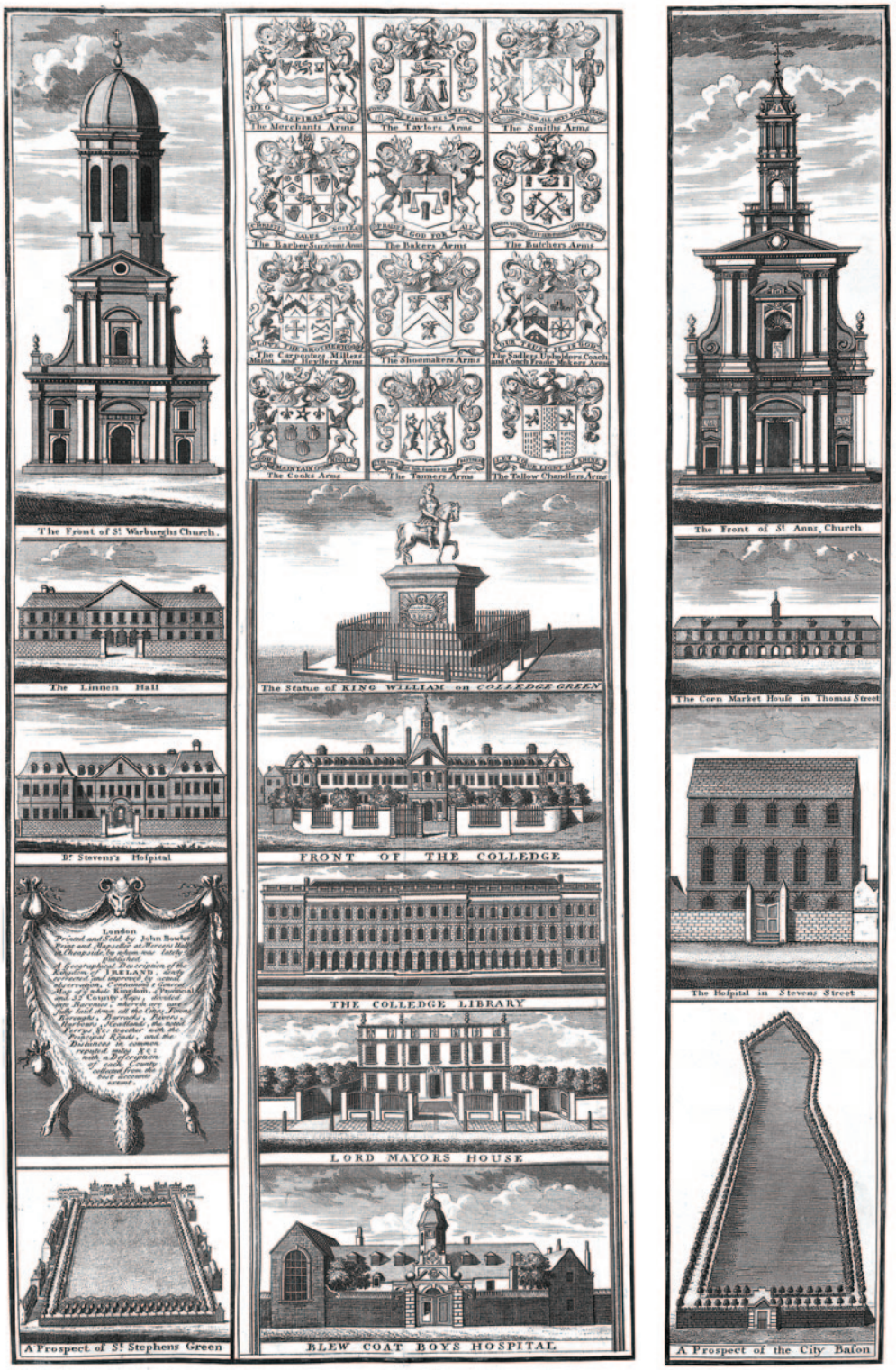

The Merchants Arms
The Taylors Arms
The Smiths Arms
The Barbers Surgeons Arms
The Bakers Arms
The Butchers Arms
The Carpenters Millers Masons and Glaziers Arms
The Shoomakers Arms
The Sadlers Upholders Coach and Coach Plaite Makers Arms
The Cooks Arms
The Tanners Arms
The Tallow Chandlers Arms
The Front of St Warburghs Church.
The Statue of KING WILLIAM on COLLEDGE GREEN
The Front of St Anns Church
The Linnen Hall
The Corn Market House in Thomas Street
Dr Stevens's Hospital
FRONT OF THE COLLEDGE
The Hospital in Stevens Street
THE COLLEDGE LIBRARY
LORD MAYORS HOUSE
A Prospect of St Stephens Green
BLEW COAT BOYS HOSPITAL
A Prospect of the City Baſon

Charles Brooking's 1728 map of Dublin: context, influences and compilation of an early Georgian city survey

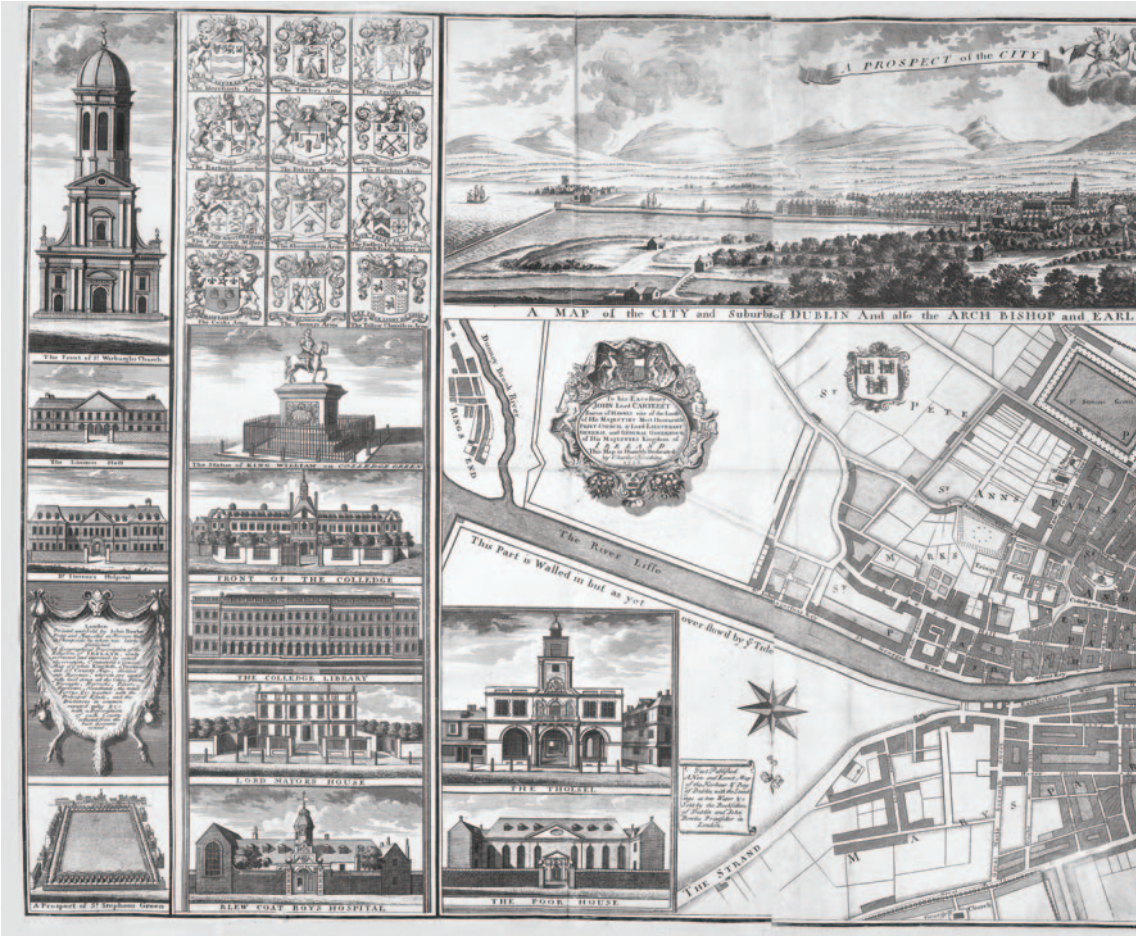
FINNIAN Ó CIONNAITH

Charles Brooking's 1728 map of Dublin was the city's first published cartographic representation in over a century, and its earliest as sole subject. Consisting of a street plan, a series of architectural vignettes and a landscape prospect, the map is often overshadowed by John Rocque's more accurate, detailed and well-known plan of 1756. Despite this, Brooking's work is of significance, providing rare information on the city's early Georgian built environment. Much of the map's background and compilation remains as enigmatic as its creator, with little known about Brooking's motivation or methodology. This article reviews resources available to Brooking during his time in Dublin and the factors that shaped his map's design. In doing so it explores the influence of earlier urban plans on Brooking's output and the likely supportive role that Surveyor General Thomas Burgh (1670-1730) played in the project. In this manner, it is the hoped that new light can be shed on an important piece of Dublin's cartographic heritage.

BACKGROUND, MOTIVATIONS, AND CARTOGRAPHIC INFLUENCES

Brooking's 'A map of the city and suburbs of Dublin' (London, 1728), was the first commercially available print to represent the city as its only subject. It consists of an unusual south-north-orientated street plan surrounded by profiles of prominent public buildings and the heraldic arms of Dublin's principal guilds, headed by a prospect overlooking the city, each executed in a heavy baroque style (Plates 1, 2). Upon its release, the map met with considerable interest, its impact being sufficient to stimulate a pirated copy only a year after its initial publication.[1] Despite additional official editions, widespread inaccuracies and approximations within its content restricted its

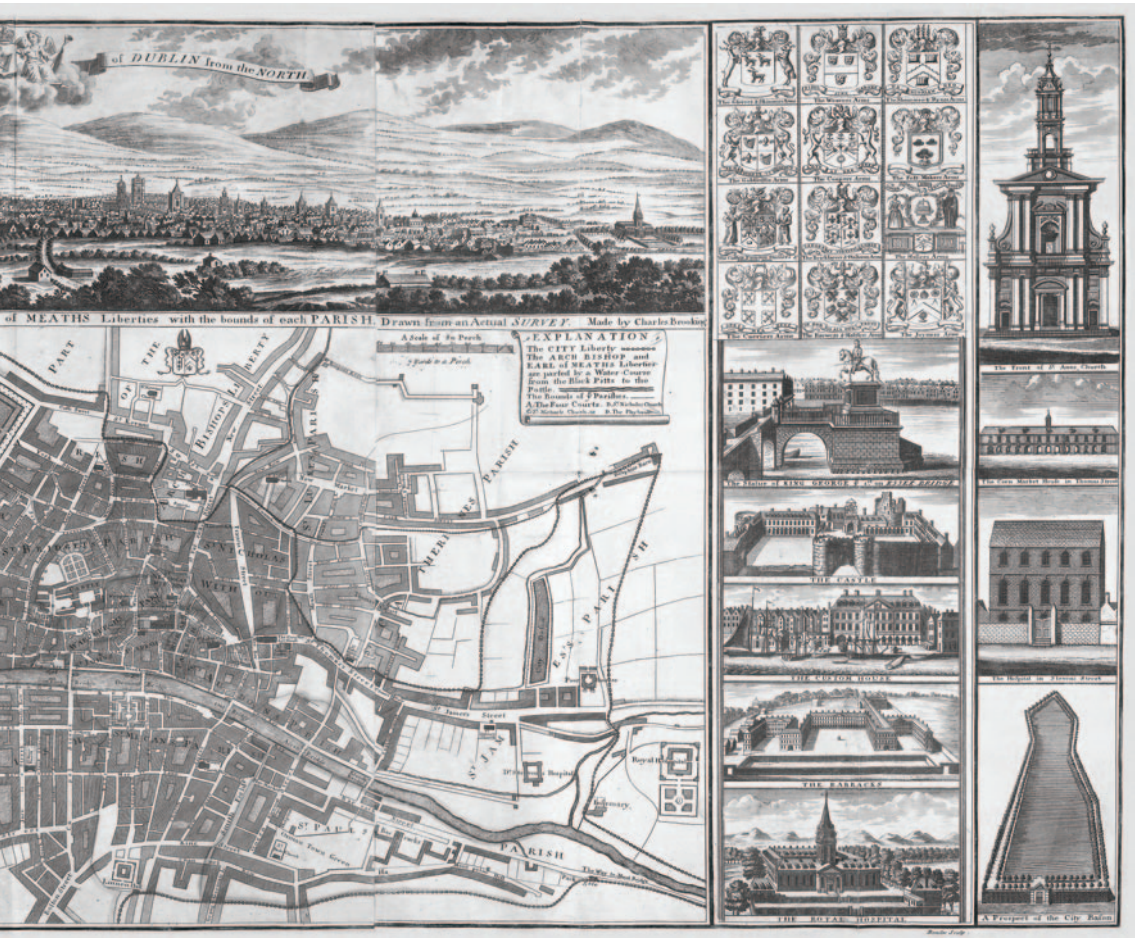
1 – Architectural vignettes
details from Charles Brooking, A map of the city and suburbs of Dublin (London, 1728) (© RIA) (see also overleaf)



2 – Charles Brooking, A MAP OF THE CITY AND SUBURBS OF DUBLIN, 1728
(London, 1728) (by permission of the Royal Irish Academy © RIA)

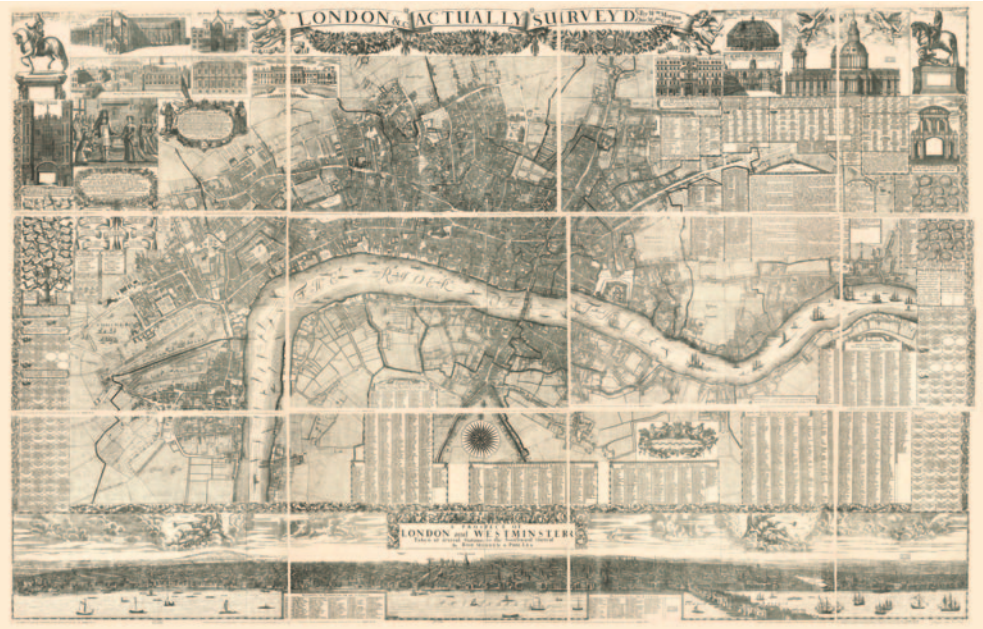
appeal beyond the mid-decades of the century, statistician James Whitelaw (1749-1813) lamenting decades later that despite its usefulness, 'it is now very difficult to procure a copy'.[2] At best, the map can be evaluated as an imperfect though detailed record of the city, providing valuable insight into Dublin's early eighteenth-century built environment, civic administration and economy unavailable elsewhere.

Much of the map's genesis remains a mystery, as do many specifics concerning its author. There are no known documents charting Brooking's rationale or progress in the map's production, and we have no words directly from the author in the form of adverts or commentary. The only surviving note from someone directly involved in its creation came from its publisher John Bowles (d.1779), alerting patrons to the pirated 1729 copy. The earliest available analysis of the map dates from the 1750s, which noted the mistakes that Brooking had made.[3] Even Brooking's identity is open to question. J.H. Andrews speculated that the author may be the same Charles Brooking employed by Trinity College Dublin as a builder and painter in the mid-1720s.[4] David Joel went further, confirming



that this individual was indeed the map's author by tracing his movements from 1711 to 1729 between his native Plymouth, Dublin and, eventually, London, where the map was printed.[5] Given that no other evidence has come to light to cast any doubt on this attribution, this article assumes that both Andrews' and Joel's suppositions are correct.

What little is known about the background of the identified Charles Brooking is of direct relevance to the creation of the 1728 map. He was born *c*.1677 in Plymouth, where he was employed as a ship's painter in the dockyard, and later was made a freeman of the city.[6] His painting skills influenced his better-known son Charles Brooking Jnr (*c*.1723-1759), who became a noted maritime artist in the 1740s and 1750s. There is no evidence that Charles Snr ever trained in land-surveying or cartography; however, this may not have been an insurmountable hindrance for producing his Dublin map. In the early 1720s, in the wake of significant financial problems, he chose to leave Plymouth for Dublin, where he found employment as a builder and carpenter at Trinity College.[7] It was this period in Trinity that likely provided the foundation of his city plan by introducing him to several non-academic specialists who were also employed there and whose knowledge would have been of direct benefit to the 1728 map.



3 – William Morgan, MAP OF THE WHOLE OF LONDON, 1682
(London, 1682) (Library of Congress, Geography & Map Division)
William Morgan's 1682 map of London was a likely inspiration for Brooking, both men using architectural drawings and a filled block representation of their respective subjects.

Brooking arrived in Dublin at a time when the city was in the process of significant physical change.[8] With a population of around 100,000, it had a newly established ring of suburbs extending far beyond its medieval core, evident in Brooking's prospect. This expansion was accompanied by revived investment in civic building work, with many major structures appearing in the years prior to 1728.[9] Such changes, along with Dublin's status as the second largest city within Britain and Ireland, highlighted its long absence from the cartographic record. It had notably failed to be included in early editions of Georg Braun's and Frans Hogenberg's expansive *Civitates orbis terrarum* (1572-1617), despite the presence of smaller British towns such as Chester, Bristol and Norwich.[10] Its first cartographic appearance in print was not until John Speed's 'Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine', published in London in 1611, though this restricted the city to a sub-panel in a larger map of Leinster.[11] Maps of Dublin over the remainder of the seventeenth century by engineers such as Thomas Philips (*c*.1635-1693) and Bernard DeGomme (1620-1685) remained confined to manuscript and were ill-suited for general use. Consequentially, Dublin lagged behind other major cities across Europe with regard to mapping, a deficiency which may have motivated Brooking to produce his.

While Brooking's exposure to cartography prior to 1728 remains unknown, his Dublin plan was almost certainly influenced by macro trends found in British urban mapping from the 1650s onwards, particularly those concerning London. That metropolis had cartographically benefited from the Great Fire of 1666, with the mass destruction of property and subsequent redevelopment driving demand for frequently updated city plans.

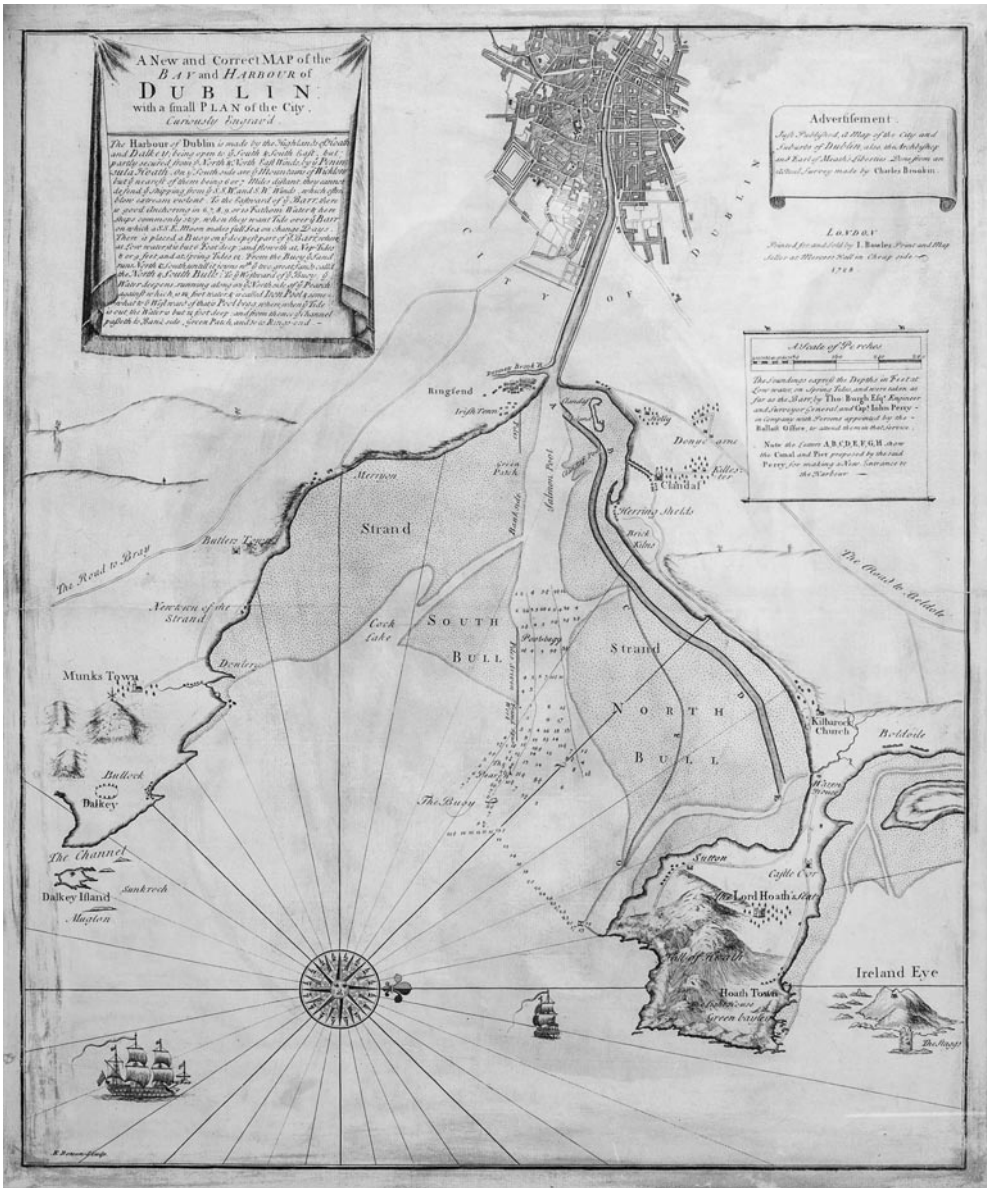
The most notable in the immediate post-fire period was John Leake's 1667 survey, complete with prospect of a burning cityscape.[12] Leake's map was a commercial success and it set the standard for British urban mapping for decades to come.[13] Later, less topical plans may have also influenced Brooking's overall design, including James Miller's plan of Bristol (1671) and Wenceslaus Hollar (1608-77) or William Morgan's (d.1690) maps of London, created in 1675 and 1682 respectively.[14] Crucially, the Miller and Morgan plans incorporated architectural vignettes and prospects in a style Brooking later used for Dublin (Plate 3).

Brooking was probably aware of Miller's work given Bristol's proximity to Plymouth, though stylistically the Dublin map bore greater similarity to Morgan's and Hollar's more prominent London plans. This similarity is no surprise given London's influence over Dublin's aspiring architectural output during this period, any duplication in style between respective city plans being a compliment to contemporary London fashions.[15] Both Morgan and Hollar included a prospect of the north bank of the Thames aligned to their street plans, with Morgan's also containing parish boundaries, a city-block layout and lists of royalty and members of the privy council (replaced with the guilds in the Dublin map). Brookings's work can therefore be seen to fall within period norms for urban plans though his layout did not directly duplicate the format of any single existing city plan. Most notable was his decision to dedicate significantly less surface space than either Morgan, Hollar or Miller to his street plan, which was unsurprising given his training in construction and art, thus showing an understandable preference for vignettes.

From the outset, the Dublin map was a commercial venture rather than a private commission. Although it was dedicated to Lord Lieutenant John Carteret, it does not appear that he contributed towards its production, nor is there evidence of donations from the Irish parliament. Dublin Corporation, by contrast, provided partial funding, resolving to provide a meagre £10 towards Brooking's costs and unfortunately misnaming him 'Thomas' in the city records.[16] In light of this, most money for the project invariably came from public subscription. No list of subscribers has been identified, though, as noted by Maurice Craig, local interest was probably stimulated by the appearance of John Carty's 'A new and exact plan of the city of Corke' two years earlier.[17] Aside from exposing Dublin's injured civic pride, Carty's map demonstrated that a market existed for Irish urban plans, and, given Dublin's prominence, a map of the city would have been of relevance to both Irish and British audiences.[18]

BROOKING AND SURVEYOR GENERAL THOMAS BURGH

WHILE SUBSTANTIAL FINANCIAL AID FROM GOVERNMENT MAY NOT HAVE BEEN FORTHcoming, more practical assistance was likely available through Brooking's acquaintances at Trinity College. Most renowned among them was Surveyor General of Ireland, Thomas Burgh. Originally from county Limerick, Burgh had served in both the Williamite and Nine Years wars (1688-97), becoming Surveyor General in 1700. His design for a number of significant civic buildings transformed public architecture in eighteenth-century Ireland, several featuring prominently in Brooking's building



4 – Thomas Burgh, A NEW AND CORRECT MAP OF THE BAY AND HARBOUR OF DUBLIN, 1728
(London, 1728) (© British Library Board)
Burgh shared the same publisher as Brooking and incorporated his street plan to represent the city.

vignettes. Brooking and Burgh were both employed by Trinity College during the 1720s and were undoubtedly acquainted, given their shared fields of interest.[19] The strength of this connection is attested to in the production of respective and complimentary plans of Dublin by both men in 1728 through the same publisher.[20] Burgh's counterpart to Brooking's city plan was a chart of Dublin bay, based on a 1725 survey conducted on behalf of the Ballast Board, assisted by Captain John Perry (1670-1732) and surveyor

Gabriel Stokes (1682-1786) (Plate 4). Both maps were printed by John Bowles (*c*.1701-1779), a publisher based in Mercer's Hall, Cheapside, London, and engraved by Emanuel Bowen (*c*.1693-1767).[21] By this time Bowles had established himself as a prolific map retailer and may have seemed an obvious choice for both Brooking and Burgh.[22] Likewise, Bowen, though still relatively early in his career, was considered one of London's leading cartographic engravers, a label he would later cement during the 1740s and '50s by securing royal patronage.[23] Brooking's move to London in 1729 to take a position in Greenwich Hospital undoubtedly encouraged the eventual choice of a London-based publisher and engraver specialising in cartographic prints.

Aside from a shared connection through their publisher, Brooking's and Burgh's respective maps contained small adverts referring to the other (alongside Henry Pratt's 1720 reprint of William Petty's 'Geographic description of Ireland' on Brooking's), while Brugh's chart copied Brooking's street plan in its entirety, showing the city in relation to the bay. The two maps can therefore be considered semi-collaborative productions. Brooking had no known involvement with the Ballast Board, and it is doubtful that he was ever engaged with Burgh's 1725 measurement work. Burgh however may have had greater involvement with Brooking's map, influencing and aiding the capture of its the architectural profiles and street plan.

STREET PLAN

Brooking's street plan represented Dublin on a block basis, similar in format to Morgan's depiction of London in the 1680s. Orientated south/north to mirror the map's prospect, the surveyed area extended approximately six kilometres from Ringsend at the mouth of the river Liffey westward, through the city to Island Bridge. The city's border with the liberties of the archbishop of Dublin and the earl of Meath were both marked, as were the labyrinthine parish borders, the latter being another Morgan trait. Unfortunately Brooking failed to leave a record of exactly how the street plan was compiled. This absence contrasts starkly with Rocque's later 1750s Dublin survey which was accompanied by a series of newspaper articles denoting both his methods and progress. Instead, most of the following conclusions are based on evidence contained within Brookings's map or on theories centred on available period surveying resources.

Firstly, it is unknown if measurements for the street plan were conducted by Brooking or by specialists working under his direction. His skills in painting and construction would not automatically extend to the complex process of surveying a large urban environment, particularly as he had no obvious experience in this field. If true, the use of specialists would again mirror the production of other period urban plans. Morgan, for example, used artists Robert Morden (*c*.1650-1703) and Philip Lea (*c*.1660-1700) to draw his map's prospect while he conducted the survey. The opposite is evident for Brooking, where he used surveyors to complete portions of the map in which he had little experience. Ireland possessed a small but well-established surveying community by the 1720s, their interests traditionally aligned towards servicing the private land market rather than commercial cartography or prints.[24] The completion of a city plan was ambitious

even for the principal surveyors of this age; its associated technical difficulties and potential financial pitfalls partly explains Dublin's poor cartographic record up to that point. Nevertheless, the processes of physically measuring estates or farms bore enough similarity to the task of city surveying that one of Dublin's senior practitioners could assist Brooking. The map's title lends partial evidence to this theory with a full stop separating the text 'Drawn from an actual survey.' and 'Made by Charles Brooking', implying Brooking's name is more applicable to the entire map which he 'made' rather than specifically to the street plan, which was indeed surveyed specifically for the project. Given this argument, and Brooking's known skills, it is conceivable that the survey was produced by a professional surveyor (or surveyors) on his behalf or under his supervision (Plate 5).

The possibility that Burgh may have helped Brooking to secure surveyors must be borne in mind. As Surveyor General, Burgh frequently employed surveyors to measure crown lands. In the process he was connected with a cluster of Dublin-based practitioners, many of whom had begun their careers during the William III's Trustees' survey (1700-03) and who would have been capable of assisting Brooking. Prominent among this group were Thomas Cave (d.1749), the aforementioned Gabriel Stokes (1682-1768) and the official surveyor to Dublin Corporation, James Ramsey (fl.1720). Several of this set also maintained close professional connections with Trinity College either through surveying the college's estates or producing precision mathematical instruments. For example, Burgh had recommended Stokes' instruments to Trinity as early as 1715 and continued his endorsement by selecting him as surveyor for his 1725 harbour plan.[25] As a newcomer to Dublin, Burgh's connection with these preeminent surveyors would have proven invaluable to Brooking, and removed the need to employ experienced specialists from Britain. That no surveyor was named in the 1728 map is also no surprise, Stokes' contribution to Burgh's harbour survey also remaining notably absent in its printed form. The surveyor was considered as a contributing technical specialist rather than composer.

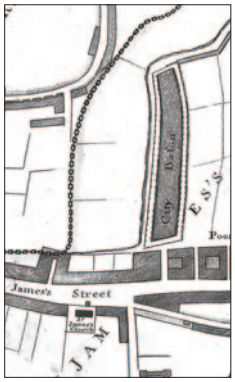
Regardless of its creator, evidence of the survey's methodology can be extracted directly from the map. It is aligned on a non-traditional south-north orientation to correspond to the

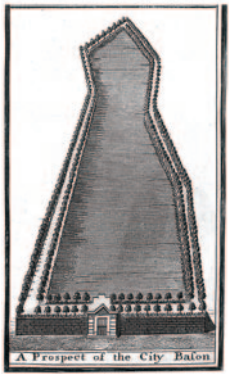
5 – Brooking's Dublin street plan
detail from Charles Brooking, A MAP OF THE CITY AND SUBURBS OF DUBLIN, 1728 (© RIA)


PART
THE
LIBERTY
A Scale
Roopers Rest
OF
St. Kevans Church
BISHOPS
New Street
Cuffe Street
St. Kevans
St. Luke's Parish
New Row
St. Lukes Church
New Market
Chamber St.
Cork
Ormond St.
Cloath Workers Square
York Street
King Street
St. Peters Street
Wood Street
St. Patricks Church
Patricks Close
Golden Lane
Limerick A.
Lower Comb
Mutton L.
Crooked Staff
Francis Street
St. Bridgets Parish
St. Nicholas Without
Elbow Lane
Plumer Street
Garden Lane
Coles Ally
Thomas Court
Meath Street
Ear Street
Castle
St. Nicholas Within
Castle Street
Skinners Row
Christ Church
High Street
Dame Street
St. Warburghs
Cork Hill
St. Michael
St. Audens Church
The Corn Market House
St. Johns Castle
St. Thomas's Street
St. James's Gate
Essex Street
Smock A.
St. Johns
Wood Key
Wine Tavern Street
Cook Street
Custom House Key
Essex Bridge
Ormond Bridge
Ormond Key
Merchants Key
Bridge Street
St. Audons Parish
Old Bridge
The Inns
Ushers Key
Arran Key
Arran Bridge
Bloody Bridge
St. Mary's Abby
St. Michans Parish
St. Michans Church
Hay Market
Smith Field
Church Street
Mary's Lane
Jarvis Street
Georges Hill
Bar rack Street
Bar racks
Blewcoat Boys Hospital
St. Pauls
Oxman Town Green
St. Pauls Church
Queen Street
King Street
Chanel Row
Linnen Hall
Bolton Street
Gorman L.

prospect. Angular data was likely gathered using a circumferentor, evident in the map's alignment to magnetic rather than true south, most obvious in Capel Street's notable perpendicular orientation agreeing to the then magnetic variation value for Dublin of twelve degrees west. Linear measurements were taken using a surveyor's chain and conducted at speed given the lack of detail required for the map's block format. Angular observations for the street layout would, by contrast, have been a more complex and unavoidable task with few shortcuts available. Other details of the survey can be assumed from the contemporary publication of Samuel Wyld's *The Practical Surveyor* (London, 1725), being one of the few English-language surveying treatises to specifically include instructions for producing city plans. While the details of such methods are beyond the scope of this paper, Wyld's work provides valuable insights into how fieldwork was undertaken in urban areas while highlighting the growing interest in town and city surveys among cartographic publishers.

Though local technical assistance for the street plan can be reasonably assumed, inaccuracies throughout the map hint at its compilation by Brooking rather than one of the surveyors. Both Andrews and Montague note protection issues throughout the plan in comparison to modern plans, indicative of an author unfamiliar with the mathematical fundamentals of accurate mapping. Conversely, the inclusion of a scale bar of 80 perches to an inch demonstrates that Brooking's street plan was based on established surveying principles and a significant improvement in the earlier coarse representations by Speed, DeGomme or Philips.[26] Brooking's use of city blocks, drawing on Morgan's format, however, restricted the map's practical use to consumers by making it nearly impossible to identify individual buildings or, for modern researchers, separating established neighbourhoods from those under construction.[27] There were also obvious mistakes in detail: the expansive width of Francis Street is an example of a gross planimetric error and there are noticeable differences between structures in Brooking's vignettes and street plan, such as the shape of the City Basin and his unusually elongated St Stephen's Green (Plate 6). Such widespread defects were apparent to readers at the time, surveyor Roger Kendrick (d.1778) complaining in the 1750s of the 'many gross errors that are in Brooking's map'.[28] Taken together, such issues dilute confidence in other elements of the street plan that are, in all likelihood, correct. Irrespective of these faults, there remained enough commercial interest in the plan to justify its republication as late as 1740, again handled by Bowles.





6 – Booking's map contained many inconsistencies and errors, such as different shapes for the City Basin in his street plan and vignette

opposite

7 – Brooking's architectural vignettes included a wide range of structures and buildings

details from Charles Brooking, A MAP OF THE CITY AND SUBURBS OF DUBLIN, 1728 (© RIA)

ARCHITECTURAL VIGNETTES AND HERALDIC PANELS

THE MAP'S PERIPHERAL ARCHITECTURAL vignettes played more to Brooking's strengths than the street plan. Twenty panels surround the map's border, seventeen of which contain building profiles. Again, this was a familiar design choice within established norms for early eighteenth-century urban plans.[29] Featured structures covered a wide range of themes such as hospitals, barracks, schools, charitable institutions, civic buildings and churches, representative of a balanced civic environment with an outwardly protestant motif (Plates 1, 7). Brooking's professional background greatly increased the likelihood that the panels were his own work compared to the street plan. His tendency for approximation is also a recognisable trait in several panels, discussed in greater detail in Maurice Craig's introduction to the map's 1983 reprint.[30]

An overriding theme among the vignettes was the modernity of the chosen buildings and structures. This again suggests a connection to Burgh as over half of the panels were attributable to his designs.[31] In any event, most would have featured in any review of Dublin's built environment given their importance, but their presence strengthens the link between the two men. Most of the remaining buildings were built during the time of Burgh's predecessor, William Robinson (1645-1712), the exception being the semi-ruinous Dublin Castle (though both Robins and Burgh had been involved with its ongoing modernisation).[32] Notable by their absence were several significant buildings such as Dublin's two cathedrals, the King's Inns and Chichester House, then home to the Irish parliament. Despite their physical prominence, many of these excluded structures were in poor states of repair by the 1720s and would have done little to promote Brooking's theme of an architecturally progressive city. Chichester House, for example,

8 – 'A prospect of the City of Dublin from the North'
detail from Charles Brooking, A MAP OF THE CITY AND SUBURBS OF DUBLIN, 1728 (© RIA)

was demolished shortly after the map's publication, and replaced with Edward Lovett Pearce's (1699-1733) neo-classical parliament house on College Green.

Accompanying the architectural drawings were two panels containing the arms of the city's twenty-four guilds, which again played to Brooking's background as a ship's painter. Their inclusion demonstrated not only the extent of Dublin's mercantile and manufacturing classes, but also their significance, awarded equal importance in the map's design as its most important buildings. It is notable that despite the potential influence of Morgan on Brooking's work, no heraldry was included in the former's 1682 map of London. Instead, equivalent panels were included listing members of the royal household and privy council. Brooking instead chose to highlight the mercantile reputation of Dublin over the kingdom's politicians. Besides the guild panels, Brooking included the arms of Dublin Corporation and the Archbishop of Dublin within the map proper, while those of the lord lieutenant were incorporated into the title cartouche. The same courtesy was not afforded to the Earl of Meath, whose liberty lay in the west of the city.

VANTAGE POINT FOR CITY PROSPECT

THE THIRD PRIMARY ELEMENT THAT COMPRISED THE MAP WAS A PROSPECT OF DUBLIN and the nearby Wicklow mountains from the north. While reduced along its horizontal axis to fit its panel, this aspect of the map was also a probable result of Brooking's own skills. The prospect linked the street plan and architectural profiles within the context of the city's physical environment, both plan and prospect largely aligning. Dublin is represented as a dense, elongated urban core, its skyline perforated by church steeples. Several of the buildings featured as vignettes are easily recognisable within the prospect, though unfortunately none was labelled, limiting its usefulness to those unfamiliar with the city. This defect was rectified in subsequent editions.[33]

As a prospect, the view was likely sketched from an elevated position by direct observation. It was clearly not captured through the camera obscura method, lacking the hyper-precision seen in other work by landscape artists active in Dublin such as Francis Place (1647-1728).[34] Brooking's approach also differed from the oblique 'birds-eye' perspective common in earlier popular city plans by Braun or Speed. As such, his prospect

bore greater semblance to the contemporary landscape tourist prints of Samuel (1696-1779) and Nathaniel Buck (d.*c*.1759), whose views represented the city as seen by the casual observer.[35] Brooking purposefully avoided the popular Phoenix Park vantage point (later named Magazine Hill) preferred by Place and many others over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that provided unobscured views of the Liffey valley from the west of the city. This was clearly a practical choice so as to include as much of the city as possible in both plan and prospect, his northern observation point also allowing him to incorporate an impressive vista of the mountains beyond (Plate 8).[36]

Here again, Brooking's accuracy and details are questionable, the most obvious being the representation of a near-universal brick and slate metropolis. The street layout within the prospect is difficult to ascertain from primary buildings, and the generic representation of housing and the absence of outlying farm buildings, notably in the foothills, does little to inspire confidence in the exactness of the portrayal. Despite such faults, the prospect was of sufficient accuracy that individual geographic features can be clearly identified. For example, each of the twelve mountains and hills that appear in the background are identifiable through a comparison with modern Ordnance Survey mapping, the prospect correctly recording their comparative heights and relative position to each other.[37] This topographic accuracy indicates that the image was the result of onsite observation, the inclusion of the mountains undoubtedly the main reason for the non-conventional orientation mirrored in the street plan, thus aligning both prospect and survey.

Given its atypical view, it is possible to identify the area from which the image was created and potentially ascertain the individual building used as a vantage point. The region immediately north of Dublin's modern centre has few areas of high ground, restricting Brooking's options. One suitable vantage point, at a relatively correct distance from the city, is a prominent ridge along the north bank of the Tolka river. At just over three kilometres in length, this ridge stretches from the modern neighbourhood of Glasnevin in the west, through Drumcondra, ending in Marino in the east. Rising to about thirteen meters, it overlooks the plain between the rivers Tolka and Liffey and still offers excellent views of the city and mountains. In the eighteenth century it was bisected by several major thoroughfares and was the site of a number of prominent residences, the picturesque views and rural location close to the city being attractive for wealthy Dubliners.[38]

Brooking's choice of a position on the ridge is evident as the Tolka is visible to the left of the prospect's foreground, including the bridge at Ballybough, placing the viewer slightly north of the river. The ridge was also used by several landscape painters

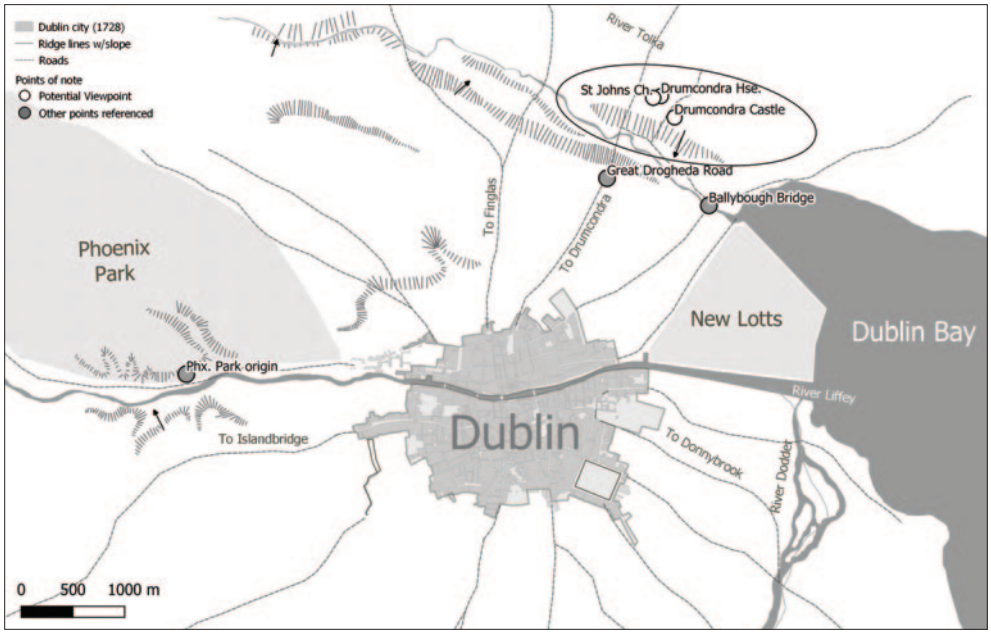
9 – Francis Place, DUBLIN FROM PHOENIX PARK
1698, ink, wash and watercolour (National Gallery of Ireland © NGI) Brooking's choice of a northern origin for his prospect differed from the more popular Phoenix Park location chosen by Place and others.

10 – Map of Dublin in relation to detail in Brooking's work
(drawing by the author)

throughout the eighteenth century, many of whom worked from known locations, allowing an estimation of Brooking's east-west position to within the vicinity of Drumcondra village.[39] This Drumcondra theory is strengthened due to the presence of a prominent road leading from the prospect's foreground, west of the viewer, most likely the Great Drogheda Road (now the Drumcondra Road), the prospect taken from one of a cluster of buildings to the east of the village along the ridge. Several historic structures in the area can be immediately rejected as the vantage point as they were built post-1728, restricting suitable candidates to three buildings – Drumcondra House, Drumcondra Castle and St John the Baptist church (Plate 9).[40]

Greatest confidence can be placed in Drumcondra House or Castle compared to the church, which was extensively redeveloped in 1743.[41] The church's current form does not have a suitable vantage point such as a bell-tower from which the prospect could be recorded, and without images of its layout prior to redevelopment its likelihood remains open to question. Neighbouring Drumcondra House is a stronger candidate. Built by the Coghill family in the mid-1720s, this impressive early Georgian residence was designed by Burgh's eventual successor as Surveyor General, Edward Lovett Pearce. Its position on the ridgeline and height above the surrounding country suggest that this would have been a leading choice for Brooking's prospect. One caveat that reduces this potential is the date of its completion, being close to the publication year of the map. There is no evidence of the exact date the prospect was captured but the possibility that it was created prior to the completion of Drumcondra House cannot be ruled out. As a result, the most likely other location moves two hundred metres eastward to Drumcondra Castle (Plate 10).

Built in 1560 by James Bathe (*c*.1500-70), Chief Baron of the Irish Exchequer, Drumcondra Castle fulfils all the prospect's requirements both regarding its position, height and construction date. A square fortified house heavily redesigned during the nineteenth century, its modern surroundings are substantially different than those of the 1720s, now absorbed by the expanded city suburbs. From its roof however, the building still offers excellent views over the city and mountains, strikingly similar to Brooking's. While Drumcondra Castle is the most likely candidate for the prospect's origin, little of his view remains apart from the mountains. The city of 1728 is mostly unrecognisable due to three centuries of development, Dublin's medieval core concealed behind a screening wall of late eighteenth-century townhouses, modern apartments and the goliath structure of Croke



Park.[42] Similarly, Brooking's view of Dublin Bay has been entirely blocked from the roof of the castle by modern structures, notably office buildings in the north docklands area. If indeed the detail in the prospect can be trusted, the visual and geographic evidence strongly suggests that the prospect was drawn from an elevated point along this 250-metre section of the Tolka ridge between St John's church and Drumcondra Castle. Given Brooking's record on accuracy however, and without further available evidence, this conclusion must remain tentative.

CONCLUSION

THOUGH MUCH OF WHAT HAS BEEN PRESENTED IS SPECULATIVE, A NUMBER OF CONCLUsions can be safely made. Firstly, Brooking based his design on a well-tested format utilised in earlier plans of British cities. Though Morgan's 1682 plan of London may have been a strong contender for Brooking's inspiration, his 1728 Dublin map was not a copy of any previous cartographic design. Brooking's seeming lack of cartographic training would not have inhibited the application of his chosen design, combining multiple non-spatial elements to compliment a street survey. A lack of surveying knowledge may, however, explain the multiple errors found throughout the street plan, not only with its detail but also its projection. It is doubtful that the map was the work of Brooking alone. The only people indisputably confirmed with its production (apart from Brooking) were publisher John Bowles and engraver Emanuel Bowen. There were invariably others involved in such a complex task, though their input was probably limited to practical and anonymous roles such as assistant engravers and survey chainmen. The participation of Burgh is highly likely given his shared connection with Brooking through

Trinity College and Bowles' London print shop, let alone his status within Ireland's architectural milieu. The assistance of individual surveyors such as Stokes or Cave is also possible, especially given their long-term association with Burgh and Trinity.

Despite the map's many imperfections, it is also clear that Brooking took efforts to accurately portray his subject within his capabilities. This point is most evident when trying to identify the vantage point used for his prospect. His rejection of a birds-eye perspective in favour of a prospect drawn from a physical location seemed more aligned with his known skills. Both the vignettes and prospect (with some artistic licence) gave him full control over a significant portion of the map's area, allowing others with greater experience to complete other sections. His probable choice of a location in Drumcondra for the prospect's origin also proved pivotal to the map's overall design, orientating both the street plan and prospect while giving the map much of its character.

Brooking's map remains a contrasting piece, providing information rarely found in other sources while giving few clues as to its own background or creation. Its flaws will invariably ensure a lesser position within Dublin's cartographic record compared to later, more accurate works. Yet it remains one of the few impressions available for visualising early Georgian Dublin, safeguarding its long-term value to the history of the city.

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ENDNOTES

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4 Andrews, 'The case of Charles Brooking', 33.

5 David Joel, *Charles Brooking, 1723-1759, and the 18th-Century British Marine Painters* (Woodbridge, 2000) 32.

6 *ibid*., 35.

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[18] John Andrews, *Plantation Acres* (Omagh, 1985) 273.

[19] Arthur Gibney, *The Building Site in Eighteenth-century Ireland* (Dublin, 2017) 18.

[20] Gerald Daly, 'George Semple's Charts of Dublin Bay, 1762', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy: archaeology, culture, history, literature*, vol. 93C, no. 3, 1993, 82.

[21] Daly, George Semple's Charts of Dublin Bay', 82.

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[23] Iolo Roberts and Menai Roberts, 'Emanuel Bowen', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, https://www.oxforddnb.com.

[24] Finnian Ó Cionnaith, *Mapping, Measurement and Metropolis: how land surveyors shaped eighteenth-century Dublin* (Dublin, 2012) 7.

[25] Tidal Harbour Commission, Second Report (London, 1845), Appendix B, 14.

[26] Montague, *John Rocque*, 149

[27] Burke, *Dublin 1600-1800*, 257; Montague, *John Rocque*, 149.

[28] *Dublin Journal*, 1st September 1754.

[29] Examples include the previously mentioned Morgan's London map and Joseph Ravell's 1749 plan of Drogheda. Christine Casey, 'Joseph Ravell's "A Map of the Town and Suburbs of Drogheda 1749"', *Journal of the County Louth Archaeological and Historical Society,* vol. 22, no. 4, 1992, 361.

[30] Craig (ed.), *The City of Dublin 1728*, 1. Apart from the likely representative backgrounds in many panels, there were inconsistencies with several structures, notably the lack of entrances onto St Stephen's Green, St Werburgh's church not matching its final design, and the previously mentioned mismatch between the Basin compared to the city plan. Kenneth Severns, 'A new perspective on Georgian building practice: the rebuilding of St. Werburgh's church, Dublin (1754-1759)', *Quarterly Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society*, XXXV, 1992, 4; Burke, *Dublin 1600-1800*, 269.

[31] These include the Barracks (1701), Customs House (1707), Trinity College Library (begun 1712), Dr Steeven's Hospital (1717), and the Linnen [*sic*] Hall. Burke, *Dublin 1600-1800*, 225; Craig, *The City of Dublin 1728*, 4.

[32] Edward McParland, *Public Architecture in Ireland, 1680-1760* (Yale, 2001) 83.

[33] Joseph Hammond, 'George's Quay and Rogerson's Quay in the eighteenth century', *Dublin Historical Record*, V, no. 2 1942, 42.

[34] Place was an English artist and engraver who toured several eastern Irish towns and cities, including Dublin between 1698 and 1699, producing many prospects by camera obsura.

[35] Andrew Kennedy, 'Samuel and Nathaniel Buck: past and present in the national landscape', Picturing Places (London, 2017), https://www.bl.uk/picturing-places/articles/samuel-and-nathaniel-buck-past-and-present-in-the-national-landscape.

[36] Patricia Butler, 'The ingenious Mr. Francis Place', *Irish Arts Review*, I, vol. 4, 1984, 38.

[37] Comparative analysis reveals a total of twelve identifiable hills and mountains in Brooking's work. Starting with Bray Head (241m) to the east, the view proceeds to the Great Sugarloaf (501m), Two Rock (536m), Tribbaden (467m) and Kippure (757m) mountains before ending with Seefingan (722m) at the western edge of the Dublin mountain range.

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[40] John Campbell, 'Two memorable Dublin houses', *Dublin Historical Record*, II, no. 4, 1940, 141; Louis O'Flaherty, 'Drumcondra and the Tolka River', *Dublin Historical Record*, LX, no. 1, 2007, 3; Eileen Battersby, 'An eye for a bloom', *The Irish Times*, 6th February 2010; The Irish Aesthete, 'Misjudging a book by its cover', https://theirishaesthete.com/2014/12/22/a-happy-survivor/.

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