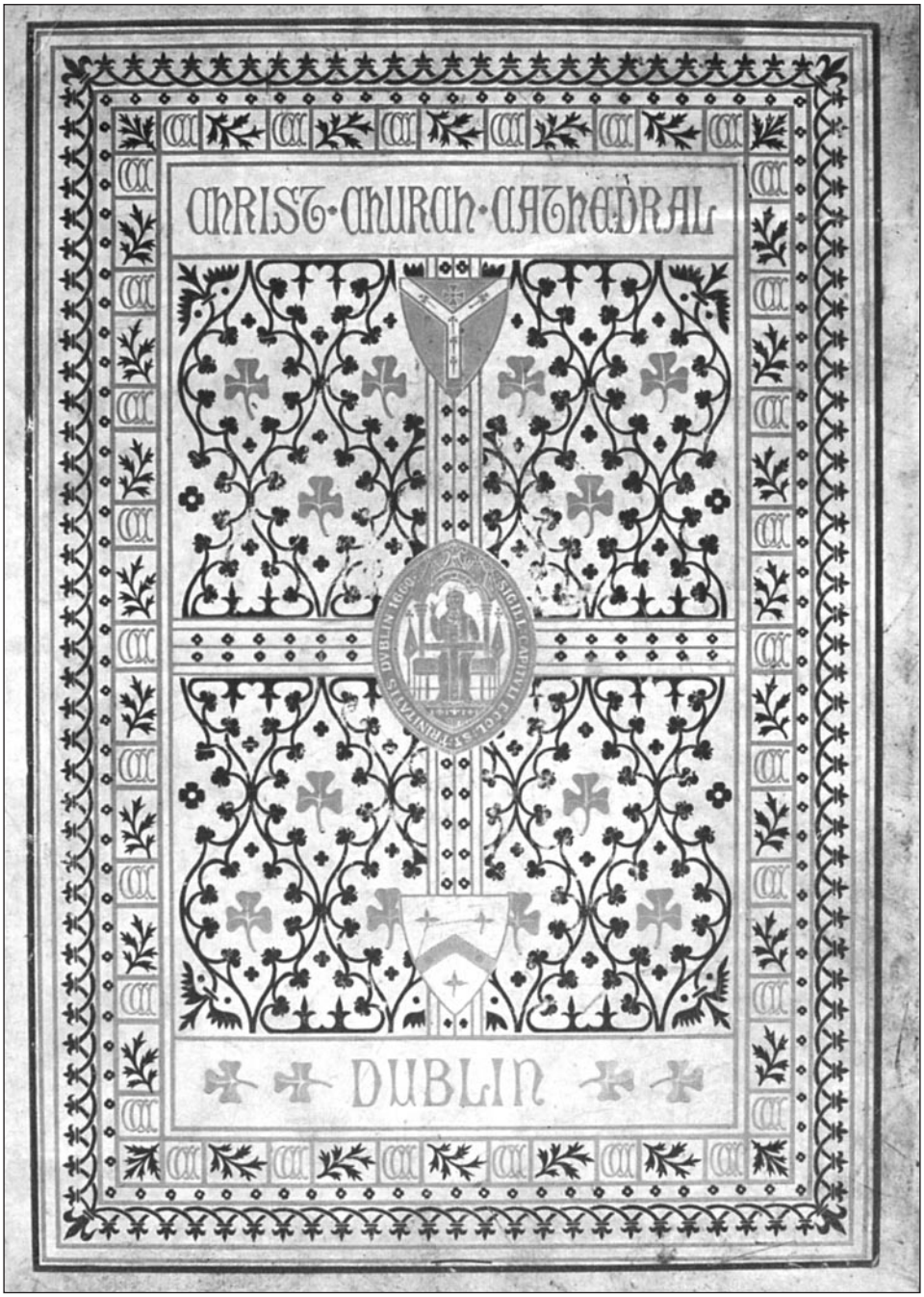


1 – Cover, George Edmund Street and Edward Seymour, 'The Cathedral of the Holy Trinity...' (London, 1882)

A philosophy of restoration: George Edmund Street at Dublin's Christ Church

SEÁN O'REILLY

> ... as long as the restorer is able to confine himself to restoring such work as that which was originally done by numerous obedient workmen from the designs and orders of one man, he is not only doing a pious and laudable act, but one which would be wrong to omit and one as to the practicality of which there is neither doubt nor difficulty. The difference between restoring – i.e. repairing exactly on its old lines – a decayed buttress whose fall threatened to bring something else more precious with it, and restoring all the buttresses and windows, is only one of degree.[1]

With these words, George Edmund Street summarised his approach to restoration in the lengthy and complete *...Account of the Restoration of the Fabric of Christ Church Cathedral*, published alongside its history in 1882 (Plate 1). The volume was the last in a series of published notices on Christ Church by Street, the first of which had been appeared in 1868 as his R*eport ... on the Restoration*.[2] This preliminary review, accompanying his designs for the restoration of the nave and west front, was developed in 1871 with the publication of a *Report of the rebuilding of the choir...*, in which he elaborated on his proposed reconstruction of the cathedral's eastern end.[3]

This sequence of publications – extending from 1868 to 1882 – provides a unique insight into the methodology, principles and philosophy on which the Victorian Revival's retrieval of the medieval past is founded. It is especially significant as it shows how the issue of the medieval revival in the High Victorian period revolves around and is encompassed by the question of restoration.

Chris Miele has emphasised the extent of the professional response to the matter of restoration in the mid-Victorian era.[4] The integrity of that response was defended at length by the *bête noir* of the newly founded Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB), George Gilbert Scott. In his *Recollections*, Scott went so far as to quote at length relevant texts, publicly reasserting his confidence in the position taken by himself and his professional fellows.[5] Scott, of course, pleaded

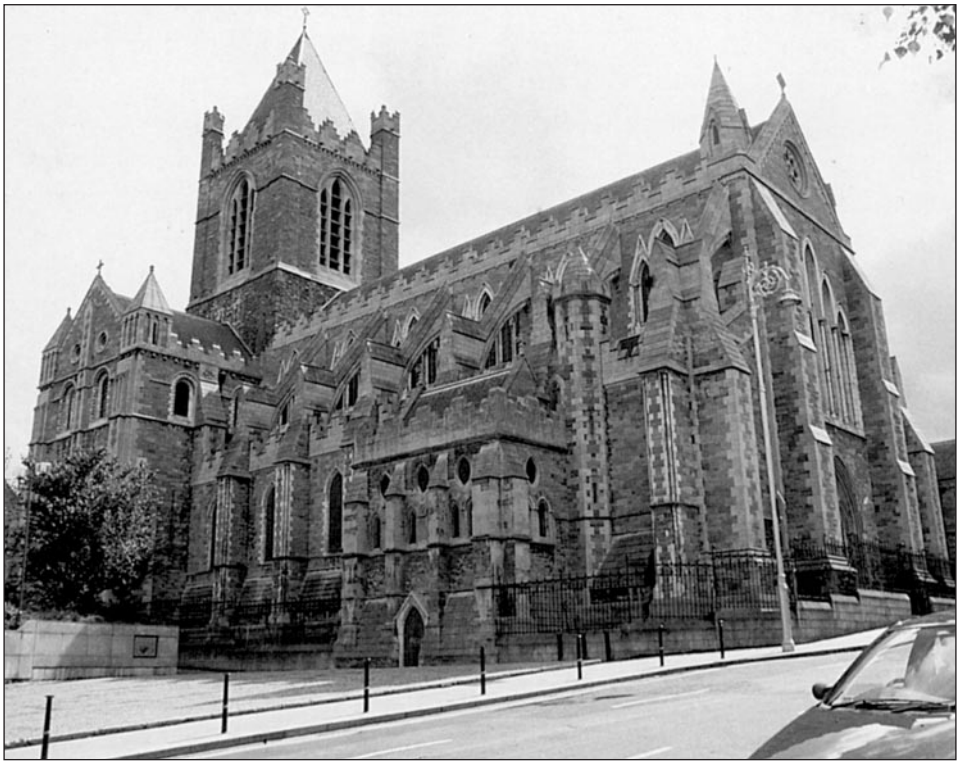
guilty to SPAB's accusations of destruction but, steadfastly defending the professional establishment, sought mitigation in blaming the patron. Yet he made this guilty plea without realising the real issues under discussion.

For all the espousal of restoration principles by the architectural profession, and SPAB's corresponding criticisms, it was not recognised that the two actually expounded on quite different concepts. Even a cursory reading of Scott's responses to SPAB's accusations shows that although he and SPAB shared the use of the term restoration, they were too far apart in their understanding of that word even to realise that they did not share its meaning. Simply if summarily put, for SPAB restoration was preservation of that which remained, while for the professional establishment it was, as often as not, the reconstruction of what had existed. This semantic disparity has a history too complex to explore in detail here, but Scott's own paper on restoration in 1850 is a key text in that confusion.[6] That history is aggravated too by Street's own presentation on the topic in 1861, and the confusion reaches its zenith during the early years of SPAB's existence.[7]

Street, distinguishing no more between the different meanings of restoration than Scott or SPAB, could never have accepted the accusations brought by SPAB against the profession. Rather he tried to explain the issue of restoration as it related to his own work, with the restoration of Christ Church as his example. Throughout the almost fifteen years of his reports on the cathedral, we may see a carefully considered philosophy of restoration that, while voicing sympathy with that which Scott would have classed as conservative restoration, remained far from SPAB's principles.

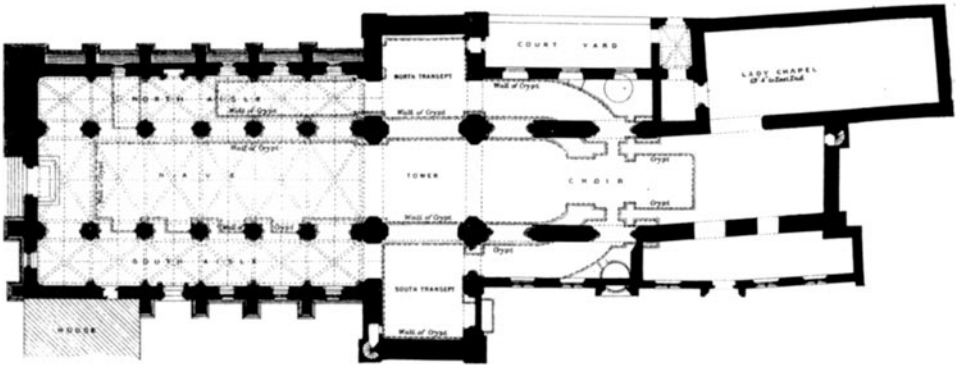
RESTORATION

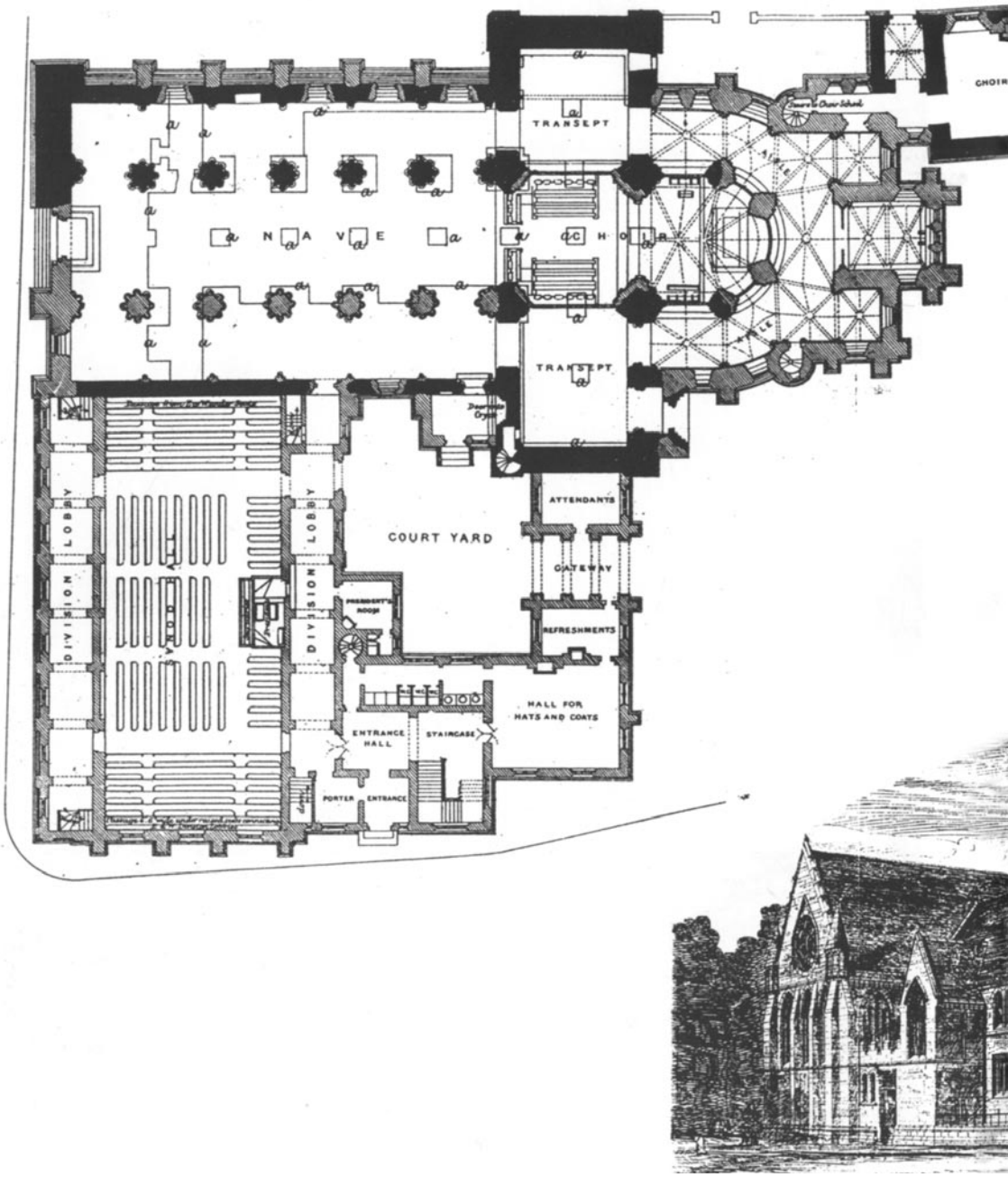
As the capital's first cathedral, and having survived the ravages of restoration that had recently caused such controversy at St Patrick's cathedral a few streets away, the issue of the restoration of Christ Church was particularly sensitive (Plate 2). Certainly the financier of the restoration, the distiller Henry Roe, proclaimed from the start a restorationist – more specifically a preservationist – approach. In a letter of 31 March 1871 to the Archbishop of Dublin, in which he offered to 'restore the fabric', he pointed out that he was 'desirous that the restoration should be satisfactorily carried out, and the architectural beauties of the Cathedral scrupulously preserved', consequently proposing 'to leave the restoration exclusively under the control of George Edmund Street, Esq., in whom the public will repose the fullest confidence that all justice will be done it'.[8] Yet for all this expression of preservationist ideals by the sponsor, the removal of the choir, intimated by Street as early as 1868,



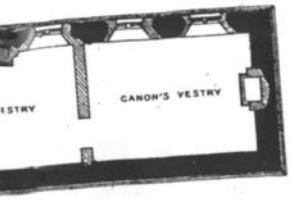
2 – View from the steeply sloping ground to the north-west and showing the exterior of the baptistery (photo: the author)

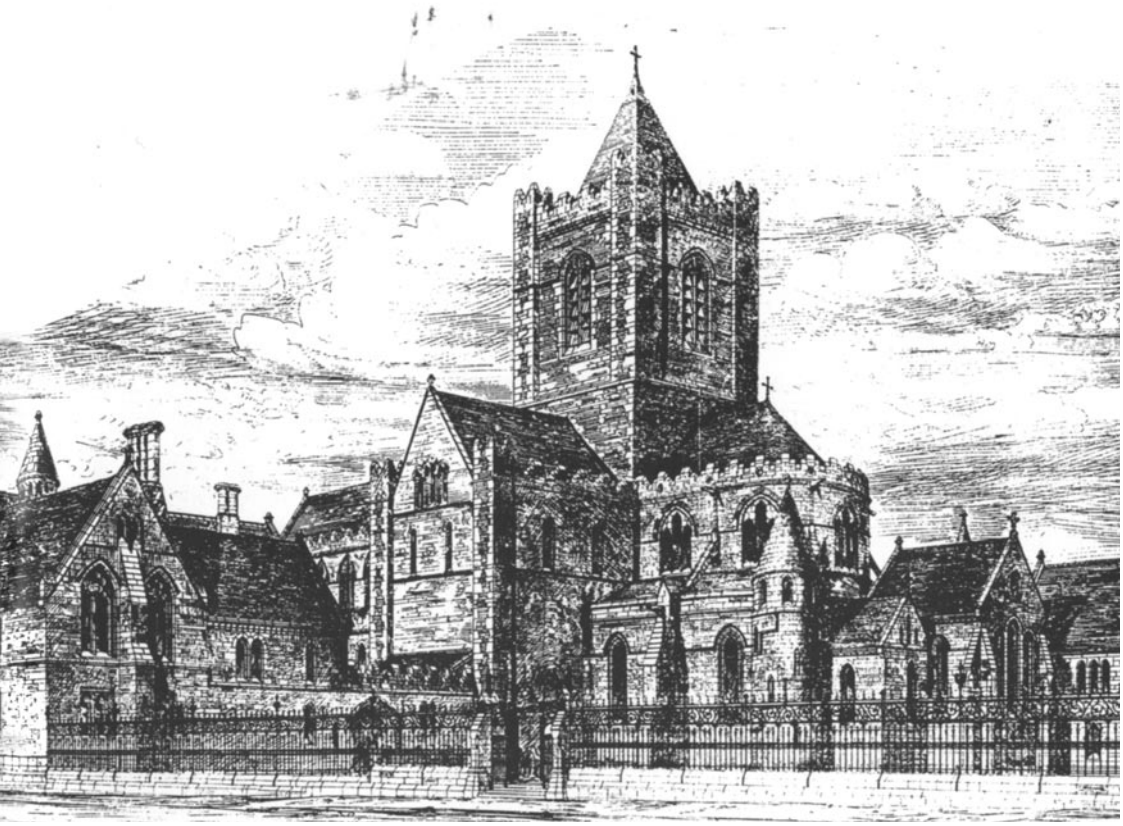
3 – G.E. Street, survey plan combining ground plan with crypt, 1868
(published in Edward Seymour, Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin *(Dublin 1869))*





4 – G.E. Street, plan of cathedral showing proposed choir and synod hall, 1871
(published in Street, Report on the rebuilding *, 1871)*





5 – View of cathedral showing Street's first proposal for an apsidal chevet
(published in Street, Report on the rebuilding *, 1871)*

would have been an obvious consequence of citing him as the architect.

Yet the professionalism of Street's approach was exemplary for its day. The consistency of Street's methodology ensured the coherence of his interpretation, the astuteness of his writings and, ultimately, his own confidence in the restoration. As recorded in his first report of 1868, Street's initial approach combined comparatively scholarly historical research alongside the preliminary study of the building fabric in a procedure inspired by Pugin.[9] Any conclusions might then properly be based on this essential preliminary work. Indeed Street was careful to determine the documentary history – thereby securing the appropriate historical authority – before making any qualitative assessment concerning the cathedral's 'existing remains, so far as they have any historical or architectural value'.[10] This sequence of documentary history, building study and qualitative assessment provides the basis for showing 'the propriety of the work' to be proposed (Plate 3).[11]

In Street's report of 1871, again following what might be considered proper procedure, he registered a further level of response to fabric undergoing restoration. He retained the option to modify proposals based upon evidence that might be uncovered, particularly with regard to determining the arrangement of the original eastern end. At this point, and before the commencement of any significant work, he noted that there were 'many questions of detail in the planning of the apse ... to leave for final decision until I can take up the pavement of the choir ... and trace ... the plan of the choir above the crypt'.[12] He reiterated the need to be able to respond to changing circumstances when he pointed out that there were 'points in the arrangement which [were] hypothetical, and in which some alterations may hereafter be required'. Here at least some of these questions would 'be settled by remains ... pretty sure to be found in the course of the removal of the modern choir'. In addition, he would 'make a point of looking carefully for whatever evidence of this kind ... whenever ... the opportunity' arose.[13] The intention was that restoration might manifest itself in its most appealing form, as a dialectic between design and discovery. The success of this procedure, and the efficiency of its execution, supported the impressive intellectual continuity evident throughout Street's concern for the phenomenon of the structure: historical, liturgical, architectural and aesthetic.

Despite such clearly defined interests, Street's philosophy did not encompass or encourage a blanket respect for old architecture. The restorationist procedure adopted at Christ Church was used to recreate an early history of the cathedral that might be restored in place of a significant part of the surviving fabric. When viewing the crypt, as part of his building study, Street 'discovered ... the whole history of the fabric written in a very clear and un-mistakable way'.[14] With the eastern end of the crypt suggesting in the choir above an arrangement consisting of a chevet terminating in square chapels beyond the ambulatory, he was to promote the reconstruc-

tion of what he saw to be the original layout.

Yet in 1868 Street cited no evidence that a choir actually had been built following this outline. All he did say was that he could 'see no reason whatever to doubt it'.[15] Furthermore, he did voice an ominous dissatisfaction with the surviving choir, though at first he dismissed 'consideration altogether, of the possibility of restoring the Choir' because of limited finances and the structural integrity of the fabric.[16] Its 'present state and its present arrangements are most unsatisfactory', he reported, and regretted 'beyond measure that we have not still in existence the short thirteenth century Choir, with its Apse – its Eastern Chapels, and its Turrets'. Already the urge to reconstruct was barely resistible.

Though aware of the need for alterations Street had, relatively early in the process, decided on the designs for the restoration of the original choir. Largely this was based on a preliminary survey and stripping back around the choir, and was worked out in some detail by 1871 (Plate 4). Within the fabric then extant, he identified the first two arches east of the crossing as original, being part of what he described as 'the circular face of the apse wall' of the original chevet.[17] This, 'upon careful examination' he noted somewhat ambitiously, would 'be found to be planned on lines radiating from the centre'. Consequently, he first proposed an apsidal termination to the new chevet, the standard treatment for the day (Plate 5). However, based upon the recovery of further evidence, the scheme was to be revised in execution to form the polygonal termination finally executed.[18]

More imaginative inference was adopted in the layout of the choir east of the two surviving arches adjacent to the crossing. The survival in the long choir of an arch identified by Street as the eastern-most arch of the original chevet – which he interpreted as having been relocated northerly from and perpendicular to its original position, to form the northern arch at the entrance to the later choir – suggested the unique arrangement of alternating large and small arches in the choir as presented in his own reconstruction. Despite its curiosity, this arrangement appealed to Street, and was retained on the grounds of historical authenticity. The subordinate arches in the choir were less fortunate. Found to be semicircular, Street thought these 'a peculiarity ... unwise to follow' as the 'choir will be seen fully from, and in connection with the nave'.[19] In effect, given the pointed character of the nave's restored fabric, for aesthetic reasons these arches acquired from their new architect a pointed profile.

The significant degree of inference represented by this conjectural reconstruction of the choir, and the architect's daring willingness to reinvent as part of his restoration, indicates the remarkable extent of presumption about the past. Such presumption is reflected also in Street's removal of the existing choir, in this case on the basis of its architectural failings. It is epitomised, however, in his confidence

in the reconstructed scheme. This exceptional presumption, effected within a methodology comparatively refined within the wider context of restoration in Ireland and England, suggests a different approach to the past than that expressed by preservationists.

Street preferred a rather more radical restoration, in fact a restoration of the past. The principle upon which he worked may be summarised quite easily, with the continuity between the thirteenth and nineteenth centuries – the fact of these two worlds being in effect the same – permitting the true restoration of the original lay-out, provided it be based on inference from adequate surviving fabric. For Street, rejecting the social imperatives invoked since Pugin, the fundamentals of architecture and building were no different in the thirteenth century than in the nineteenth, or than they had been at any other time. Consequently, responses in the form of architectural design and construction might be exactly similar. Issues such as poor construction, the quality of worker, architectural responsibility, creative design and even church layout – and all the attendant variables – persisted through all ages, linking them together rather than separating them. Naturally specific high points of architecture might be identified, such as the thirteenth century and – implicitly – Street's own, and these achieved especial importance and shared a special sympathy.

For a consummate professional such as Street, the initial proof of continuity between the ages lay in his observation of the persistent failings of the builder or workman:

> The truth is that unwise constructors and dishonest builders have not been confined to any one period. At some times good and honest construction has been very generally the rule; at other times it has been sadly neglected.[20]

For Street,

> the mere workman of the thirteenth century was in no respect whatever superior to the mere workman of the nineteenth century. He confined himself to doing explicitly what he was told, implicitly following the directions of his master.[21]

Certainly, as throughout the history of architecture, given the failure of the master, in Street's eyes the worker would never come to the rescue. He cited the original piers at Christ Church as an example, these being 'all but in the worst possible way'. He then went on to observe that it

> is a fair assumption that some thirty masons at the least were at work on these columns, and can it be supposed that not one of these men was aware that that the work he was doing was bad, and could not be safely done? The supposition would be absurd, and it is clear that what happened was the

> workmen absolved themselves of all responsibility, worked the stones they were ordered to work, and ate their meals between times with the same *sang froid* that marks their successors at the present day.[22]

For Street, the principle of the architect as the creative force in building design also persists throughout the ages, including the medieval period. Although a building may be 'the work of a number of men', they 'work from instructions given to them probably by one man', the true artist in the design.[23] Thus, for example, in medieval architecture, 'no feature ... is more important, or more affects the general effect of a building, than the great moulded plinth', and though 'its execution may have occupied a gang of workmen for weeks or months ... this base must have been designed by one man'.[24]

The controlling supervisor – architect or master-mason – in addition held the position of final responsibility in whichever era one considered. In the thirteenth century, for example, the architect 'balanced and counterpoised his walls and thrusts with extraordinary dexterity', and when these failed, as at Beauvais, he took responsibility: 'It was not bad workmanship, but too great daring.' [25] Similarly the designer of the later long choir at Christ Church might be castigated for his failings, notably its misalignment. On this matter, Street observed that, after its demolition, the 'architect who was content to make the bend in the length of the choir in so rude and unsightly a fashion, was not a man of great parts; and it is hardly a subject of regret, therefore, that none of his handiwork remains'.[26]

As the architect accepted responsibility for failure, so too he received credit for triumph. It was always the artistry of the architect that could allow for the quality of the whole. Reluctantly admitting that the 'workman ... impressed himself at most on the carved works of the capitals' ('at Christ Church these have been religiously retained', Street reminds us),

> the rest of the design was the work of an able master-mason or architect who decided all ... One hand is evident ... and the master's ideas have been carried out with exact skill by the multitude of workmen under him.[27]

Within this aesthetic, 'the design ... in a piece of architecture is the really precious thing', not the actual fabric. In restoration, consequently, despite the loss of the original material, given sufficient evidence the building might be returned to 'exactly' the state the original architect had 'left it'. [28] To this Street added one proviso, that proper procedures should be followed.

Street illustrated the possibility of correctly copying original details by following that which he took to be the original practice, where craftsmen worked 'from models made by the architect himself'.[29] The medieval precedent for this method

was suggested to Street by 'the regular and repeated foliage of the cornices of the aisles of York Minster', and he boasted also of following it in the Courts of Justice in London, where

> the carving and sculpture has first been sketched, and then modelled, or altered and corrected in the clay, by [the architect's] own hands, and then executed from casts by a number of skilled and excellent carvers.[30]

Consequently by simply repeating the procedures of the past in the present day, secure in the knowledge that for his own workmen 'there was no more to invent than ... [the original architect's] workmen invented', Street could guarantee the essential authenticity of his new work.

Clearly, while continuity was of the essence, certain eras naturally possessed a greater degree of inherent sympathy, and the special links between thirteenth and nineteenth century promoted Street's confidence in the rightness of reconstructing the original choir (Plate 6). Ecclesiologically, the issues raised by the original arrangement were especially appealing to Street for, considering

> our reduced Cathedral establishments, and our desire to see our Cathedral naves made thoroughly useful, it is probable that any architect who had to build a new Cathedral would now revert to some such plan as that which ... was originally seen in the Choir.[31]

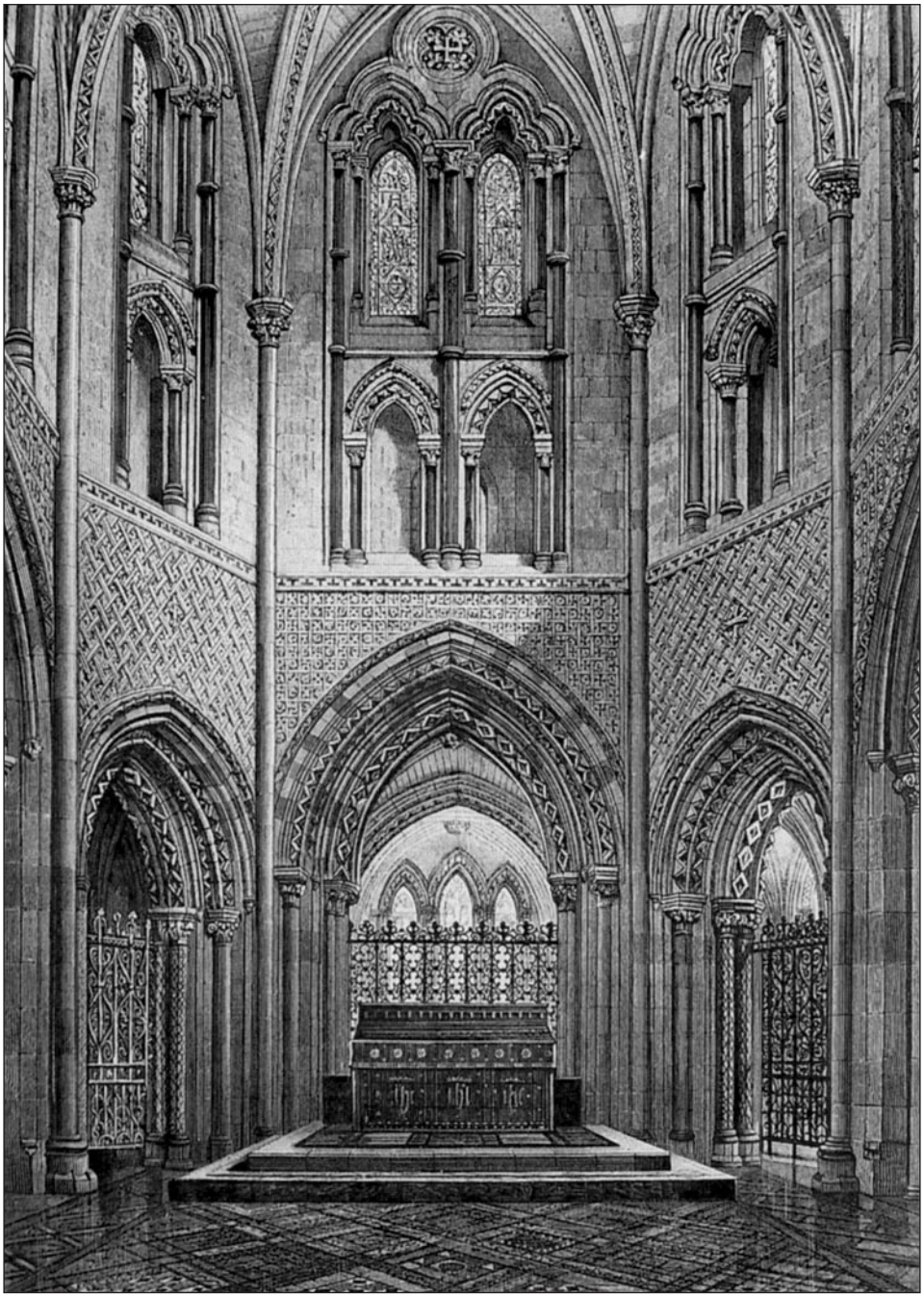
Street reasons that

> such a choir would not only be more effective than the present Choir ever can be, but it would at the same time have been admirably adapted for our modern use and for the reduced staff of Clergy and Choir who serve the Cathedral.[32]

He developed this theme more fully in his report on the finished work in 1882, again emphasising the special harmony between the two centuries.

In both thirteenth and nineteenth centuries 'the constructional choir' was 'a very small and very unimportant part of the whole edifice' as the clergy were 'comparatively few in number'.[33] Choirs which had been originally small, after the thirteenth century increased in scale due to the specific needs of monasteries 'which had to provide ... for the large number of regular inmates, all of them bound to be in their places for daily worship', thereby requiring that churches be 'built with longer choirs'.[34] In the nineteenth century, the needs paralleled the earlier rather than the later pattern, and

> Beautiful as are the enlarged choirs of our cathedrals ... the architect who thinks of the services of the Church of the present day ... finds himself most at ease when the choir ... is ... only of moderate size.[35]



6 – The restored choir

(published in Street and Seymour, Christ Church Cathedral, *1882)*

Thereby he provided final confirmation of the reasonableness of restoring the original arrangement. Consequently, even liturgically the thirteenth and nineteenth centuries possessed a special affinity. Furthermore, the ideology of ecclesiology may be seen to be an acceptable consideration within restoration objectives.

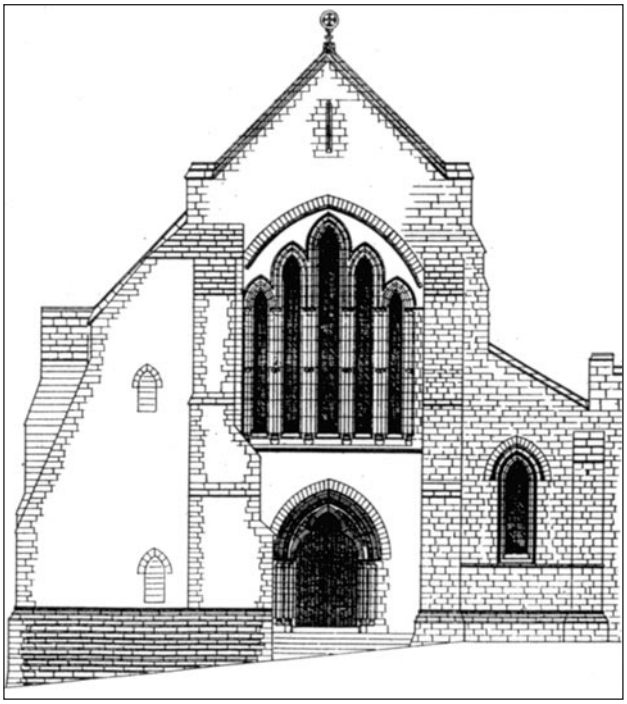
Given such a need to reinstate, on those occasions where little or no evidence survived to indicate details or even features, the invention of the good modern architect could be at least as successful as that of the original designer, provided appropriate finance was available. Indeed the new work should be so effective as to allow the original work to be reinvented despite the lack of clear evidence. For Street, proof positive of that sympathetic continuity occurred in his reinstatement of the west front. This had been 'entirely modernised', with 'nothing to respect and nothing that the most zealous stickler for the conservation of old work could have desired to remain unaltered' (Plate 7).[36] Realising that originally a fine front would have existed, he 'designed a large double-doorway'. During its construction 'a large jamb-stone [was] discovered in the wall'. Fortunately this 'exactly agreed with my full-size section'. As the stone was 'discovered in time to be used', it was 'built into the new doorway'(Plate 8).[37] No finer confirmation of the unity and continuity of original and restoration could be desired. Indeed the contrast between these two designs, each in their day presented under the title of 'restoration', emphasises the distances that might be covered under the one term.

It is at this point that we see justification for the architect taking on the role of inventor, ostensibly sympathetic and improving, but requiring no authority from on-site precedent. Street's internal remodelling of the crossing tower could be effected without any immediate historic authority, but simply on the basis of aesthetic judgement and ecclesiological function. Inside the cathedral, the tower's arches remained 'several feet lower than the arches of the vaulting ... and an intolerable obstruction to the whole effect of the internal perspective'.[38] The sound construction of the tower required that Street retain it, despite its detrimental effect on the internal space, and so, with no other justification than aesthetics and liturgical practicality, Street proposed to raise the arches of the tower in line with the vault (Plate 9).

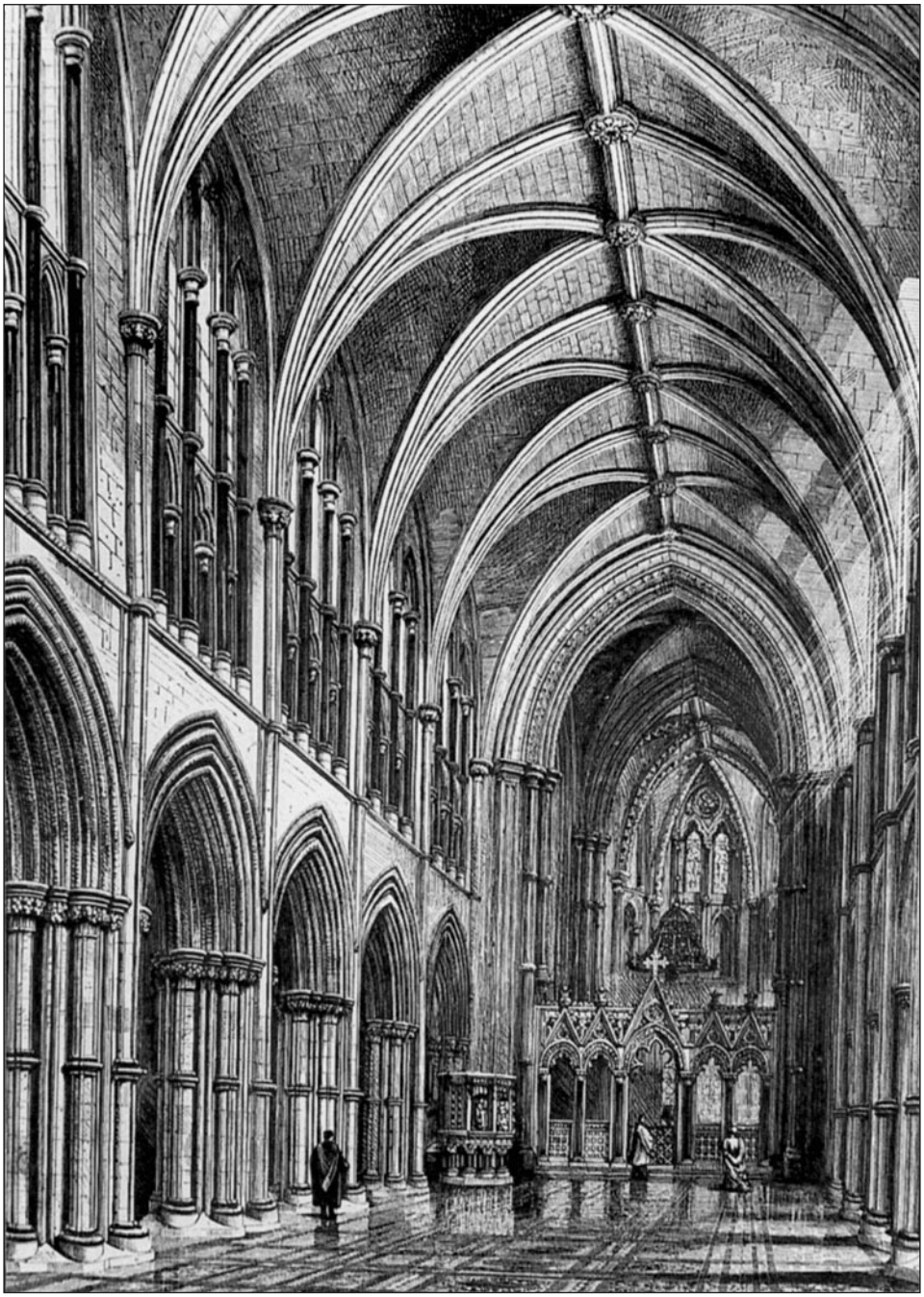
Sensitive to the degree of intervention required of his proposed improvement through modernisation, the tower suffered proportionately greater architectural criticism by Street. It was

> carried on very rude pointed arches ... their piers were rude and unsightly, plain, roughly dressed and, in short, their existence was a complete eye-sore ... they had no kind of merit, artistic, historic or antiquarian. They were hideous in themselves; they were comparatively modern, and no one knew exactly who built them ... also the tower had been altered in so wretched a

7 – G.E. Street, west elevation, 1868
(published in Street, Report ... on the Restoration*)*



8 – Restored west front
(published in Street and Seymour, Christ Church Cathedral, *1882)*



9 – The restored nave

(published in Street and Seymour, Christ Church Cathedral, *1882)*

> style that not a vestige remained of any work so good as the rude pointed arches which carried it.[39]

Street found some comfort in his raising of the arches through executing the alteration 'in the old fashion, rather than in the new', that is, 'by leaving the old work, and cutting out by degrees, and inserting bit by bit, and stone by stone, new arches above the old'.[40]

With less historic fabric extant on the exterior, Street could take more license. As early as 1868, when finance was still limited, he decided 'to take the opportunity afforded by these works to make some alterations', among which were to be included 'the characteristic Irish battlements', double-stepped crenellations later much criticised for their incongruity.[41] Similarly, with the foundations of a single circular tower recovered on the south-east of the choir, and thinking 'it very probable' that there had been a respond on the north side, as 'we usually find two such turrets if there is one', Street proposed to 'restore' this northern tower too.[42] The flying buttresses were equally personal innovations. Flying buttresses were first introduced by Street on the cathedral as an expedient when in 1868 they were placed on the north wall to stop it toppling.[43] When, through Roe's generosity, additional funds became available, Street repeated the buttresses throughout. Evidently, pragmatic expediency founded on necessity was developed into more complete expression.

Street's will to invent manifested itself with equal imagination, if more subtlety, in his designs based on existing features. Nowhere were more demands made on his invention than in the development of the choir above the main arches, an area for which no significant evidence survived. Here he 'decided to introduce freely the same kind of enriched mouldings throughout as those of the five arches of the lower stages',[44] admitting to indulging his admiration for the early style,[45] but remaining scrupulous in originating his designs in existing details (Plate 6). Despite such improvisation, Street firmly believed in the historical validity of the choir that he rebuilt, and considered it first as a restoration. Of the design, he wrote: 'I know of few works of restoration which might be undertaken with more certainty that a really ancient feature is being recovered',[46] it being 'recovered, as it were, almost from the grave, before our eyes and under our hands'.[47]

The design of the baptistery has been described as 'the most stupendous example of Street's architectural detailing at Christ Church', with its exterior possessing 'the stunning force of a waterfall' (Plates 10, 11).[48] The scheme was developed after the discovery beside the north-western aisle bay of 'a chamber which had evidently been vaulted in three narrow bays, the spaces under the vaulting being panelled with two pointed arches and a vescia above'.[49] This Street transformed into highly sophisticated architectural creation. However, he could retain no

10-11 – The exterior and interior of the restored baptistery (published in Street and Seymour, Christ Church Cathedral, *1882).*

original fabric, as 'every portion, not only of this chapel, but also of the aisle wall, had for safety's sake to be re-built'.[50] Furthermore, due to the narrowness of the adjacent lane, he was required to move the site one bay east of its original location. Street, notably and not surprisingly, persists in describing the new baptistery as a restoration.[51] However it is equally evident that, following this procedure, the actual fabric of the 'restored' structure bears no more necessary relation to its antecedent at Christ Church than any design bears to its artistic source. Yet for Street the new design, for all its physical and formal distance from the original, is still a restoration.

This clarifies the central issue concerning the question of reviving the Gothic. One may observe at Christ Church a methodology based on the overlapping procedures of reinstatement, using inference from surviving medieval work; of re-creation, presuming continuity between medieval and modern to justify extrapolation; and pure artistic invention, based on the privilege of the creative artist to design in sympathy with historic precedent, as required – indeed as demanded – of any revivalist.

Throughout this work in Dublin, no less in the revival's last flowering in 1868 than in 1882, after the arrival of SPAB, we find these distinct approaches encompassed under the single heading of restoration. Yet here restoration is conservative in intention, eclectic in inspiration and destructive on occasion, even if always ostensibly justified by a confident sense of continuity between past and present. However, despite the vociferous aspiration to restoration, there in no more demand for a specific precedent than there is in any other works in the style of the medieval revival, or indeed of any other revived style of architecture.

Ecclesiastical architecture, as a type, possessed further justification for more radical intervention. Street's restoration of Christ Church to the original state intended by its first designer, was allied with the reinstatement of an arrangement presented as liturgically appropriate to modern requirements as it had been to such needs originally, and could easily justify the sacrifice of a poorly built choir. Street's sympathy with Scott's perception of the peculiar needs of ecclesiastical architecture is clear. Street asserted, as did Scott, the need for considering ecclesiastical function within the concept of restoration, and both Street and his patron might be included among those 'seriously thinking people' described by Scott who could never be convinced that 'it is wrong "to restore churches from motives of religion"', all agreeing that the churches 'were built from such motives, and must ever be treated with like aim'.[52]

Street differed from Scott in seeing practical demands as being encompassed within the philosophy of restoration, not as justifying exceptions to its procedures. While Street agreed at the most fundamental level with Scott's demand to recognise

that 'any attempt to banish religious motives from the treatment of churches is suicidal',[53] he saw the need for intervention as a wider issue both within restoration and revival. As Scott enthusiastically demanded, so too Street reasoned, and founded on his own assertion of continuity between past and present a philosophy restoration that was equally one of revival.

Following Pugin, for Street, alongside the establishment Goths of his generation, the revival of the Gothic was a real possibility, and restoration simultaneously proof of and a synonym for that revival. For members of SPAB, the possibilities of the medieval revival were more problematic, but the texture wrought by time certainly unique. Their restoration, a synonym for preservation, was defined by its antithesis, destruction. It remains a long way from Street's understanding, represented by the quotation presented at the start of this paper. For George Edmund Street, the Gothic revival and the Gothic were one.

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ENDNOTES

This essay is developed from a paper presented at the annual symposium of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain held in February 1997 and entitled 'Gothic and the Gothic Revival'. The author is grateful to the organisers of the symposium for permission to advance here the arguments discussed there; to Professor Roger Stalley, who in the preparation of his complementary paper on the history of the medieval Christ Church, provided this author with essential background; to Professor Alistair Rowan for his suggestions, and to Dr Deborah Mays for her refinement of both text and structure.

1 George Edmund Street and Edward Seymour, *The Cathedral of the Holy Trinity commonly called Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin...* (London 1882) 78.

2 George Edmund Street, *Report to the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, on the Restoration of the Cathedral* (Dublin 1868).

3 George Edmund Street, *Report on the rebuilding of the choir of Christ Church Cathedral Dublin, and on the erection of a Synod Hall for the Church of Ireland* (Dublin 1871).

4 Chris Miele, 'Their interest and habit': professionalism and the restoration of medieval

churches, 1837-77', in Chris Brooks and Andrew Saint, eds, *The Victorian Church, Architecture and Societ*y (Manchester and New York 1995) 151-72.

5 George Gilbert Scott, *Personal and Professional Recollections* (Stamford, 1995 (1879)).

6 George Gilbert Scott, *A plea for the faithful restoration of our ancient churches* (1850).

7 (George Street), 'On the restoration of Ancient Buildings – Architectural Exhibition', *Builder*, 8 June 1861, 388-90; and Miele, loc. cit.

8 Street and Seymour, *Christ Church Cathedral*, 54.

9 Street, *Report ... on the Restoration*, 3-8. Among numerous sources relating to the background to Street's procedure of restoration at Christ Church, the reader is directed to the following, in addition to those listed separately in the notes: 'Observations on the proposed restoration of the cathedral and suggestions as to new site for new Synod hall...', *Irish Builder*, 1 June 1871, 137-39; William Butler, 'Christ Church Cathedral...', *Irish Builder*, 1 March 1871, 60-63; 15 March 1871, 70-71; William Butler, *The Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity Dublin (Christ Church)...* (London 1901); Thomas Drew, 'Christchurch or the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, Dublin', *Builder*, 5 May 1894, 349-52; Robert B. M'Vittie, *Details of the restoration of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin....* (Dublin 1878); Edward Seymour, *Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin* (Dublin 1869).

10 *ibid*., 3.

11 *ibid*.

12 Street, *Report on the rebuilding*, 8-9.

13 *ibid*., 12.

14 Street, *Report ... on the Restoration*, 9.

15 *ibid*., 11.

16 *ibid*., 15. The recent re-evaluation of this part of the building by Prof Roger Stalley, presented as part of the conference for which this paper was prepared and is in press, considers in detail what was actually sacrificed by Street here in more detail. As may be observed in the discussion below, with regard to any reinstatement Street makes only limited distinction between the sacrifice of medieval and of Georgian Gothic.

17 Street, *Report on the rebuilding*, 6.

18 For which see the scheme illustrated in 'Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin', *The Architect*, 3 October 1874.

19 Street, *Report on the rebuilding*, 7.

20 Street and Seymour, *Christ Church Cathedral*, 111.

21 *ibid*., 74.

22 *ibid*., 75.

23 *ibid*., 74.

24 *ibid*.

25 *ibid*., 111.

26 *ibi*d., 92.

27 *ibid*., 118.

28 *ibid*., 117.

29 *ibid*., 76.

30 *ibid*.

31 Street, *Report ... on the Restoration*, 12.

32 *ibid*., 15.

[33] Street and Seymour, *Christ Church Cathedral*, 81.
[34] *ibid*.
[35] *ibid*., 85.
[36] *ibid*., 117.
[37] *ibid*.
[38] *ibid*., 128.
[39] *ibid*.
[40] *ibid*.
[41] Street, *Report ... on the Restoration*, 18. It is interesting to note that he had this in mind as early as 1868.
[42] Street, *Report on the rebuilding*, 7.
[43] Street, *Report ... on the Restoration*, 17.
[44] Street and Seymour, *Christ Church Cathedral*, 94.
[45] *ibid*., 95.
[46] Street, *Report on the rebuilding*, 8.
[47] Street and Seymour, *Christ Church Cathedral*, 150.
[48] Douglas Scott Richardson, *Gothic Revival Architecture in Ireland*, 2 vols (Yale PhD, 1970 (annotated hard copy in the collection of the Irish Architectural Archive, Dublin)) ii, 620.
[49] Street and Seymour, *Christ Church Cathedral*, 122. The feature is discussed in further detail by Prof Stalley in the paper cited in note 16 above.
[50] *ibid*., 123
[51] *ibid*.
[52] Scott, *Recollections*, 420.
[53] Street and Seymour, *Christ Church Cathedral*, 421.

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