

From Speed to Rocque: the development of early modern Dublin

Dr. Colm Lennon

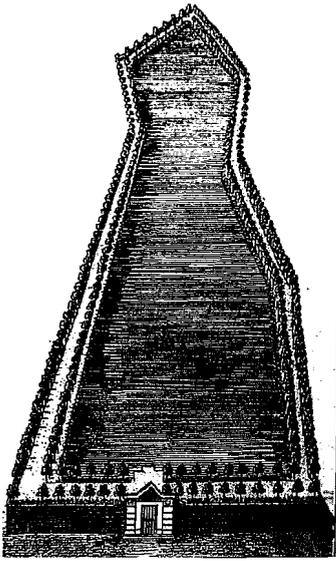
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The maps of Dublin by two important cartographers, John Speed and John Rocque, which are separated in time by 146 years, display radically different cityscapes. Speed's map of 1610 depicts an essentially late medieval town, whose walls and gates are prominently displayed in the midst of the haphazard heritage of generations of growth.¹ Although the intramural area, containing important sites, such as Christ Church Cathedral and Dublin Castle, is fairly dominant, quite a bit of scope is given to the extra-mural features, especially the dissolved monasteries and religious houses which had provided nodal points for whatever suburban building had taken place in the medieval period. These latter premises had been converted to a variety of purposes, including a college (All Hallows), an inns of court (St. Saviour's), and residences (Whitefriars and St. Thomas Court), but little had been done with the extensive St. Mary's Abbey, which was one of the few features in the transpontine suburb of Oxmantown, connected to the urban core by the single bridge across the River Liffey. Two features perhaps indicate a new era in the building of the city. First, in the cramped old urban confines, some broken streetscapes denote the legacy of the devastating gunpowder explosion of 1597, which necessitated major reconstruction in the decades that followed. Secondly, the map shows three relatively recent institutions outside the walls, indicating an eastern growth of the town that had become well established by 1756: the College, founded on the site of All Hallows Priory in 1592, Carey's Hospital built about 1603, and the Bridewell constructed about 1604, all down-river from the medieval core.

John Rocque's map of 1756 shows the complete absorption of the walled city within a massively expanded urban area.² Apart from just over a dozen churches, the two cathedrals, the old bridge and one of the towers of Dublin Castle, little remains visible of the medieval fabric, including the mural fortifications. The tortuous contours of the streets and lanes of the old core contrast with the grid-planned Jervis and Gardiner neighbourhoods to the north of the River Liffey, and the Aungier, Dawson and Molesworth estates to the south. Four new bridges span the River Liffey, which has been channelled within a system of quays and riparian plots, the hub now being the reconstructed Essex Bridge (later Grattan Bridge). Older suburbs have become part of new quarters to the north and south of the former walled area. Of the medieval commonages, only Oxmantown Green and Little Green remain, both in much reduced form, owing to the encroachment of development on communal lands, including St. Stephen's Green. Manifesting the fulfilment of the morphological trends of the earlier map, the city as presented by Rocque is a balanced and symmetrical entity, the



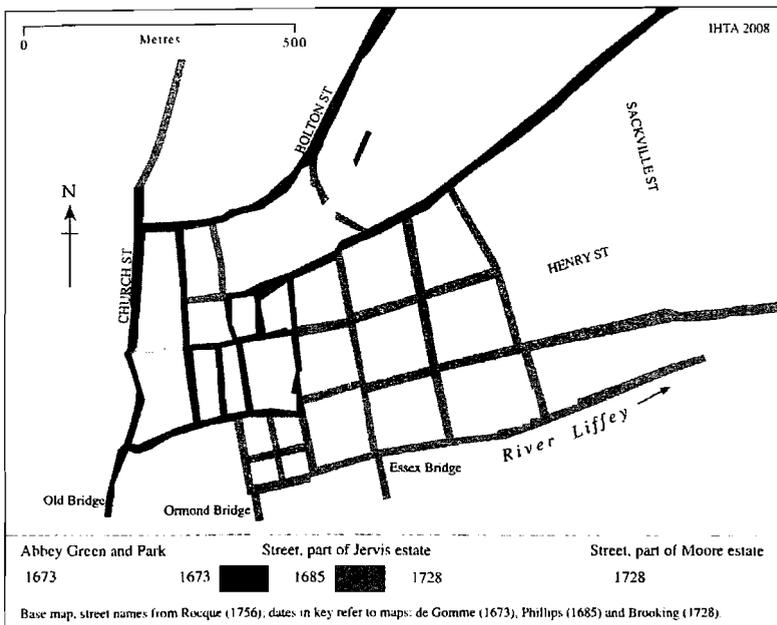
The City Basin (Vignette from Brooking's map, 1728).

Moravian Brethren, Lutherans, Methodists and Anabaptists. Unlike the Roman Catholic chapels, which were distributed fairly evenly on both sides of the Liffey, the Protestant meeting houses were predominantly on the southern side. A clustering of dissenting groups was notable in the southern suburb around Aungier Street: the Presbyterians, Methodists, Moravians and French Protestants all had centres of worship in the vicinity, which was contiguous to St. Patrick's Cathedral where the first French church had been established in 1666. By 1756 the many communities of the major non-Anglican denominations at least had settled in substantial premises discreetly but conveniently located near the heart of the city.⁴³

Morphologically, the seal was set on 'Dublin's east-west social gradient', as Edel Sheridan termed it, through architectural projects with defensive, charitable, correctional and industrial functions on the city's landward side, which never attained the fashionability of the seaward side in the eighteenth century.⁴⁴ Besides the Blue Coat School, the Royal Barracks had been erected in Oxmantown by 1708, occupying a prominent and extensive riverside location. Both the Barracks and the earlier Royal Hospital shifted the burden of billeting of troops and care for sick and veteran soldiers on to the state, physically distancing the military establishment from the civilian population, while pandering to civic pride in the grandeur of their architectural accomplishment.⁴⁵

Taken together, the institutions to the north and south of the Liffey formed an arc on the western periphery, benefiting by the freshness of the prevailing winds, but also serving as a detriment to the western expansion of the capital in the eighteenth century. Nearer to the old urban core, the Tholsel wrestled for centrality with the refurbished and civilianised Dublin castle, the latter with its courtly and palatial pretensions to being the new city hub. And adumbrating the relentless movement eastwards of the urban centre of gravity, the magnificent new Parliament House provided a focus for the new routes joining the fashionable new suburbs to the north-east and the south-east.⁴⁶

Besides the adoption of neo-classical architectural styles in the city's new public buildings, the design of residential dwellings throughout the new suburbs helped to foster urban coherence. Although the great squares such as Rutland, Mountjoy, Merrion and Fitzwilliam were mainly creations of the later eighteenth century, the trend towards uniformity of building along city streets and the existing square, St. Stephen's Green, was very evident from the later seventeenth century. Dublin's signature three-bayed, four-storeyed, brick-built townhouses over basements struck a familiar chord with visitors from London in the earlier eighteenth century. It has been pointed out, however, that deviations from uniformity of design in the squares and boulevards of the mid-eighteenth century bespoke a different ethos. The political and social elite of



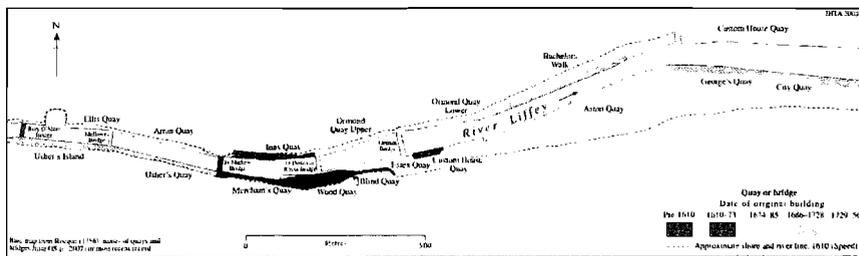
Development of the Jervis and Moore Estates, 1673-1728

new developments reflecting the ‘spirit for elegance and improvement’ associated with enlightened planning.³

The period of the new Historic Towns Atlas, *Dublin, Part II, 1610 to 1756*, is framed by the dates of these maps.⁴ Using the cartographic evidence and the topographical information amassed therein, this paper examines some of themes in the city’s metamorphosis from medieval form into metropolitan maturity over the course of a century and a half. A salient feature was the changing mentality of the city’s rulers and planners in respect of development in the seventeenth century. This fostered the evolution of the urban estates under private and public sponsorship, which, rather like the medieval monasteries, acted as nodes of development, transforming vast areas of the city.

A by-product of this suburban expansion, but also forming a central aim of civic development planning was the construction of a coherent spine for the urban fabric, forming along the line of the Liffey, with its new quays and bridges, and also thrusting out into the channels of the port in order to facilitate shipping.

The achievement of the eighteenth century city-builders was the fashioning of



Development of Liffey quays and bridges, 1610-1756 (IHTA, Dublin, 1610-1756)

a working capital city, a 'multi-centred metropolis', born of grandiose and practical aspirations on the part of the state as well as civic leaders, and marked by expansiveness and symmetry in public architectural and infrastructural projects.

It is this emergent cosmopolis that may be glimpsed in the delineations of John Rocque in 1756, which formed the social, cultural and economic milieu for the lives of the population of the mid-Georgian city.

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As a preliminary to the reconstruction of the early modern development of Dublin, a perspective on the growth of the size and population of the city may be helpful. In the century and a half between 1610 and 1756, prodigious physical and demographic expansion occurred. In terms of extent, the area of intensive urbanisation increased by at least threefold, the built-up area to the south of the river at the latter date incorporating the streetscapes from just east of Trinity College and St. Stephen's Green to Dolphin's Barn and St. James's Gate in the west. To the north of the River Liffey, housing was continuous from east of the new Sackville Street to just west of Oxmantown Green. The city's north-south extent was from Dorset Street to Newmarket.

The population grew from approximately 10,000 at the earlier date through 75,000 in 1710 to about 150,000 in 1756.⁵ As an intermediate marker, Sir William Petty reckoned that the population of the city in 1682 was 58,694, based on his observation of the pattern of births, baptisms and deaths, and also the number of houses in the city, which he thought somewhat underestimated at 6,025.⁶ Although the accuracy of his figures may be questioned, Petty attested to the quickening rate of house-building at the time, and this is borne out by the fact that there were well over 11,500 by 1756.

Several factors drove the planning and construction of Dublin during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Perhaps most important was the city's new status as the real national capital of a centralising polity, contrasting with its former role as a regional focus for the late medieval Pale. The apparatus of government had to be accommodated in appropriately monumental structures, capable of bodying forth the authority of the state. Moreover, as an entrepôt and port for the commerce for most of the island, Dublin needed mercantile and maritime facilities to cater for the increasing volume of trades and services.

The municipal administration, which entered a phase of sometimes uneasy co-existence with central government, was expansive in the scope and range of its services. Besides the older civic families, its personnel incorporated large numbers of newcomers who were less bound by urban traditions, and attracted to building in hitherto peripheral areas, away from the old intra-mural city.

Gradually an overarching *mentalité* of civic improvement took hold, which fuelled much public and private enterprise, even to the extent of intrusion on the medieval commons of Dublin. Once urban estates were developed, mostly though not exclusively under private entrepreneurship, new forms of public building were elicited in the spheres of administration, charity, education and leisure. Particularly notable in this respect was the new parish church building programme in the early decades of the eighteenth century, which helped to transform congeries of streets and lanes into self-identifying parishes.⁷

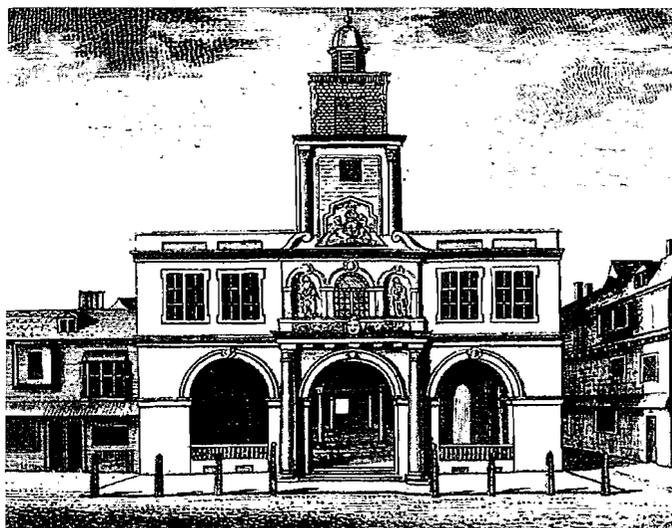
On the face of it, Dublin city council demonstrated its commitment to the

old urban core through its decision to rebuild the Tholsel, or civic headquarters, on its existing site in 1676 to 1685 in front of Christ Church cathedral.⁸ Yet other initiatives undertaken by the civic assembly in the late seventeenth century display a less sentimental attitude towards the urban heritage. The late medieval defensive features of Dublin - walls, mural towers and gates - were gradually being dismantled from the late seventeenth century onwards, so that by 1756 most had disappeared. Their demolition was due mainly to their ruinous and dangerous condition, but there was also a wider concern for the facilitating of traffic throughout the extending urbanised area. When the removal of the cistern at the heart of the old city, 'dry for a long time past', was urged in 1657, it was because of 'the very great encumbrance and annoyance unto the city coaches and carts'.⁹

Responses to issues of public safety and health also had implications for civic spaces and buildings. The use of thatch for roofing of houses within the city was forbidden, and building in stone and brick increasingly replaced that in timber.¹⁰ Problems of hygiene, compounded by those of traffic, were addressed by civic regulations governing markets and street trading in 1683. A key element of municipal policy in this respect was for markets, including fish and cattle, to be removed to purpose-built facilities in Smithfield, and also the Ormonde Market in Oxmantown.

Two separate developments on municipal and former monastic land, contiguous to the walls and earlier inner suburbs, marked the first phase of significant new extramural growth in seventeenth-century Dublin. The first of these was on the north-eastern spur of municipal land between the city wall and the Liffey-Poddle confluence, which provided a springboard for easterly commercial and residential development. This major reclamation and building project, the most substantial since the early thirteenth century, was embarked upon through a combination of private enterprise and public utility to the east of the walls and to the north of Dame Gate.¹¹

The other major pioneering venture in extramural development in this period was that of Francis Aungier, the earl of Longford, who laid out a suburb centred on the former monastic estate of the Whitefriars, to the south-east of



Tholsel (vignette from Brooking's map, 1728)

the old walled city, between 1660 and 1685. To accomplish his plan, Aungier acquired adjacent property, leasing land from the crown, the municipality and St. Patrick's Cathedral. The family had a mansion on the site of the old monastery. Aungier capitalised on the demand for high quality housing in the Restoration era by offering commodious sites for building in a green-field area that had been preserved from industrial activity. Regularly aligned streets were laid out within the precinct, the most notable being Aungier Street, at the time of its construction in 1661 the widest in the city at seventy feet. Well before his death in 1700 a grid of coherently planned streets was contained within the oval shape of the old monastic enclosure.¹²

The decision to intrude upon the commonages of the city for development is symptomatic of an innovative attitude to urban planning on the part of the municipality. St. Stephen's, of all the medieval commons, was most radically affected by comprehensive development policies. The genesis lay in the decision of the civic assembly in 1663 to set to fee farm or on long lease the 'waste ground', 'that added nothing at all to pleasure or profit', in order to alleviate the penury and 'exhaustion' of the municipality.¹³ The following year the process of letting was under way, plots being divided among the aspirant developers by lot. As well as determining the size of the lots (sixty feet as frontage, and from eighty feet to 352 feet in depth) and the rental (from 1d per square foot for the north side to a 1/2d for the south), the city council stipulated the dimensions and materials of houses that lessees were to build. Provision was also made for the walling and paving of the central green area, the eventual residents paying for its accomplishment, and agreeing to plant six sycamore trees each near the wall. The square was constructed over several decades, the eastern and southern sides of the green being filled in much more slowly than the western and northern, which were contiguous to existing development.¹⁴

The simultaneous municipal project for the comprehensive residential development of Oxmantown Green was less successful. A similar planning approach was adopted, with 99 lots being drawn for by lessees who would undertake development of the designated plots. It had been expected that the duke of Ormonde (who, as lord lieutenant, was something of a cultural arbiter of Restoration Dublin) would establish his residence in the Oxmantown area, thus attracting the habitation of other grandees, but he failed to do so. Although a number of fashionable houses were built in Oxmantown, and despite the amenities of a bowling green and Phoenix Park, the proximity of an assemblage of institutional buildings and facilities may have deterred more affluent private residents from setting up home in the district.¹⁵

An early opportunity to take stock of some of these trends is offered by Bernard de Gomme's map of 1673.¹⁶ After a decade and more of peace under the Restoration, this chief engineer of Charles II was sent to Ireland to report on the defensive fortifications of the country.¹⁷ In the process of proposing an elaborate citadel to the east of Dublin, de Gomme mapped the city in some detail, including in his map the walls, gates and towers of the old city, as well as the castle, and presenting these as intact features. The Tholsel is still a very central feature, though in its older, unrefurbished form. There is also delineated evidence of the rapid morphological change in the time since Speed's map appeared. New institutions, such as the Blue Coat School (King's Hospital) to the west and the Parliament House to the east of the old core, reflect the growth of the city.

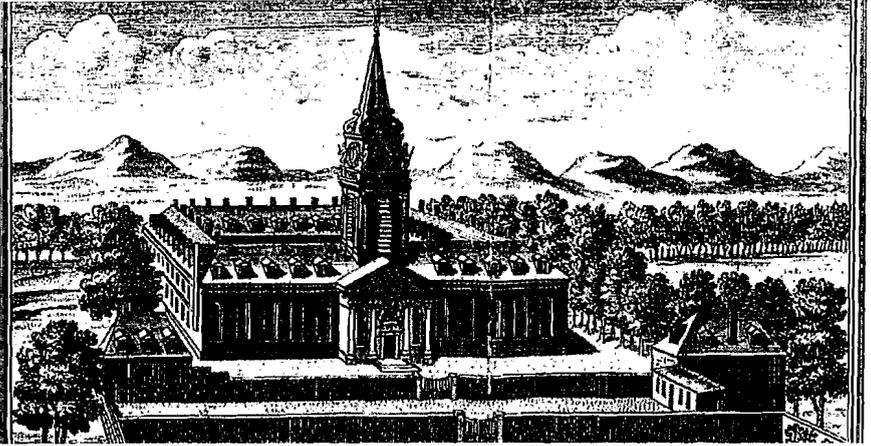
Among the new developments pictured are the already-noted reclaimed land to the north of Dame Street and the beginnings of the Aungier suburb on the former Whitefriars estate, as well as nascent suburban development north of the Liffey in Oxmantown and on the estate of St. Mary's Abbey. St. Stephen's Green is taking shape under municipal auspices, with the garden laid out, and the western lots built upon. A newly-designated charitable building appears in the form of the Bridewell in Oxmantown. Meanwhile, no obvious development of port or riverine facilities is recorded on de Gomme's map, apart from the presence of a new bridge across the Liffey, the first to be built at the city in over six hundred years.

The Jervis estate was formed on the platform of Ormond Quay Upper and Lower (laid out in c.1682), with a new bridge (also called Ormond Bridge) linking it to the old city. The development of the area within the precincts of St. Mary's Abbey gradually eroded the medieval structures, encapsulated by the use that Sir Humphrey Jervis and Sir Richard Reynell made of the stones from the abbot's lodging for the construction of the wall along the strand, which became Ormond Quay.¹⁸ The Ormond Market with its framing thoroughfares - Pill Lane, Charles Street and Arran Street - was laid out in the reclaimed Pill area, a series of marshy inlets granted by the city to Jervis to enable him to provide a quayside outlet for his new estate.

It was the opening of Capel Street by 1699, however, that gave the whole suburb its morphological coherence and its connectivity to the greater urban world.¹⁹ Jervis Street ran parallel to the latter, and the intersecting streets such as Abbey Street, Mary Street, with its westward extension, Mary Lane and Strand Street provided the grid along which the progress of suburbanisation advanced.

The family of Moore oversaw the laying out of the streets and lanes between Liffey Street to the west and Marlborough Street to the east. This space was organised around 'a cruciform armature - Henry Street and Drogheda Street - supporting secondary streets such as Moore Street'.²⁰ Sir John Eccles, built his mansion, Mount Eccles House, to the north of the area (at the top of what became North Great George's Street).²¹ Later development in the early eighteenth century took place to the west and south of Eccles's mansion, centred on the estate acquired by the Gardiners, partly from the Moores, which was developed after 1720.

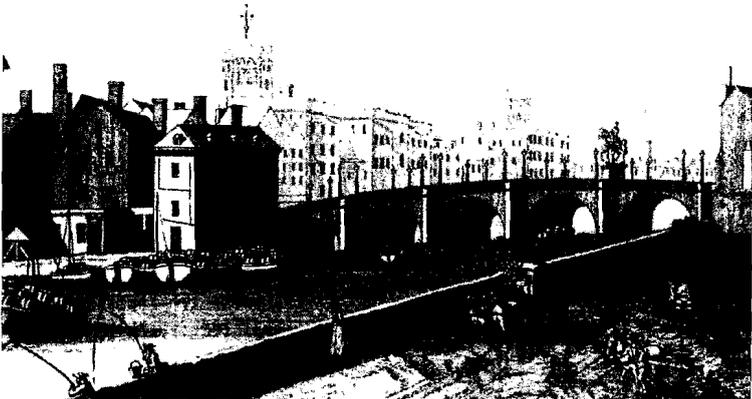
Bernard de Gomme's assistant in 1673, Thomas Phillips, revisited Ireland twelve years later in 1685, and produced another map which shows the remarkable pace of development in the intervening years.²² The major new public building acquired is the Royal Hospital at Kilmainham, and it is prominently displayed to the west of the city. The only other named public structures that figure here are the Castle and the College, but St. Stephen's Green is fully developed on its northern as well as western side. A foreshadowing of the great engineering works of the eighteenth century is perhaps the concentration upon the location of the channels of the Liffey, as they flow out into Dublin Bay. But the most spectacular progress in the twelve-year interval is seen in the evolution of the new urban estate on the old St. Mary's lands which, as has been seen, was laid out and developed by Jervis. To encompass this northern suburban growth, there are three new bridges depicted on Phillips's map: Essex Bridge, Ormond Bridge (here erroneously located) and Arran or Ellis Bridge (at Queen Street).



Royal Hospital (vignette from Brooking's map, 1728)

Dublin's status as a major port and trading centre brought combinations of civic, mercantile and governmental interests together in enterprises to facilitate commerce and communication in the early eighteenth century. The building of four new bridges within a decade and a half from 1670 has been noted. Essex Bridge was rebuilt by the civic council in 1753 on a model drawn from London's Westminster Bridge, and it was the hub of the mid-eighteenth century city.²³ In conjunction with these crossings, the north and south quays were constructed. While the quaying of the Liffey banks, carried out in a patchwork fashion by private and municipal agency, did not solve the immediate problems of communication between the old walled enclave and the developing extra-mural areas in the short-term, the river came to be fronted by fashionable housing. This turning towards the river was crucial in the evolution of an architecturally coherent spine for the burgeoning of the city's north and south sides.²⁴

To the east, the port of Dublin was substantially improved by the work of a state-approved municipal agency, the Ballast Office, in 1707. Their projects included the construction of a Great South Wall and Lighthouse to improve navigation in the channel of the Liffey, and on the north bank, the completion of a quay wall east of Bachelors Walk.



Essex Bridge (Joseph Tudor, 1753: detail of Plate 10 in IHTA, Dublin, 1610-1756)

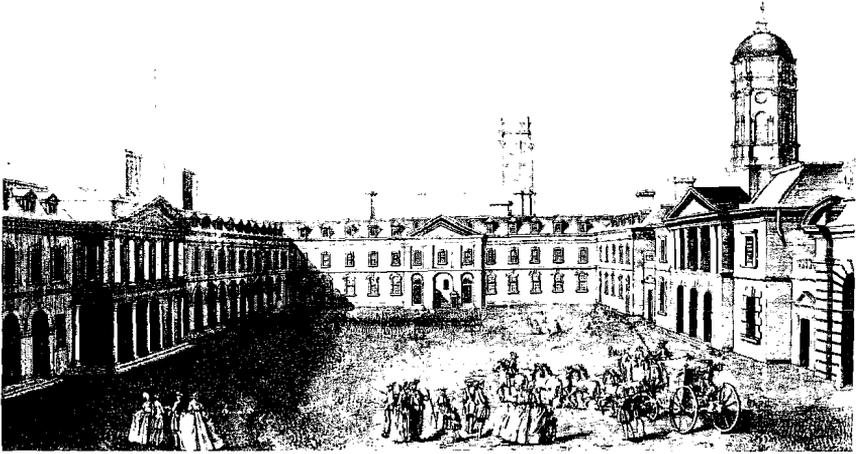
In 1717, the city, acting through the Ballast Office, planned in a grandiose scheme to lay out the partially-reclaimed area behind it in 132 plots, which became known as the North Lotts.²⁵ Although little building took place on what was the North Strand, ground for future development had been laid out, and the north bank of the Liffey had been quayed almost continuously from Bloody Bridge to the west to East Wall Road to the east. The only major lacuna was later to be filled in as Eden Quay, constructed in conjunction with the building of the new Custom House Quay.

That Custom House was eventually erected after a prolonged and bitter debate about its siting in the later decades of the eighteenth century.²⁶ Down to that time, the Custom House of Dublin was situated at Custom House Quay, just to the east of Essex Bridge, and at the heart of a complex of agencies, offices and shops. This location had in itself been a compromise between the interests of those merchants who were attached to the old commercial heart of Dublin upriver and those of entrepreneurs who sought new opportunities and development downriver.²⁷

Meanwhile, industrial and manufacturing activity expanded within the city. While brewing and distilling were carried on in all parts of the city, metalworkers, carpenters and coachbuilders were heavily represented on the north side, and many jewellers and goldsmiths plied their trades in the streets around the Tholsel, Castle and parliament. Several old guildhalls made way for new traders' premises, including those of the Tailors, Shoemakers, Carpenters and Weavers, as well as the new exchanges or halls for produce, including the Corn market house, Thomas St., and Linen Hall, North King St. The location of the Weavers' Hall in the Coombe was significant, as it was there that the industrial quarter of Dublin grew up under the auspices of the Brabazon family, earls of Meath. A large community of cloth-workers had settled, including groups of migrants such as the French Huguenots, who had been encouraged to come by the state and liberty authorities.²⁸ Not only did they place their stamp on the toponomy of the district, with names such as Weavers Square and the Tenterfields, denoting their trade, but they also favoured a distinctive style of brick-built housing, featuring stepped or curvilinear gables, sometimes referred to as the 'Dutch billy'.²⁹

Charles Brooking's *A map of the city and suburbs of Dublin*, published in London in 1728, captures the fifty-year period of urban growth since the maps of de Gomme and Phillips.³⁰ Brooking opted to orient his map towards the south to display to best effect the topography and architecture of the new age. The bridged and quayed Liffey flows through an extensive urban system, the suburban developments of the Moore family on the north side and of the earl of Meath on the south attaining prominence. Apart from utilities such as the City Basin and institutions such as the Royal Hospital and Barracks, little development is depicted to the west. Perhaps the most notable contrast between the depiction of the medieval and the later streetscapes is the comparative irregularity of the former. The curvilinear line of many thoroughfares radiating out from the old core, such as St. George's Lane, Whitefriar Street, The Coombe and New Row, is very much at odds with the rectilinear one of the grid-planned northern, eastern and south-western suburbs.

Brooking also depicted as vignettes twenty of the new and refurbished buildings of Dublin, reflecting varying levels of architectural achievement. Among them is what amounts to a snapshot of Dublin Castle's re-edification:



Dublin Castle (Joseph Tudor, 1753: Plate 1 in IHTA, Dublin 1610-1756)

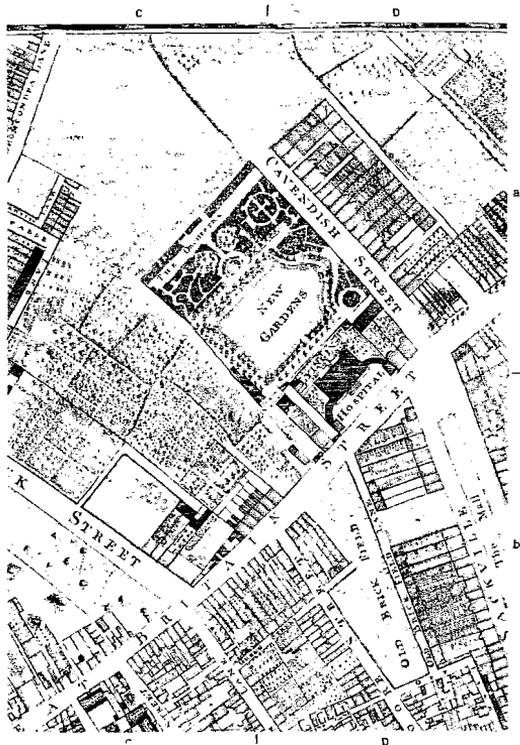
amid the new ranges of buildings loom the medieval structures of the old hall and the ruinous Bermingham Tower.

Also depicted by Brooking were many of the charitable institutions of early modern Dublin which dispensed welfare and relief for the impoverished and sick. The Royal Hospital at Kilmainham had been set up as a home for superannuated soldiers.³¹ Municipal impulses towards the relief of poverty and sickness were focussed on the King's Hospital or Blue Coat School which served as a free school for poor boys,³² and also on the City Poorhouse or Workhouse, established in Mount Brown for the confinement of idle beggars who were to be set to work, principally on linen-making. Eventually the complex of buildings came to include a bedlam and a foundling hospital as well as an infirmary.³³

The early eighteenth century witnessed the building of hospitals through private philanthropy. Dr Steeven's Hospital was erected by 1733 in a westerly neighbourhood, which Edward McParland has called the 'hospital quarter' of the city, as was also a soldiers' infirmary, just beside the relocated St. James's church, and, later, St. Patrick's Hospital. In the north-eastern Gardiner suburb, Dr Bartholomew Moss's Lying-In Hospital, dedicated to the maternity care of women, was erected at the top of Sackville Mall by the 1750s.³⁴ More centrally located was the Charitable Infirmary on Inns Quay, while Mercer's Hospital occupied the site of the former St. Stephen's Hospital.

The new cultural and political realities of the early modern city came to be demarcated spatially. Attached to the Lying-In Hospital and Rotunda were gardens, specifically laid out for the holding of charitable fund-raising events. These gardens, which were compared very favourably with those at Vauxhall in London, were extremely popular with the *beau monde*, providing elegant walkways and places for musical performances, and for display.³⁵

The vogue for charity concerts and benefits in the eighteenth century at venues such as the music hall in Fishamble Street, organised and supported by members of the aristocracy, was very important in raising funds for philanthropic institutions. Gardens and green spaces were also important in the evolution of leisure in early modern Dublin as areas for recreation. The City Basin near St. James's Gate was described by Walter Harris as 'the pleasantest, most elegant and sequestered place of relaxation the citizens can boast of' and Phoenix Park became



The Lying-In Hospital gardens
(detail from Rocque 1756)

a recreational area for the entire city.³⁶ More exclusive were the walks in the upmarket Sackville Mall and St. Stephen's Green which, to quote a visitor, 'may be preferred justly to any square in London'.³⁷

Among the sporting venues that were appointed in early modern Dublin were several bowling greens, including Marlborough Bowling Green which was used for upper class socialising.³⁸

Café culture flourished in the early eighteenth-century city in the form of the many coffee-houses, providing a milieu for the dissemination of the output

of Dublin's many printing houses,³⁹ and two buildings from the period which symbolise the intellectual aspirations of the urban community are the Library Building in Trinity College and Marsh's Library.⁴⁰

The new suburban estates to the north and south of the Liffey were formed into parochial units of the Anglican church, thereby conferring greater coherence and civic identity. Brooking's map shows the parish boundaries of Dublin in 1728. To the north of the river, St. Paul's in Oxmantown and St. Mary's in the Jervis suburb gloss the quarters in ecclesiastical terms, while to the south St. Luke's in the liberties area, St. Mark's in the Lazer's Hill district and St. Ann's in the Dawson/Molesworth estate are ecclesial poles. Many of these new churches reflected the self-confident aspirations of the city's gentry and professional classes in the ecclesiastical sphere.⁴¹

By contrast, the dozens of centres of worship for non-established confessional allegiances throughout the city and suburbs in the earlier eighteenth century were plainer and more modest buildings. While the catchment areas of the Roman Catholic chapels and convents of the era may have matched to some extent the Anglican parishes, there were also significant deviations in their pattern of dispersal. There were at least eighteen Catholic chapels, convents and nunneries in Dublin by the 1750s, seven run by secular clergy and the rest attached to friaries and nunneries.⁴²

In the case of non-established Protestants, the dispersal of meeting houses also reflected the expansion of the city from the late seventeenth century. By the 1750s there were at least seventeen centres of worship spread over several religious groupings: Presbyterians, French Protestants or Huguenots, Quakers,

Dublin expressed its self-confidence and certainty in its national role by the transformation of the city into a real capital, and this came to be articulated particularly strongly in their extravagant house designs, sometimes with four or more bays.⁴⁷ This spirit resonated with that of the Wide Streets Commissioners, whose interventions from 1757 imposed order on Dublin's 'disjointed acres of brick housing', and created links between civic buildings, aristocratic residences and new infrastructural projects on the periphery.⁴⁸

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Whoever takes the pains of comparing the two maps published by Mr Speed in 1610, and by John Rocque in 1759 [sic], will readily perceive the great growth and increase of the city of Dublin without the walls, since the former of these periods.⁴⁹

John Rocque certainly succeeded in his attempt to express in his map the 'genius and temper' of the people of Dublin in the 1750s, to judge by Walter Harris's description in 1766. The contemporary historian noted the absorption of former villages such as Grangegorman, Stonybattery, Glasnevenoge and the Hogges within the urbanised area. New streetscapes on the St. Mary's Abbey and Whitefriars' estates, the former Poddle estuary and the south-eastern lands of Molesworth and Dawson are contrasted with the former landscapes of enclosed fields. Approximately 5,000 feet of quays fronted by commodious houses on the north bank of the Liffey and the ground from Exchequer Street to Ringsend on the south have been reclaimed from the 'ouse' and tides of the river.

Among the urban features in which Harris takes particular pride are St. Stephen's Green, 'one of the finest squares in Europe', a 'stately' tholsel and custom house, streets 'very little inferior to London', the Royal Barracks ('the largest and handsomest building of the kind in Europe'), Essex Bridge ('newly rebuilt according to the model of that at Westminster') and Kildare House ('perhaps the noblest city residence in the British dominions'). Such self-conscious reflection and cross-referencing on the part of Harris captures the spirit of harmony and order of the Enlightenment and the dynamic 'nobilissima civitas'⁵⁰ as depicted in Rocque's map.

References

1. John Speed, 'Dubline' in *The theatre of the empire of Great Britaine* (London, 1611), inset to map following p. 141; for an analysis of Speed's map, see J.H. Andrews, 'The oldest map of Dublin' in *RIA Proc.*, lxxxiii C (1983), pp 205-37.
2. John Rocque, *An exact survey of the city and suburbs of Dublin* (London, 1756).
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