John Rocque's Survey of the Kildare Estates: Manor of Kilkea, 1760

A REDISCOVERED ATLAS ORNAMENTED BY Hugh Douglas Hamilton





ROCQUE, John circa 1704–1762

A survey of Kilkea one of the Manors of the Right Hon.ble lames Earl of Kildare by J. Rocque 1760

OBLONG FOLIO (540 × 755 × 30mm), manuscript on paper, 34 folios (excluding blank interleaves), comprising a frontispiece and thirty-three drawings in pencil, ink, and wash, the frontispiece a fine architectural capriccio signed lower left *H D Hamilton* of a triumphal arch with soldiers and cannon overlooked by Minerva, an index of thirty-three townlands in the manor written on one side, and a view of Kilkea Castle (from SW) through a gateway; the plans (numbered 1–33 upper right) have their titles inscribed within decorative cartouches, of which six (see below) incorporate local views (three signed *M Wren* or variation thereof, the others unsigned), a *trompe l'oeil* effect of crumpled or torn paper is used for the display of tables giving the acreage of each field or plot of land. Fourteen plans (nos.1, 4–6, 9, 20, 23, 25, 28–33) have pencil annotations naming subsequent tenants, changes in land use, and acreage (plans 22, 27 have corrections to table only).

PAPER the frontispiece and all plans drawn on a Dutch paper with watermark of a Strasbourg Lily and maker's name *D*[irk] & *C*[ornelis] *Blauw* (like Edward Heawood, *Watermarks mainly of the 17th and 18th centuries*, Amsterdam 1950, no. 1828, but without initials *W*[ilhelmus] *R*[ex]); the interleaves another Dutch paper marked *C*[ornelis] & *J*[an Jacobs] *Honig* with countermark *I*[ean] *V*[illedary] (like Heawood no. 1854).

PROVENANCE commissioned by James Fitzgerald (1722–1773), 20th Earl of Kildare (latterly Marquess of Kildare and 1st Duke of Leinster), with engraved armorial bookplate *Carton Library* of the family seat Carton House, Maynooth, Co. Kildare and above a typographical label *Book Case I Shelf No.* (left blank) — thence by family descent until *circa* 1960 — Cyril Ernest Kenney, his sale 'The Distinguished Collection of Maps and Atlases, the Property of a Gentleman' by Sotheby's, London, November 11, 1963, lot 174 (£150 bought by Marlborough, and sold to) — John David Drummond (1907–2002), 17th Earl of Perth, his sale 'Fine printed books and manuscripts from the library of the 17th Earl of Perth' by Christie's, London, November 20, 2003, lot 77 (£57,360 bought by Robin Halwas Limited)

BINDING in a contemporary Irish binding of red goatskin over pasteboards, wide gilt border enclosing on upper cover a gilt central cartouche lettered 'A survey | of Kilkea | one of the manors | of the Right Honourable | James Earl of Kildare | 1760', the spine restored with original backstrip (decoration and lettering 'Manor | of | Kilkea' in three compartments) laid down on new leather (minor losses and retooling).



2 Hugh Douglas Hamilton (detail, actual size) from A Survey of Halahyse (plan 3)

Opposite 1 Hugh Douglas Hamilton (detail, actual size) from Frontispiece of the Kilkea Volume of Estate Maps

List of ABBREVIATED REFERENCES on pp.31–32 1 Andrews 1985 pp.168–169. 2 Hodge 2001 pp.135, 140 note 12. 3 Crookshank & Glin 2002 pp.104–105. 4 Crookshank & Glin 1994 p.67. This atlas of manuscript plans is one of a set of eight volumes comprising a complete survey of the estates in County Kildare, Ireland, of James FitzGerald (1722–1773), 20th Earl of Kildare and (1766) 1st Duke of Leinster. The Kildare estate covered some 68,000 acres in a number of manors scattered throughout the county and the survey, carried out by the Anglo-French cartographer John Rocque by a mixture of theodolite and chain triangulation, took six years (1755–1760). Rocque drew on a scale of approximately sixteen inches to the mile and his cartographic record of the Kildare estate comprises nearly 170 individual plans, each measuring about 54×75 cm, at the time a record size for Irish estate maps drawn on unbroken sheets of paper.¹

The accuracy and detail of Rocque's maps was also unprecedented. Each map presented a realistic aerial view of the local landscape and in conjunction with the accompanying reference panel, information on the nature of the terrain, land use (distinguished by the use of symbols and truthful colours), acreage of each field or plot of land (expressed in English and Irish measurements), type of field boundary and type of building (both shown planimetrically), and also identified tenants and neighbouring landowners.

The marginal decoration of the plans was no less innovative and no less remarkable. As the project developed, the execution of the cartouche (or ornamental framed panel bearing the title of the plan and other details), north-point, and reference panel, became ever more exuberant. A sober and comparatively life-less style of decoration, imitative of printed maps and not meant to engross the reader's attention, gave way to a more artistic manner, a flowing, asymmetrical style, executed with the brush, abounding with natural and abstract rococo motifs, and cherubic figures. The most flamboyant decoration appeared on the atlas frontispieces. One critic considers these 'sumptuous sheets' to be 'probably the finest Rococo drawings ever produced in Ireland'.²

The identities of the surveyors and draughtsmen who collaborated over six years to produce the eight volumes of the Kildare estate survey are not all known. In the entire set of 170 plans, only one frontispiece and three cartouches are signed. That signed frontispiece is a virtuoso drawing by Hugh Douglas Hamilton (1740–1808), a former pupil of the Dublin Society Schools, who went on to become 'one of the finest painters ever to come out of Ireland'.³ Hamilton's 'little masterpiece'⁴ occurs in the atlas of the manor of Kilkea, completed in 1760. The three signed cartouches also appear in the Kilkea atlas. They contain views of local houses and landscape and were drawn by an Irish surveyor, Matthew Wren. The unsigned map decoration in the Kilkea atlas is here divided between Hamilton (twenty-seven sheets) and Wren (three sheets). Hamilton's Kilkea frontispiece and map decoration, together with his album of drawings illustrating the *Cries of Dublin*, executed in the same year, are at present the only recognised documents of his artistic beginnings.

The set of maps was organised in eight atlases, each describing a single manor, and harmoniously bound in red goatskin, with the title of each manor surrounded by a decorative border tooled in gold on the upper cover. The magnificent bindings and the elaborate decoration and ornamentation of the maps themselves suggest that the many practical functions of the survey (such as settling rent revisions and boundary disputes) were subsidiary to the one of ostentatious display. The atlases probably were not intended for the agent's office, but for the library or drawing room of the Earl's seat at Carton. Rocque's survey was a superior sort of household decoration, complimenting perfectly the furniture, pictures, and other works of art introduced by the architect Richard Castle and the Lafranchini brothers, as 'yet another example of the highest Georgian craftsmanship and taste'.⁵

The eight oblong folio volumes came to light in November 1963, when the set was offered for sale as separate lots in a Sotheby's auction. The atlases of the manors of manors of Athy (1756) and Kildare (1757) afterwards migrated into the Library of Trinity College Dublin, Castledermot (1758) into the National Library of Ireland, Woodstock (1756) into the British Library, Maynooth (1757) into Cambridge University Library, and Graney (1758) into the British Art Center of Yale University. Until recently, the atlas of the manor of Kilkea (1760) here offered for sale could not be located, and the atlas of the manor of Rathangan (1760) is still lost (see Appendix).

Until the Sotheby's auction, geographers and cartographic historians were not aware that Rocque had worked as an estate surveyor in Ireland.⁶ They since have made the Kildare survey the subject of specific studies and thereby brought it to general notice. Today, the Kildare survey is appreciated as 'a milestone in the development of Irish rococo art',⁷ and the repatriated atlases rank among the greatest 'treasures' in Irish libraries.⁸

The loss of such important pieces of Ireland's heritage and culture, and the failure to preserve the atlases as a unit, is much lamented, especially by art historians, who are compelled to study the atlas frontispieces, cartouches and vignettes adorning the maps — in part at least — from a deteriorated microfilm⁹ on which 'the intricate detail of the decoration is not well reproduced, and of course the colouring is lost'.¹⁰ Heretofore, all discussion of the atlas of the manor of Kilkea has been based on this microfilm, and the published reproductions of Hugh Douglas Hamilton's magnificent frontispiece taken from it are indistinct and cropped.

1 John Rocque

Before coming to Dublin in August 1754, John Rocque had worked in England for twenty years, during which he had made maps and plans of important parks and gardens, several major towns, and three counties, and since 1751 he had styled himself 'Chorographer [topographer] to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales'. On September 7, 1754, Rocque published proposals for a detailed survey of Dublin (two hundred feet to an inch) and a week later he was receiving subscriptions. His map 'The City and Environs of Dublin', engraved on four sheets, appeared in October 1756, and it remains an unsurpassed record of Georgian Dublin.¹¹ Rocque also published town plans of Thurles (1755), Kilkenny (1758) and Cork (1759), county maps of Armagh and Dublin (1760), and a general map of Ireland

5 John H. Andrews, *Irish Maps*, The Irish Heritage Series, 18 (Dublin 1978), pp.[13–14].
6 Kevin Whelen, 'Beyond a paper landscape – John Andrews and Irish historical geography' in *Dublin, City and County: From Prehistory to Present. Studies in honour of J.H. Andrews*, edited by F.H.A. Aalen & Kevin Whelen (Dublin 1992), p.385. Hodge 2001 p.134.

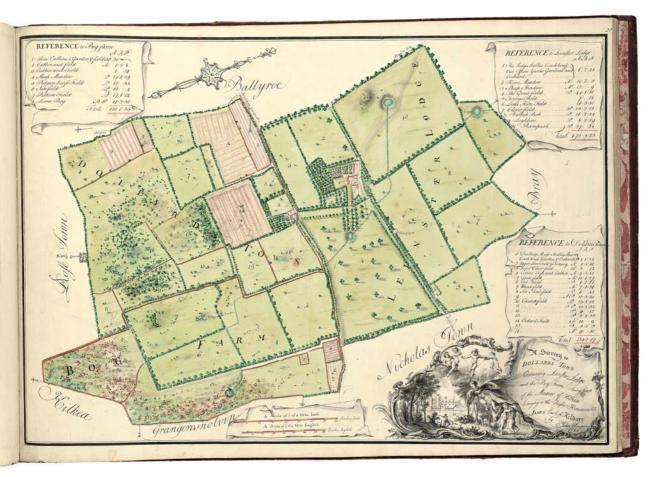
7 McDonnell 2003 p.197.

8 Treasures of the Library: Trinity College Dublin, edited by Peter Fox (Dublin 1986), pp.181–182 (atlas of Athy); Treasures from the National Library of Ireland, edited by Noel Kissane (Drogheda 1994), no. 84, and McDonnell 1997 no. 58 (atlas of Castledermot).

9 A microfilm of the whole survey, reportedly made while the volumes were still in the possession of the FitzGerald family, is P.4032 in the National Library of Ireland (Manuscript sources for the History of Irish Civilisation, edited by Richard J. Hayes, Boston 1965, VI, p.110). 10 Hugh Cobbe, 'Four manuscript maps recently acquired by the British Museum' in Journal of the Society of Archivists 4 (1973), p.652 note 37. 'It is difficult to appreciate the exciting nature of these maps from either a description or a microfilm. Each map is a finely executed artistic creation, and it is only when they are seen in all their vivid colour that Rocque's achievement in re-creating what amounts to a realistic aerial view of the local landscape is fully realised', writes Horner 1975-1976 p.474.

11 John 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 (Dublin 1998), pp.v–ix.

12 Rocque's Dublin production is enumerated by Andrews 1967 p.279; see also John Varley, 'John Rocque. Engraver, surveyor, cartographer and map-seller' in *Imago Mundi* 5 (1948), pp.89–91.

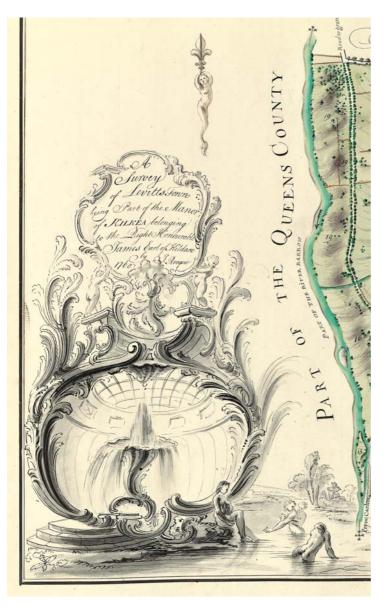


3 Matthew Wren (reduced from 530 × 740mm) A Survey of Dollards Town containing Leinster Lodge and the Bog Farm (plan 21)

13 Andrews 1967 p.280. 14 London Daily Advertiser, June 18, 1751, cited by Ralph Hyde, 'Portraying London midcentury — John Rocque and the brothers Buck' in London 1753, edited by Sheila O'Connell (London 2003), p.33. 15 Most of these surveys are known entirely by engraved plans. Two of the few surviving manuscript maps by John Rocque are Essex Record Office, D/DCW/P46: a plan of the estates of the Earl of Tilnev at Parsfield Hall, High Ongar, Essex, 1741; and Powys County Archives, M/X/129, Acc 1355: a wall map of the estates of John Newport at Deuddwr, Montgomeryshire, 1748. 16 Faulkner's Dublin Journal, December 18, 1759, cited by Andrews 1967 p.281. 17 (1) National Library of Ireland, Ms 22,004: 'A Survey of Balliburn in the Mannor of Kilkea' $(711 \times 953$ mm, scale: twelve perches to an inch (1759), and when he returned to England in August 1760, he had in production a four-sheet map of the harbours of Cork and Kinsale (apparently never finished).¹²

Between printing maps Rocque produced the Kildare surveys, 'some of the most remarkable manuscript estate surveys ever made in Ireland'.¹³ In his English advertising, Rocque claimed to have undertaken land-surveying and planning gentlemen's estates,¹⁴ without apparently ever having done many such surveys except in the special case of gardens and country residences, such as Wrest Park, Chiswick, Esher, Claremont, and Wilton.¹⁵ In an Irish advertisement, he referred to 'numerous actual surveys in many parts of the kingdom', which implies other private estate surveys were made in Ireland.¹⁶ On the contrary, Rocque seems never to have canvassed for estate work, and the Earl of Kildare is his only known Irish private patron. A number of manuscript estate plans by Rocque survive outside the eight volumes of the Kildare surveys, however all cover locations in County Kildare.¹⁷

The Kildare estate plans are rich in detail and deliver a true 'artistic



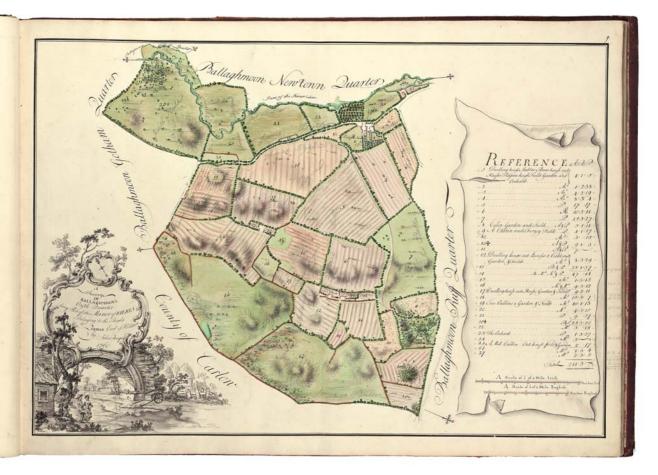
4 Hugh Douglas Hamilton (detail, reduced) from A Survey of Levitts Town (plan 17)

portrait' of the landscape.¹⁸ Rocque's main innovations were to show relief by hachures (drawn in brown or grey) and to use self-explanatory pictographs rather than symbols which demanded a marginal key. He used colour to great effect in an unprecedented attempt to represent the landscape as realistically as possible: arable land is usually brown, meadow and pasture light green, woods and orchards are designated by appropriate tree symbols, bogs by patches of brown or green. Trees cast their shadows to the north, north-facing slopes are shaded most heavily, north-east and northwest sides of buildings are outlined most strongly, thereby suggesting an plantation measure), marked 'Survey'd & Draw'n by J. Rocque 1755' (other maps are simply marked 'By J. Rocque' and the emphasis here on Rocque's personal involvement suggests the Ballyburn plan was a specimen map preceding the main survey). A simplified version dated 1760 is plan no. 6 in the Kilkea atlas of the general survey (scale: sixteen perches to an inch plantation measure). Horner 1975–1976 pp.475–476.

(2) National Library of Ireland, Ms 22,004: 'A Survey of the Town of Kildare' (584 × 940mm, scale: four perches to an inch plantation measure), marked 'by Jo.n Rocque 1757'. This plan probably was undertaken at the same time as the smaller scale plan in the Kildare atlas of the general survey. Horner 1975–1976 pp.480–483. (3) National Library of Ireland, Ms 22,503 (A): 'A Survey of the House Gardens Park and Plantations of Carton' (1040×718 mm, scale: sixteen perches to an inch plantation measure), marked 'by Jo.n Rocque 1760'. Horner 1975 p.96 detail reproduced as fig. 7. Crookshank & Glin 1994 p.50 detail reproduced. National Library of Ireland, Manuscript sources for the History of Irish Civilisation. First Supplement, edited by Richard J. Hayes (Boston 1979), I, p.651. A reproduction of this multi-sheet map is British Library, Maps, 12170/9.

(4) St. Patrick's College, Maynooth: a wall map of Maynooth Manor (measurements and scale unknown), according to its discoverer 'essentially a replica, drawn on a large sheet' of a plan in the Maynooth atlas of the general survey, dated 1757, which 'may have been produced by Rocque as a working map for the estate office or as a decoration for the house at Carton'. Paddy Duffy, 'Eighteenth-Century Estate Maps' in History Ireland 5 (Spring 1997), pp.23-24. (5) National Library of Ireland, Ms 22,502: 'Survey of the Manor of Maynooth', a folder of thirty-two unbound plans (530 × 730mm, scale: sixteen perches to an inch plantation measure), dated 1757, a 'signed [by Rocque] but roughly drawn', sparingly coloured, and unornamented version of the Maynooth atlas of the general survey. Andrews 1985 p.186 note 90. Hodge 2001 D.140.

18 P.J. Duffy, 'The changing rural landscape 1750–1850: pictorial evidence' in *Ireland, Art into History*, edited by Raymond Gillespie & Brian P. Kennedy (Dublin 1994), p.42.



5 Matthew Wren (reduced from 530 × 740mm) A Survey of Ballaghmoon's Castle Quarter (plan 9)

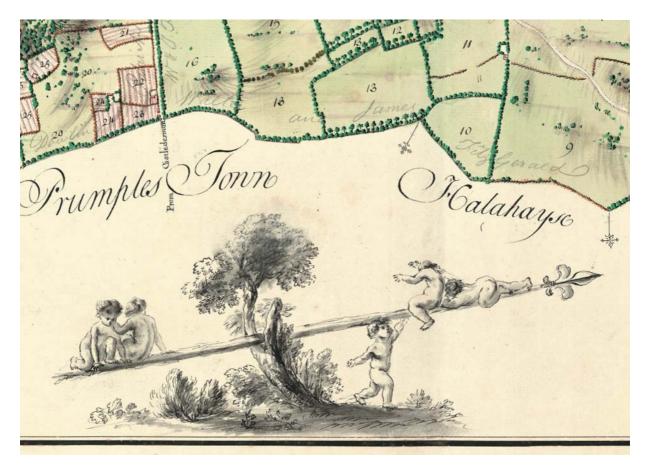
oblique light from the south being cast over the map area.19

Former cartographers had been as sparing with their decorative embellishment as they were with information, and compass indicators, cartouches, and scale bars were generally unsophisticated in design. The Kildare surveys represent a new level in Irish estate surveys not only in terms of accuracy of even minor detail and comprehensiveness, but also on account of their artistic quality. In the opinion of one critic, 'it [is] almost cruel to put [Rocque's] maps on the same table as those of any previous Irish cartographer'.²⁰

In Rocque's earliest plans (found in the surveys of Woodstock and Athy) the decoration is comparatively restrained, consisting mostly of *rocaille* work and foliage, with some motifs plagiarized from French engravings. About 1757 — possibly owing to the personal invention of the Earl of Kildare²¹ — the cartouches become much more ambitious, featuring naturalistic scenery and roccoo decoration in mixtures of increasingly complexity and audacity. The earlier unobtrusive north points break into fantasy, with cherubic figures or *putti* flying meridian lines as kites, shooting them from

Horner 1975 p.96.
 Andrews 1985 p.162.
 McDonnell 1994 p.73.

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7 Hugh Douglas Hamilton (detail, reduced) from A Survey of Castle Roc (plan 4)
 Opposite 6 Hugh Douglas Hamilton (detail, reduced) A Survey of Colane (plan 2)

bows, using them as seesaws or balancing poles, and in vignettes shown at work or play, ploughing fields, cutting turf, fighting with clubs, and knocking skittles.

In England, Rocque had employed at least ten assistants,²² and it is assumed that his Dublin office grew to a similar size, comprising up to five engravers'²³ and 'five or six' draughtsmen-surveyors.²⁴ An associate, the engraver Andrew Dury, preceded Rocque to Dublin, and set up shop at the folden Hart, Dame Street, in June 1754 (a year later new premises were taken in Bachelors Walk). Another associate, the engraver J.J. Perret, seems to have accompanied Rocque from London. Three local engravers — Patrick Halpin, John Dixon, and George Byrne — soon were engaged.²⁵ Of the team of surveyors employed by Rocque in Ireland, four are known

by name. Most renowned is Rocque's brother-in-law and pupil, Peter Bernard Scalé (1739–1826). Under Rocque's supervision Scalé produced 'An exact copy taken of an original survey of a map in the auditor's office of the town and lands of Fethard in the barony of Middlethird and county of Tipperary, drawn by John Rocque. March 4th 1757. P. Barnard Scalé'.²⁶

22 In a letter of 1753 to his nephew, Bartholomew, Rocque reported that he was employing ten assistants, 'as many draughtsmen as engravers' in his workshop; see Varley 1948 (note 12) p.85.
23 Christine Casey, 'Architectural line-engraving in Dublin 1700–1780' in *Long Room. Bulletin of the Friends of the Library, Trinity College, Dublin* 39 (1994), p.23.
24 Andrews 1985 p.236.
25 Mary Pollard, *A Dictionary of members of the Dublin book trade* 1550–1800 (London 2000), pp.73 (Byrne), 156 (Dixon), 177 (Dury), 270–271 (Halpin), 457 (Perret).
26 National Library of Ireland, Ms 21 F. 55 (10).

Andrews 1967 p.284.



8 Matthew Wren (detail, reduced) from A Survey of Carrigeen (plan 33)

Eighteen months later, he entered business on his own, advertising on September 23, 1758, his willingness to draw or copy plans and maps 'topographically, after the manner of Mr. John Rocque'.²⁷ Scalé afterwards lived precariously for several years, without a settled address, and possibly worked intermittently for Rocque.

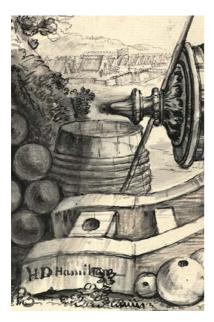
Scalé's 'personal decorative fingerprint' is said to be the *trompe l'oeil* effect of crumpled or carelessly-torn paper on which is displayed the use of each field as well as its acreage and value.²⁸ His hand may be recognised in the Maynooth 1757 survey and — unless he taught his decorations to an extremely deft apprentice — also in the Castledermot 1758 survey. Following Rocque's return to England, Scalé published his first independent plan (Trinity College Dublin with its gardens, 1761), and his business finally thrived. He succeeded Rocque as surveyor of the Kildare estates and the manuscript estate survey became his principal interest.²⁹

The three other known apprentice surveyors are John Powell, Samuel Andrews, and Matthew Wren.³⁰ Powell, who in 1755 had drawn for an engraver Rocque's 'The Town and Camp of Thurles', went into business with Andrews in June 1760, promising to provide clients with the same detail seen on Rocque's maps.³¹ Powell drew his last recorded Irish estate maps

27 *Sleater's Public Gazetteer*, reproduced by Andrews 1985 p.227 plate 18.

28 Mason & Bensusan-Butt 1988 p.515. See also Andrews 1967 p.286 and Horner 1975 p.96 ('a motif characteristic of Scalé, an elegantlydrawn torn scroll').

29 Scalé's surveys of small areas in County Kildare include National Library of Ireland, Ms 22,004: 'A General Survey of the Lordship of St. John', dated 1768, a single sheet (Horner 1975–1976 p.487); Trinity College Dublin, Ms 4278: 'A Survey of the Abby Land situate in the manor of Athy', dated 1768, a single sheet (an inserted plan in the Kildare survey atlas of the manor of Athy); whereabouts unknown: 'A Survey of the Lordship of St. John, in the County of Kildare', dated 1768, a title and nine plans (same provenance as the eight general survey albums, sold by Sotheby's, London, November 11, 1963, lot 175, bought by Stanley Crowe £60); Trinity College Dublin, Ms 10,434: 'A Survey of Barons Town', dated 1769, a single



9 Hugh Douglas Hamilton (detail, reduced) from Frontispiece of the Kilkea Volume of Estate Maps

sheet (an inserted plan in the Kildare survey atlas of the manor of Kildare); National Library of Ireland, Ms 22,504 (A): 'A Survey of the Demesne of Carton', dated 1769, reported dimensions 1016 × 1422mm (Horner 1975 p.96; a reproduction is British Library, Maps 12170/10); Cambridge University, Ms Plans X 4°: a plan dated 1772, a single sheet (inserted after plan 38 in the Kildare survey atlas of the manor of Maynooth). **30** Dictionary of Land Surveyors and Local Map Makers of Great Britain and Ireland, 1530–1850, revised edition by Sarah Bendall (London 1907).

A–127 (Andrews), P–302 (Powell), W–580 (Wren). 31 Cork Evening-Post, June 5, 1760, cited by Andrews 1985 pp.164, 186 note 87, 263 note 90.

32 Andrews 1985 p.164.

33 Andrews 1967 p.283.

34 Faulkner's Dublin Journal, January 12, 1760, cited by Andrews 1985 pp.344, 361 note 43.
 35 Andrews 1967 pp.283–284. Andrews 1985 pp.263 note 90, 344.

36 Of the Longfield maps in the National Library of Ireland (numbering about 1600 and dating from the period 1770–1840), none carries the name of a surveyor below the rank of partner, and the external evidence identifying junior staff is said to be 'disappointingly slight'. John H. Andrews, 'The Longfield Maps in the National Library of Ireland: an Agenda for Research' in *Irish Geography* 24 (1991), pp.25–26. (Lord Shelburne's Kerry estates) in 1764.³² Andrews is known by various surveys in and around Cork city and as the possible author of a chart of Cork harbour not published until 1792.³³ On this slight production, it is difficult to ascertain what contributions, if any, Powell and Andrews made to the Kildare survey.

Rocque's assistant Matthew Wren achieved scarcely more. He commenced business on his own in January 1760.³⁴ In 1761, he drew a plan of Newry, and in 1763 was commissioned to survey a map of County Louth, eventually published by another Rocque alumnus, Andrew Dury, in 1766, after which Wren returned to England.³⁵ Wren's contribution to the Kildare survey, however, is manifest: three map cartouches in the Kilkea atlas are signed by him.

It is extraordinary to read the names of draughtsmen — Matthew Wren and Hugh Douglas Hamilton — in this last volume of the Kildare survey. Such acknowledgement is unheard of in private estate surveys, in England as well as in Ireland. With very few exceptions, junior staff are frustratingly anonymous, known only by pen trials or other doodling on draft maps.³⁶

Tames

10 Hugh Douglas Hamilton (detail, reduced) from A Survey of Ballaghmoon's Lisbush Quarter (plan 11)

Overleaf 11 Hugh Douglas Hamilton (reduced from 530 × 740mm) Frontispiece of the Kilkea Volume of Estate Maps



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2 Hugh Douglas Hamilton

The quality of the decoration and ornamentation of the Kildare estate plans improved steadily as the project progressed and reached its apogee in this survey of the manor of Kilkea, the second largest of the eight atlases, completed in 1760. Its frontispiece is a superb drawing signed by Hugh Douglas Hamilton (1740–1808), a former pupil of Robert West and James Mannin in the Dublin Society Schools.

Hamilton had entered the Society's Schools in 1750 and begun his training under West, the School's first drawing master, who had studied in France, and through exemplary drawings such as vase, frieze, and fountain studies by Charles Natoire, inculcated in his pupils the French style.³⁷ Hamilton showed precocious talent. On February 14, 1754, he won his first premium,³⁸ and on December 9, 1756, despite having celebrated his sixteenth birthday and become ineligible, he was awarded a prize by the Dublin Society 'for the best Design and Inventions of Pattern Drawing and Ornamental foliages'.³⁹ Hamilton's training by Mannin probably commenced in 1753 and remained largely informal, as the School of Ornament was not officially established until May 1756. At no time during Hamilton's enrolment was specific instruction in architectural drawing offered in the Society Schools.⁴⁰

Very little is known of Hamilton's activities over the next eight years, before his arrival in London in 1764. It is conjectured that after leaving the Society Schools 'he commenced practice as a portrait-painter in crayons'⁴¹ and while still in Dublin 'set up a flourishing business'⁴² producing the small oval portraits for which he later became famous. This supposition is based on a memoir by Thomas James Mulvany, published thirty-five years after Hamilton's death, and has yet to be proved by dated (or well-provenanced) portrait drawings (none earlier than 1767 is listed by Strickland).

Once in London, Hamilton exhibited history paintings at the Society of Arts, winning a prize of sixty guineas in 1765 for 'Boadicea and her Daughters in Distress', and he soon showed himself as accustomed to perspectival as figural modes of presentation: among Hamilton's Nostell Priory commissions of 1767–1769, are 'A Morning riot in Covent Garden', 'A Street Scene', 'a Church', domestic interiors, 'a Frontispiece' and '6 [dra]Wings'.⁴³ The intriguing titles of these works — all are lost — are not indicative of an eight-year concentration on small portraits.

The signature *H D Hamilton* on the frontispiece of the Kilkea atlas (fig. 9) was first noticed by Anne Crookshank and the Knight of Glin, who published a reproduction (taken from the microfilm in the National Library of Ireland) in 1994, as Hamilton's earliest known work.⁴⁴ In May 2002, an album of sixty-six figure drawings entitled (within a rococo cartouche) 'The Cries of Dublin drawn from The Life by Hugh Douglas Hamilton 1760' appeared in the London salerooms.⁴⁵ The album of *Cries* enlarges our understanding of Hamilton's early years in Dublin and provides further evidence of his involvement with Rocque. One of the 'Cries' (no. 63), executed on waste paper, has on its verso a cropped pen trial, reading in part *Hugh D Hamilton* | *Plans &c sold by John Rocque Topographer*.⁴⁶



12 Hugh Douglas Hamilton (detail, reduced) from A Survey of Herbidas or Jerusalem (plan 13)

Opposite 13 Hugh Douglas Hamilton (detail, actual size) from A Survey of Ballaghmoon's Gotham Quarter (plan 10)

37 John Turpin, 'The School of Ornament of the Dublin Society in the 18th Century' in Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland 116 (1986), pp.47–48. NCAD 250: Drawings 1746–1996, catalogue of an exhibition, Royal Hibernian Academy (Dublin 1996), pp.47–61: 'Exemplary drawings' (Natoire p.57).
38 John Turpin, A School of Art in Dublin since the Eighteenth Century (Dublin 1995), pp.16, 29. Gitta Willemson, The Dublin Society Drawing Schools, Students and Award Winners 1746–1876 (Dublin 2000), p.43 (awards to Hamilton in 1754, 1755, 1756).

39 Crookshank & Glin 2002 p.105.
40 John Turpin, 'The Dublin Society's school of architectural drawing' in *Quarterly Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society* 28 (1985), pp.1–28.
41 Walter G. Strickland, 'Hugh Douglas Hamilton, portrait-painter' in *The Walpole Society* 2 (1912–1913), p.99.

42 Fintan Cullen, 'The Oil Paintings of Hugh Douglas Hamilton' in *The Walpole Society* 50 (1984), p.166.

43 Laing 2000 p.15.

44 Crookshank & Glin 1994 p.67 plate 79.

45 'The Irish sale', Christie's, London,

May 17, 2002, lot 29 (£195,650).

46 *The Cries of Dublin*, edited by William Laffan (Dublin 2003), pp.180, 197–198.

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14 Hugh Douglas Hamilton (detail, reduced) from A Survey of Newtown (plan 14)Opposite 15 Hugh Douglas Hamilton (detail, actual size) from A Survey of Dunmanoge (plan 12)

It is tempting to think that during several of these eight 'lost years' Hamilton, concurrently with Wren, was continuing his education in the 'French School of Rocque'. In respites from labouring over the Kildare survey plans, did Hamilton sketch the *Cries*, and daydream about their publication by Rocque? It is implausible that Rocque would commission an artist of Hamilton's low stature for a single frontispiece drawing, much more credible that Rocque was Hamilton's employer, probably for a period of years, and that Hamilton's work awaits identification in previous atlases of the Kildare survey, and elsewhere.⁴⁷

3 The Kilkea atlas

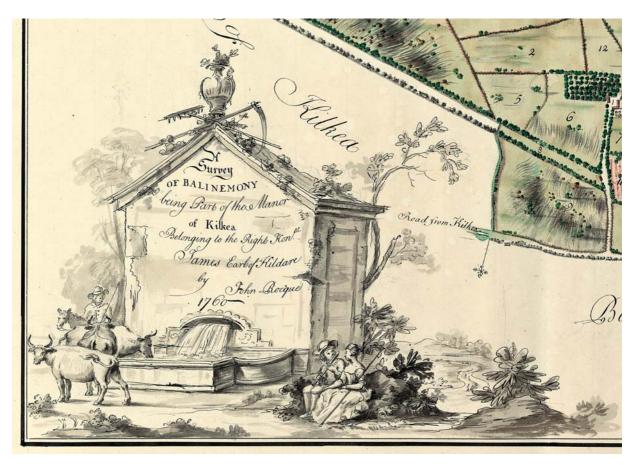
The frontispieces of the previous atlases of the Kildare survey⁴⁸ are large cartouches constructed of rococo ornamental motifs such as 'S' and 'C' scrolls, acanthus leaves, shells and *rocaille*, and embellished with Kildare heraldic insignia, agricultural implements, instruments of the arts and sciences, allegorical figures, and on three sheets a topographical view. A departure from this formula, but still in the French rococo manner, is the frontispiece of the atlas of Maynooth (1757), where the atlas title and index

47 In 1760, Rocque produced a single-sheet 'Survey of the House Gardens Park and Plantations of Carton' (see above note 17.3) which has more border decoration than the 1757 map in the Maynooth atlas. There is a view of the house with carriage and strolling couple, and the scale is set against a background of surveying instruments. Judging by the treatment of the vegetation in the published reproductions, the vignette is Hamilton's work.
48 Seven exist, none is preserved in the atlas of Woodstock. Four atlas frontispieces are published: Maynooth, Kildare, Castledermot, and Kilkea (see Appendix for citations).

12. A Survey e Dunmanoge being Part of the MANOR Roe of Kithea belonging to The Right Kon: Innes Carl ad to castleroe of Rildare 1760 John Rocque IROOKETT A MAR WAR REFERENCE ARP 1 Dwelling houfe Stable Barnout-house Ridgeon house sfield A 3" 13 2 Cabbin & Jield gir. B 11 1 23 A 1.2.3 Dunmanoge ----- B& 9 119'3 33

are written on an illusionistic curtain held aloft by winged *putti*, its lower part torn in strips which roll up to reveal a view of Carton House.

Hamilton's frontispiece for the atlas of Kilkea (fig. 11) is heterogeneous. It is conceived in the French classical manner, without recourse to the rococo ornamental vocabulary. A triumphal arch, decorated with Kildare insignia and motto, trophies, and a statue of a Roman warrior standing in a niche, is imaginatively erected in front of Kilkea Castle (seen through an arch on the right, with legend 'A View of Kilkea Castle', fig. 1). The entryway is guarded by two soldiers bearing muskets and nearby are a cannon, mortar, cannonballs, powder barrel, ladle for transferring powder into the muzzle, and linstock with its slow match already burning fiercely. In the distance is a fortified encampment with soldiers on parade. The Roman goddess Minerva, representing achievement and victory, surveys this scene from above. Allusions to the distant military glory of the Kildare family had appeared on previous atlas frontispieces - all include a figure of Minerva and an arrangement of trophies, artillery weapons, and equipment embellishes the frontispiece of the Athy survey - however Hamilton's frontispiece for the atlas of Kilkea is the only one to be dominated by martial iconography.



16 Hugh Douglas Hamilton (detail, reduced) from A Survey of Balinemony (plan 26)



17 Hugh Douglas Hamilton (detail, actual size) from A Survey of Colane (plan 2)

> **49** Laffan 2003 p.14. **50** Andrews 1967 p.282.

The atlas title is lettered on a banner flying from a pole raised above the arch and an 'Index and Remarks' (the names of the townlands of Kilkea manor, together with their area expressed in Irish and English acres, circumference, length, and breadth) is written on its near side. Hamilton's handwriting is modelled on scripts taught in the largest and most influential calligraphy copy book of the period, George Bickham's *Universal Penman* (London 1743). The atlas title is written in Bickham's 'Italick Print' and the index in Bickham's 'Roman Print'. The title and legends of Hamilton's *Cries* are written in the same scripts, in combination with Bickham's 'Italian Hand'. Hamilton's handwriting is unsure and restrained, without a hint of flamboyance. A preliminary suggestion is that long ears on the majuscule 'C' and 'S', a flowing final stroke or tail on the majuscule 'R', a v-shaped break in the crossbar of the majuscule 'A' (seen elsewhere in the atlas), and a preference for writing 'James' as 'lames', may be personal characteristics of Hamilton's.

The marginal decoration of the following thirty-three maps is executed in a variety of techniques and styles and at first sight, several hands seem to been involved. The album of Hamilton's *Cries* enables us to recognise that there are just two, Hamilton's and Wren's. Hamilton in 1760 was experimenting with several drawing techniques. In the Kilkea atlas, he works mostly in pen and black or brown ink with grey or dark brown washes, on a few occasions in pen with chocolate brown, green, and pink washes (plans 11, 19, 28). The majority of the 'Cries' are in pen and brown ink and grey wash, with a few in pencil alone, and a few more in black or red chalk. In both atlas and album, a number of images are drawn over a pencil outline. Some of Hamilton's map decoration is executed in a free and broad style, some is tighter. Likewise, some 'Cries' are broadly sketched, while others 'are executed almost with a miniaturist's technique'.⁴⁹

All of Hamilton's cartouches are asymmetrical constructions of standard rococo motifs. His simplest cartouches are formed of acanthus leaves and 'C' scrolls, his most complex embody also rocks, shells, vases, garlands of flowers, grotesque masks, and putti. Often the cartouche has two parts, the upper one lettered with the plan title, the lower one containing either ornament (a vase garlanded by flowers, fig. 6; a trophy of weapons and armour, fig. 15) or decoration linked loosely to the landscape on the map, such as a fisherman (plan 11, fig. 10), and hunters assembling hounds for a hunt (plan 23). When Hamilton does not confine his decoration within the cartouche, but extends it across available margin, he produces the most visually striking sheets of the entire survey: water nymphs bathing (in the River Barrow?), covertly observed by two men (plan 17, fig. 4); putti knocking skittles (plan 8); 'an Irish "faction fight" in which cherubic figures are seen beating each other with sticks' (plan 32, fig. 21);⁵⁰ rustic scenes of a cowherd playing his pipe (plan 14, fig. 14) and of a shepherd courting a shepherdess beside a trough (plan 26, fig. 16); and a hunter shooting duck on Sheriff's Hill (plan 29).

The convention of indicating the compass north point by a fleur-de-lis is followed on all maps in the atlas. Hamilton's north points are drawn with characteristic *brio*: a fleur-de-lis is shown balancing on the nose or index finger of a *putto* (fig. 34); on the shaft of an arrow to be shot by a *putto* at a



18 Matthew Wren (detail, actual size) from A Survey of Bolton (plan 27)

bird in flight; on a kite pulled aloft by a *putto*; and on the tips of lances and standards brandished by *putti* and by a monkey (the supporter of the Kildare coat of arms, fig. 12). Sometimes the north point is isolated on the map sheet, sometimes Hamilton cleverly integrates it in a vignette, such as scenes of *putti* playing on a seesaw (plan 4, fig. 7) and harvesting with scythes and rakes (plan 10, fig. 13), Death by an obelisk monument (plan 5), and a couple dancing a minuet in a forest clearing (plan 19, reproduced on catalogue title page).

It appears that Rocque's draughtsmen worked on each map sheet of the Kilkea atlas as team. The map interiors are in the same cartographic style and may have been drawn by Wren, since the place names across and around all the maps seem to be in his handwriting. The reference panels on which torn scroll decoration afterwards was superimposed also seem to have been written by Wren. Hamilton's role evidently was to embellish the map sheets, with the exception of six which were completed by Wren.

Wren's map decoration is executed in pen and black or brown ink with grey or brown wash, except for a single vignette receiving coloured wash (plan 28). His cartouches are lettered in combinations of four Bickham scripts, 'Italick Print', 'Roman Print', 'Italian Hand' and 'Old English Print'. Wren writes with more assurance than Hamilton: calligraphic flourishes usually extend from the phrase 'by John Rocque', and wind around '1760'. Wren skilfully spaces the plan title within the cartouche, whereas Hamilton frequently misjudges, and his lettering invades the design. It is therefore not surprising to see that Hamilton left several of his cartouches blank, to be lettered afterwards by Wren.

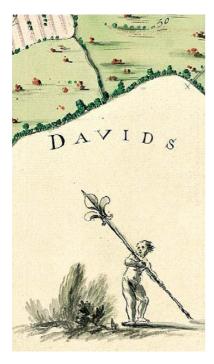
Unlike Hamilton, Wren does not intend his marginal decoration to divert the reader's eye from the map. His north points are a simple fleur-de-lis or a compass-like instrument (fig. 3) meant to inform rather than amuse. His cartouches are rococo constructions like Hamilton's, but their similarity ends

51 Horner 1971 p.62.

52 Horner 1971 pp.60, 69, and pp.75–76 'Appendix: List of local views on the Kildare estate maps of John Rocque'. The artist's view point is indicated by a reference letter on the plans of Moor Town and Walterstown in the Kildare atlas; see Andrews 1967 plate 1, Horner 1971, Hodge 2001 pp.137–138 fig. 8, for reproductions.

53 Horner 1971 pp.62, 71.

54 Horner 1971 pp.64–67, considering the view of Carrigeen House as one of the two finest in the whole Kildare survey.



19 Hugh Douglas Hamilton (detail, reduced) from A Survey of Ballyburn (plan 6)

there. Wren's six cartouches are a mirror of the face of the Irish countryside. He supplements the realism of the map interior by local views. He tempers the abstract forms of the cartouche by naturalistic foliage, and in one instance (plan 1) also by a bale of hay and agricultural implements, 'presumably drawn from equipment in use on the estates at the time of survey'.⁵¹

In the entire Kildare survey, there are about twenty views of local houses and landscape, all probably dependent on sketches made by a surveyor in the field (in some instances the point of view is marked on the plan).⁵² These topographical views are concentrated in the later volumes with the greatest number in the atlas of Kilkea. Views of eighteenth century Irish houses — other than those of antiquarian or picturesque interest — are less common than may be supposed, and 'despite the deficiencies of some of the drawings and their lack of detail, they are worthy of attention' as documents of the architecture of the smaller country dwelling-house in Ireland.⁵³

Three cartouches in the Kilkea atlas have a caption identifying the view: 'A View of Kilkea Castle' (plan 1, signed *Wren*), 'A View of Bolton House & Castle' (plan 27, signed *M Wren*, fig. 18), and 'A View of Carrigeen House', near Baltinglass (plan 33, signed *Wren fat.*, fig. 8). The subjects of the other three views are established from the map sheets: Ballaghmoon Castle and adjacent hill (plan 9, fig. 5), old Leinster Lodge, the south Kildare residence of the Earls of Kildare (plan 21, figs. 3, 20); and an indistinct view of Newtown showing a house with towers (plan 28). Kilkea Castle and Bolton House have retained the same general appearance, however Carrigeen House was demolished about 1900, and Leinster Lodge sometime before the early nineteenth century, and for these buildings Wren's views have particular historical significance.⁵⁴

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20 Matthew Wren (detail, reduced) from A Survey of Dollards Town Containing Leinster Lodge and the Bog Farm (plan 21)

4 Ornament sources

In his shop in Dublin, Rocque offered, in addition to his own publications, 'a great variety of Foreign Maps, Plans, Views, Sieges, Battles, &c. which he constantly Imports as soon as published'.⁵⁵ This inventory was a convenient repertory of designs for the Kildare survey draughtsmen to plagiarise.

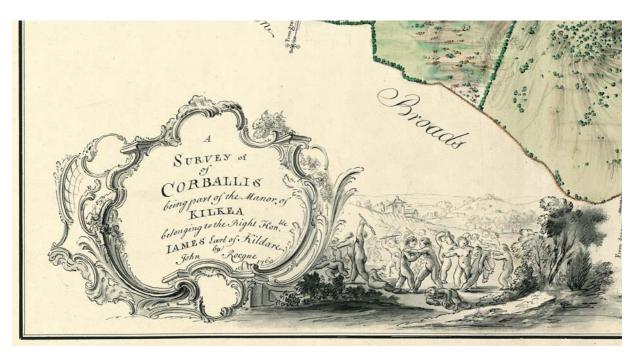
A cartouche in the form of a boat with dragon's head prow drawn in 1755 on the map of the townland of Coleroe (plan 3 of the Woodstock survey) is identified by Anne Hodge as one designed by Jacques Lajoue and engraved by François Joullain for a *Recueil nouveau de differens Cartouches* published in Paris in 1734,⁵⁶ and afterwards widely disseminated. Although Lajoue's cartouche was known in England,⁵⁷ the Kildare survey draughtsman's apparent source was a map by George Louis Le Rouge, 'La Provence suivant les Nouvelles Observations', published in Paris in 1747.⁵⁸ Le Rouge's map is not advertised in the 1754 Dublin catalogue, however in a stock list published *circa* 1761, Rocque specified that Le Rouge's maps are kept in stock.⁵⁹

A pair of allegorical figures on the frontispiece of the Kildare atlas drawn in 1757 were also recognised by Hodge, as slightly-modified copies of figures supporting the dedication cartouche on Rocque's sixteen-sheet 'Exact Survey of the Citys of London, Westminster, ye Borough of Southwark, and the Country Ten miles around' published in London in 1746.⁶⁰ This publication was among those brought by Rocque from London to Dublin to prove his ability as a surveyor, and is advertised in his 1754 Dublin catalogue priced two guineas. **55** Broadsheet catalogue dated at head 'Dublin, the 5th of September 1754' with manuscript alterations and signature 'J. Rocque', Trinity College Dublin, Early Printed Books Stacks, 00.a.59 no.1B.

56 Marianne Roland Michel, *Lajoüe et l'art rocaille* (Paris 1984), pp.170, 316 G–12. Hodge 2001 pp.135 fig. 3, 136.

57 A copy of Lajoue's ornament was published in George Bickham's *Musical Entertainer* (London 1737–1738) and again (as 'The Dragon; or, the None Such Galley') in his *The Universal Penman* (London 1743); see *Rococo art and design in Hogarth's England*, catalogue of an exhibition, edited by Michael Snodin (London 1984), p.118 G–28. In Bickham's copy the stern is given a pointed tail.

58 Roland Michel 1984 (note 56) fig. 205. **59** 'N.B. 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.' offered in 'A List of the Works of John Rocque, topographer to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, to be had at his house the corner of Old Round Court in the Strand' (*circa* 1761), Trinity College Dublin OO.a.59 no.1A.



21 Hugh Douglas Hamilton (detail, reduced) from A Survey of Corballis (plan 32)

60 Hodge 2001 pp.134 fig. 2, 137. François Vivares probably designed these figures; see Tessa Murdoch, 'The Huguenots and English Rococo' in The Rococo in England. A symposium, edited by Charles Hind (London 1986), p.73. 61 Christine Casey, 'Gaetano Brunetti: A Printed Source for Eighteenth Century Ornament' in The GPA Irish Arts Review 1988, pp.244-245. 62 'A List of the Works of John Rocque, Chorographer to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, Near Old Round Court in the Strand, London, and on the Batchelors-Walk, Dublin' (circa 1756), British Museum, Prints & Drawings, Heal 17-132. 63 Hodge 2001 pp.137 fig. 10, 138. The impression reproduced in Mélange d'ornements de toutes époques pour l'architecture les arts et l'industrie. Choix de 50 motifs par G. Brunetti (Paris 1858) has the legend G. Brunetti inv et del | J. Rocque Sculp (other states are known). 64 'The four seasons, by Bergham' was re-advertised in 'A List of the Works of the late John Rocque, Topographer to His Majesty, And Sold by his Widow Mary Ann Rocque, near Old Round Court in the Strand' (circa 1765), British Museum, Prints & Drawings, Heal 17-133. 65 McDonnell 2003 p.197. 66 A list of these books is provided by Elizabeth White, Pictorial Dictionary of British 18th Century Furniture Design. The Printed Sources (Woodbridge 1990), pp.30-31. 67 Snodin 1984 (note 57) p.46 C-17. A Livre d'ornement inventé et Gravé par J. [ean Baptiste Claude] Chatel[a]in. Publish'd by J. Rocque 1737 is cited by Peter Fuhring, Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier. Un génie du rococo 1695-1750 (Turin & London 1999), II, p.323. 68 McDonnell 1994 p.66. McDonnell 2003 p.197. 69 These elegant maps were issued separately from May 1749, prior to publication of The Large English Atlas (completed circa 1760). 70 McDonnell 1994 p.73 observed that the cartouche signed J. Dixon Sculp. Fig. on Rocque's engraved 'Actual Survey of the County of Dublin 1760' is 'taken without acknowledgement' from a print of Boucher. 71 McDonnell 1997 p.157. McDonnell 2003 p.197. Among Rocque's earliest publications is *Sixty different sorts of ornaments invented by Gaetano Brunetti, Italian painter; very useful to painters, sculptors, stone carvers, wood carvers, silversmiths, etc.*, issued to subscribers in 1736–1737.⁶¹ This 'book of 60 ornaments, by Brunetti' was twice advertised for sale in Dublin, in 1754 and *circa* 1756.⁶² One of the few prints in Brunetti's collection engraved by Rocque himself (the majority was engraved by Henry Fletcher) is shown by Hodge to be the source for the cartouche adorning 'A Survey of Lough-Town' drawn in 1757 (plan 37 in the survey of Maynooth).⁶³ The Kildare draughtsman omitted a swag of foliage on the left side, otherwise he produced an exact copy.

Rocque also advertised in 1754 'Four Landskips, by Bergham' (*i.e.*, Nicolas Berchem) and after his return to London advertised this or another suite as 'The Four Seasons, by Bergham'.⁶⁴ The map of Knockfield drawn in 1758 (plan 6 in the survey of Graney) includes a Berchemesque 'pissing cow' in a vignette of a shepherd and shepherdess watering sheep at a trough. Joseph McDonnell proposes that this vignette derives from one of Rocque's 'Four Landskips, by Bergham'.⁶⁵

Hamilton's decoration in the Kilkea atlas is not so crudely derivative and no direct appropriations have been detected. The majority of Hamilton's cartouches are of familiar design, related to both contemporary map decoration and, more distantly, to English pattern books for carved ornament published in the 1740s and 1750s, by Matthias Lock, Henry Copland, and Pierre-Edmé Babel, and other designers,⁶⁶ and to French publications of 1720s and 1730s through which the Rococo style was initially disseminated across Europe. Rocque perhaps sold these and similar imported publications in his Dublin shop. He was an early progenitor of the Rococo, issuing in 1737 the first rococo prints outside France, reversed copies of Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier's *Livre d'ornemens* (cahier D) reputedly engraved by François Vivares.⁶⁷ It is argued that Rocque's Meissonnier 'almost certainly reached Dublin';⁶⁸ if it did, the likely conduit was Rocque's Dublin shop, where it would have been examined closely by all the Kildare survey draughtsmen.

Hamilton's pastoral vignettes — a cowhand playing a pipe (plan 14, fig. 14), cowherd, shepherd and shepherdess (plan 26, fig. 16) — are reminiscent of the ornate cartouches on the large English county maps by Emanuel Bowen and Thomas Kitchin,⁶⁹ however such scenes are found in other map decoration of the period, and they mostly originated on the Continent. Vignettes of *putti* at work and play are not, however, usual in map decoration. Such subjects probably were the material of instruction in the Dublin Schools and Hamilton assimilated them there. A few of Hamilton's vignettes echo prints by Jean Antoine Watteau, François Boucher,⁷⁰ Jacques Stella, and Hubert Gravelot. Once again, Hamilton's exact sources are not identifiable.

'Almost nothing like this French Rococo style of drawing had been seen in Ireland before,' writes Joseph McDonnell of the Kildare survey atlases. 'The bold plasticity of the *rocaille* and the delightful pastoral vignettes embellishing the maps had an immediate impact, leading not only to the foundation of the so called French school of Dublin land surveyors, but also to the appearance in Dublin of French *rocaille* engravings in such areas as bill heads and bookplates'.⁷¹

5 The binding

The atlas of the manor of Kilkea is bound in red goatskin of high quality with a wide gilt border enclosing (on the upper cover) a large cartouche within which appears the atlas title in majuscule letters individually tooled. Like the contents, the binding was conceived as an artistic object, and it succeeds entirely in its ambition of dazzling the beholder.

The other volumes of the Kildare survey (six have been examined)⁷² are harmoniously bound. The decoration of the covers and spine of each is achieved by repeated impressions of between twelve and fifteen rolls and tools, at least half of which appear on every volume, and provide uniformity to the series. The binder's endleaves and interleaves are the same paper (manufactured at Zaandijk in North-Holland by Cornelis & Jan Jacobs Honig) in all the atlases.⁷³ Other unifying features are French pattern comb-marbled paper laid over the pastedowns and to the facing side of the free-endpapers (fig. 30),⁷⁴ headbands of the same type and colour, and blue-stained page edges. On this evidence we surmise the Kildare survey atlases were bound in a single shop possessing a large stock of tools. It could be that this as yet unidentified shop employed several finishers, each drawing upon his own and the shop set of tools. Another explanation of the variation in the decoration of the atlases is that the eight volumes were not bound all at once, but over a period of several years.

The dates on the covers record the year of survey and are not the dates of binding. When Lord Chief Baron Willes saw the Kildare surveys in 1760 — he describes them as 'curious maps' — no mention is made of their bindings, so it is just possible the plans were then still loose sheets.⁷⁵ Organisation of the plans in bound townland atlases seems, however, to have been intended from the outset. The frontispiece of the atlas of Kildare manor incorporates in its decoration an arrangement of surveying instruments and pile of four volumes, designated respectively (from bottom to top of the stack) 'Manor Woodstock 1755', 'Manor Manoath [sic] 1757', 'Manor Kildare 1758', and 'Manor Athy 1756'. In three atlases (manors of Athy, Maynooth, Kildare) a plan by Rocque has been detached and one by his successor as surveyor of the Kildare estates, Peter Bernard Scalé, attached to its stub.⁷⁶ These inserted plans (dated respectively 1768, 1772, 1769) provide a *terminus ad quem* for the bindings.

The covers of the Kilkea atlas are decorated by a wide frame composed of four elements: a triple fillet of solid lines applied close to the edges; a decorative roll 9×64 mm featuring two pairs of peacocks amidst foliage (one pair facing, the other looking away); a repetition of the triple fillet; then a border formed by repeated impressions of two flower tools (fig. 28). The same decoration appears on the other atlases, with the addition of a wavy line roll, and substitution (on all except the Castledermot atlas) of a triple fillet of solid-broken-solid lines in place of the triple fillet of solid lines. The four corner intersections of two tools, a stylised rose and a bulbous flower (figs. 23, 29). These tools are unique to our binding; different tools appear uniquely in the same places on three of the other atlases,

72 The unlocated atlas of the manor of Rathangan is excluded from this discussion (see Appendix). 73 The present combination of watermark C & J Honig and countermark IV occurs from 1757, according to Sokrat A. Klepikov, 'Some information over the "Honig" watermarks' in IPH --Information, new series, 6 (1972), p.10. Henk Voorn, De papiermolens in de provincie Noord-Holland, De geschiedenis der Nederlandse papierindustrie, 1 (Haarlem 1960), pp.547, 554. 74 The paper resembles the four-colour (red, yellow, blue, and green, with red predominating) double-comb pattern reproduced by Richard Wolfe, Marbled paper: its history, techniques, and patterns (Philadelphia 1990), plate XXIII, no. 8 (first half of the 18th century).

75 Cited by Andrews 1985 pp.160–161.76 See above note 29.

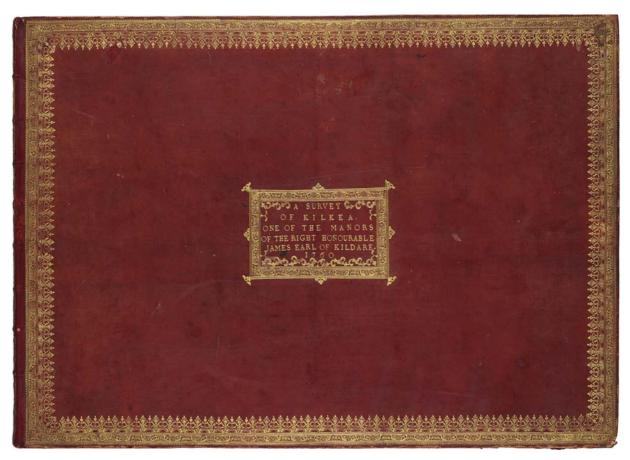
77 These *Journals* (at least 149 were produced) perished in the destruction of the Public Record Office in 1922 during the Civil War and are known principally by rubbings taken by Sir Edward Sullivan, now National Library of Ireland, Ms 3017. A peacock roll decorates *Lords* 6 (1697), however 'It is by no means certain that this binding was done as early as 1697. It may be as late as 1740' (Craig 1954 plate 1 caption). Other volumes decorated by a peacock roll and represented in the Sullivan rubbings are *Lords* 24 (1731), 28 (1739); *Commons* 27 (1733), 28 (1745).

78 Craig 1954 plate 41 caption. Maurice Craig, *Irish bookbindings*, The Irish Heritage Series, 6 (Dublin 1976), p.[8].

79 It occurs as a frame on the covers of Ovidius' *Metamorphoses* (Dublin 1729) reproduced by McDonnell 1997 no. 24; and as an element of spine decoration on De Thou's *Historia sui temporis* (London 1733) reproduced by McDonnell & Healy 1987 p.98 no. 10 & plate XC R26.
80 Formerly in the Towneley library, these volumes are Cambridge University Library Hib. 7. 745.1–3, 746.10, 747.13. A drawing of the roll as it appears on the Horace 1745 is provided by Geoffrey D. Hobson, *Bindings in Cambridge Libraries* (Cambridge 1929), p.167 & plate LXIX no. 3. Craig 1954 pp.12, 30 no. 53.

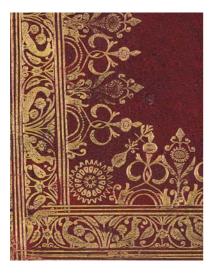
81 Trinity College Dublin, TT. e. 21–22. Craig 1954 p.29 no. 33.

82 British Library, Henry Davis Gift 316. Craig 1954 plate 41 (roll not pictured). Mirjam M. Foot, *The Henry Davis Gift. A Collection of Bookbindings. Volume II* (London 1983), no. 259 (roll not pictured).



22 A Dublin binding for James FitzGerald, 20th Earl of Kildare, 1760 (upper cover). Red goatskin, tooled in gold (reduced from 540 × 755 × 30mm)

Below 23 Binding corner (detail, actual size). Peacock roll, floral tools worked in pairs, stylised rose and bulbous flower tools



and the corners are not thus ornamented on three atlases.

The peacock roll employed on the Kildare atlases is reminiscent of English 'birds in foliage' rolls, but has no precise antecedent, and may be of Irish invention. It was popularised by the 'Parliamentary Binder A' (the name given to an anonymous craftsman who bound up the manuscript *Journals* of the Irish Parliament), who employed it from 1731 to 1745, to frame covers, and as decoration on board edges.⁷⁷ The rolls and tools employed on the parliamentary *Journals* were passed around and used by other Dublin binders, and copies were made.⁷⁸ A different cutting of the peacock roll is found on two bindings associated with the binder or bindery working for the bookseller Joseph Leathley from about 1734 until the early 1760s.⁷⁹ Another peacock roll was employed by an unidentified binder on a set of five octavo Hawkey Latin classics published in 1745–1747.⁸⁰ One of these, or perhaps yet another roll, is reported on a copy of Pine's *Horace* (London 1733–1737).⁸¹

The peacock roll was superseded on the parliamentary bindings by a

broad insect roll, however it continued to be employed by other Dublin binders into the 1780s. Narrower peacock rolls decorate the turn-ins of copies of *Statutes of the Kingdom of Ireland*, volume VIII (Dublin 1765)⁸² and the printed *Journals of the House of Lords* in Ireland (Dublin 1779–1800),⁸³ and a third roll appears on the covers of a copy of Samuel Watson's *Gentleman's and Citizen's Almanack* (Dublin 1779).⁸⁴

The peacock roll used on the Kildare atlases is none of these, but a distinctive cutting having different foliage (no flower rises to the peacock's breast), and its usage has not yet been observed elsewhere.⁸⁵ On three atlases (manors of Athy, Maynooth, Kilkea) the roll is used to outline the title-cartouche;⁸⁶ on a single atlas (Kilkea) it is applied also to the board edges; and on another atlas (Woodstock) it decorates the spine.

The border appearing on all the Kildare atlases is produced by two alternating floral tools, both in widespread use. The larger tool (20 × 15mm, fig. 28) has a broad semi-circular base separating two dolphin heads from which rise two stems of intertwining foliage supporting a single flower. The same or a close copy of it was employed by the Dublin binder Alexander Kelburn during the 1770s and 1780s, to decorate presentation copies of Sir James Caldwell's *Debates relative to the affairs of Ireland* (London 1766, second edition 1779).⁸⁷ The tightly-placed smaller tool (20 × 9mm, fig. 28) has a foliate stem upholding a single flower with stylised pistil. A simplified version of it was employed about 1764 by the 'Watson Bindery' (a shop working for the Dublin printers William or Samuel Watson) on two copies of an anthology of Latin and English verse by students of Dublin University, in combination with a crude version of the larger tool.⁸⁸

The rectangular title-cartouche on the upper cover of the Kilkea atlas (fig. 22) is ornamented by three tools. Outside the cartouche frame (the peacock roll sandwiched between triple-fillets) are eight impressions of a leaf tool (fig. 24), one applied at each angle and one in the centre of each side. Within the cartouche are repeated impressions of a curved floral spray tool (fig. 25) and of a winged leaf tool (fig. 26). The same leaf tool decorates all the other Kildare atlases, the floral spray all except two (manors of Athy and Maynooth), and the winged leaf tool appears also on the Maynooth and Graney atlases.

The oblong format, size and weight of the covers imposes great stress on the joints of the atlases. To give strength, the binders sewed the edges of the boards on either seven or eight cords which they laced in, showing as raised bands on the spine, and dividing the spine into eight or nine compartments. Only the back of the atlas of the manor of Graney has survived substantially intact. In 1963, the back of the Kilkea atlas was restored; its nine panels were lifted and carefully laid down on new leather. The atlas of the manor of Woodstock is likewise restored. The atlases of the manors of Athy and Castledermot have been neglected (the covers of the Athy atlas are detached) and their spine decoration survives incomplete. The atlases of the manors of Maynooth and Kildare have been rebacked with complete loss of original decoration.

The poor preservation of the atlas backs obscures the binder's tools. On the Kilkea atlas, a total of two rolls and six tools seem to be employed (fig. 27).



24 Binding title cartouche (detail, actual size). Leaf tool



25 Binding title cartouche (detail, actual size). Curved floral spray tool



26 Binding title cartouche (detail, actual size). Winged leaf tool

83 British Library, 108 h. 6–8. A rubbing is found in the Sullivan album (see above note 77), folio 91.
84 National Art Library (London), Special Collections, Drawer 39. W.H. James Weale, *Bookbindings and rubbings of bindings in the National Art* Library (London 1894–1898), 88.
Craig 1954 p.39 no. 21 & plate 52.

85 McDonnell 1997 p.156 erroneously states that the Peacock roll decorating the atlas of Castledermot is the same one used by 'Parliamentary Binder A'.

86 The cartouche on the atlas of Woodstock is framed by a triple fillet (solid-broken-solid lines); on the atlases of Kildare, Castledermot, and Graney, the cartouche is framed by the regular repetition of two tools, creating a border resembling (without the added fleur-de-lis) one on a binding of 1771 illustrated by McDonnell & Healy 1987 no. 101 & plate LXXXIII; see also Howard M. Nixon, *The History of decorated bookbinding in England* (London 1992), p.88 & plate 92.

87 McDonnell 1999 pp.46–56, figs. 7, 9, 11 no. 5. **88** McDonnell & Healy p.270 no. 99 & plate XCVI nos. 3–5.



27 Binding spine, second compartment (detail, actual size). Spine restored with original backstrip laid down on new leather

89 Joseph McDonnell, 'The Coote armorial bindings' in Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society 28 (1995), pp.4-12. 90 National Library of Ireland Ms 14,923. The Kildare atlases are not catalogued and most probably were already in the estate office. 91 Catalogue of a collection of important books selected from the library at Carton. Co. Kildare which with the consent of the trustees of His Grace the Duke of Leinster will be sold by auction by Bennet & Son 11th November 1925 (Dublin 1925), National Library of Ireland, Collection G, 018 c1; Catalogue of the entire contents of Kilkea Castle near Athy, Co. Kildare Sale by public auction at the castle on 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th December 1945 Auctioneers Greene Bros. & Duthie Large Ltd. (Dublin 1945), Trinity College Dublin, Early Printed Books Stacks, OLS L-7-613 no. 9; Furniture and fine art auction of the utmost importance: to be held at Carton, Maynooth, Co. Kildare, on Monday, 16th May 1949 Allen & Townsend [auctioneer] (Dublin 1949), Trinity College Dublin, Early Printed Books Stacks, OLS L-7-833 no. 20). 92 Only one volume from Carton, Newburgh Burrough's Carton. A poem (Dublin 1779), a quarto in red morocco with the Leinster crest (now National Library of Ireland), enters Craig's 'List of Noteworthy Irish Bindings' (1954 pp.28-37). Craig himself possessed the Foulis folio Pope from Carton (p.16). 93 McDonnell 1999 p.50 reports 'Nearly all the Scalé surveys that I have come across in their original bindings are from the Kelburn shop'. 94 Howard M. Nixon, Broxbourne Library: Styles and designs of bookbindings (London 1956), p.193. 95 McDonnell 1999 p.47.



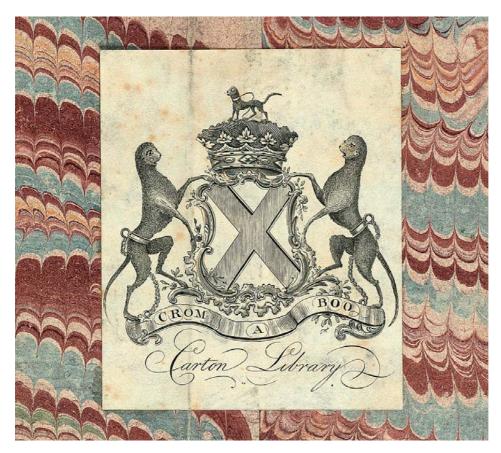
28 Binding upper cover border (details, actual size). Floral tools worked in pairs

29 Binding upper cover border (detail, actual size).Rose and bulbous flower tools

The head and tail of the spine are decorated by vertical repetitions of a wave roll; the third, fifth, and seventh panels are lettered *Manor* | *of* | *Kilkea*, and decorated by a narrow flower and foliage roll, cornerpieces, flower and star tools; while the others are quartered by diagonal fillets, and decorated by cornerpieces, flower tools, and solid dots. Some of these tools can be recognised on other Kildare survey atlases, for example a star having six points radiating from its centre on a gilt ground, which was employed also on the Woodstock atlas (shown fig. 27).

Who commissioned the Kildare survey bindings, the Earl of Kildare or John Rocque? It was exceptional, but not unheard of in Ireland, for a patron to possess a group of tools, which he retained for the binding of books in his library.⁸⁹ There is no evidence that the Earl of Kildare took such interest in his library. The Carton Library, so far as can be determined from a manuscript library catalogue commenced in the 1870s,90 and from auction sale catalogues,91 contained few books in fine bindings.92 On the other hand, it was a customary part of bookselling to arrange bindings for individual clients. And if it was not already usual for surveyors to deliver estate surveys as bound atlases, Rocque helped to make it so. His successor as surveyor of the Kildare estates, Peter Bernard Scalé, supplied his estate surveys as bound atlases, favouring from 1767-1777 the master binder Alexander Kelburn, whose shop was nearby in George's Lane.93 When Scalé returned to England, his former partners Sherrard & Brownrigg continued to employ Kelburn, and it seems Kelburn's business was centred on binding up manuscript maps and plans for draughtsmen.

Compared with the more sophisticated and precise tooling of English and Continental binders, the quality of the workmanship and finishing on the Kildare survey atlases leave something to be desired — there are crooked lines and uneven spacing, and the corners and intersections of the rolls have not been thought out. The bindings are remarkable nonetheless. As H.M. Nixon pointed out, 'Irish eighteenth-century bindings on folios are of considerable rarity'.⁹⁴ None larger than the Kildare survey atlases is known. Moreover, the bindings were influential, creating 'a vogue for finely-bound estate maps with roccoo frontispieces and maps decorated with vignettes'.⁹⁵



30 Carton Library bookplate (actual size)

6 Provenance

On the front pastedown of the Kilkea atlas appears the typical Carton library bookplate.⁹⁶ By the 1870s the Kildare survey atlases had been transferred from the library into the estate office, as it turned out a place of relative security. They remained there throughout the sad decline of the estate,97 withstanding the depredations of successive auction sales of chattels, until about 1960.98 Probably through the agency of an Irish dealer, they were then sold as a unit to the English collector Cyril Ernest Kenney. Kenney did not enjoy them for long. Together with a fine group of printed atlases, manuscript maps and plans from the Dartmouth collection, he consigned the Kildare survey atlases to the auction saleroom, where they appeared on November 11, 1963, in the first of eleven sales from the vast Kenney library conducted by Sotheby's between 1963 and 1968. In Sotheby's the eight atlases were acquired by six dealers: Francis Edwards bought three, Marlborough two, and Bernard Quaritch, H.D. Lyon, and Stanley Crowe each bought one atlas. The atlas of the Manor of Kilkea was bought by Marlborough and sold the following year to the late Earl of Perth, in whose library at Stobhall it remained — effectively lost — until consigned for sale at Christie's in November 2003.

96 Reproduced by Gerard Slevin, 'Some Irish bookplates' in *Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society* 29 (January–June 1986), pp.12–13 (corrected version in atlas). The bookplate occurs in all the other atlases except for Graney.
97 Terence A.M. Dooley, 'The decline of Carton House and estate, 1870–1950' in *Journal of the County Kildare Archaeological Society* 18 (1994–1995), pp.212–224.

98 'The eight volumes remained with the FitzGerald family in the Library at Carton, co. Kildare and, after the sale of the library in 1949, at Kilkea until they were sold privately, *circa* 1960' (*The British Library Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts* 1956–1965. *Part I. Descriptions*, London 2000, p.459). Cobbe 1973 (note 10) p.652, wrote 'The maps were not sold with the main library in 1949, but were later sold to a dealer, and their subsequent history is obscure until they were put up for sale at Sotheby's'.

APPENDIX

John Rocque's Survey of the Kildare Estates, 1755–1760

SURVEY OF THE MANOR OF WOODSTOCK 1755-1757

Eight plans (without title) dated 1755–1757 (British Library, Add. Ms 52,293)⁹⁹ Provenance: James Fitzgerald (1722–1773), 20th Earl of Kildare — Cyril Ernest Kenney, his sale by Sotheby's, London, November 11, 1963, lot 168, to booksellers Bernard Quaritch £75

SURVEY OF THE MANOR OF ATHY 1756

Title and twenty plans (Trinity College Dublin, Ms 4278)¹⁰⁰

Provenance: James Fitzgerald (1722–1773), 20th Earl of Kildare — Cyril Ernest Kenney, his sale by Sotheby's, London, November 11, 1963, lot 167, to booksellers Francis Edwards £160 — purchased by Trinity College Dublin May 1968

SURVEY OF THE MANOR OF MAYNOOTH 1757

Title and forty-two plans (Cambridge University, Ms Plans X 4°; formerly Ms Plans 690)^{101}

Provenance: James Fitzgerald (1722–73), 20th Earl of Kildare — Cyril Ernest Kenney, his sale by Sotheby's, London, November 11, 1963, lot 169, to book-sellers Francis Edwards £220

SURVEY OF THE MANOR OF KILDARE 1757

Title and twenty plans (Trinity College Dublin, Ms 10,434)¹⁰²

Provenance: James Fitzgerald (1722–1773), 20th Earl of Kildare — Cyril Ernest Kenney, his sale by Sotheby's, London, November 11, 1963, lot 170, to booksellers Francis Edwards £120 — purchased *circa* 1967 by John Harwood Andrews, Dublin¹⁰³ — presented to Trinity College Dublin by Professor Andrews on his retirement from College (July 25, 1990)

SURVEY OF THE MANOR OF CASTLEDERMOT 1758

Title and twelve plans (National Library of Ireland, Ms 22,003)¹⁰⁴ Provenance: James Fitzgerald (1722–1773), 20th Earl of Kildare — Cyril Ernest Kenney, his sale by Sotheby's, London, November 11, 1963, lot 171, to bookseller Stanley Crowe £100 — anonymous consignor, 'Catalogue of Atlases and Maps, Americana, Voyages and Travel' by Sotheby's, London, October 15, 1974, lot 569, to booksellers Maggs £1200 for the National Library of Ireland

99 WOODSTOCK reproductions: cartouche for Coleroe survey Hodge 2001 fig. 3. Hugh Cobbe, 'Four manuscript maps recently acquired by the British Museum' in Journal of the Society of Archivists 4 (1973), pp.646–652; The British Library Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts 1956–1965. Part I. Descriptions (London 2000), p.459, no. 52,293. 100 ATHY reproductions: cartouche for Tullagorey survey Horner 1971, Hodge 2001 fig. 4; cartouche for Inch survey Hodge 2001 fig. 5; cartouche for Athy survey Hodge 2001 fig. 6; cartouche for Shanrah survey Horner 1971. John H. Andrews, 'Maps and atlases' in Treasures of the Library: Trinity College Dublin, edited by Peter Fox (Dublin 1986), pp.181–182. 101 MAYNOOTH reproductions: album title-page Horner 1971 and Hodge 2001 fig. 9; plan 'A Survey of the House, Garden & Park of Carton' Lord Walter FitzGerald, 'Carton' in Journal of the Archaeological Society of the County of Kildare 4 (1903–1905), p.19, Horner 1975 fig. 6; cartouche for Loughtown survey Hodge 2001 fig. 10; cartouche for Barrogstown survey Horner 1971. **102** KILDARE reproductions: album title-page Hodge 2001 fig. 2, detail Horner 1971; plan of Moor Town Andrews 1967 plate 1; cartouche for Maddenstown survey Hodge 2001 fig. 7; cartouche for Walterstown survey Hodge 2001 fig. 8; cartouche for Black Hill and Miller Hill survey Horner 1971; cartouche for Ballygreany survey Horner 1971. Unattributed detail Andrews 1985 p.165 plate 8. 103 On January 21, 1967, J.H. Andrews wrote to H.R. Creswick, Librarian of Cambridge University, 'I am making arrangements to buy this volume as a private individual' (letter loosely inserted in the atlas of the manor of Maynooth, Cambridge University Ms Plans X 4°). **104** CASTLEDERMOT reproductions: album titlepage McDonnell 1997 no. 58; 'Survey of the Town of Castledermot' in Treasures from the National Library of Ireland, edited by Noel Kissane (Drogheda 1994), no. 84. National Library of Ireland, Report of the Council of Trustees for 1975 (Dublin 1976), p.7. Horner 1975-1976 pp.473-489.

SURVEY OF THE MANOR OF GRANEY 1758

Title and twelve plans (British Art Center, Yale University, Folio C G 6)¹⁰⁵ Provenance: James Fitzgerald (1722–1773), 20th Earl of Kildare, and by descent (endpaper inscribed *Frederick FitzGerald from Augustus Frederick Duke of Leinster 1865*) — Cyril Ernest Kenney, his sale by Sotheby's, London, November 11, 1963, lot 172, to booksellers Marlborough £105 with booksellers H.P. Kraus, New York, 1964 — sold June 1969 to Paul Mellon (exlibris *Oak Spring* | *Paul Mellon*) — Mellon bequest *circa* 1977 to the British Art Center (exlibris *Yale Center for British Art*)

SURVEY OF THE MANOR OF RATHANGAN 1760

Title and twenty plans (location unknown)¹⁰⁶

Provenance: James Fitzgerald (1722–1773), 20th Earl of Kildare — Cyril Ernest Kenney, his sale by Sotheby's, London, November 11, 1963, lot 173, to bookseller H.D. Lyon f_{170}^{107}

SURVEY OF THE MANOR OF KILKEA 1760

Title and thirty-three plans (with Robin Halwas Limited)¹⁰⁸ Provenance: James Fitzgerald (1722–1773), 20th Earl of Kildare — Cyril Ernest Kenney, his sale by Sotheby's, London, November 11, 1963, lot 174, to booksellers Marlborough £150 — John David Drummond (1907–2002), 17th Earl of Perth, his sale by Christie's, London, November 20, 2003, lot 77, to bookseller Robin Halwas Limited £57,360





32 Hugh Douglas Hamilton (detail, reduced) from *A Survey of Corballis* (plan 32)

Left 31 Hugh Douglas Hamilton (detail, actual size) from A Survey of Irish Town (plan 24)

105 GRANEY description contributed to Orbis (Yale University Library OPAC) and to RLG's Eureka.

106 RATHANGAN reproduction: album title-page Sotheby's sale catalogue, November 11, 1963, folding plate between pp.42–43. Two vignettes copied by Horner 1971 p.65.

107 J.H. Andrews reported to H.R. Creswick in 1967 (see note 103) that the Rathangan atlas is in the possession of 'a private owner (? through Fr. Edwards)'.

108 KILKEA reproductions: album title-page Crookshank & Glin 1994 p.67, Hodge 2001 fig. 1, Laffan 2003 fig. 3.

ABBREVIATED REFERENCES



33 Hugh Douglas Hamilton (detail, reduced) from A Survey of Dunmanoge (plan 12)

ANDREWS 1967

John Harwood Andrews, 'The French school of Dublin land surveyors' in *Irish Geography* 5 (1964–1968 [1967]), pp.275–292

ANDREWS 1985

John Harwood Andrews, *Plantation acres: an historical study of the Irish land surveyor and his maps* (Omagh 1985)

CRAIG 1954 Maurice Craig, Irish Bookbindings (London 1954)

CROOKSHANK & GLIN 1994

Anne Crookshank & the Knight of Glin, *The Watercolours of Ireland. Works* on paper in pencil, pastel and paint c.1600–1914 (London 1994)

CROOKSHANK & GLIN 2002

Anne Crookshank & the Knight of Glin, *Ireland's painters 1600–1940* (New Haven & London 2002)

HODGE 2001

Anne Hodge, 'The Practical and The Decorative. The Kildare Estate Maps of John Rocque' in *Irish Arts Review Yearbook* 17 (2001), pp.133–140

HORNER 1971

Arnold Horner, 'Cartouches and vignettes on the Kildare estate maps of John Rocque' in *Quarterly Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society* 14 (1971), pp.57–76

HORNER 1975

Arnold Horner, 'Carton, Co. Kildare: a case study of the making of an Irish demesne' in *Quarterly Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society* 18 (April–September 1975), pp.45–103

HORNER 1975–1976

Arnold Horner, 'New maps of Co. Kildare interest in the National Library of Ireland' in *Journal of the County Kildare Archaeological Society* 15 (1975–1976), pp.473–489

LAFFAN 2003

William Laffan, 'Behind the gorgeous mask' in *The Cries of Dublin &c drawn from the Life by Hugh Douglas Hamilton 1760*, edited by William Laffan (Dublin 2003), pp.10–25

LAING 2000

Alastair Laing, 'Sir Rowland and Lady Winn, a conversation piece in the Library at Nostell Priory' in *Apollo* 151 (April 2000), pp.14–18

MCDONNELL 1994

Joseph McDonnell, 'The influence of the French rococo print in Ireland in the eighteenth century' in *Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society* 36 (1994), pp.63–74

MCDONNELL 1997

Joseph McDonnell, *Five hundred years of the art of the book in Ireland*, catalogue of an exhibition, National Gallery of Ireland, May–July 1997 (Dublin & London 1997)

MCDONNELL 1999

Joseph McDonnell, 'An eighteenth-century Dublin bookbinder: Alexander Kelburn' in *Irish Arts Review* 15 (1999), pp.46–56

McDONNELL 2003

Joseph McDonnell, 'Appendix II. The Rococo Frontispiece', in *The Cries of Dublin &c drawn from the Life by Hugh Douglas Hamilton 1760*, edited by William Laffan (Dublin 2003), pp.197–198

MCDONNELL & HEALY 1987

Joseph McDonnell & Patrick Healy, *Gold-tooled bookbindings commissioned by Trinity College Dublin in the eighteenth century*, Studies in the History of Irish Bookbinding, 1 (Leixlip, Ireland 1987)

mason & bensusan-butt 1988

A. Stuart Mason & John Bensusan-Butt, 'P.B. Scalé: Surveyor in Ireland, gentleman of Essex' in *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society* 24 (1988), pp.508–518



34 Hugh Douglas Hamilton (detail, actual size) from A Survey of Newtown (plan 14)