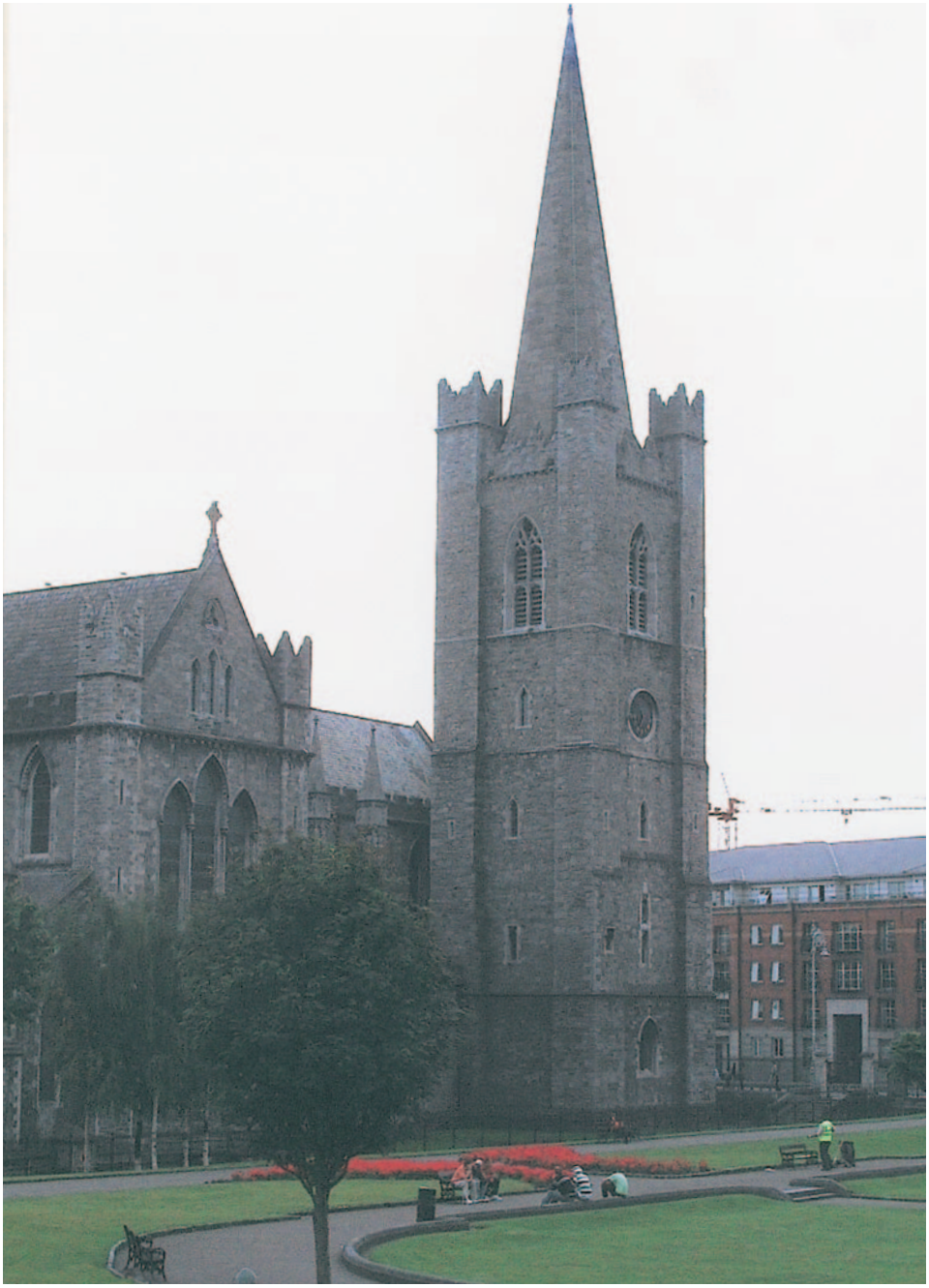


1 – St Patrick's steeple, 1749-50, by George Semple
(all photos by the author unless otherwise stated)

Chapel Royal and symbol of the Church militant: the iconography of Christ Church and St Patrick's cathedrals, Dublin, *c*.1660-1760

ROBIN USHER

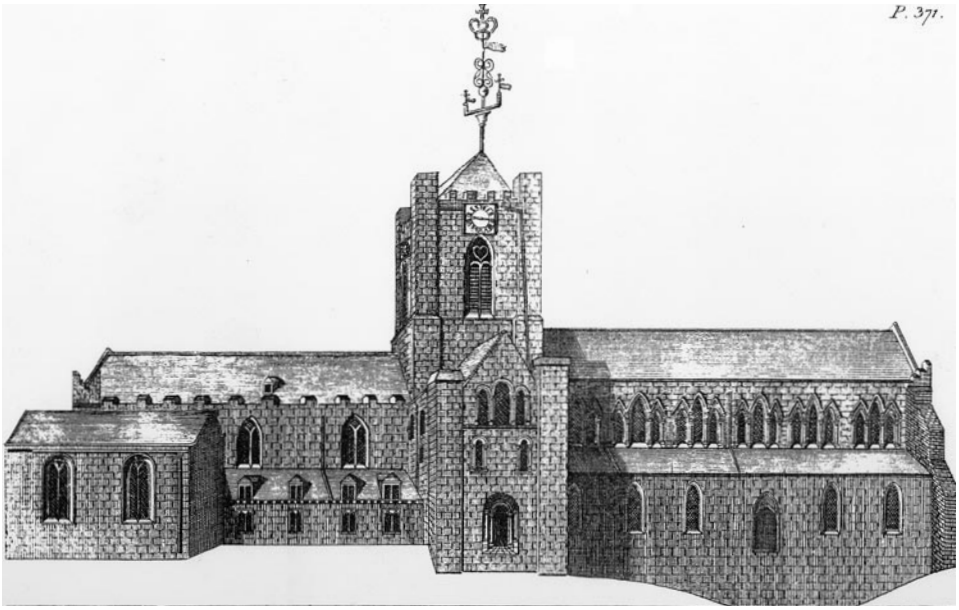
WORKS OF ARCHITECTURE OF MEDIEVAL ORIGIN FEATURE ONLY OCCASIONALLY in *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies*,[1] and were generally absent from its predecessor, the *Quarterly Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society*. However, this essay, exploring the iconography and State uses of Christ Church and St Patrick's cathedrals in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, is an adaptation rather than a contradiction of the rule, as the two buildings in question had a long and important afterlife in the early modern capital. In the period 1660 to 1760, the city's pair of Anglican cathedrals were structurally consolidated, re-ornamented inside and out, and otherwise adapted to facilitate Irish Protestant worship and supplementary commemorative activity.[2] In what follows, the interfaces between architecture, ritual and symbol are explored in an attempt to chart the meanings inherent in and ascribed to Dublin's premier places of worship during an era usually characterised as one of political, social and religious stabilisation.[3] There are two motives behind this approach: first, it will allow for a preliminary survey of the most significant of the architectural changes made to the cathedrals; secondly, as the essay progresses, it shall demonstrate how the study of the ritual deployments of particular buildings can be used to investigate some of the cultural dimensions of urban ecclesiastical authority in Stuart and Georgian Dublin.

The symbolic power of Dublin's cathedrals was well understood by their seventeenth- and eighteenth-century custodians, even if their bad material condition frequently led to complaints. In May of 1713, the formidable Archbishop of Dublin, William King, wrote a letter of welcome to Jonathan Swift following his elevation to the deanery of St Patrick's, and issued a set of instructions about the maintenance

of the place. Swift is advised that the previous dean, John Stearne, 'did a great deal to his church and house', and is now asked to contract with workmen to build a brick spire on the cathedral's bare fourteenth-century tower. Done soon, King argues, the work will create employment and win the esteem of the indigents, in addition to the visual enhancement it would give to the cathedral. Swift's reply procrastinates about the costs involved, and King's subsequent response urges him to waste no more time. In the end, the spire was not constructed until 1749-50, five years after Swift's death and twenty-one after King's, but it is noteworthy that one of the dean's first responsibilities, as the Archbishop saw it, was to ensure that St Patrick's – the cathedral of which King, himself a prolific and opinionated church-builder, had once been chancellor – cut the right figure in its locality.[4] As the second of the most senior places of worship in Dublin, it was also the capital's largest, and, to roughly the same degree as its companion cathedral Christ Church (so King recognised), it represented an important part of the city's religious iconography.[5] Just as revealingly, when King entered a dispute with the chapter of Christ Church about corruption and disobedience in the cathedral administration, a key indictment was that 'They squander away economy, have turned their chapter-house into a toy-shop, their vaults into wine-cellars ... their cathedral is in a pitiful condition.'[6]

Such complaints about the condition of Christ Church (Plate 2) were exaggerated but not unjustified. Later, in 1777, Thomas Campbell, a somewhat prim Ulster clergyman, dismissed it and St Patrick's as 'mean Gothic buildings', and most contemporary commentators wrote in a similar vein.[7] However, the decay of Dublin's elder churches ran against their distinguished heritage. Thanks to a valuable essay collection edited by Kenneth Milne, the basics are now well known.[8] Christ Church had been established in the middle of the eleventh century and raised to cathedral status prior to the Norman conquest. The medieval fabric mostly dated to *c*.1200-35. Positioned on a spine of high ground in the core of the old, walled city (Plate 3), it was, in legal terms, the premier church of the diocese and archdiocese of Dublin, and was used by the viceregal court as the country's Chapel Royal.[9] Moreover, it had a string of local connections, containing the chapel of the Merchants' Guild and pews for the Lord Mayor and the Lord Lieutenant.[10] In addition to the freeholds of the dean's estate, the cathedral was also ensconced by a liberty of approximately one acre, technically immune to the jurisdiction of the corporation of Dublin.[11] With its multiple roles, the position of Christ Church as the leading ecclesiastical foundation in the capital was never in question, even if its building presented a somewhat miserable spectacle.

St Patrick's (Plate 4), a far more imposing edifice, began as an Anglo-Norman collegiate church and achieved cathedral rank at an unknown point. The chapter did not have the same litany of privileges as that at Christ Church, though it too had a small municipality of its own (Plate 5).[12] Topographically, the main draw-

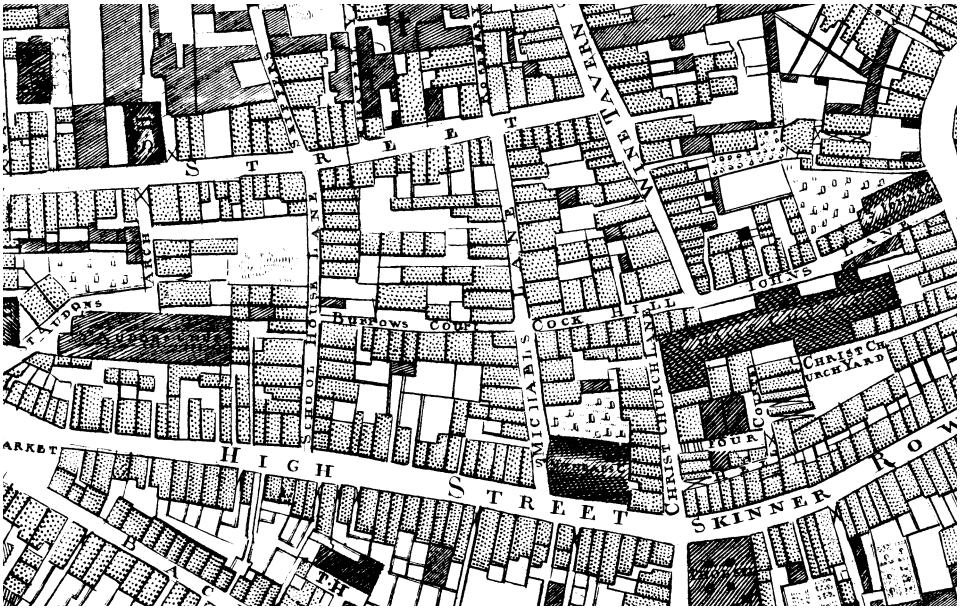


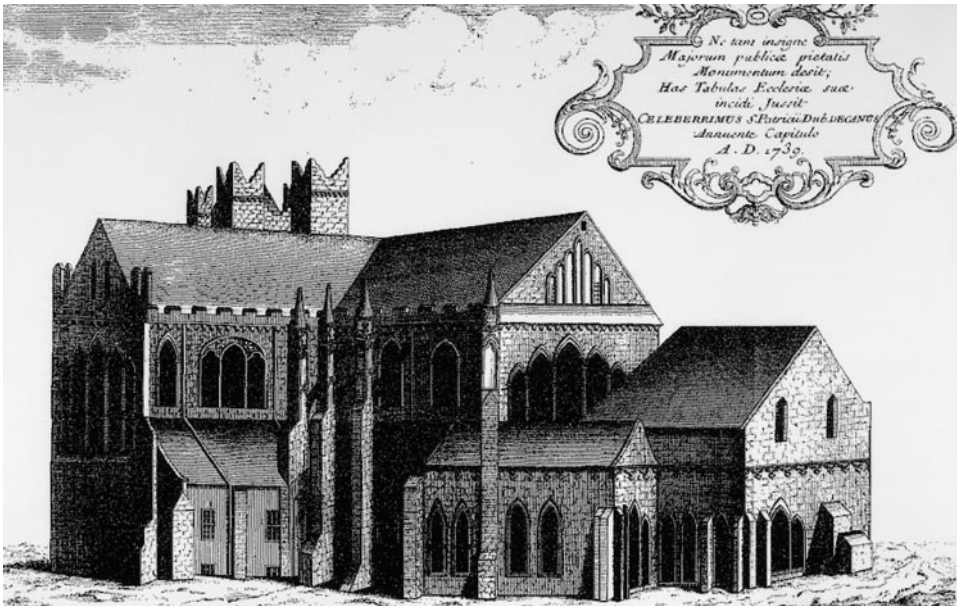
2 – Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin

from Walter Harris, The History and Antiquities of the City of Dublin, from the Earliest Accounts (1766)

3 – Christ Church and its environs

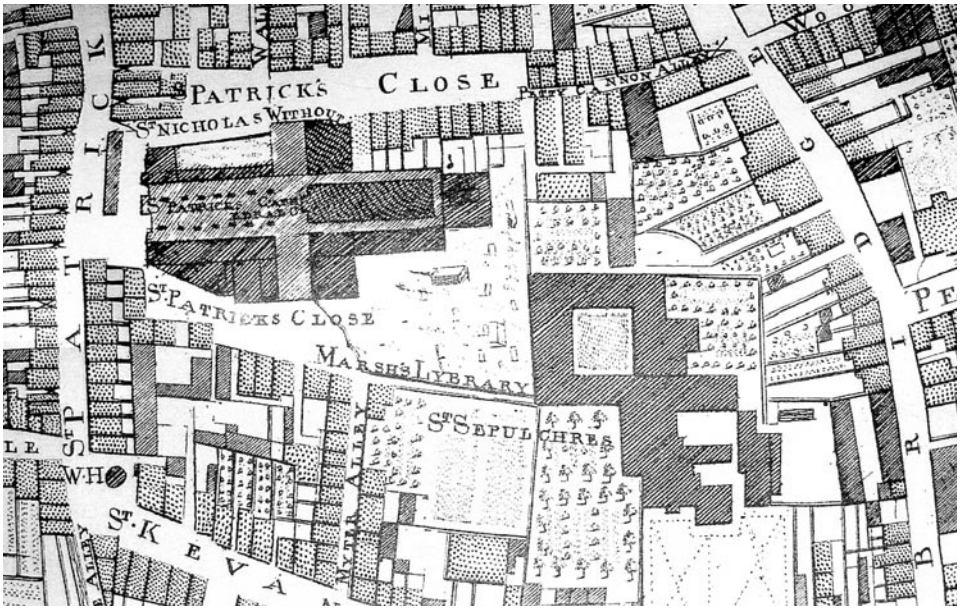
from John Rocque, An Exact survey of the city and suburbs of Dublin (1756) (courtesy NLI)

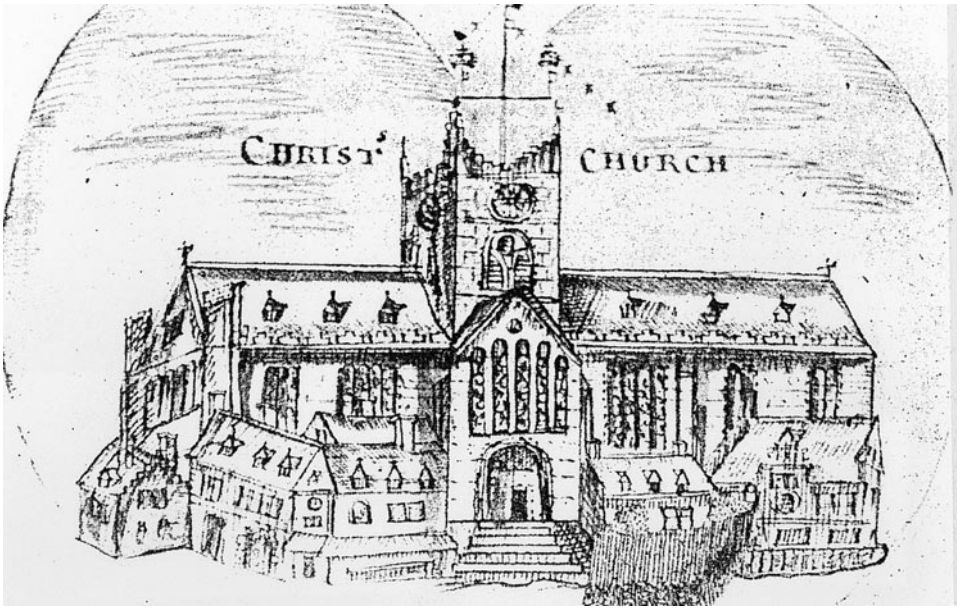




4 – St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, from the southeast
from Walter Harris (ed.), The Whole Works of Sir James Ware Concerning Ireland, Revised and Improved 3 vols (2nd edn., Dublin, 1764) I

5 – St Patrick's and its environs, from Rocque, An Exact survey (courtesy National Library of Ireland)





6 – Christ Church Cathedral in 1681
from Thomas Dineley, 'Observations of a Tour in Ireland', 1681 (courtesy National Library of Ireland, MS 392)

back of St Patrick's was that it had been built on a sunken plateau outside the old, walled city centre. Flooding was common.[13] The social milieu was also troublesome. The liberty of St Patrick was more industrial than the mainly commercial area around Christ Church, meaning that the economic lapses of the 1720s and 1740s turned the locality into one of the most poverty-ridden parts of the capital. Deprivation soared in Swift's quarters.[14]

Regardless, a visitor to Dublin in 1660 – or, indeed, 1760 – would have had some difficulty in perceiving the exact material extent of its cathedrals, though far more so in one case than in the other. Christ Church once dominated the skyline of the city as a reminder of its colonial past, but in the period studied it was encircled by a cluster of commercial premises and houses of uncertain vintage.[15] A drawing made in 1681 by the English lawyer Thomas Dineley shows the cathedral's northern flank, probably viewed from the depressed area at the foot of Winetavern Street (Plate 6). Even from this vantage point, a welter of roofs huddle around the carcass of the building. The other side, to Skinner's Row, was worse. Since the early seventeenth century, the courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas, Chancery and Exchequer occupied the site of the ruined cloisters, badly obscuring the cathedral's south side.[16]

Behind this jumble of ramshackle secular structures, Christ Church itself was

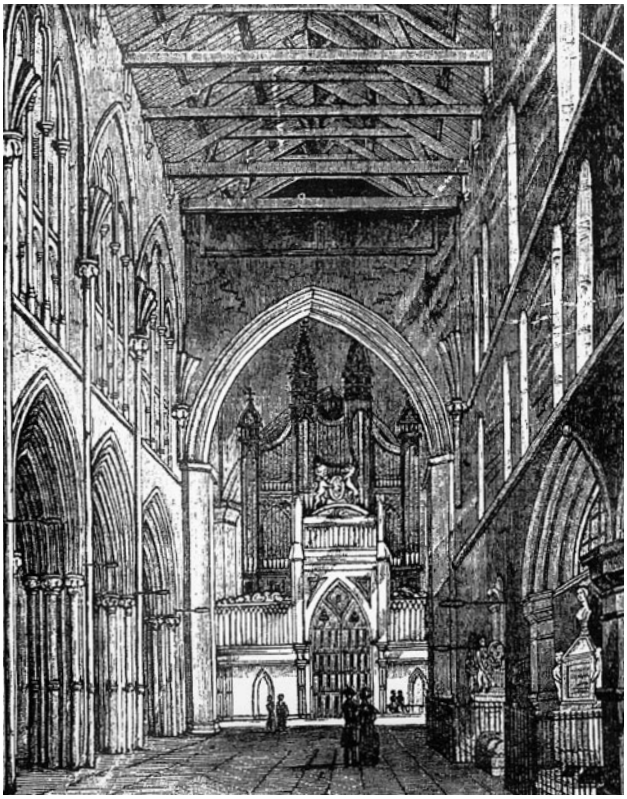
a pastiche of old and new. In 1562 the vaults collapsed, necessitating the total rebuilding of one side of the nave. The north elevation retained its original appearance, consisting of a clerestory and a triforium passage on top of a stocky arcade. The damaged south elevation was resurrected as a solid masonry wall, divided into three strips and perforated at triforium and clerestory levels by round-headed windows (Plate 7). During the same campaign, the vaulting was substituted for an exposed timber roof and the long choir became the principal liturgical space. With its interior divided into two parts, separated by an arch at the crossing, only a fragment of the cathedral was actually used for worship.[17] The disparity was less jarring on the outside, where the roofline was uninterrupted and the neighbouring domestic infrastructure concealed the disorder behind. Tellingly, the leases issued between *c*.1660 and *c*.1700 insist that tenants of the chapter must not do anything that might prevent light from reaching the cathedral's windows.[18]

The single exterior fixture that proclaimed the cathedral's presence on a city-wide basis was its battlemented Jacobean tower (Plate 8), built in rubble masonry and originally ornamented with clock faces and a wind vane.[19] A peal of bells, renewed in 1670, was hung inside, and sounded on Sundays and holy days as well as State festivals, such as the arrival of the Viceroy and royal deaths and marriages. The tower was evidently among the more noticeable iconographic signifiers of the city, as William King's aggressive polemic, *The state of the Protestants of Ireland under the late King James's government*, published in 1691, states that the dean and chapter had been imprisoned by the Jacobite Lord Mayor, Sir Thomas Hackett, for failing to ring in the birth of the alleged son of James II with sufficient vigour.[20]

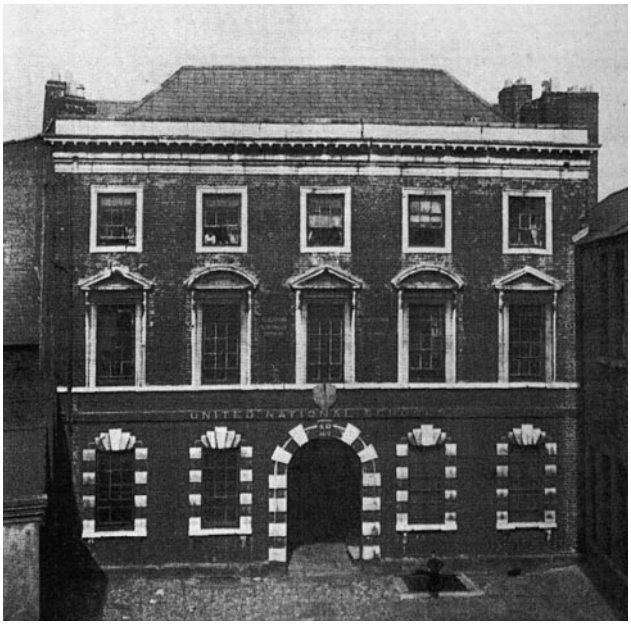
The architectural history of the eighteenth-century cathedral is mostly uneventful and may be passed over quickly. The chapter acts record repainting and routine maintenance.[21] Substantial repairs were considered in 1745, the canons requesting that 'the Proctor do order the west End of this church to be Propt, and when done that the same be pulled down, in order to be rebuilt, and that Mr [Arthur] Nevil[le] Jones [the Surveyor General] be applied to for a plan for the same.' It would take further investigation to establish whether or not Jones accomplished anything, but Roger Stalley has ascertained that the blocky additions to the exterior walls at the north-west corner, visible in topographical prints (for example, Plate 9), were constructed in a long campaign beginning in the early 1730s, meaning that the unstable fabric was probably consolidated rather than replaced.[22] The Victorian engravers who captured the cathedral *in extremis* depict a piece of Tintern Abbey dropped into the city centre, but, ignoring their picturesque affectations, these images show with appalling clarity the effect of years of half-hearted patching-up.[23]

The only real instance of architectural innovation at Christ Church was the new deanery, built in 1731-33 by Sir Edward Lovett Pearce (Plate 10). This, entered from Fishamble Street, ingeniously concealed three houses – one each for the dean,

7 – Interior of Christ Church before the 1870s restoration, from THE DUBLIN PENNY JOURNAL, *1835 (courtesy NLI)*



8 – The early seventeenth-century tower of Christ Church



9 – A picturesque rendition of the north and west sides of Christ Church
from Richard Cromwell, Excursions Through Ireland (London, 1820)

10 – Christ Church deanery, by Sir Edward Lovett Pearce, (1731-33), from The Georgian Society Records of Eighteenth-Century Domestic Architecture and Decoration in Dublin, 5 vols (Dublin, 1909) IV, plate cxxi

chancellor and chanter – behind a single brick-and-stone façade, distinguished by aggressively modelled window and door surrounds. The frontage, more than any edifice in Dublin, invoked the Palladianism of the English Office of Works. But unfortunately, because of the existing topography, this grand mask had no significant role in the structural formation of the streetscape. The main approach was concealed at the end of a long, trapezoidal yard with a narrow entrance, as can be seen in Rocque's *Exact survey of the city and suburbs of Dublin* of 1756. And, for obscure reasons, the deanery seems to have been regarded as a nuisance to live in. The third dean to reside there, the politically ambitious George Stone, a future Archbishop of Armagh, moved out in 1743 on the pretext that the building was 'inadequate'. By the 1760s it had been let to an apothecary.[24]

Christ Church and its mongrel hinterlands were far from splendid, yet the ritual activities associated with the cathedral could transform it from a mouldering wreck to a setting for high ceremony. The Dublin service in celebration of the coronation in 1661 centred on a long train of knights, gentlemen and personnel from the viceregal household, in the middle of which walked the members of the Privy Council. The leaders of the procession began the proceedings by greeting the Lord Mayor at the Tholsel, or city hall, and listening to a laudatory speech by the City Recorder. The train then marched to Christ Church, where it was welcomed by a group of singing choristers dotted around the cathedral yard.[25]

It was not only the exceptional events in the ritual calendar that weaved Christ Church into the broader symbolic web of the metropolis. The Corporation of Dublin was required to accompany the viceregal court to Sunday service every week of the year. Writing in 1678, the cantankerous and conservative antiquary Robert Ware noted how a firm distinction had, until recently, been made between the government and the City Fathers. The civic representatives would follow the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council to Skinner's Row, salute it from the steps of the Tholsel, and enter the cathedral through a door in the south transept. The government would normally go in through the great west door on Christ Church Lane. Ware, a stickler for tradition, was annoyed that in recent years the municipality and the viceregal court had taken to entering the cathedral as 'one body', all using the larger door, thereby blurring the social and political distinctions between the two institutions.[26] However, later sources show that the Viceroyalty's ritual protocols in regard to Christ Church were generally static. The pattern of the Restoration period appears to have been firmly established by the time John Dunton left an account of the arrival of the lords justices at Sunday service in 1698:

> When they go to church the streets from the castle gate to the church door, as also the great isle [i.e. nave] of the church ... are lined with soldiers; they are preceded by the pursuivants of the council chamber, two maces, (and on state

> days) by the [Ulster] king [of Arms] and pursuivant at arms[,] their chaplains, and gentlemen of the household, with pages and footmen bare-headed; when they alight from their coach (in which commonly the Lord Lieutenant and one of the prime nobility sits with them) the sword of state is delivered to some lord to carry before them; and in the like manner they return back to the castle, where the several courses at dinner are ushered in by kettle-drums and trumpets.[27]

Elsewhere, Dunton states that the Privy Council had a raised gallery over the entrance to the choir, entered via two 'large stair cases' on either side.[28] In 1721 and 1724, the government, irritated and insulted by the presence of petty hangers-on, ordered that worshippers were not allowed to intrude on a space reserved exclusively for the King's deputies.[29]

After the Williamite wars of 1689-91, Dublin's ceremonial life again flourished. The place of Christ Church in Williamite and Georgian public ritual is fully documented in the diary of the Ulster King of Arms, the official responsible for regulating heraldic grants and viceregal ceremonial. Every 23rd October, the Irish rebellion of 1641 was commemorated with a sermon, usually of a kind that emphasised the past iniquities of Irish Catholics and the need for Protestants to be both vigilant in their leadership roles and impeccable in their personal morals lest the country be victim to further signs of divine displeasure.[30] The anniversary of Charles II's restoration was assiduously observed in April;[31] and, depending on the attitude of individual lords lieutenant, the 'martyrdom' of Charles I was marked by another special sermon on 30th January.[32] Guy Fawkes' festival, which had some popular appeal (perhaps because it was on the day after William III's birthday), was similarly celebrated.[33] Christ Church Cathedral, evidently, was where official Dublin extolled peace, authority and good order.

The rites of state were not the only large ceremonies to converge in Christ Church. The cathedral was also the most exclusive burial place in the capital. The FitzGeralds, the earls of Kildare, had their family plot in the chancel. In general, the earls and countesses and their heirs were granted elaborate heraldic funerals arranged by the Ulster King of Arms. A typical procession contained the entire family of the deceased, in addition to a collection of the lords, knights and gentry of the realm; these were required to march in order of social rank. Before its disposal, the body (or a specially prepared wooden mannequin with a wax face) would be displayed in a canopied bier with armorial flags at the corners, set up in the home of the deceased. During the funeral march, four of Ulster's assistants would carry to the cathedral a crested helm and surcoat, and a sword and shield painted with the arms of the dead. Following the burial, a heraldic hatchment was normally hung over the grave.[34] But not all of the FitzGeralds got such a colourful send-off:

Ulster's funeral notes for Robert, a younger son who died in 1699, merely mentions that he was privately buried at night 'in the antient burial place' belonging to the family.[35]

The FitzGeralds had had a connection with Christ Church for centuries. However, burial was also permitted for figures that had been active in public life, and this tended to underscore Christ Church's status as a sort of mausoleum for the country's Protestant governors.[36] Charles Coote, the first earl of Mountrath, died in 1661, and 'being one of ye Lord Justices' was buried in the cathedral, having been accompanied there by an enormous crowd of mourners.[37] Mountrath's eldest son got a similar send-off in 1672, but the procession commenced at the Inns of Court on the north bank of the Liffey where he had been a senior member of the judiciary.[38] Variations on the standard funeral were minor. The retainers at the funeral of Archbishop John Bramhall of Armagh in 1663 carried a mitre and staff instead of the military accoutrements usually accorded to men.[39] Conversely, for the funeral of General Henry Ingoldsby in 1712, the martial iconography was accentuated. The props included cannon and 'bomb carts', and when Ingoldsby's body was removed from the hearse in Christ Church yard, salutes were fired by troops from the Dublin garrison.[40] Clodagh Tait's important study of death in early modern Ireland has touched on the representations of family honour in funerary customs, and these are manifest in the examples described here,[41] but for our purposes it matters more that grandiose public ritual may have involuntarily functioned to make the physical decay of the cathedral building seem irrelevant, whilst simultaneously confirming its place as the senior church of the capital.

Judging from the rich yield of monuments it contains, it would obviously be wrong to presume that St Patrick's lacked ritual activity beyond the normal functions of a cathedral. The best-documented heraldic funeral at St Patrick's during this period was in 1665, for the Lord Chancellor Sir Maurice Eustace. Robert Armstrong's piece on Eustace in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* speculates that his body may already have been buried in county Kildare, suggesting that the funeral accorded to him by the Lord Lieutenant may have been primarily symbolic.[43] According to the records of Ulster's office, Sir Maurice's (or a dummy's) bier was transported to Christ Church in a vast procession from Eustace House on Dame Street.[43] As an aside, it is unclear why St Patrick's was selected as the resting place. It may have been that the pavements in Christ Church could take no more, as the registers mention that the grave slab of a certain John Preston, buried twenty years later, was proving difficult to identify because of the size and number of some of the recent memorials.[44] We do know, however, that the rest of the funerals at St Patrick's were less splendid than the Chancellor's, and the list of tombstones compiled by Victor Jackson suggests that it in terms of power and prestige, its interrees were usually marginal figures or had some vague familial connection to the area.[45]

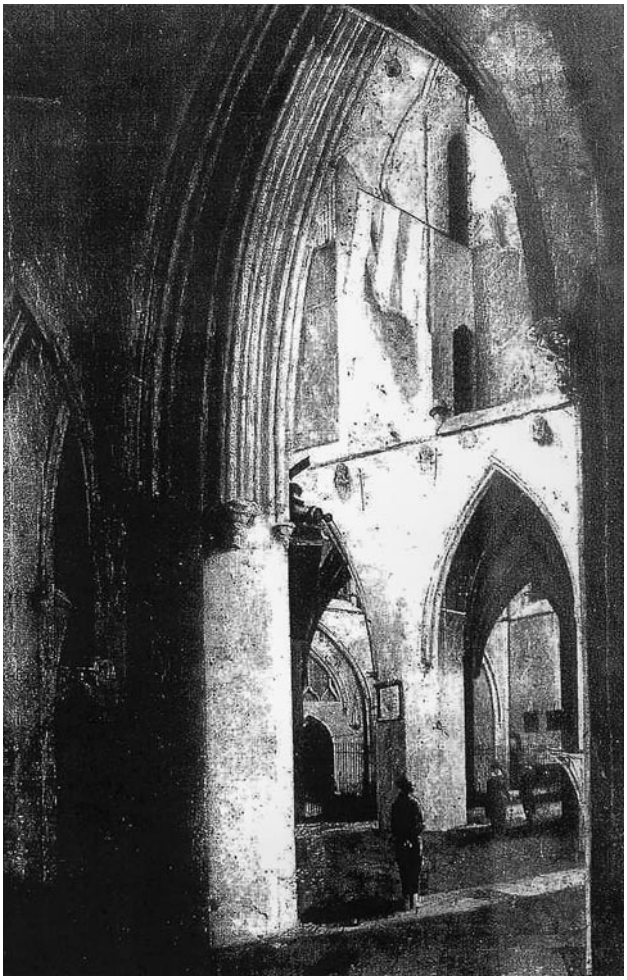
St Patrick's, like any early modern cathedral, was not a free-for-all, but the criteria for admission were less stringent than in the decaying but socially and constitutionally superior church that stood only a couple of hundred yards in the distance.

Correspondingly, St Patrick's was rarely favoured for State ritual between 1660 and 1760. In the first half of the seventeenth century, incoming governors received the Sword of State in the cathedral, and the opening of parliament was normally preceded by a service featuring a preacher nominated by the Speaker of the House of Commons. The viceregal connection ended during the controversial rule of Sir Thomas Wentworth (1632-41), apparently because of a squabble with the chapter, and, as a possible consequence, the number of grand State occasions at the cathedral was allowed to dwindle, fading completely during the civil wars and the Cromwellian protectorate. With the disintegration of the latter, however, St Patrick's was put to occasional use, but this was thinly spread. Twelve bishops were consecrated on the same day in January 1661, having been chosen by the government for their 'conspicuous loyalty to the Anglican cause' during the interregnum.[46] The train gathered at Christ Church and walked to St Patrick's 'with silent, solemn grace', where it was viewed by large throngs of onlookers who seem to have been solicited for the purpose.[47] Dougal Shaw, the author of a groundbreaking dissertation on British and Irish monarchical culture in the Stuart era, contends that the Irish Privy Council engineered the spectacle as a kind of public relations exercise in the wake of the political instability and religious extremism of the 1650s.[48] If this is correct, then it may have been the case that St Patrick's was chosen as the location for this highly contrived display purely because it had a more spacious setting than Christ Church, which, on constitutional grounds, should have been the venue.

The State uses of St Patrick's in the Williamite and Hanoverian periods only occurred, once again, at major historical fulcrums where Christ Church was, for some reason, deemed unsuitable. In 1690 the lords justices gathered for a sermon on 23rd October, which undoubtedly chimed with the prevailing political currents. But little else followed. In 1729 Swift described St Patrick's Day as 'our only festival in the year', implying that the chapter had few ceremonial responsibilities beyond commonplace funerals and daily worship.[49] Then, in the 1750s and 1760s, the Friendly Brothers of St Patrick, a Masonic-style fraternity that opposed libertinism and duelling, celebrated the feast day of the saint with a service. Regular non-standard use of the cathedral would not return until 1783, when a new order of chivalry, the Knights of St Patrick, included an annual sermon on their list of incantations.[50] In terms of ceremony, the eighteenth century had not had a very extensive catalogue.

Nonetheless, what St Patrick's lacked in ceremonial splendour it compensated for through architectural immensity, and its sheer presence as a building strongly affected how it was interpreted. As Michael O'Neill has discovered, the cathedral's

11 – John Cruise
THE NAVE OF ST PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL
1838, oil on canvas
(courtesy National Gallery of Ireland)



interior, far larger than the dim, asymmetrical nave of Christ Church, was whitewashed in 1559, fixing the building's internal character for the next three centuries. The only identifiable visual image of it is an unusual painting of 1838 by the little-known John Cruise (Plate 11). In addition, a lath-and-plaster wall displaying the Ten Commandments closed off the cathedral choir, and in 1681-85 the chancel vault was decorated with blue paint and gilded stars. Structural changes were mostly a matter of subtraction. After the nave vaults collapsed in 1547 and 1555 (a fate shared by Christ Church), the cathedral was roofed in timber and reroofed again in 1671-72. The most drastic alteration was a set of flying buttresses and battlemented parapets along the flanks of the building, masking the junction between the roof and the weathering courses.[51] These alterations mutilated the old fabric but did have aesthetic advantages. The engraving of St Patrick's included in Walter Harris's *History and*

12 – St Patrick's Cathedral
from Harris, History and Antiquities (1766)

Antiquities of the City of Dublin of 1766 shows a clean silhouette that would not be out of place in an English provincial city (Plate 12).

The siting of St Patrick's, despite the seasonal floods, was also scenographically beneficial. It had the biggest green enclosure of any ecclesiastical building in Dublin, and, as shown in Rocque's *Exact survey* of 1756, was mostly uninhibited by nearby residential buildings (Plate 5). It was claimed earlier in 1729 that good views could be had on the cathedral's northern side, facing the city, and it appears from another sketch by Thomas Dineley that the main (west) front, with its recessed door and traceried window, could almost be taken in at a single glance.[52]

The evidence suggests that in the eighteenth century the cathedral became structurally unsound but managed to sustain its external visibility.[53] Swift's predecessor as dean, as seen above, had planned a steeple for the tower. Swift defaulted, Archbishop King got impatient, and the project lapsed. But in 1749 the deanery agreed to a proposal for an octagonal spire by the prodigious Dublin builder and architect George Semple (Plate 1), the funds coming from a bequest by Dean Stearne.[54] Whether or not the work enhanced the dean's personal reputation is a matter for conjecture, though corroborative sources imply that it may have boosted the cathedral's appearance by acting as a symbolic hub for the sunken region to the southwest of the city. A letter from Lady Elizabeth Germain to Swift indicates that in 1733 a bonfire was lit on top of the tower to mark the defeat of Sir Robert

Walpole's unpopular excise bill, presumably in the expectation that the blaze would be clearly seen throughout the vicinity.[55] It was probably well appreciated that the tower was a potent visual anchor; Semple's long, tapering steeple would give it greater, more enduring force (Plates 11, 12).

But imposing though it was, St Patrick's was not the only emblem of ecclesiastical authority in the area. The cathedral liberty adjoined the Archbishop's personal jurisdiction, the manor of St Sepulchre (Plate 5). Territorial disputes were recurrent. The Archbishop's attorneys claimed that the deanery was answerable to the diocese, with the implication that taxes imposed in St Sepulchre's could be collected in the precincts of the cathedral and criminals apprehended and sentenced without the chapter's knowledge.[56] Hence, in 1731, an irate Swift quipped that

> I am Lord Mayor of 120 houses, I am absolute Lord of the greatest Cathedral in the Kingdom: am at peace with the neighbouring Princes, the Lord Mayor of the City, and the A. Bp. of Dublin, only the latter, like the K. of France sometimes attempts encroachments on my Dominions, as old Lewis did upon Lorrain.[57]

These battles did not have an iconographic dimension per se, but the medieval palace of St Sepulchre did constitute a potent symbolic presence (Plate 13). An article by Danielle O'Donovan has fleshed out its history. Built by Archbishop John Comyn in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, it consisted of three irregular ranges wrapped around a courtyard, the open part facing towards Kevin Street. Successive archbishops, the most influential being Michael Boyle (1663-78) and Francis Marsh (1681-93), undertook repairs but left the exterior mostly as they found it. William King, unsurprisingly, set about more far-reaching renovations, the most striking of which was a perimeter wall pierced in the middle by fluted gate piers, which created a threshold between the publicly shared streetscape and the official, semi-private residence of the city's chief ecclesiastic.[58] Under King, the palace itself was coated in rendering and sashes were put in place of the old-fashioned mullion-and-transom windows, thus replacing medieval disarray with a homogenising Georgian skin.[59] The exterior profile, shown in a print in *The Gentleman's Magazine* in 1771 (Plate 14), was still dreadfully asymmetrical, but the Archbishop's Dublin mansion did not need another overhaul until 1785, when the incumbent, Robert Fowler, called on the government to foot the bill.[60]

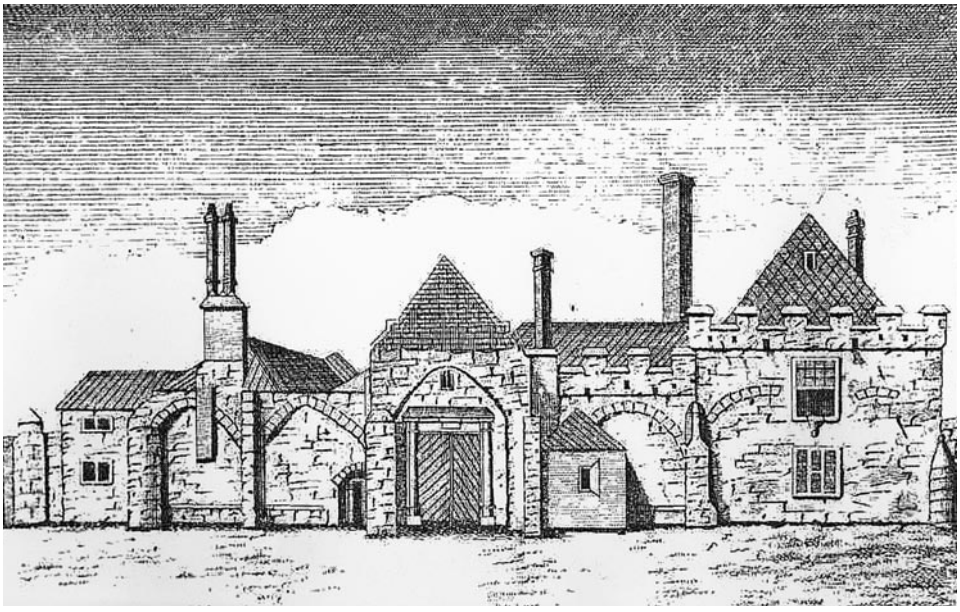
It was not King, however, who first brought architectural classicism to St Sepulchre's. Famously, Archbishop Narcissus Marsh had founded a library prior to his translation to the primacy in 1703, and this, designed by the distinguished and experienced English architect William Robinson, was a rectangular block over a basement. At the end of the decade, Thomas Burgh, Robinson's less corrupt successor as Irish Surveyor General, added a second range, making the library L-shaped in

13 – St Sepulchre's Palace, Dublin (various dates from c.1200; gate piers added in about 1712)

opposite 15 – Marsh's Library, Dublin (1701-10), by Sir William Robinson and Thomas Burgh (with nineteenth-century refacings)

14 – St. Sepulchre's Palace

from THE GENTLEMEN'S MAGAZINE, 1771, after a drawing by Gabriel Beranger (courtesy National Library of Ireland)



plan.[61] The Caroline-style exterior, now partly refaced in flat nineteenth-century red-brick to the front end, and limestone rubble to the churchyard side, is extremely plain (Plate 15). A tall hipped roof sits on stone corbels, and the walls are perforated with unjambed sash windows, while the corners of the building are defined by masonry quoins. Presumably, an architraved doorcase (not the current porch reached by stairs) ornamented the main entrance at basement level.[62] The visual outcome, impossible to experience today, was that when viewed from the cathedral close the library made the palace look bigger, an effect that was totally spoiled by the conversion of St Sepulchre's to a barracks of the Royal Irish Constabulary in the early nineteenth century.

Swift, we know, had taken umbrage at the building of Marsh's Library because the number of Archbishop's appointees on the library board (two of which were annexed to the deanery) would give the senior clergy greater sway over the proceedings of the cathedral chapter.[63] Nevertheless, the run-ins between the personnel of St Patrick's and the Archbishop of Dublin had no obvious topographical manifestations, and the only physical evidence for the rival jurisdictions was the fence separating the cathedral yard from the Archbishop's garden. For a majority of Dubliners, the run-ins were probably not of much consequence. St Patrick's was considered, above all, a place for Protestant devotion, symbolic of the established church rather than any other authority. In a mock dialogue published in about 1719, following a parliamentary bill that guaranteed Irish dissenters freedom of worship, the cathedral is thus used as a metaphor for haughty Anglicanism, engaged in dialogue, with the supposedly purer form of Christianity represented by a nonconformist conventicle. The humble 'Meeting-House' opens the deliberations by acknowledging the intimidating scale of the cathedral:

> Tell me great Fabrick! tho' Our Distance seems,
> Something Remote, why should our Converse cease.
> Altho' thy Spire attempts [tries to reach] the distant Skie,
> And thy high Rood does o're our Houses rise
> Altho thy Pomp and gilded Altar shine,
> By Holy Sanction and a Right Divine,
> Submissive People tremble at it's Nod,
> And Worship it, tho' they profane their God,
> Yet suffer me that I enquire the Cause,
> Why thus thou'rt raised and by what mighty Laws,
> Some are by force unto thy Altars brought,
> Compelled to bow or Impiously you break,
> What your faith calls the Stiff and Stubborn Neck,
> You're strength is like some Whale upon the Sea,

That makes the trembling Fishes to obey,
Or else you execute pretended power,
The Right Divine is given to you to Devour.

The conversation quickly turns to accusations and counter-accusations of idolatry, mob rule, and the appropriate style of worship for a modern church (and, needless to say, the indomitable meeting house has the last word).[64] It is significant that the pamphlet, attributed to the contentious pastor of the Wood Street Presbyterian congregation, Joseph Boyse, selected St Patrick's as the icon of Restoration Anglicanism at its most obnoxious; where the confections of State were concerned, Christ Church had a near monopoly, but for some, at least, it was the lesser (if physically bigger) cathedral that represented the favoured denomination of the Protestant nation *in toto*.

From the restoration of the monarchy to the middle of the eighteenth century, Dublin's cathedrals were among the city's most richly symbolic buildings. This was in spite of the fact that their architectural development was largely shaped by expediency, and lagged far behind the ceremonial functions of the places. (The exceptions, of course, were Semple's steeple at St Patrick's and Pearce's Christ Church deanery, which could both claim some measure of architectural refinement.) Yet between them there were some very strong contrasts in meaning. Christ Church, though in many ways unsatisfactory as a work of architecture, was regarded as a symbolic fulcrum of the State. Its role as Chapel Royal and its connection with the Irish executive and Dublin Corporation ensured that it occupied a far higher place in the symbolic hierarchy of the capital than its slightly younger and more remote neighbour. As a totem of authority, then, Christ Church, the destination of regular official ritual, invoked the power and supremacy of the Protestant establishment, presided over by the Lord Lieutenant. Its symbolic meanings, in turn, owed more to this linkage than to its existence as a place of devotion in the care of the established church. At St Patrick's, where the bond with the post-Restoration polity was intermittent, the building was, in consequence, less governmental than ecclesiastical in its connotations. Ironically, when it did become a 'national' cathedral in 1870, it stood at the apex of a weakened church, whose disestablishment was intended to pacify a majority that did not belong to the denomination that one of its greatest architectural legacies had long represented.

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ENDNOTES

The following abbreviations are used:
DCLA Dublin City Library and Archive
NLI National Library of Ireland
TCD Trinity College, Dublin

[1] An example is A. Dolan, 'The Large Medieval Churches of the Dioceses of Leighlin, Ferns and Ossory: a story of adaptation and change, part I', *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies*, II, 1999, 26-65.

[2] The art and architecture of Christ Church in the period 1500 to 1850 is studied in detail in a forthcoming TCD Ph.D. thesis by Stuart Kinsella, which locates the post-medieval cathedral within contemporary aesthetic discourses. Although much of the cathedral's architectural history is covered in the present essay, its objectives are different to Kinsella's work.

[3] Despite the many alternatives, the best survey remains S.J. Connolly, *Religion, Law and Power: The Making of Protestant Ireland* (Oxford 1992).

[4] King to Swift, 16th and 25th May 1713, and Swift to King, 23rd May 1713, in H. Williams (ed.), *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, 5 vols (Oxford 1963-65) I, 349, 354, 357, discussed in J. McMinn, 'A Reluctant Observer: Swift and Architecture', *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies*, VI, 2003, 90-119, 105-06.

[5] King's activities as a church builder are detailed in R. Usher, 'Power, Display and the Symbolic Terrains of Protestant Dublin, *c*.1660-1760', Ph.D. dissertation (University of Cambridge 2007) ch.2.

[6] King to Francis Annesley, 4th February 1724, quoted in R.T.C. Kennedy, 'The Administration of the Dioceses of Dublin and Glendalough in the Eighteenth Century', M.Litt. dissertation (TCD 1968) 148-49.

[7] T. Campbell, *A Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland, in a Series of Letters to John Watkinson, M.D.* (London 1777) 18.

[8] K. Milne (ed.), *Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin: A History* (Dublin 2000).

[9] 'Annals' of Christ Church, *c*.1875, reproduced in C. Lennon and R. Refaussé (eds), *The Registers of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin* (Dublin 1998) 127.

[10] DCLA, Gilbert MS 62, 11, W. Monck Mason, 'Collections for a History of Dublin', *c*.1820, transcribed by J.T. Gilbert; DCLA, Gilbert MS 78, 119, Minutes of the Merchants' Guild, 27th May 1648, in 'Charters and Documents of the Holy Trinity or Merchant's Guild of Dublin', transcribed by J.T. Gilbert.

[11] DCLA, Gilbert MS 229, f.6, E. Haines, 'On the Matter of the Perambulation of the City boundaries',1683.

[12] N.T. Burke, 'Dublin, 1660-1800: A Study in Urban Morphogenesis', Ph.D. dissertation (TCD 1972) 62.
[13] DCLA, Gilbert MS 132(9) 85, 215-16, 365, anonymous, 'A Diary of the Weather and Winds for 19 years Commencing with An. Dom. 1716 & Concluding with 1734'.
[14] J.S. Price, 'Dublin, 1750 to 1850: Spatial Distribution and Organisation of Economic Activity', M.Sc. dissertation (TCD 1980) 35-37.
[15] K. Milne, 'Restoration and Reorganisation, 1660-1830', in *idem* (ed.), *Christ Church Cathedral*, 255-97: 276-78.
[16] E. McParland, 'The Old Four Courts at Christ Church', in C. Costello (ed.), *The Four Courts* (Dublin 1996) 23-32.
[17] This section is based on R. Stalley, 'The 1562 collapse of the nave and its aftermath', in Milne (ed.), *Christ Church Cathedral*, 218-36.
[18] M.J. McEnery and R. Refaussé (eds), *Christ Church Deeds* (Dublin 2001) 366, 404.
[19] Stalley, 'The 1562 collapse', 232.
[20] Milne, 'Restoration and Reorganisation', 260-61, 269.
[21] Representative Church Body Library, C.6/1/8/5, 108, Christ Church Cathedral Chapter Acts, 14th April 1735.
[22] Representative Church Body Library, C.6/1/8/6, 27, Christ Church Cathedral Chapter Acts, 28th March 1745; Stalley, 'The 1562 Collapse', 235.
[23] A. Bonar Law and C. Bonar Law (eds), *The Prints and Maps of Dublin*, 2 vols (Dublin 2005) I, 144-45, 148-49, 150-51.
[24] E. McParland, 'Edward Lovett Pearce and the Deanery of Christ Church, Dublin', in A. Bernelle (ed.), *Decantations: A Tribute to Maurice Craig* (Dublin 1992) 130-33.
[25] NLI, GO MS 6, 59-61, Richard St George, Ulster King of Arms, to the Lords Justices, 18th April 1661.
[26] DLCA, Gilbert MS 74, I, 177-78. Robert Ware, 'The History and Antiquities of Dublin', 1678, transcribed by J.T. Gilbert (original in Armagh Public Library).
[27] J. Dunton, *The Dublin Scuffle* (1699), ed. A. Carpenter (Dublin 2000) 174.
[28] J. Dunton, *Teague Land, or a Merry Ramble to the Wild Irish* (1698), ed. A. Carpenter (Dublin 2003) 132.
[29] NLI, GO MS 6, 5-7, 9-11, Orders of the Privy Council, 1721 and 1724.
[30] NLI, GO MS 10, Ulster's Diary, entries for 23rd October, 1698-1784, *passim*; Milne, 'Restoration and Reorganisation', 260; T.C. Barnard, 'The Uses of the 23rd of October 1641 and Irish Protestant Celebrations', in *idem*, *Irish Protestant Ascents and Descents, 1641-1779* (Dublin 2003) 111-42.
[31] NLI, GO MS 10, ff.20v, 28, 32v, Ulster's Diary, entries for 29th May 1734, 1742, 1744.
[32] NLI, GO MS 10, ff.23, 24, 26, Ulster's Diary, entries for 30th January 1737, 1738, 1741.
[33] NLI, GO MS 10, ff.19v, 22. 10, Ulster's Diary, entries for 5th November 1733, 1735.
[34] NLI, GO MS 656, funeral entries relating to the FitzGeralds, 1861, *passim*.
[35] NLI, MS 73, 203, funeral entry for Robert FitzGerald, d.31st January 1698.
[36] Lennon and Refaussé (eds), *Registers of Christ Church Cathedral*, 87-98.
[37] NLI, GO MS 73, 31, funeral entry for Mountrath, interred 6th February 1662.
[38] NLI, GO MS 74, 4-5; NLI, GO MS 76, 126-27; NLI, GO MS 347, ff.37-38.
[39] NLI, GO Ms. 19, 3-5, funeral entry for Bramhall, d.10th July 1663.
[40] NLI, GO MS 302, 30-31, funeral entry for Ingoldsby, buried 9th February 1712.

[41] C. Tait, *Death, Burial and Commemoration in Ireland, 1550-1650* (Basingstoke 2002).

[42] R. Armstrong, 'Eustace, Sir Maurice (1590x95–1665)', in H.C.G. Matthew and B. Harrison (eds), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 60 vols (Oxford 2004), XVIII, 657.

[43] NLI, GO MS 19, 93, funeral entry for Eustace, d.20th June 1665, 93; NLI, GO MS 78, ff.101-2

[44] Funeral entry for Preston, 1686, in Lennon and Refaussé (eds), *Registers of Christ Church Cathedral*, 121.

[45] V. Jackson, *The Monuments in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin* (Dublin 1987).

[46] D. Shaw, 'The Coronation and Monarchical Culture in Stuart Britain and Ireland, 1603-1661', Ph.D. dissertation (University of Cambridge 2002) 214, 219, 224; J. McGuire, 'Policy and Patronage: The Appointment of Bishops, 1660-1', in A. Ford and K. Milne (eds), *As By Law Established: The Church of Ireland Since the Reformation* (Dublin 1995) 112-19: 112.

[47] B. Boydell, *A History of Music at Christ Church Cathedral* (Woodbridge 2004) 65.

[48] Shaw, 'The Coronation', 233-35.

[49] J. Kelly, '"The Glorious and Immortal Memory": Commemoration and Protestant Identity in Ireland, 1660-1800', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, C, vol. 94, no. 2, 1994, 25-52: 29; B. McCormack, *Perceptions of St. Patrick in Eighteenth-Century Ireland* (Dublin 2000) 71.

[50] M. Casey, 'The most illustrious Order of St Patrick', *Dublin Historical Record*, vol. 44, no. 2, 1991, 4-12.

[51] M. O'Neill, 'St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, and its Place in Irish Medieval Architecture', Ph.D. dissertation (TCD 1995) 26-41.

[52] Isaac Butler, 'The Antiquities of St. Patrick's Cathedral', 1729, reproduced in O'Neill, 'St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin', 233-41: 234; NLI, MS 392, Thomas Dineley, 'Observations of a Tour in Ireland', 1681.

[53] Thomas Cooley, survey of St. Patrick's, 22nd November 1769, reproduced in O'Neill, 'St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin', 243.

[54] George Semple, 'Proposals for Building a Spire', 1749, reproduced in O'Neill, 'St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin', 242; M. Hanna, *The National and Collegiate Church of St. Patrick, Dublin: Conservation Plan* (Dublin 2006) 23.

[55] Williams (ed.), *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, IV, 150 (1st May 1733).

[56] National Archives, Dublin, M.2545, 27-52, Christopher Robinson, 'The Case of the Enclosure Liberty Claimed by the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's Dublin...', 15th November 1757; DCLA, Gilbert MS 31, 1-19, Robinson, 'A State of the Case Between the Archbishop of Dublin & the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's, Dublin...', 1753; DCLA, Gilbert MS 31, 20-27, W. Fowke, 'An Answer to the State of the Case Drawn up by Mr. Robinson Relateing to the Liberties of St. Patrick's Close'.

[57] Swift to Alexander Pope, 8th July 1733, in Williams (ed.), T*he Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, IV, 171.

[58] D. O'Donovan, 'English Patron, Irish Building? The Importance of St. Sepulchre's Archiepiscopal palace, Dublin', in S. Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin IV* (Dublin 2002) 253-78: 259-64.

[59] William King to Robert King, March 1706, in C.S. King (ed.), *A Great Archbishop of Dublin* (Dublin 1906), 45; TCD, MS 2531/206, William King to Lady Lanesborough, 7th October 1710; TCD, MS 1995-2008/1352, John Stearne to William King, 18th February 1710; TCD, MS 1995-2008/1387, Stearne to King, 11th March 1710; TCD, MS 1995-2008/1366, Stearne

to King, 22nd April 1710; TCD, MS 1995-2008/1456, Stearne to King, 16th June 1713; TCD, MS 1995-2008/1482, Stearne to King, 2nd July 1713; TCD, MS 1995-2008/1465, Stearne to King, 14th July 1713.

[60] NLI, MS 8135, Thomas Orde, Certificate of Repairs, 26th July 1787.

[61] E. McParland, *Public Architecture in Ireland, 1680-1760* (New Haven and London 2001) 165-66.

[62] C. Casey, *Dublin: The City within the Grand and Royal Canals and the Circular Road, with the Phoenix Park* (New Haven and London 2005) 638.

[63] M. McCarthy, 'Marsh, Narcissus (1638-1713)', in Matthew and Harrison (eds), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, XXXVI, 805.

[64] Joseph Boyse (attribution), *Ecclesia & Reformation* (Dublin [1719?]), reproduced in R. Gillespie, 'Presbyterian Propaganda', in K. Herlihy (ed.), *The Politics of Irish Dissent, 1650-1800* (Dublin 1997) 105-20: 109.

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