 Significance of Rocque's coming to Ireland and of his Irish maps

The significance of John Rocque's coming to Ireland, as he did in August 1754, and his staying until August 1760 – at least for most of that time – has arguably been underplayed in Rocque historiography to date. Amongst cartographical historians in England – Rocque's predominant domicile – the fact of his being in Ireland at all, appears to come to some as something of a surprise. Hugh Phillips, albeit writing in 1952, who made a special study of what he believed to be all of Rocque's addresses, passed over the London map-maker's prolonged sojourn in Dublin: 'in 1753, this exhausting series of moves from shop to shop came to an end. Rocque found permanent premises at last … at a little shop on the north side of the Strand … These premises, where he spent the remainder of his life, were at the second house westward from Old Round Court.'[1] This omission of his time in Ireland was redressed by John Andrews, who was the first to describe in print the Kildare manuscript maps, which were made in Ireland during the years 1755 to 1760, and to describe in detail the making of the Dublin 1756 map.[2] In doing so he also listed Rocque's addresses in Dublin during that stay. Nevertheless, Paul Laxton, Rocque's recent biographer in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, acknowledges Rocque's maps 'after original surveys' of Dublin, Kilkenny and Armagh, yet seems unaware that Rocque had lived in Ireland in order to undertake these works: 'After purchasing new stock in Paris [Rocque] re-established his business in 1751 in the Strand, at the centre of the London

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[1] Hugh Phillips, 'John Rocque's career' *London Topographical Record* xx (1952), 22.

[2] J.H. Andrews, 'The French school of Dublin land surveyors' *Irish Geography* 45 (1964-68): 275-92; J.H. Andrews, 'Two maps of Dublin and its surroundings by John Rocque' in *An exact survey of the city and suburbs of Dublin 1756/ by John Rocque: facsimile maps in 8 sheets*, (Lympne Castle (Kent): Harry Margary, 1977).

map trade. There he remained at three successive addresses until his death.'[3] His Dublin addresses, based on evidence taken directly from Rocque's published catalogues and the imprints on the maps, and that he had stated himself that he lived in the Irish capital in order to give full attention to the work in hand,[4] seem to have passed Laxton by.

The fact that the Dublin map (Figs 4.1-5) is unique amongst all of Rocque's published works, for the level and intensity of its detail, has not been commentated upon by any of Rocque's biographers to date. This is despite the fact that while referencing specifically the level of detail in the Dublin map (as we shall see below), Rocque, with justice, claimed that 'it will exceed any yet published in Europe.'[5] Likewise, the importance of his place in the history of art in 18th-century Ireland has also been largely overlooked.[6] The earliest and most important exception to this was John Andrews, who said in regard to his Kildare manuscript maps that 'Rocque was the nearest cartographic equivalent to architects like Richard Castle and decorators like the Francini [sic] brothers'. Indeed Andrews goes on to demonstrate that Rocque's work on the Kildare manuscript maps – itself a relatively rare activity for Rocque – was to be the instigator of a whole style of manuscript estate surveying in Ireland whose effect would last until the beginning of the 20th century.[7] This general underestimation of his stature is also the case amongst art historians in England save for those, such as Snodin, who have recognised his role in the

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[3] Paul Laxton, 'Rocque, John (1704?–1762)', rev., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37907, accessed 27 Oct 2007].

[4] In the *Dublin Journal*, 2 Oct 1754, Rocque thinks 'it a Duty incumbent on him to engrave the above Maps in Dublin, and is therefore provided with proper Artists for that Purpose, being the same Persons who assisted him in his Surveys.'

[5] *Dublin Journal*, Saturday May 10 to Tuesday May 13, 1755.

[6] There are significant exceptions in the work of John Andrews already cited, and work by Arnold Horner, Anne Hodge, Robin Halwas and Joseph McDonnell for his Irish work. These will be cited in due course.

[7] J.H. Andrews, 'The French school', 280.

early dissemination of the rococo style,[8] and John Harris, who is the only one to give proper attention to Rocque's role as a topographical artist.[9] The role of Rocque's work as archaeological source to Dublin historians has never been underestimated, although perhaps few who work in Dublin may be fully aware of the range and extent of his work in the Irish capital, during his six-year stay there. As well as the 1756 4-sheet map, Rocque published a 4-sheet map of the county (1760) (Fig. 4.6),[10] as well as the more closely focused *A Survey of the CITY HARBOUR BAY and ENVIRONS of DUBLIN* 1757 (Figs 4.7-8)[11] that was also a 4-sheet map made on a large scale. Other Dublin maps included a number of reductions of the original 1756 survey, and a map showing the parishes of the city. Scalé's 1773 revision of Rocque's originals from the 1750s are also enormously beneficial in giving graphical expression to the work carried out in the capital during a clearly defined bracket of time.[12]

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[8] Michael Snodin, 'English rococo and its continental origins' in *Rococo: art and design in Hogarth's England*, edited by Michael Snodin, and Elspeth Moncrief (London: Trefoil Books/Victoria & Albert Museum, 1984), 29; Michael Snodin, and Elspeth Moncrieff (eds.) *Rococo: art and design in Hogarth's England* (London: Trefoil Books/Victoria & Albert Museum, 1984), 35, 38, 46 & 52; cf. Chapter 2 above for a discussion of Rocque's rococo work.

[9] John Harris, *The artist and the country house: a history of country house and garden view painting in Britain 1540-1870* (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1979), chapter 4 *passim* & p. 185.

[10] *AN ACTUAL SURVEY of the COUNTY of DUBLIN, on the same Scale, as those of MIDDLESEX, OXFORD, BERKS, & BUCKINGHAMSHIRE, by Iohn Rocque* [c. 1760]. MapForum catalogue 112.

[11] *A Survey of the CITY HARBOUR BAY and ENVIRONS of DUBLIN, on the same Scale as those of LONDON, PARIS & ROME. By / John Rocque CHOROGRAPHER TO HIS Royal Highness THE PRINCE of WALES. [1a, ob -3a, ob] PLAN de la VILLE, HAVRE, BAY & ENVIRONS de DUBLIN sur la meme Echelle de ceux de LONDRES, PARIS & ROME, par Jean Rocque Chorographe / de S:A:R: MONSEIGNEUR le PRINCE des GALLES. 1757. J: J: Perret sculpsit / To his Royal Highness Prince / EDWARD / This Plan is most / humbly inscribed / By / His Most Obedient / Humble Servant / John Rocque. [1b] Published according to Act of Parliament.* MapForum cat. 89.

[12] Some aspects of this will be considered in greater detail in Section 5.2 below.

However, the contemporary significance of Rocque's coming to Dublin is perhaps more important in the present discussion. Prior to Rocque's appearance on the scene there was little that a town planner, a man of property, or a traveller seeking to find his way around the streets of Dublin could turn to for clear topographical information. As Rocque noted: 'the Public as well as Foreigners, who have been so long at a Loss, may [soon] see the beautiful Situation and large Extent of this Metropolis, and thereby [be] undeceived.'[13] The most recent significant original published mapping of the city was Charles Brooking's *A MAP of the CITY and Suburbs of DUBLIN…*,[14] that appeared in 1728 (Figs 4.9-11).[15] Notwithstanding the quality and importance of the elevation drawings that form a series of insets around the perimeter of that work, Brooking's eccentric south-over-north map is a crude affair, that does not inspire confidence. All that can be suggested, John Andrews has shown, about the possible identity of its author, is the chance that he was the same Charles Brooking, recorded as a carpenter at Trinity College in 1724 and 1725. That he never made any other maps may support that supposition.[16] The 1728 map was a roughly drafted city-block-by-city-block record, but without any of the trustworthiness of other maps – including Rocque's city-block maps – done in this less detailed fashion. We shall see in

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[13] Rocque's advertisement Proposal and catalogue for his proposed Dublin map, 5th September, 1754. Proof copy in TCD OO.a.59 no. 1B, and reproduced in Paul Ferguson (ed.) *The A to Z of Georgian Dublin* (Lympne Castle, Kent: Harry Margary in association with Trinity College Library Dublin, 1998), iv; cf. Fig. 4.21 below.

[14] *A MAP of the CITY and Suburbs of DUBLIN And also the ARCH BISHOP and EARL of MEATHS Liberties with the bounds of the PARISH. Drawn from an Actual SURVEY. Made by Charles Brooking...[John] Bowles Sculp…Sold by the Booksellers of Dublin and John Bowles Printseller in London…1728.* Cf. J.H. Andrews, ' "Mean pyratical practices": the case of Charles Brooking' *Irish Georgian Society Quarterly Bulletin* xxiii (1980): 33-41.

[15] Andrew Bonar Law, and Charlotte Bonar Law, *'A contribution towards a catalogue of engravings of Dublin' originally by E. MacDowel Cosgrave: revised and expanded, to which is added volume 2, a similar contribution towards a catalogue of: the maps and charts of Dublin city and county* Vol. 2 vols, (Shankill, Co Dublin: The Neptune, 2005), vol. 2, 254.

[16] J.H. Andrews, ' "Mean pyratical practices": the case of Charles Brooking' *Irish Georgian Society Quarterly Bulletin* xxiii (1980), 33-4.

due course that Roger Kendrick, who was Dublin City Surveyor from c.1738,[17] had planned a new map of the city from the early summer of 1754. Not surprisingly he alluded to 'the many errors that are in Brooking's map' and also suggested that there had even been problems with Brooking's management of scale.[18] This was corroborated by John Andrews' accuracy test in which he found (in comparison to the Ordnance Survey map of the city) a displacement in Rocque of on average 32 feet, compared to an average of 146 feet in Brooking.[19] Before Brooking there was Henry Pratt's miniature survey of the city, which was appended to his map of Ireland, published in 1708 (Fig. 4.12-).[20] Before this again there had been the two important city surveys by Sir Bernard de Gomme (Fig. 4.13-14) and his successor Thomas Phillips, but neither of these had been published.[21] The only other significant map of the city published before Brooking was that made by John Speed in 1610 (Fig. 4.15).[22] Thus the importance of a new survey on a grand scale can not be underestimated.

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[17] *Calendar of ancient records, Dublin,* viii, p. 286. 6 April 1738. 'Roger Kendrick, city surveyor, since being admitted into said office, has been at great trouble & expense in drawing several maps &, taking many levels & surveys. £20. With £5 for taking of level from mill near Straffan to Dolphins Barn.'.

[18] 'This is much larger than Brooking's Scale; & yet, from the many errors that are in Brooking's map, he supposes that this will lie in as little room as it.', *Dublin Journal* 30 July-3 August, 1754.

[19] J.H. Andrews, 'Two maps of Dublin and its surroundings by John Rocque' in *An exact survey of the city and suburbs of Dublin 1756/ by John Rocque: facsimile maps in 8 sheets*, (Lympne Castle (Kent): Harry Margary, 1977), vi.

[20] Andrew Bonar Law, and Charlotte Bonar Law, *'A contribution towards a catalogue of engravings of Dublin' originally by E. MacDowel Cosgrave: revised and expanded, to which is added volume 2, a similar contribution towards a catalogue of: the maps and charts of Dublin city and county. 2 vols.* Vol. 2, Maps, (Shankill, Co Dublin: The Neptune, 2005), vol. 2, pp. 252-3.

[21] Sir Bernard de Gomme, 'The Citty and Svbvrbs of Dvblin: From Kilmainham to Rings-End, werein [sic] the Rivers, Streets, Lanes, Allys, Churches, Gates &c. are Exactly described 15th No: 1673', London, National Maritime Museum, P/49 (11); Map of Dublin 1685, signed by Thomas Phillips, NLI, MS 3137. Cf. NLI, MS 2557.

[22] John Speed, *Dubline*, (London, 1610); John Andrews, 'The oldest map of Dublin', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 83, C, no. 7 (1983), pp. 205-37.

Not surprisingly, in the light of the apparent lack of response to his other works, little is known about how Rocque's completed map was received by contemporaries in Dublin or elsewhere. Besides the 360 or so subscribers to the map, we can have no idea as to the total quantity of sales generated. Nevertheless, it was deemed worth Robert Sayer's money, and Bernard Scalé's time to come back in 1773 and update the map (Fig. 4.16).[23] Changes made by him to Rocque's original generally reflected those to the city in that seventeen-year interval. That Scalé's editorial changes were relatively minor suggests that Dubliners were reasonably content with what had been produced in the first instance.[24] Rocque's 1756 map was likely used as an abiding framework for the work of the Wide Streets Commissioners, which was established in 1757, the year following the *Exact Survey*'s original publication. The only certain evidence for this to date, however, is the report to the lord lieutenant in September 1773, noted by Gilbert, in which a suggested location for a new link street between Moore Street on the north and Anglesea Street on the south of the city is proposed, based 'upon a view of Rocque's survey of Dublin'.[25] However a large number of the Commissioners themselves privately subscribed to the *Exact Survey*, and this itself is a measure of its usefulness in that regard.[26] In his seminal census of living conditions in Dublin in 1798, the Rev'd James Whitelaw used Rocque's Parishes map (Fig. 4.17)[27] – a reduction of the 4-sheet

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[23] *AN ACCURATE SURVEY of the CITY and SUBURBS of DUBLIN by M.r Rocque with Additions, and Improvements, By M.r Bernard Scalé to 1773.*

[24] Scalé's 1773 editorial treatment to the first edition of the map will be considered in greater depth in Section 5.2 below.

[25] John T Gilbert, *A history of the city of Dublin*, Edited by F.E. Dixon, and Diarmuid Breathnach. Facsimile. ed. Vol. II, (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1972), 142.

[26] Listed in Section 4.3.3.2 below.

[27] *A SURVEY of the CITY and SUBURBS of Dublin with the Division of the PARISHES Reduc'd from / the large PLAN in four Sheets by IOHN ROCQUE Chorographer to his Royal Highness the PRINCE of Wales…To John Putland Esq. /This PLAN is most humbly inscrib'd / By his most oblig'd / humble Servant / Iohn Rocque / A. Dury Aquaforte / Publish'd according to Act of Parliament – 1757*

1756 map - and gave a reasonably positive assessment of its accuracy, given that this was forty years later, and that he was using a reduced version of the 4-sheet original.[28] John Andrews has also found interesting evidence in the National Archives of another use to which the *Parishes* map was put. Here cut-outs were made from this map, and pasted on separate pages with manuscript headings.[29] Their usefulness in administrative organisation must have been particularly helpful. While not giving any financial or other encouragement by way of the premiums it was then giving for other works of this kind, the Dublin Society, which had been established in 1731 to support the development of agriculture, industry and the arts in Ireland, did ensure that a copy of 'M.r Rocque's Map of Dublin be bought for the Society's Room', which was at this time located in the Parliament House on College Green.[30] The following February they ordered that Rocque be paid a Guinea for colouring the same map.[31] Finally it should be noted that on presentation of the finished copy of the map to the Lords Justice in Dublin Castle they are recorded as having said that: 'it was allowed to be the best of that kind ever published'.[32]

The most important surviving contemporary comment on Rocque's Dublin map was an oblique one, made by George II in relation to what may also have been a hand-coloured copy of the *Exact Survey*. Our source for this is likely to

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/ *P. Halpin Sculpt Dublin.* TCD OO.a.58; Yale A.G.13. This map is not included on MapForum's catalogue of Rocque maps.

28 'I took Rocque's plan of Dublin, on a scale of twenty perches Irish to an inch, for my ground-work, as I found it, on examination, a few errors in the limits of the parishes excepted, sufficiently accurate. Rev. James Whitelaw, *An essay on the population of Dublin: being the result of an actual survey taken in 1798* (Dublin, 1805), 31.

29 John Andrews, 'Map-historical notes: Cartographers', 79: 'PROI [NAI], M.2533.'

30 Dublin, Royal Dublin Society, 'The Minute Book of the Dublin Society which was Incorporated the Second day of April 1750, by His Majesties Charter', May 3rd 1750-24th Nov 1757. 14 Oct, 1756.

31 RDS 'Minute Book', 24 Feb, 1757.

32 *Dublin Journal*, 18-21 September, 1756.

have been Rocque himself, but appears as a 'Letter from London', dated 23 December, 1756, in Faulkner's *Dublin Journal* and reads: 'This Day was presented to his Majesty and the Royal Family, Mr. Rocque's Plan of the City and Suburbs of Dublin, in four Sheets, done from an actual Survey, in which is expressed the Ground Plot of public and private Buildings, Streets, Lanes, Courts, Yards, &c. The Expressiveness of this Plan gave so high a Satisfaction to his Majesty, that he ordered it to be hung in his own Apartment.'. It is probable that Rocque would have sent a hand-coloured version of the map, as this would show off its character to best effect, and indeed a hand-coloured copy of the Dublin map is preserved as part of the King's (George III's) Collection in the British Library (Fig. 4.18).[33] However the present curator of maps in the British Library, Peter Barber, has cautioned against any definite conclusion in this regard as there seems little evidence that any of the topographical collections of the previous two Georges was inherited by George III.[34] There are no markings on this copy of the map to confirm the possibility one way or another. Nevertheless, this was a common method of self-publicity, attending upon the court, presenting a copy, and reporting as much, as news in the local newspapers. This generated sales to members of the aristocracy and others and was a method of attaining affirmation by the king or court, as a proxy for some more official patronage.[35] We shall see that Rocque did the same at the Dublin Castle court of the three Lords Justice.

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[33] British Library, K.Top. 53.13.b.11 Tab End.

[34] Peter Barber, pers. comm., August 2006. John Andrews has noted on the other hand that an inquiry made by him in 1976, to the Royal Library, confirmed that the coloured image referred to in the 'Letter from London' was no longer there: John Andrews, 'Map-historical notes: cartographers', p. 70.

[35] Some went so far as illustrating in print the event itself. An image of John Ogilby presenting the list of subscribers to King Charles II and Queen Catherine appears as the frontispiece to Ogilby and William Morgan's 1676 *Survey of London*. This is reproduced in Felix Barker and Peter Jackson, *The history of London in maps* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1990), 11.

Finally it is worth noting Rocque's own excitement at what was to become a unique work in his own publishing career, as recorded by him in an advertisement in May 1755 announcing its imminent completion:

> 'JOHN ROCQUE's Surveys of the City and Suburbs of Dublin, 200 Feet to an Inch, and that of the Environs, on the same Scale as those of London, Paris and Rome, by the said John Rocque, are now engraving, and the original Drawing to be seen at the Golden Heart opposite Crane-lane in Dame-street, where all his other Works may be had. / N.B. The Plan of the City will exceed any yet published in Europe; every Dwelling-house, Ware-houses, Stable, Yards, Back-houses and Gardens, being therein expressed, so that any Landlord or others, who have any Concern in the said Survey, may, by dotted Lines, or different Colours, shew their own Ground, which may easily be numbered and described in their Rent-rolls and Leases.'[36]

While this was part of the steady stream of self-promotion carried out by Rocque in the pages of the local newspapers during his time in Dublin, his argument that the map would 'exceed' in detail 'any yet published in Europe' was a fair one. Why Rocque opted for such detail at this later stage in his career, we shall see in Section 4.2 below.

4.1.2 Why did Rocque come to Dublin?

A. Stuart Mason says that 'In Ireland Rocque repeated the work he had done in England, starting with a survey of Dublin and ending with one of the county of Armagh'.[37] It is as if having completed a cartographical survey of one country, Rocque was doing for Ireland what he had already achieved for England. But this thesis –not suggested by Mason of course – is not a true

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[36] *Dublin Journal*, Saturday May 10 to Tuesday May 13, 1755.

[37] A. Stuart Mason, 'Some Huguenot surveyors and the Irish Connection: abridged version' draft article for The Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1989, 6.

one. Rocque's surveying of the former country was far from complete. Although the first prospectus for his Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Berkshire map did not appear until 1752, it seems likely that Rocque had begun to dream up, if not survey, his first county maps in England before the completion of the city maps of London in 1746 and 1747 respectively. His 1746 map of *London and Ten Miles Around* (Fig. 3.11), is essentially a county map, covering far larger tracts of open landscape than the greatly reduced-scale city map at its heart. The first untitled sheet of his Buckinghamshire map appeared in 1750, his completed map of Shropshire in 1752, and one of Middlesex in 1754.[38] It was at this point that Rocque headed to Ireland, i.e. before the completion of a second map of Middlesex in 1757, and one of Berkshire in 1761,[39] and another begun of Surrey, but published by his widow, after his death in 1762, and engraved by his fellow Huguenot Pierre André.[40] Rocque had at some point begun to commission surveys,[41] so he was in a position to come to Dublin and set up a new one, and supervise it directly, while other work was carried on at home. Rocque's survey of England – of its major cities, or of its counties – was far from complete. It would appear that the attraction of Dublin, as a major capital with the potential for significant new patronage, and maybe for the challenges it might present, was what drew Rocque here, more than any sense of geographical completeness.[42]

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[38] See MapForum catalogue at http://www.mapforum.com/05/may.htm accessed 21 March, 2008.

[39] *ibid*

[40] *A Topographical Map of the County of Surrey…By the late John Rocque…Completed and Engrav'd by Peter Andrews* (London: M[ary].A[nne] Rocque, [1768?]), e.g. copy in British Library Maps K.Top.40.7.8.Tab.End.

[41] Paul Laxton (ed.) *A topographical map of the county of Berks, by John Rocque, Topographer to his Majesty. Introductory notes by Paul Laxton* (Lympne Castle, Kent: Harry Margary, 1973), 'The Making of the Map of Berkshire', notes that the near contemporary map historian Richard Gough, stated that the Berkshire map was surveyed by Josiah Ballard. This presumably ran ahead while Rocque was in Dublin.

[42] The exact reasons why Rocque might have come, will be examined more fully in subsequent paragraphs below, including those which deal with the arrival of Andrew Dury in Dublin some two months earlier.

Rocque's own explanation for his motives for coming to Dublin was that he had been 'sollicited by many of the Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdom to survey and publish by Subscription, a MAP of the CAPITAL in all Respects like those of London, Paris, &c.' (Fig. 4.19). This made up the opening paragraph of his first broadsheet advertisement on the subject, dated 5 September, 1754 (Fig. 4.21), published in Dublin, and reappearing in a *Dublin Journal* advertisement he took out five days later.[43] This echoes his first advertisement[44] in that paper in which we hear that 'the celebrated Mr. Rocque (Chorographer to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales)…*is now employed (by proper authority) in making the same of this Metropolis,* in order to lay it down on the same Scale'.[45] What nobility, if any, sollicited Rocque to come to Dublin, and by what 'proper authority' might he have come? It is probable that these are formulaic attachments to his text, to bolster his importance, and the significance of his forthcoming work. Certainly the city, as we shall see, gave Rocque little enough support – nothing like the support he received from the London Corporation – and so it was not by their 'authority' that Rocque came. Regarding the nobility, a likely source of encouragement might have been the earl of Kildare. After all Kildare was son-in-law to Charles Lenox, the duke of Richmond to whom Rocque had dedicated a version of his published Richmond estate plans.[46] But no real evidence has been found to date for any real patronage for these estate maps. Indeed the Richmond work had been

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[43] For Rocque's broadsheet advertisement see fn. 14 above; *Dublin Journal* 10 Sep, 1754.

[44] All such notices in the *Dublin Journal* appear as if they are pieces of news, no different from the notices from the editor himself. However the exact correspondence for example between long passages of Rocque's own printed broadsheet and the paragraphs that immediately afterwards appear in the *Dublin Journal* suggests that these were notices drafted by Rocque, and no doubt, paid to be included in Faulkner's paper.

[45] *Dublin Journal*, 27 Aug, 1754.

[46] *Plan of the House Gardens Park & Hermitage of their / Majesty's at Richmond & the Prince of Wales's at Kew. / To the Most Puissant Prince CHARLES LENOX / DUKE of RICHMOND Knight of the most Noble / Order of the GARTER &c. &c. / This Plan is most humbly dedicated / By Your Graces Most Obedient humble / Servant J. Rocque* (London: J: Rocque, 1736); MapForum cat. 11.

completed eighteen years before Rocque came to Dublin, and the Charles Lenox to whom the map was dedicated, had died in 1750.[47] Based on the dates on the maps themselves, Rocque seems to have begun Kildare's estates only in 1755, after he had already undertaken a good deal of the city survey. Finally, while the earl of Kildare is included amongst the dedicatees on the published Dublin map, it is only as one of the three Lords Justice along with Bessborough and Jocelyn, and he is named second amongst them (Fig. 4.20). It is more likely that Rocque came across the earl when he presented the map, in draft and completed, to the Lords Justice at Dublin Castle as he did in 1754 and 1756 respectively.[48]

As noted already however, Rocque was likely to have come to Dublin for the business opportunities that this burgeoning second city of these islands offered. In the first instance the motivation was to provide a new audience for a new map, as well as a new map for his already existing audience. Many who had subscribed to the London, Paris and Rome maps, would do so again for the Dublin map. There was an appetite for his work, especially for the city maps, and all that they told of the rampant developments and expansion in urban life across Europe during the first half of the 18th century. Dublin would also provide a new market for his own existing stock of maps. Thus his first broadsheet advertisement (already alluded to), also contained a full list of 'all his other Works' (Fig. 4.21).[49] In January 1757 the Dublin Society purchased a complete set of all of his works as they appeared on his catalogue, at a cost of 'sixteen pounds thirteen shillings and six pence'.[50] In November

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[47] George Edward Cokayne (ed.) *The complete peerage of England Scotland Ireland Great Britain and the United Kingdom extant extinct or dormant by G.E.C. [George Edward Cokayne]* Vol. X, (London: The St Catherine Press, 1945), pp. 838-9.

[48] Details for this will be discussed in Section 4.2 below.

[49] For Rocque's broadsheet advertisement see note 14 above.

[50] RDS 'Minute Book', Jan 27, 1757. 'Mr. La Rocque delivered to the Society a List of his several Maps. Ordered that they be purchased for the use of the Society and that the Treasurer do pay him sixteen pounds thirteen shillings and six pence in full for them.'. The total price of all of the maps on Rocque's 1757 catalogue (TCD OO.a.59 1a) comes to £22.7.0. The earlier

1759, they bought a number of other maps from him, including his since produced maps of Cork and Kilkenny, as well as others of Quebec, Dresden and 'Dantzic', for a total price of £1.7.7. A subscription of half a guinea in advance was also paid by them to the map of Dublin County, which would appear the following year.[51] The following May Rocque supplied them with a copy of the Armagh County map, with the Dublin County map as ordered.[52]

Two collections of Rocque maps survive that appear to have been sold by Rocque in Ireland during his time there. There is evidence that one of these may have been bound by Rocque or by his studio, into a pair of volumes, which remain intact to this day. The first collection is a series in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, in four separate volumes which include the advertisement of 1754 already alluded to, as well as a number of other non-Rocquian Irish maps from a later date.[53] John Andrews has shown that the maps were bought by the college from a J. Pim, and not directly from Rocque.[54] Because of the inclusion of the later Irish maps, it is clear that the volumes in which they now appear, were not prepared by Rocque. However the prospectus on the advertisement that is included has a number of manuscript superscriptions, which may be proof inscriptions by Rocque himself (Fig. 4.21). Certain lines are scored out, and Rocque's name is inscribed at the bottom, as if it should be inserted in the next proof of the broadsheet – although it too is scored out. More interesting still is the fact that on its verso appears a bill of fare or invoice to 'Mr Putland', listing with prices,

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catalogue also produced in Dublin which was part of the 1754 Proposal already referred to comes to £20.6s.6d. It is possible that some might be considered as duplications, such as e.g. Rome in 12 sheets for £2.2.0 and 'Ditto reduced to the same scale as London and Paris' for £2.6.0., or that the Society got a discount for buying one of all of his maps.

[51] Dublin, Royal Dublin Society Library, 'Dublin Society Minute Book 1758-61', March 9th 1758-13 August 1761, p. 39, 1st Nov 1759.

[52] *Ibid*, p. 54, 15 May 1760.

[53] Dublin, Trinity College, OO.a.58, OO.a.59, OO.a.60 & OO.a.61.

[54] J.H. Andrews, 'Maps and atlases' in *Treasures of the library, Trinity College Dublin*, edited by Peter Fox (Dublin: 1986), 176-7.

a large number of maps 'brought from' him (Fig. 4.22). John Putland was the treasurer of the Dublin Society and was the dedicatee of Rocque's Parishes map. Putland was also the owner of the largest collection of architectural books in the city.[55] His brother George Putland was the dedicatee of Rocque's *Pocket Plan* of Dublin. Both of these maps were published in 1757.[56] John Putland's house in Great Britain Street was the only building other than the Parliament House, for which an internal ground plan was provided (Fig. 4.23).[57] Although the original copies of the Rocque maps sold to the Dublin Society have not survived in its collection, we can be certain that the collection of volumes in Trinity is not based on these Dublin Society maps – a reference to their treasurer might have suggested this possibility – as the maps in question were alienated from the RDS collection much later than the 1855 purchase date in Trinity College.[58]

There is some evidence that a second group of maps, now in the British Art Center at Yale, was sold first in Ireland, and that they were bound into a pair of volumes contemporaneously, if not by Rocque's own workshop.[59] This second group of maps is collected in a pair of volumes which were in turn part

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[55] Putland's catalogue of books is recorded in NLI MSS 4185-4187 *Bibliotheca Putlandia…* c.1763; Christine Casey. 'Books and builders: a bibliographical approach to Irish 18th-century architecture.' (PhD, Trinity College, Dublin, 1991), 37, 50, 73-4. A copy of Gabriel Stokes's map *A New and Accurate Map of the County of Dublin From an Actual Survey* (engraved by S. Wheatley), in the British Library (BL Maps 183.q.1) is marked in manuscript 'Mr Putland', suggesting that perhaps as early as six years before Rocque's *Exact Survey* Putland was a purchaser of maps.

[56] Neither of these titles appears on MapForum's Catalogue. For the Parishes map see note 27 above; *POCKET PLAN of the City and SUBURBS of Dublin By J Rocque Reduc'd from his large PLAN // P. Halpin Sculps.t // To George Putland Esqr this / Plan / is Dedicated by his / Humble Servant / 1757 John Rocque* TCD OO.a.58.

[57] This was demolished in 1787 and replaced by Simpson's Hospital, which was in turn used as a factory by Williams and Woods, before finally being demolished in 1978. Frederick O'Dwyer, *Lost Dublin* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1981), 77.

[58] Mary Kelleher, Librarian, Royal Dublin Society, pers. comm.

[59] New Haven, Yale, British Art Center, A.G.13 & A.G.14.

of a set of three volumes in total of mainly Rocque maps sold by the collector Ben Weinreb to Yale British Art Center in 1970.[60] The first two Weinreb volumes contain maps like those in Trinity that all date to before Rocque left Dublin. The volumes are titled with a fairly unimaginative but sagging trompe l'oeil frontispieces (Fig. 4.24), a type of motif which was typical of the Rocque workshop and has been particularly associated with Bernard Scalé, who was Rocque's brother-in-law and apprentice at this time.[61] It is difficult to be absolutely certain whether or not the volumes in question were prepared by Rocque's workshop or whether they were put together by others. For although the trompe-l'oeil frontispieces to the volumes resemble the style of frontispiece used by Rocque's studio, there are a number of mistakes in the transcriptions of map titles on this title page. These include a 'Plan of Bury St. Edmuns [sic]' and a 'Plan of Kingsington [sic] Palace & Gardens', both of which are spelled correctly in the inserted maps themselves. It would seem peculiar that Rocque would have approved of a volume leaving his workshop with such unfortunate errors. In all the multiple plans and views Rocque published of Kensington during his career, he never misspelled its name, and especially not in a way which betrays an ignorance by the scribe of the place in question. However the collection bears a very close resemblance to the works we know that Rocque had for sale while he was in Ireland, and includes some maps by him which have not been noted in the Rocquian carto-bibliographies to date. Many of the maps which appear in this collection that are not on the 1754 catalogue discussed above (Fig. 4.21), were either published since that date, or are known to have been part of Rocque's *oeuvre* by this time, even though not listed in that catalogue. Thus of the forty-five maps included in the two Weinreb volumes (nine in the first volume, and thirty-six in the second), thirty-one maps were listed in Rocque's 1754 catalogue. Three more maps,

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[60] cf. Ben Weinreb: Typescript, 'Weinreb & Douwma Ltd: John Rocque (c.1704-1762) [a descriptive catalogue of three volumes sold to Yale Center for British Art, 3 Feb 1970]' (1970), copy in Yale British Art Center.

[61] A. Stuart Mason, and John Bensusan-Butt, 'P.B. Scalé: surveyor in Ireland, gentleman of Essex' *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society* XXIV, no. 6 (1988): 508-18, p. 515.

were those produced in Dublin up to 1757, i.e. the 1756 *Exact Survey*, and the *Parishes* and the *Harbour and Environs* maps both published in 1757. Of the remaining eleven works in the Weinreb volumes that do not appear in Rocque's 1754 Dublin catalogue, six are known Rocque works already published by the time he had come to Ireland, but for whatever reason are not included in the Dublin catalogue. Of the five remaining works, three are previously unknown Rocque works, a view of Nismes (Fig. 4.25) and two plans of Dunkirk dating to 1744.[62] Thus there are only two maps in the whole collection with no Rocque connection, they being a plan of Toulon by Thomas Jefferys dated to 1757, and a four-sheet map of Ireland by Henry Pratt from 1708.[63] The latest works to appear date to 1757, and it appears likely that this is the date of production, or soon afterwards. It seems probable that indeed the volumes were produced by Rocque's workshop. They represent a very clear collection of his works at this time. The inclusion of the Ireland map might suggest an Irish connoisseur rather than an English one, although Rocque was known to have been out of Ireland for part of 1757 at least. The misspelling of 'Kingsington', is a mistake more understandably made

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[62] The two Dunkirk maps listed in the frontispiece as *Plan of Dunkirk 1744* and *Ditto as it was in 1714* as well as a Thionville map (which is listed in the 1754 catalogue of works for sale, but has not been recognised heretofore as a Rocque work), are all under the imprint of the architect Edward Oakley "par Sr. Ockley Architecte, / dans John Street Golden Square', but are clearly Rocque works, with the exact same cartographic idiom, titles, etc., as well as Rocque's address 'Sold near old round Court in the Strand.' in London as the place of publication. The engraver is R[ichard] Benning, was also used by Rocque for the his maps of Paris (1748), Bristol (1750), Rome (1750) and Madras (1751). These are what we might call bespoke publications, and show a type of undertaking not before recognised amongst the many publishing ventures Rocque carried out. Oakly obviously commissioned these works, but they were engraved, printed and distributed under the direction of Rocque, without however any acknowledgement of such on the maps themselves, and for this reason have not appeared before in lists of Rocque's works. The existence of the Thionville map on the 1754 catalogue, and all three here in the Weinreb volumes, is a further corroboration of the textual and stylistic evidence already cited, that these are Rocque works.

[63] Rocque would base his own Ireland map, completed three years later, on this early-18th-century production.

by an Irish scribe based in Dublin than by a London-based apprentice, and its getting by Rocque might be explained by one of his own absences. Greater attention may yet be paid to these two contemporaneously assembled collections of Rocque works, towards a greater understanding of his working practices. However, they reflect the kinds of sales possibilities available to him by this extended trip away from London.

What business there was to be drummed up in Dublin was probably brought to Rocque's attention first by Andrew Dury, who was to become the engraver of the 1756 *Exact Survey*. Dury had already arrived in Ireland in June 1754, some ten weeks before Rocque, who came the following August. Like Rocque, Dury advertised this fact in the *Dublin Journal*.[64] He was in town 'lately arrived from Paris, but last from London' (Fig. 4.26) and had brought with him 'a great Variety of Maps, Plans, Sieges, Battles, Views &c. mostly done by the following Persons viz. John Rocques [sic], Chorographer to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, Danville, Belin, De Lisle, Le Rouge, Robert [Vaugondy], Julien, &c. which he proposes to sell at the most reasonable rates.' According to Laurence Worms, this is the first we hear of Dury anywhere, and the reference to Paris via London is the only biographical information we have of him, other than the imprints on the maps he later published.[65] It is unclear whether Dury's trip was a reconnaissance for Rocque, or was an independent one, and whether it was upon *his* invitation or suggestion – rather than an invitation from members of the gentry – that Rocque decided to come to Dublin. John Andrews suggests some pre-survey work and perhaps some market research.[66] Also Dury made special emphasis of Rocque (albeit mis-spelled by the printer at least) in his list of maps for sale,

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64 *Dublin Journal*, 15th June, 1754.

65 Laurence Worms, pers. comm., 11th August, 2006. It is possible that Rocque met Dury when the former went to Paris in 1751 to replenish his stock of maps after the fire in his premises.

66 J.H. Andrews, 'The French school of Dublin land surveyors', *Irish Geography*, 45 (1964-68): 275-92, p. 278.

giving his title as 'Chorographer to the Prince of Wales', with the cost of extra words that this may have entailed. The fact that Dury went on to engrave the Dublin map can be no coincidence.[67] Whether he was sent or not, he had most likely communicated to Rocque that Dublin was ripe for a new cartographic work, and that there was a market there for it, and for Rocque's stock of other European maps. Like Rocque, Dury was an engraver first. His business as an independent publisher of maps only developed after his interaction with Rocque. His later maps included a number of reduced city and county plans after Rocque originals. Like many others from the French expatriate community (Bernard Scalé, Pierre André, Chatelain and Vivares, although with the last two, the influence ran equally in both directions), Dury was taken under Rocque's wings, and learned much in the process.

Finally it is worth noting that Rocque also spoke of the professional challenge of taking on the Dublin map, and a sense of completeness that this would bring to his work: 'After having executed the Plan of London and its Suburbs, I wanted only to do the same by Dublin, in order to have the Honour of having traced out two of the largest and most celebrated Cities of Europe. If I had given Credit to what I had been told of this City, I should never have had the Pleasure which I have enjoyed in this Work. Several Persons had presented this City, as not deserving the Attention of Strangers, not being remarkable for any Singularity, nor affording any Thing worthy of the Curiosity of a Traveller. But we see in this Map, that Dublin is one of the finest and largest Cities of Europe,…' (Fig. 4.27). This 'encomium'[68] was made by him in his flattering

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[67] A caveat, however, might be entered, that the first two maps published by Rocque in Dublin were not engraved by Dury, but instead by Rocque's apprentice J.J. Perret. The first map to appear – albeit undated – was likely to have been the so-called Key Map (probably 1755) while the second was of a military camp in Thurles, also published in 1755, and drafted by John Powell, but engraved by Perret. All of this will be discussed in greater detail in Section 4.1.4.1 below.

[68] This apt word was used by William Laffan, 'Behind the gorgeous mask: Hugh Douglas Hamilton's "Cries of Dublin" rediscovered' in *The cries of Dublin &c: drawn from the life by Hugh Douglas Hamilton, 1760*, edited by William Laffan (Dublin: Irish Georgian Society, 2003), 10-25,

Preface to the *Dublin Index* published two weeks after the *Exact Survey* appeared in November 1756.[69] The *Index*, which appeared in the form of an octavo-size book, was published for Rocque by George Faulkner.[70]

4.1.3 Where did Rocque stay while in Dublin and for how long?

Rocque chose Dame Street, at the Dublin Castle end, for his first premises after arriving in the city in August 1754. In his *Dublin Journal* advertisement of 10 September that year, he announced that 'Subscriptions are t[aken in] by all the Booksellers in Dublin, and by their Correspondents abroad, and by the said John Rocque, at his Lodgings at the Golden Heart opposite Crane-lane in Dame-Street;…'. As stated this was a lodgings rather than a shop or workshop. The description of the location is somewhat ambiguous in that the Golden Heart (or Hart) was actually located on Crane Lane, whereas Rocque suggests that he was at the Golden Heart 'opposite Crane-lane'. The Dublin printseller and glazier, John Orpin, had been located at this premises in the 1740s,[71] and replaced in turn by John Farrell, also a printseller and glazier, who

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p. 10, to describe the effusive praise of the Irish public, in the preface to Rocque's *Index* to the *Exact Survey*.

[69] John Rocque, *AN / INDEX / Adapted to the / PLAN / OF THE / City and Suburbs of Dublin; / FROM / An actual and exact SURVEY, / MADE / By JOHN ROCQUE, / Chorographer to their Royal Highnesses the late / and present Prince of Wales. / Engraved by ANDREW DURY, and others, and / printed on Four Sheets of Imperial Paper.* / (Dublin: John Rocque, 1756), v. Copy in Dublin, King's Inns Library, N.6.37; the preface is reproduced in full in Ferguson *A to Z*, p. vi; an advertisement for the *Index* appeared in the 27 November edition of *Dublin Journal* (John Andrews, 'Map-historical note: cartographers', 69).

[70] The French imprint, on the facing page, is more explicit than the English one: 'A Dublin: Chez G. Faulkner, Imprimeur & Libraire dans La Rue d'Essex, ou se vendent aussy bien que chez :auteur a Londre et a Dublin. Tous ces ovrages.', *ibid.* iii.

[71] 'Just imported and sold by John Orpin, at the Golden Heart in Crane-lane, Dublin. All sorts of window glass, either by wholesale or retail, and will give good encouragement to wholesale dealer. Where may be had humorous and satirical prints lately published in London; as also a great variety of fine original engraved and meztotinto prints, neatly framed in gold, and pear tree frames; and chapmen and country shopkeepers may be furnished will all sorts of prints at a very reasonable rate' *Dublin Evening Post* 16 May, 1741; Mary Pollard, *A dictionary of members of*

was in trade there when Rocque first arrived.[72] There were a number of other booksellers and printmakers located nearby, as well as various jewellers, toy-makers, and sellers of luxury goods.[73] This was a good place from which to acquaint himself with the trade and with potential clients. It was the heart of the commercial city. However, in July of the following year, perhaps feeling the pinch of the high rents in this salubrious end of town, 'JOHN ROCQUE, removed from Dame-street to Lower Ormond-key near the three Sugar Loaves, opposite the Bagnio Slip, where Subscriptions are taken for his Maps of Dublin; and where may be had, all his other works, great Variety of Maps, Plans, Views, &c…' Later advertisements would name this as Batchelor's Walk,[74] although as we shall see the location fits with the present Lower Ormond Quay.[75] Dury had been at a premises on Ormond Quay, but his lodgings had been 'at Mr. O'Hara's at the Cock near Mr. Lennox's Bank on Ormond-key.'[76]

Generally this was a more industrial end of town, the location of a number of timber yards and other traders depots. No doubt this was a more appropriate location to set up shop as printmaker than as distributor, with perhaps much of the more important publicity having been done in the first year. The Bagnio Slip, as shown on Rocque's own map (Fig. 4.28) was located at the north end

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the Dublin book trade 1550-1800 : based on the records of the Guild of St Luke the Evangelist Dublin (London: Biographical Society, 2000), 443.

[72] Ibid., 198.

[73] E.g. see E. MacDowel Cosgrave, 'On two maps, dated 1751 and 1753, of the Essex Bridge district, Dublin', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquities*, 6th Ser, 8 (1918): 140-49.

[74] E.g. the publication location for *AN / INDEX / Adapted to the / PLAN / OF THE / City and Suburbs of Dublin; / FROM / An actual and exact SURVEY, / MADE / By JOHN ROCQUE, …Printed for the Author, and sold at his House opposite the / Bagnio-slip on the Batchelor's-walk, and by G. Faulkner, / in Essex-street. MDCCLVI.*

[75] Another advertisement noted by John Andrews in his 'Map-historical notes', places his premises even more specifically at 'the corner of Liffey St, Dublin, where subscriptions are taken in': *Dublin Journal*, 26-30 September 1758.

[76] *Dublin Journal*, 15 June, 1754.

of Fownes Street on the south side of the river, just up river from the present Halfpenny Bridge, and so puts Rocque's then location approximately at the site of the present-day Winding Stair Bookshop and Café, No. 40 Lower Ormond Quay. Rocque remained there until he returned to England finally in August 1760.

In the light of previous historians' overlooking Rocque's time in Dublin, it is worth considering just how much of this time he was in the Irish city after all. It is likely that Rocque was in Ireland until at least the completion of the 1756 map, which was finally announced as finished in November of that year.[77] Indeed in the *Index* which followed the publication of the *Exact Survey*, Rocque stated that 'I have had the Pleasure of being in Dublin above two Years, …'.[78] The workload was extraordinarily intense, involving not only the surveying, draughting, engraving and printing of the Dublin map, but also a series of reductions of it. Rocque had also begun, some time in 1755 at least, to work on the Kildare manuscript estate survey. Our first inkling that Rocque had left the city is on 29 January, 1757, when Rocque informed the *Dublin Journal* that he 'returns Thanks to the Right Hon the Lord Mayor Aldermen, Sheriffs and Commons of the City of Dublin, for their grateful Present, and Approbation of his Plan. He is sorry he is not in a Capacity to return his Thanks personally to the above Gentlemen. Having the highest Sense of Obligation to them, hopes they will accept his Thanks in this publick Manner.' It is likely that Rocque would have wished to return home as soon as the Dublin map was completed. His wife was never mentioned as being present in Dublin – although there are no records of her in London, bar their marriage, and her career after his death – but it is likely that she was minding the business and their home in London for the two years that he was away. However, the great majority of Rocque's then current undertakings were in Ireland – so Rocque would have been equally anxious to get back to the Irish city as soon as he could. We cannot be certain if he was in residence, but on 12 March, also in

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[77] *Dublin Journal*, 9th-13th November, 1756.

[78] *Index*, pp. vii-viii.

the *Dublin Journal*, advertising the publication of the Parishes map of Dublin, it is noted that the map was available 'at the author's house opposite the Bagnio slip…' John Andrews has also shown that for at least some small portion of time, John Rocque was based in Cork, when he was planning the city map there. He was to be found at the Coach and Horses Hotel on Hammond Marsh according to the *Cork Evening Post*.[79] Although Rocque continues to make advertisements in the Irish press regarding his ongoing projects throughout this time, we can never be absolutely certain whether he was in London or Dublin, although as noted, the bulk of his projects were being undertaken from Ireland during this time. It is probable that Rocque was back in London in 1757, as his map of *Dublin Harbour and Environs* was presented to 'their Royal Highnesses the Prince & Princess Dowager of Wales & Prince Edward, to whom it is dedicated … which met with their R. Highnesses Approbation.'[80] We may also presume that the mapmaker was back in London in July 1759, when he sent a letter (Fig. 4.29) to the Royal Society of Arts seeking one of their premiums for his publication of the Berkshire, Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire county map, a proposal for which appeared in 1750.[81] The copperplate handwriting is not in Rocque's hand, and was probably copied for him by one of his text engravers to make a good appearance to the RSA at the time. The signature matches others of his including that in the Mannheim letter, which being sent to his nephew, was undoubtedly in his own messy hand (Fig. 1.2).

Finally it seems clear that Rocque was at least back in Ireland when he closed up shop in Dublin in August 1760. The desperate and absolute tone of the text suggests a finality to his departure that will not be undone, but firmly points to his being in the city at this time to close up affairs: 'John Rocque, geographer, intending to return to England in a few days . . . Armagh &

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[79] J.H. Andrews, 'Un cartographe français en Irlande', *Contacts (Alliance Française d'Irlande)*, 20 (1981), 34.

[80] *Dublin Journal*, 13 September, 1757.

[81] MapForum cat. 52.

Dublin now finished. Any gentleman that may choose to have any of his works are desired to send to said Rocque's on the Bachelors Walk, as he has no opportunity of leaving any for sale in this Kingdom — NB all persons to whom the said Rocque may be indebted, are desired to send in their Accounts'.[82] We have no knowledge of what it was that drove Rocque from Dublin in such an urgent fashion. However, proposals Rocque had made in February that year about a new map of the Harbours of Cork, Cobh and Kinsale,[83] were also abandoned at this time and not completed by him.[84] And yet this ambitious proposal is puzzling in the light of an advertisement made by some of his apprentices, but approved by Rocque, only the previous month, in which it is stated that 'the said Rocque intends leaving the Kingdom.'[85] One might wonder whether it was Rocque's health that was the

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[82] *Dublin Journal*, 16-19 August 1760.

[83] *Dublin Journal* 17 February, 1760: 'John Rocque, Topographer to their Royal Highnesses The late & present Prince of Wales, having finished his surveys of the Counties of Dublin & Armagh, in four sheets each, proposeth to survey & publish a map of the Harbours of Cork, Cove & Kinsale, in four sheets, in the same scale of the Counties of Dublin & Middlesex, which is two inches to a mile statute measure, in which will be expressed all the main & cross roads, Lanes, Paths, Walls, Pales, hedges, hills, mountains, vallies, Bridges, Rivers, Brooks, Ponds, Woods, Heaths, Bogs, Commons, Parks, Churches, Gentlemen's Seats, Houses, Gardens, etc. with the Soundings from Cork to Kinsale, on which the sea coast, islands, rocks & sandbanks, with their true bearings, will be carefully expressed. The method observed in asserting the churches, & principal objects in their true positions, is by Trigonometrical Observations; the bendings of the roads, rivers, & seacoast measured with the chain, & the angles taken with the theodolite. For the more accuracy, this work will be laid down to a scale of four inches to a mile, & then reduced to two…'

[84] A reduced version was produced by two of Rocque's apprentices, Samuel Andrews and John Powell, 'The above persons came from Dublin by order of Thomas Newenham Esq; to make a chart of the harbour of Cork, the survey of which is almost complete, & the Soundings will soon be entered upon. Any gentleman that has the curiosity to see the said chart, may at Mr John Burnells, on Hammonds-marsh', *Cork Evening Post* 24 July, 1760. From Andrews, 'Map-historical notes: cartographers', 74.

[85] *Dublin Journal* 12 January, 1760: 'Whereas Samuel Andrews, John Powell & Matthew Wren have been employed by John Rocque, Topographer to HRH the Prince of Wales, in the Surveys of the cities of Dublin, Counties of Dublin & Armagh, & several manors of the estate

cause. As noted in Chapter 1, Rocque had been making plans for his own demise as early as 1753,[86] but must have gained a new lease on life, before he decided to come to Ireland. With very little to show in terms of productivity after he returned to London, he was dead within seventeen months of his departure from Dublin.[87]

4.1.4 Other work carried out by Rocque while in Ireland

John Rocque was as prolific while he was in Ireland as he had been in the years leading up to his arrival there. The extent, impact and significance of this work can only be broadly outlined here, where emphasis will be placed on the build-up to the publication of the 1756 map, as well as on the series of relationships that Rocque was making with other practitioners in Dublin and had with those fellow professionals – apprentices and colleagues – who seem to have followed Rocque there to assist him.

4.1.4.1 Dublin Maps

However, a brief overview of all of his activities during the six years will serve as an introduction to his continuing prodigious output during his years in Ireland. There were three distinct four-sheet maps published depicting the capital, taking-in varying extents of the surrounding city. These were preceded, however, by what has been referred to as the Dublin Key Map (Fig. 4.30),[88]

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belonging to the Rt Hon. the Earl of Kildare, they take this method to inform the nobility (as said Rocque intends leaving the kingdom) they or any of them will undertake kingdoms, provinces, counties, cities, gentlemen's estates etc. in the most accurate manner, best method, & at reasonable rates — Write to Rocques at Bachelors Walk, or Samuel Andrews at Norris's Coffee House in Essex St. I do hereby certify that each or any of the above named persons are capable of executing anything above mentioned in the best manner, (Rocque).'

[86] These made in his letter to his nephew Bartholomew in Mannheim – see section 1.1 above.

[87] Rocque died on 27 Jan 1762. See Section 1.3 above, & fn. 76.

[88] *A Plan of the CITY of DUBLIN and the ENVIRONS on the same Scale of LONDON, PARIS & ROME, by John ROCQUE, CHOROGRAPHER TO HIS R: H: the PRINCE of WALES. // PLAN de DUBLIN et de ces ENVIRONS sur la meme Echelle de ceux de LONDRES, PARIS, et ROME par J: ROCQUE CHOROGRAPHER de S:A:R: Monseigneur le PRINCE du GALLES.*

which appeared some time between September 1754 and the publication of the *Exact Survey* itself in late 1756. This map may have been intended as a template for the published 4-sheet map, although it covered a broader area than that eventually mapped in the *Exact Survey*. It was eventually to make up the south-western sheet of the four-sheet *Harbour and Environs* map of 1757.

The first of the four-sheet maps to appear was the 1756 *Exact Survey*, which is the subject of this study, and thus will not be treated in detail in this section. However, as already noted, Rocque also published at this time a book-length *Index* to the *Exact Survey* (Fig. 4.35 & 4.27).[89] This book was co-published with George Faulkner, who had been taking subscriptions for the *Exact Survey*[90] and his *Dublin Journal* was one of Rocque's main outlets for publicity during the mapmaker's time in Dublin.[91] The *Index* is the source of the flattering 'encomium' noted above. Faulkner, the patriot newspaperman, no doubt had a hand in the editing of that piece of flattery, although many of the impressions therein have the genuine feeling one gets from a newly arrived traveller: 'The Irish keep up the most amiable Society; are frank, polite, affable, make it their Pleasure to live much with each other, and their Honour to treat Strangers with Politeness and Civility. They are particularly remarkable for a Lenity and Mildness with which Justice is executed, almost unknown except in this Country and in England. They endeavour rather to discharge a Prisoner and to soften his Punishment, than to condemn him. I am extremely surprised that the Author of the System of Geography has given so different a character of this Nation. He is ill informed … and his Article of Dublin and the Irish are

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// *J:J: Perret sculpt. Published according to Act of Parliament.* Copy in TCD OO.a.60; This map is referred to as the Key Map in the MapForum catalogue (MapForum Cat. 84).

89 See note 70 above.

90 E.g. for the newly proposed surveys of Dublin and Armagh counties, as recorded by John Andrews 'Map-historical notes': 1758. *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, 26-30 September 1758, …[subscriptions being taken] at Messrs Faulkner's & Grierson's in Essex St, Dublin.'

91 This is despite what one may conclude, from evidence teased out in section 4.2 below, was an initial favouritism shown by Faulkner towards the planned parallel adventure of then Dublin City Surveyor, Roger Kendrick, at this time.

entirely false, …'[92] Also included in the *Index* is another important catalogue of Rocque's works, to add to those later listed for example by MapForum and elsewhere, and a rehearsal of many of the details of Rocque's London map.

However the index of the streets, buildings, squares, alleys contained in the *Exact Survey,* provides the remarkable core to this volume.[93] Rocque eccentrically takes the second part of street and feature names, such as e.g. Sackville *Street*, or Bull *Alley*, as the method by which he organises all of the streets and other features named on the map. The contents page alone hides a pot-pourri of remarkable and in some cases illogically grouped features, in each case prefixed by the number Rocque reckoned were to be found of each type: 48 Alleys, 7 Alms-houses, 1 Bason, 7 Bridges, 20 Publick Buildings, 2 Cathedrals, 22 Churches … 15 Roman Chapels, 28 Courts, 8 Gates, 5 Glass Houses etc. The lists themselves reveal the richness and oddity of these clusters. Hence for example there is the list of Chapels – a word used to this day by some to describe Roman Catholic churches. But here the list includes: 'Trinity College Chapel, Castle Chapel, Blue Coat Hospital Chapel, Royal Hospital Chapel', which are then followed by fourteen (not fifteen as stated in the contents page) Roman Chapels e.g. 'Roman Chapel, Ash Street', and thirteen more like it. Another interesting grouping is the list of 'Walks'. These include the streets named Batchelor's Walk, Beaux Walk and French Walk on

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[92] *Index*, p. vii. Rocque's favourable impressions towards the Irish and their welcoming open spirit, although apparently clichéd to our ears, were not unique. In a letter, not meant for public consumption, written to his librettist, Charles Jennens, from Dublin in December 1741, Georges Handel notes that 'the politeness of this generous nation cannot be unknown to you [Jennens]. Joseph Bennett, 'The great composers. No. XXVII, Handel (Continued)' *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 30, no. 558 (August 1, 1889): 461-65, p. 462.

[93] It should be noted, as Paul Ferguson has, however, that this index – unlike the equivalent London volume – contains no references to locations on the map. Indeed according to Ferguson, who has compiled just such an index in his *The A to Z of Georgian Dublin* (Lympne Castle, Kent: Harry Margary in association with Trinity College Library Dublin, 1998), 65-69, the list of streets and alleys and select buildings, contains a number of names *not* included in the map.

Stephen's Green, as well as places actually designed for leisure, such as the Bowling Greens on Hendrick Street and Marlborough Street, and the City Bason, College Gardens, The Mall on Sackville Street, New Gardens (at the Lying-in Hospital) Great Britain Street and Long Meadow at Park Gate. Of the latter, none contains the word 'walk', but they are nonetheless grouped as such with the three first named. It might be mistaken to conclude from this for example that Bachelor's Walk was some kind of mall. Finally two more walks with more utilitarian or industrial associations were the two Rope Walks at Great Martin's Lane, and Ransford [sic] Street.

Another cogent piece of information/opinion contained in the contents pages alone is Rocque's count of the number of houses in the city: '12,060 Dwelling-houses, which at a moderate Computation of eight People in each, Dublin contains 96,480 Souls.' This is a generally overlooked assessment of the population of Dublin. It is thus interesting that Patrick Fagan has also claimed to have counted the houses on the *Exact Survey* and came to a total not radically different to Rocque himself.[94] Fagan found there to be 11,645 (to Rocque's 12,060) houses. He notes that taking into account that the map excluded the parish of Donnybrook, the map total came very close to the 12,857 houses estimated for the hearth tax for 1753. Rocque's map was measured in 1754-6. Although these totals of houses depicted on the map have not been checked by the present author, this might be taken, as a very favourable vote of confidence in one aspect of the accuracy of the map overall. The *Index* is a fascinating document whose sometimes eccentric riches have yet to be tapped in full.

In August 1757,[95] Rocque published – somewhat in the manner of his 16-sheet *London and Ten Miles Around* of 1746 – his 4-sheet *Survey of the CITY HARBOUR BAY and ENVIRONS of DUBLIN…* (Figs 4.7-8, 4.31-32).

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94 Patrick Fagan, *Catholics in a Protestant country: the papist constituency in eighteenth-century Dublin* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998), 11.

95 *Dublin Journal* 16 August, 1757.

Remarkably this map incorporated the original published version of the Key Map (which first appeared in June 1756)[96] as the bottom-left-hand sheet of this new 4-sheet map, thus expanding outwards to the north and east. No concession is made to the appearance of the new assemblage, with the black border intact on all four sides of the Key Map and the labels for the original publication all intact, thus interrupting any appearance of continuity should all four be joined together. Thus the north-eastern map included Poppintree and Silock (Silloge) in the present Ballymun, as far east to Balgriffin, Coolock, Artane and Clontarf. The sheet to the east of this stretched to include the whole of Howth Head, with a maritime cornucopia acting as the centrepiece for a set of measured bay soundings (Fig. 4.31). The (south-eastern) sheet below this (Fig. 4.32) encompasses the south bay area including the soundings of the bay, and a record of the difficult sandbanks – the largest of which is labelled South Bull Liberty – and routes for ships into the channel of the river Liffey itself. Set within a trompe-l'oeil scroll in the middle of this part of the bay is a reproduction of Speed's early-17th-century map of the city, labelled as 'Dublin comme il etoit en 1610', suggesting to the viewer just how much the city had expanded and changed since then. The area of the south coast depicted extends as far as Bullock Harbour. As we shall see, Rocque had made his first triangulation measurements from close to this point, which suggests a considerable ambition from the earliest stages of his surveying of the city. Indeed in his September 1754 Proposal (Fig. 4.21), Rocque had spoken of reducing the proposed 4-sheet city plan to one sheet, 'with the vacant Parts to be fill'd with the Environs / of the City, wherein will be express'd the Plans of the Towns, Villages, &c. / the just Bendings of the Roads, Rivers, and the Soundings of / the Harbour from Bullock to the Hill of Howth,'.[97]

Placed at the top of the first sheet of the *Harbour & Environs* map is a row of three vignette images of architectural views not otherwise recorded at this time. These included important images of Kildare House (before the elaborate

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[96] *Dublin Journal* 26 June, 1756.

[97] See fn. 70 above.

vermiculated gate was demolished in the 20th century),[98] an image of the Royal Barracks with ladies and gentlemen disposed in a *fête gallante* along the south river bank opposite to it, and an image of the Royal Hospital at Kilmainham (Figs 4.7-8). These inset images were signed as engraved by G. Smith. There is the possibility that this was the engraver Gabriel Smith who was active in England until his death in 1783. Little is known about this printmaker's origins. Laurence Worms believes that he may have been Irish on the basis of the scarcity of that Christian name in 18th-century London, and on the basis of this map.[99] However, Kim Sloan suggests that Gabriel Smith 'was probably born in London, where he was apprenticed to and then employed by the engraver Gerard Scotin.'[100] He had a reputation for the so-called 'chalk style' which was achieved using a roller with many pins to simulate the impression of chalk on textured paper. This is very different from the relatively sparse etched style of the engraver of the *Harbour* map insets, which suggests the possibility of another more local, unidentified G. Smith. The engraver J.J. Perret, an apprentice of Rocque's who came from London with him, was responsible for engraving the map itself. According to information uncovered by Laurence Worms again, Perret had paid the large sum of £100 to Rocque for his apprenticeship.[101] Perret's subsequent career as an engraver demonstrates not only the value of his investment, but once again, Rocque's mastery of that craft.

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98 As Anne Hodge. 'A study of the rococo decoration on John Rocque's Irish maps and plans, 1755-1760', (Unpublished B.A. thesis, Faculty of History of Art and Design and Complementary Studies, National College of Art and Design, 1994), 19, reminds us of course, the earl of Kildare – whose city house this was – was Rocque's most important patron in Ireland by this time.

99 Laurence Worms pers. comm., 11th August, 2006.

100 'Smith, Gabriel (1724–1783)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25800, accessed 3 April 2008].

101 *idem* pers. comm., 11th August, 2006 referring to Ian Maxted, *The London book trades, 1710-1777: an index of the masters and apprentices recorded in the Inland Revenue registers at the Public Record Office, Kew* (1983), no. 1366a.

The other major map of Dublin produced by Rocque was that of the county. This did not appear until mid-May of 1760,[102] a mere three months before Rocque left the country as already reported.[103] This map was published, as we shall see, concurrently with another four-sheet map of the county of Armagh, which included a detailed map of Armagh city and the earliest known published map of Newry town. These are the only other town maps by Rocque, of either English or Irish subjects, in which every building is depicted as in the 1756 *Exact Survey*. The Dublin county map has been treated at length by John Andrews,[104] and does not directly concern us here. Arranged with west at the top, the map extends from the Wicklow hills on the south as far as Balbriggan on the north coast of the county. Some portions of Kildare county were also included, which allowed for the inclusion on the map of two of the Earl of Kildare's estates, Carton and Celbridge, which Rocque had by this stage already mapped in manuscript form for the Earl. At the bottom of the map are Dublin Bay, Howth Head, Ireland's Eye, and Lambay, with a cartouche of busy map-making putti around a scale bar in the bottom right-hand corner. These accomplished figures – which appear to have been engraved rather than etched – were carried out by John Dixon (Fig. 4.33),[105] as

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[102] *AN ACTUAL SURVEY of the COUNTY of DUBLIN, on the same Scale, as those of MIDDLESEX, OXFORD, BERKS, & BUCKINGHAMSHIRE, by Iohn Rocque.* This map is reproduced in full in Paul Ferguson (ed.) *The A to Z of Georgian Dublin* (Lympne Castle, Kent: Harry Margary in association with Trinity College Library Dublin, 1998), which includes John Andrews 'Two maps' which deals with the subject of the 1760 County map at length.

[103] *Dublin Journal*, 17-20 May, 1760.

[104] J.H. Andrews, 'Two maps of Dublin and its surroundings by John Rocque' in *The A to Z of Georgian Dublin: John Rocque's maps of the city in 1756 and the county in 1760*, edited by Paul Ferguson (Lympne Castle, Kent: Harry Margary in association with Trinity College Library Dublin, 1998), v-xiii, x-xiii.

[105] Anne Hodge. 'A study of the rococo decoration on John Rocque's Irish maps and plans, 1755-1760', (Unpublished B.A. thesis, Faculty of History of Art and Design and Complementary Studies, National College of Art and Design, 1994), quoting Strickland *A dictionary of Irish artists*, 1969, 81 states that 'Dixon [who was later a successful mezzotint engraver based in London] was referred to in *Sleator's Public Gazette*...as "that youth accomplished to impart the justest transcript with the finest art" '.

evidenced by his signature underneath the large cartouche dedicating the map to the Duke of Bedford, who was at this time the Lord Lieutenant or 'Governor of Ireland'. Andrews has shown that the lack of clarity across some of the joins between maps, and the inconsistency of styles, suggests that Rocque exercised less quality control than he might have normally. Certainly, as the digitally matched sheets in Fig. 4.1 show, this was much less of a problem in the *Exact Survey*. Dixon was another local artist employed by Rocque, indicating Rocque's ability to inculcate himself into the profession here, and to attract high quality practitioners – presumably at lesser rates than their London colleagues, and obviating any need for them to travel with him.

While the Key Map, as noted already, appeared to indicate an early outline of what was proposed in the *Exact Survey*, two other reduced maps issued in 1757, were a much closer reduction of the 4-sheet 1756 map. These are the so-called *Pocket Plan* (Fig. 4.34)[106] and the *Parishes* map (Fig. 4.17).[107] The first was dedicated to George Putland, and the second to his brother John, already mentioned as a prominent member of the Dublin Society, and whose house was illustrated on the 1756 maps with its internal plan (Fig. 4.23). Both plans were engraved by Irish artist and engraver Patrick Halpin, and the details appear rushed in comparison to the careful stippling and micro-lines in the

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106 *POCKET PLAN of the City and SUBURBS of Dublin By J Rocque Reduc'd from his large PLAN // P. Halpin Sculps.t // To George Putland Esqr this / Plan / is Dedicated by his / Humble Servant / 1757 John Rocque*; copy in Dublin, Trinity College, OO.a.58. This map is not included in the MapForum catalogue.

107 *A SURVEY of the CITY and SUBURBS of Dublin with the Division of the PARISHES Reduc'd from / the large PLAN in four Sheets by IOHN ROCQUE Chorographer to his Royal Highness the PRINCE of Wales…To John Putland Esq. / This PLAN is most humbly inscrib'd / By his most oblig'd / humble Servant / Iohn Rocque // A. Dury Aquaforte // Publish'd according to Act of Parliament – 1757 // P. Halpin Sculpt Dublin*; copies in Dublin, Trinity College, OO.a.58, Dublin, King's Inns, and at New Haven, Center for British Art, Yale, A.G.13. This map is also not included in the MapForum catalogue; this map was first announced in the *Dublin Journal*, 15 March, 1757.

Dury original.[108] It is likely that Halpin was closely tutored by Rocque for this job. However Dury is credited on the *Parishes* map in the following manner: 'A. Dury Aquaforte'. In this context the attribution is ambiguous. In his *How to identify prints* Bamber Gascoigne says that this means: 'made with strong water'. *Aquafortis* was the New Latin for nitric acid, and was the conventional term for etched. It was commonly used by a craftsman etching someone else's image.[109] In this case it is more likely that it was Halpin who was engraving after Dury's initial image. Although the term usually refers to the engraver, it is clear, from the quality of the engraving, that Halpin was the engraver in this case.

4.1.4.2 Published Maps outside Dublin

As well as the six Dublin maps[110] – three 4-sheet maps, and three reduced versions (if we include the Key Map) – Rocque also extended his ambitions to a number of select counties and towns around the country. Again, we have no

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[108]According to Hodge 'Rococo decoration', 18, Strickland says that 'Halpin was an "artist of considerable merit…much employed in book illustration for the Dublin publishers" '. On October 26, 1758, a 'Mr Pat Halpen of Smithfield' was awarded £2.5.6 from the Dublin Society as Second Prize for the 'Premium for best new design Engraved on copper plate … determined this day according to merit', Dublin, Royal Dublin Society, 'The Minute Book of the Dublin Society which was Incorporated the Second day of April 1750, by His Majesties Charter', May 3rd 1750-24th Nov 1757, p. 12. Bernard Scalé also published five views of the Parliament House in 1767, most of which were drawn by Roland Omer. One of these – *The Geometrical Elevation of the Parliament House, Dublin*' – was inscribed on the bottom right as 'Patt Halpin Sculp:', i.e. engraved by Patrick Halpin: Andrew Bonar Law, and Charlotte Bonar Law, *'A contribution towards a catalogue of engravings of Dublin' originally by E. MacDowel Cosgrave: revised and expanded, to which is added volume 2, a similar contribution towards a catalogue of: the maps and charts of Dublin city and county. 2 vols.* Vol. 2, Maps, (Shankill, Co Dublin: The Neptune, 2005), vol. 1, p. 33.

[109] Bamber Gascoigne, *How to identify prints: a complete guide to manual and mechanical processes from woodcut to inkjet* 2nd ed. (London: Thames & Hudson, 2004).

[110] B.P. Bowen, 'John Rocque's map of Dublin', *Dublin Historical Record*, 9 (1947-8): 117-27, also lists six Dublin maps. However he seemed unaware of the existence of the Parishes map, while listing instead a map of County Dublin with the baronies marked. No doubt this was researched during Rocque's sojourn in Dublin but it was not published – as Bowen himself notes – until after Rocque's death, by his widow Mary Anne, in 1763.

evidence about what his motivations were for the towns and counties that he picked, although further research on this point might yield some clues. In 1755, Rocque had published a minor map called *A Plan of the Camp near Thurles*.[111] Its date is ambiguous, in that the inscription refers to military operations undertaken by the earl of Rothes in 1755, while the map is listed on Rocque's own 1761/2 catalogue as dated to 1757.[112] No copy of this map survives in the British Library, or in the Yale collection, nor is it listed on the MapForum catalogue. However, a copy of the original hand-coloured map survives in the Trinity College Library collection of Rocque maps (Fig. 4.35).[113] Although it is a relatively unusual example of this type of contemporary journalistic battle scene (or military map) amongst Rocque's *oeuvre* the depiction of the landscape is done in a typically Rocquian idiom. The image was drawn by a I[ohn] Powell – perhaps a military engineer involved in the manoeuvres[114] – and engraved by Rocque's apprentice J.J. Perret. 1757 also saw the publication by Rocque – in London – of a single sheet reduction[115] of his already published Middlesex map, suggesting that Rocque had left behind him a still operating workshop there, no doubt managed by his wife, Mary Anne.

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111 *A Plan of the CAMP near Thurles in County of / Tipperary in the Kingdom of IRELAND consisting of Eight Regim.ts / of Foot & twenty Troops of Horse & Dragoons commanded by the Right / Honourable the Earl of Rothes, 1755. by John Rocque Topographer to his R: H: the Prince of Wales. / [vertical rule] / PLAN du Camp de Thurles situé dans la Province de Tipperary a 65 miles / de Dublin dans le Royaume D'Irlande quie consistoit de 8 Regiments d'Infanterie / & 7 Escadrons de Cavalerie commandè par le Comte de Rothes en 1755// Publiè par J: Rocque // I Powel del.t // I. Perret Scul.t*

112 John Andrews, 'Cartographe Francais' also dates this to 1755, and asserts that therefore it was the first map published by Rocque in Ireland.

113 Dublin, Trinity College, OO.a.60, no. 9.

114 Although Hodge, 'Rococo decoration', 14, has sensibly suggested that he was perhaps a member of the Dublin print family the Powells, who are mentioned in turn in Maurice Craig, *Dublin 1660-1860* 2nd ed. (London: Penguin, 1992), 202.

115 *A Map of / the COUNTY of / MIDDLESEX / Reduced from an actual Survey in four Sheets / By John Rocque. / / Carte de la / PROVINCE / de MIDDLESEX reduite / D'apres un arpantage en quatre feuilles / Par Jean Rocque / 1757. // Publish'd according to Act of Parliament by J. Rocque in the Strand. Price 2.s 6.d*

In 1758, Rocque published his first major map in Ireland of an area outside Dublin. This was his Kilkenny City map,[116] which appeared after some delays – 'due to the Disappointment of the engraver' – in late October of that year (Fig 4.37).[117] According to the inscription on the map, the engraver was George Byrne. Byrne was a native Dublin engraver who had trained in the Dublin Society drawing school and later executed plates for *Wilson's Dublin Magazine*.[118] It seems remarkable that Byrne should advertise this map himself, as if totally his own production – which a cursory examination of the style, and of course the title affirms it is not. In the 31 October issue of the *Dublin Gazette* it states that 'George Byrne produced map of Kilkenny done by him. Received approval of Dublin Society.'[119] John Andrews has pointed out that there is a similar suggestion that the map was 'of his own doing', in the Dublin Society manuscript minutes.[120] This is a single-sheet map which, as stated in the imprint, was 'on the same Scale, as those of London, Dublin, Cork,

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[116] *A / SURVEY of the CITY of KILKENNY / By / John Rocque Corrographer / To His / ROYAL HIGHNESS the PRINCE of WALES. // G. Byrne sculp.t [5e] To / The R.t Hon.ble WILLIAM Earl / of Besborough, Lord Ponsonby, Baron Ponsonby of / Sysonby, Governor of the County of Kilkenny, one of the Lords for Executing / the Office of Lord High Treasurer, and one of His Majesty's / most Honourable Privy Council. This PLAN of / KILKENNY is most Humbly Inscribed by Your / Lordships Most obedient Serv.t / John Rocque. / 1758*; copy in Dublin, Trinity College, OO.a.60, no. 8.

[117] John Andrews 'Map-historical notes': 'The plans of Cork & Kilkenny are in great forwardness, & would have been delivered, according to the proposals, but for the Disappointment of one of the engravers.' found in *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, 26-30 September 1758; and '*Dublin Gazette*. 31 October 1758. George Byrne [engraver, of Skinner Row] produced map of Kilkenny done by him. Received approval of Dublin Society. Similar entry, 'of his own doing', in Dublin Society, MS minutes (NLI, mic.P.3053).'

[118] Hodge. 'A study of the rococo', 73 states that Byrne was an engraver and copperplate printer, based in Skinners Row in 1758, and later in Smock Alley. He had won a prize in 1753 'in second class for drawings' in the Dublin Society's drawing school, and approbation by the Dublin Society for the Kilkenny map, as recorded in the RDS Minute book, 1758-61.

[119] John Andrews, 'Map-historical notes: cartographers', p. 72.

[120] Andrews ibid., 72: (NLI, mic.P.3053).

Bristol, and Exeter, by the said Rocque', which in the case of the Dublin map at least, was 1 inch to 200 feet, or 1:2,400. Unlike the Dublin map and that of Armagh to come, but more typical of all the rest of Rocque's city and town maps, this depicts the city block only. More attention – it might be argued – was paid here to some of the public buildings than Rocque had paid in his *Exact Survey*.[121] A very reliable interior plan of St Canice's, for example is given in this Kilkenny map which compares well to a recently published plan of the cathedral (Figs 4.38-9).[122] On the top left-hand corner the title cartouche includes a fairly inelegantly rendered cameo illustration of workers in a coal-mine – the Castlecomer coalfield was some 10 miles north of Kilkenny as the crow flies. To the left of this, is depicted a group of masons building a stone wall and a stone cutter using a saw, presumably with the locally-mined limestone known as Kilkenny Marble. On the upper right, a man sits at a loom with a spinning wheel to his side, no doubt representing the textile industry in the area (Fig. 4.40).[123]

A map by Rocque of Cork City (Fig. 4.41-2)[124] appeared in October the following year.[125] Once again this encompasses the city block only, but in all

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[121] Compare for example the rendering of the cathedral in Kilkenny to that of Christ Church in Dublin, as discussed below in Chapter 5.

[122] Siuban Barry, 'The architecture of the cathedral' in *A worthy foundation: the cathedral church of St Canice Kilkenny 1285-1985*, edited by Adrian Empey (Mountrath, Portlaoise: The Dolmen Press, 1985), 29.

[123] The engraving is *not* a mezzotint, as suggested by Hodge 'Rococo decoration', 20, but like nearly all of the passages in these works – maps and images – is an etching, reflecting the loose hand effect of drawing with a stylus on wax, as opposed to with a burin cutting into metal, and all of the rigidity of line that that implies.

[124] *A / SURVEY / OF THE / CITY and SUBURBS / OF / CORK / By J. Rocque / 1759. [1d] TO THE / RIGHT WORSHIPFUL THE / MAYOR ALDERMEN & / COMMON COUNCIL / of this CITY / This PLATE is Inscribed / by their most hum.ble Servant / John Rocque. [2a] Publish'd according to Act of Parliament May. // 1759, by John Rocque Chorographer to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, near Round Court in the Strand London. Price 5 Shillings*; copy in Dublin, Trinity College, OO.a.60, no. 10.

other ways follows a typically Rocquian cartographic idiom. There is no engraver's imprint, and was thus possibly engraved by one of Rocque's apprentices, although the cartouche vignette on the top left-hand corner resembles, in its naivety and in the rendering of the fairly architectural rocaille border, the engraved vignettes on the Kilkenny map as just described. It is possible of course that the engraver of the map – George Byrne as noted for Kilkenny – was not the engraver of the cartouches. This time the scene (Fig. 4.41) is that of the Port of Cork, with turbaned eastern traders negotiating at the docks on one side, with dock workers and coopers to the side, while on the right-hand-side, a long-wigged gentleman (no doubt the mayor) kneels in front of a crowned woman (who is likely the personification of the city) who hands over an olive branch. Interestingly included amongst the putti playing with measuring instruments on the title cartouche at the bottom of the map is a circumferentor, rather than theodolite (Fig. 4.43). This can be identified by means of the sight-finders and the compass needle as described by Andrews.[126] It is a more old-fashioned instrument and less accurate than the theodolite, that we know Rocque used in the London survey when he was under the direction of the Royal Society, and we might have presumed Rocque also used in Dublin. However there is other ambiguous evidence of Rocque again using the circumferentor, in an illustration of the Surveyor and his assistants at work in the Tullagorey farm cartouche, that appears in the Athy volume of the Kildare maps (Fig. 3.15).[127] As Andrews has noted, the sights appear to have

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[125] John Andrews 'Map-historical notes': '*Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, 6-9 October 1759. This day is published by John Rocque, Topographer to their Royal Highnesses the late & Present Prince of Wales, in the Bachelors Walk, the Plans of Cork & Kilkenny, Price Half a Guinea. Where subscriptions are taken in for the maps of the Counties of Dublin & Armagh,...'; copy in Dublin, Trinity College, OO.a.60, no. 10.

[126] J.H. Andrews, *Plantation acres: an historical study of the Irish land surveyor and his maps* (Omagh: Ulster Historical Foundation, 1985), 302.

[127] Dublin, Trinity College, Ms 4278, 'A SURVEY OF THE MANOR OF ATHY. / Situat'd in the COUNTY OF KILDARE / belonging to his EXCELLENCY JAMES EARL OF KILDARE / by Jn.o Rocque. / 1756', p. 9; cf. Arnold Horner, 'Cartouches and vignettes on the Kildare estate maps of John Rocque' *Irish Georgian Society Quarterly Bulletin* xiv (1971): 57-76,

been added in later.[128] Yet by examining the original, we can see that the changes are also in watercolour consistent with the rest of the image – unlike for example many of the farm management manuscript additions to these maps – and is thus arguably a contemporaneous editorial note. It has already been noted (in Chapter 3) too that in an illustration of a surveyor taking measurements from a church tower to be found in the *London and ten miles around* map (Fig. 3.13), also appears more like a circumferentor than a theodolite. Most significantly, in the context of this study, an illustration in the scale cartouche of the 1756 *Exact Survey* (Fig. 3.14) also – according to Andrews's *Plantation Acres* definition – appears more like a circumferentor than a theodolite. All of this might throw up a note of caution then about Rocque's approach to surveying, and the instruments that he habitually used.[129]

The last published map not representing Dublin to appear was Rocque's county map of Armagh (Figs 4.44-5),[130] which like the Dublin county map published at this time, was drawn at the relatively generous scale of two inches to the mile. Once again, it is not clear why Rocque would choose to survey this county, rather than instead, for example, surveying county Kildare, parts of which he had been surveying in manuscript form for the earl of Kildare throughout the period. However the map was dedicated to the archbishop of Armagh, George Stone (1747-64), the primate of All Ireland, who may have requested that the map be made. This is perhaps unlikely as, although Stone's

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illustrated between pp. 66-7; Ferguson *A to Z*, p.5; Anne Hodge, 'The practical and the decorative: the Kildare estate maps of John Rocque' *Irish Arts Review* 17 (2001): 133-40, illustrated p.135.

128 Andrews, *Plantation Acres*, 308.

129 However the possibility of both types of measuring processes being used has been discussed in full in Chapter 3 above.

130 *A TOPOGRAPHICAL MAP of the County of ARMAGH, to which is Anex'd the PLANS of NEWRY and ARMAGH by Iohn Rocque. 1760. // CARTE TOPOGRAPHIQUE de la PROVINCE D'ARMAGH ou se trouve les PLANS des VILLES D'ARMAGH et NEWRY, par I. Rocque, 1760. // The First Sheet of an Actual SURVEY of the COUNTY of ARMAGH by John Rocque*; copy at Dublin, Trinity College, OO.a.60 no.4-7.

political ambitions were in the ascendant at this time – he was one of the three Lords Justice in the absence of the Duke of Bedford during April and May 1760[131] – he spent little enough time in Armagh (besides visitations), during his seventeen-year reign as the primate.[132] More research is needed on this point. No engraver is named on this map, and although it is stated to be published by Rocque, no place of publication is indicated.

The Armagh map encompasses two town plans – one of Armagh city (Fig. 4.45) and the second of Newry town. As already noted, these are two other rare examples of Rocque surveying and representing every building in the towns, not just the city blocks. These town plans are particularly attractive, especially that of Armagh, in which carefully placed hachures are used to represent the relief of the mount upon which the ancient ecclesiastical city of Armagh, and the cathedral at its summit, was built. Hachures were not used to the same extent in the *Exact Survey*, no doubt in the interest of graphical clarity where the density of houses and the careful record of their function by way of symbolic shading would have caused considerable visual conflict. As with the Kilkenny cathedral plan, Rocque provides us with another very reliable internal plan of the cathedral building in Armagh as well as one for the market house, which no doubt is an important archaeological source, from this early date. The nearby Catholic church is merely diagonally hatched, as were the Dublin churches of this denomination. The ruins of the 'Old Abbey' are also shown in plan form, albeit a simple rectangle with breaks in the walls representing doors and windows, and two ranked columns of headstones. Perhaps more interesting is the depiction of The Common, a racecourse, with its 'Winning Post' and what appears to be a set of weighing scales presumably for the riders. The Newry map is most notable as the earliest published map of

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131 T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin, and F.J. Byrne (eds.) *A new history of Ireland* Vol. IX: maps, genealogies, lists, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 494.

132 Eoin Magennis, 'Stone, George (1708–1764)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26571, accessed 21 April 200821 April 2008].

this town. At least half of the streets on this image appears to have come directly from the planner's drawing board, as they are labelled as 'New Intended Street', which might partially explain the rigorous regularity of this plan in particular.

Rocque's last published Irish map was one he constructed of the whole island of Ireland, i.e. his *Map of the Kingdom of Ireland*.[133] Exactly when this map was published has not been established. There is no date of publication on the map, and the only known editions have Robert Sayer's imprint. Ashley Baynton Williams in the MapForum catalogue guesses that there must have been earlier versions by Rocque himself, without Sayer's later imprint, and this is consistent with John Andrews's argument that, because of the reference in the dedication to the Prince of Wales, the map must first have appeared before George III's accession to the throne in October 1760.[134] Of course we would expect that much of the research for the map was done by Rocque before he left Dublin in August 1760. However, Andrews has shown quite comprehensively[135] the degree to which Rocque's map depends – for its outline at least, as well as for the keys, compass rose, and the inset of the British Isles in the lower right-hand corner – on Henry Pratt's *Tabula Hiberniae Novis*, which was first published in 1708.[136] Andrews points out that Pratt's *Tabula* is the only map clearly not published by Rocque in the

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133 *A MAP OF THE / Kingdom of Ireland, divided into / Provinces, Counties and Baronies, Shewing / The Archbishopricks, Bishopricks, Cities, Boroughs, Market Towns, / Villages, Barracks, Mountains, Lakes, Bogs, Rivers, Bridges, / Ferries, Passes; Also the Great, the Branch, & the By Post Roads, together with the Inland Navigation &c. by J: ROCQUE / Chorographer to y.e Prince of Wales*; MapForum cat. 118; cf. Andrew Bonar Law, *The printed maps of Ireland 1612-1850* (Dublin: Neptune Gallery, 1997), 123-4.

134 J.H. Andrews, *Shapes of Ireland: maps and their makers 1564-1839* (Dublin: Geography Publications, 1997), 207.

135 Ibid. 179, 207-9;

136 *A MAPP / OF THE KINGDOM OF / IRELAND / NEWLY CORRECTED & IMPROVD…* 1708 as listed in Bonar Law, *Printed maps of Ireland*, 91-2.

Weinreb/Rocque volume in Yale Library[137] which has been referred to already above. In all other ways this volume appears to have been assembled – under Rocque's direction – before 1758.[138] Interestingly, also by Andrews assessment, this map, being enlarged in scale by an order of one third from the Pratt original, makes great use of Petty's enormous list of names from his *Hiberniae delineatio* of the late-17th century, yet little enough of more recent surveys despite Rocque's own claims to that effect in an advertisement for the map in 1759.[139]

Finally it is worth noting that Rocque continued to publish other non-Irish materials throughout his 1754-60 sojourn in Ireland, suggesting as already noted, that some kind of workshop was in operation for him in London while he was away – perhaps managed by his wife – and which he must have supervised on his few visits back there during this period. However, most of this material was second-hand, i.e. not surveyed by Rocque, in contrast to the extensive original work he produced in Ireland during these years. According to the MapForum catalogue the non-Irish maps included a map of *Lima* and another of *North America* in 1755, the second being a relatively unusual – for the map publishing world – conger publication,[140] of a map engraved by

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137 New Haven, Yale Center for British Art, A.G.14, no. 36.

138 'It is not surprising to find a copy of the *Tabula* [Pratt's *Tabula Hiberniae Novis*] in a volume of maps [the 'Weinreb/Rocque' Yale volumes] apparently bound to Rocque's order (and consisting with this one exception of his own publications) in c. 1758. (Weinreb & Douwma Ltd., London 'John Rocque (c. 1704-1762)', typescript catalogue, 1970, p.9).' – Andrews, *Shapes*, 179, n. 36.

139 Andrews, *Shapes of Ireland*, 209.

140 'The conger was a system common in bookselling in 18th and early-19th-century England, for financing the printing of a book. The term referred to a syndicate of booksellers, mostly in London, who bought shares to finance the book's printing. Each member agreed to take so many copies for sale themselves, and the final profit was split in proportion to the members' initial financial input. Their names all appeared on the title pages as co-publishers, though one of the major publishing houses usually took the lead in setting the deal up. This system seems to have been mostly used in the financing of major projects -- for example, multi-volume works such as encyclopaedias. Shares were often subdivided and re-sold, so the actual balance

Thomas Kitchin, but co-published with others from London, Amsterdam and Berlin.[141] From 1756 Rocque published a number of maps that illustrated some of the strategic positions across the continent of Europe and in the Americas pertaining to the Seven Years War (1756-63) which was fought principally between the English and the French. In 1756, the first of these was of *St Philip's Castle Minorca*, followed in 1757 by a map of *Rochefort* (another bespoke map for the architect Edward Oakley), and maps of *St Martin's Island*, and *Trinchinopoly* also in 1757. In 1758 Rocque published a map of *Brittany*, of *Gibraltar*, of a place called *L'orient and Port Louis* (which had been drafted by the 'King's Engineer'), and he displayed a quixotic apparent neutrality by also publishing a map of *St Malo's* drafted by 'Mons.r le Chevalier de Beaurain' first published in Paris. However Mary Pedley has demonstrated the extraordinary openness of the trade between map-makers on both sides of the English Channel during this time, despite all of the strategic implications of such an exchange of sensitive information, but no doubt also demonstrating the overriding public appetite for such up to the minute maps of ongoing hostilities.[142]

In 1758 Rocque also published his important *CARTE GÉNÉRALE / des Postes de / L'EUROPE*, for which a good deal of research no doubt was necessary, although there is no question that, like all his other European maps, this was a composite of others' sources, and unlike his British and Irish maps, was not based on his own original surveys. Rocque also published a map based

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of ownership became very convoluted.' (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Conger) Viewed August 7, 2008. The most recent definition in the OED is far from satisfactory, and the above online definition is far more accurate, and consistent with the more detailed discussion of the subject by Mary Pedley, as outlined in the following note.

141 On conger publications, and their relative scarcity in map-publishing in the 18th century see Mary Pedley (ed.) *The map trade in the late eighteenth century: letters to the London map sellers Jefferys and Faden* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2000), 3.

142 *Ibid.* 13: Despite the apparent military sensitivity of these maps, there is little evidence of government intervention, and war was good for business, which flourished between the English, Dutch and French dealers when their respective countries, were at war over America.

on a purchased original plate of Wren's *Plan for Rebuilding the CITY after the Fire* which first appeared in 1667. Finally in 1759, Rocque also published maps of *Dresden, Quebec, Geneva* and *Rouvier*. The sources for the maps for the latter two cities, both in Switzerland, were no doubt provided for him by some of his Huguenot colleagues, from whom, as we shall see, Rocque was to receive considerable subscriptions for his Dublin map. No doubt all of this work involved some time in London to orchestrate such busy affairs, but the almost exclusive predominance of original Irish material over non-original other works, is another argument in favour of the idea that Rocque did indeed spend the majority of those six years between 1754-60, in Ireland and *not* in London, as his former biographers would have it.

4.1.4.3 Kildare Manuscript Estate Maps

A good deal of research has already been carried out to date on Rocque's surprising[143] series of Kildare manuscript maps, although no doubt, in the light of the topographical and historical value of the record Rocque made for the earl of Kildare at this time, these works will continue to provide fruitful sources for continued academic investigation. In the context of the principal subject of this thesis – an engraved, published map – a synopsis of the extant Irish manuscript works with a very brief commentary is sufficient here. Once again John Andrews has taken a lead in this research, not least in that he has identified the nature and extent of the impact of these works (which were after all outside of Rocque's usual practice)[144] on the industry of manuscript surveying in Ireland that followed.[145] Based on a very careful visual analysis of the style of these watercolour maps – much as has been attempted in this

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[143] Surprising as they were unknown to Rocque's two chief biographers before John Andrews. They were only first known to exist outside Ireland, when they were put on sale by the Kildare family in Sotheby's in 1963. But also for their sheer brilliance and majesty, and for the dynasty of succeeding surveyors that the creation of this group of maps established.

[144] Rocque's very few privately commissioned English manuscript survey maps have already been listed in Chapter 1. Also Rocque never advertised while in Ireland for this service.

[145] J.H. Andrews, 'The French school of Dublin land surveyors' *Irish Geography* 45 (1964-68): 275-92.

thesis with regard to Rocque's engraved works – Andrews identified the succeeding lineage of what had long since been referred to as the 'The French school of land surveyors', who closely followed his richly coloured and implicitly meaningful visual style of representing the landscape in plan form. It is worth re-emphasising perhaps that although Rocque had a number of direct apprentices who were schooled in this naturalistically evocative manner of cartographical depiction, it was only through those that had been trained by his brother-in-law Bernard Scalé that the true lineage was passed.[146] While Scalé retired early, and indeed disappeared from the Irish scene around 1779 (when he was only 40),[147] a series of partnerships were formed in his wake, so that Scalé, Sherrard and Brownrigg, became Sherrard and Brownrigg, and later Sherrard, Brassington and Greene, and eventually Brassington and Gale, which was to finally close its doors in 1902![148]

Some of the topographical aspects of Rocque's Kildare survey maps have been investigated by Arnold Horner, especially the degree to which a number of the inset vignettes might be depended upon for their architectural information.[149] Some art-historical issues have been explored by Horner, Anne Hodge[150] and Joseph McDonnell.[151] Anne Hodge's BA thesis on the subject of the Kildare maps, carried out in the National College of Art and Design, Dublin, is both

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146 *Ibid.*, 283-4.

147 Mason, A S, and Bensusan-Butt, J, 'P.B. Scalé: Surveyor in Ireland, Gentleman of Essex' (1988) XXIV *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society* 508-518.

148 *Ibid*, 287.

149 Arnold Horner, 'Cartouches and vignettes on the Kildare estate maps of John Rocque', *Irish Georgian Society Quarterly Bulletin*, xiv (1971): 57-76; Arnold Horner, 'New maps of Co. Kildare interest in the National Library of Ireland', *Journal of the Co. Kildare Archaeological Society*, xv (1975-6): 473-89.

150 Anne Hodge, 'The practical and the decorative: the Kildare estate maps of John Rocque' *Irish Arts Review* 17 (2001): 133-40.

151 Joseph McDonnell, 'The influence of the French rococo print in Ireland in the eighteenth century' *Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society* XXXVI (1994): 63-74; Joseph McDonnell, 'Appendix II: the rococo frontispiece' in *The cries of Dublin: drawn from the life by Hugh Douglas Hamilton, 1760*, edited by William Laffan (Dublin: Irish Georgian Society, 2003), 197-98.

comprehensive and a source of important insights and directions for further research.[152] She demonstrates the extraordinary range of rococo decoration on display, and rightly points out that, just as he had in England some twenty years before, Rocque once again played a seminal role in Ireland in the dissemination through these estate surveys, of the rococo style. He was assisted in this, however, by a number of Irish artists, those named, and likely many others unnamed, who worked with Rocque on them. Finally a recent catalogue by Robin Halwas for the sale of one of the eight volumes that Rocque created for the earl of Kildare provides a very useful and reliable summary of much of the research to date, and is superbly illustrated and produced.[153] A number of the comments that follow have been influenced by some of their findings, but also result from this author's viewing of all of the volumes, that are publicly available, in their respective collections.

Rocque produced a series of eight red leather-bound volumes of manuscript maps for James Fitzgerald (1722-73), the twentieth earl of Kildare, during the years 1755 to 1760. Nothing is known of how this commission first came about. No records, receipts, or letters of instruction have survived. However, unlike Rocque's practice of dedicating printed materials, be they maps or books, to well-known patrons, or indeed to owners of estates that he had surveyed, without necessarily having secured their permission, or their patronage,[154] we can be confident in this case that the earl had commissioned this one-off set of maps. Indeed Andrews has uncovered a reference that appears to confirm a commission, as well as a (highly unlikely) amount paid for the project. Speaking of the injustice of Irish landlords' habit of letting out

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[152] Anne Hodge. 'A study of the rococo decoration on John Rocque's Irish maps and plans, 1755-1760', (Unpublished B.A. thesis, Faculty of History of Art and Design and Complementary Studies, National College of Art and Design, 1994).

[153] Robin Halwas, *John Rocque's survey of the Kildare estates: manor of Kilkea, 1760. A rediscovered atlas ornamented by Hugh Douglas Hamilton* (London: Robin Halwas Limited, n.d. [2005]).

[154] We cannot be certain of this of course. However, no references have so far emerged (in previous research) to Rocque in estate records of estates of which Rocque published surveys, most of which are in nevertheless dedicated to the owners of these estates.

parcels of land to the highest bidder, over the heads of sitting tenants, the visiting Lord Chief Baron Willes reported in 1760 that 'Lord Kildare who is one of the greatest improvers in Ireland is sensible of the injustice of these kind of leases and therefore he has at an expense of *some hundred pounds* [my italics] had his estate surveyed and *curious* maps made of his lands at Carton, Maynooth and that part of the kingdom and proposes, as leases and lives drop in, to set his lands at a reasonable rate to each tenant…'.[155] It would seem astonishing that such a prodigious amount of work carried out over a five-year period, could be paid for by only £100. However, that is the only reference we have to work with in this instance.

The eight volumes remained in the family's collection until they were sold as separate lots in an auction in 1963.[156] All but two of the eight are now in public collections albeit dispersed across the globe. Dates on the volumes give some sense of the order in which they were produced, although there are a number that appeared in a single year, without any more exact dating for us to be certain of the exact order in which they might have been produced. Volumes seem to have been worked on concurrently. The approximate order in which the volumes were finished and the present location of the maps are as follows:[157] Woodstock, 1755-57 (British Library);[158] Athy, 1756 (Dublin,

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155 Andrews, J.H., *Plantation Acres: An Historical Study of the Irish Land Surveyor and His Maps* (Omagh: Ulster Historical Foundation,1985), 160-61, (n. 80 – 'Miscellaneous observations on ireland'. PRONI, T.2855/1, p. 13, from an original formerly in the Warwickshire County Record Office, Warwick. Cf. Marquess of Kildare, *Earls of Kildare*, 296.

156 According to Horner, 'Cartouches and vignettes', n. 5, the maps were sold in separate lots at a auction by Sotheby's in November 1963. Hodge, 'Practical and decorative', 134, points out that the existence of these maps was not known of amongst Rocque scholars until their sale in this year, and consequently are not alluded to by Varley and Phillips, the two pre-eminent Rocque scholars up to this point. See earlier references to their works on Rocque.

157 This list is taken from Halwas *Rocque's survey*, 29 & from Hodge, 'Practical and decorative': 140. fn. 14; and from an inspection of all of the six volumes in public collections.

158 London, British Library, Add Ms 52,293. 'A GENERAL MAP / of the MAN.R of WOODSTOCK / Subdivid'd into its Districts vits. / WOODSTOCK, GOULIDUFE / COLEROE, KILCOO, KILCROW, / CASTLE MITCHELL, & ROSSBRAN / Situat'd near

Trinity College);[159] Maynooth, 1757 (Cambridge);[160] Kildare 1757 (Dublin, Trinity College);[161] Castledermot 1758, (Dublin, National Library);[162] Graney, 1758 (Yale, Center for British Art);[163] Rathangan 1760 (Private Collection, whereabouts unknown); Kilkea 1760 (Private Collection – recently sold by Robin Halwas Limited).[164]

The format for all of the volumes and the maps therein is relatively uniform throughout the series. With some exceptions,[165] each volume opens with an elaborate frontispiece (Fig. 4.46-7), regularly involving some monumental backdrop, with putti or allegorical figures supporting the title and dedication to the Earl of Kildare as well as an index table with a list of the individual

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ATHY, in the / COUNTY of KILDARE / belong.g to the Right Honb.le / E.R of KILDARE / by J. Rocque / 1756'

[159] Dublin, Trinity College, Ms 4278. 'A SURVEY OF THE MANOR OF ATHY. / Situat'd in the COUNTY OF KILDARE / belonging to his EXCELLENCY JAMES EARL OF KILDARE / by Jn.o Rocque. / 1756.'

[160] Cambridge, Cambridge University, Ms Plans.x.4. 'A SURVEY OF THE MANOR OF MAYNOOTH / SITUAT'D IN THE / COUNTY OF KILDARE / Belonging to his / EXCELLENCY JAMES EARL OF KILDARE / By Jn.o Rocque / 1757.'

[161] Dublin, Trinity College, Ms 10434, 'A SURVEY OF THE MANOR OF KILDARE / Situat'd in the BARONY of OPHALY, & COUNTY OF KILDARE / belonging to his / EXCELLENCY, JA:S E:R OF KILDARE / by J Rocque Chorographer to their R: H:S y.e late & present PRINCE of WALES / 1757'

[162] Dublin, National Library, Ms. 22003, 'A SURVEY OF the MANOR OF CASTLEDERMOT / Situat'd in the / COUNTY of KILDARE / belonging to the Right Hon.ble / JA:S EARL OF KILDARE / by Jn.o Rocque Topographer to their Royal Highness the late & / present PRINCE of WALES / 1758.'

[163] Yale Folio C.G.6, 'A SURVEY OF THE MAN.R OF GRANEY / Situat'd in the / COUNTY of KILDARE / belonging to the Right Honb.le / JAMES EARL OF KILDARE / by Jn.o Rocque Chorographer to their Royal / Highnesses the late & present / PRINCE of WALES / 1758.'

[164] Robin Halwas, *John Rocque's survey of the Kildare estates: manor of Kilkea, 1760. A rediscovered atlas ornamented by Hugh Douglas Hamilton* (London: Robin Halwas Limited, n.d. [2005]). passim.

[165] There is no frontispiece in the Woodstock volume (in the British Library), the first to be produced.

farms represented from each manor. In the case of the Manor of Maynooth map, the table of references is torn back, in a *trompe-l'oeil* fashion, to reveal a realistic representation of Carton estate, with Carton House in the background, and a reclining Minerva, with the Kildare coat of arms on her shield, to the front (Fig. 4.47). These were produced using pen and black ink with grey and sometimes brown wash. They are often followed by a key map, in which the complete manor is depicted in one overarching plan, and in which the individual farms are picked out in different colours and named. They may also be accompanied by tables of tenancies. In some instances too, an extra larger copy of these overarching maps has survived separately. Two examples of these were the large-scale maps rescued from a skip in Dawson Street in Dublin in 1988 by the historian Peter Pearson, and now (appropriately) on display in Rhetoric House in Maynooth University (Figs 4.48-50).[166] These were meant for display on the walls of the manor house itself no doubt.

They are not to be confused with working copies of these maps, like the series in the National Library (Ms 22,502), which have been described as such by Horner.[167] Horner has argued[168] that this was likely 'a specimen map which Rocque submitted before being commissioned for the series of townland

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166 Maynooth, NUI Maynooth, Rhetoric House, 'A / SURVEY OF CARTON / and the / MAN:R OF MAYNOOTH / situat'd in the / COUNTY OF KILDARE / belonging to his / EXCELLENCY JA;S EARL OF KILDARE / By J:o Rocque CHOROGRAPHER to their R;H; the late & present PRINCE of WALES.'; Maynooth, NUI Maynooth, Rhetoric House, 'A / SURVEY / of / RATHANGAN / Situat'd in the County of / KILDARE /… / MANORS / of the Right Hon.bl JAMES / EARL of KILDARE / By / Iohn Rocque',; the maps were purchased from Pearson and restored by Maynooth University.

167 Dublin, National Library of Ireland, Ms 22004, no. 4, 'A / Survey / of BALLIBURN in the / MANNOR of KILKEA in the / COUNTY of KILDARE / part of the Estate of the / EARL of KILDARE / Survey'd and Draw'n by / J: Rocque / 1755.' in 'Maps of the Estates of His Grace the Duke of Leinster', Compiled 1879.

168 Pers comm. & Arnold Horner, 'New maps of Co. Kildare interest in the National Library of Ireland', *Journal of the Co. Kildare Archaeological Society*, xv (1975-6): 473-89; I am also grateful to Arnold Horner for first bringing this material to my attention.

maps.' This suggestion makes sense. Instead of a playful north arrow, we have a very tentative and conservative compass rose instead. The title cartouche with a goat and a cow are very carefully drawn, but again tentative, although the scrolls of the cartouche are very hesitant also, which is not what we would expect from Rocque. The colours are very wan, perhaps faded, but this scheme would receive considerable development as the series progressed, perhaps under the encouragement of the earl. Signed as 'Survey'd and *draw'n* by John Rocque', this is a very rare example of his manuscript hand, although as the medium is very different to that of the engraved published maps, the appearance of this image, is likely to have been quite different to the fair copies he made for his published maps and for the *Exact Survey*. These may well have had more of the appearance of the first pen-and-ink image on the Woodstock map, as described below.

After the frontispiece and the key maps, come the individual farm maps, which make up the remainder of each volume (Figs 4.51 & 4.53). Each consists of the coloured map itself, a table of references, a direction arrow of some sort, and an elaborate cartouche, all disposed across the page in a typically Rocquian composite. There seemed to have been infinite variety, inventiveness, and free-hand exuberance here which makes this collection of images one of the most enthralling and richly rewarding single collections in cartography, or indeed in the topographical arts, at this time. The map part in each case is a unique visual motif, accurately evoking in two-dimensional orthographic form, the shape, relief, and topographical qualities of each of the fields that made up the whole farm measured. The nature of the typical patchwork-style divisions of Irish farmland, is especially suited to this closely recorded and intuitively coloured and textured landscape depiction. Rocque's is a hybrid between the limitations of orthographic plan, with the usual coded restrictions and symbolic key patterns used by the cartographer, and the richly textured and coloured naturalism of the topographical artist.

Perhaps the most wonderful aspect of each map ensemble, is the fecund,

never repeating collection of decorative title cartouches, most often created in a rich rococo style, but sometimes in a more masculine, monumental baroque.[169] Some development or change in style and sophistication might be discerned across the series, suggesting either an intervention by the patron,[170] a development in Rocque's own ambitions, a change in personnel, or a more likely combination of all three. However an untangling of the range of dates associated with the works, combined with the complex permutations of elements in each volume, is beyond the scope of this study to ascertain. For example, the volume considered to be the very first – i.e. Woodstock – has individual sheets dated to 1755, 1756 and 1757. The opening page (there is no frontispiece) is the key map in this instance, and appears to be a poorly realised translation of Rocque's engraved style to pen and ink, rendered in a scratchy manner, where differences are illustrated by changes in ink colour. Roads, hedgerows, ploughed, rough and pastureland, buildings and outbuildings, as well as water features are rendered just as Rocque would for any of his previously engraved county maps, or indeed the Dublin county map, being prepared during this time.[171] In the very next image (dated, however, to 1757) a more sophisticated style, that responds to the qualities of watercolour, is being used. Instead of linear hatchings for shading, the author used the subtle gradations that are more sympathetically rendered by graded grey washes. This image is in turn followed by one created in 1755 – according to the date on the map – implying that these images were assembled and bound after being created on separate loose sheets. McDonnell discerns a radical change from the Athy volume which he suggests was the result of patron intervention. However, many of the key illustrations in that volume

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169 Compare for example the playful and more lyrical rocaille cartouches in the Kildare volume (TCD, Ms 10434) to the mostly architectural compositions created by Hugh Douglas Hamilton in the later Kilkea volume (as illustrated in Halwas *Rocque's survey*, passim, or in Hodge 'Practical and the decorative', 133).

170 Joseph McDonnell, 'The influence of the French rococo print in Ireland in the eighteenth century' *Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society* XXXVI (1994), 73.

171 This unusual approach however is unique in the six volumes (those in public collections) this author has viewed.

resemble closely those in the Kilkea volume which we know were carried out by Hugh Douglas Hamilton, and it was perhaps the free hand given him by Rocque, and the fertility of Hamilton's own imagination, that led to the change.

The sources for cartouche motifs have been considered by McDonnell and by Hodge, and they have demonstrated in a manner which is yet to be attempted for Rocque's published estate maps, that he took his inspiration from a wide sample of European models. Hodge has shown, for example, that the third cartouche in this Woodstock volume - 'An eccentric boat with a dragon on its prow' - was a copy from a French engraving 'devised by Jacques Lajoue (c.1735).[172] Many others have been decoded by her in the course of her BA thesis, including the influence on Rocque's rococo style of Meissonnier,[173] whose book of ornaments we have already seen Rocque re-publish in England in the 1730s.[174] In the same way, Hodge alludes to the influence of Gravelot – with whom we have also seen Rocque work[175] – especially for the Watteauesque-like gay figures that are interspersed in many of the landscape views which were sometimes integrated into the farm maps in this collection.[176] There are a number of examples of such playful figures in some

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[172] Anne Hodge, 'The practical and the decorative: the Kildare estate maps of John Rocque', *Irish Arts Review*, 17 (2001): 133-40, p. 136.

[173] Anne Hodge. 'A study of the rococo decoration on John Rocque's Irish maps and plans, 1755-1760', (Unpublished B.A. thesis, Faculty of History of Art and Design and Complementary Studies, National College of Art and Design, 1994), p. 5.

[174] See Section 2.2 above. An unusual piece of material evidence for the impact of Rocque's edition of Meissonnier – in which the images were inadvertently reversed by him – has been demonstrated by Nicholas Sheaff, 'Jarratt and Rococo' (1984) 1, no. 3 *Irish Arts Review* 50-51. Here the design for a mirror or picture frame by Joseph Jarratt (in the Irish Architectural Archive) is from Rocque's edition of Meissonnier, as the putto with the arrow pointing upwards is reversed. Cf. McDonnell, 'The influence of the French rococo print', 66.

[175] Thomas Shaw, *Travels or Observations Relating to Several Parts of Barbary and the Levant* (Oxford: Printed at the Theatre, 1738), discussed in Section 2.2 above.

[176] Hodge, 'A study of the rococo', 7.

of the Arcadian scenes found in the Athy volume for example.[177] McDonnell has noted the 'extensive use of Dutch engravings as sources, especially for [Rocque's] pastoral scenes and vignettes.' He points out, for example, that Rocque had listed in his 1754 printed proposal for the Dublin map, along with the Gaetanno Brunetti and the Meissonnier, that he had for sale also '6 landscapes by Bergham', who, McDonnell says, was better known as Nicolas Bercham (1620-83). Amongst other motifs of his used by Rocque in the Kildare works is Berchem's pissing cow used in the large vignette in the map of Knockfield, in the Graney volume of 1759 (Figs 4.51-2).[178] But there was also, he noted, some 'native invention' in the Rathangan volume of 1760, with, for example, the putto cutting turf using a *slan*. McDonnell attributes much of the originality of these works to the team of local artists Rocque used, particularly to Hugh Douglas Hamilton, as Rocque 'was apparently an indifferent draughtsman'. The evidence for this point we have already seen is quite mixed. However, in the case of Hamilton, much of the work in the later volumes might be attributed to him, on the basis of the close connection in style between these and the rococo materials in his contemporaneous *Cries of Dublin*.[179] We know for certain that he and Matthews worked on the Kildare volumes as their signatures appear on four vignettes (only) and one frontispiece all in the Kilkea volume.[180] It is interesting for example that the style of the penmanship throughout Hamilton's own manuscript volume of

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177 Dublin, Trinity College, Ms 4278, 'A SURVEY OF THE MANOR OF ATHY. / Situat'd in the COUNTY OF KILDARE / belonging to his EXCELLENCY JAMES EARL OF KILDARE / by Jn.o Rocque. / 1756.'.

178 McDonnell 'Rococo frontispiece', 197.

179 William Laffan (ed.), *The cries of Dublin &c: drawn from the life by Hugh Douglas Hamilton, 1760* (Dublin: Irish Georgian Society, 2003).

180 According to Hodge 'The practical and the decorative', 135, only four vignettes and one title page are signed in the eight volumes, and, as noted, they all appear in the Kilkea volume. The vignettes that are signed were by Matthew Wren, and Hodge lists his drawings of buildings including Kilkea Castle and Bolton House, amongst them. The other signed image was Hugh Douglas Hamilton's elaborate frontispiece to the Kilkea volume which is reproduced in Halwas, *Rocque's survey*, pp. 12-13.

'The cries of Dublin', matches the house style of Rocque being 'a mixture of different types of lettering … from block capitals to a fancy cursive hand', and in fact McDonnell has found examples of Hamilton practising in this form at the rear of at least two of the images in 'The Cries', e.g. 'Butter Milk 6 Quarts a Penny' (Plate 63), which reads: 'Hugh Douglas Hamilton / Plans &c. sold by John Rocque Topographer to / Dublin Royal D / Boal /Border…'.[181] Much interesting work remains to be done on these works by Hamilton, Rocque and the other artists in the entire series.

One of the most playful features running through all of the volumes is the inventive series of direction arrows (also known as north points). Some are simple fleur-de-lis pointers, and other such straightforward motifs. More often we get some kind of putti involvement, either with these little cherubs simply holding up a fleur-de-lis arrow while wallowing in a cloud, or as appears over and over in the Kildare Manor volume a series of putto heads in clouds (sometimes with whirring butterfly wings) blowing out the direction as a wind.[182] One of the most inventive collections – and one accessible to scholars who seek to photograph them – is the wonderful Graney volume in the British Art Center in Yale University (Figs 4.53-6).[183] Fig 4.53 illustrates the conceit in context. Two winged putti in fluffy skies struggle to stabilise a fleur-de-lis-ended direction arrow.[184] Fig. 4.54 is a close-up of a similarly conceived motif.[185] Fig. 4.55 is a fantastic capriccio, in which a putto balances a rake on his chin, while another three putti, against the backdrop of haystacks, watch on with delight.[186] Finally the accomplished sophistication of the anatomy and of the watercolour technique, not to mention the humour and the invention,

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[181] McDonnell, 'Rococo frontispiece', 197.

[182] 'Athy Manor', (TCD Ms 4278) e.g. map no. 10, 'Ardmore', and many others like it. E.g. no. 18: Bally-Adams. Rocaille cartouche, in pinks and grey. The wind blowing putto appears as a head only between flapping butterfly wings.

[183] 'Graney' 1758 (Yale C.G.6).

[184] 'Survey of Cloghlore' in 'Graney' volume, p. 12.

[185] 'Survey of Knockshannah' in 'Graney' volume, p. 3.

[186] 'Survey of David's Town' in 'Graney' volume, p. 5.

can be seen at close hand, in the close-up of a group of putti with theatrical cut-out wings, holding the string at the end of a kite they are flying (Fig. 4.56).[187] Regarding the putti, Hodge, quoting Edward Lynam, rehearses that 'it was their duty to hold up festoons, carry surveyors' chain and other instruments … The first begetter of these unwanted infants has never been discovered, but they infested Dutch, English and German maps from about 1640 until 1790.' Rocque's cartouches '(especially those on his estate plans) are home to hundreds of these helpful putti and they give a humorous quality to his surveys.'[188]

The *trompe-l'oeil* scrolled reference table was also an important motif – found elsewhere in Rocque's work – which runs through the whole series. An early appearance of this motif in Rocque is arguably his inventive use of this illusionist device for the inset images on his estate plan of Wilton House published in London in 1746 (Fig. 4.57).[189] But these appear in great profusion in the Kildare manuscript estate maps (Figs. 4.47, 50, 51 & 53), and their very appearance as the index page to the Weinreb volumes in Yale (Fig. 4.24), has been used already by this author as part of an argument for their being produced under the direction of Rocque or his workshop.[190] Of course the motif is something of a cliché going back to the 17th century and earlier. This particular penchant has been attributed by some to Scalé,[191] Rocque's son-in-

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187 'Graney Mill' in 'Graney' volume, p. 7.

188 Edward Lynam, *The mapmaker's art: essays on the history of maps* (London: Batchworth Press, 1953), 50.

189 *An Exact PLAN / OF THE / Gardens and Park at Wilton / The SEAT of / HENRY Earl of PEMBROKE / Together with the TOWN & also some / Views of the House and Buildings in y.e Garden. / Survey'd and Drawn by J. Rocque*; MapForum cat.36; image source Dublin, Trinity College, OO.a.60.

190 See section 4.1.2 above.

191 Mason 'P.B. Scalé: surveyor', 515 calls this trompe-l'oeil scroll work Scalé's 'personal decorative fingerprint'.

law and young apprentice.[192] For certain Scalé used these a great deal in his own later work. An example of an extremely fine piece of torn scroll work which can be fixed in his name appears in the Athy volume (TCD Ms 4278), but is in fact a later insertion. This is an image of the so-called 'Abby Land' in which the reference table is set in a very elaborately torn *trompe-l'oeil* paper scroll, that is inscribed: 'A survey of the Abby Land Situate in the Manor of Athy and County of Kildare the Estate of his Grace James Duke of Leinster, By Berd.d Scalé 1768.'[193] Something of the effect of this image can also be seen at the outer edges of the large-scale wall-map 'Survey of Rathangan' on display in Rhetoric House in Maynooth (Fig. 4.50). There is also a similar insertion (as that in the Athy volume) in the volume on Maynooth at Cambridge.[194] In this single image the scrolls are much more angular in shape, and a great deal of fun was had giving the impression of torn and crinkled paper. There is even a simulation in brown wash to suggest that the paper had been burnt. However while this aspect was enhanced, if not exaggerated, in Scalé's later work, there is arguably some loss of other Rocquian qualities. The greens are a more brittle metallic shade in general in Scalé's independent work. Scalé's variety of colour and gradations of field type are much less visually arresting than in Rocque. The negative space of roads does not read as clearly as in Rocque's, nor is there anything like the believable variety of hedgerow and other field boundaries, which are particularly carefully defined by black ink shading and subtle delicate grey cast-shadows, throughout the wonderful Kildare series.

Finally it is worth pointing out, once again upon the basis of the signed Scalé image of 1768 (just noted), that Scalé, perhaps like Rocque himself, was no master of the human figure. His female winged cherub on, and holding, a sheaf of corn while riding the compass arrow in a cloud, are fun, but naïve in

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[192] Born in 1739, Peter Bernard Scalé would have been only 15 when he came to Dublin with Rocque in 1754; cf. Mason 'P.B. Scalé: surveyor', 508.

[193] 'Manor of Athy', Dublin, Trinity College, Ms 4278, p.20.

[194] 'Manor of Maynooth', p.38, inserted by Scalé in 1772: 'A part of Balligorn'.

the extreme. This gives the lie to any suggestion that it was Scalé who was responsible for the endlessly inventive cherubs or putti holding or directing the north-points on the Kildare maps, as suggested by some.[195] Mason, for example, has sensibly compared the Kildare maps to an earlier set of manuscript maps created by Rocque, i.e. those of the Essex estate in Ongar, dating to 1741, and notes a considerable improvement.[196] But one must caution against his conclusion that this was a result of Scalé's input. His tender age apart, there continued to be considerable cartographical and visual limitations to his expression in his later work, compared to Rocque's, despite the very fine scripting penmanship, and his *trompe l'oeil* effects. The most interesting of the putti figures, especially those illustrated here (and belonging to the Graney volume at Yale), must surely have been created by Hamilton, and a close comparison to his recently discovered 'Cries', drawn contemporaneously, would no doubt bear interesting fruit.

The cohesion of these watercolour maps, especially the estate plans themselves, and the quality of the symbolic and quasi-naturalistic representation, must not be overlooked. These continued to fit neatly with the level of information, and Rocque's principles of visual clarity and explicitness, that we see in his contemporary printed works. Nevertheless there does indeed seem to have been a substantial improvement in these works over Rocque's earlier manuscript maps, although further comparative research on this point is needed. Rocque used at least two local artists – Matthew Wren and Hugh Douglas Hamilton – of considerable ability, despite the tender age of the latter, in this series. Scalé also worked on these maps. No doubt others from his staff, perhaps J.J. Perret, for example, may have worked on the survey if not the drafting too. What remains is a spectacular suite of works, whose art-historical and topographical riches have yet to be completely plundered. Despite the uncertainty once again regarding direct authorship, we see a sure and experienced, guiding hand orchestrating the whole, very much in the

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195 For example as suggested by Andrews, *Plantation acres*, 163.

196 Mason, 'P.B. Scalé: surveyor', 515, referring to Essex Record Office D/DCw p. 46.

manner of the previous printed estate maps. If anything, however, this topographical art is now brought to new and unexpected heights.

4.2 Rivalry with Roger Kendrick and the making of a house-by-house map

A close reading, made in the course of the present study, of the series of publicity announcements made in the Dublin newspapers from June 1754 to the final appearance of the map in late 1756, suggests that Rocque's hand was somewhat forced into changing his usual approach to the rendering of the detail of his city plan. This turn of events took place after Rocque had arrived in Dublin, and had already begun the survey. It came about, as shall be argued, as a result of the attempts by the possibly piqued Dublin City surveyor, Roger Kendrick, to publish a Dublin map in competition to that being planned by the Huguenot interloper. Appeals made to the patriotic, buy-Irish, sympathies of the public, were made by Kendrick who would eventually promise an impossibly ambitious map that would out-Rocque Rocque as a record of Kendrick's native city. However, Kendrick was a surveyor only. Used to pen and ink, his maps were more limited in the extent of ground covered, albeit doggedly accurate in a way that Rocque's maps were not. Kendrick was neither an engraver nor a publisher. Nor was he the great inspirational promoter of his own business that Rocque had become in order to survive. Kendrick's proposed map was eventually to be on eight sheets, and to cover ground from Kilmainham to Ringsend. It was to have been decorated by a series of inset elevation drawings of the best public buildings. The enterprise never got beyond Christmas, in the planning and publicity phases of 1754. However there is good reason to believe that it was his and Rocque's tit-for-tat series of concurrent advertisements in *Faulkner's Dublin Journal* that forced Rocque to raise the stakes and finally announce the detailed house-by-house map that he eventually published. We have the disappointed city surveyor to thank for that.

A study of what we might describe as the polite polemics or 'newspaper battle' between Roger Kendrick, Dublin City surveyor, and Rocque has been

instructive.[197] As already noted, contemporaneous documentary evidence for Rocque (related to his career in London or Dublin), especially records of Rocque's own words, is extremely rare. Evidence is confined for the most part (saving the two letters in the Mannheim manuscript and a letter to the Royal Society of Arts in 1759)[198] to the maps themselves, and to Rocque's published catalogues and proposals. The latter were broadsheet advertisements in which Rocque drummed up support for subscriptions to new works which were being planned or prepared. The bravura tone of Rocque's proposal for the Dublin map, published on the 5 September 1754, and the series of newspaper reports (advertisement features in today's terms) which appeared in Faulkner's *Dublin Journal* from the 10th of that month until the middle of December especially are in poignant contrast to the faltering indecision displayed in the parallel notices published by the Dublin surveyor.

What follows is an exposition of this in some detail, in order to demonstrate the point as well as to tease out the circumstances by which, and the character of, the lengths Rocque went to make his enterprises known. No doubt, the controversy only helped to serve his cause more. Nevertheless it did force his hand to do something he had never done before, and the wholly unique 1756 *Exact Survey* was the result. Yet this turn of events must have surprised Rocque. He never had to make such a map before, and he had no doubt to think on his feet. The working technology was there, as demonstrated by Ogilby and Morgan's *A Large and Accurate Map of the City of London* (1676).[199] Rocque must have more or less revived this approach to make the Dublin map, without necessarily being aware (although no doubt he was aware of the earlier map) of how Ogilby made his post-London Fire house-by-house survey.

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197 *Dublin Journal* nos. 2830-2859 (15 June 1754-29 January 1757); Andrews described 'the ensuing newspaper battle [as] unusually polite': J.H. Andrews, 'The French school of Dublin land surveyors', *Irish Geography*, 45 (1964-68): 275-92., p. 278.

198 Discussed in chapter 1.

199 This house-by-house post-London Fire map is discussed in Chapter 3.

It should be noted that Kendrick's announcement to publish an engraved map of the city (30 July 1754) came before Rocque's (27 August) first newspaper notice, but after Dury's arrival in the city (15 June). Kendrick's decision in the first instance may have had nothing to do with Rocque, although one cannot help wondering whether or not Dury's presence in the city, the maps that he put up for sale, and perhaps some reconnaissance work that he may have begun for Rocque, was the spur for Kendrick's first proposal. Alternatively, Kendrick's announcement might have prompted Dury to contact Rocque, and suggest that here lay a brilliant opportunity, and that Rocque was the man to carry it through. In any case, Kendrick's and Rocque's appearance in various editions of the Dublin newspaper throughout the second half of 1754 were nearly always concurrent, or closely followed one by the other, and it is clear that each of them at various times made ever expanding claims in a tit-for-tat fashion.

4.2.1 Expanded Chronology of events leading to the publication of the 1756 *Exact Survey*

The Dublin City surveyor, Roger Kendrick, announced in July 1754 that he was planning to publish a detailed map of Dublin which would supersede the previous inaccurate survey published by Brooking in 1728. Kendrick's announcement was first made in the 3 August 1754 issue of Faulkner's *Dublin Journal*, and was followed by identical notices in nine subsequent editions, until the issue dated 1 September, 1754:

> '**Roger Kendrick**, Land Surveyor to the Hon. City of Dublin, is now making an actual Survey of the said City and Suburbs, (a considerable part of which is already done) which he intends to prosecute with all the Speed and Care imaginable; to take in the Royal Hospital in the West, and Ringsend in the East; St George's Church or Summer-hill in the North, and St Stephen's green in the South. Shewing the Bounds of each Parish, &c. And to lay it down from a Scale of 20 Irish Perches to an Inch. This is much

larger than Brooking's Scale, and yet, from the many gross Errors that are in Brooking's Map, he supposes that this will lie in as little Room as it. He intends to have perspective View; of all or most of the ornamental Buildings, done by the best Hands; as much as together with the said map can be contained in three sheets of Imperial Paper; the Whole to be engraved on Copper-plates…'[200]

Roger Kendrick was a verger at St Patrick's cathedral in the 1730s and a charity school master from 1731-63.[201] He was the Dublin City Surveyor from 1738,[202] and examples of his scrupulously measured city plans can be found in many of our city libraries (Fig. 4.58).[203] A study of his surviving maps in for example the St Patrick's Liberties map book in Marsh's Library or others in the National Library, National Archives and TCD, helps to explain perhaps why such a project – Kendrick attempted to match Rocque's ambitious schemes throughout – proved beyond the Irish surveyor's grasp. Kendrick's technique was careful and accurate, but lacked the kind of attention to topographical and descriptive detail so characteristic of Rocque's work, and no

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[200] The advertisement continues as follows: 'And the said Map shall not only be neatly embellished, but shall also be laid down with the utmost Truth and Exactness possible. As this Work will be attended with great Expense and infinite Labour, the said Kendrick hopes that this Hon. City, and the Publick in general, will encourage him by subscribing to the Map. The Price will be a Guinea each Map, Half thereof to be paid at the Time of subscribing, and thereafter at receiving the Map. Subscriptions to be taken in by Mr. George Faulkner in Essex-Street, and Roger Kendrick in Kevin-Street. N.B. As some Gentlemen are desirous that the Survey should extend 3 or 4 miles into the Country all round the City, the said Kendrick (if duly encouraged) will, with God's Assistance, proceed to perform it immediately after finishing the said Map.'

[201] Exhibition label attached to Kendrick's Mapbook, Marsh's Library Ms Z2.1.14.

[202] See note 18 above.

[203] Other published evidence for Kendrick as City Surveyor can be found in a report to the Dublin Corporation of 1753 in which Kendrick disputes the location of the Long Stone with rival surveyors Gibson & Stokes, Andrews, *Plantation Acres* (Omagh, 1985), 120, n.36. Other known maps made by Kendrick include maps reproduced by Monck Mason of St Patrick's Cathedral; and manuscript survey plans held in NLI; PROI [NAI]; TCD.

doubt Kendrick's maps would have taken considerably longer to execute. However all of his works to date were manuscript plans, and there is no reason to believe that he had any real experience with the mechanics of bringing about an engraved image from his originals, not to mention the true work of publishing, i.e. marketing and distribution. Thus despite being the city surveyor, Kendrick had never produced a published map of any kind, not to say one on this scale.

In this July notice, Kendrick is announcing a map that will cover an area between St George's Church on the north to St Stephen's Green in the south (broadly similar to Rocque's north-south parameters) and the Royal Hospital in the west to Ringsend in the east. The latter represented an expansion eastwards on what Rocque would later propose by a factor of between two and three times. However it was to be laid down to a scale of approximately 20 Irish Perches (approximately 400 ft) to an inch, on three imperial sheets of paper (presumably laid end to end) and to show the bounds of the various parishes.

Either way, when Rocque himself arrived in Dublin in 27 August, he set out his projected stall in the *Dublin Journal* as well:

> 'We hear the celebrated Mr. Rocque (Chorographer to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales) who took the actual and accurate Surveys of the Cities and environs of London, Paris &c. is now employed (by proper Authority) in making the same of this Metropolis, in order to lay it down on the same Scale'

The scale of Rocque's 1747 London map was 200 ft to an inch (1:2,400), exactly the scale of the final 1756 *Exact Survey*. While there are no details in this first notice of what level of detail was being planned, there is no reason to think that the block-by-block approach of all of his earlier work had changed at this time. Kendrick's usual statement as first published in July, appears in this edition also. However, on the following Saturday (31 August, five days

later), Kendrick asserts – without mentioning Rocque directly – his superior experience and credentials, and that his survey is well on its way:

> 'Mr Roger Kendrick, Surveyor of Dublin, is now going on with a most exact & accurate survey of this City, to the entire satisfaction of the best Judges; & all those who have seen it agree that it will be the most compleat map ever yet taken, as he has hath more opportunities for many years past, than any other person could possibly have.'[204]

On 5 September, Rocque published his first detailed specification for his Dublin map. It appeared as a broadsheet, and was repeated with some modifications in the *Dublin Journal* of 10 September (Fig. 4.21).[205] Here the 'Scale of 200 Feet in one Inch' is specified. The usual block-by-block approach found in all of Rocque's previous works too: 'so that the true Ground plot of all public Buildings, Streets, Lanes, Courts, Alleys, &c. will be therein expressed with the Boundary of the City and the other Liberties contiguous.' There is no mention at this stage of the 'Dwelling Houses, Ware Houses, Stables … [and] Yards' that were to actually appear on the *Exact Survey*.[206]

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[204] *Dublin Journal*, 27-31 August 1754. Repeated *Cork Journal*, 2 September 1754. (Andrews 'Map Historical Notes: Dublin maps', p. 23).

[205] Aspects of Rocque's 1754 *Proposal* have been discussed already in Section 4.1.4.1 above. There were overlaps in both sets of texts – the Proposal and in the *Dublin Journal* – including elements which appear only in the broadsheet *Proposal* and others only in the *Dublin Journal*.

[206] *AN EXACT SURVEY of the CITY and SUBURBS / of DUBLIN in Which is Express'd the Ground Plot / of all PUBLICK BUILDINGS DWELLING HOUSES / WARE HOUSES Stables COURTS Yards &c. by / IOHN ROCQUE Chorographer to their / ROYAL HIGHNESSES the Late & Present Prince / of WALES. / 1756. // TO / THEIR EXCELLENCIES Robert VISCOUNT JOCELYN / Lord HIGH CHANCELOR James EARL of KILDARE and / Brabazon EARL of BESSBOROUGH LORDS / Justices GENERALand GENERAL GOVERNORS of IRELAND, this / PLAN is Most Humbly inscribed by their EXCELLENCIES / most Dutiful and most Obedient humble / Servant / Iohn Rocque // Published according to Act of Parliament. // A. Dury sculp.t*; MapForum cat. 86.

Finally one crucial aspect of the lay-out of the map was specified here for the first time: all 'To be contained in four Sheets of Imperial Paper.'

In the 10 September issue of *Dublin Journal*, three notices – two regarding Rocque, and one from Kendrick, appeared. The debate had begun in earnest. The first was a short notice of an accident avoided while Rocque was laying out the parameters of his survey. Whether Rocque was turning near tragedy to good publicity, or Faulkner was merely reporting the news, the following notice appeared:

> 'Last Week as Mr. Rocque was measuring a Base Line for his Survey of this City, and the Environs, two of his Men who were attending him with the Chain on the Sea Coast between Irish Town and Roches Hill, The Tide coming in very fast, and they endeavouring to get on Shore the nearest way, got into a deep Pool; and had it not been for the timely Assistance of some People gathering Stones, in all Probability they had been drowned.'[207]

In the very same issue Kendrick, no doubt in urgent response to Rocque's broadsheet *Proposal*, made an announcement that involved new very significant changes to his former proposal:

> 'Roger Kendrick, City Surveyor, finding that the scale he began to lay down his Map by will be to[o] small for the several Requisites with which he intends to furnish his Map of Dublin … is resolved to lay it down by another Scale, which will make it extend to 4 Sheets of Imperial Paper: but this will leave no Room for the ornamental Buildings &c. which he at first proposed to have in the Margins …'

Kendrick did not specify what his new scale was to be, but no doubt he felt the need to respond to Rocque's 200 ft to an inch, compared to Kendrick's

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[207] *Dublin Journal*, 2855 (10 September, 1754), p.3. Aspects of this report will be considered below, in the section on Rocque's surveying of the Dublin map.

initially planned 400 ft to an inch. The marginal vignettes of the public buildings must already have been proving too much for the Dublin surveyor too. He goes on to 'reduce the Price to his Subscribers to 12 English Shilings', from a previous Guinea (21 shillings). Finally, in a kind of prophetic addendum to the notice Kendrick remarks:

> 'He [Kendrick] has been offered the friendly Assistance of several Surveyors in order to expedite his Work, in which he takes this opportunity to return them his hearty thanks; but it might then not be deemed or looked upon as his own Survey, and when determined from the Beginning to do the Whole himself, if possible, he was on that Account obliged to decline their friendly Offers, And purposes to perform the Whole himself. He therefore hopes that his great Care will not turn out to his Disadvantage, as he may thereby come behind Mr. Rocque in Point of Time.'

Thus not only did Kendrick deny the help of some 'friendly assistance', but in doing so, he hopes that this will not mean that he finishes his work after Rocque. This is the only time either mapmaker mentions the other in the course of the ongoing debate.

As noted Rocque re-published most of the broadsheet *Proposal* in this issue too, but added some details of a second four-sheet map that would become the *Harbour and Environs* map described already (Figs 4.7-8).[208] The *Exact Survey* was to be reduced to a single sheet, as Rocque had done for his maps of London, Paris and Rome, 'and the vacant Parts to be filled up with the Environs of the City, taking in the Harbour, with Soundings from Bullock to the Hill of Howth …'. No doubt, these soundings were part of the work being carried out when Rocque and his assistants were nearly drowned, and this was a neat corroboration or linkage to the earlier notice in the same issue of the paper.

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[208] See section 4.1.1 & note 12, above.

The expanded notices from both Rocque and Kendrick that appeared in the September 10 edition of the *Dublin Journal*, continued unchanged for about a month, that of the 19 October being the first issue without a notice from either. However, in the 26 October issue of the *Dublin Journal*, Rocque issued his next salvo in the battle. At this stage still maintaining the same level of detail, i.e. 'public Buildings, Streets, Lanes, Courts…' he comments on the 'great Forwardness', i.e. progress, being made on both of his four-sheet maps – the *Exact Survey*, and that of the *Harbour and Environs* – and then announced that 'in Gratitude for the many Favours he hath received in this Kingdom, thinks it his Duty incumbent on him to engrave the above Maps in Dublin'. Perhaps this had not been his first intention, but is part of the ongoing commitment genuinely expressed by his continued presence in Ireland through most of the 1754-60 period, as argued already. In what must have come as a great shock to Kendrick, Rocque goes on to announce: 'And that the Public may not think themselves deceived, all those who are willing to encourage this Undertaking, may see the original Drawing in India Ink … and done in the same Manner as they will be when engraved …' Although it would be exactly two years before the finished engraved map was to be finally published (November 1756), it is nonetheless remarkable that after only two months from his first arrival (27 August), Rocque was in a position to display to the public, his first ink mock-up of the final map as '[it] will be when engraved'. Subscriptions for the map – based on the India Ink drawing – were to be taken by Faulkner ('the printer hereof'), by Rocque himself at his lodgings 'at the Golden Heart [sic] opposite Crane-lane, Dame-Street.', and by 'James Symon, Esq; in Fleet-street'. It is not certain who the last might be. No James Symon appears in either of the two recently published comprehensive studies on the Dublin book and printing trades by Mary Pollard and James Phillips.[209] It is likely, however, that he was the same 'James Simon, Esq;

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[209] Symon is neither mentioned in Mary Pollard, *A dictionary of members of the Dublin book trade 1550-1800 : based on the records of the Guild of St Luke the Evangelist Dublin* (London: Biographical Society, 2000), nor in James W. Phillips, *Printing and bookselling in Dublin, 1670-1800: a bibliographical inquiry* Edited by Dr. M. Pollard. (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1998).

F.R.S.' who was listed in the Subscribers List to the *Exact Survey*. Amongst many other things, that James Simon was part of a delegation charged by the Dublin Physico-Historical Society to approach Lord Newport to ask him to become president of the organisation in 1747.[210] He was a member of the Royal Society since 1748, was a native of France, but resident of Ireland, a merchant and author of reports on the Royal Society,[211] and a book on coins: *An essay towards an historical account of Irish coins…* (Dublin, 1749).[212] Enlisting such a figure, if this should be the case, to take subscriptions, would have been a wise move on Rocque's behalf, and also demonstrates the degree to which Rocque had infiltrated himself into the society of Dublin's cultural elite. It is also possible that he had come to know Simon in London through their mutual involvement with the Royal Society, and Simon may well have been a crucial link in this regard.[213]

Whether Faulkner prompted Kendrick for a response to this or not, we do not hear from him until the next issue on 2 November,[214] when he delivers what

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[210] Eoin Maginnis, ' "A land of milk and honey:": the Physico-Historical Society, improvement and the surveys of mid-18c Ireland', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. 102C (2002), 199-217.

[211] Peter Harbison, pers. comm. based on research in the Royal Society archives, 2005.

[212] C.f. e.g. 'Mr James Simon of Dublin to his Friend in New York reporting the use of electrical shocks by Mr Booth, a young Gentleman who read Lectures here in Experimental Philosophy' which aided the formerly incurable invalid Henry McCormack'. *Pennsylvania Gazette* 6 Aug 1747, reprinted from the *New York Weekly Journal* (http://www.english.udel.edu/lemay/franklin/citizen.html) on page related to 1747: Viewed 13 August, 2008; Simon, James. 'A Letter from Mr. James Simon, of Dublin . . . concerning the Petrifactions of Lough-Neagh from the Right Rev. Dr. George Berkeley', P*hilosophical Transactions* 44 (1746-47): 305-28; *Dublin Journal* 5th October, 1754, p.2 'The Incorporated Society in Dublin for promoting English Protestant Schools in Ireland, hold their monthly general Meeting at the Lords Committee Room in the Parliament House … James Simon, Secretary'; Mr James Simon, Merchant is also listed as a subscriber to John Bricknell's *Natural History of North Carolina…* (Dublin 1737).

[213] I am grateful to Terry Montague for making this suggestion to me.

[214] *Dublin Journal* 2869 2 November, 1754, p.2.

appears to be a last desperate appeal to the patriotic consumer impulse he was likely to find in his audience.[215] The patriotic inclination he appealed to, it is implied, was against a project being carried out by a foreign publisher, using foreign engravers, on foreign paper: 'Roger Kendrick, City Surveyor, has got some extraordinary good Irish Royal Paper, fit for his Map of Dublin… He will have it engraved here by a Citizen of known Ability'. It is interesting to speculate as to what citizen of ability he was referring, if any, as, until Rocque took a number of younger local artists into his employ, none was trained in the art of cartographic engraving. George Faulkner, the proprietor and editor of the *Dublin Journal*, was a well-known advocate of encouraging Irish consumption of Irish manufactured goods, and had made specific appeals on the subject of Irish paper around this time. He may have been partially if not more explicitly responsible for prompting Kendrick's new proposal in this regard. Reporting on a visit by Lord Chancellor Newport to a paper mills at Limerick, some two months earlier, Faulkner editorialised in the following manner: 'it were to be wished that Messieurs Slator, the Paper-makers, and all others who have got Praemiums from the Parliament or Dublin Society, would improve their Manufactures, and not oblige the Printers and Booksellers of Dublin to send to Genoa, France, Holland, and other Countries for their Paper, which is much better and full as cheap as any made in Ireland, although there are five or six Profits made on them before they are used here, to with, the Manufacturers, the Commission for Trouble, the Freight, the Duty, Exchange of money, Ware House room, Insurance, the Merchant's Profit, and the Credit he gives, the Irish Manufacturers being paid ready money'.[216]

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[215] See Sarah Foster, 'Buying Irish: consumer nationalism in 18th-century Dublin', *History Today*, 47, (June 1997), 44-51.

[216] *Dublin Journal*, Sept 14, 1754.

Rocque did indeed use foreign paper. The watermark on the Trinity College copy of the *Exact Survey*[217] is a version of what is known as the Grand Columbier (a dovecote) (Fig. 4.59 Scan of my sketch of this), with the name of the papermaker appended: 'J JOHANNOT F[ecit] / EN VIVARETS'. According to Gaudriault, the use of such dovecotes was common with paper makers of Vivarais, amongst whom Johannot, who was based in a town called Annonay (some nine miles south-east of St-Étienne), was one of the best known.[218] It seems likely that, just as Rocque replenished in Paris his stock of prints for sale after the fire in his premises of 1750, he would have bought his paper supplies, or arranged for their shipment to him in London, and again onto Dublin from the same source. It is not necessary to assume that Rocque knew the papermaker in question, although his location in Vivarais, and his close association with the engraver of the same name (Francois Vivares), could lead one to speculate further upon a possible location for Rocque's French origins.[219] The papermaking industry in Ireland, which traces its origins to the 1690s, in Dublin, and perhaps to the 1660s in Chapelizod in conjunction with the establishment there of a linen industry by the duke of Ormond, was never capable, despite the introduction of premiums by the Dublin Society, and

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217 TCD OO.a.58, nos. 1-4. I am grateful to Charles Benson, Keeper of Early Printed Books, Trinity College Library, for his assistance in deciphering and his advice on how to go about interpreting the watermark on this map.

218 Raymond Gaudriault, *Filigranes et autres carctéristiques des papiers fabriqués en France aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 1995), 109.

219 The fact that a Miss Anna Maria Johannot was a subscriber to the *Exact Survey*, might suggest that Rocque had direct relations to his paper suppliers, and had not merely picked up his paper from a wholesaler in Paris. The Vivarais region in the south west of France, is very closely communicable, by way of the Rhone, with Geneva where the Rocques and many other Huguenots fled in the late 17th century, and although all of these connections are tenuous, they might bear fruitful results from further research. According to John Varley, 'John Rocque. Engraver, surveyor, cartographer and map-seller', *Imago Mundi*, v (1948): 83-91, p. 84 & fn. 8, Francis Vivares, the engraver friend of Rocque's (See Chapter 1 above) 'was a native of France, born near Montpelier in 1709 and came to London in 1727 where he passed the greater part of his life. He became one of the most eminent landscape engravers of his time.'

tariffs on imports by the Irish parliament,[220] of producing paper of the quality to be found in France, the Netherlands or Italy during this time. The vast bulk of paper used by printers throughout Europe was from France. Rocque, despite Kendrick's patriotic urgency, was not unusual in his use of French paper.[221]

Although the price of Kendrick's newly projected map remained at 12 shillings, Kendrick, in this 2 November announcement, also went on to double the range of the project announcing that 'Each Map will take 8 Sheets, and will be near 8 Feet long and 3 Feet broad, allowing a large Margin on each Side for the Subscribers Names, and sundry curious and useful Notes which he intends to insert'. This was a foolhardy expansion to the scale of the map as a necessary result no doubt of the huge size it was now to take up. Although the names of subscribers were to be filled in around the margins, all of Rocque's subscribers could be fitted into one half-Imperial-size broadsheet (Fig. 4.60)[222]. We should also remember that the inset buildings had been dropped from his project, since the last advertisement made by Kendrick. Neither has he yet indeed mentioned what at what scale his map was to be. None of this suggests that Kendrick was entirely sure of his intentions, or indeed capable of carrying them through. Sadly nothing did come to pass. Although Kendrick repeated this good news about the 'extraordinary good Irish Royal Paper' he had procured on a bi-weekly basis until the *Dublin Journal* issue published on New Year's Eve, 1754, we were not to hear from him on this subject again. It is not clear how long he continued with his enterprise.

Rocque's two next announcements, however, must have put paid to Kendrick's efforts once and for all. The first of these defining blows took place towards the end of November, 1754, when Rocque presented a set of

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[220] Although the latter were not introduced until 1763, three years after Rocque had left Ireland.

[221] Phillips, *Printing and bookselling in Dublin*, 152-77.

[222] See Section 4.3.3.2 below on the Rocque's Subscribers List.

detailed ink mock-ups to the Dublin Lord Justicial court, and the second the following May, when the details of a house-by-house *Exact Survey*, as it was to finally appear, were first announced. In 23 November edition of the *Dublin Journal* it was announced that Rocque had the day before presented 'the Original Drawings' of both four-sheet maps of the proposed *Exact Survey* and of the proposed *Harbour & Environs* 'to the Lords Justices, at the Castle'. These were 'greatly approved' of by the three Lords Justices (Primate Stone, Speaker Ponsonby, and Viscount Newport – all of whom were later listed as subscribers),[223] and by the 'Nobility and Gentry present, many of whom, who had not already subscribed, were pleased to give in their Names as Encouragers of that useful Work, …'. It has already been noted that India Ink drafts of these maps had been on display to the public from 26 October, i.e. a month previously, and no doubt these were finer more detailed images, designed to impress those in the audience who were most likely to subscribe. Kendrick had yet to display an image, and had not the entrepreneurial *chutzpah* to pull off such an event. Endearing himself to the gentry and to a cultural elite of a strange town was a typically Rocquian manoeuvre,[224] which would culminate in the case of the Dublin map, with the presentation of the *Exact Survey* to George II, whom Rocque would report, hung the map on his bedroom wall.[225]

This 23 November newspaper notice is concluded by the statement that 'Mr. Rocque at the same time produced his Warrant as Topographer to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales…'. This is a very notable piece of biographical information about Rocque, overlooked until now. Although Rocque many

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223 The map was later dedicated to the three Lords Justices (Fig. 4.20), although by that time, Stone had been replaced by James Fitzgerald, the twentieth earl of Kildare: T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin, and F.J. Byrne (eds.) *A new history of Ireland* Vol. IX: maps, genealogies, lists, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 494.

224 See discussions above regarding Rocque's possible association with James Simon, F.R.S., and with John Putland, and the extraordinary Subscriptions List to the map, discussed below.

225 See reference to, and discussion of, this above, in Section 4.1.1 above.

times claimed his position as Topographer to the Prince of Wales, in titles to maps, as well as in his various published proposals and map catalogues, no corresponding record has been found in the royal archives to date to confirm any such position. Important parallels might be drawn now to the similar position of the engraver and mapmaker, Thomas Jefferys, who claimed to have been the Geographer to the prince of Wales (both Frederick and his grandson, the future George III) and to the king (George III). Likewise, no record of such a position, has been found in royal archives. However, in a list of Deaths and Promotions, in the May issue of the *Gentleman's Magazine* 1746 'Tho Jefferys' is listed as the new 'geographer to [Frederick] the Prince of Wales'.[226] This announcement in the Dublin press, that Rocque presented his 'Warrant' as the Topographer to the Prince of Wales, must count as equally important historiographically as the *Gentleman's Magazine* announcement was regarding Jefferys, in the establishment of the authenticity of Rocque's career-long claims in this regard. No doubt Rocque couldn't have announced to the newspapers that he had presented such a warrant to the Lords Justices *et al*, without in fact having done so.

It was not until the following 13 May (1755) that Rocque made his next announcement on the subject of his projected map, and it was in this notice in the *Dublin Journal* that we first hear of the remarkable new level of detail that Rocque expected to include. Both Kendrick and Rocque had been quiet since Christmas, so we cannot be certain when Kendrick had given up the ghost. It is likely that based on the heated rivalry between them to date, the projected leap made by Rocque at this juncture was very much as a result of this ongoing feud. According to this latest notice both of the four-sheet maps – the *Exact*

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[226] *Gentleman's Magazine* 16 (May 1746), p. 273; J.B Harley, 'The bankruptcy of Thomas Jefferys: an episode in the economic history of eighteenth century map-making' *Imago Mundi* XX (1966): 27-48, p. 31, fn. 26; According to Laurence Worms, 'Jefferys, Thomas (*c.*1719–1771)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14696, accessed 16 Oct 2007], Jefferys was appointed Geographer to the George III in 1760.

Survey and that of the *Harbour & Environs* – were 'now engraving', and the drawing upon which these were based was on display at Rocque's lodgings at the Golden Heart in Crane Lane, 'where all his works may be had.' Crucially, however:

> 'The plan of the City will exceed any yet published in Europe: every Dwelling-house, Ware-houses, Stable, yards, Back-houses and Gardens, being therein expressed, so that any Landlord or others, who have any Concern in the said Survey, may, by dotted Lines, or different Colours, shew their own Ground, which may easily be numbered and described in their Rent-rolls and Leases.'[227]

What had previously been planned as a block-by-block map, with only outline plans of the public buildings to be explicitly delineated, was now to be replaced by a map in which the plans of dwelling houses, ware-houses and stables and back-yards and gardens, would be recorded. This would present a radically different tool not just to city planners, as mooted before, but now to landlords of holdings, within and across city blocks. The potential usefulness of such a map to men of property was enormous, and must eventually to have added significantly to sales, especially of single sheets – although we have no figures for sales beyond those made by subscription.

Progress after the May 1755 announcement that the map was 'now engraving' was perhaps not unsurprisingly slow. While the city plan was already no doubt given a general outline by the previous November when Rocque had displayed it to the lords justices in Dublin Castle, the work of plotting every single building must have taken up a great deal of the two years following that date until the engraved map was finally published. Rocque proceeded to publish a series of lesser notices in the *Dublin Journal* in part to generate sales and much needed income to survive his investment of time and the considerable labour of his large staff, but also no doubt, to keep his project in the minds of those

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227 *Dublin Journal* 13 May, 1755.

who would subscribe to the Dublin maps being prepared. On 29 July Rocque announced that he was 'removed from Dame-street to Lower Ormond-key near the 3 Sugar Loaves opposite the Bagnio Slip'.[228] In September Rocque announced that he had just imported maps of North America, London in sixteen sheets and twenty-four sheets, Paris, Rome amongst others, as well as the Quartermaster's map, and a 'small British Atlas'.[229] Rocque was being strangely reticent about the fact that these were all his own publications, i.e. the 24-sheet *London* 1747, and the 16-sheet *London* 1746 *inter alia*. However the interest in his presence was being kept alive, and he reminds the public that at the Ormond Quay/Bachelor's Walk premises 'may be seen, a Proof of the environs of Dublin (to the same scale as those of London, in 16 sheets) & the engraving of the plan of the city.' The first of these is likely to have been the reduced plan of the city, sometimes referred to as the 'Key Map' (Fig 4.30),[230] that also played the part of the lower-left-hand sheet of the 4-sheet *Harbour and Environs* map, while the second was the *Exact Survey*. On 22 November Rocque's *Plan of the Town & Camp of Thurles* was announced, again with a reminder of the two 4-sheet Dublin maps, while 'gentlemen who are pleased to encourage the work are desired to send their names as list of the subscribers will be published next week'.[231] The price was to be one guinea, and a guinea and a half to non-subscribers.

Just as had happened the year before, there was a long delay in notices between November 1755, and the next original notice by Rocque, which did not appear until the end of June 1756, when Rocque again announced the importation of a number of maps to be had at his premises 'opposite the

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[228] *Dublin Journal*, 29 July 1755.

[229] *Dublin Journal*, 2 September 1755.

[230] Discussed in Section 4.1.4.1, above.

[231] *Dublin Journal*, 22 November, 1755. The Subscribers List was not in fact published until at least August the following year, as an extension to the deadline for receiving them was extended on 2 July 1756, until the following 25 July at least: *Dublin Journal* 2 July 1756.

Bagnio Slip on the Bachelors Walk'.[232] These included one of North America, and a second of East and West Canada in two sheets. However, the first Dublin map to appear was now ready. This was the same lower-left-hand map of the *Harbour & Environs* map that appeared in proof form nine months earlier. This one-sheet map was available at this time 'to the subscribers only', but 'Proofs of the four Plates of the City and Suburbs' were now to be seen 'in which the Ground Plot of all publick Buildings, Dwelling Houses, Warehouses, Stables, Courts, Yards etc. is particularly expressed.' The extraordinary *Exact Survey* was imminent. Its price to subscribers was to be £1.2.9, 'half now, and half on the delivery of the plan.' And subscriptions – which at this point were due to close on 24 June – could be had from Rocque and 'at Mr William Sleator's, Bookseller, on Cork Hill'. On 3 July the closing date for subscriptions was extended to 24 July.[233] The following 21st September, it was announced in the *Dublin Journal* that 'Mr John Rocque presented [his] plan in 4 sheets to the Lords Justices. [It was] Allowed to be best of that kind ever published.' What was presented at the end of September must have been a late proof of what was eventually published. Again this represents an important instance of Rocque's skilful manipulation of events for the self-publicity.

Finally, in the 13 November issue of the *Dublin Journal*, the publication of the *Exact Survey* was announced: 'This day is published, by John Rocque, Topographer to their Royal Highnesses the late & present Prince of Wales … His new & accurate plan of the city & suburbs of Dublin, in four sheets, in which is exprest the ground plot of all publick buildings, dwelling houses.' Once again emphasising the absolutely unique detail of the map, Rocque announced, not without some exaggeration,[234] although as he never had for

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232 *Dublin Journal*, 26 June 1756.

233 *Dublin Journal*, 3 July 1756.

234 Strictly speaking John Ogilby and William Morgan's *A Large and Accurate Map of the City of London*, 1676 (Fig. 3.5), was a map of this type – if not quite of the extent and detail of Rocque's Dublin map.

any of his London or other maps, that the *Exact Survey* '[was] the first ever published in Europe of this kind.' The map which could be had from Griersons could also be had 'pasted on linen, [and] neatly mounted on a rolling frame.' Two weeks later the remarkable *Index*, discussed above, was also published,[235] and at the end of December the fact that Rocque had 'presented [the map] to His Majesty and the Royal Family' and had given him 'so high a satisfaction … that he ordered it to be hung in his own apartment' was attested to by Rocque from London.[236]

4.2.2 Conclusion

These 1754-6 *Dublin Journal* articles provide an enormously useful insight into what made Rocque such a success and provide a context for understanding his approach, including the changes of direction and compromises that Rocque made as he responded on his feet to contemporary events – Kendrick's interventions – as well as to a growing understanding of the task at hand. Kendrick's pessimism – as witnessed, for example, in the passage in which he refused help from other practitioners, and haplessly predicted the possibility of falling 'behind Mr. Rocque in Point of Time' – proved to be accurate. From the very beginning the remit for the map that he promised to make was altogether too ambitious. His naivety contrasted with Rocque's understanding of the surveying, engraving and publishing process, and of what might be possible given certain budget and time constraints – an understanding gained through some twenty years' experience as a publisher of printed maps. A brief consideration of Kendrick's own original material, documenting at the exact same time areas of Dublin covered by Rocque's 1756 map, has proved a counterweight against any hasty underestimation of the surveying accuracy of Rocque's deeply informative map. In the following chapter, a close comparison between Kendrick's manuscript map which delineates a piece of ground formerly owned by Jonathan Swift, which he had called 'Naboth's

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[235] *Dublin Journal*, 27 November, 1756.

[236] *Dublin Journal*, 1 January, 1757. This fact is discussed in section 4.1.1 above.

Vineyard', with Rocque's depiction of the same on the *Exact Survey*, demonstrates the value of Rocque's topographical detail as well as the essential 'truthfulness' of his record. However, this study to come, also points to the importance of using Rocque in conjunction with the many surviving manuscript maps of the time, and later visual and textual sources. Despite Kendrick's failure in terms of his own publishing ambitions, his legacy may be found in the astounding detail found in the map Rocque was forced to publish, and in Kendrick's own important maps of the Liberties St Patrick's Cathedral and St Sepulchre's as well as other parts of the city.

4.3 Financial aspects of the Dublin mapping project

Having established in detail the extent of Rocque's output while in Ireland during the years 1754-60, and following this, a detailed chronology of the making of the *Exact Survey*, issues to do with the means by which this was carried out will be considered in the following two sections (4.3 & 4.4). Direct evidence is scarce to non-existent, although as we shall see Rocque did make a number of remarks about his surveying technique in one or two of his published advertisements and proposals in newspapers. However, circumstantial and indirect evidence, and what can be gleaned from our knowledge of the printing industry at this time, may still yield a considerable load. The internal evidence in the maps themselves is of course a principal source, previously neglected. One of the most intriguing questions about Rocque's work, in general and in Ireland, is the question of how he financed his operations, how much these in fact cost, and whether or not he even made a profit.

Mary Pedley has pointed out the degree to which risk capital was at the heart of the map trade: 'Map production, as a labour intensive industry, required capital well in advance of the product's sale. The preliminary expenditure covered the survey or design of a map, the purchase of copperplate and its engraving and printing. The storage of plates and map stock must also be

figured into the overhead costs of running a map business'[237] And yet Harley has correctly pointed out that 'the fact that county surveys were financed by subscription, rather than by raising capital in the trade [i.e. the map publishing trade itself], indicated that they were not considered a sound investment.'[238] In the section that follows the evidence that has survived regarding how we might estimate Rocque's costs, particularly in the making of the *Exact Survey*, will be sifted and presented. The parlous state of his finances when Rocque made his will has already been noted, and perhaps being solvent was an achievement in itself.[239] The case of Thomas Jefferys, who became bankrupt directly it seems from his decision to commission original surveys has also been alluded to.[240] How any independent map-maker at this time could make a living, given the extent of costs as outlined below, will yet remain somewhat of a mystery.

4.3.1 Costs

There are no direct records of Rocque's costs, for the making of any of his maps, not to say the Dublin or Irish ones. Nevertheless some sense of the extent of these costs, if not their amount, might be outlined by means of comparison to other surviving contemporary records. More importantly, an outline of the kinds of expenses incurred gives considerable insight into the complex and varied activities involved in producing and publishing an engraved map. An important and original source in all of this is the extensive research work carried out by Mary Pedley into the cartographic industry in Europe during the 17th and 18th centuries, the chapter on the 'Costs of Map

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[237] Mary Pedley (ed.), *The map trade in the late eighteenth century: letters to the London map sellers Jefferys and Faden* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2000), 2.

[238] J.B Harley, 'The bankruptcy of Thomas Jefferys: an episode in the economic history of eighteenth century map-making', *Imago Mundi*, XX (1966): 27-48, p. 44.

[239] See Section 1.3 above, and fn. 75 of the same section.

[240] Section 1.2 above, and fn. 29 in that section; J.B Harley, 'The bankruptcy of Thomas Jefferys', *passim*.

Production', in her *Commerce of Cartography*, being particularly useful here.[241] The break-up of the large number of different jobs involved in the business of producing an original map is particularly interesting in regards to Rocque, because as we have seen, he seemed to have had a hands-on part in nearly all aspects of the business.

As noted, although Rocque was beginning to farm out some of his surveying to other practitioners in his county maps,[242] one of his stated purposes in remaining in Ireland, was to oversee personally the surveying and the production of the Dublin maps.[243] He stated that he used the same men for both surveying and draughting, and the versatility in the later work of some of those he trained, such as for example Bernard Scalé and Samuel Andrews, and of those who came under his influence, such as Andrew Dury, seems to corroborate this statement. Surveying costs included wages, keep, and the cost of instruments for measuring distances and angles, and for drawing. These included the circumferentor – illustrated in a number of Rocque's drawings – and the quadrant, chains for measuring distances, and the plane table on which these might be drawn. Surveyors had to be fed and housed. County surveys involved considerably more costs, as they involved travel and accommodation for fieldwork. Horses or mules for carrying equipment, also had to be housed and fed.

Another important expense, most evident in county surveying was payment for a guide. However, we could see this as an important aspect of the city survey also, especially to a non-native. We have seen that the beadles and

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241 Mary Pedley, *The commerce of cartography: making and marketing maps in eighteenth-century France and England* (London: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), 35-70.

242 Paul Laxton (ed.), *A topographical map of the county of Berks, by John Rocque, Topographer to his Majesty. Introductory notes by Paul Laxton* (Lympne Castle, Kent: Harry Margary, 1973), [no page number].

243 *Dublin Journal*, 26 October, 1754: 'in Gratitude for the many Favours he hath received in the this Kingdom, [Rocque] thinks it his Duty incumbent on him to engrave the above Maps in Dublin'. Discussed already in Section 4.2.1 above.

other city officials were ordered to help Rocque in his investigation of London,[244] especially in the naming of streets for example, but no such parallel assistance is recorded as having been ordered in Dublin. Some detailed local knowledge would also have been important, for example, in establishing the best place to measure for a base line. Such a task was no doubt more difficult for Rocque as complete outsider to Dublin, and some native must have been invited to assist, and was perhaps paid. Alternatively someone like John Putland, one of the dedicatees, or James Simon, also a prominent member of Dublin's cultural elite, gave Rocque the local assistance he needed, without payment, but as a cultural support. There is very little wrong with Rocque's naming of streets for the most part,[245] and such insider assistance whether paid for or not, was no doubt needed on a daily basis.

Information as to typical costs of surveying is difficult to find, although the centralised or government-led nature of French surveying has left behind more accounts than the random evidence to be found in England. Joseph-Nicolas Delisle estimated that his survey of Brittany in 1721 cost 12,000 livres.[246] Towards the middle of the century, a rate of exchange of 22-24 livres to one pound sterling[247] would translate this cost to approximately £500. These kinds of direct financial comparisons are invidious, the wage rates in the different countries, and the extent and difficulty of different surveys being difficult to compare. But some order of magnitude for example the surveying of the counties of Dublin and Armagh, might be suggested by this bald figure. Nevertheless, in a list of similar costs for some of the county surveys of England in the 18th and 19th centuries, Harley has given the following list:

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[244] See Section 3.1.2 above, and fn. 39.

[245] See for example Francis O'Kelley, 'Early alphabetical lists of Dublin streets', *Irish Booklover*, xvi (1928), pp. 77-9.

[246] Mary Pedley, *The commerce of cartography: making and marketing maps in eighteenth-century France and England* (London: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), p. 35 & n. 1.

[247] Mary Pedley (ed.) *The map trade in the late eighteenth century: letters to the London map sellers Jefferys and Faden* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2000), 14.

'Armstrong's Northumberland [1768] cost £ 516, Donn's Devon [1765] almost £ 2,000, Day's Somerset £ 1050 [1782], and Yeakell and Gardner's Sussex [1795] was to have cost £2,400'.[248] The price range runs from £500 for Northumberland to almost five times this for Sussex. Finally, as Rocque was preparing to leave in the last months of his stay in 1760, two of his former assistants, with his approval, offered to 'Survey & make Topographical Drawings of their Estates, Demesnes etc., in which shall be expressed all Roads, Walls, Pales, Hedges, Heaths, Rocks, Mountains, Vallies, Bridges, Rivers, Wells, Ponds, Woods, Loughs, Bogs, Commons, Parks, Churches, Houses, & Gardens etc., with the true Contents of each division on the lands, for fourpence per English Acre.'[249] This seems a very reasonable rate indeed, to survey *and* make topographical drawings, for only four pence an acre. According to Rocque's 1756 *Index*, Dublin (i.e. the city as he surveyed it) consisted of 1,845 acres which by that rate would cost only £30 15s for the whole city. Of course country surveying and estate and city surveying are very different, and the level of detail in the city map would be so much greater than for any estate map.

Rocque may have saved on some of this by the number of apprentices he had, who were well trained by himself, but who paid him (at the start) rather than he paying them. But the costs for surveying alone must have been in the order of several hundreds of pounds for a single map, and some multiple of that for the whole Dublin surveying. The first two four-sheet Dublin maps, the *Exact Survey* of 1756 and the *Harbour & Environs* map of 1757, must have cost in the order of £300-700 at least, perhaps, just to survey.

Another possible clue to regular surveying costs might be garnered, perhaps, from the £100 premiums being offered by the Society for Encouragement of Arts and Industry, from 1759, to those who would undertake or had

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[248] J.B Harley, 'The re-mapping of England, 1750-1800' *Imago Mundi* XIX (1965): 56-67, p. 63.

[249] John Andrews, 'Map-historical notes: cartographers' quoting *Cork Evening Post*, 21or 24 July 1760.

undertaken, an accurate county survey in England.[250] Rocque had applied for one of these for his map of 'Berks, Oxford & Buckingham', but without success (Fig. 4.29).[251] According to Pedley this paltry sum caused 'at least one surveyor to scoff in 1760 that such a prize was "too little for a man to execute a survey", though three hundred subscribers at a half guinea each (£172 10s) would be sufficient to bring him south of the border.'[252]

Finally we have already noted the quote from Chief Baron Willes, suggesting that the manuscript survey of Kildare had cost the Earl 'some hundred pounds'.[253] This is a very difficult statement to believe. However if it were so, this was the cost to the buyer, and not to Rocque, and suggests that the cost of producing this survey and of creating the beautiful watercolour maps and all of their decoration was less than £100.

A survey did not imply a fair copy of a map. Compilation from field notes was a discrete skill, pertaining to the skills of the draughtsman rather than those mathematical skills necessary for the surveyor on the ground. Pedley quoted the French cartographer, Jean Baptiste D'anville, who 'reckoned that a competent draftsman doing work requiring neither creativity nor ingenuity was worth four livres per day [3s 4d.] Such a *dessinateur* could prepare about a square foot of map in two days – three days if the map was more detailed.'[254] Extrapolating roughly from that to Rocque's *Exact Survey*, which is

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[250] J.B Harley, 'The re-mapping of England, 1750-1800', *Imago Mundi*, XIX (1965), 56-67, p. 60, & *passim*.

[251] London, Royal Society of Arts, PR.AR/103/10/146, Letter from John Rocque, 5 July, 1759; his application was not successful: RSA AD/MA/100/2/04, Minutes of the Society 1759-1760, Meeting July 18th 1759 and November 14, 1759; RSA/PR/GE/112/12/1 Minutes of Various Premium Committees, November 19, 1759.

[252] Pedley, *Commerce*, 36 & n.11 referring to J.B. Harley, 'The Society of Arts and the surveys of English counties 1759-1809', *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 112 (1964), 123.

[253] Section 4.1.4.3 above, & fn. 157.

[254] Mary Pedley, *The commerce of cartography: making and marketing maps in eighteenth-century France and England* (London: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), p. 38.

approximately 4 ft 6 in by 3 ft 3 in, i.e. close to 15 square ft, gives us an approximate total of 45 days' work. On that reckoning at 3s 4d per day, this would amount to £7.10s for the compilation work alone. One cannot help thinking, however, that the Dublin job must have entailed a build-up of layers of information, and that the long period of time between the initial 'India Ink' drafts and the appearance of the published map (approximately two years), must have created much additional work for the draughtsmen, thus suggesting a period for completion considerably greater than 45 days.

Engraving and printing were the next significant costs. In general, as noted in Chapter 2 above, those who surveyed tended not to be engravers, and engraver-publishers generally neither commissioned nor undertook original surveys. Rocque was extremely unusual in combining both skills. As we know Rocque used Andrew Dury as the engraver of the Dublin map, and one can only wonder whether some of the finesse to be found in this map – for example, the double contour lines found in individual garden walls, the implied three-dimensionality from the graded stippling in each dwelling house – was attributable to Dury's own particular skills, or to Rocque's response to the uniquely detailed nature of this project. As I will argue, it is likely that some kind of workshop hierarchy was involved between the cutting of the major outlines – the macro-lines – and the engraving of the countless, methodical, micro-lines of stippled dwelling houses and parallel-hatched stable and other utilitarian buildings. The cartouches, in this case probably by Rocque himself, were another separate job, as was the lettering in the titles.[255] This separation between those who drew the plan, and those who inserted the lettering, is clarified by Guillaume Delahaye: ' I have trained different students in [the engraving of] the plan and written words … There are four of them for

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[255] Rocque's handwriting, as illustrated in his signature letter to his nephew in Mannheim (only one of the two were in Rocque's own hand, the other is a near-contemporary copy into a letter book from his original), is chaotic and unrefined (Fig. 1.2). The letter sent to the Society of Arts is in a much finer hand (Fig. 4.29), and was likely copied from his original, by one of his lettering assistants, in order to impress the Society from whom he was seeking funds.

the plan and two for the writing, but they do not combine all the aspects of this art. What happens is that very often those who engrave the plan do not know how to arrange the words, which are commonly very badly placed … Others create blank places in the plan in order to put the words in, which are badly filled and in terrible taste, not having any good notions about their arrangement.'[256] One of the most pleasing aesthetic qualities of the *Exact Survey*, is the graceful and ordered placement of the letters along the streets and lanes and squares of the map (Fig. 4.62). These are Roman, rather than Italic, the latter used for some smaller portions of the titles, and for example, for the legends in the references (Fig. 4.63).[257]

The fact that Dury arrived in Dublin independently of Rocque implies, perhaps, that he worked for Rocque for a fee. Others in his workshop received a wage, or an apprentice's allowance of some sort. Pedley quotes from Campbell's *London tradesman* [1747], who stated that a prospective engraver 'if esteemed a tolerable Hand, may earn 30 shillings a Week, some that are very eminent are allowed Half a Guinea a Day.'[258] These figures are difficult to believe, and may have been more in the nature of pay-bargaining, than any on-the-ground reality. A much more reliable source are the notes taken by Arthur Pond, who had been commissioned to organise the illustrations for Lord Anson's *Voyage around the world…* (London, 1748). Richard Seale, a well-known London engraver, charged £2 12s 6d for a map illustration measuring 22.4 cm x 40 cm, while a similarly sized engraving of a sea lion and lioness of a similar measurement garnered for the engraver less than two thirds as much, i.e. £1 11s 6d.[259] Each of Rocque's *Exact Survey* maps was approximately 49 cm x 89

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256 Pedley, *Commerce*, 50 & n. 64, quoting from Guillaume Delahaye, 'Rapport sur les travaux du Citoyen Delahaye, graveur en géographie et en topographie, 29 thermidor an II [16 August 1794],' (Paris: Conservatoire nationale des arts et métiers, M-404).

257 Note the survival here of the initial guiding lines which managed the heights of the different parts of the letters.

258 Pedley, *Commerce*, 52.

259 Pedley, *Commerce*, 52-3.

cm (the print area not the plate mark area), and thus just short of five (4.87) times the area covered in the map cited by Pedley. Four such maps made up the survey, and a total to be paid to an independent engraver such as Dury could be estimated to be as much twenty (19.47) times the £2.12.6, resulting in approximately £51 equivalent fee for the engraving of the *Exact Survey*. It is interesting perhaps to insert here that Rocque had offered his nephew £50 p.a. to come work for him, when he wrote to the younger Bartholomew in 1753.[260] Other near contemporary figures corroborate Pedley's findings. According to Coolie Verner, the mapmaker, William Faden, promised Thomas Jefferson in 1786 that he would engrave the single plate of a map of Virginia for him for 50 guineas, but that Samuel Neele, who was prepared to do the same work for £20-25, was given the job and eventually charged £28.16.9.[261] Again extrapolating from this, and reducing the cost to, say, £20 per plate for the inflation between the 1750s and the 1780s, a price of approximately £80 for the engraving of the four plates, is somewhere in the order of its cost. If, on the other hand, Dury was being paid at the rate of 2 guineas a week, also according to Jefferson in the 1780s,[262] then he would have earned somewhere in the region of 200 guineas over the course of the two years it took to engrave the Dublin map (November 1754 to November 1756). This does not take into to account the direct role Rocque must have played in engraving the map. Based on the fact that Rocque directly managed the overall engraving process, and employed most of the lesser engravers, either as assistants or apprentices, the price to Dury, should be considered a good deal less than this. However, Rocque might expect to recoup this amount at least from sales, to cover his own profit or wage as well as Dury's and Rocque's assistants, so a price for engraving alone, at c. £80 is not unreasonable.

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260 '[J]e vous donnerait cinquantes livres Sterling par année, nourris logé & blanchi',: Mannheim, Gesellschaft der Freunde Mannheims und der ehemaligen Kurpfalz, 'John Rocque to Bartholomew Rocque', 11th May, 1753.

261 Coolie Verner, 'Mr. Jefferson makes a map', *Imago Mundi*, 14 (1959): 96-108, pp 100 & 102.

262 Verner, 'Mr. Jefferson', 103.

The purchase of the copper plates was itself also a considerable expense. Pedley cites evidence (again from France) that throughout much of the 18th century, 'burnished copper fluctuated … between 55 sous and 1 écu (1.5 and 3 livres) per lb'.[263] Based on Pedley's estimate that a plate of 24 x 36 inches weighed approximately 35 lbs, the plates of the *Exact Survey*, which were approximately 29 x 21 inches, must have weighed approximately 25 lb, and thus cost between 37 and 75 livres. With an exchange rate (according to Pedley) fluctuating at the time 22-24 livres to £1 sterling, this would result in a price of approximately £1.11s (37/24 x £1) and £3.8s (75/22 x £1) approximately for each plate, or between £6.4s (4 x £1.11s) and £13.12s (4 x £3.8s). What is known of contemporary English prices suggested a similar price range, with folio plates costing £2 to £3, or up to 3 shillings per lb. Based on the French figures on the upper end of the scale, the four *Exact Survey* plates could have cost somewhere in the region of £13.12s. On the English prices, at say 3 shillings per lb, the four *Exact Survey* plates would have cost £15 (25 lbs x 4 x 3s). Other related costs was the cost of paper for proofs and the final editions, as well as for ink!

As noted in Chapter 2,[264] work on cartouches was often farmed out to other artists. The clearest example of this in the case of Rocque's Dublin maps is his 1760 *County Survey*, whose cartouches were engraved by John Dixon (Fig. 4.33). However, there is good reason to believe that both of the cartouches on the *Exact Survey* map were engraved by Rocque himself, as will be discussed below. But we know that Rocque had such work carried out for him by Hugh Douglas Hamilton and Matthew Wren in the Kildare manuscript maps at least, and perhaps in some of his other works. There is a good deal of variance in the quality of the engraving and draughtsmanship between the various cartouches on the printed maps produced by Rocque while he was in Ireland. Compare, for example, the stiff and gauche putti, and the extremely wooden rocaille on the Cork map (Fig. 4.43) to those, likely to have been created by

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263 Pedley *Commerce*, 44.

264 Section 2.3.2.2 & fn. 138.

Rocque, on the *Exact Survey* three years before (Fig. 4.61). This shows that some farming out was done, but how much this work was likely to have cost is of course not known.

It is not clear whether Rocque brought an actual printing press with him to Dublin. It would seem probable, on first view, that Rocque would have had a local printer execute the Dublin maps for him. George Byrne was a Dublin based copperplate printer and engraver – he is recorded on Rocque's Kilkenny map as the engraver.[265] However, there is no mention of any local printer in the Dublin maps. Given that Rocque freely mentioned George Faulkner's role as printer of the *Index* to the *Exact Survey*, albeit a book, and considering the number of assistants Rocque seemed to have had, it seems probable that Rocque was himself the printer of the *Exact Survey* and at least the other Dublin maps. None other than Rocque, or one or two engravers, are mentioned in any of these maps.

Finally, Rocque had also to pay for his own accommodation – and perhaps for some of his direct staff – in the houses that he rented during his long stay in Ireland. Two have been noted so far – that in the more upmarket Crane Lane, and another in the more commercial and semi-industrial, Bachelors Walk/Ormond Quay area. The first, which Rocque held from late August 1754 to late July 1755 was at the Golden Heart, Crane Lane. Houses varied in prices between size, quality, and location. While Pole Cosby would pay £55 to lease a house on Arran Quay in 1739,[266] modest premises in 1730 in Capel Street could be had at between £22 and 29, while '[B]y the middle of the 18th century, it was assumed that a house in Dublin fit for the respectable could be

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265 'G. Byrne sculp.t', in *A survey of the city of Kilkenny* 1758; for more on George Byrne see section 4.1.4.2 and fn. 120 above. I am grateful to Lawrence Worms who first made this suggestion to me, and with whom I first discussed some of the other possibilities on this point.

266 Toby Barnard, *Making the grand figure: lives and possessions in Ireland, 1641-1770* (New Haven & London: 2004), 289-90.

had for £25 p.a.'.[267] While these may refer to houses of the gentry or the leisurely classes, premises leased by Dublin Corporation in College Green in 1747, ranged from £12 to £28. The tenants were mostly tradespeople, 'such as a saddler, tailor and jeweller.'[268] Yet a new house in Great Britain Street, 'between Sackvile [sic] Street, and Marlborough Street [with] two rooms on a floor and Clossets – a garden, coach house stable etc.' was leased for 26 years at £23 p.a.'.[269] This sample of lease prices is far too restricted to make anything but a bald guess at Rocque's house leasing expenses annually. Prices varied according to the part of the city, and the quality of the house, and its size. Crane Lane, was at the heart of the commercial centre of the city in the 1750s, and no doubt would have garnered considerable rents. An Inn, known as the Black Lyon, – a different case of course – was leased for £45 sterling p.a. in the nearby piazzas in Essex Street, in 1757.[270] The cost of commercial premises in this area though must have been considerable, and at least £25-30 one might assume. While Bachelors Walk, where Rocque spent the remaining five years of his stay in Dublin, was dominated by artisanal traders and other merchant traders appropriate to a busy area of the quays, as well as at least one large-scale carpenter's yard (see just above the 'L' in 'Batchelor's' in Fig. 4.28),[271] the area opposite the Bagnio Slip ferry generated a reasonably high footfall from amongst the fashionable who frequented the more commercially

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267 Barnard *ibid*, 286, n. 23 & n. 26, quoting from R. Poekrich, *A third address to the gentlemen, clergy, freeholders and freemen of the city of Dublin* (Dublin, 1749), p. 7.

268 Barnard *ibid*, 286, & n. 29: *CARD*, ix, 230-1.

269 Note taken from NLI, Smyth of Barbavilla Papers, Packing Case 449, file marked 'Richard Butterfield to Ralf Smyth 1743-53, 5 letters'. This reference was given to me by Tony Hand, via Patricia McCarthy, for which many thanks.

270 Registry of Deeds Memorial no. 190.297.126844, Rogerson to Geoghegan, 3rd May 1757; cf John Montague, 'A shopping arcade in eighteenth-century Dublin: John Rocque and the Essex Street "piazzas" ', *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies*, 10 (2007) 224-45, p. 233 & n. 21.

271 The sculptor Simon Vierpyl occupied a house, albeit in the 1770s, at 41 Bachelor's Walk, according to Peter Pearson, *The heart of Dublin: resurgence of an historic city* (Dublin: The O'Brien Press, 2000), 372.

elite south side of the river, by way of the important river ferry located at this point.[272] The rent here must have been considerably cheaper than the south-side premises from which Rocque first operated.

4.3.2 Financing

Considering the broad-based estimates of costs outlined, what income might Rocque have brought in by the sale of his maps, particularly the *Exact Survey*, and by what means was this income generated?

4.3.2.1 Sales

According to the Subscribers List to the *Exact Survey*, Rocque was able to secure the sale of 428 copies of the Dublin map, from 352 subscribers, at a cost of 1 guinea each, yielding £449 8s, presuming that all who paid their initial half, came through with the second half payment. These were sales made in advance of the publication. It is difficult to estimate how many more sales were generated directly, while Rocque was in Dublin, and indeed afterwards. Another four hundred? Or considerably less?[273] The price to non-subscribers was one guinea and a half.[274] It is likely that many single sheets of the four-sheet *Exact Survey* were also sold – apart that is from the single-sheet reductions that Rocque later issued. It has been noted by John Andrews, in the course of his close study on the various corrections made by Rocque and his studio to the map during the first two years after it was produced, that a number of sets of the map that have survived, are hybrids of earlier and later sheet versions, which implies that these sheets had first survived as singletons,

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272 See a useful article on the Bagnio Slip and its ferry in J.W. de Courcy, *The Liffey in Dublin* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1996), 17.

273 Laurence Worms has suggested to me that one might expect, as a very broad rule of thumb, to sell as many again over a lifetime as had been sold from an initial subscription. The fact that the *Exact Survey* came at such a late stage in Rocque's career, would result in considerably fewer than another 400 sales, by this logic.

274 *Dublin Journal* 22 November, 1755.

before they were re-assembled into sets by later collectors.[275] This is strong evidence that Rocque sold his maps in single sheets, although he never advertised as much. This was a common practice amongst mapsellers and publishers at the time. A good quantity of other sales must have been generated by means of Rocque's complete set of maps that he had for sale while in Dublin. These were being marketed for Rocque even before he arrived – i.e. by Andrew Dury, as we have seen[276] – and at least two new catalogues of all of these works were published by Rocque while he was in Dublin, specifically for the new Dublin market. Neither of these catalogues appear in the otherwise comprehensive MapForum list.[277] The first, which has already been mentioned, was Rocque's opening salvo in the 'polite polemics' that appeared in September 1754, in which he made his proposal for his new Dublin map (the *Exact Survey*) and therein listed all his other maps for sale (Fig. 4.21).[278] A second proposal, which has not been dated until now, survives in two copies, one in Trinity College Dublin, and the second in the British Art Center at Yale University.[279] This list of Rocque works includes Dublin's two four-sheet maps (the *Exact Survey* and the *Harbour & Environs*), and the 1757-published *Parishes* map and the *Pocket plan*. It is not clear exactly when in 1757 the latter appeared, but the *Parishes* map was published on 15 March 1757.[280] The latest non-Irish map to appear on the catalogue was the single-sheet reduction of the four-sheet Middlesex map, which appeared some time in 1757 also. The next Irish map to be published by Rocque, was that of *Kilkenny City*. This did not appear until October 1758.[281] Thus we can give a firm date bracket for this catalogue of March 1757-October 1758, or simply 1757-8.

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[275] J.H. Andrews, 'Two maps of Dublin and its surroundings by John Rocque' in *An exact survey of the city and suburbs of Dublin 1756/ by John Rocque: facsimile maps in 8 sheets*, (Lympne Castle (Kent): Harry Margary, 1977).

[276] See section 4.1.2 above & fn. 65.

[277] http://www.mapforum.com/05/rocqprop.htm accessed 2 September, 2008.

[278] TCD OO.a.59 1B.

[279] TCD OO.a.59 1A; Yale Folio B.G.4.

[280] *Dublin Journal*, 15 March 1757.

[281] *Dublin Gazette*. 31 October 1758; from John Andrews, 'Map-historical notes: cartographers'.

Rocque's shops in Crane Lane and Bachelor's Walk must have attracted a great number of people interested in the first instance in following the progress of the preparation of the Dublin map, which was been hung in India ink mock-ups, and later in proofs, throughout the process. A sight available to the visitors then, and so rarely to us now, is of the four sheets joined in their entirety, and thus displaying in its 4 ft 6 in by 3 ft 3 in majesty, a detailed image of the complete city as it had developed, never before seen by its own inhabitants.[282] As the weeks and months passed, what an extraordinary experience of unfolding self-revelation this must have been to the natives of the city! No doubt Rocque would have filled his shop, and the windows of his shop, with copies of his other works, and the broadsheet proposals distributed in the streets would have attracted many to make a visit to view them. Indeed it is likely that the sight of the Frenchman at work must have sparked excitement and wonder. Working with his team of surveyors with their tripods and chains, quadrants and planetables, the spectacle would have been quite unusual at the time. His mere presence, at work in this relatively small city, must have attracted considerable interest: this exotic man and his party taking an accurate portrait of their city, in the manner already done for Paris, Berlin, and Rome.[283]

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[282] Most surviving copies of the *Exact Survey* are in bound folders, in which the sheets are viewed consecutively rather than as a whole. One notable exception to this is the coloured version of the map in the British Library: K.Top. 53.13.b.11 Tab End (Fig. 4.18) discussed in Section 4.1.1 above. Digital re-assemblies, such as the one created by the present author (Fig. 4.1) are very useful, but completely lack the impact of the four full-size sheets connected and hung on a wall. Even the impressive facsimiles published by Harry Margary in 1977, have wide margins around their sides, which make an assembly of the sheets impossible without slicing off these edges. I was lucky enough to have been given a very fine assemblage of four full-size photocopies of the Harry Margary map taped together into one magnificent whole, which hangs on the wall over my desk. This was assembled and given to me by Jane Meredith, for which endless thanks.

[283] It is likely, from the manner in which Rocque advertised these things, that most of his contemporaries were unaware that he had not in fact surveyed Paris, Berlin or Rome, but

It is possible, although no references or documents survive to corroborate this from any of his earlier works, or from the Dublin map, that Rocque received some patronage from those he included with special care in his map. This seemed to have been the case with the *London & Environs* map, the accuracy of whose pictorial record for house and garden plans have been tested by John Harris and Jean O'Neill in two separate studies.[284] There is some reason to believe that, at least in the case of the county maps, Rocque paid particular attention to estates ('gentlemen's seats'),[285] for which it is possible he was able to elicit some kind of fee. Alternatively, his presence on their land, would have been a hard-to-resist enticement to subscribe, at least. Regarding the *Exact Survey*, some pattern or relationship between patronage and accuracy or care of surveying and depiction could be possible. In other words, houses on the city map which are very carefully measured, might reflect some kind of direct patronage or relationship.[286] This might explain the access that Rocque appears to have had to the rear yards and gardens of some houses, while others appear to be more formulaic and guessed at.[287] However there are very few house plans that stand out in terms of their rendering on the plan, over any others. John Putland's house in Great Britain Street is almost a single exception (Fig. 4.23), in that its internal plan was given.[288] We might remember that in

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created his own original engravings of these city maps from materials surveyed and published by continental mapmakers.

[284] John Harris, ' "A grand design of an ichnographical survey": a tour of London's gardens with John Rocque' in *London's pride: the glorious history of the capital's gardens*, edited by Mireille Galinou (London: Anaya, 1990), 102-21; Jean O'Neill, 'John Rocque as a guide to gardens', *Garden History* 16, no. 1 (Spring 1988): 8-16.

[285] *Dublin Journal* 30 September, 1758, advertised Rocque's proposal for new county maps of Armagh and of Dublin, in which 'cross roads, Lanes, paths, walls, pales, hedges, hills, mountains, valleys, bridges, rivers, brooks, ponds, woods, heaths, bogs, commons, parks, churches, *gentlemen's seats, houses & gardens*, etc.' would be measured.

[286] This possibility was first suggested to me by Franc Myles, pers. comm.

[287] This will be explored further in Chapter 5.

[288] Referred to already in section 4.1.2 above.

Rocque's own most triumphant pronouncement regarding the *Exact Survey*, when he first announced the new level of detail, he stated that: '…Warehouse, Stable, Yards, Back houses & gardens being therein expressed, so that any Landlord or others, who have any concern in the said survey, may, by dotted lines, or different colours, shew their own Ground, which may easily be numbered & described in their Rent-rolls & Leases.'[289] This seemed to be a generalised statement, and while it may have been possible to elicit support for his careful depiction of some estates over others in the county maps, this would have been much more difficult in the city map, especially in that the names of owners are not cited on the map – even in the case of Putland's house – nor property boundaries depicted.[290]

4.3.3.2 Patronage through subscription

As noted then, the most important source of income was sales generated by subscriptions. This is the nearest that we can attest to any direct patronage, although strictly speaking it did not entail any more than a pre-paid exchange of goods for money, i.e. purchase not patronage. Nevertheless it was the patronising class, i.e. the gentry, well-off merchants and traders, property owners, and a cultural elite, to whom Rocque sought to appeal. Without the direct evidence of contemporary accounts – newspapers, memoirs, correspondence – Rocque's infiltration into his new milieu is still evident. We have seen him present his proofs and later his final engraved prints of the *Exact Survey*, to the court of the Lords Justice (in the absence of the lord lieutenant, the most powerful body in the land), which audience no doubt also contained many of the curious and well-heeled.[291] Rocque himself claimed to have gained a good number of subscriptions from the initial event, as no doubt he would have. He also is likely to have received a good deal more

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289 *Dublin Journal* 13 May, 1755.

290 A single exception to the naming of owners is 'Nicholas Archdale's [Archdall in the Subscribers List] Esq.r' at the top of his own tree-lined avenue that was to become North Great George's Street.

291 *Dublin Journal*, 23 November, 1754; 21 September, 1756.

commendations by word of mouth from those who were there, and from the publicity in the *Dublin Journal* describing the occasion. The fact that Rocque secured, as seems probable, the assistance in taking subscriptions, from James Simon, the well connected member of the Royal Society, the Dublin Society, and formerly the Dublin Physico-Historical Society, is another example of the way in which Rocque made himself familiar to those who were influential and powerful.[292] His relationship with Putland, the treasurer of the Dublin Society, must also have led to many invitations to dinner and to display his work, that have not been recorded. We have noted too that although Faulkner seemed at first to favour strongly Kendrick in the initial competition to create a new comprehensive Dublin map, the influential publisher became one of the key distributors of Rocque's future Irish works, and the publisher, and perhaps co-editor of Rocque's *Index* to the Dublin Plan, in which appeared the flattering address to the Dublin public, published in 1756.[293] The list of dedicatees to the maps published in Dublin alone, during this time, is another indicator of either the degree of his immersion in the cultural milieu of the mid-18th-century capital city, or the level of his associational aspirations. The *Exact Survey*, as we have seen was dedicated to the three Lords Justices (as they were when the map was published rather than when Rocque first displayed the proofs in November 1754): Robert Viscount Jocelyn, James Earl of Kildare, and Brabazon Ponsonby, Earl of Bessborough. The 1757 four-sheet *Harbour & Environs* map of Dublin was dedicated to Prince Edward, the younger brother of the then Prince of Wales, and future George III. The latter of course appeared in nearly all the maps, as Rocque always emphasised that he was Chorographer to the Prince of Wales, or as in the *Exact Survey*, to 'Their Royal Highnesses, the late and present, Prince of Wales.' The two smaller Dublin maps that appeared in 1757, the Pocket Plan and the Parishes map, were dedicated to George and John Putland respectively. The *Kilkenny* city plan was dedicated to William Ponsonby, the second earl of Bessborough (son of Brabazon who died in 1758), and was at this time the Governor of Kilkenny.

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[292] Discussed in section 4.2.1 above.

[293] See section 4.1.4.1 above.

The *Cork* plan of 1759, is the most unusual, in that it is dedicated to the 'Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council of the City'. It is no surprise, as we shall see, that Rocque did not tender the same respect to the Dublin Corporation. Rocque's map of *Armagh* county and city, was dedicated to George Stone, archbishop of Armagh, and primate of Ireland. Finally the *Dublin County* map of 1760 was dedicated to John Russell, duke of Bedford, who was the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland until May of that year.[294]

However, the most absorbing illustration of the extent of Rocque's impact on Ireland, on Britain, and indeed on the continent, was by means of the Subscribers List that was published by him, some short time after the *Exact Survey* in 1756. While noting the point made by Harley already concerning subscribers lists as a second best to direct patronage or investment from colleagues, the publication of a subscribers list was 'not just a form of social blackmail, but, more important, it was an assurance [to the publisher] that the work had financial footing and was a safe investment, unlikely to flounder or be delayed.'[295] The process was thus itself a test of the market and indeed the financial viability of the project, while the half-payment in advance, provided necessary funds directly. Such projects did not always succeed. Despite having the assistance of the Dublin Society, who acted as subscription agents, and George Grierson, the king's printer in Ireland, Ralph Hansard in 1734 did not succeed in getting the 400 or so subscriptions necessary for the publication of his architectural pattern book for country house building.[296] He was likely spared by this 'market survey' from losing his shirt on the project, although he had to undergo the embarrassment of seeking to return the subscriptions he had received. We have seen Rocque assemble a similar set of agents, James

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294 T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin, and F.J. Byrne (eds.), *A new history of Ireland* Vol. IX: maps, genealogies, lists, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 404.

295 Eileen Harris, and Nicholas Savage, *British architectural books and writers 1556-1785* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 140.

296 Christine Casey, 'Subscription networks for Irish architectural books 1730-1760', *Long Room* 35 (1990) 41-49, pp. 41-3.

Simon of the Dublin Society, and William Faulkner, who in the 1750s had replaced Grierson as the principal publisher in the city. Rocque's shop in Dublin would naturally enough have been the third location where orders could be made. As noted Rocque could drum up support when he presented the map at the court of the Lords Justice in late 1754, amongst other events no doubt, not published in the press.[297] Arguably, Rocque had pushed way beyond the London achievement as a feat in detailed city surveying and depiction, albeit not in extent.[298] Without the London map he could never have achieved what he did for Dublin. The *Exact Survey* was one of his greatest achievements, and thus it brought to the attention of the whole of the British Isles and to Europe, as the Subscribers List testifies, this great burgeoning new and interesting European city.

The list itself (Fig. 4.60) appeared as a separate folio broadsheet, with a two-coloured title page to the map on the recto (Figs 4.64-5), and subscribers list on the verso.[299] There are differences between surviving copies, suggesting a series of printings of the Subscribers List as the subscriptions came in, which we might expect. For example, on the copy at Trinity College Dublin, there are 352 named subscribers (not counting the two pairs of people ordering a

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[297] *Dublin Journal* 26 October, 1754; 23 November, 1754.

[298] A critical assessment of the map, in comparison to Rocque's *London* 1747 map, *inter alia*, will be made in Chapter 5 below.

[299] *AN EXACT / SURVYE* [sic] */ OF THE / CITY and SUBURBS / OF / DUBLIN / In which is express'd / THE / GROUND PLOT / OF / PUBLICK BUILDINGS, DWELLING-HOUSES, / WARE-HOUSES, STABLES, COURTS, YARDS, &C. / Published according to Act of Parliament in four Sheets, Price one Guinea. / The Four Sheets reduced in One, with the Division of the Parishes and Deaneries of Christ-Church, and St. Patrick's, / Plan of the Works as determined for the INLAND NAVIGATION, viz. New Bason, Granaries, Canals, New Streets, &c. / PRICE FOUR SHILLINGS. / BY / JOHN ROCQUE, / Chorographer to their ROYAL HIGHNESSES / The late and present PRINCE of WALES. /… Et publié par un Acte de Parlement en 1756 / N.B. Ce Plan est le premier qui aye encore parû en Europe si détaillé. /*. TCD OO.a.58. A copy surviving in the King's Inns Library, 'Rocque's Maps of Dublin' volume corrects the 'SURVYE' to 'SURVEY'.

single map between them) who ordered a total of 428 maps.[300] A copy in the collection of the King's Inns Dublin, has 27 less subscribers totalling 34 less copies ordered. The Trinity copy names 'The Rt. Hon. John Forbes, Esq; Lord Mayor', a name not on the King's Inns' copy. Forbes was the Lord Mayor of Dublin from 1756-7, and would have been elected to this position in Michelmas term of 1756, thus giving a date *ante quem* for the earlier King's Inns list.[301] However, a further detail on the Trinity copy (to be explored below) is the line on the title imprint on the recto which refers to '*The Four Sheets reduced in One, with the Division of the `parishes and Deaneries of Christ-Church, and St. Patrick's, …*'. This is the so-called *Parishes* map (Fig. 4.17), that was published in March 1757,[302] thus give a date *post quem* for this version of the *Subscribers List*. There are also a number of subscribers who had died by the time the lists in question were published, e.g. 'The Late Mrs. Coghill' (a sister of Marmaduke Coghill who had died in 1739, without marrying),[303] the Late Samuel Card, the Late John Louis Loubier, the Late John Marshall Esq. and the late Sir Richard Hoare. This last was the banker and former lord mayor of London, who died on the 12 October 1754,[304] not fully two months after Rocque's arrival in Dublin was announced on 27 August 1754. The delay of two years between first announcement, and the delivery of the map, had taken its inevitable toll.

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300 As noted already this would have yielded, at a guinea each, £449.8s, if all paid up their second half upon delivery of the maps.

301 According to John Andrews, 'Two maps', viii & n. 8, there are also copies of the Subscribers List in the Gilbert Library, Dublin, and in Armagh Public Library.

302 *Dublin Journal*, 12 March, 1757; cf. sections 4.1.3 & 4.1.4.1 above.

303 W.N. Osborough, 'Coghill, Marmaduke (1673-1739)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/46409, accessed 11 Sept 2008].

304 Victoria Hutchings, 'Hoare, Sir Richard (1648-1719)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.osvorddnb.com/view/article/13385, accessed 11 Sept, 2008].

The Subscribers List is a 'Who's who?' of mid-18th-century Dublin and will bear a good deal more analysis and plundering than can be afforded in the present work. It included titled and untitled gentry, esquires, misters, and those without title. The subscribers list also includes five royals,[305] although one might doubt whether they paid for their maps, their names appearing more like dedicatees, than customers. Many of the English gentry and aristocracy are also named, and one must remember the broad subscription client base that Rocque had already garnered from his earlier maps. Many of the names that appear on the *Alphabetical Index*[306] to *London* 1747, as we noted, were first pulled together by the well-placed John Pine.[307] However it is interesting that, whether because of the growth in his reputation, or the combination of previous English subscribers, and the new market, the *London* 1747 map only contained 246 names compared to the 352 that subscribed to the 1756 Dublin map,[308] an improvement of more than a third. Some names from the mapmaking community on the continent, and some of the new practitioners in Ireland, also appear as subscribers to the *Exact Survey*. In this light it is interesting that a closely contemporary publication of Gilles Robert de

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305 'His most Sacred Majesty KING GEORGE II. / His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales His Royal Highness Prince Edward / Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales / His Royal Highness the Duke [of Cumberland]'.

306 John Rocque, and John Pine, *An alphabetical index of the streets, squares, lanes, alleys, &c. Contained in the plan of the cities of London and Westminster and borough of Southwark* (London: John Pine and John Tinney, 1747); republished as facsimile in London Topographical Society, *An alphabetical index of the streets, squares, lanes, alleys, &c. contained in the plan of the cities of London and Westminster, and borough of Southwark, with the contiguous buildings; engraved by John Pine Bluemantle Pursuivant at arms, and chief engraver of seals, &c. to His Majesty; from an actual survey made by John Rocque; and printed on twenty-four sheets of Imperial Paper; with references for the easy find the said places. London: printed for John Pine, at the Golden Head opposite Burlington House in Piccadilly; and John Tinney, at the Golden Lyon in Fleet-street. MDCCXLVII* (London: London Topographical Society, 1968).

307 See Section 3.1.1 above, and e.g. notes 23-5 in that chapter.

308 Ralph Hyde, 'Portraying London mid-century: John Rocque and the Brothers Buck' in *London 1753*, edited by Sheila O'Connell (London: The British Museum Press, 2003), 28-38, p. 32.

Vaugondy's *Atlas Universel* in 1757, secured approximately 650 subscribers, which included also a number of fellow mapmakers and dealers, including Rocque himself, who subscribed to sixteen copies.[309] M. [Roch-Joseph] Julien, a major Paris map dealer, purchased fourteen of these atlases from Robert, but the year before, purchased twenty-five sets of the *Exact Survey* from Rocque![310] Laurence Worms notes that there were no orders from the London trade,[311] most likely because Rocque's wife was still trading in London and acted as the (sole) agent for all of Rocque's maps in England. However, there is at least one order from J. James Schweighauser, merchant in London, and from his brother, J. Daniel Schweighauser, in 'Nantz' [Nantes]. These were Swiss merchants and more importantly, military agents or purveyors,[312] who may have been part of the network of Huguenot traders, with recent Swiss origins, with whom Rocque was in contact – there are orders also for the Library of Geneva and the Republick of Geneva. However, the Schweighauser order is for one map each, thus for their personal collection, rather than for further trading. Laurence has also noted that the 25 maps ordered by M. Julien, was a relatively low number for a dealer in maps – although the highest subscription Rocque received for it – and that this implies a relatively low print-run for the Dublin map compared to other contemporary publications.[313]

Some of the salient inclusions and statistics from the Subscribers List are as follows. There is one king (George II), 3 princes (the Prince of Wales, Prince Edward, and the Prince of Lorraine), one princess (of Wales). Including 'the Duke' [of Cumberland] there are a total of 14 dukes (amongst whom, the Duke of Marlborough bought 4 sets), 17 earls, 26 lords, 3 barons, 12 knights

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309 Mary Sponberg Pedley, 'The subscription list of the 1757 *Atlas Universel*: a study in cartographic dissemination', *Imago Mundi*, 31 (1979): 66-77, n. 6.

310 Pedley ibid, n. 6.

311 Laurence Worms, pers. comm.

312 See e.g. Claude A. Lopez, 'Benjamin Franklin, Lafayette, and the "Lafayette" ', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 108, no. 3 (June 2, 1964):181-223, p. 185.

313 Laurence Worms, pers. comm.

or baronets, 18 Hons or Rt. Hons, and 2 counts (His Excellency the Count of Conilk and the Count De Stivers), and one countess (Rt. Hon the Countess of Oxford) listed. There are two archbishops, Primate George Stone, and Michael Cox, archbishop of Cashel, with 9 bishops and 22 other clergy. There are 18 military officers, 4 doctors (although perhaps not all physicians), 6 councillors, an alderman (Meath) from Drogheda, and 3 people associated with Trinity College: the Rev. John Hastings, F.T.C.D., who was the Junior Dean,[314] 'Mr. George Cleghorn, Anatomist to Trinity College',[315] and a 'Mr. John Bowden A.M.T.C.D.'.[316] There were 106 esquires, 3 gents and 70 individuals with the title Mr., with only 7 women of any title in total. Because a good deal will be already known about the majority of the titled subscribers, it is sufficient here to concentrate on some of the more interesting amongst this last set of untitled figures, as well as some of the women who were listed also. Nicholas Archdall, Esq. is one of the rare if not unique examples of an owner of a house (at the top of what is now North Great George's Street) being named on the map.[317] Another esquire listed is Thomas Eyre, who was the successor to Arthur Jones Nevill (who also subscribed) as Surveyor General. Francis Grose, Esq., the antiquary subscribed to a copy, as did Edward Martin, Esq. who bought '3 sets for the Use of the Post-office'. John Putland, Esq. bought 8 sets of the map, which hardly could all have been for his own use. Christopher Robinson, Esq., who was the author of the pro-castle *Considerations on the Bill for Payment of the Remainder of the National Debt*... in

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314 *Dublin Journal*, 23rd November, 1754.

315 For one of the many advertisements to his foundation course in anatomy see *Dublin Journal*, 17 September, 1754.

316 According to the *Dublin Journal*, 23rd November, 1754, a Mr. Bowden won a £7 premium in the annual Divinity Lecture for being the best Answerer in Divinity.

317 According to Maurice Craig, Archdall bought the Eccles estate in 1748, and this was developed 'in harmony with the neighbouring schemes of the Gardiners' in subsequent decades; Maurice Craig, *Dublin 1660-1860* 2nd ed. (London: Penguin, 1992), 230.

1745,[318] also subscribed to a copy of the map. James Simon, who, we have noted, was one of Rocque's agents for subscriptions, subscribed to a copy, as did his associate Charles Smith, member of the Physico-historical Society, and author of *Antient and present state of county Kerry* also published in 1756.[319] Their colleague, the noted antiquarian and cataloguer of the muniments of St Patrick's cathedral, Christ Church cathedral, and Trinity College, the Rev. Dr. John Lyon, subscribed to two copies.[320] There was a large number of orders from individuals (esquires and others) who were to become members of the Wide Streets Commissioners, most of whom were named in the 1757 Act of Parliament which established it:[321] William Brownlow; Sir Arthur Gore; Rt. Hon. Arthur Hill (later Lord Dungannon); James Hamilton, Esq.; the Earl of Kildare,[322] who purchased five sets; Rt. Hon. Lord Viscount Lanesborough; Mr. Aland Mason; the Rt. Hon. John Ponsonby (Speaker of the Irish House of Commons from 1756-70)[323]; Henry Sandford;[324] and Philip Tisdall Esq., Solicitor General. While no substantial and direct evidence has been found to date that the *Exact Survey* was used as a fundamental source by the Wide Streets Commissioners, this large list of names who were on that board, were

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318 Declan O'Donovan, 'The money bill dispute of 1753' in *Penal era and golden age: essays in Irish history, 1690-1800*, edited by Thomas Bartlett, and D.W. Hayton (Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 1979), 55-87, p. 57.

319 Cf. Eoin Magennis, 'A land of milk and honey: the physico-historical society, improvement and the surveys of mid-eighteenth-century Ireland' *Royal Irish Academy, Proceedings* 102C (2002): 199-217, p. 208 & *passim*.

320 Toby Barnard 'John Lyon and Irish antiquarianism in the time of Swift.' Paper presented at 'A Symposium on Jonathan Swift and the Politics in his Age, Dublin' at the Deanery of St Patrick's, 21-22nd Oct 2006: published online at http://www.iol.ie/~rjtechne/swift/2006/barnard6.htm viewed 6th October, 2008.

321 31 Geo. II, 19.

322 Kildare was not named in the Act, but who first appears in the 1758-65 minute book of the Wide Streets Commissioners: Dublin, Gilbert Library, WSC/Mins/1.

323 T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin, and F.J. Byrne (eds.) *A new history of Ireland* Vol. IX: maps, genealogies, lists, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 537.

324 Sandford, like Kildare, n.[87] above, was not named in the Act, but appears in the 1758-65 minute book.

all owners of the map that appeared just a year before the Commission came into effect.[325] Finally, another figure who had an important impact on the shape of the city was Nathaniel Clements, Esq. who ordered two copies.

From amongst those who were referred to as Mr. or were given no title at all, a number of interesting figures emerge. Mr Jonathan Baker purchased 2 sets. It is likely that this was Jonathan Barker, the Thomas Cave-trained surveyor who nevertheless developed a more 'topographical' style, i.e. more like Rocque's, when he came to make his survey maps of the Pembroke estate in the 1760s.[326] There were quite a few other fellow cartographic or engraving practitioners on the Subscribers List. Mr. George Byrne, Engraver, based at Skinners Row, was responsible for Rocque's *Map of the City of Kilkenny*, as we have seen. Mr Thomas Cave (who had trained Barker), but is named on the list as 'Mathematical Instrument-maker' subscribed as did 'Mr. P[atrick] Halfpin, Engraver' who had the misfortune of being named in the earlier (King's Inns) copy of the Subscribers List, as 'Mr Halfpenny Engraver'. Halpin, the engraver of Rocque's 1757 *Pocket Plan* of Dublin, was also responsible for the engraving of what seems to have been George Semple's 1757 'Plan for Opening & Widening a Principal Avenue to the Castle', as well as at least one of the Scalé published views of the Parliament House, as we have seen.[327] Indeed Semple himself (also a key figure in the work of the Wide Streets Commissioners) purchased two copies. Others listed who worked with Rocque, or were associated with him included John Powel[l] (draughtsman of the Thurles map), Mr. John James Per[r]et, Rocque's £100 apprentice,[328] Rocque's brother, Mr. Bartholomew Rocque, his brother-in-law Mr. Peter Barnard [sic] Scalé, and

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325 Cf. note 339 below regarding the wife of Sir Thomas Prendergast, also a member of the Wide Streets Commissioners, who purchased a copy.

326 This point is made by John Andrews in his *Plantation acres: an historical study of the Irish land surveyor and his maps* (Omagh: Ulster Historical Foundation, 1985), 172, n. 102.

327 Dublin, Gilbert Library, Wide Streets Commissioners/329; re the Parliament House view, see fn. 111 above.

328 See note 103 above.

Miss Anne Scalé, Colchester, (perhaps Rocque's sister-in-law, and one of the seven women listed as subscribers to the map). Another practitioner was Samuel Wale, 'artist and engraver' who often crops up doing decorative work for the map engravers' according to Laurence Worms.[329] Another female subscriber was Miss Anna Maria Johannot, who was likely to have been related to the papermaker Jean Johannot who made the paper upon which the *Exact Survey* was engraved.[330] As noted there were seven women purchasers. Amongst those not already referred to were a Mrs Archer and a Miss Archer, who purchased a copy each. The Rt. Hon. The Countess of Oxford, and the 'Right Hon. Lady Pendergast [sic]'[331] also subscribed to a copy each.

William Faulkner, who would be agent for some of Rocque's later works, and was the printer and co-publisher of the *Index* to the *Exact Survey*, as already noted, purchased 12 sets of the map. Mr. Tho Merrill, Mr. Henry Saunders, both booksellers, and William Sleater printer and bookseller, all purchased a single copy each, while Mr. Alexander Young, bookseller, ordered 6 sets. Others not already listed, who purchased multiple copies (i.e. more than two), were Jeremy Digby Esq. 3 sets;[332] Mess. George and Alexander Ewing (important Dublin booksellers)[333] purchased 8 sets; notably the Rt. Hon. Lord Newport, Lord High Chancellor of Ireland, subscribed to 6 sets; the Rt. Hon

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329 *Pers comm.*

330 See discussion of this in Section 4.2.1 above, and fn. 224.

331 The wife of Sir Thomas Prendergast, second baronet (1702-60) who was appointed the Irish postmaster-general in 1754: Paul Hopkins, 'Prendergast, Sir Thomas, first baronet (c. 1660-1709', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004: online edn. Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22715, accessed 12 Sept 2008]. More importantly, regarding the argument proffered above, he was also a member of the Wide Streets Commissioners, and thus adds to the list of members of that committee in possession of Rocque's *Exact Survey*.

332 This is likely the Jeremiah Digby, Merchant, of Bachelor's Walk, amongst whose household goods sold after his death were, 'a collection of English, French and Dutch books, [and] several books of maps…'. *Dublin Journal* 19 February, 1763.

333 Mary Pollard, *A dictionary of members of the Dublin book trade 1550-1800 : based on the records of the Guild of St Luke the Evangelist Dublin* (London: Biographical Society, 2000).

the Lord Tullamore, subscribed to 3 sets. A Mathew Weld, Esq. ordered 8 sets. Named as a Sheriff's Peer and Merchant, living in Jervis Street in *Wilson's Directory* of 1762, Weld was also one of an eleven-man committee 'appointed to inspect the accounts of the Bank of Mess. Thomas Dillon, Richard Farrell, and comp.'[334] Others in related trades who purchased maps from Rocque were Mr James Mannin, Painter, the 'French artist who taught ornament and landscape drawing at the [Dublin Society] school',[335] and 'Mr. [Robert] West', who was the drawing master at the same school from 1746.[336] Another interesting figure is Mr. Edward Oakley, Architect, for whom we have seen already Rocque produce a series of bespoke maps.[337] Finally another craftsman who has resonances to this day, John Read, Cutler, purchased a copy. In Rocque's day, he was based in Crane Lane, but the shop of the descendent business (albeit sadly now closed) still survives in Parliament Street.

Finally, besides the subscription for three copies for the Post Office made by the Rt. Hon. Edward Martin, four other institutional orders were received, one each for the 'Right Honourable and Honourable the Dublin Society' and 'The Hon. The City of Dublin',[338] and one each (as mentioned) for the 'Republick of Geneva' and 'The Library of Geneva'.[339]

4.3.3.3 Official Support

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334 *Dublin Journal*, 7 December, 1754.

335 Joseph McDonnell, 'The influence of the French rococo print in Ireland in the eighteenth century', *Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society* XXXVI (1994), 63-74, p. 73.

336 John Turpin, 'The Dublin Society's school of architectural drawing', *Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society* XXVIII (1985), 1-29, 1.

337 See Section 4.1.4.2 above.

338 While we have already noted that the Dublin Society copy of the *Exact Survey* is no longer in their collection, it would be worth considering whether the copy in the *Gilbert Library* dates to this purchase.

339 An electronic search in the catalogue of the Bibliothèque de Geneve unfortunately yields no results for John or Jean Rocque. However their online catalogue for acquisitions before 1900, is only partial.

The subscriptions just noted, from the Dublin Society and Dublin Corporation, did not appear on the list until the late 1756 edition of the Subscribers List (in the collection of Trinity College Dublin), and suggest that they were very late in coming in. Institutional support, both practical and financial, was extremely limited for Rocque's Dublin projects, as compared to those he had carried out in London, despite the enormous advantage to the city of his work. One of the last things we hear from Rocque on the subject of the *Exact Survey* is a publicity-conscious statement of gratitude to Dublin Corporation 'for their grateful Present, and Approbation' which appeared at the end of January 1757 in the *Dublin Journal*.[340] The contribution of twenty guineas[341] – was indeed a small token of support, if we are to compare it with the over 350 guineas he received from subscriptions alone.[342] However their *approbation* and the value of making this known was well worth the price of the final advertisement. This £20 was exactly double the amount granted to Brooking in 1729 for his map of the city,[343] showing that Dublin was never overly generous in its support for such independent map work, despite the great advantage to the city. The amount pales into insignificance when compared to for example that received in the 17th century by John Ogilby for his *English Atlas* proposals, which ultimately were whittled down to his 1676 *Large and Accurate Map of the City of London*. Financial support came from Charles II, and the Gresham Committee which governed the Royal Exchange (just re-built), on behalf of the Corporation and from the Mercers' Company,

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340 *Dublin Journal*, 29 January 1757.

341 *CARD*, x, p. 252, 21 January 1757: 'John Rocque, topographer to HRH the Prince of Wales, praying to be considered for taking & publishing an exact survey of this city & its environs (agreeable to his great plan of … London) in 4 sheets, which [with] great pains, labour & expense, he reduced into one sheet, & that the subscriptions for the work have not in any sort answered his expectation. To be paid 20 guineas.'

342 See discussion of this in Section 4.3.3.2 above.

343 *CARD*, vii, p. xv. 17 January 1729. 'Thomas [*sic*] Brooking hath completely finished the map of the city and suburbs, & therefore prayed that some of the said maps be taken from the said Brooking, or such other gratuity as should be thought proper . . . ordered to pay £10 towards expense.'

who granted him the use of a shop on the ground floor of the Exchange. The Aldermen of the Corporation were the most consistent supporters, giving £20 each on four occasions in July and October 1670, and May and December 1671.[344] It seems clear that all of this support provided the motivation to create his uniquely detailed – house-by-house – city plan of London. In 1673 the Court of Aldermen ordered their chamberlain to pay Ogilby a further £100, so long as he submitted his designs as they went for their approval. Dramatically contrasting with the situation some eighty years afterwards in Dublin, the group appointed to assess the progress of Ogilby's map included *inter alia*, the scientist Robert Hooke, who was the London City Surveyor! In addition the Court of Aldermen 'urged the Companies and corporations of the City, and all worthy citizens, to support "a Work so generally Useful and Necessary", by taking out liberal subscriptions … The Corporation, they informed them, was leading the way with a subscription of £200.'[345]

Of course this dedication to the work of the mapmaker by the city of London came in response to the crisis, and the opportunities for renewal, brought about by the Great Fire and were a good deal more significant than the financial support at least, garnered by Rocque, and John Pine, for the *London* 1747 map. Nevertheless the institutional and practical support for that map was considerable as we have already seen in Chapter 3. The Royal Society's support was practical and technical, and one of crucial advocacy, by means of the affidavits for the accuracy of the work given by Folkes and Davall. London Corporation issued instructions to its beadles, common-council men, and officials of all of the wards to 'be assisting to the said Mess. Rocque and

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[344] Ralph Hyde, 'The Ogilby and Morgan survey of the city of London - 1676' in *A large and accurate map of the city of London ichnographically describing all the streets, lanes, alleys, courts, yards, churches halls and houses, &c actually surveyed and delineated, by John Ogilby, Esq; His Majesties Cosmographer*, (Lympne Castle, Kent: Harry Margary in association with Guildhall Library, London, 1976), section 5.

[345] *Ibid*, section 5.

Pine, in the Prosecution of so useful a Design'.[346] They were eventually given a gratuity by the London Corporation of £50 when Pine and Tinney presented the London 24-sheet map in October 1746.[347]

Whatever of Dublin Corporation's lack of support, one might have expected something from the Dublin Society perhaps. Again the evidence here is circumstantial rather than substantial. We have noted the subscription to a single set of the maps in the Subscribers List, and this is corroborated in their own minutes (14 October 1756) and by their payment the following 24 February, to have this map coloured by Rocque. Nothing else practical or financial was offered by this society, and certainly nothing to match the support given by the Royal Society in London. Rocque's connections with Putland, the Dublin Society's treasurer, and with James Simon, also an important cultural activist, is our only circumstantial evidence of unofficial support from that body. It is interesting, however, to note then that the Dublin Society's new offices in Grafton Street were one of the few newly labelled buildings to appear on Scalé's 1773 edition of Rocque's *Exact Survey* (Fig. 4.66).

Coincidentally, the house next door to Dublin Society House on Scalé's map, is Navigation House, belonging to the Inland Navigation, and there is a suggestion of a direct link between Rocque and this body in the folio title page to the *Exact Survey* (Fig. 4.65),[348] published with the Trinity College, Dublin version of the *Subscribers List*, referring to the so-called *Parishes Plan* that was published in March of 1757. Indeed the line in question does not appear on the title of the *Parishes* map either.[349] The line referring to the *Parishes* map in

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346 Section 3.1.2 above.

347 Ralph Hyde, 'Portraying London mid-century: John Rocque and the Brothers Buck' in *London 1753*, edited by Sheila O'Connell (London: The British Museum Press, 2003), 28-38, p. 32.

348 Trinity College Dublin, OO.a.58.

349 See fn. 109 above for the full title of the Parishes map.

the *Subscribers List* was: '*The Four Sheets reduced in One, with the Division of the Parishes and Deaneries of Christ-Church, and St. Patrick's, / Plan of the Works as determined for the INLAND NAVIGATION, viz. New Bason, Granaries, Canals, New Streets, &c. / PRICE FOUR SHILLINGS.*'. The image of this area in the Parishes map (Fig. 4.67) is distinctly different to that of the *Exact Survey* published only five months earlier, and different again to the survey of the area carried out by Scalé in 1773 (Fig. 4.68). In other words, Rocque was privy to proposed plans being made by the Navigation Board, but not actually carried out. Yet there is no record of Rocque's work for the Commissioners of the Inland Navigation as they were then known.[350] One can only wonder at whether Rocque was paid for this piece of proposal propaganda. There are no recorded subscriptions in the *Subscribers List* on which the point was made, to suggest as much. Finally, it might be added that no such proposed, but unexecuted work, has been identified on the *Exact Survey* itself, although it has been fairly usual to do so in other areas: Rocque's map of Newry, as already noted, or Malton's completion of the Blue-Coat school tower, or indeed Brooking's rendering of St Anne's and St Werburgh's churches.

4.4 Practice and Process: the Field and Workshop Production of the Dublin Map

Many aspects of this question have been recited in summary form already in Section 4.3.1 above in which the various aspects of production were enumerated in order to make an estimate of costs. Some aspects of this will be rehearsed again here in sections 4.4.1 & 4.4.2, especially as they pertain to the everyday practice of Rocque's workshop in Dublin, and in an attempt to establish what we know of Rocque's personnel while in this country and their number. In light of the great speed and efficacy of his work, Rocque's working technique and organisation continue a mystery. The authenticity of the record is consequently a major question, which will be addressed in the next chapter. However, by and large, the map is an extremely exhaustive and inclusive one.

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[350] J.W. de Courcy, *The Liffey in Dublin* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1996), 118.

If not always entirely accurate in terms of the exact molecular form of individual buildings, the map is impressively reliable in terms of street layout, city grain, and indeed as we will find, in terms of the veracity of the overall triangulated plan.[351]

4.4.1 Apprentices and Surveying Technique

Rocque's assistants appear to have been encouraged to follow their master's own versatility, Rocque stating himself that the artists he would use in producing the *Exact Survey*, would be 'the same Persons who assisted him in his Surveys.'[352] The oft-quoted remark made by Rocque to his nephew Bartholomew that he had ten foreigners working for him, an equal number of draughtsmen as engravers, came as it turns out, after expressing his disappointment in them: '*car j'ai été & fuis en corre malheureuse par les Etrangers que j'employe, qui … aquetuellement [?Dix] tant Dessinateur que graveur, …*'.[353] As Rosemary Hill suggests of Pugin, those who were raised bilingually, are often very poor spellers![354] Of course we do not know if this number was the number he had working with him in Ireland. Although we should expect a change in personnel, considering the extent of his output, we might expect the quantity of assistants to be somewhat of the same order. Also it is doubtful that the word '*Etranger*' in this instance means foreigners – as Rocque himself was a foreigner either by birth or parentage – but used by Rocque, the word more likely referred to outsiders: perhaps outside the fold of Huguenots, with whom he often seemed to work, and in whom he placed so much of his faith. Indeed this was part of the message to his nephew, that he could not entirely trust those he had working for him; he looked to the nephew '*par la conscience que j'orvis peut mettre en vous'*, and states that he has a need for a person in whom

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351 See discussion in Chapter 5 on distortion grids.

352 *Dublin Journal* 26 October, 1754.

353 Mannheim, Gesellschaft der Freunde Mannheims und der ehemaligen Kurpfalz, 'John Rocque to Bartholomew Rocque', 11th May, 1753.

354 Rosemary Hill, *God's architect: Pugin and the building of romantic Britain* Paperback ed. (London: Penguin Books, 2008), 59.

he could place his confidence: *'j'orois d'autant plus de besoin apresant d'une personne de conscience'*.[355]

We may start by attempting to establish who was in his working group, both for the surveying and for the engraving and map production, as there was a cross-over here, as noted. Baynton-Williams has compiled a useful list of engravers and mapmakers Rocque had working with him at different times.[356] These include the following – [Jean-Michel] Moreau, [Pierre] Aveline, L'Empereur, J-B.C. Chatelain, Deharmé, le Parmentier, and J.J. Perret. Others included Robert Benning (who Varley suggested was a foreigner) and Peter Andrews, who worked with Rocque's widow, and disappears from 1770, when the surveyor Peter André emerged; and of course Andrew Dury, the engraver of the *Exact Survey*. Some of the English engravers whom he employed or worked with were, Richard Parr, Isaac Basire, Richard William Seale and R. White. Of this list, only J.J. Perret (his £100 apprentice) and Andrew Dury, are known to have worked with Rocque while he was in Ireland, although the previous bias, as represented by the names above, towards French partners is an obvious one. Apart from unnamed apprentices, Rocque seemed to economise by picking up fellow-workers while in Ireland. No doubt he did not have to pay their accommodation or the expense of transporting them to Dublin as a result. It was also a useful way of insinuating himself into the local professional community, and establishing his *bona fides* as an employer of locals, something so important in the professed consumer patriotism of the time, and probably useful in avoiding local xenophobia as his surveyors were at work.

In the list of maps produced by Rocque while in Ireland, recited in section 4.1 above, the following local, or possibly local names appear: Gabriel Smith (of the *Harbour & Environs* map), George Byrne, the Skinner Row printer, who engraved the Kilkenny map, Patrick Halpin who engraved the 1757 *Parishes*

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[355] 'Rocque to Bartholomew Rocque', 11th May, 1753.

[356] http://www.mapforum.com/05/rocque.htm, accessed 8 September, 2007.

map and *Pocket Plan*, John Dixon who engraved the cartouche for the *Dublin county* map of 1760. Non-locals were Bernard Scalé, Rocque's brother-in-law, who worked on the Kildare manuscript series, but also no doubt unacknowledged on the surveying and engraving of the *Exact Survey*, Andrew Dury who engraved the *Exact Survey*, and Rocque himself. We may add to these John Powell (draughtsman of the *Thurles* plan), Samuel Andrews, and Mathew Wren, whose advertisement for further work we have already noted above,[357] confirms them amongst the surveyors at least, while Matthew Wren was a named artist in the Kildare manuscript works. Amongst all of these it is likely that Perret, Scalé, Rocque, Andrews, Powell, Wren and Dury, were a constant part of the team. Another assistant artist, albeit perhaps less likely to have been involved with the surveying, was Hugh Douglas Hamilton, who, with Mathew Wren, was an important members of the Kildare manuscript team. It is possible that some of the other cartouche and or lettering work on some of the printed maps was carried out by them too. McDonnell has pointed to the pen-and-ink lettering practice done in a Rocquian style on the verso of one of the 'Cries of Dublin' folios made by Hugh Douglas Hamilton which reads: 'Hugh D Hamilton / Plans &c sold by John Rocque Topographer to / Dublin Royal D / Boal /Border …'.[358] With the four artist/engravers, Smith, Byrne, Halpin and Dixon, involved in some way also, there were likely other apprentices unnamed, and from this a total of ten to fifteen is easily reached.

Finally, it is worth noting the figures, associated with Rocque at this time, who would have independent careers as surveyors specifically, as listed in Sarah Bendall's *Dictionary of land surveyors.*[359] These include Samuel Andrews, active

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357 Note 86 above.

358 Joseph McDonnell, 'Appendix II: the rococo frontispiece' in *The cries of Dublin: drawn from the life by Hugh Douglas Hamilton, 1760*, edited by William Laffan (Dublin: Irish Georgian Society, 2003), 197-98, p. 197.

359 Sarah Bendall (ed.), *Dictionary of land surveyors and local mapmakers of Great Britain and Ireland. 2 vols.* (London: British Library, 1997).

from c. 1760-92, and involved with surveys in Cork, of canals, harbours and urban estates; John Powell, active from 1756-84, who undertook independent work in Cork, Kerry, Tipperary, and Wiltshire; Matthew Wren, active 1760-71, who undertook surveying work in Down, Hertfordshire, Kent and in London; John Andrews, active 1760-c. 1800, carried out work in Hertfordshire, Kent, Wiltshire, and was based in his later career in Piccadilly, London; and Andrew Dury himself, the principal artist engraver of the *Exact Survey*. Like many who fell under Rocque's influence, he was to combine this with a career in publishing and in surveying after his work with Rocque in Dublin. He died in 1776, but had done survey work in Aberdeenshire, Herefordshire, Kent, London, Suffolk, Wiltshire. His publishing ventures included some posthumous Rocque productions, in co-operation with Rocque's widow, Mary Ann, and some with John Andrews.

Our most interesting, if not quite our only, textual clue to the process of the Dublin survey was the dramatic reference to the surveyors nearly drowning on the strand at Irishtown. On 10 September 1754 the *Dublin Journal* stated that while Rocque was 'measuring a Base Line for the Survey of this City, and the Environs, two of his Men who were attending him with the Chain on the Sea Coast between Irish Town and Roches Hill … got into a deep Pool; and had it not been for the timely Assistance of some People gathering Stones, in all Probability they had been drowned'. It is quite probable that the Roches Hill being referred to was the spot called 'Rochestown Hill' on the Dalkey promontory, as it is named on Rocque's own *Dublin County* map of 1760 (Fig. 4.69). Although the point at which they fell in was *between* Roches Hill and Irish Town, it seems possible, considering that it is named, that this was one of the southern parameter or starting point for the survey. This would make logical sense as the highest and best viewing point for establishing an overarching base line and angle from it. On the other hand if this was for the base line itself, one can only wonder how such a distance could be measured over such rough terrain? The actual base line needed to be established on a flat ground, and indeed the strand at Irishtown would be an ideal spot, flat, and

with a clear view to the city. This would have been in keeping, for example, with the enormous lengths gone to by Thomas Colby in the following century (1827-8) to establish his base line for the Ordnance Survey at Lough Foyle on a completely flat surface close to the sea.[360] Rocque's management of vertical angles and his trigonometrical accounting for these in his cartographical projection is as yet unclear to this author at least.

Rocque continued to invoke his methodology of triangulation, as he had for the London map, both by visual means – the inset to the scale cartouche on the *Exact Survey* itself (Fig. 3.14) – and by means of statements to the press. Indeed the overall accuracy of the triangulation of city map (*Exact Survey*) at least, will be confirmed in test carried out in Chapter 5 below. Regarding his statement to the press, in an advertisement to do with his proposed Cork and Kilkenny maps, Rocque states: 'The method of asserting the principal objects in these Surveys, is by Trigonometrical observations; the Angles taken by the theodolite & distances measured by a Four Pole chain'.[361] He is referring to his technique for the county surveys specifically, but we might generalise to the city maps, and to the Dublin *Exact Survey*, in particular. Afterall, Rocque proposed from the very beginning, to produce two maps of Dublin, the much more extensive *Harbour & Environs* map and the *Exact Survey*, so that this extensive base-line survey would have been a necessary preliminary. In the same advertisement he continues as follows: 'The method observed in asserting the churches, & principal objects in their true positions, is by Trigonometrical Observations; the bendings of the roads, rivers, & seacoast measured with the chain, & the angles taken with the theodolite. For the more accuracy, this work will be laid down to a scale of four inches to a mile, & then reduced to two…'. It is likely too that in the street-by-street traverse the perambulator or measuring wheel, as he illustrated in his Middlesex map was

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360 J.H. Andrews, *A paper landscape: the Ordnance Survey in nineteenth-century Ireland* 2nd ed. (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2002), 44, 48-9.

361 *Dublin Journal*, 9 October 1759, as quoted in Andrews 'Map-historical notes: cartographers', 72.

also used (Fig. 3.19). As noted in the discussion on this subject regarding the London maps, Rocque was likely to have used a street measuring system along the lines of that outlined by the likes of William Leybourn in the late 17th century, for the street-by-street measurements, and these measurements would have been fitted into an overarching triangulated skeleton.[362]

One of the joys of Rocque's Dublin map is the level of detail in terms of the shapes of the streets as much as, if not more so, the shapes of the buildings, as will again be demonstrated in some detail in the final chapter. Rocque had untramelled access to the streetscape, in a way that he naturally couldn't have had to the houses and their rears, and as a result, the illustration of the shapes of streets is far more dependable on a micro level than what lies behind. Our task will remain to unfold the key of what he had access to and how he depicted it, and whether there are any tell-tale marks to tell us the difference. It is to the streets that Rocque had most comprehensive access, in a way that he never had to the buildings, especially their sides and rears. Thus the negative space has the most convincing authenticity of shape, and their white shapes stand out starkly against the molecular micro-lines of the representations of the solid buildings. John Andrews puts this most succinctly when he states that 'The street-widths of the *Exact survey* are minutely differentiated, as if drawn from accurate and closely-spaced offset measurements perpendicular to the main survey lines. Many of these variations can stand comparison with the 1:1056 Ordnance Survey plans which appeared in 1838-43. The same is true of the number of houses in each block and the relative lengths of their facades,

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362 William Leybourn, *The compleat surveyor: or, the whole art of surveying of land, by a new instrument lately invented;. Containing plain and easy directions in several kinds of mensurations,. By William Leybourn. The whole altered and amended, The fifth edition, in IX books,. and an appendix. by Samuel Cunn.* (London: 1722).

but in Dublin as in most towns it was harder to measure the backs of houses than the fronts…'[363]

By returning to the text of Leybourn and looking in detail at a sampled street on the *Exact Survey* we can gain some insight into what this might have meant in practice.[364] Leybourn makes a contrast between the measurement of country roads and those of town streets and lanes: 'In the Plotting of *Streets*, there must be somewhat more exactness used then can possibly be in *Roads* and *High-ways*: for *Roads* being both long and large, cannot be plotted by any other than a very small *Scale*, so that every small bout, or turning, cannot be taken notice of; or if they be, they cannot be expressed in any *Plot*: but in *Streets* and *Lanes* every small *bowing*, though it make not an angle of above 3 or 4 degrees, must be taken notice of; and therefore the *Theodolite* or *Semicircle* is more apt and fitter for this work than the *Circumferentor*.'[365] The idea was that from any particular starting point – a principal turning in a street, a corner or junction –the 'cardinal angles' to the next visible junction would be made. This gave a straight line, that could be measured, and from this all bends in the street, laneways, and other significant markings could be offset at right angles from these. Leybourn had suggested the use of a day-book with a pair of parallel lines running up the centre of each page, each of which represented the lines of each side of the street, marked of course in terms of their angle, and distance from, the last junction. Along each of these lines, marks could be made to suggest the location and angle of subsidiary exits from the street, lanes, alleyways, other streets, or indeed the location of principal buildings no doubt.

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[363]J.H. Andrews, 'Two maps of Dublin and its surroundings by John Rocque' in *An exact survey of the city and suburbs of Dublin 1756/ by John Rocque: facsimile maps in 8 sheets*, (Lympne Castle (Kent): Harry Margary, 1977),

[364] Leybourn's approach to street surveying has already been summarised briefly in Chapter 3 above.

[365] Leybourn, *Compleat surveyor*, p. 110.

Ironically the use of this methodology, is far more visually evident in Rocque's *Exact Survey* (Fig. 4.70), than in Ogilby's and Morgan's *A Large and Accurate Map of the City of London* (1676) (Fig. 3.6) on which Leybourn was one of the principal surveyors. Indeed the Dublin map also stands up to this graphical examination on this point far better than Rocque and John Tinney's *London* map of 1747 (Fig. 2.56). In Rocque's representation of e.g. the north side of Stephen Street, between Ship Street and Aungier Street, we see six stretches of line representing the façade lines of the houses on this side of the street. These match up very closely to the line divisions and direction changes in the same position on the first Ordnance Survey map published for this area (Fig. 4.71),[366] where seven such turns are represented, even though at least some of these houses had been replaced in the 1760s.[367] This level of attention to the micro-changes within individual streets appears to be corroborated more often than not by the first Ordnance Survey maps, and while the exact measure may differ in many cases, a purposeful measuring activity on this scale, if not always exact accuracy, is suggested. This is a very important corroboration of Rocque's technique, as well as a strong suggestion that Rocque followed a methodology of equivalent intensity to Leybourn's, if not Leybourn's approach itself. Note in contrast that on the Ogilby and Morgan *London* map (Fig. 3.6), each street consists of a single uni-directional line along its whole length for the most part, and suggests a block-by-block measurement with the houses merely marked out as divisions of these but without suggesting the many changes of direction pairs and small groupings of houses often had, as a result of the more usual micro-development that took place in cities like London and Dublin.[368] Rocque and Tinney's *London* 1747, may be forgiven

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366 Ordnance Survey *Dublin City*, Castle Sheet, [21], Surveyed 1838-43, Published 1843, 1:1,056; Courtesy of the Board of Trinity College, Dublin.

367 John Montague, 'Leitrim House: a re-assessment' in *Dublin Townhouse Conference*, edited by Christine Casey (Dublin: Four Courts Press, forthcoming 2009).

368 Elizabeth McKellar, *The birth of modern London: the development and design of the city 1660-1720* (Manchester & New York: Manchester University Press, 1999), 36-56. The predominant historiographical understanding of the built development of Dublin in the 17th and 18th centuries fits more closely to Summerson's one for London in which single gentry or landed

more for a similar approach, in so far as it was unapologetically a block-by-block map, unlike Ogilby and Morgan's, but all of this points to the quality and the attention to detail of Rocque's survey approach in Dublin, and the record he has left.

One partially dissenting voice to this neat conclusion is that to be found in Bill Frazer's insightful article 'Cracking Rocque?', based on his close analysis of the survey in an area around New Market in the Liberties of Dublin, on the basis of his excavation there on a site just to the west of St Luke's church.[369] Frazer's main point is that Rocque appeared to demonstrate a (perhaps not unexpected) hierarchy of attention to the level or intensity of his surveying. In summary, major thoroughfares were triangulated, and measured on both sides of the streets, secondary streets were measured down the centre and at the two openings, and tertiary streets paced and the numbers and widths of houses guessed at, at least sometimes. Frazer was able to demonstrate, for example, the kinds of rationalisations made when straight laneways were given a kink in order to meet up when their openings on either side as recorded on the two different streets linked by the lane didn't synchronise.[370] There is no suggestion here that the overall triangulation in the less important parts of the city were compromised, or indeed that the major thoroughfares were less precisely

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figures were responsible for great swathes of development in the city. McKellar's corrective to this view, has been taken up in small part for Dublin in e.g. Brendan Twomey's close study of some of the development that took place in the Parish of St Paul's on the north side of Dublin, during the 18th century: Brendan Twomey, *Smithfield and the parish of St Paul, Dublin, 1698-1750* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2005). The records of the Registry of Deeds have yet to be comprehensively plundered for the riches that they contain in this regard.

369 Bill Frazer, 'Cracking Rocque?' *Archaeology Ireland* 18, no. 2 (2004): 10-14.

370 'In some cases, where such secondary streets intersect with two major thoroughfares, a degree of rationalisation has resulted in odd kinks appearing in the street. This is evident down the length of Skinners Alley, where a slight (inaccurate) north-north-west to south-south-east orientation has crept into the map – an apparent attempt to link one end of Skinners Alley, where its intersection along Newmarket was precisely surveyed, with the other end of the same, where its intersection along the Coombe was also measured accurately.' Frazer, 'Cracking Rocque', 12.

measured here than the major streets in other parts of the city. However it would be interesting to carry out a similarly intense comparison of early Ordnance Survey maps, Rocque's map, and on-the-ground archaeology in some of the more elite areas of the city.

Another very important point made by Frazer is the degree to which Rocque opted to regularise the geometry of house plots, and indeed some spatial elements too. Using Rocque to recover the locations of fossilised property boundaries, Frazer suggests, shows up 'a fair degree of inaccuracy, given Rocque's tendency to rationalise trapezoidal properties into rectangles and slightly obtuse and acute angles into right angles.'[371] A close look at the map, and a comparison to the earliest 5 ft Ordnance Survey map shows this to be absolutely the case. Indeed it could be argued that this tendency gives a more geometrically regular appearance, which was more pleasing to a post-Renaissance or classically orientated visual appetite. The city is given a rationalised make-over as a result. This is a very important insight into Rocque's graphical depiction of the city, from the point of view of its aesthetics and accuracy, but also from the point of view of his subliminal manipulation of our sense of the accuracy of the map, and our perception of its rationality. Note for example a comparison between the small open square to the front of St Mary's Abbey as depicted on Rocque with its depiction on the first Ordnance Survey 5 ft map (Figs 4.72-3). In Rocque's map the angles are regularised, so that a perfect rectangular civic space is evoked. In the Ordnance Survey map a much shallower area with obtuse and acute angles at the corners is depicted; an accidental space rather than one created for its civic rectitude perhaps.

4.4.2 Workshop practice and the distribution of labour

The *Exact Survey* itself, as visual artefact, is the most obvious and important record for the assessing the method by which the map projection was created

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[371] Frazer, 'Cracking Rocque', 11-12.

and how it was depicted in engraved line. However insights are hard-won. Andrew Dury is the only engraver named on the map. Nonetheless, what we know of other cartographic engravers suggests that this work was shared out by many hands, in a manner not dissimilar to the distribution of work in a medieval painter's workshop (cf Fig. 2.37). Based on her intensive study of the map trade in Paris in the 17th and 18th centuries, Mary Pedley has pointed out that '[m]any engravers were involved with the production of a single map: the map engraver, the letter engraver, the cartouche designer and the cartouche engraver. They often did not sign their work; when they did sign a map, they rarely gave an address unless they also published the map.'[372] While Dury is the only engraver mentioned on the *Exact Survey* – his signature '*A. Dury Sculp.t*' appears in the bottom right-hand corner of sheet 4 (Fig. 4.26) – corroboration that there were others involved, is given in the title to the *Index* to the *Exact Survey*, also published in 1756, which states that the map was '*Engraved by ANDREW DURY, and others, …*'.[373] Those with a penchant for figures, or lettering, or stippling and hatching or landscape symbols (micro-lines), or in drawing the main lines (the macro-lines) of the map, specialised no doubt in each of these areas of work. Cartouches were usually farmed out to artists trained in figurative and/or decorative work – the cartouches by Wren and Hugh Douglas Hamilton in the Kildare manuscript surveys being an example of that, while those done by Dixon in the 1760 Dublin map, and possibly (although in this case there is no attached signature to the cartouches) George Byrne for the cartouches in the Cork and Kilkenny maps, are examples of cartouches in some of the published maps that were not directly undertaken

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372 Mary Pedley, 'The map trade in Paris, 1650-1825', *Imago Mundi*, 33 (1981), 33-45, p. 40.

373 *AN / INDEX / Adapted to the / PLAN / OF THE / City and Suburbs of Dublin; / FROM / An actual and exact SURVEY, / MADE / By JOHN ROCQUE, / Chorographer to their Royal Highnesses the late / and present Prince of Wales. / Engraved by ANDREW DURY, and others, and / printed on Four Sheets of Imperial Paper. / … DUBLIN / Printed for the Author, and sold at his House opposite the / Bagnio-slip on the Batchelor's-walk, and by G. Faulkner, / in Essex-street. MDCCLVI.- Where likewise may be / had, all his other Works.* Copies in British Library (London), King's Inns (Dublin).

by Rocque.[374] We shall see that even the work of creating the cartouches, designing and engraving, may have been shared in the *Exact Survey*, although it will be suggested below that Rocque was directly involved as the principal designer and engraver of the two cartouches that appear on the Dublin city map.

Some of these artists, those identified, and perhaps others not, were graduates of the Dublin Society school of drawing, in which James Mannin, a Frenchman resident in Dublin, taught landscape and ornamental drawing, the latter particularly useful to those undertaking cartouche work.[375] Anne Hodge explains that '[p]attern drawing and mechanical and free-hand drawing were taught for boys preparing to become cabinet makers, silversmiths, engravers, builders and surveyors, and according to Strickland, these formed the majority of the boys in the 18th century.'[376] Boys in the school also copied engravings, and in this way kept up with the latest ornamental styles, be they rococo or classical. John Dixon, who was later a mezzotint engraver, Hugh Douglas Hamilton and Patrick Halpin were all graduates at this time. Indeed according to Hodge, Dixon was only 18 years old when he drafted the cartouche with its putti and Minerva figures, for the Dublin *County* map of 1760. Dixon went on to become a member of the Incorporated Society of Artists in London. Halpin, also a recent graduate of the Dublin Society School, went on to specialise in engraved vignette illustrations for books.[377] John Powell, who engraved the image of the military camp near Thurles for Rocque in 1755, Hodge suggests, was likely a member of the Dublin print family, the

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374 The Kilkenny and Cork cartouches, described in section 4.1.4.2 above, are quite naïve and lack the decorative flair of Rocque's usual cartouche work.

375 As already noted Mannin, along with his colleague Robert West, were both listed as subscribers to the *Exact Survey*.

376 Anne Hodge. 'A study of the rococo decoration on John Rocque's Irish maps and plans, 1755-1760', (Unpublished B.A. thesis, Faculty of History of Art and Design and Complementary Studies, National College of Art and Design, 1994), 13.

377 Hodge, 'A study of the rococo decoration', 14.

Powells.[378] Finally Hamilton, whose work for Rocque on the Kildare manuscript maps, was likely to have been his first professional outing, was patronised in London, after he moved there in 1764, by the earl of Kildare's mother, the Dowager Countess of Kildare and continued to be patronised by the Fitzgeralds of Leinster throughout his illustrious career.[379]

4.4.2.1 Rocquian Idiom

Before considering some aspects of the graphical management of tasks or at least the types of different graphical activities that can be discerned on the maps, it is worth reiterating the idea of Rocque's control over a particular type of graphical idiom that he used throughout his career. I have argued already that the particular type of cartographical expression he used was more or less fully-formed from the start of his career, and dated to his first published image, that of *Richmond* in 1734. The style was very much an already prevalent French style, but one that was given added flavour by Rocque's own artistic talents.[380] This involved a strictly planometric depiction of the mapped area, without the still-common early- to mid-18th century use of quasi-axonometric views of buildings, that were regularly inserted into the street or country plans. Different types of buildings were often indicated by some kind of symbolic code, such as the one Rocque uses for the Dublin map, of stipples for residential houses, diagonal hatching for outbuildings, offices, warehouses

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378 Cf. Maurice Craig, *Dublin 1660-1860* 2nd ed. (London: Penguin, 1992), 202.

379 Hodge, 'A study of the rococo decoration', 14.

380 Compare Rocque's style of depiction to e.g. *PLAN GÉOMETRAL DE LA VILLE DE LYON / Levé et Grave par Claude Seraucourt verifié et orienté par le R.P. GRÉGOIRE de Lyon / Religieux de Tiers-ordre de S.t Francois. en 1735.* (copy in TCD Fagel Portfolio, XXV, no. 26); *Plan Geometrico y Historico de la Villa de Madrid y sus Contornos (4 sheets). Paris, chez le Sieur Julien.* Engraved by Chalmandrier in 1761. (copy in TCD Fagel Portfolio, XXV, no. 12); or *Plan des Villes Citadelle et Fauxbourgs de Nancy… Par C. Mique… 1778* (copy in TCD Fagel Portfolio, XXV, no. 27).
Seraucourt's *Lyons* 1735 – note that Rob Goodbody, looking at this with me suggested that the stippling was done with a wheel. I'm not so sure, although certainly very even. However Dury's stippling not done in this manner.

and workshops, with a cross-hatch for more important public buildings. Landscape conditions of all kinds were depicted by a rich variety of symbols, whose naturalistic qualities often allowed them to be read without a key.

The variety of these marks in Rocque's maps was particularly rich, and allow for a decoding of the landscape, in the Dublin map at least, between areas of market garden, pasture, waste ground, cultivated or landscaped ground, forest, fruit trees, tenters fields etc., as well as divisions in the landscape of different types, e.g. trees as hedging, shrub hedging, ditches, or trees as decorative elements. None in this case is labelled or given a symbolic key, but most can be read by means of our knowledge of the historic city (or contemporaries' knowledge of their city) and the illusionistic quality of the markings. This quasi-pictorial images contrast with the strictly planometric depictions of the built-up city, but features such as shaded trees with cast-shadows, should not be read as depicting individual features, but as symbols for a general feature of the landscape at this location. There are some instances in which Rocque gave us a clearer definition of these symbols, and they generally corroborate our intuitive reading of them in most other cases. One such instance is in Rocque's 1746, *London & ten miles around* map (Fig. 4.74). While a much richer visual vocabulary is used in the London map and in the Dublin map than is suggested in his 'Explanation of the Plan', this is possible because of the artistic or naturalistic quality of so many of the marks made on his maps (Figs 4.75-6). Nor does this include the truly naturalistic, or what we might call hybrid figures on the map – more picture than pictogram – of for example the ships on the river, the tombstones in graveyards, the posts of the tenters fields and the canons on the 'Artillery Ground' next to the arsenal in Dublin Castle (Figs 4.77-9).

While all of this is so, and the quality and nature of the visual vocabulary remains consistent from map to map – with the exception perhaps of the 1747 *London* map – Rocque was very unlikely to have been responsible directly for the engraving of any of his maps from around the time he began his more

ambitious projects including the London maps of the 1740s. We might conclude that Rocque was more likely to have been out managing the surveying than inside engraving, if only because of his track record since the London map, as orchestrator and surveyor, but not as engraver, and because he has not listed himself as the engraver on this map.

4.4.2.2 Andrew Dury and the engravers of the *Exact Survey*

It is very difficult to judge Dury's work on the *Exact Survey*, as there is so little of his own engraving work with which to directly compare it. Dury was an unknown before he first advertised his presence in Dublin in June 1754, and in this he presented himself as a map dealer.[381] Nor was Dury the first engraver to be used by Rocque in Ireland: the Thurles map of 1755 – Rocque's first in Ireland – was engraved by John Powell, and the so-called 'Key Map' (Fig. 4.30), which formed one quarter of the later *Harbour & Environs* map of 1757, was engraved by Rocque's apprentice, J.J. Perret. In section 2.3.2.3 above, some of the very limited examples of Dury's independent engraving works are shown (Figs 2.51-3) – Dury afterwards specialised more in surveying and publishing, than in engraving. Neither his Boston map – a coloured watercolour – nor his reduced version of Rocque's British town and city maps, compare well to the clarity and exactitude of the Dublin map, but the change of medium and scale in both, make this particular comparison unhelpful. And yet the quality of the engraving in the *Exact Survey* matches if not exceeds that in any of Rocque's previous works, and some responsibility for this must fall to Dury.

If Dury was not the engraver of every detail on the map, he must have supervised the team of apprentices and minor engravers, who did the lettering, the stippling, the hybrid features, the fields markings, and the hachures representing relief. There are some features on the *Exact Survey* that are rendered with unusual concentration, no doubt by Dury's assistants, but yet

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[381] See Section 4.1.2 above.

indicating his own attention to detail, or one brought about by the particular nature of this house-by-house plan. For example, remarkably, nearly every freestanding wall is depicted by a double contour, rather than by a single line, and for the most part in each case, one line is bolder than the other, suggesting the effect of light cast on a solid structure, something which must have taken an inordinate amount of time to achieve (Fig. 4.80). Fig. 4.80, also shows one of the other exceptional graphical qualities of the map, i.e. the way in which the stippling that symbolises dwelling houses, is graded from light to dark inside every building, to give a modelled or three-dimensional quality to the individual buildings, despite their being expressed strictly planometrically. Likewise, on two sides of many buildings a stronger blacker line is used, to compound this three-dimensional illusionism (Fig. 4.81). All of this is a kind of quasi-naturalism, as each house would not be shaded from above in this manner; but all of this adds to both the legibility of the map, and to its decorative richness. Our perception of the city grain is enhanced, and the map is given a livelier shimmering quality than if all of the houses were given a uniform overall treatment. To repeat, although it would be more likely that this repetitive decorative detail would be taken on by an assistant, rather than by Dury himself, the quality of this work is particular to the Dublin map, and contrasts in intensity, if not in actual idiom, from most of Rocque's other city maps.

While it is likely that some one stippling assistant or apprentice specialised in this work, there are sometimes varying qualities in the work, sometimes in passages that are closely placed. One example is the rendering of the houses on the north and south sides of Henrietta Street on sheet 2 (Fig. 4.82). The quality of the stippling work is less assured on the houses on the south side, than those on the north side. The direction of the putative light source, i.e. from the south east on the northern terrace, and from the north-east on the southern terrace, are different. However there are some suggestions, for example on what was Primate Boulter's house at the (west) end of the southern terrace that some amendments had been made to the lay-out of the

rear of this house at least.[382] The fact that the lines for house divisions on the southern terrace bleed out northwards onto the street, and don't on the north side of the street is an unusual feature also. The line of dots to the front of the houses, we shall see in Chapter 5, refer to bollards in this location. But why are there not bollards on both sides of the street? All of this hints at some kind of re-working of the engraving, perhaps in response to the kinds of suggestions that would have been made during the months when Rocque hung the proofs in his shop. Changes to different states of the map have been documented by John Andrews who states that 'the texture of the engraving suggests that many areas had been worked over more than once',[383] and further refined by Andrew Bonar Law.[384] This kind of revision of plates in response to on-the-ground revisions by the surveyors, and suggestions from the public, must have taken up a considerable amount of the engraver's time. This would all be revised in greater detail again, when Bernard Scalé got his hands on the plates and republished the four-sheet map in 1773.[385]

Other specialist work besides the micro-lines of the shading, stippling and hatching, includes the lettering. While Hyde has suggested that the London map contained up to 5,000 street and other labels on that 24-sheet map, a quick look at Paul Ferguson's index to the *Exact Survey* in the *A to Z of Georgian Dublin*[386] – a more reliable list, in fact than Rocque's own *Index* published in

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382 Note the faded, or only partially erased lines, in the area of the rear returns.

383 J.H. Andrews, 'Two maps of Dublin and its surroundings by John Rocque' in *The A to Z of Georgian Dublin: John Rocque's maps of the city in 1756 and the county in 1760*, edited by Paul Ferguson (Lympne Castle, Kent: Harry Margary in association with Trinity College Library Dublin, 1998), v-xiii, p. viii-ix.

384 Andrew Bonar Law, and Charlotte Bonar Law, *'A contribution towards a catalogue of engravings of Dublin' originally by E. MacDowel Cosgrave: revised and expanded, to which is added volume 2, a similar contribution towards a catalogue of: the maps and charts of Dublin city and county. 2 vols.* Vol. 2, Maps, (Dublin: The Neptune, 2005), 345-9.

385 Scalé's revision of the *Exact Survey* will be discussed in greater detail in Section 5.2 below.

386 Paul Ferguson (ed.) *The A to Z of Georgian Dublin* (Lympne Castle, Kent: Harry Margary in association with Trinity College Library Dublin, 1998), 65-9.

1756 – suggests that there were, not counting the titles and imprints, a small fraction of the names on its London cousin, the four sheets of the *Exact Survey* containing 619 street names. This is a little short (i.e. 75%) of the approximately one sixth of 5,000 names (833) we'd expect of a map with four sheets instead of twenty-four. However the actual built-up area of London, was more in the order of 3-4 times that of the built-up area of Dublin at this time (based on no more scientific a reading than a graphical comparison between the shaded masses of the cities on the two Rocque maps – compare Figs 3.1 & 4.1). One source for the proportionally greater number of names on the London map, perhaps, is the number of inns or alleyways and yards called after inns, that are named there (Fig 4.83), compared to those to be found on the Dublin map. There are countless labels on the London map, for these places of public business, compared to the only two (once again as named by Ferguson in his index), on the Dublin map, i.e. the Black Dog in Corn Market, and Dog and Duck Yard at Ushers Quay.[387] Named places of private business, like names of property owners,[388] are also fairly rare on the 1756 Dublin map. There is a flax manufacturers at Lurgan Street, Poundens Foundary at Lazers Hill, and a Velvet Manufactory at Great Marlborough Street.[389] One possible explanation for the dominance of these labels in the London map compared to the Dublin one might be commercial, although it is hard to see why Rocque might have secured such a deal or sponsorship from these businesses in London, and not seek to do so in Dublin. A more likely reason is to do with the graphical management of the map. Because the London map, which was on the exact same scale as the Dublin map, comprised an illustration of the boundaries of the city block only, there was a lot more background (albeit shaded in a relentless brick-pattern) against which extra text could be placed. The visual clarity of the important and telling house-by-house detail of the Dublin map would have been radically

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[387] Ferguson *A to Z*, 69.

[388] As noted already, Nicholas Archdale's [Archdall], is the only private dwelling whose owner is identified, on the map.

[389] Ferguson *A to Z*, 66.

compromised if more text was to have been squeezed in. In fact, many of the subsidiary lanes are not named in the *Exact Survey*, that would have been in the London map, and this was also likely more to do with legibility than the extent of Rocque's assembled knowledge of the city. As noted earlier, the street titles are done in Roman text, and their compositional arrangement against and along the negative or white space of the winding streets, is one of the graphical delights of the Dublin map. Titles are for the most part also in Roman text, but sometimes slanted in a kind of faux-Italic or capitalised at various times to give emphasis to different parts of the text, and to give a kind of rococo stimulation to the eye. Also mentioned earlier is the fact that the 'References' legend, which explains Rocque's symbol code for different types of buildings, was carried out in Italic script (Fig. 4.63).

4.4.2.3 Rocque's role in creating the cartouches for the *Exact Survey*

There is good reason to believe that Rocque was the designer and engraver of both of the cartouches (Figs 4.20 & 4.84) on the Dublin map. This was a design feature of primal significance, supposed to flatter the Dublin audience by the sophistication of the latest and most elegant rococo decoration, and given Rocque's real skill and finesse in this style, it would make no sense to leave this work to an apprentice, or an unproven local artist. Rocque played a pioneering role in introducing rococo patterns into England, through books such as Gaetano Brunetti's *Sixty different sorts of ornaments* for which Rocque was the main engraver,[390] and his pirated reproduction of Meissonnier's *Livre d'Ornemens.*[391] It has been shown that Rocque played a parallel, albeit slightly later role in introducing these patterns into Ireland, via these books – both of which he had for sale while in Dublin – and by means of the rococo work on

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390 Gaetano Brunetti, Henry Fletcher, and John Rocque, *Sixty different sorts of ornaments invented by Gaetano Brunetti Italian Painter. Very usefull to painters, sculptors, stone-carvers, wood-carvers, silversmiths, &c.* ([London]: Publish'd pursuant to an act of Parliament, June y.e 25, 1736).

391 *A Book of ORAMENTS / Invented & Drawed / by / J.O. MEISSONNIER / Architecte & Designer to the / Cabinet Chamber of the / French Kings…*

the Kildare maps, and in his published maps of Dublin and elsewhere.[392] Rocque's artistic abilities in this regard were particularly suited to decorative work, and to a lesser extent perhaps – although issues of authorship in this regard have not been resolved completely – in depiction of landscape. It is difficult to be absolutely certain, but he seemed less competent with the human figure, and in many of his fine cartouches, the putti, have a mis-shapen gaucheness. It seems certain that all of the rocaille work on the two cartouches on the *Exact Survey* are by Rocque, and some of the minor scenographic fictive landscape in both images too. The main figures seem too confident, complex and well rendered to be by Rocque. Certainly the types of engraved line used to model their forms are not his.

Before demonstrating this in detail, it is worthwhile first describing the two cartouches, their locations on the map, and the main iconographic features in each. The larger of the two cartouches, the main title cartouche (Fig. 4.20), is located just above Grange Gorman House, the cartouche covering broadly the location in which the great 19th-century hospital complex that bears this name was to be built. The area covered by the cartouche is to the east of 'Cabra Lane' and Stoney Batter' and to the west of what Rocque calls 'Glasmanogue Road' and the 'Road to Glasnevin'. This had been largely undeveloped agricultural land, so none of the urban landscape was lost as a result. This cartouche consists of an elaborate riverine scene, populated by nymphs and goddesses, who, although unnamed, are easily interpreted. On the left bank, seated with her tiller in hand is Anna Liffey, on the right-hand bank is a Minerva with a harp on her shield, suggesting that this figure represents Hibernia, who is handing books and surveying instruments to a pair of busy putti, while over the river a rocaille bridge is crowned by the three-flaming-castles arms of Dublin city, against whom a female figure representing Dublinia, leans and suckles two more putti – the Romulus and Remus of the Irish capital, perhaps. It is possible that the classical portico on the left hand

[392] Joseph McDonnell, 'The influence of the French rococo print in Ireland in the eighteenth century', *Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society*, XXXVI (1994): 63-74.

side is that of the Parliament House, the small circular contour above the pediment may be an awkward effort at suggesting its dome. The parliamentary mace and the sword of state project from the rocaille bridge at this point also.[393]

The lower cartouche (Fig. 4.84), in the left-hand corner of sheet 4 (left-hand lower sheet), is situated also in an area of undeveloped agricultural land to the south of Kilmainham Lane and the City Work House, and to the south-west of the 'City Bason'. This cartouche encloses the four scale bars for the map, the first 'A Scale of British Feet', the second and third representing the scales in Irish and English perches respectively, and the fourth giving an international flavour, an 'Echelle de Toises', i.e. a scale of French 'toises'.[394] On either side are two pairs of putti in various postures, sitting, reclining, standing, either in conversation about mapping issues, or deeply engrossed in atlases, or marking out with dividers. One holds up a great parchment scroll of an eccentrically outdated map image of Ireland. The figures with the dividers is certainly an emulation of François Boucher's provocative painting Marie-Louise O'Murphy (Compare Fig. 4.85 to 4.92), painted only four years earlier. The fact that the image is reversed is itself telling.[395] Topping all of this is a fantastic evocation of the surveyor (Rocque) at work with his assistant, set within a landscape which is also contained within a further rocaille flourish (Fig. 3.14 & 4.91). Finally in free space, unenclosed by a cartouche is the 'References' legend (Fig. 4.63), showing the hatched and stippled symbols used by Rocque to represent the different functions of buildings on the city plan.

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393 I am grateful to Eddie McParland for recognising the Parliament House and the other parliamentary features.

394 A toise was an historic French measure equal approximately to 6 feet. Beryl T Atkins, Alain Duval, Rosemary C. Milne, Pierre-Henri Cousin, Hélène M.A. Lewis, Lorna A. Sinclair, Renée O. Rirks, and Marie-Noelle Lamy (eds.) *Collins Robert Unabridged French-English English-French Dictionary* 5th ed. (Glasgow & Paris: Harper Collins Publishers/Dictionnaires Le Robert, 1998), 913.

395 Again I am grateful to Eddie McParland for picking up on this visual reference.

It may be worthwhile to begin with this lower cartouche, to get our eye in to what may be by Rocque, and what seems more likely to be by an engraver more comfortable with the human figure, and one who used a very different engraving technique. The rocaille work here and in the title cartouche above, and its rocaille bridge, and the writhing, windswept cartouche around the Dublin City arms (Fig. 4.86), compares very strongly with earlier engraved rocaille work that we are certain was carried out by Rocque himself, i.e. the large set of images in the Rocque and Fletcher engraved *Sixty different sorts of ornaments invented by Gaetano Brunetti* published in 1736.[396] All of the pieces rendered as engravings in that volume were signed by either Fletcher or Rocque, so that there is no confusion about which work belongs to whom.[397] A comparison between both examples of rocaille cannot be conclusive. Almost twenty years had passed since Rocque had engraved Brunetti's designs. The originals were produced for a book and the delicacy and freedom of the touch suggests that the Brunetti designs were produced by etching rather than by engraving. The exigencies of map production, the necessity for large-quantity and robust editions suggests that most commercially produced maps were engravings rather than etchings, although the free-hand nature of so many of the lines in Rocque's maps appears to belie this.[398] Much will have changed in Rocque's style since the Brunetti works, which on the one hand were copies after Brunetti originals, but on the other, appear to have been Rocque's main source for his own style, as witnessed in the early rococo cartouches in his works from 1736.[399] What appears to be consistent between both sets of works (compare Figs 4.20, 4.84, 486-7, 3.14 to Figs 4.89-90 & 2.3-5) is the confidence and the competence in the rendering of the three-dimensionality of the ever-twisting and turning rocaille. These fantastical

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396 This book is discussed in detail in Sections 2.2 and 2.3.2.1 above.

397 As noted in Section 2.3.2.1 above, Rocque engraved the majority of the pieces or 41 out of 62 images in total.

398 This will be discussed further in Section 4.2.4.4. below.

399 Hampton Court, Chiswick and the Richmond estate map of 1736 are the earliest examples. These are discussed in greater detail in Section 2.2 above, and illustrated in Figs 2.32-4.

vegetative forms that morph into architectural forms, may be completely imagined or impossible as real life subjects, but the modelling of these woody, leafy, tendrils and muscular branches in three dimensions, must be believable and consistent, as they are throughout Rocque's work, in his earlier estate map cartouches, in Brunetti, and here in the Dublin *Exact Survey* cartouches. There is an élan and imaginative forcefulness in these abstract designs that is consistent throughout Rocque's career, and hardly possible from any other decorative artist in his entourage at this time.[400] The stiff awkwardness of the rocaille borders to the cartouches in the Kilkenny and Cork maps (Figs 4.40-1 & 4.43), not engraved by Rocque, offers a further visual control against which to compare Rocque's original work.

The main allegorical figures, Hibernia, Anna Liffey, Dublinia, and the putti (Figs 4.61, & 4.92-5) not only demonstrate a comfort with the human figure, not common in any of Rocque's previous works, but the method of modelling the light and shade, using different types of curved hatching, cross-hatching, the so-called dot-and-lozenge technique, and stippling, is wholly unlike any method of rendering depth used by Rocque in his other works, and allows us to conclude that another engraver was drafted in for this work. However one exception to Rocque's avoidance of figures, is the small landscape vignette with the figures of the surveyor and his assistant enclosed within a mini-cartouche above the scale cartouche (Fig. 3.14). The figure style here is much more perfunctory, and indeed the figure of the engraver's assistant demonstrates Rocque's usual awkward attempts at rendering the human figure, which compares to his very first attempt with the 'spaghetti' horse handler in Richmond estate image of 1734 (Compare Fig. 2.41 to Fig. 4.91). The costumes are better observed than the underlying anatomy or posture of the figures themselves.[401] These figures are mere staffage. The very pleasantly

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[400] One can only presume that Rocque got some delight from the coincidental pun connection between his name and rococo, his chief decorative claim to fame.

[401] 'Rocque is wearing a typical skirted coat, with three deep vents at each side – a typical formal coat. His assistant is wearing a skirtless coat, suggesting that he is wearing more

rendered landscape scene to the rear is of the type included in the Rocque published, Chatelain engraved, *New Book of landskips pleasant and useful for to learn to draw with* of 1737.[402] The scenographic elements in the larger title cartouche (see background to Fig 4.94) are no doubt by Rocque also, for the same reasons.

4.4.2.4 Technique

The *Exact Survey* likely comprised some combination of etching and engraving, although this is by no means a universally accepted point in regards to 18th-century printed maps. The deeper cut lines of an engraving mean that copper plates had a longer life-span which resulted in bigger print runs, that might be especially suitable to map-making, where the plates might be used and re-used across generations as was the case with many of the early-17th-century county maps in England as we have seen.[403] The freedom of line, especially in the micro-lines of vegetation symbols, or hatching, or variable-sized stippling of all kinds suggests to this author an etched line however. Others disagree. Laurence Worms (pers comm) leans strongly towards the contention that 18th-century maps, and Rocque's maps being no exception, were engraved rather than etched, because of the vulnerability of the etched plate compared to the more robust engraved plate. Ronan Tynan of Caxton Ltd, Dublin, who specializes in dealing in 18th-century engravings of all kinds, has looked

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informal (or cheaper) dress, possibly a frock coat but there is not enough detail to say for sure. Rocque's stockings seem to come up over the knee – a mode of dress that was considered distinctly old-fashioned by the 1750s. The three-cornered hats worn were typical of the mid-18th century. Many different variations existed. The wigs were more important than hats. Although there is not enough detail to see, Rocque could be wearing a bag-wig, which involved a bag tied to the hair at nape of neck. His assistant seems to have a very small wig, if at all, again suggesting a lower class of dress, and emphasising his position as "assistant".' Macushla Baudis, pers. comm. Cf. Macushla Baudis 'Late 18th-century Lyonnaise embroidered waistcoats', PhD thesis NCAD, forthcoming 2008.

[402] See discussion of this book in Section 2.2 above.

[403] This is discussed in Section 1.2 above; cf. Catherine Delano-Smith, and Roger J.P. Kain, *English maps: a history* (London: The British Library, 1999), 68-78.

closely for me at digital images of Rocque's map work, particularly the *Exact Survey*, and agrees with Worms that these have the appearance of engraving rather than etching. There is yet something to be explained to this author at least, about the freedom of the line both in the micro-lines and in the cartouche work in particular, that suggests *etching* rather than engraving. One compromise is that there is a mixture of both. Mary Pedley suggests that many maps incorporated a mixture of etching and engraving techniques.[404] Another possibility is that some of the lines may be the result of dry point. This technique, which involves scratching directly onto the plate, rather than carving into it (as one did for an engraving), would share the freedom of expression of an etching, and yet suffer from an even greater degree of vulnerability over time.

A third possibility regarding maps is hinted at by Michael Snodin in regards to other 18th-century printed images. He has suggested that a method of fast etching known as *échoppe*, developed in the 17th century, 'may have been encouraged by Hubert Gravelot, Francis Vivares, J.B.C. Chatelain and other foreign engravers who popularised etching in England in the 1730s.'[405] As outlined in Chapter 2, these are exact contemporaries and colleagues of Rocque, under whose influence he fell, and it is not impossible to consider that he adapted their evocative techniques for depicting naturalistic shapes and shading, to his naturalistic evocation of these things in maps, especially in his micro-line map symbols, and in the creation of the loose-handed rococo designs. Snodin goes on to say that its use 'was probably one of the principal factors in the rapid increase in trade card production in the 1730s and 1740s and the key to the development in elaborate rococo designs.[406] *Échoppe* involved the use of an oval rather than a round needle 'so that turning it while

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404 Mary Pedley, *The commerce of cartography: making and marketing maps in eighteenth-century France and England* (London: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), 44-5.

405 Michael Snodin, 'Trade cards and English rococo' in *The rococo in England: a symposium*, edited by Charles Hind (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1986), 82-103, p. 84.

406 Snodin, 'Trade cards', p. 84.

drawing altered the width of the line (a device used by some seventeenth-century etchers specifically to imitate engraved lines).'[407] It is perhaps this imitative technique that causes the most confusion. But the versatility of line in the decorative and symbolic micro-lines of the Exact Survey, lead this author to conclude that these are etchings while the major lines are engravings.

4.4.2.5 Conclusion to Workshop practice and the distribution of labour

While little can be established with certainty about the exact personnel or their number, or who exactly was responsible for any one part of the engraving of the *Exact Survey*, by enumerating, explaining and analysing the multiple components involved with the creation of this printed image, some insight has been gained into the elaborate complexity of the task, and as a result the types of jobs involved, if not always those responsible for them. It seems certain that Rocque was directly responsible for the creation of the cartouches (albeit not all of the figures therein), while we have little reason to doubt the evidence of the imprint, that Andrew Dury was the principal engraver of the rest of the map. Evidence from other sources, and from Rocque's own words (both in his letters to his nephew and his use of the phrase 'and others' in the *Index* to the *Exact Survey*), suggests that Dury had a large team of engravers and draftsmen under his command. Some aspects of the fine precision and the quality of the detail may be assigned to him despite all of that, although the unique quality of the job in hand – a house-by-house survey – must also have had its effect on this work in contrast to many of Rocque's other maps. Nonetheless, Rocque's overarching influence on the final appearance of the map should not be underestimated. The idiom for engraved map depiction, although French in origins, he had developed during the previous two decades and was absolutely his own. It was maintained, even if to some degree enhanced, in the Dublin map, published in 1756.

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[407] Bamber Gascoigne, *How to identify prints: a complete guide to manual and mechanical processes from woodcut to inkjet* 2nd ed. (London: Thames & Hudson, 2004), 52c.

Chapter 5:
A critical appraisal of the Dublin map

5 A Critical Appraisal of the Dublin Map

> 'But we see in this Map, that *Dublin* is one of the finest and largest Cities in *Europe*, as well as on account of its Quays which reach with Order and Regularity from one End of the Town to the other, as on Account of a great many grand Buildings in different Parts on either side; for Instance, Kildare-house, the Barracks, Hospitals, Parliament-house, the College and the Castle … and also on Account of several spacious and magnificent Streets, the Gardens, Walks &c. Besides that, the Situation of *Dublin* is very agreeable and commodious; being a Sea-Port, it hath a magnificent Harbour, through which a surprising Number of Vessels are continually passing up the River; which they cover from its Mouth to the first Bridge … But what contributes yet more than either Nature, or Art, to the Embellishment of *Dublin*, is the Temper of the Inhabitants, obliging, gentle, and courteous. The *Irish* keep up the most amiable Society; are frank, polite, affable, make it their Pleasure to live much with each other, and their Honour to treat Strangers with Politeness and Civility…'[1]

The word 'encomium' has been used already twice in this thesis. Once quoting Jessica Maier in a short article on her PhD thesis, which word she used to describe the nature or role of Bufalini's 16th-century map of Rome, and in the second instance William Laffan's assessment of the flattering description of Dublin made by John Rocque himself in his preface to his *Index* to the *Exact Survey*, some of which is quoted above.[2] According to the *OED*, an encomium

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[1] John Rocque, *AN / INDEX / Adapted to the / PLAN / OF THE / City and Suburbs of Dublin; / FROM / An actual and exact SURVEY, / MADE / By JOHN ROCQUE, / Chorographer to their Royal Highnesses the late / and present Prince of Wales. / Engraved by ANDREW DURY, and others, and / printed on Four Sheets of Imperial Paper. /* (Dublin: John Rocque, 1756), v-vii.

[2] See Sections 3.2.1 & 4.1.2 above.

is a 'A formal or high-flown expression of praise; a eulogy, [or a] panegyric.' In considering the critical value of Rocque's 1756 *Exact Survey*, one wonders did Rocque seek to flatter the citizens of Dublin; was this map a eulogy, or a high-flown expression of praise, as Maier believed Bufalini's map of Rome (Fig. 3.28) had been? Or was it instead, a far better thing, an exhaustive empirical record; a portrait of the city with warts and all? There is little in the map to suggest the former. Like Bufalini's map of Rome, Rocque's was a strictly ichnographic (planometric) map of the city, and so was not populated by the usual, and often flattering, bird's-eye-view images of the city's buildings. Nor indeed were any of these buildings depicted as elevations or perspective views around the margins, as some were in Rocque's *Harbour & Environs* map of 1757, in Kendrick's proposed plan of Dublin of 1754, or indeed in the previous great map of the city, Brooking's 1728 *A MAP of the CITY and Suburbs of DUBLIN*. As noted in the discussion of Rocque's London surveys, maps with rows of bird's-eye representations of a city's buildings had begun to go out of fashion from approximately the second quarter of the 18th century, so much so, that Bretez' superlative map of Paris (Fig. 3.24), in that style, failed as a map publishing enterprise.[3] The empirical ground-plan map, in which the exact place of every building can be located as if by a set of Cartesian co-ordinates, is the very epitome of Enlightenment representation, and appealed to that sense in its audience, as well as their desire to measure and account for their property holdings. If Rocque's map was such an empirical attempt to measure and represent the city in this way – and his triangulated and measured methodology suggests as much – how might we assess the success of his endeavour?

The following chapter takes a number of approaches to this question of the reliability of the *Exact Survey* as an empirical ground plan of the city in the 18th century. In the first section we will look at a series of isolated but short case studies of individual buildings, streets or areas, for which different types of

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[3] Section 3.2.1 above & Chapter 3, n. 92.

contemporary evidence – textual, cartographic or image-based – as well as more recent archaeological evidence, will be marshalled as comparative context. This section will be completed by a small summary of some of the recent archaeological work ongoing in Dublin, and the degree to which this corroborates Rocque's record. Following these sections will be a summary account of two concerted and extended cartographical studies of the accuracy of the map. The first will be a detailed comparison (using some overlays) of Rocque's *Exact Survey*, with its first revised edition, Bernard Scalé's *An Accurate Survey* published in 1773, in which not only changes to the city during that seventeen-year period are registered, but at least one distinct change to the map, which can be ascribed to critical revision of Rocque's record by the younger mapmaker. Finally, an intensive comparison has been made between Rocque's 1756 survey, and the first Ordnance Survey from the 19th century, by means of a newly developed computer program (MapAnalyst) downloaded from the Web, in order to create a distortion grid for Rocque. The latter yields an instantly accessible (if hard won) graphical demonstration of the nature and degree of the distortion in Rocque's survey of the city from the point of view of, and as it compares to, the first comprehensive and reliable scientific survey as carried out by the Ordnance Survey in the 1830s and 40s.

5.1 Case study analyses of the accuracy of Rocque's *Exact Survey*

Whatever of the overarching skeleton of the map (to be examined in detail in Section 5.3 below), and the strong level of accuracy in representing the more accessible and more measurable space of streets and other open spaces in the city, Rocque's depiction of individual buildings can at times be clumsy if not sometimes wildly inaccurate. Frazer, in his telling article on the varying levels of Rocque's surveying authenticity in the Liberties,[4] has pointed to the inadequacy of Rocque's measuring of the depths (perpendicular to the street) of buildings, and indeed the exact nature of their rear façades and other details hidden from view or direct access. But more alarming at times is Rocque's

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[4] Bill Frazer, 'Cracking Rocque?', *Archaeology Ireland*, 18, no. 2 (2004): 10-14, p. 12.

treatment of some major public buildings. One extreme case is Rocque's plan image of Christ Church cathedral (Fig. 5.1). Looked at in isolation only, one must immediately wonder at the disposition of the transepts, which are rendered more or less completely independent of each other. When we compare Rocque's image to Thomas Reading's 1764 cathedral plan (Fig. 5.2),[5] Rocque's comprehension of medieval architecture is badly exposed. Of course the Christ Church transepts are placed directly opposite one another, as we would expect. Rocque's peculiar projection north of the presbytery, is more or less in the location of the Lady Chapel, but is orientated north-south instead of east-west, and is entirely misleading. The overall shape of Christ Church Yard as Rocque depicted it is correct, if not its exact measurements and angles. The double row of dwelling houses on the south side towards Skinner Row is also disposed in a manner which is moderately acceptable as a portrait of the morphology of the location.

We have already seen how accurate and archaeologically reliable Rocque's rendering of the cathedral plans of St Canice's cathedral in Kilkenny city, and St Patrick's Cathedral Armagh, were to be in the maps published in 1758 and 1760 respectively,[6] so it is hard to know what to make of this more important Dublin cathedral plan. In the mid-18th century, Christ Church was still one of the most important civic and ceremonial spaces, not only for the municipality, but also for the parliamentary and viceregal courts.[7] It is not as if its appearance would be overlooked. Although in a parlous state in terms of its external appearance and the run-down housing that surrounded it, this was not

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[5] 'Map of the liberty of Christ Church', 1764, by Thomas Reading (Representative Church Body, Dublin); size 32 x 25 cm, reduced by approximately one quarter, as reproduced in H.B. Clarke, *Dublin part I*, to 1610 Edited by H.B. Clarke, and Raymond Gillespie. Simms, Anngret ed. Vol. 11, (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2002), map 8.

[6] See Section 4.1.4.2 above.

[7] Robin Usher. 'Power, display and the symbolic terrains of Protestant Dublin, c.1660-1760' (Cambridge, Unpublished PhD dissertation, 2007), chapter 2; Robin Usher, 'Chapel Royal and symbol of the church militant: the iconography of Christ Church and St Patrick's cathedrals, Dublin, c. 1660-1760', *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies* x (2007) 201-23, pp 209-11.

a neglected building in the practices or the consciousness of the state or the city at the time.[8] What must Rocque have meant by depicting a cathedral with transepts staggered along the nave? Should we take this as a reflection of his poor understanding of antiquarian architecture, or a neglect in proofing, between survey and depiction? The alarm bells must surely have been ringing with somebody in the team, if anybody had had a clear understanding of how such buildings worked. However, none of this has much to do with the kind of surveying Rocque was involved with, where the footprint was what mattered, and in this case the surveying of the cathedral building as a distinct feature must have been a haphazard affair, if it was done at all.

In contrast, the depiction of St Patrick's Cathedral on the *Exact Survey* has much more of the appearance of a studied antiquarian drawing. At least the meanings of the different spaces within the cathedral are hinted at, if not always fully comprehended (Fig. 5.3). In this instance there is no built detritus hiding the cathedral from the surveyors view, but instead the ordered canons' close hugging up to the cathedral (i.e. in the angle between the north transept and the chancel) is differentiated clearly, while other associated buildings, such as the vestries and consistory court are indicated (by means of their shading) as being part of the cathedral complex. Even the number (seven) of nave piers is counted correctly here by Rocque. Yet his slight misunderstanding of how such a building might be put together appears to be betrayed by his including a darker shaded aisle projection to the north and the south of the nave, while including again the same aisles inside the building to the north and south of the nave piers. Other issues of exactness may (ironically)[9] be assessed by a simple comparison to Roger Kendrick's almost exactly contemporary plan of St Patrick's (Fig. 5.4).[10] The veracity of Kendrick's plan can in turn be

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[8] Kenneth Milne, 'Restoration and reorganisation, 1660-1830' in *Christ Church cathedral, Dublin: a history*, edited by Kenneth Milne (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000), 255-97.

[9] See Section 4.2 above.

[10] Roger Kendrick, 'The Liberty of St Patrick's Cathedral [sic], Dublin', as copied in 1883, Marsh's Library, reproduced in H.B. Clarke, *Irish Historic Towns Atlas No. 11: Dublin part I, to*

confirmed by comparison to John Bowden's careful survey of the cathedral in 1820 (Fig. 5.5), as well as a recent survey drawing commissioned by St Patrick's Cathedral in 2002 (Fig. 5.6).[11]

What this reveals is Rocque's clear understanding of the interior of this church. His rendering of the position of the choir stall, for example, despite his unorthodox method of rendering it, is corroborated by both Kendrick's and Bowden's plans. Rocque also informs us of the location of the parish church of St Nicholas Without which, unusually, was at this time accommodated in the north transept of Dublin's second cathedral. This too is corroborated by Bowden, who scrupulously records the structure of this part of the church in pink rather than black, and in turn gives a detailed plan of the arrangement of pews, galleries, pulpit and altar, of this unusual parish church. However what is labelled on Bowden as St Stephen's Chapel, situated in the eastern apse of the church, was in Rocque's time, the location of a French Church, and we can just about make out Rocque's label for this (FC) under the dark diagonal shading in that location. The Lady Chapel had been in the possession of the Dublin based Huguenots since 1665. However, it was only those who wished to conform to the Anglican church but to continue to have services in French (most likely with a strong Calvinist or low-church emphasis) who were catered for in the Lady Chapel of St Patrick's Cathedral. Amongst the agreements made by immigrants was 'that the French congregation should be bound by the discipline and canons [rules] of the Church of Ireland under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Dublin'.[12] In this sense they were both episcopal and Anglican, and thus were considered as Conformed Huguenots. Although there were other locations where French speaking conformed Huguenots met in the city, the detail with which the interior of St Patrick's

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1610 Edited by H.B. Clarke, and Raymond Gillespie. Simms, Anngret ed. (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2002), map 9.

[11] I am grateful to Michael O'Neill for bringing both of these plans to my attention, and for providing me with images of them too.

[12] Grace Lawless Lee, *The Huguenot settlements in Ireland* (London: Longmans, 1936), 219.

Cathedral is indicated on the *Exact Survey* presents a very strong argument that it was in this church, located at the eastern end of St Patrick's Cathedral, that Rocque and Dury and the other Huguenots on the team worshipped while they were in Dublin. Rocque was at least familiar with its interior. Rocque could instead have worshipped at St Mary's chapel in Meeting House Lane, also a conformed French church, but nearer to his home at Bachelors Walk. And for the non-conformed, there was a chapel in Lucy Lane (which Rocque called Mass Lane, now Chancery Place) also on the north side.[13] If he did worship there, it would be in keeping with Rocque's tendency to infiltrate himself amongst the most influential. That his understanding of Christ Church was so dismal, is an illustration nonetheless of the degree to which those outside of the fold of the Establishment Church, remained physically as well as socially excluded from the centres of power.

Finally it is worth mentioning that the rendering of careful church outline plans is more usual on Rocque's *London* map of 1747 (albeit published by John Pine and John Tinney), in the same way that all public buildings were treated with a greater degree of care in the London map, than they were in Rocque's Dublin map. An example would be St Peter's church (Westminster Abbey) (Fig. 5.7) in which a much more conventional approach to the rendering of a church plan is taken than Rocque's unorthodox symbolic shading used in his plan image of St Patrick's cathedral. This suggests perhaps that the surveying in London of important public buildings as units of interest *per se* was not carried out by Rocque and his team in that instance. Note too however the distinctly different idiom of hatching and symbolic codes used in this London map, showing that the translation from Rocque's ground surveying work, to image was not under his direct control.

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[13] Kenneth Ferguson, 'Rocque's map and the history of nonconformity in Dublin: a search for meeting houses', *Dublin Historical Record*, LVIII, No.2 (Autumn 2005): 129-65; cf. John Montague, 'St Luke's in the Coombe' in *St Luke's Conservation Plan*, edited by Shaffrey Associates, and John Montague. (Dublin: Dublin City Council, 2005), 24-37, pp 32-3.

Another church whose real form was misconstrued by Rocque is St Andrew's so-called 'Round Church', to the south-west of Trinity College. Perhaps misled by its name, Rocque represented the plan as a circle, with a rectilinear knob to the front for an entrance portal, another to the rear representing an apse, and three differently shaded patches on three sides, suggesting side aisles or side chapels (Fig. 5.8). There has been three separate church buildings on this site. The first – the one that Rocque could see – was designed and built by William Dodson (fl. ?1639-71) from 1670-74.[14] This brick building had fallen into disrepair by the end of the 18th century, and Francis Johnston was commissioned to re-build it, which he did upon its original *oval* foundations.[15] A good visual record of Johnston's building can be found in the first Ordnance Survey map (Fig. 5.9),[16] although Johnston's own plan of the church shows the oval shape clearly also.[17] Johnston's building was in turn destroyed by fire in 1860, and eventually replaced by the elaborate Gothic Revival building of complex plan designed by Lanyon and Lynn, that survives to day on the site.[18] That the original building was indeed oval, is confirmed not only by records that much of the old fabric had survived and was retained in Johnston's new building up to window level,[19] but also by a contemporary description by the visitor to Dublin John Dunton, who described Dodson's church as 'an oven of an ovale figure'.[20] A drawing by Francis Place dating to

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[14] Rolf Loeber, *A biographical dictionary of architects in Ireland 1600-1720* (London: John Murray, 1981), 48-51.

[15] Bernadette Goslin, 'St Andrew's church' *Irish Arts Review* (1990-91): 81-84, p. 81; cf.

[16] Ordnance Survey, Dublin City Sheet 21, Surveyed 1838, published 1840, 1:1,056.

[17] A plan by Johnston of the church with its pews and pulpit in the National Library, is reproduced in Edward McParland, 'Francis Johnston, architect, 1760-1829' *Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society* xii, nos. 3 & 4 (July-December 1969): 61-139, pl. 33.

[18] Goslin 'St Andrew's church', 83-4.

[19] Edward McParland, 'Francis Johnston, architect, 1760-1829' *Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society* xii, nos. 3 & 4 (July-December 1969): 61-139, p. 108.

[20] Robin Usher. 'Power, display and the symbolic terrains of Protestant Dublin, c.1660-1760', (PhD, Cambridge, PhD, 2007), Chapter 2, 'Landscapes of belief'. Robin Usher, pers. comm., clarified a number of issues to do with this church, from which my ideas on the source of the design for St Andrew's were formed.

1698,[21] also 'shows a dumpy, elliptical structure with a deep porch and battlemented parapets, topped off by a conical roof'.[22] More conclusively, the 17th-century church is recorded on de Gomme's 1685 map of Dublin as a definite oval form (Fig. 5.10). The most probable, albeit wholly surprising, source for Dodson's design, was the church of the same name in Rome designed by Bernini, i.e. St Andrea in Quirinale (1658-70).[23] The revolutionary aspect of this design, not based on a plan from Serlio's *Tutte l'Opera d'Architettura* as Loeber suggests,[24] was as much to do with the fact that the main axis of the church was along the shorter side of the oval, than that it was oval at all. This had much to do with counter-Reformation theatrics, and it is thus all the more surprising to find such an *homage* in a Protestant church in Dublin, in which tellingly, the axis is also along the shorter side of the unusual oval shape. Were we to have relied on Rocque for this culturally fascinating insight into Dublin's appetite for European architectural trends at this time, we would have been unfortunately disappointed in this case.

Other signs of confessional access, if not politics, than those displayed in the different levels of treatment of Christ Church and St Patrick's cathedrals, are given graphic expression on the *Exact Survey*. This can be seen in the difference between the attention given to the two St Mary's churches in the Jervis estate on the north side of the river. For the most part the differences are as much to do with the genuine physical realities that separate the two churches, as with Rocque's sometimes deferential map details. In the case of the latter, the issue is to do with Rocque and Dury's depiction of bollards, and

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21 TCD, Ms 2026; *JRSAI*, 1932, 7th ser., 62, pl. 6.

22 Usher, 'Power, display and Protestant Dublin', Chapter 2.

23 Rudolf Wittkower, *Art and architecture in Italy 1600-1750* 6th ed. (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 182; Christian Norberg-Schulz, *Baroque architecture* (London: Faber, 1986), 69-75.

24 Loeber, *Biographical dictionary*, 48. The only plan to which Loeber may be referring occurs in Book 3, Chapter 4, Fol. 13 of Serlio, and is based on a circular plan with very large projecting chapels, and a circular eastern apse.

this calls for a short preliminary discussion.[25] Bollards on Rocque's maps are usually depicted as a series of spots or dots, not unlike the stippling of dwelling houses, but in these cases, along the street front of houses, rather than as a fill-in within property boundaries. These dots and spots may also depict, porticos, colonnades or arcades, depending on circumstances, and there is not always a clear distinction between these marks, other than by means of their location, and our historical or archaeological knowledge of the buildings or streets in question. For example a wavy line of dots at the front of the Linen Hall off North King Street, can be confirmed as representing a loggia by its location relative to the building plan, and by means of a comparison with Brooking's inset elevation image of the same building, dating to 1728 (Figs 5.11-12), which shows the dots as representing piers in an arcade, there being four of them, rather than the six shown on Rocque. The dots shown by Rocque along the western wall of the outer courtyard that surrounds the Linen Hall (Fig 5.11), are in front of a shaded area, and we find that this usually represents a covered colonnaded loggia of some kind. However, we know from the surviving architecture that there were never porticos on the exterior of the terrace of the houses on the south side of Henrietta Street (Fig. 4.82), despite the dots of equal girth to those in front of the Linen Hall, that appear there. That these more likely depicted bollards on the street, is confirmed by the similar dots in Rocque's depiction of Sackville Street, and the 1749 Oliver Grace view of the same street with its row of bollards in place (Figs 5.13-14).[26] Finally it has been shown that the markings on the houses facing onto Essex Street, attached to the Old Custom House, represent a vital record of a structure that had until recently faded from the historical record, i.e. the covered colonnaded walkway known as the 'piazzas'.[27]

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[25] This question of Rocque's depiction of bollards, porticos and arcaded or colonnaded spaces has been treated in full in John Montague, 'A shopping arcade in eighteenth-century Dublin: John Rocque and the Essex Street "piazzas" ', *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies* 10 (2007) 224-45, pp 227-9.

[26] *A Perspective view of Sackville Street and Gardiner's Mall Dublin…Oliver Grace*, (Dublin 1749).

[27] Montague, 'A shopping arcade', *passim*.

Returning to the case of the two St Mary's churches, we discover a mysterious set of dots on Liffey Street at the location of the St Mary's Catholic church that was squeezed-in behind a terrace of relatively small domestic dwellings and traders' houses on Liffey Street (Fig. 5.15). We might be tempted to think that this was some kind of narthex placed at a right-angle to the main body of the church, except that there is no shading to suggest a covered space. Bollards here are harder to understand, as this is an enclosed area, most likely inaccessible to vehicular traffic. Then, in a clear act of graphical deference, Rocque depicts the bollards to the front of St Mary's Church of Ireland church, in axonometric three-dimensions. Remarkably the only other comparable instance of the use of a kind of bird's-eye view within the street plan (whatever of the river scene), is in the nearby Langford House located on Henry Street, between the two St Mary's, where the bollards in front of this house – also presumably in some kind of social deference (if not related attention) – are depicted in elevation.

One might imagine that Rocque would naturally pay greater attention to the houses of potential clients, or those who would or had already subscribed to Rocque's *Exact Survey*.[28] However with some exceptions such as Langford House, as we would expect it remains more often than not the case that Rocque's survey is at its best when it examined and depicted the open accessible street spaces, and suffers from short-cuts and false suppositions made by the mapmaker when estimating the depths and rears of buildings, where complete surveys were difficult. An example, again in the area of Christ Church cathedral, is Rocque's depiction of the dean's house (Fig. 5.16), whose form has been established with greater accuracy, by means of recent

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[28] Franc Myles pers. comm. has plausibly suggested that a good study might be made by examining the quality of Rocque's ground-plan images of houses belonging to those who had subscribed to the map. However this would involve the enormous task of establishing the addresses during the period 1754-6 of all of those on the subscribers list, and was thus outside the parameters of this thesis.

scholarship.[29] In this case Frazer's point about Rocque's habit of regularising awkward shapes comes into play again. It turns out that the deanery was likely to have been designed by Edward Lovett Pearce, and a drawing of it has survived amongst the Elton Hall collection of architectural drawings (Fig. 5.17).[30] Another drawing (Fig. 5.18) survives of this house (demolished in the early 20th century), from the Longfield manuscript maps of the Christ Church estate.[31] A diagrammatic reproduction of this shows the nature of the building as it was in 1799. That this had always been a trapezoidal site (as it is in the Longfield image) is verified by the Lovett Pearce drawing. Although Rocque manages to include the two sentry-box type structures at the entrance, his site is distinctly rectangular, rather than wedge-shaped. There is no question but that Rocque had examined the unusual complex of buildings, as he has included the strange single-façade chancellor and chanter's houses separated by a ground floor passage which led to the dean's house proper. He is also aware, as is suggested in the Longfield plan, that on at least one of the corners of this house (i.e. that to the south-east) the ground plan has the appearance of a rectangle with the corner sliced away. However Rocque seems to have extrapolated from this, that the opposite corner on the north-west, must have been sliced away too. This is not the case as Longfield shows, and as is verified by the earliest Ordnance Survey map for this location. Nor can we be entirely convinced by the almost careless quality of the lines and stippling in the engraver's depiction of this spot.

In contrast to this slapdash treatment is the very carefully delineated plan of a house and grounds that faced onto the Road to Balls Bridge (Merrion Row) (Fig. 5.19). It is possible that this had been Peter Landré's house – at least it is located directly beside his well known fruit gardens. Landré was a Huguenot

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[29] Edward McParland, 'Edward Lovett Pearce and the deanery of Christ Church Dublin' in *Decantations: a tribute to Maurice Craig*, edited by Agnes Bernelle (Dublin: 1992), 130-33.

[30] Howard Colvin, and Maurice Craig (eds.) *Architectural drawings in the library of Elton Hall by Sir John Vanbrugh and Sir Edward Lovett Pearce* (Oxford: 1964).

[31] NLI Ms 2789, fol. 12; McParland 'Edward Lovett Pearce and the deanery', 132.

horticulturalist based near St Stephen's green, who specialised in 'staples and rarities', such as peach, apricot, plum, pear and apple trees.[32] His nurseries can be seen in two large square patches criss-crossed by diagonal paths of cultivated land immediately east of the grand house. The house itself is nestled amongst a series of outbuildings, offices, stables and neat courtyards, somewhat in the manner of the French-style 'hôtel entre court et jardin', except that in this case the gardens to the east were working rather than leisure gardens at first at least. The stables and carriage house appear to have been accessed from 'Monks's Walk', i.e. the east side of St Stephen's Green, and via a lane from the 'Road to Balls Bridge', and there is even the slight suggestion of a three-sided perhaps timber loggia to this '*bas-cour*', or else some kind of bollards, as the three sides are lightly stippled. However no control image has been found for this house to confirm the initial impression of care given to its plan.

Landré had opened his gardens to the public as a kind of Dublin 'Vauxhall', and known as the 'Spring Gardens' from 1750, with 'an elegant orchestra, decorated at the back with a piece of water, in the form of a half moon … Likewise a large house, containing two rooms; the larger designed for dancing and retiring in the case of rain; the lesser for tea, coffee, chocolate etc but no other liquors.'[33] The circular orchestra set in a half moon enclosure is clearly illustrated in Rocque's plan, and perhaps the irregularly shaped building at the south-east of the house, had been converted to these tea and dancing rooms. This would have given direct access from St Stephen's Green to the pleasure complex.

There are other houses on the map rendered with similar care, such as e.g. Annesley House (on the site of the future Pro-Cathedral) and Tyrone House (which survives) opposite each other on Marlborough Street (Fig. 5.20).

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[32] Toby Barnard, *Making the grand figure: lives and possessions in Ireland, 1641-1770* (New Haven & London: 2004), 215.

[33] *Dublin Journal*, 30 January, 1750.

Richard Dawson's six-bay house (later belonging to the Earl of Drogheda, and renamed Drogheda House)[34] facing onto Sackville Street is also shown, although with slightly less care. Unlike some other grand houses, such as e.g. those on Henrietta Street, the sides and rears of all three of these buildings were easily accessible from the street, and so better house plans were possible. However when it comes to the rendering of architectural features such as the classical porticos or steps to the houses, the plans here are often a little naïve. Compare e.g. the Pool and Cash illustration of Tyrone House (Fig. 5.21)[35] to the plan image on the *Exact Survey*. The tetrastyle (engaged) portico takes up at a little short of a third of the girth of the façade, while on Rocque, it appears as an inappropriately projecting set of steps of too small a girth.

On the other hand Rocque will also helpfully attempt to make what are essentially out-of-scale projections to indicate a feature on a house. One such case is Molyneux House on Peter's Street to the east of St Patrick's Cathedral (Fig. 5.22). Built by Thomas Molyneux in 1711, the house was set back from the street and, according to Rocque, was enclosed on either side by quadrant walls. Surviving images of the house, which was demolished in 1943, show that it had a very shallow breakfront (Fig. 5.23),[36] only inches in depth, and a grand set of steps leading from the street to the house at a raised ground-floor doorway. Both the steps and the breakfront are indicated by Rocque in a graphic shorthand. The breakfront if measured on Rocque would be a matter of feet rather than inches, but this is the only way such an architectural conceit could have been expressed on this scale, and we are the better for the suggestion than without.

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[34] Frederick O'Dwyer, *Lost Dublin* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1981), p. 13; cf. Maurice Craig, *Dublin 1660-1860* 2nd ed. (London: Penguin, 1992), pl. xx.

[35] Robert Pool, and John Cash, *Views of the most remarkable public buildings, monuments and other edifices in the city of Dublin. Dublin 1780. Reprinted with introduction by M. Craig* (Dublin: Shannon, 1970).

[36] O'Dwyer, *Lost Dublin*, p. 107.

Other houses recorded on Rocque, for which we may be grateful in the absence of other visual evidence, include the earl of Kildare's house on Suffolk Street directly to the east of St Andrew's church (Fig. 5.8), Speaker Connolly's town house on Capel Street (Fig. 5.24), Richard Boyle's early-17th-century Cork House on Cork Hill (Fig. 5.25), and Primate Boulter's house on the south-western corner of Henrietta Street (Fig. 4.82). The houses on the north and south sides of Henrietta Street contain some very interesting garden designs of uncertain validity. In an unusual use of hachures (shading to indicate change in ground relief), Rocque makes a fairly good fist of the change in levels (with a set of steps in between) at the rear of Kildare's house in Suffolk Street (Fig. 5.8), so that the rear garden front of that house is effectively evoked. Something similar is being suggested at the rear of Speaker Conolly's house in Capel Street where a set of steps leads down from an un-stippled area to an area stippled to suggest a lawn. Rocque's graphic description of the house is otherwise quite clumsy – although the Clarendon House type of plan is eminently plausible – at least compared to the fine lines used at the house beside Peter Landré's gardens, and we are not left completely sure what the two rows of dashes (rather than dots) to the front of the house represent. Based on the example of the Essex Street Piazzas, however, we would be foolish to discount them entirely.

The question of to what extent Rocque's depiction in the *Exact Survey* of gardens in the city can be trusted is often asked. Comparison with the first edition Dublin Ordnance Survey map which also indicated elaborate garden designs might seem an obvious route, but the question remains for that map too, whether or not the surveyors truly accessed the back gardens of multiple houses throughout the city. Rocque's record of the more large-scale gardens can be shown in some cases at least to have been accurate. We shall see below, for example, that the validity (if not the quality) of his rendering of the formal gardens at Trinity College and at the Lying-in Hospital, are confirmed in other

near-contemporary visual records.[37] The Landré complex was also likely to have been reasonably well recorded, the newspaper description of the orchestra is at least confirmed in Rocque's image.

One probable client of Peter Landré was Jonathan Swift for his so-called Naboth's Vineyard which was located south of Long Lane close to the 'Cabbage Garden', also depicted on the map, both of which were in a large cultivated area due south from St Patrick's Cathedral and the archbishop's liberty of St Sepulchre's. According to Joseph McMinn, Jonathan Swift obtained a forty-year lease on a large rectangular plot of land close to the cathedral, which he named 'Naboth's Vineyard'.[38] This was an allusion to the Old Testament story of Naboth, who refused to sell his vineyard to the envious King Ahab, on the grounds that such an inheritance is a sacred trust never to be surrendered. Swift ordered that the south-facing wall [that on the north] of 'Naboth's Vineyard' be specially bricked in order to retain as much heat as possible. Along that wall, he planted a wide range of fruit-trees, including peach, nectarine, pear, and his beloved apples: the fruit-trees were separated from the rest of the garden by a hedge, the other side of which was laid out to pasture for his horses. A lease map created by Roger Kendrick in 1754 (Fig. 5.26)[39] allows us to locate the same plot of ground on Rocque's *Exact Survey* (Fig. 5.27).[40] While Kendrick allows us to ascertain the perimeter

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[37] Section 5.2 below.

[38] Joseph McMinn, 'The gardener in the deanery' in *Swift: the enigmatic dean. Festschrift for Hermann Josef Real*, edited by Rudolf Freiburg, Arno Loffler, and Wolfgang Zach (Tubingen: Stauffenburg Verlag, 1998), 127-35. I am grateful to Muriel McCarthy, the Keeper of Marsh's Library, for bringing this work to my attention; cf. Edward Malins, and The Knight of Glin, 'Landscape gardening by Jonathan Swift and his friends in Ireland' *Garden History* 2, no. 1 (Autumn 1973): 69-93.

[39] Dublin, Marsh's Library, Ms Z2.1.14. Annotations on this map, suggest that this land was purchased in 1815 by the Governors of the Meath Hospital, and this is confirmed by the appearance of this hospital on the first edition of the Ordnance Survey, in exactly that location.

[40] Just beneath the 'ong' in 'Long Lane'.

measurements, and vitally, the names of fields and owners, Rocque's in contrast gives a crucially informative graphical expression of the contemporary description of the field, found by McMinn. Along the north (i.e. south-facing) wall we find our line of fruit trees, which are separated from a large pasture, by a ditch or hedge, exactly as described. Rocque also informs us of the existence within the grounds of the garden of a functional outbuilding (diagonally shaded) and presumably a small gardener's cottage (stippled). Such an instance gives us good cause to take seriously then many similar demarcations on Rocque's map, where naturalistic description wins out over measurement and exact plan in many cases, but with no loss of validity by so doing. This allows us then to accept the visual evidence of the historiographically neglected market garden area in Worlds End Lane (Fig. 4.75),[41] or the proto-industrial activities, if not the exact appearance, of the Tenter's Fields (Fig. 4.78), or the remarkable plantation just to the east of Sackville Mall between Marlborough Street, Summerhill and Mecklenburg Street (Fig. 5.28).

Rocque's treatment of public buildings, some of which will be looked at in closer detail in Section 5.2 below, is fairly haphazard too. The parliament house for example (Fig. 5.29), is the only other building (besides John Putland's house) to have had its internal plan illustrated. Should Rocque have saved himself the trouble? A comparison to Roland Omer's internal plan (Fig. 5.30) published in 1767,[42] shows some of the inadequacies of Rocque's attempt. More or less all the main bits, are crammed in there somehow, but without any finesse, or complete comprehension of how the parts work, and what their exact proportions were to each other. The elegant ambulatory

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[41] However see Mrs Delany as follows: 'Tuesday went to Dublin on business: first to a place called World's End, where I spent an hour and a half choosing out a set of earthen-ware for the Duchess of Portland, … and a dozen baskets from [sic] Mrs Montague as she desired…': Angelique Day, and Sybill Connolly, *Letters from Georgian Ireland: the correspondence of Mary Delany, 1731-68* (Belfast: Friar's Bush Press, 1991), p. 163.

[42] Edward McParland, *Public architecture in Ireland 1680-1760* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2001), 186.

corridor around the House of Commons is too shallow, and changes widths from one side to the next. The House of Lords on the eastern side, lacks its semicircular apse. One of the more significant mistakes however, is in the rendering of the colonnaded portico (the piazza as labelled by Omer). On Rocque the central temple front projects to a depth of four columns, while the colonnaded arms on either side project to a depth of five columns, instead of the two columns and four columns on the building itself and on Omer's plan. All of the latter were visible from the street, and so this real confusion once again points up Rocque and his team's difficulty in representing architectural plans, a skill set based not only on surveying and mensuration, but also on architectural comprehension.

Rocque's rendering of Dublin Castle, this time without the internal room plan, is reasonably reliable (Fig. 5.31). It stands up moderately well against the detailed survey plan of the castle created by Euclid Alfray in 1767 (Fig. 5.32).[43] The proportions and the disposition of the various elements are quite well assembled. Rocque's approach to colonnaded spaces, in the portico on the south side of the courtyard, involves his usual fudge: 'here be portico', rather than a precise attempt to communicate the architectural details. Alfray's plan[44] of the basement level of the castle suggests that the Bermingham Tower (on the south-west) was slightly larger in girth than the Record Tower (on the south-east), while Rocque's map clearly suggests the opposite. The depth and the configuration of the tripartite northern entrance portal lacks the subtlety and again the architectural comprehension of the Alfray survey drawing. What we don't get from Alfray, is the context, such as the possibly alarming closeness of the dwelling houses which abutted directly onto the castle at its western side, or the information about the lower yard and the quadrants leading to the entrance into the upper yard. There is another line of suggestive but faint dotted markings in this space that are difficult to interpret.

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[43] McParland *ibid.*, 103.

[44] McParland, *ibid.*, pl. 127.

It is also worth stating the importance of Rocque's record of the industrial portions of the city, and his record of the extent and, to a reasonable degree, the configuration of many of these building complexes, which in many cases is our only visual record of a crucial part of the social history of 18th-century Dublin. Based on what we have established about Rocque's ability to record the exact architectural shapes of public buildings, we need not look too deeply into trying to establish a critical one-to-one relationship between the ground plans of the various breweries, tanneries, merchants warehouses, glasshouses and other manufactories to be found on the map, although some corroboration of the ingredients of many of these industrial complexes, if not their absolute complex planar disposition, have been upheld by archaeologists who have been busy in recent times in the Liberties and in Smithfield in particular. In regards to a large site comprising the complete block on the west side of Smithfield square, Franc Myles has noted that 'a striking aspect of the structural and spatial evidence was the close correlation of the plots and structures recorded with those depicted on John Rocque's 1756 Exact Survey of the City of Dublin',[45] although he has pointed out too that the Ordnance Survey map provided a better fit. Other sites looked at by Myles, at which Rocque's map provided a close correlation to what was found by excavation, include a brick outhouse at Sackville Mall (beneath a substation built for the Luas), a cellar return to a building on the southern corner of Bow Lane and an unnamed laneway, a plot 24m deep and 7.4m wide on the north side of Thomas Street 'which is identical in size to the plot depicted on Rocque's map of 1756'.[46] However, at a plot beneath the Iveagh Markets in Francis Street, Myles says that 'the large buildings depicted on Rocque's map, between the

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[45] Franc Myles, 'Dublin 2003:0581 Smithfield, Dublin Urban post-medieval 31465 23450 SMR 6:20 00E0272 in *Excavations.ie: Database of Irish Excavation Reports.*

[46] Franc Myles, 'Dublin 2002:0569 O'Connell Street, Dublin Urban post-medieval 31598 23444 02E1825'; 'Dublin 2001:416 Tram Street/Phoenix Street, Dublin Post-medieval laneway and occupation 31475 23435 SMR 6:20 01E0229'; 'Dublin 2001:414 137 Thomas Street, Dublin No archaeological significance 31449 23394 SMR 18:20 01E1122' all in *Excavations.ie: Database of Irish Excavation Reports.*

backyards of the 'Dutch Billys' and the line of the medieval city wall, were not evident and were possibly included by Rocque to fill an empty space.'[47] Many other excavation reports in the city make reference to Rocque, however more often than not, they take his map at face value, rightly or wrongly. His record is only rarely disputed in any substantial way. Another exception found is that of an 18th-century iron forge in a site on the Coombe, which was missing from both the Ordnance Survey and from Rocque.[48] Once again, however, if we place emphasis on Rocque as census or overview (survey) of what existed and broadly where, and not always upon its precise form or extent, the socio-architectural information it contains, remains essentially correct and a wholly unique source. This is particularly so, for the large-scale industrial units indicated by the hatched-shading which (because of its ancient power source) ran in a striking line along the Poddle River at the back of New Row and below Mill Street (Fig. 5.33);[49] or the industrial zone on the opposite side of New Row on a site on the north-eastern corner of New Market, and along the whole eastern side of the grounds of St Luke's Church in the Coombe (also Fig. 5.33); a dense conglomeration of various industrial and no doubt commercial buildings on the eastern and western sides of Francis Street as it tends in the direction of Thomas Street and the Corn Market (Fig. 5.34); the countless industrial units that make up the long, originally medieval, burgage plots on the north and south sides of Thomas Street and James's Street (Fig. 5.35); and even the very large brewery belonging to Joseph Leeson to the rear of a long terrace of properties at the south-western corner of St Stephen's Green (Fig. 5.36).

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[47] Franc Myles, 'Dublin 1999:202 Iveagh Market, Francis Street, Dublin urban medieval and post-medieval 99E0261', *Excavations.ie: Database of irish Excavation Reports.*

[48] Melanie McQuade, 'Dublin 2004:0528 105-109 The Coombe, Dublin Urban medieval and post-medieval 314800 233700 SMR 18:20 03E0207', in *Excavations.ie: Database of Irish Excavation Reports.*

[49] The Poddle had been fueling mills in this area since the 12th century at least: Henry F Berry, 'The water supply of ancient Dublin' *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 1, 5th series (1890-1): 557-73; M Ronan, 'The Poddle river and its branches' *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 57, 1 (1927): 30-46.

Finally Rocque also has recorded in symbol form some of the locations of commercial units in the city. We have noted already the colonnaded covered walkways known as the piazzas on Essex Street suggested by the row of dots on the façades facing south onto Essex Street. However Rocque has also indicated some of what must have been lean-to projections at various streets that were known to have had such external displays to their shops, or in the case of what were known as shambles and other types of markets. For lean-to projections Rocque uses a heavy darkened shading to the front of the properties. These can be seen at St Patrick's Street (Fig. 5.37) and Truck Street Market (off the Upper Coombe), and on the streets leading into and throughout the complex of the Ormond Market. Another such market, whose stalls or sheds are also represented on the map is the Castle Market between George's Lane (South Great George's Street), Dame Street and the Castle (Fig. 5.38). A free-standing diagonally hatched rectangle on Thomas Street represents Glib Market. The appearance of some of these shambles or market stalls has been recorded at Patrick Street by Malton in his image of St Patrick's Cathedral (Fig. 5.39). It should be noted in parenthesis, that the darkly shaded lines along the houses on the west side of Croocked Staff (in the Liberties) represented a tributary of the Poddle, which at the time ran in an open channel along this side of the street.

In summary, Rocque's record of individual buildings, in terms of their exact shape and disposition falls down, more often than not. His comprehension of complex architectural pieces was particularly suspect at times. However as a pointillist portrait of the city, and the hundreds and hundreds of its minor features, Rocque makes an honest stab of recording all that he came across. His record of larger cultivated and farmland spaces should be treated with some seriousness and some caution,[50] although what went on at the rear of

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[50] In regards to the Dublin county map at least, John Andrews says that Rocque's 'cavalier attitude to fieldscapes was one of [his] most unhelpful foibles and fortunately one of the least widely imitated.': J.H. Andrews, 'Two maps of Dublin and its surroundings by John Rocque'

houses that he had no access to should be treated with a greater deal of reservation. His overall picture of the varying complexion of the city, the texture of the city grain, and the thousands of micro-spaces, nevertheless remains a vital record of a city that has for the most part disappeared.

What remains to be assessed is how Rocque's overarching plan of the city stands up to critical analysis. In the first instance this will be considered in relation to the first critical revision of Rocque, which was the Scalé 1773 re-engraving of Rocque's four *Exact Survey* plates. The second will involve a computerised assessment of the overall plan as it stands up to the first fully scientific survey of the city, if that can be said, created by the Ordnance Survey during the first half of the 19th century.

5.2 John Rocque's *Exact Survey* of 1756 vs. Bernard Scalé's *Accurate Survey* 1773

According to John Andrews, the four copper plates for Rocque's 1756 *Exact Survey*, went up for sale in July 1771. Indeed it seems as if all of the plates for his Irish maps were being sold at the same time. Although the exact source for this information has been lost, the original reference seems likely to have come from a contemporary newspaper.[51] Our instinct, considering the list of maps being sold, would be to conclude that this was an Irish newspaper notice.

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in *The A to Z of Georgian Dublin: John Rocque's maps of the city in 1756 and the county in 1760*, edited by Paul Ferguson (Lympne Castle, Kent: Harry Margary in association with Trinity College Library Dublin, 1998), v-xiii, p. xi.

[51] 'Sale of John Rocque's copper plates, 4 July 1771. (No source recorded). A plan of Kilkenny. A survey of the county of Louth, 4 plates. A survey of the county of Armagh, 4 plates. A survey of the county of Dublin, 4 plates. Ditto, reduced to one sheet. A survey of the environs of Dublin, 4 plates. A survey of the city of Dublin, 4 plates. Ditto, reduced to one sheet. A plan of the city of Cork, alter'd & corrected to the year 1771.': John Andrews, 'Map-historical notes: cartographers', p. 76.

However it appears likely that it was Robert Sayer (1724/5-94),[52] a well-known map publisher in London who purchased the plates, as he was not only responsible for the publication of Bernard Scalé's re-working of the *Exact Survey*, but also for publishing re-worked (or revised) versions of Rocque's original map of Cork city and suburbs, and of Rocque's 1757 Dublin *Harbour & Environs map*. All three new editions of Rocque's maps appeared in 1773. It is likely then that Sayer commissioned Scalé who had been involved with Rocque in creating the first edition of the map, to survey and revise the second edition. Scalé was also responsible for the revisions to Sayer's edition of the *Harbour & Environs* map.

Scalé's *Accurate Survey* recorded the changes to the city that had taken place in the seventeen-year gap between 1756 and 1773. These changes can be seen not only by the large number of alterations Scalé made to Rocque's original plan, but also by the necessity of having to add on two copper plates, about one third of the width of the originals, to the eastern end of the map, to reflect the extensive development of the city on this side during that time (Fig. 5.40). While many of the changes carried out on the second map – 166 recorded in the course of this study – reflected material changes to the city itself, some aspects of Scalé's revision might be seen as a first critical response to Rocque's survey, an apparent correction of the facts, a belated graphical proofing of the map. Viewed through this particular prism, and in the absence of contemporary commentary, how the map was generally received might be obliquely assessed. Dramatic errors to the map as well as the material changes would likely have become apparent to Scalé, or be presented directly to his attention by citizens of the city, on this second round of city surveying, with the map in hand. There is a notable change in hand, and in the type of engraved, treatment between Rocque's and Dury's original and the added later plates (Fig. 5.41). One is busy, with dense layers of meaningful detail, while the

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[52] Susanna Fisher, 'Sayer, Robert (1724/5–1794)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/50893, accessed 12 Oct 2008].

second appears denuded in contrast. This suggests (as do some errors of transcription referred to below) that Scalé, who was also involved in creation of the first edition, had no hand in the engraving of these new plates or indeed the engraved amendments to the older plates in this 1773 edition, which changes have much of the same space quality. This new work to the plates would seem to have been arranged and overseen by Sayer in London, based on Scalé's manuscript additions and alterations on paper made in Dublin.

An intensive study, involving a house-by-house and block-by-block comparison between the two maps, was made for the purposes of this dissertation. Every single change was noted, and some broad statistics will be presented here, before a more substantive assessment of particular key examples of changes made to the original map will be presented. The majority of changes nevertheless took place within the zones already mapped by Rocque in 1756, in areas that had been hitherto largely undeveloped. The vast majority of these changes in turn, were located on the eastern side of the city, in the south-eastern quadrant (i.e. sheet 3) in particular. As the complicated chart in Fig. 5.42 suggests,[53] there were 148 changes in total on the two right-hand (eastern) map sheets, compared to only 18 in total on the two left-hand (western) sheets. The south-eastern quadrant, in which 100 changes have been recorded (compared to 66 changes in the three other quadrants combined) appears to have been the most developed. It is possible too, that this was an area Scalé chose to concentrate on most, as a response to the status of this area. However attention should be paid to the level and scale of each development denoted on this chart i.e. B inf (infills) representing minor usually single building changes, while B maj represents major developments such as those around Rutland Square and along Dominick Street. The chart records certain graphic and textual changes in each quadrant also, such as for

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[53] Fig. 5.42 is a chart representing the numbers of changes of different types from Rocque's *Exact Survey* 1756 to Scalé's *Accurate* Survey 1773. Changes key: G =Graphical; N = Street Names; B inf = infill; Bmaj = Major Building Development; C = Clearance. Figures in Brackets represent total of changes for each quadrant.

example changes to cartouches and legends in map 4 in order to accommodate elements of a planned canal, or also changes to text in either the cartouche, or while labelling streets not labelled before.

On the north-east of the city, the majority of the large-scale changes were as a result of the development of Luke Gardiner's former estate, by his son Charles. The three remaining sides of Rutland Square north of the Lying-in Hospital came into being: Granby Row, Palace Row with the new Charlemont House and Cavendish Street to the east. To the west of these Dominick Street was also lined on both sides with new large houses (Fig. 5.43). The reduction in the quality of the engraving at least, if not the surveying, can be seen in this and others of the infills made in the Scalé and Sayer map. North Great George's Street – formerly a tree-lined avenue to Nicholas Archdall's mansion – is also laid out, although few houses had been built by this stage, and to the south of this, we also have the new Gloucester, Mecklenburg and Cumberland Streets. On the south-east of the city, i.e. the bottom right map, there is a feast of new developments, although most of these are on a smaller scale than those that took place north of the river at this time. The most significant of these changes is the first of the new Wide Streets Commissioners developments north of the Castle, especially the new Parliament Street leading to Essex Bridge and Thomas Cooley's Royal Exchange under construction at this time (Fig. 5.44). Other major developments in this quadrant included the site to the east of St Stephen's Green, which included the newly laid-out Hume Street and Hume Row (later called Ely Place). This replaced a large proportion of Peter Landré's extensive nursery gardens, well illustrated in Rocque's original map.

An interesting case of change recorded by Scalé is that of South William Street. There had been some developments on the eastern side of the street, including a row of houses south of Simon Vierpyl and Richard Cranfield's City Assembly House with its octagonal exhibition space for the Society of Artists, in turn located directly south of 'Copingers Lane' (Fig. 5.45). This

development had taken place during the 1760s after the publication of the first map.[54] The map-maker's response is crude. Rather than actually re-drawing the completely new terrace, they merely erased the previous front line of the houses, and re-drew it further back. The changes were poorly worked, and the previous lines hardly worn away, allowing the printer's ink to gather and form an ugly smudge. This leaves us with the same returns and plots sizes of what no doubt were the early-18th-century and late-17th-century houses previously in that location, not the returns of the houses which replaced them. It is hardly a helpful record.

Another case appears when a façade along the western side of George's Lane (South Great George's Street in the new map) is pushed back by Scalé in the new map, despite the fact that there is no evidence to suggest that any substantive changes in this location had actually taken place. An overlay map (digitally created for this study) in which the Sayer/Scalé revisions are represented in red, over Rocque's original in black, illustrates the point that the whole front line of a terrace had been pared back, erasing the line representing its façade to the street (Fig. 5.46). What are we to make of this excision? The Wide Streets Commissioners did not reach this end of George's Street until well into the following century, and on the face of it, this appears to be a stark case of Scalé re-aligning a street, where no material change had taken place. It would appear that Scalé believed that Rocque had got the line of these houses wrong and in this way, his amendment may be seen as an editorial corrective, rather than an illustration of something that had happened in the interim.

Another example shows up the revised map, suggesting problems in the engraving at London, rather than in either Rocque's or Scalé's surveying. The layout of the gardens at Trinity College (Fig. 5.47) – across sheets 2 and 3 – changed principally in this period (1756-73) with the appearance of the Provost's House. In this case Scalé had published an independent treatment of

[54] Julie Craig, *South William Street. A study of the past, a vision of the future* (Dublin: Dublin Civic Trust, 1999), p. 12.

the college in 1761 which fairly corroborates Rocque's original map, but introduces a careful plan of the Provost's House, during construction, before the quadrants had been added (Fig. 5.48). Scalé's survey appears very precise, and perhaps suspiciously similar to Rocque's. Hugh Darley's new dining hall, replacing Richard Castle's collapsed earlier building, is recorded. The Provost's House is now also *in situ*. Note the location of the garden with the geometrical parterres made up of interlocking circles. Its left side (as indicated by the red arrow) is more or less in line with the left-hand-side of a projection on the exterior of the south wing of the Quadrangle, its other side is more or less in line with the left-hand-side of the projection at the corner of the same building. However when the same area comes to be engraved in 1773, there is a radical but unconvincing change of location (Fig. 5.49). These compass-drawn flower beds have shifted approximately 9mm to the west on the map, or 21m in reality, i.e. 70ft! Scalé's quality control on the images that he published independently in Dublin is certain, and clear, and one can only conclude from all of this, that while he may have been responsible for collecting the information for the 1773 map, the London publisher and his engraver were less conscientious. In order to fit in the Provost's House, the engraver roughly erased an area on the original plates much larger than he needed to, one can only conclude, and had to as a result re-draw the parterres of the College Gardens, managing to get their position completely wrong. This off-hand treatment is consistent throughout all of the revisions on the 1773 map, and their quality is consistent neither with Rocque's nor Scalé's known work. Thus in this instance it is Scalé's independently published plan that corroborates Rocque's original, and calls into question some aspects of the revised *Accurate Survey* of 1773.

A similar case involves the gardens of the Lying-in Hospital (Fig. 5.50) which re-appear in an image published by Scalé and Richards in 1764 (Fig. 5.51)[55] and

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[55] *A Plan of the Lyingin Hospital and New Gardens Dublin by Scalé & Richards Land Surveyors. 1764* as reproduced in Toby Barnard, *Making the grand figure: lives and possessions in Ireland, 1641-1770* (New Haven & London: 2004), 204.

in a re-engraved state in the 1773 *Accurate Survey* (Fig. 5.52). In this case the overall design of the gardens is broadly confirmed by both of Scalé's later plans, albeit with much greater clarity in the 1764 Scalé/Richards image than in the 1773 Scalé/Sayer one. When we compare the plan image of the hospital and gardens in Rocque's *Exact Survey* to Scalé's detailed independently published plan of 1764, Rocque's image does reasonably well. Scalé's and Richards's plan is in-depth and independent, and not just copying Rocque. The quadrants to the rear of the hospital building (not on the *Exact Survey* plan) may not have been complete when Rocque was surveying his map from 1754-56, the hospital was after all still under construction at this time. The shape of the building (on the *Exact Survey*) is more or less correct, if we overlook the arrangement of the front and rear entrance platforms and steps. If we look closely enough, we can see a series of dots, hidden amongst the diagonal shading, representing the columns of the front quadrant colonnades. The layout of the gardens as recorded by Scalé and Richards, certainly confirms in the broadest outline the designs represented by Rocque. We might quibble only on their precise form. In an echo of the case of St Andrew's Church (discussed above), the circular-shaped parterre on the north-east corner of Rocque's original map (A), is drafted as oval-shaped on Scalé and Richards' more measured-looking 1764 plan. Scalé also gave us a more precise draft of the two planted clearings at the centre of this upper terrace, suggesting that the shape on the right-hand-side (B) was octagonal, and that on the left was circular (C). The zigzag pathway (D) which brought one down hill on the right-hand-side, was made up of five straight portions, while Rocque's had only three. Suffice to say, that Rocque's should not be taken as a blue-print for the reconstruction of such features. Scalé's 1773 map is far less precise than either. Some new elements had been introduced on site, such as the rotunda-shaped Assembly Rooms themselves, and some new bandstands in the grounds. However, once again the engraver of the 1773 map chose to erase completely the earlier image. The treatment is now cursory and off-hand, and although there were material changes such as the ones referred to, we must be cautious about reflecting too deeply on any changes to the positioning and the

design of the garden overall, as it neither reflects Rocque's 1756 image or Scalé's own independently published one just referred to.

A final case relates to a terrace of houses on the south side of St Stephen's Green, the side known at the time as Leeson's Walk, no doubt because of the location of Joseph Leeson's large house, gardens, and his brewery on this side of the Green (Fig. 5.53). Just to the east of his gardens is the terrace in question. Scalé seems to have made wholesale changes to the fronts of these houses, somewhat in the same manner we have already noted in South William Street and South Great George's Street (compare Fig. 5.54 to 5.55). The four houses below the second 'S' of Leesons, have been pared back in just such a manner. Following this, the two large houses have been edited as it were so that they too form a decent straight front.[56] The two diagonally shaded stable or warehouse buildings beyond them have been evened-off to match the fronts of the houses to their right, so that we end up with a façade of houses more or less in a line, except for two large houses set back from the street. The two larger houses in fact represent nos 86 and 85 St Stephen's Green, i.e. the combined pair of houses which make up Newman House since about the middle of the 19th century. They are in reality flush with each other as Scalé had suggested. The house on the east was built by Hugh Montgomery in 1738, and was likely designed by Richard Castle. The house on the west was built by Richard Chapel Whaley in 1765. According to all accounts to date, including the *Georgian Society Records* and the account given by the editor of Buck Whaley's *Memoirs*, this house was built on a green-field site.[57] This is certainly not the case as represented by Rocque (Fig. 5.54). Evidently there had been a house there before Chapel Whaley set to work to embarrass his neighbours

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[56] The apparent twist to what should be a straight line between these two houses was caused by a fold in the map as it was photographed.

[57] The Georgian Society, *The Georgian Society records of eighteenth-century domestic architecture and decoration in Dublin* Vol. 2, (Dublin: 1910), 31-92; Sir Edward Sullivan (ed.) *Buck Whaley's Memoirs: including his journey to Jerusalem. Written by himself in 1797 and now first published from the recently recovered manuscript* (London: Alexander Moring Ltd, 1906), xi.

with the scale of his new 5-bay stone mansion. Once again the engraver, if not Scalé himself, merely chopped off the front façade of the representation of the former building to indicate that a new house had come into being (Fig. 5.55). He also made sure that the diagonal shading on the right hand side was replaced with stippling to confirm that the new building was all dwelling house.

It is difficult to know what to make of the homogenisation of the front facades by Scalé. These might profitably be compared to the detailed survey map of the whole of St Stephen's Green, carried out on behalf of the owners of the ground rents here (the King's Hospital).[58] Drafted in 1832, this Joseph James Byrne map (Fig. 5.56) records the exact shapes of the early-18th-century houses in this location. If we allow for the fact that neither Rocque nor Scalé carried out measured surveys of individual houses in the city, it appears that the record they made is remarkably accurate. Scalé's amendments here, no matter how crude, broadly represent real changes on the ground once again.

By and large then, the vast majority of changes to the original *Exact Survey* encountered on the *Accurate Survey*, are ones made in respect to material changes to the city during this vital seventeen-year period, between 1756 and 1773. There seems to be only one clear case of a critical amendment to the map based on what must have been perceived as an error in the original, and that is the case of the houses on the west side of South Great George's Street. The graphical aspect of the new map is fumbled as often as it is handled with any finesse, and this somewhat diminishes the impact of this test, especially when third example contemporary visual evidence (such as the two independently published Scalé maps of Trinity College and the Lying-in hospital respectively) are used to verify the overall forms of the first map. Rocque's *Exact Survey* stands up to the scrutiny then of its first major revision, although questions about the quality of the production of this second map, if

[58] Dublin, King's Hospital Archive, Joseph James Byrne, Ms maps of the estates of the Hospital: 1832.

not the quality of its survey, slightly undermine the absolute validity of this confirmation.

Finally it is worth noting that there had existed once, a very complete, albeit manuscript, map of the city between the *Accurate Survey* of 1773 and the first edition of the Ordnance Survey. This was the extraordinary map created by Thomas Sherrard in the early 1790s.[59] Sherrard was to become the 'indispensable' surveyor of the Wide Streets Commissioners from c. 1770. He became clerk to the Commissioners in 1789, and was probably responsible for laying out Westmoreland and D'Olier Streets. He produced a now lost enormously large-scale (80ft to 1 inch) complete map of Dublin, between 1791 and 1797, 'mounted on six rollers'. Although this was tragically lost, an extract of an area encompassing Christ Church and Wood Quay was published in the Irish Builder in 1891 (Fig. 5.57).[60] Sherrard was in the Rocque lineage, and what survives of the map in the reproduction in the *Irish Builder*, could be said to have been an extraordinarily detailed house-by-house map. Any doubts that we justifiably have in Rocque about his including every single house in a terrace are overcome here by Sherrard's use of the new house numbering system, thus guaranteeing that every house was recorded. Close examination of previously dubious records on Rocque, such as his rendering of the outline plan of the cathedral, and of the plan of the Dean's house, show Sherrard's to be impeccable in the light of other more favoured evidence. The disappearance of the original Sherrard maps must be seen as a tragic loss of original visual material, for which Rocque and the first Ordnance Survey, can only partially make up.

5.3 John Rocque's *Exact Survey* of 1756 vs. the first edition Ordnance Survey map of 1838-43

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[59] J.H. Andrews, *Plantation acres: an historical study of the Irish land surveyor and his maps* (Omagh: Ulster Historical Foundation, 1985), pp 280-82.

[60] *The Irish Builder*, 33 (1891), p.165.

The final aspect of the reliability of Rocque's map which will be tested is the overarching structure or skeleton of the city as represented by Rocque, as it compares with the first edition of the Ordnance Survey maps of Dublin. There has been much discussion throughout this thesis on the subject of Rocque's reputed use of triangulation. Recorded with some authority in regards to his survey of London published in 1747 in the published affidavits of Martin Folkes and Peter Davall, the president and secretary of the Royal Society respectively, a number of comments quoted in Chapter 4 suggest that Rocque also used triangulation to establish the broad skeletal parameters of Dublin. These included the report that his men nearly drowned while measuring a base line for the triangulation on the strand at Irish Town. But the question remains as to the authenticity and efficacy of his method and in this regard, the quality and accuracy of the overall plan, the arrangement of the major routes, and the planar or geometrical relationship between the different parts of the map as they compare to a 'reality' measured by the Ordnance Survey in the 19th century, when surveying techniques and the measuring equipment had evolved significantly.[61] An important piece of computer software has been released in the last two years called MapAnalyst, which was developed by Bernhard Jenny and Adrian Weber of the Institute of Cartography, ETH Zurich.[62] According to their own introduction to this 'freeware', 'MapAnalyst is a software for the accuracy analysis of old maps. Its main purpose is to compute distortion grids and other types of visualizations that illustrate the geometrical accuracy and distortion of historical maps. The software uses pairs of control points on an old map and on a new reference map. The control points are used to construct distortion grids [amongst other things]'.[63] This object was attainable in the past by hand through an arduous notation of pairs of points and relating them to hand-drawn grids. However even taking into account the labour involved, the results were in no way as

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[61] J.H. Andrews, *A paper landscape: the Ordnance Survey in nineteenth-century Ireland* 2nd ed. (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2002), pp 35-143.

[62] http://mapanalyst.cartography.ch/ accessed October 15, 2008.

[63] http://mapanalyst.cartography.ch/index.html accessed October 15, 2008.

mathematically accurate as is now possible based on this comprehensive new computer algorithm.

A distortion grid reflects in two dimensions the degree to which a regular squared grid across a reference (new) map needs to be stretched in order for the old map to fit into the same set of gridded lines. The expression 'rubber map' has also been used to describe the nature of the distortions often found on these transformed grids (Fig. 5.58). A number of successful studies have already been published by one of the developers of the software using the MapAnalyst program to establish the degree and nature of this kind of error on some sample maps, although the process has not caught on in the geographical and cartographical community, as quickly as one might expect for such an exciting new capability.[64] The program has also been independently reviewed.[65]

For the purposes of this study, it seemed wiser to take as the control (or reference) map, the first edition of the 6-inch Ordnance Survey map of Dublin surveyed in 1837. While a more recent survey may be more accurate in terms of recent developments in geo-surveying techniques, the MapAnalyst process depends upon being able to establish common connection points between each map. Any minor improvements in precision between the old and newest editions of the Ordnance Survey, are outweighed by the loss of structures and landmarks that could be established as common between each map. It is necessary for the 'reference map', i.e. the newer map, which in this case is the 1837 OS map, to be GIS referenced. This establishes all of the coordinates

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[64] Bernhard Jenny, 'MapAnalyst - a digital tool for the analysis of the planimetric accuracy of historical maps', *e-Permetron* 1, no. 3 (Summer 2006): 239-45; Bernhard Jenny, 'Geometric distortion of schematic network maps', *Bulletin of the Society of Cartographers* 40 (2006) 15-18; Bernhard Jenny, Adrian Weber, and Lorenz Hurni, 'Visualizing the planimetric accuracy of historical maps with MapAnalyst', *Cartographica* 42, issue 1 (2007) 89-94.

[65] David Raymond, 'Software Review: MapAnalyst 1.2.1 (Bernhard Jenny and Adrian Weber, Institute of Cartography, ETH Zurich, 2005/2006)', *Cartographica* 42, issue 1 (2007) 95-97.

within the numerically based universal coordinate system for the planet.[66] Remarkably, 438 points of correspondence were fairly reliably established between the 1756 *Exact Survey* and the 1837 Ordnance Survey, the majority of these being corners and junctions between roads and laneways that were common to both maps (Figs 5.59-60). Care needed to be taken in areas where radical changes had taken place to the city in the zone covered by Rocque's map. Some points of correspondence had to be forgone in these areas. In some places as a result, the grid is straighter (less stretched) than it might have been if more data had been capable of being input from these locations. Some of these places in the city materially altered during the period 1756-1837, included the Wide-Streets-Commissioners widened Dame Street, and their newly introduced Parliament Street, D'Olier and Westmoreland Streets, the new Lower Sackville Street which replaced Drogheda Street, and Brunswick (Pearse) Street, directly north of Trinity College.

The resulting distortion grid is illustrated in Fig 5.61, while the gridded Ordnance survey control map upon which this is based is illustrated in Fig. 5.62. There are no doubt a whole host of ways in which this graphical experiment may be analysed that are for now outside the means of the present research. All of this will benefit from further refinement and more analysis. Indeed had this program come to the attention of this author earlier, the creation of a distortion grid for Brooking's 1728 map of the city, would have acted as an interesting comparison, for the nature and degree of distortion in Rocque's map. However, the most important conclusions may be drawn from the distortion grid in Fig. 5.61 by a simple visual analysis.

Undeveloped areas on the outskirts of the city presented fewer verifiable points of contact between the two maps and this explains why the grid does not extend across the whole map. The copy of the *Exact Survey* used is a digital composite created by the author. Sheets 1 and 2, i.e. the two northern sheets,

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[66] The GIS-referenced 1837 Ordnance Survey map, was supplied by the Office of the Ordnance Survey of Ireland, Phoenix Park.

do not join as neatly as the others in so far as this photomerge is a best fit, of four sheets that never in fact fully fitted together in reality. As a result a slight warp eastwards may be discerned on the right-hand side of the join between these upper sheets.[67] More critically, in terms of the accuracy of Rocque's record, the entrance to the Phoenix Park at Park Gate Street towards the left-hand corner of sheet 1, causes a significant warp eastwards, which means that its position has been drawn incorrectly further east than it should have been. One might speculate whether Rocque had taken some poetic license and had purposely drawn the entrance eastwards to fit some of the triangular shape of the eastern extremity of Phoenix Park onto the map. However the warp westward at the Royal Hospital would then be hard to explain by this logic. Perhaps it is more reasonable to speculate that these locations were furthest from Rocque's base-line at Ringsend, and some genuine error had crept into Rocque's calculations for these points in his survey.

An option in the MapAnalyst program allows for vectors of displacement. According to the authors of the program 'vectors of displacement graphically illustrate the accuracy of each pair of points. A vector connects the position of a point with its transformed counterpart. Each vector line starts at a point in the analyzed map and ends at the position where the point would be if the analyzed map were as accurate as the modern reference map.'[68] Vectors of extreme displacement have been coloured in turquoise and possibly unsurprisingly the area with the greatest preponderance of these turquoise vectors is in the south Liberties in a confined area to the east of New Market (Fig. 5.63). The junctions where these points were inscribed had remained intact between the years 1756 and 1837, indeed the whole area of the Liberties remained largely unmolested between the late-17th century and the mid-20th century. Thus the errors cannot be explained by misconnecting points that

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[67] The join can be just about discerned in these images as a faint white line that splits the whole into four equal quarters. It seemed more prudent *not* to further indicate this graphically as it would visually interfere with the lines of the distortion grid itself.

[68] http://mapanalyst.cartography.ch/man/displacements.html accessed 16 October, 2008.

were not in fact common locations. This may suggest that Rocque was less concerned with the overarching accuracy in this area, as it was less likely to generate subscriptions. A more likely scenario would be that these errors were a result of the limitations of Rocque's instruments, and are therefore errors, like those already noted at the Phoenix Park and at the Royal Hospital, based on the distance from the original base-line stations at the coast. Work that still needs to be done in this regard, is to check how this squares with John Andrews's estimate (quoted already in Section 4.1.1) that in comparison to the Ordnance Survey map of the city, there was a displacement in Rocque of an average 32 feet, compared to an average of 146 feet in Brooking.[69]

Despite these most obvious distortions, what immediately strikes one, is the overall regularity of the grid. That it is skewed to the north-west is simply explained by the fact that Rocque's map was not orientated directly north, but slightly north-north-east, as the direction arrow on the left-hand-side of sheet 1 suggests (Fig. 5.64). The grid is not exactly parallel to this north arrow, and this may be partially explained by the changes in the direction of magnetic north in 80 years (between 1756 and 1837), and, to some extent perhaps, some miscalculation by Rocque. However these astronomical issues do not pertain to the issue of a properly triangulated map. Although a close look at individual squares on the grid show there to be stretches in different directions in a number of localised positions, the overall regularity of the grid suggests very strongly that Rocque's overarching triangulation of the city was extremely accurate. Were it not, the edges of the grid would be a good deal more warped. In other words there seems to be little suggestion from this point of view of a radical compounding of errors, from one side of the city to another, except those already alluded to. This is a very significant confirmation then, of the efficacy and accuracy of Rocque's triangulation, and leaves us in no doubt

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[69] J.H. Andrews, 'Two maps of Dublin and its surroundings by John Rocque' in *An exact survey of the city and suburbs of Dublin 1756/ by John Rocque: facsimile maps in 8 sheets*, (Lympne Castle (Kent): Harry Margary, 1977), vi.

whatsoever that a city-wide trigonometrical procedure of some sophistication was carried out in Dublin by Rocque and his team.

5.4 Conclusion

We started this chapter by considering whether or not Rocque's *Exact Survey* was a flattering encomium to the city or was instead an effort at an empirical, warts-and-all city portrait, that could be used as a tool for its further understanding and exploitation by its citizens, and others. The suggestion, based on Rocque's approach elsewhere and his reputed approach to the Dublin map, was towards the latter, but what remained was to test the efficacy of that 'scientific' endeavour. An extended study of a large number of individual cases including Christ Church cathedral, St Patrick's cathedral, St Andrew's church, and other public buildings such as the Parliament House and Dublin Castle, show that by and large Rocque did *not* do intensive surveys of individual buildings, and more to the point, his understanding of these structures from an architectural point of view, was seriously exposed by the kinds of shorthand plan compressions he used to depict them in replacement of properly surveying them. This serves to confirm the thesis put forward in Chapter 2, that Rocque was not a professional cartographer, or indeed a garden designer, but was a trained engraver craftsman without any academic training. That Rocque tended too to regularise obtuse and acute angles into right-angles, as suggested by Frazer in regards to his study of an area near New Market, is confirmed by cases such as the Deanery at Christ Church, amongst others. This ironically, is one of the things that contributes to the aesthetic of the map, and a kind of post-Renaissance rationalisation of the geometry of the city. In this way alone it is a charming visual encomium. Thus one must treat all records of individual buildings with some caution, and in this regard seek to corroborate Rocque's evidence with other visual, cartographic, historical and archaeological data. While archaeologists seem to have put immense faith in Rocque's map as record of the city, current work on post-medieval sites will continue to refine the nature of his record in this regard. It is also worth re-iterating that there are some instances where encomium or flattery, if not some

degree of deference at least, is displayed by Rocque, in e.g. his refined graphics on St Mary's Church on Jervis Street, and Langford House in Henry Street. There are also instances in which great care seems to have been given to recording some buildings such as the house beside Peter Landré's gardens at St Stephen's Green. Indeed while the accuracy of the plans of individual buildings may be wanting, Rocque seemed nevertheless to be dogged in his wish to communicate not only their existence but some of the essence of their character. Thus important information is to be had by means of the hachures in the rear garden of the earl of Kildare's house on Suffolk Street, and indeed in the gardens of Peter Landré and of Dean Swift. Rocque's record then is a census, an almost exhaustive inventory, of what is there, how it is displaced, and where it is located, without actually necessarily describing with complete authenticity every aspect of what has been included.

Despite the nearly 170 changes wrought upon Rocque's *Exact Survey* by Bernard Scalé in 1773, nearly all of these can be accounted for by material changes to the city, rather than by perceived mistakes to the original plan. Scalé would have needed Rocque's map in hand to make his revision, so his was a studied examination of the original, and no doubt, he would have been available in this way to those who had felt that the original had recorded their property or location badly. There seems to be only one distinct case of Scalé's re-casting of Rocque's record, on the western side of George's Lane. Many other aspects of the Scalé and Sayer map of 1773, show up the qualities of the original both in terms of its graphical and aesthetic qualities, as well as in the close relationship between the results of the survey and their expression in the map, something that Sayer's engraver was much less concerned about.

Finally the *Exact Survey* has undergone, with some surprising success perhaps, the significant test of a computerised comparison to the first edition Ordnance Survey. A good deal of work needs to be done on this aspect, in refining the test, and in making other comparable tests on e.g. the *Harbour & Environs* map, or on Brooking's 1728 map, or indeed on Rocque's maps of London.

However the initial results show a very strong overall comprehension of the city and its layout in Rocque's first Dublin map, and demonstrate that he had indeed used a trigonometrical method, that may have only been compromised by the accuracy of his instruments. Further studies should only confirm this initial impression.

Conclusion

Conclusion

John Rocque's maps have been the focus of academic attention for almost one hundred years.[1] His stupendous 24-sheet map of London of 1747 is perhaps the most celebrated and referenced, if not studied, of all of his works. A Google search for John Rocque will find countless references to sites in 18th-century London to be found on that map, and countless others in greater London referenced to his contemporaneously published 16-sheet map of the environs of London. Not surprisingly, his work has been best exploited to date as a geo-historical source. What was there in the mid-18th century, where was it, and how did it appear? After all, this is what a map is for: establishing location, and form. Add to this the passing of 250 years, and the map becomes an *historical* source of location and description.

Rocque's *Exact Survey of Dublin*, published in 1756, has been largely overlooked amongst Rocquian scholars, however, with one distinguished exception in the incomparable work of John Andrews.[2] On one level this is no surprise, as Rocque produced so many maps of counties and cities in these islands, and theoretically, many more of European cities and colonial outposts, with the Dublin map being just one more amongst a multitude of others. The crucial point that was missed by this oversight, however, was the exceptional detail of Rocque's Dublin map. This is the only map in his whole corpus of European, British and Irish city maps, in which an attempt was made to map every single house, outhouse, backyard, lane and alleyway. Rocque's Dublin map may also have been overlooked in so far as it may have been assumed that this non-English map was like all of Rocque's European and colonial work, a re-hashing of other original surveys and indeed of completed maps, as was the case for his published plans of Rome and Paris, which he so often referenced himself as if they were original works.

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[1] Henry Wheatley, 'Rocque's plan of London', *London Topographical Record*, ix (1914), 15-28.

[2] Particularly J.H. Andrews, 'Two maps of Dublin and its surroundings by John Rocque' in *An exact survey of the city and suburbs of Dublin 1756/ by John Rocque: facsimile maps in 8 sheets*, (Lympne Castle (Kent): Harry Margary, 1977).

That the Dublin map might have been of this second-hand order is absolutely not the case. As has been shown clearly in this dissertation, Rocque spent nearly all of the six years between August 1754 and August 1760 in Dublin – if not in Kildare, Cork, Kilkenny and Armagh – with only some very few limited trips back to London during this time, where his wife appeared to be carrying on his much more limited English business while he was away.[3] Of course, the value and impact of Rocque's Dublin map is not lost upon Irish historical scholars, especially amongst those who specialise in uncovering the historical fabric of Dublin. A quick review of archaeological reports on digs being made in this city over the past ten years will find almost a *de rigueur* reference to the *Exact Survey*, with an assessment of how finds stand up to his map, or more to the point, how Rocque stands up to the finds.

Work on Rocque may also have been stalled amongst cartographical academics because of the real – and mysterious – paucity of original documentary sources regarding his career and his life. What this thesis attempts instead is to mine the published works themselves, to gain answers about the nature of Rocque's professional identity, how he did his work, what his maps might mean in their broadest cultural sense, and what value they have as historical records, and also, as works of art in their own right. The largely untapped source for Rocque is the complete corpus of his works, and some attempt has been made here to make an overarching assessment of these for the first time, including not only his published maps, but his books, his topographical and decorative publications, and his non-published estate surveys.

Assessment of his complete corpus has uncovered some real surprises, especially Rocque's involvement with decorative and landscape publications independent of his map work. In particular an examination of these

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[3] Mary Ann Rocque, who inherited his workshop and map plates, successfully published a number of new Rocque maps after the death of her husband in 1762.

publications – e.g. *Gaetano Brunetti's sixty different ornaments*, in which Rocque appeared as engraver only – shows his real skill and finesse as an engraver and artist. Because of the training that this involved, it appears that Rocque must have been at first an engraver – albeit predominantly of cartographical works – and then a cartographer. These are separated here conceptually, because in practice, during the 18th century, and indeed long before and long since, these skills were separate professional endeavours. Rocque was absolutely unique in combining them in the way that he did throughout his career. And a concentration on the artistic quality of his work, as well as the skills sets that were necessary to accomplish them, goes part of the way in explaining the manner in which all of his works have such a cohesive visual identity. Rocque spent most of his career – and the Dublin map is no exception – as an orchestrator (or conductor) of a very large workshop of practitioners: surveyors, draughtsmen, engravers, and decorative and topographical artists. Some were his apprentices or paid assistants, others were independent artists, although in the case of Dublin at least, Rocque had an eye for young local talent, including artists of the stature of John Dixon, Matthew Wren and Hugh Douglas Hamilton, before their careers had blossomed. Maintaining a cohesive style – as he did – was only possible because of his mastery of all of the skills involved.

Thus Rocque was an engraver first and foremost: a craftsman of great ability. He was *not*, however, an academically trained artist, or indeed an academically trained cartographer, despite the evidently French idiom in which he worked. This should be no surprise in that in France the Cassinis and the Delisles did *not* engrave. This was done by an artisan class, who specialised in this work, but based on drafted information given to them by members of a more intellectual caste. What makes Rocque so remarkable, and almost wholly unique both in England and in France, was his combining of these two activities. It remains almost completely unexplained how this came about, other than by that fugitive resourcefulness associated with Huguenots, or indeed refugees in general. Rocque's brother, Bartholomew, famous for his

horticultural work – *not* his garden designs – also engraved for Rocque on at least two occasions. So both of these brothers (and indeed their equally precocious nephew) began their careers (in works unidentified, or which haven't survived) as engravers. Bartholomew went on to become quite a wealthy land owner and horticulturalist and Rocque became the most important cartographical surveyor and publisher of his era.

Some aspects of how the latter came about – for example why it was that Rocque (an estate surveyor) was approached by George Vertue, the engraver, to survey the great London map – are described, if not analysed, in detail. The likely methodology is also filled out, and that such a sophisticated technique went on to be used in Dublin is confirmed by the MapAnalyst test in the final chapter, amongst other means. Rocque had somehow learned how to survey country estates. These he published, without any evidence of support from their august owners, that has yet been established by others' research in the past. These included the royal family's estates at Richmond, Hampton Court, Kensington and Windsor, as well as Burlington's Chiswick amongst others. What he learned by these means would only partially explain how he was in a position to survey the great burgeoning city of London. No original survey of that city had been attempted since the Great Fire some eighty years previously. Ralph Hyde and others have already documented in great detail and with considerable insight the role of some members of the Royal Society in both equipping Rocque and his assistants in carrying out the map, and in improving upon the methodology he brought to it. Triangulation on this scale, from station to station, providing the overarching structure into which a street-by-street traverse could be fitted, seems to have been one of the lessons Rocque learned from them. The particular role of Peter Davall, and his advocacy of a French academic approach to this work, as outlined by Guillaume Delisle some twenty years earlier, is expanded upon in this work. That Rocque and others could look to surveying books such as Leybourn's 17th-century *The Compleat Surveyor*, for a basic understanding of town surveying is also suggested. This is in contrast to the kinds of training involved in becoming an

engraver. In other words, this particular cartographical engraver could reasonably be seen to migrate towards surveying, in a way that a surveyor or a projector of maps, such as Cassini or Delisle in France, could not. In this way, Rocque was capable of encompassing all of the skills, in some manner at least.

However, it is this non-academic training which might be summoned as a partial explanation for some of the anomalies in the Dublin map. Yet it still remains difficult to understand the many clumsy records of individual buildings which have been identified here for the first time. These include a bizarre record of Christ Church cathedral, and a fudged plan of the Parliament House – inside and more culpably in his drafting of the exterior colonnade – that show that Rocque seemed to neither understand medieval nor classical (i.e. contemporary) architecture. This is very hard to square with the skill shown in the architectural vignettes that appear in his estate plans, in either the earliest cautious work in rendering the King's House at Richmond, or in the much more lyrical drawing of the beautiful riverine perspective at Chiswick. However the work of two of Rocque's closest allies – Chatelain and Vivares – has been examined closely here without it being possible to confirm definitively whether they had assisted, although the evidence suggests not. Of course there are countless other artists whom Rocque might have employed, but they were never acknowledged if he did indeed use them, and he did acknowledge their role in other works done with Chatelain and Vivares.

On the other hand, we are certain that Rocque was capable of landscape work, whatever of the fact that so much of this was second-hand in some way or other. For example, he copied without any acknowledgement a *View of Greenwich* by Rigaud, and he was the artist for his and Vivares's work (Vivares engraved) of a view of Kensington. We know too, as already noted, that he was a very capable engraver of decorative work, and it seems certain now, that Rocque was responsible for all of the cartouches in his own works, at least definitively the rocaille work in the Dublin map, and in the seminal rococo cartouches at Chiswick, Hampton Court and Richmond.

Rocque, like any cartographical publisher of his period, was likely to have borrowed widely in his topographical and decorative work also, from original artists such as Rigaud, Gravelot, Goupy, and Watteau amongst others. McDonnell and Hodge have taken a lead in this regard, in uncovering many direct sources for Rocque's motifs in the Kildare estate maps, and in outlining the roles played in the creation of that set of works by artists such as Matthew Wren, and Hugh Douglas Hamilton. There is an endless amount of fruitful and pleasant work still to be done in that regard for Rocque's enormous topographical corpus – the published estate maps, and the vignettes and cartouches on the published county and city maps. Indeed the *Exact Survey* has been found here to contain at least one titillating reversal (in more ways than one) of a model that had only been recently created. That is the risqué reclining nude Miss O'Murphy painted by François Boucher, who turned in the opposite direction in consequence of being a print, is now an almost pubescent male putto ostensibly measuring the map with a pair of dividers on the scale cartouche on the bottom left sheet of the Dublin map.

Despite the limitations in the depiction of some individual buildings in Rocque's Dublin map, the *Exact Survey* nevertheless stands up to considerable scrutiny as a near exhaustive cartographical inventory of the city. In spite of the rushed lines on Speaker Conolly's house in Capel Street, or of the earl of Kildare's former house on Suffolk Street, we are so much the better off for having these sketched records of buildings for which we have no other visual record. Primate Boulter's house in Henrietta Street, amongst many others, is another important case in point. A great deal remains to be done on the *Exact Survey* itself, as resource for the history of the city, and what appears in Chapter 5 in this map only skims the surface of what I still suspect is a vastly under-tapped repository of historical and architectural information. The archaeologists continue to confirm this. Work done in conjunction with records from the Registry of Deeds for example – which would benefit greatly

by being digitised – or with a more fully available set of Wide Streets Commissioners maps, will no doubt yield a great deal, for a long time to come.

Rocque's Dublin map has, however, withstood, with some considerable success, two intensive tests carried out for the purposes of this dissertation. The first was an extended comparison between the 1756 *Exact Survey* and Scalé's revision of the map in 1773. These two maps in themselves create a time bracket, in which nearly all that appears on the latter map did so because it had been introduced to the city during that seventeen-year period. This is confirmed by the fact that only one important example was found – a long terrace on the west side of George's Lane – of Scalé re-casting a passage on Rocque's original, where no material change could be established: in other words, where Scalé believed that Rocque had got the record wrong. That this should be the case shows that Scalé, with map in hand, found almost nothing substantially in error, and that no-one in the city, some seventeen years later, was troubling him to suggest as much either.

The extraordinarily satisfying MapAnalyst work which appears at the end of the final chapter gives an instantaneous visual confirmation in the broadest terms of the overarching structure of Rocque's map, of his layout of the city, and how it all fitted together. No doubt there is some local distortion, but in this author's opinion, far less than one might have imagined. That Rocque had become proficient in creating a large-scale properly triangulated map, while claimed by him at the time, seems to be confirmed in a scientific manner for the first time. As the means for creating this analysis came to the author only after considerable time and effort, and so at a late stage in the preparation of the dissertation, much more work remains to be done with this tool, and further studies are planned. One must wonder immediately for example how Brooking's 1728 map will stand up to the same test. Indeed Rocque's other important Dublin maps – of the *Harbour & Environs* (1757) and of the *County* (1760) – and his London maps will benefit from the same tests in due course.

It is worth, in conclusion, rehearsing two narrative aspects of Rocque's career which *did* emerge from documentary sources rather than from the study of the works themselves. The first arose from the recovery of the two letters written by Rocque in 1753 to his nephew Bartholomew who was based at this time in Mannheim. The childless Rocque was looking to see if he could convince his nephew to come to England and not only become his principal assistant, but effectively to take over his business. It seemed that Rocque believed, at that time, that his time on earth was limited. He foresaw his own demise. Why this was so seemed to have been understood by the nephew, but is not articulated in the letters that have survived. Rocque suggested that he planned to finish the work he had in hand only, and no more. Despite the seriousness of the situation, Rocque seemed to give his nephew room to manoeuvre, and although we do not have his reply, Bartholomew did not take up the offer.

Somehow, only one year later, we find Rocque in Dublin: 'Mr Rocque, Chorographer to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, who published the plans of London, Paris & Rome, is now employed in making an accurate survey of this city.'; 'We hear the celebrated Mr Rocque (Chorographer to HRH the Prince of Wales) who took the actual & accurate surveys of the cities & environs of London, Paris etc., is making the same of this metropolis, in order to lay it down on the same scale.'[4] He was to remain in Dublin for the next six years, and would carry out original surveys and create original published maps of Dublin (three four-sheet maps), Kilkenny, Cork and Armagh, as well as his incomparable eight-volume Kildare manuscript survey for the Earl of Kildare. Somehow Rocque got lucky, and so did Dublin.

But that is not all. By some twist of fate, thwarted no doubt by the interloper, Dublin's City Surveyor, Roger Kendrick decided to vie with Rocque, and to survey and publish a map of his own of his city of Dublin. In hindsight, and based on the kinds of scrupulous but time-consuming and small survey maps

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[4] *Universal Advertiser* 24 August 1754; *Dublin Journal*, 27 August 1754.

Kendrick had already created to date, we should not be surprised that he did not succeed. However he kept up a relentless tit-for-tat newspaper battle with Rocque on this point for the first five months after Rocque had arrived. It seems to be highly likely as a result, that it was this competitive battle of the mapmakers that forced Rocque to change his Dublin survey from being one that comprised every block and every public building – like all his previous maps had been – to being a map of every 'dwelling house, Warehouse, Stable, Yard, Back house and garden … so that any Landlord or others, who have any concern in the said survey, may, by dotted lines, or different colours, shew their own Ground, which may easily be numbered & described in their Rent-rolls & Leases.'[5] Kendrick could not have achieved what Rocque did. He was not an engraver. We cannot be certain that there were any engravers in the city who could have undertaken such a map, at such a scale, although Rocque was to train some native artists to do so, with some of his other Irish maps. Whatever of his inventiveness and the sheer range of Rocque's abilities, what probably marked him out from Kendrick, and indeed many of his peers, was his extraordinary ability to expedite. To get the map done. To finish the job, as he did.

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