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Reconstructions of the Gothic Past:

Cultures of Conservation

Submitted to Trinity College Dublin

(Department of History of Art and Architecture)

for the degree of PhD

2012

Niamh NicGhabhann

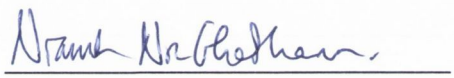
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...as sudden and rich as the summer trees
breenging in the window the plain pews
pell-mell with rich green leaves

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Summary

This thesis explores the restoration and conservation of Gothic ecclesiastical buildings in Ireland from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth century. Two key distinct but interrelated contexts have been examined: firstly, the development of scholarship on Irish Gothic architecture from 1789 to the early twentieth century, in both professional and non-professional contexts, and secondly, the approaches taken by different groups, including landlords and local communities, professional architects, and the Irish Ecclesiastical Commission, in the restoration, conservation and preservation of medieval buildings during this period.

The introductory chapter and literature review evaluate the extent to which these subjects have been considered in the extant literature on the subject, identifying both the foundation texts for this investigation, as well as the texts in which the specific issues examined here have been overlooked. The second chapter establishes a theoretical framework for the thesis, in particular the development of critical historiography in Irish architectural history, identifying the works of critical theory which have informed the close reading methodologies used in my analysis of documents and texts in this thesis.

The first half of this thesis (Chapters 2, 3, 4, and 5) considers the key writers on Irish Gothic architecture, who produced texts in the latter half of the eighteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth. Individual monographs are considered in detail, with a close analysis of the conditions of production, reception, and the situation of the authors and their relationship to other works of scholarship. This detailed and descriptive approach facilitates a more comprehensive view of these authors and their contribution to a formative period in the development of narratives of Irish architectural history which continue to inform contemporary practices. Both single-author, full-length works, and shorter articles in professional and scholarly periodicals have been considered. These periodicals, produced both within and without Ireland, record important contributions to the discourse on Irish Gothic architecture which have not been reproduced elsewhere, and their inclusion in this study is essential to comprehensively represent the debate on

Gothic and national style in the period. In this section, non-professional histories are also considered as key sources – these take the form of popular periodicals, sermons, and built landscapes. A crucial aspect to this thesis is the investigation of the potential of these alternative 'texts' for the historiography of the post-medieval significance of Gothic buildings.

The second section (Chapters 6 and 7) of this thesis examines the interventions to the buildings themselves, focusing on key examples which best illustrate the interaction of groups of people in the restoration and preservation of medieval ecclesiastical buildings. The extent to which the discourse on Irish architectural history, as examined in the first section of this thesis, informed these works of restoration and preservation, is essential to this study. The work of individual architects on important medieval buildings, including Richard Rolt Brash, John Swan Sloane and William Henry Hill is examined, and also the works of the Established Church of Ireland, the Irish Ecclesiastical Commission. This section traces the treatment of individual projects, with an emphasis on the processes used, and the reaction to and reception of the works carried out. Importantly, this thesis focuses on smaller projects at parish level, rather than the large, cathedral projects which have been the focus of much scholarship on the subject to date.

Overall, this thesis contributes to the development of an 'holistic' view of the Gothic monuments, examining building as part of a continuous historical process; analysing buildings not just as monuments of one particular period, but as historical 'documents' which have much to tell us about the attitudes and aspirations of subsequent eras. The project thus examines how the use and treatment of Gothic buildings has been affected by social, economic, religious and cultural change in subsequent ages.

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Abbreviations

RSAI	The Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland
JRSAI	*The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*
DPJ	*The Dublin Penny Journal*
TCD	Trinity College Dublin
UCD	University College Dublin
AAI	Architectural Association of Ireland
RIAI	The Royal Institute of Architects of Ireland
RIBA	The Royal Institute of British Architects
RHA	The Royal Hibernian Academy

Note on references:

First citation: full reference (Author, *Title*, (Place of Publication; Publisher, year of publication), page number referred to.

Second citation of same text, if only work referred to by author: last name of author, page number.

Second citation of same text by author if other works by same author are referred to in the text: last name of author, name of the text (in inverted commas if an article, and in italics if a book), page number referred to.

Chapter 1: Introduction and Literature Review

Ring the bells that still can ring,
Forget your perfect offering.
There is a crack in everything.
That's how the light gets in.[1]



Crossing, Monasternanagh Cistercian Abbey, Co. Limerick

The past persists, often beautifully, in the Irish landscape; fragments of past lives, past industry, past faiths. From the still-crisp, finely-carved acanthus leaves, half-buried within the masonry of Monasternenagh, the Cistercian abbey on the banks of the Camogue in Co. Limerick to the black and honey-coloured intricacies of Christchurch cathedral in Dublin, people continue to be drawn towards these places to understand more about their first builders, and about themselves. Thousands of visitors climb the Rock of Cashel each summer, while a single-celled parish church, covered in ivy, may not be disturbed for decades at a time, watched over only by a herd of cattle. The buildings continue, however, to have agency and

[1] Leonard Cohen, 'Anthem', *The Future*, Audio recording, (New York: Columbia, 1992)

meaning in twenty-first century Ireland. The larger life of what remains - the parish boundaries, the monastery lands - continue to score and shape the landscape and place names – Monasterevin (*Mainistir Eimhín),* Abbeyleix (*Mainistir Laoise*). Sites continue to be used as places of local pilgrimage, as places of scholarship and of personal retreat. Important historical documents such as George Petrie's *The Last Circuit of the Pilgrims at Clonmacnoise* (c. 1843 - 46), or George Peacock's *The Pattern at Glendalough, Co. Wicklow* (1813) demonstrate that these sites continued to have social and personal meaning throughout their existence (Fig. 1.1, Fig. 1.2).[2] The aim of this thesis is to examine narratives of continued use and meaning as they can be read within the building themselves, in the rebuilt walls and fallen towers, and in the sources which reflect the buildings; the eye-witness reports, antiquarian studies, architectural plans, sermons, pamphlets and guide books.

This thesis was written as part of the Reconstructions of the Gothic Past project, which was supported by the Irish Research Council for the Humanities and Social Sciences (2008–11). The overall aim of this multi-strand project was to examine how the use and treatment of Gothic buildings has been affected by social, economic, religious and cultural change in subsequent ages, including the modern era. This research was carried out as part of the fourth strand, which examined engagements with Gothic architecture in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Ireland.[3] These included restoration and rebuilding, and the ways in which Gothic architecture has been interpreted by different social groups, for example, religious congregations, tourists and scholars.

This thesis comprises two main sections. The first, and longest section, critically examines key texts on the construction of the idea of 'Irish Gothic architecture'. It identifies and locates these texts, and uses post-structuralist and post-colonial theoretical approaches to analyze their statements about Irish

---

[2] Joseph Peacock, *The Pattern at Glendalough. Co. Wicklow*, 1813, oil on canvas, Ulster Museum. George Petrie, *The Last Circuit of the Pilgrims at Clonmacnoise*, c. 1838, watercolour, National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin.

[3] The first three strands consisted of an examination of the architectural colonisation in Anglo-Norman Munster (Professor Roger Stalley), an examination of the conversion of the monasteries in early modern Ireland (Dr. Rachel Moss), and an investigation of medieval ecclesiastical buildings in the diocese of Ossory in the seventeenth century (Dr. Olivia Horsfall Turner).

Gothic, their reception and their impact. A key aim of this first section has been to complicate existing narratives of the development of scholarship and thinking on Irish Gothic architecture. This thesis challenges the overly-simplified characterisation of scholarship on Gothic in Ireland. This is often presented as a tradition formed by 'Anglo-Irish' scholarship dealing with antiquities, coupled with a lack of response from other cultural, political and social groups. It proposes an increasing movement towards a more nationalistic form of debate from the end of the eighteenth century onwards, which saw Gothic largely as a 'foreign import' of the Anglo-Norman incursion into Ireland, and which finally, lost its place at the forefront of scholarship throughout the first century of the Irish political independence, due to negative political associations. While there are elements of this narrative certainly reflect trends in scholarship by certain individuals and groups, it misrepresents the complex tradition of inquiry which existed. This thesis both examines why this narrative has been constructed, and, through the collection and analysis of a comprehensive series of texts which were being produced between 1789 and the early twentieth century, posits a more balanced view of this period in Irish intellectual history.

The second section of this thesis is distinct, but inextricably linked to the first, longer section. Chapters 6 and 7 explore the role of architects and other agencies such as church or state bodies in the restoration of medieval buildings, and the development of more professional, systematic approach to the preservation of Ireland's built heritage.

A central factor in the methodology has been to consider contexts in full, rather than select elements of the source material, to argue towards a neat series of conclusions, as has often been the case in the extant scholarship. Complexity and irresolution are necessary aspects of the history of medievalist research in Ireland. While several claims have been made by different scholars on the nature of scholarship on Irish Gothic architecture, both in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, these have often excluded certain authors and their contexts. Similarly, an almost exclusive focus on large, expensive and controversial restoration projects has relegated the history of the continual change and renovations taking place to medieval church fabric, and more drastic changes on the level of the

parish church, to the realm of the unexplored. The project here, therefore, has been to write a descriptive account of different authors and architects, and their own social, political and educational backgrounds. Analysis of the interaction between texts, and the impact of this on the discourse, and indeed, the interaction between authors and the building of scholarly communities, has also been an important part of this project. Rather than aiming to trace a genealogical line in terms of the usage of particular terms, motifs or practices, however, this thesis examines the development of approaches to the subject of Irish Gothic.

One of the stated aims of the Reconstructions of the Gothic Past project was to take a 'holistic view of the Gothic monuments, examining buildings as part of a continuous historical process; analysing buildings not just as monuments of one particular period, but as historical 'documents' which have much to tell us about the attitudes and aspirations of subsequent eras'.[4] While the first three strands of this project deal with the erection of these monuments and their physical re-construction at different periods, considered within a broad social, cultural and economic context, this research has examined interpretations of Gothic buildings – how the buildings have been positioned within broad historical and cultural narratives, the impact which this has had on their protection as historical monuments, and how these interpretations can be considered within a broad cultural, social and political paradigm.

The time period which is considered in this thesis ranges from 1789 to the early twentieth century. This date range is determined by a number of factors: firstly, Matthew Young's thesis on the Gothic arch was the first treatise on the subject in an Irish context which reflected and engaged with the international scholarship on the origins and theories of Gothic architecture. It also marked a departure in Irish scholarship from the extremely polarised and overtly politically motivated scholarship of the early to mid- eighteenth century, as discussed by Clare O'Halloran, and the development of a scholarship that was no less political, but which presented itself as scientific, objective, based on empirical evidence and

[4] 'Reconstructions of the Gothic Past', Department of History of Art and Architecture, www.tcd.ie/History_of_Art/rgp/index.php, accessed 01/03/11

the unbiased interpretation of sources.[5] The scholarship which I have examined, from Matthew Young onwards, is within this scientific tradition, and was presented and received as part of an international community of scholars.

A slightly shorter date range is used in Chapter 3 only, which deals with the years between 1789 and 1877, bounded by the publication of the Rev. Matthew Young's treatise on the origin and theory of the Gothic arch and the publication of the second volume of *Notes on Irish Architecture* by the Earl of Dunraven and Margaret Stokes. While the outer date limit of Chapter 3 is 1877 in order to facilitate the close study of important texts, several long essays and articles published in the early twentieth century have been considered in Chapters 4 and 5. These remain within the tradition of scholarship on medieval architecture which had been established in the nineteenth century by figures such as George Petrie, Thomas Drew, Richard Rolt Brash, Robert Cochrane, the third Earl of Dunraven and Margaret Stokes. However, for the most part, twentieth-century developments in scholarship have not been considered. The contexts of twentieth-century nationalism and the politics of the Free State and Republic of Ireland, and the impact of this on cultural studies, as well as the development of departments of archaeology and medieval history within universities and their relationship to international scholarship, lie outside the bounds of this study. Scholars such as Arthur Charles Champneys, Harold Graham Leask, Francoise Henry, Edwin Rae and Canice Mooney were creating a new discourse around Irish medieval architecture, both within and without the university system, during this period. In order to provide a close reading and critical analysis of one period in the development of the discourse, the nineteenth-century tradition of scholarship has been the focus of this thesis.

Interpretations, perceptions and receptions of Gothic ecclesiastical architecture, from the time of erection to the present day have been the focus of a growing body of scholarship. These broadly-defined issues have been considered by scholars through different prisms – the history of taste and connoisseurship, the

[5] Clare O'Halloran, *Golden Ages and Barbarous Nations: Antiquarian Debate and Cultural Politics in Ireland c. 1750 – 1800*, (Cork: Cork University Press in association with Field Day, 2004)

development of architectural historiography and the histories of individual antiquarians. Historians and theorists have also examined the perception of medieval buildings within landscapes, and the extent to which the manipulation of the building within the landscape by different groups can be explored as a valuable source of evidence about the way in which these buildings and the contemporary resonance of their histories were perceived at specific points in history. Scholars have examined the physical reality of the fabric of the monastic buildings during and after the Reformation, and also the 'afterlife' of a building as it existed as a symbol for different social groups, and its existence across other media, in pictorial representation, in fiction, music and poetry.[6] The fact that Gothic architecture in Ireland is principally ecclesiastical in nature has significantly formed the discourse around the 'after-lives' of the buildings that survive, bound up as they are with concepts of religion, power and agency.

The issue of the perception and reception of antiquities in an Irish context has been examined by several scholars. Máirín Ní Cheallaigh's work has explored some aspects of the perception of the ruined medieval buildings and field monuments throughout the nineteenth century.[7] The histories of individual antiquarians and antiquarian groups have also been addressed in Irish scholarship. Roger Stalley has edited a volume on the work of Daniel and Francis Grose[8] and Peter Harbison's work on antiquarian artists, in particular on the lives and work of

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[6] Key works in the consideration of the 'after-lives' of medieval buildings include Margaret Aston, 'English ruins and English history: the dissolution and the sense of the past', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 44, (1973), 231 – 255, David Stewart, 'Political Ruins: Gothic Sham Ruins and the '45', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 55, no. 4, (1996) 400 – 411, Alexandrina Buchanan, 'Interpretations of Medieval Architecture, c.1550-c.1750', in Michael Hall (ed.), *Gothic Architecture and its Meanings 1550-1850*, (Reading: Spire Books, 2002), Alexandrina Buchanan. 'Perspectives of the Past: Perceptions of Late Gothic Art in England.' in *Gothic. Art for England 1400-1547*, eds. Richard Marks and Paul Williamson. (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 2003), Alexandrina Buchanan, 'Wyatt "The Destroyer": A Vandal at Salisbury Cathedral?', in *Iconoclasm: Contested Objects, Contested Terms*, eds, Richard Clay and Stacy Boldrick. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007). Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011)

[7] Máirín Ní Cheallaigh, '"Gloom and Grandeur" or the threshing floor: the manufacture of ecclesiastical ruins in nineteenth-century Ireland' in *Ireland: Space, Text, Time*, eds. Liam Harte, Yvonne Whelan, Patrick Crotty, (Dublin: Liffey Press, 2005), Máirín Ní Cheallaigh, 'Mechanisms of monument destruction in nineteenth-century Ireland: antiquarian horror, Cromwell and gold-dreaming', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature* 107C, (2007), 127 - 145

[8] Daniel Charles Grose ca. 1766 – 1838, *The Antiquities of Ireland: a supplement to Francis Grose*, ed. Roger Stalley, (Dublin: Irish Architectural Archive, 1991)

Gabriel Beranger and Austin Cooper, has repositioned a number of artists, patrons and their contribution to antiquarian studies.[9] Peter Murray, Joep Leerssen and Tom Dunne contributed to an important book of essays and an exhibition on the life and work of George Petrie, one of the most pivotal figures in nineteenth-century scholarship in the area.[10] Important essays have been written by Walter D Love on the Hibernian Antiquarian Society,[11]and by Aideen Ireland on the first decades of the RSAI.[12] Love's essay, in particular, addressed the issue of the politics of historical interpretation in the late eighteenth century. More recent work includes that by Damien Murray on Irish antiquarianism considered within its political contexts,[13] and the work of Zara Power on the Tervoe Convert Set in Co. Limerick, an example of a study of an antiquarian group within a particular area, social and religious context and political situation.[14] The Royal Society of Antiquaries is to publish a volume on the careers of individual antiquarians in 2012.[15] Detailed studies of the Irish Ordnance Survey by Gillian M. Doherty and Stiofán Ó Cadhla have examined, in detail, the impact of this large-scale

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[9] Peter Harbison has published extensively on the subject of antiquarian artists. His monographs on the subject include: *A collection of drawings of the principal antique buildings of Ireland, designed on the spot and collected by Gabriel Beranger*, (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1991), *Cooper's Ireland: drawings and notes from an eighteenth-century gentleman*, (Dublin: O'Brien Press in association with the National Library of Ireland, 2000), *Drawings of the principal antique buildings of Ireland; National Library of Ireland MS 1958 TX/ Gabriel Beranger*, (Dublin: Four Courts in association with the National Library of Ireland, 1998), *'Our Treasure of Antiquities': Beranger and Bigari's antiquarian sketching tour of Connacht in 1779: based on material in the National Library of Ireland and the Royal Irish Academy*, (Bray, Co. Wicklow: Wordwell, 2002)

[10] *George Petrie (1790 – 1866): the rediscovery of Ireland's past. Exhibition curated by Peter Murray: essays by Joep Leerssen and Tom Dunne*, (Kinsale, Co. Cork: Gandon Editions for the Crawford Municipal Art Gallery, 2004)

[11] Walter D Love, 'The Hibernian Antiquarian Society: A forgotten predecessor to the Royal Irish Academy', *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review of Letters, Philosophy and Science*, 52, no. 203, 1962: 419 - 431

[12] Aideen Ireland, 'The Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland 1849 – 1900', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 112 (1982): 72 - 92

[13] Damien Murray, *Romanticism, nationalism and Irish antiquarian societies, 1840 – 80*, (Maynooth: National University of Ireland, Department of Old and Middle Irish, 2000)

[14] Zara Power, M. Phil thesis, 'The Tervoe Convert Set: The Oxford Movement and Antiquarianism in Nineteenth-century Limerick', unpublished M. Phil thesis in Irish Art History, Trinity College Dublin (2009)

[15] (Provisional title kindly provided by Professor Howard Clarke), *Pathfinders to our past: the antiquarian road to Irish historical writing from the seventeenth to the twentieth century*, editors Próinséas Ní Chatháin and Siobhán Fitzpatrick, associate editor Howard B. Clarke (forthcoming with Four Courts Press)

programme of mapping and recording on perceptions of the past in nineteenth-century Ireland.[16]

Aspects of the position of ruined buildings as follies or landscape ornaments have been included in Finola O'Kane's important study of Irish landscaping.[17] Further investigations of the physical remains of the past in the landscape include Toby Barnard's exploration of the treatment of the ruins, using the case study of Lohort Castle in Co. Cork, in his study of the ideology of improvement in eighteenth- and nineteenth- century Ireland.[18] Kevin Whelan has explored the changing perception of ruined medieval buildings through contemporary descriptions, and has also examined the impact of the site of medieval ecclesiastical buildings on subsequent parish development in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[19] The medieval parish church, and the impact of its site on later parish development, is also considered by a number of authors in a volume edited by Raymond Gillespie and Elizabeth Fitzpatrick on the parish in medieval and early modern Ireland.[20] Tracing the changes and impact of political and religious upheavals through time, Ana Dolan has examined the important and active political significance of ownership of medieval parish churches in early modern Ireland in her close study of a series of parish churches in the dioceses of Leighlin, Ferns and Ossory.[21] These works trace both the changing fates of the physical fabric of medieval buildings in the post-medieval era, and the impact of major cultural events, such as the Ordnance Survey, on the perceptions of the remains of the past.

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[16] Stiofán Ó Cadhla, *Ordnance Survey 1824 – 1842 Ethnography, Cartography, Translation*, (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2007), Gillian M. Doherty, *The Irish Ordnance Survey: history, culture and memory*, (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004)

[17] Finola O'Kane, *Landscape design in eighteenth-century Ireland: mixing foreign trees with the natives*, (Cork: Cork University Press, 2004)

[18] Toby Barnard, *Improving Ireland? Projectors, prophets and profiteers, 1641 – 1786*, (Dublin: Four Courts, 2008)

[19] Kevin Whelan, 'The Catholic Parish, the Catholic chapel and village development in Ireland', *Irish Geography*, 16 (1983): 1 – 15, Kevin Whelan, 'Reading the Ruins: the presence of absence in the Irish landscape', in *Surveying Ireland's Past: Multidisciplinary essays in honour of Anngret Simms*, eds. Howard Clarke, Jacinty Prunty, Mark Hennessy, (Dublin: Geography Publications, 2004)

[20] *The parish in medieval and early modern Ireland*, eds. Elizabeth Fitzpatrick, Raymond Gillespie, (Dublin: Four Courts Press for the Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement, 2006)

[21] Ana Dolan, 'The large medieval churches of the diocese of Leighlin, Ferns and Ossory', *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies*, 2, (1999), 27 – 93

Changing concepts of heritage in Ireland are also very relevant to this study, and are the subject of an expanding body of literature. Important studies in this field include those by David Brett, Ian Russell and an article on contemporary views of heritage and conservation by Liam Leonard.[22]

While the examples cited above deal with the interpretations, perceptions and receptions of medieval architecture in Ireland in the post-medieval period across a broad range of media and historical contexts, this thesis has examined two specific contexts in depth. These have been examined together as two interrelated but distinct facets of the transformation of medievalist research from the end of the eighteenth century to the early twentieth century. The 'transformation of medievalist research' in this period, to use John Frew's phrase, had both the print culture and the practical, professional culture at its core.[23] The scholarship on, and preservation of, medieval architecture in Ireland are interrelated strands in this transformation. Features of both include the codification of sets of professional ethics and standards, the creation of a specific, professional language to deal with antiquities, and the developing body of knowledge around the buildings. This body of knowledge was inextricably linked to both of the contexts which I have identified, as information was obtained through practical works carried out on the buildings, and these works were themselves informed by scholarship in print.

The first of these contexts is the interpretation of late medieval ecclesiastical buildings in antiquarian scholarship and related discourses between 1789 to the early twentieth century. This period was a seminal one in the creation of a discipline of architectural history. As outlined by David Watkin in his book *The Rise of Architectural History*, during this time, key institutional frameworks (university schools, societies, publications) for the discourse were developed.[24] In this period, narratives of Irish architectural history were developed very much within the international institutional frameworks, and this research repositions

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[22] David Brett, *The Construction of Heritage*, (Cork: Cork University Press, 1996), Ian Russell (ed.), *Images, Representations and heritage: moving beyond modern approaches to archaeology*, (New York: Springer, 2006), Liam Leonard, 'Contesting the Irish Countryside: Rural Sentiment, Public Space and Identity', *Nature and Culture* 4, no. 2, (2009): 123 - 137

[23] John Frew, 'An Aspect of the Early Gothic Revival: The Transformation of Medievalist Research 1770 – 1800', *The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 43 (1980): 174 - 185

[24] David Watkin, *The Rise of Architectural History*, (London: The Architectural Press, 1980)

Irish architectural historians in this period within a broad, international community of scholars and scholarship.

The historiography of Irish Gothic architecture has not been comprehensively examined in the extant literature on the subject.[25] The most frequent statement regarding historiographal approaches is the identification of a lack of scholarship, combined with attempts to identify a social and cultural explanation for this apparently 'disappeared' scholarly tradition. Several books and articles dealing with Irish medieval architecture have alluded to, or given a brief discussion of, the perception of later medieval buildings from the late nineteenth century and the impact of this on the production of scholarship throughout the twentieth century. Many of the most important studies in the field of Irish medieval architecture reiterate the statement that scholarship on later medieval Irish architecture was conspicuous in its absence throughout the twentieth century. As outlined below, while scholars have recognised the key figures throughout the nineteenth century, the outline of the production of scholarship throughout that and the subsequent century often overlooks nuances and influences beyond the sphere of academic scholarship.

In the opening chapter of *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, Roger Stalley gave an overview of developing and changing attitudes towards medieval buildings in Ireland.[26] Stalley identified 'several phases of appreciation and understanding' of medieval architecture in Ireland.[27] These different phases included the early modern preoccupation with documentary rather than physical evidence of a building, the development of antiquarian groups and interests from the later eighteenth century, in which images and visual documentation played a large part, and the development of a more 'scientific' approach pioneered by George Petrie. Stalley highlighted the role of visual art in the development of the discourse, with many antiquarians, including George Victor du Noyer and Petrie

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[25] An essay by J.D.C. Mascheck deals with some elements of the early historiography of Gothic architecture in an Irish context, but takes the form of a survey of the texts, rather than a critical investigation. J.D.C Mascheck, 'Irish Gothic Theory before Pugin', *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 20, no. 278/279 (1981): 206 - 219

[26] Roger Stalley, *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, (London and New Haven; Yale University Press, 1987)

[27] Stalley, *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 4 - 5

himself, being artists as well as scholars. However, from the second decade of the twentieth century Stalley identified a break in a tradition of scholarship on Irish Gothic architecture which had included the architectural reports of the Board of Works (founded 1874/5), several detailed studies of individual monuments by architects, and which culminated in the publication of Arthur Champneys' book *Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture* in 1910. According to Stalley, cultural introspection throughout the twentieth century resulted in post-Anglo-Norman periods being relatively ignored by archaeologists, with the exception of Leask.[28] Similarly, in 2003, Tadhg O'Keefe pointed out that Harold Graham Leask's three-volume study of Irish ecclesiastical architecture, the first of which was published in 1955, was the 'first comprehensive English-language synthesis of any aspect of Irish church building since Champneys' book in 1910'.[29]

Britta Kalkreuter, writing in 2001, presented an over-simplified picture of scholarly production and the politics of cultural scholarship, stating that the tradition of antiquarian scholarship on the history and architecture of medieval Ireland 'virtually stopped for several decades when the Gaelic Revival triggered a preoccupation with the Celtic origins of Irish history', and that 'Irish independence from Great Britain in 1921 ideologically supplanted interest in a time that seemed characterised mainly by Scandinavian occupation and Anglo-Norman invasion'.[30] Focusing on Irish Cistercian studies, Kalkreuter argued that, given the political climate of the early twentieth century, 'studies on architecture after 1142 can best be understood in the light of the once-widespread opinion that Hiberno-Romanesque architecture was brought to an abrupt and complete end by the advent of the Cistercians.'[31] As explored in Chapter 3 of this thesis, while this does represent one strand of the discourse at the end of the nineteenth century, it does not represent Irish scholarship comprehensively in that or in subsequent periods. Kalkreuter herself acknowledges, within a footnote, that the situation is far more complex than the snapshot which she has given in the main body of her text: 'Not

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[28] Stalley, *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland,* 3 - 5
[29] Tadhg O'Keefe, *Romanesque Ireland: Architecture and Ideology in the Twelfth Century*, (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003), 55
[30] Britta Kalkreuter, *Boyle Abbey and the School of the West*, (Dublin: Wordwell, 2001), 6
[31] Kalkreuter, 6

taken into account here are several smaller articles on art-historical subjects in Ireland that were published in archaeological magazines towards the end of the nineteenth century'.[32]

As well as the body of scholarship produced in the nineteenth century, very authoritative and high-quality antiquarian journals continued to publish important articles and series of works on Irish medieval architecture. These included Leask's articles in journals such as the *North Munster Antiquarian Journal* and the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* (*JRSAI*) from the 1920s to the 1950s, and Canice Mooney's series on Irish Franciscan architecture of pre-Reformation Ireland, published throughout the 1950s in the *JRSAI*.[33] Kalkreuter's assessment of the position of scholarship on post-twelfth century architecture identified Champneys and Leask as key contributors to the field, but does not consider the complexity of the production of scholarship on Irish culture in this period. Colum Hourihane, in *Gothic Art in Ireland: Enduring Vitality 1169 – 1550* reiterates this view of the scholarship in the twentieth century, positing that Gothic art had been avoided in Irish scholarship, due to its continuing association with a loss of national independence at the Anglo-Norman invasion, and its perceived connection to 'foreign' influence.[34] While this is certainly a useful perspective, and is borne out in a number of accounts of Irish archaeological scholarship throughout the twentieth century, it does not take into account diverse important factors, such as the different engagements with buildings in locations other than the exclusively academic sphere, the availability of funds for publication, official control and direction in terms of programmes of research, and the realities of institutional frameworks as they existed within universities and academies.

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[32] Kalkreuter, 8
This reading also sidelined the contribution of important figures such as Helen Roe and John Hunt, whose scholarship included work from the post-1169, late medieval period.

[33] Canice Mooney (1911 – 63), Franciscan priest, historian and Irish language scholar. Mooney studied at Multyfarnham, Co. Westmeath, at University College Dublin, at the Catholic University at Louvain, St. Anthony's College and the College of St. Isidore in Rome. He published extensively on linguistics and on Irish Franciscan history, and was a member of the RIA and the librarian and archivist of the Franciscan order in Ireland. Lesa Ní Mhunghaile, 'Mooney, Canice', in James McGuire and James Quinn (ed), *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. (Cambridge, 2009). (http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a5913), accessed 01/07/11

[34] Colum Hourihane, *Gothic Art in Ireland: Enduring Vitality 1169 – 1550*, (London; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 19 - 34

In both Kalkreuter's and Hourihane's emphasis on the political aspect of Gothic art in Ireland, the continuing connection between Gothic buildings and monasticism is underemphasised, as is the scholarship on medieval monasticism which was produced in Catholic contexts throughout the twentieth century. For example, these narratives do not take into account extraordinary gatherings such as the Roman Catholic High Mass held amid the ruins of Mellifont Abbey in 1929, at the height of what is often considered the introspective cultural nationalism of the period. According to the *Irish Times* report, Cistercian monks 're-entered their first foundation in this land', and:

> (I)n a natural amphitheatre, girt round with trees, a congregation of five thousand people knelt in prayer and thanksgiving. The sweet intonation of the Mass was borne across the valley on the breeze, and save by it, the stillness was unbroken. Thousands knelt in the open.[35]

The sermon, given by the Rev. P.J. Gannon, S.J., of Milltown Park in Dublin, asked the congregation to see the monastic site of Mellifont as 'the parent of a true reformation and the victim of a false one'.[36] The sermon rehearsed the history of the site, through what was presented as the desecrations of the Reformation, finishing with the rightful restoration of the place to Roman Catholic worship. The active role of the monastic order in bringing the style of Gothic architecture to Ireland is presented in a positive light:

> They in Ireland owed to the Cistercians the introduction of Gothic architecture. Mellifont, St. Mary's, Jerpoint, Holy Cross, Tintern, Boyle and many more abbeys here and in England bore testament to their skill. Their coming meant a revolution in the art of building. Their work became a model and an inspiration for all subsequent builders, and if Gothic architecture never attained in Ireland the impressive splendour of the Continental architecture or the beauty of the English minsters, the reason was that the peace and prosperity requisite for such a development was denied us.[37]

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[35] 'Mellifont's Great Day: Celebration of High Mass after 390 Years', *The Irish Times*, July 22, 1929
[36] 'Mellifont's Great Day: Celebration of High Mass after 390 Years', 5
[37] 'Mellifont's Great Day: Celebration of High Mass after 390 Years', 5

The building, therefore, was presented not as part of a foreign invasion, but as a European tradition of worship which was presented as unbroken and as central to the life of the new State. Furthermore, in the heritage pamphlets produced by the Irish Free State, and prepared by Leask, both Hiberno-Romanesque and Gothic buildings – including Fore Abbey, Muckross Friary, the buildings on St. Patrick's Rock, Cashel – were represented, reflecting an interest in both. In his 1930 address to the Gaelic Society at Trinity College Dublin, Leask focused on climate and materials in his conceptualisation of a native Irish architecture, rather than politics and style, and emphasised the importance of Europe-wide influences, rather than distinct national schools, and focused as much on Irish Gothic as on Hiberno-Romanesque styles of building.[38] Overall, the assessments by Kalkreuter and Hourihane obscure much of the complex interaction between politics and scholarship at the Irish *fin de siècle* and throughout the twentieth century.

Statements such as those by Kalkreuter on the position of Gothic must be contextualised by an exploration of the position of scholarship in what could be considered 'public' and 'professional' spheres of history, and the interaction and exchange between the two. The 'popular' publishing on Irish ecclesiastical architecture throughout the twentieth century must also be considered in order to create a more comprehensive picture of the extent to which later medieval architecture was considered by scholars. These include the high quality hand-books and guides provided at Office of Public Works sites for visitors, the consistent engagement by members of different religious congregations in Ireland with medieval religious architecture, as well as the publication of non-scholarly books such as the *Shell Guide to Ireland* (first published in 1962), which had a formative influence in terms of how medieval architecture was framed and consumed, both to visitors from abroad, and to people within the country.[39] Publications such as the *Shell Guide* were very often written by well-respected archaeologists and historians, and represent the research being carried out, when

[38] Harold G Leask address to the TCD Gaelic Society, annotated typescript held in the RSAI Archives.
[39] *The Shell Guide to Ireland* (first edition 1962, second edition 1967) was written by Lord KIllanin, M.A., M.R.I.A., and Michael V. Duignan, M.A., M.R.I.A., Professor of Celtic Archaeology, University College Galway, and the third edition, published in 1989, was revised and updated by Peter Harbison.

perhaps other locations of publication were unavailable. The context of tourism is extremely important, and it must be taken into account that the burgeoning tourist industry needed to emphasise what was distinctively 'Irish' in order to successfully market the country on an international scale.[40]

However, the claim for a significant lacuna in the scholarship identified by Stalley, O'Keefe and others must also be considered within a number of contexts. Throughout the twentieth century, while the study of Irish archaeology and Celtic studies continued to develop, no dedicated departments of the history of art and architecture existed until the 1960s in Ireland.[41]

While the shifting attitudes towards Irish later medieval architecture have not been considered in any detail in the extant scholarship on the subject, the positions of Irish Georgian and 'big house' architecture within historical discourses has been the subject of a number of in-depth studies. The changing attitudes towards these buildings, from symbols of an oppressive, colonial past to a valuable, unique and tangible element of Ireland's multivalent heritage, provides a useful set of methodological frameworks and contexts for this consideration of attitudes towards later medieval architecture.[42]

Throughout this thesis, the politics of interpretation are considered, using methods and contexts informed by Clare O'Halloran's authoritative study of the politics of Irish cultural scholarship between 1750 and 1800. The politics of interpretation had not become less fraught by the late twentieth century, as evidenced in the 1962 review of *The Shell Guide to Ireland*, which was published in *The Furrow*. The reviewer, Stephen Rynne, pithily lamented the lack of 'romance' in the survey of Irish antiquities, noting that the authors were 'obviously equipped with all the necessary gear for disentangling problems of language, history and

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[40] Irene Furlong, *Irish Tourism 1880 – 1980*, (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2009), Eric G. E. Zuelow, *Making Ireland Irish: Tourism and National Identity since the Irish Civil War*, (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2009)

[41] The development of archaeology as a discipline in Ireland throughout the twentieth century has been examined by John Waddell, *Foundation Myths: the beginnings of Irish archaeology*, (Bray: Wordwell, 2005)

[42] Kevin C. Kearns, 'Preservation and Transformation of Georgian Dublin', *Geographical Review*, 72, no. 3 (1982): 270 – 290, Nuala C. Johnson, 'Where Geography and History Meet: Tourism and the Big House in Ireland', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 86, no. 3 (1996):551 – 566, Terence Dooley and Christopher Ridgway, *The Irish Country House: its past, present and future*, (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011)

hagiography. But it does not follow that the authors so learned in Irish matters are enamoured of the Irish scene: the approach is phlegmatic with sparing use of laudatory terms'. Tongue in cheek, Rynne surmised that 'Ireland is presented accurately and dryly – nowadays that sort of thing is supposed to be good for us'.[43]

The scholarship of medieval Irish architecture in the twenty-first century has been characterised by a diversity of approach, which ranges from situating building practices within social and political contexts, to locating medieval buildings within the framework of European urban development in the middle ages.[44] Tomás Ó Carragáin's recent study of early Irish church building, while dealing with an earlier building type than the subject of this thesis, is an exemplar of this interdisciplinary approach. Ó Carragáin situates his 2010 study of early Irish churches within the framework of the politics of interpretation as they developed in the twentieth century. O'Carragáin's clear exposition of his own particular position within the traditions of scholarship as it has developed, and his implicit acknowledgement of the political aspect of this tradition of scholarship, reflects the more self-reflexive approach within twenty-first century Irish studies.[45] Indeed, the stated aims of the Reconstructions of the Gothic Past project reflect this multi-disciplinary and increasingly self-reflexive approach within Irish studies generally, moving beyond the study of the building as an isolated monument, and considering it within in broader contexts, both in terms of the period of its creation, and of its reuse and reordering throughout subsequent centuries.

The nature of contemporary scholarship, however, is outside the scope of this thesis, which must limit itself to a critical study of the links between scholarship, legislation and conservation/restoration practices in Ireland between 1789 to the early twentieth century.

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[43] Stephen Rynne, 'Review', *The Furrow*, 13, no. 12, (1962): 728

[44] Examples of these approaches include the collection of essays edited by Rachel Moss, Colmán Ó Clabaigh and Salvador Ryan, *Art and Devotion in Late Medieval Ireland*, (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006), Annejulie Lafay, 'Constructing an ecclesiastical landscape: mendicant order friaries in Ireland' presented at the 'Artists & Craftsmen, Poets and Lords: Images of Authority in late medieval Ireland', Michael O Cleirigh Institute and the Dublin Medieval Society, 22 October, 2010

[45] Tomás Ó Carragáin, *Churches in early medieval Ireland: architecture, ritual, and memory*, (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2010)

Textual Contexts: Aim and Methodology

Seven texts on Irish later medieval architecture are the focus of the third chapter. The analysis of these monographs is based on close, critical reading, with attention being paid to a) textual models and b) narratives of architectural development and stylistic influence, and the relationship of these factors to different types of value as they are presented in the texts. The texts which have been examined are Reverend Matthew Young's RIA essay 'On the Origin and Theory of the Gothic Arch' (1789), Thomas Bell's 'Origin and Progress of Gothic Architecture' (1828), George Wilkinson's *Practical Geology and Ancient Architecture of Ireland* (1845), Samuel Patrick Close's *Holy Cross Abbey, Co. Tipperary: A Series of Measured Drawings of the Church with Descriptive Letterpress*, (1868), James John Phillips', *St. Mary's of Grey-Abbey, Co. Down, as existing in the year AD 1874*, (1874), Richard Rolt Brash's *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland, to the Close of the Twelfth Century*, (1875) and *Notes on Irish Architecture* by Edwin Richard Windham Wyndham-Quin, the third Earl of Dunraven and Margaret Stokes, published in 1875 and 1877. Important texts surrounding the development of this discourse, in particular texts by Grose and Ledwich on the *Antiquities of Ireland*, Petrie's monograph, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, and *Early Christian Architecture in Ireland*, 1877, by Margaret Stokes are also considered here.

Following this, texts on Irish architectural history in journals and magazines are examined, in particular those relating to the antiquarian and the architectural communities in Ireland. The location and the content of texts on Irish architectural history which were produced and published outside Ireland have also been considered.

Finally, the discourses on Irish medieval architecture in non-professional locations are considered, and how theories of architectural development were represented in non-specialist literature. These non-specialist literatures include popular journals, pamphlets, periodicals, newspapers and sermons.

This survey of the key texts on Irish Gothic architecture offers a close reading and detailed analysis of these texts. This approach also highlights the ways in which they contributed to the continually changing and developing understanding of Gothic buildings in Ireland, which has manifested itself in, among

other things, the contemporary heritage industry. To an extent, this approach is informed by the 'revisionist' movement in Irish history of the 1980s, which initiated a series of important investigations on the ideological significance of history writing in Ireland since the foundation of the state.[46] However, while the ideological tools of the revisionist debate have been crucial for this analysis of architectural texts and cultural narratives from 1798 to 1877, they have not been adopted without due consideration of more recent philosophical and theoretical positions. The approaches of Chandra T. Mohanty and Gabriel Doherty regarding the construction of narratives and of historical discourses are particularly illuminating positions.

Chandra T. Mohanty, in her essay 'Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses' called attention to the negative impact of the use of broad categories in the consideration of social or gender groups within critical theory, arguing for a closer approach which would include greater nuance. Mohanty challenged many of the dominant narratives in the canon of post-colonial theory: in her use of detailed examples of specific cultural situations, Mohanty highlighted the point that the application of broad categories such as 'gender' in post-colonial discourse risked obscuring necessary information which would render the important critical tools of the discourse null and void.[47] The importance of the close study of individual situations advocated by Mohanty – in this case of individual texts and the specific conditions of their production – is necessary in order to avoid generalisations which would undermine the overall validity of the critical investigation itself.

Gabriel Doherty, writing about the politics of history-writing throughout the twentieth century, also argued for a continual refinement and reassessment in the creation of historical narratives, rather than accepting a tendency to misrepresent groups in order to reiterate a polemical or politically/academically useful narrative.

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[46] Critical studies of the revisionist movement in Irish history include *The Making of Modern Irish History: revisionism and the revisionist controversy*, eds. George D. Boyce and Alan O'Day (New York: Routledge, 1996) and *Interpreting Irish History: the debate on historical revisionism 1938 – 1994*, ed. Ciarán Brady, (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1994)

[47] Chandra Talpade Mohanty, 'Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses', in *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*, eds. Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman, (Essex: Pearson Education Limited, 1994)

In his 1996 essay, 'The Study of Irish History', Doherty argued that revisionist histories risked a tendency to:

> (E)xpose the manifest inadequacies of nationalist precepts, based on the useful but false assumption of an intellectually inanimate populace, whilst it simultaneously accommodates their erstwhile opponents by positing a view of the Irish people as pliant clay, sculpted by the forces of neo-colonialism, ultramontane intellectual Catholicism, or whatever the particular intellectual vogue in question may be.[48]

Doherty's *caveat* regarding the structure or arguments within revisionist histories is reflected in Mohanty's insistence on local, specific and nuanced analysis of cultural currents, an avoidance of sweeping, broad generalisations which could be used to bolster a particular argument, in particular in the exploration of historical, political and cultural narratives, and the relationships between professional and non-professional spheres.

Print culture, as a mirror, cracked or otherwise, of Victorian attitudes towards politics, social class, social responsibility, religion and culture reflects an almost overwhelmingly complex picture. Therefore, following Mohanty and Doherty, and in response to the source material with which I have been working, I have limited the scope of my thesis to close readings of narratives of medieval architecture to specific examples which demonstrate the international nature of the debate on Gothic, and which became important texts in a 'canon' of medieval historiography.

Professional Contexts: Aim and Methodology

The second section examines the professional contexts of architectural restoration throughout the nineteenth century. As outlined in the literature review, several short surveys of the development of restoration and conservation philosophies in Ireland have been published, as well as two in-depth and focused studies of specific aspects of the development of legislation, and of the practical methods

[48] Gabriel Doherty, 'National Identity and the Study of Irish History', in *The English Historical Review*, 111, no. 441, 324 - 349

used in the restoration of ruins.[49] This section provides an examination of one aspect of this broad field of research: the position of the professional architect and the role of individual architectural practices in the restoration of medieval ecclesiastical buildings in Ireland in the nineteenth century.

In this context, the importance of the development of architectural education, and the position of historic buildings within that educational process, must be noted. Both the Royal Institute of Architects of Ireland and the Irish Architectural Association were important providers of information on the preservation of historical buildings to architectural students and practicing architects. It is outside the scope of this thesis, however, to provide a full account and analysis of the history of architectural education.

As Philippa Levine argued in her 1985 work, *The Amateur and the Professional: Antiquarians, Historians and Archaeologists in Victorian England 1838 – 1886*, and as Joep Leerssen suggested in an Academy Discourse at the RIA in 2010,[50] the international nature of Victorian scholarship is an important context for any analysis of the development of antiquarianism, historical research and archaeology. Architects and antiquarians were part of an international scholarly community, as evidenced by their participation in both professional and amateur learned societies outside Ireland.

Another issue to be considered is the role of architects within antiquarian societies, such as the Royal Irish Academy and the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. A symbiotic relationship existed between architects and antiquaries, with

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[49] Rachel MacRory, 'The evolution of policy for the conservation of historic monuments in Ireland', unpublished MUBC thesis, School of Architecture, Landscape and Civil Engineering, 1994, and Áine Doyle, 'The restoration of ruins in Ireland, c. 1850 – 1900', unpublished MUBC thesis, School of Architecture, Landscape and Civil Engineering, 2003

[50] Philippa Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional: Antiquarians, Historians and Archaeologists in Victorian England 1838 – 1886* (Cambridge: CUP, 1985). Joep Leerssen gave a lecture on the topic of 'Cultural Nationalism' at the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, on September 11, 2010. Leerssen's lecture addressed the shift in studies of cultural nationalism and cultural politics 'away from 'internalism'; the tendency to study nationalism purely within the purview of the nationality affected, as a local ideology in response to local socio-political conditions. Rather 'cultural transfer' models are being applied to account for the fact that nationalism occurs roughly simultaneously in societies with very dissimilar socio-political characters – Iceland and Bulgaria, Germany and Belgium, Catalonia and Finland'. http://www.ria.ie/news-%281%29/academy-discourse--cultural-nationalism.aspx (Accessed 07/01/11) Throughout this discourse, Leerssen emphasised the central importance of the exchange between international communities of scholars to this process of cultural transfer.

professional architects bringing their technical expertise and on-site experience to antiquarian discussion and debate, while at the same time, the scholarship on medieval antiquities being generated within these societies was an important source of information and education for architects who were directly working with medieval buildings as part of their work.

The careers of several influential and important architects who were involved in the restoration of medieval buildings throughout the nineteenth century are examined here. This focus on individual architectural practices facilitates a new perspective on the smaller, less controversial restoration projects, which became more common throughout the nineteenth century, with the increasing interest in antiquarianism and the built heritage of the country. Especially illuminating and instructive is the work of John Swan Sloane at St. Doulough's parish church in Co. Dublin, Richard Rolt Brash at Buttevant Franciscan friary, in Co. Cork, the work of William Henry Hill at the church of St. Multose, Kinsale, Co. Cork.

The final chapter in this thesis examines the restoration works carried out by bodies other than individual architectural practices. The work of the agencies of the Church of Ireland which had responsibility for the maintenance of church buildings and grounds are of particular relevance here, as many of the medieval parish church buildings still in use were in the possession of the Established Church. The restoration and rebuilding works carried out by the Board of First Fruits, by the Irish Ecclesiastical Commissioners and, following the Disestablishment of the Church of Ireland in 1869 (which legally came into effect in 1871), of the Representative Church Body and of the individual vestries and building committees within specific parishes are also highly relevant to this thesis.

While the continued use of medieval buildings is most commonly associated with the Church of Ireland, as that congregation had possession of the built fabric of the medieval parish network since the Reformation, the Roman Catholic congregations in Ireland were also responsible for certain restoration projects. These included the restoration of Multyfarnham Abbey in Co. Westmeath, by the Irish Franciscans. As Roman Catholic congregations usually did not have possession of the medieval structure itself, nineteenth-century church

building projects often incorporated the ruins of a nearby medieval site, or ruined parish church into the new building project, through the situation of the new church building, or through the inclusion of elements of the older building itself within the new. For example, Thomas Bell in his 1829 essay on Irish Gothic architecture, referred to Roman Catholics using 'St. Kevin's Kitchen' as their place of worship between 1820 to 1827.[51] The discourses surrounding the often grand building projects of the Catholic church also reflect the importance of the remains of the medieval architectural remains in an area to the post-Emancipation Catholic identity.

While high-profile restorations in the twentieth century were carried out for and were supported by the Roman Catholic church in Ireland, most notably those at Holy Cross, in Co. Tipperary, and Graiguenamanagh in Co. Kilkenny, these lie outside the time frame of this thesis, and therefore are not considered here.

The structural approach informing this thesis is complicated by the fact that many of the individuals, themes and issues cross thematic boundaries, and there are many overlapping strands within these cultures of conservation. For example, Richard Rolt Brash was involved in the restoration of Buttevant Franciscan friary, and was also a key author of architectural history texts. However, in order to trace developments within different aspects of practice, they have been grouped and examined thematically.

Review of Existing Literature

As a result of the interdisciplinary approach of this thesis, the secondary literature consulted has included works from the history of print culture to the history of Gothic literature. The texts which provided important contextual information for this interdisciplinary study are referred to and discussed throughout the thesis. Due to their consideration of concepts of historiography, the principal arguments take into account and explore different texts on history, art history, Irish studies and architectural history. This thesis has been informed by discourses of critical

[51] Thomas Bell, *An Essay on the Origin and Progress of Gothic Architecture with reference to the ancient history and present state of the remains of such architecture in Ireland*, (William Frederick Wakeman, D'Olier St. and Baldwin and Cradock, Paternoster Row, London, 1828), 191

theory, Irish studies and cultural studies more generally. The key texts and concepts which have structured this overall approach have been examined within the body of the text. This particular approach has not been widely used in the scholarship of the subject of this thesis, with some important exceptions.

This review of the literature lists and evaluates the key scholarship on the central issues of this thesis, principally the contexts of the restoration and conservation of medieval buildings in Ireland from 1789 to the early twentieth century. The few texts which do exist on the subject, such as those produced by the Royal Institute of Architects of Ireland and the Architectural Association of Ireland, provide important outlines of practices as they developed. They do not, however, due to their short form, provide any in-depth examination of the subjects.

Several short accounts of the history of the restoration and conservation of medieval buildings in Ireland have been published. These are invaluable sources of information in a poorly-documented and under-researched area. A volume of essays was produced to coincide with the European Year of Architectural Heritage (1975) by the AAI, and this included an essay by Henry Wheeler on the history of the official conservation of ancient monuments in Ireland. This essay examined the state's contribution to conservation, examining different Acts, their context and impact, from the 1868 clause inserted by the Poor Law Commission, at the request of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, against the use of masonry from antiquities for building walls around burial-grounds, to the 1954 National Monuments (Amendment) Act.[52] Wheeler's essay was put in context by Kevin Fox's contribution on the development of heritage legislation throughout the rest of Europe. David Johnson contributed a detailed case history of the conservation of Clontuskert Priory, which he directed and which was carried out by the National Parks and Monuments Branch of the Office of Public Works.[53] This case study by Johnson outlined post-medieval changes which had taken place at the site, and the extent to which these were considered in the conservation works, as well as a

[52] Henry Wheeler, 'State's Participation', in *Architectural Conservation: An Irish Viewpoint*, ed. Brian O'Connell, (Dublin: Architectural Association of Ireland, 1975), pp. 79 - 94

[53] Kevin Fox, 'European Perspective' and David Johnson, 'Case Study', in *Architectural Conservation: An Irish Viewpoint*, 64 – 70, 37 - 53

detailed account of the type of works which were carried out in the 1970s, and the philosophies of conservation which informed them. *150 Years of Architecture in Ireland*, published by the RIAI, included a short chapter on the role of the Institute in the conservation and restoration of Ireland's architectural heritage.[54] Examining more recent changes to the legislation surrounding the Irish built heritage, Mona O'Rourke's 2001 essay traced changes in levels of protection since the enactment of the Local Government (Planning and Development Act) of 1999.[55]

Two very important studies of the nineteenth-century restoration and conservation of medieval buildings have been carried out as part of the Masters in Urban and Building Conservation programme, in the School of Architecture, Landscape and Civil Engineering, University College Dublin: this course has produced many important individual case studies of restoration and conservation projects. Rachel MacRory's detailed MUBC thesis on the evolution of policy relating to architectural heritage in Ireland followed the debate on the subject in the House of Commons, while putting it in the context of the perceptions of Irish architectural heritage in Ireland and England.[56] Áine Doyle's MUBC thesis on the restoration of ruins in nineteenth-century Ireland also combined this attention to technical detail with a broader context.[57] Doyle examined both the social, cultural and political background to engagements with ruined buildings, and detailed the techniques and processes used in restoration and conservation processes.

Douglas Scott Richardson's two-volume study of the Gothic Revival in Ireland listed and discussed several of the best-known restoration projects in the country; however, this is a minor aspect of a much larger survey of architectural styles and practices.[58] Jeanne Sheehy's significant short essay on nineteenth-century church building and restoration in *The Victorian Church: Architecture and Society* focused on key contextual perspectives, projects and individuals, and also

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[54] Patrick Shaffrey, 'Conservation and the RIAI', in *150 Years of Architecture in Ireland*, ed. John Graby (Dublin: RIAI and Eblana Editions, 1989), pp. 102 -104

[55] Mona O'Rourke, 'Changes in the Level of Protection for the Irish Architectural Heritage since the Enactment of the Local Government (Planning and Development) Act 1999', *Irish Planning and Environmental Law Journal*, 109, 8(2), 2001,

[56] MacRory, 'The evolution of policy for the conservation of historic monuments in Ireland'

[57] Doyle, 'The conservation of ruins in Ireland, c. 1850 – 1900'

[58] Douglas Scott Richardson, *Gothic Revival Architecture in Ireland*, (New York; London: Garland Publishing, 1983)

highlighted the importance of smaller building and restoration projects, rather than the better-known cathedral projects.[59] Sheehy's approach is important, as there has been a unbalanced emphasis on cathedral projects in Dublin, resulting in the exclusion of both smaller buildings, and regional buildings within the literature on the subject. Nigel Yates, in his history of the Church of Ireland in the nineteenth century, included a chapter on church building and restorations between 1770 and 1850, which, like Sheehy, included information on small building works such as those carried out by the Board of First Fruits. This single chapter, however, surveys both restorations and new projects, their internal arrangement and liturgical use, but does not include any detailed analysis of the buildings or their contexts.[60] Elizabeth Crooke, in her broad study of the development of the National Museum of Ireland, examined the uses of the remains of the past by different social groups, and the extent to which they were co-opted by those groups as part of the expression of a specific, tangible identity which was linked to the land and to the past.[61] Crooke's work is especially valuable in identifying and examining different types of engagement with the past, and their specific political, social and cultural context, rather than applying a 'one-size-fits-all' cultural nationalism to very different movements. Crooke also examined developments in Ireland within a broad European context, highlighting many important points of comparison and contrast.

The post-medieval restorations of, and interventions to individual buildings have been examined by different authors. Rachel Moss has traced the reuse of medieval material in seventeenth-century building works at Lismore, exploring the symbolic value of medieval built heritage at different points in history for different individuals, and the complex and important interrelation between contemporary

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[59] Jeanne Sheehy, 'Irish church building: popery, Puginism and the Protestant Ascendency' in *The Victorian Church: Architecture and Society*, ed. Chris Brooks and Andrew Saint (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995)

[60] Nigel Yates, *The Religious Condition of Ireland: 1770 – 1850*, (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2006) 214 - 249

[61] Elizabeth Crooke, *Politics, Archaeology and the Creation of a National Museum of Ireland: An Expression of National Life*, (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2000)

power, and an established presence in the landscape.[62] Eighteenth-century restorations to the Cathedral of St. Canice, in Kilkenny, have been examined by Michael MacCarthy.[63] Lynda Mulvin's detailed account of the nineteenth-century restorations at the Church of Ireland Cathedral of St. Mary at Limerick records the contribution of individual architects, from James Pain, George Edmund Street, William Slater and James Franklin Fuller, reconstructing the practice of restoration, its practical and philosophical aspects.[64] Roger Stalley's important study of the restorations of Christ Church Cathedral in Dublin, reproducing the reports produced by George Edmund Street and Thomas Drew on this controversial project, highlighted the discourse as it took place within professional magazines and the press and the interaction of this discourse and the restoration as it developed. Seán O'Reilly has also considered the nature of Street's works at the cathedral.[65] Michael O'Neill's pamphlet, *Marks of Unheeded Dilapidation* also detailed the changes to the fabric of the medieval cathedral building of St. Patrick in Dublin throughout the nineteenth century, which highlighted the importance of antiquarian and topographical illustrations in tracing changes through time. However, O'Neill did not consider any contextual material or perspectives in this study, in comparison to the works by Mulvin and Stalley.

Keith Emerick's chapter on the restoration at Clonmacnoise is valuable, as it examined the works carried out by a RSAI committee, positioning these works within the debates on architectural history and preservation methodology of the period. Emerick's essay provides a further contextual platform for the consideration of nineteenth-century approaches through his comparison with the

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[62] Rachel Moss, 'Appropriating the past: Romanesque spolia in seventeenth-century Ireland', *Architectural History: journal of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain*, 51 (2008): 63 - 86

[63] Michael McCarthy, 'Eighteenth-Century Cathedral Restoration: (Correspondence Relating to St. Canice's Cathedral, Kilkenny)', *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 66, no. 260, (1976): 330 – 343, Michael McCarthy and R. Ossory, 'Eighteenth-Century Cathedral Restoration: St. Canice's, Kilkenny (Part II)' *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 66, no. 261 (1977) 60 - 76

[64] Lynda Mulvin, 'St. Mary's Cathedral: unpublished correspondence of the cathedral restoration in the nineteenth century', *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies*, 4, (2001), 170 – 219
This essay was the result of a report, commissioned by Paul Arnold Architects, who are currently the conservation architects working on the monument.

[65] Seán O'Reilly, 'The arts of inference, presumption and invention: George Edmund Street rebuilds Christ Church Cathedral', *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies*, (Dublin: Irish Georgian Society, 1998)

works carried out at Whitby Abbey by the Office of Works following damage incurred in 1914.[66] The preservation works by the RSAI at Glendalough have recently been examined by Aideen Ireland.[67] In the same volume, Máirín Ní Cheallaigh has examined perceptions and uses of the site throughout the nineteenth century.[68] The volume on the history of St. Brigid's Cathedral, Kildare, edited by Raymond Gillespie, includes important essays tracing changes to the fabric of the building, which went from a ruined to a restored condition throughout the nineteenth century. The essay by Adrian Wilkinson on the challenge of disestablishment and its impact on the restorations of the building is extremely detailed, examining the important role played by vestry committees in this period.[69] Local history groups and societies have also added valuable contributions to the history of interventions to medieval buildings – examples include the essay on the restorations of St. Canice's cathedral between 1844 and 1867, by Rev, N. Lynas, Dean of Ossory, and the restoration of St. Mary's Cathedral, Tuam, between 1863 and 1878, by J.A. Claffey.[70]

Foundation texts on the general history of the restoration and conservation of architectural heritage include the essays by Jane Fawcett and Nikolaus Pevsner in *The Future of the Past: Attitudes to Conservation 1174 – 1974*.[71] More recent work includes Jukka Jokilehto's detailed survey of the development of attitudes towards architectural heritage as manifested in of architectural legislation in England, France, Germany and Italy, and the impact of this on an international

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[66] Keith Emerick, 'Whitby and Clonmacnoise', in *Clonmacnoise Studies: Volume 2 Seminar Papers 1998*, ed. Heather King, (Dublin: The Stationary Office, 1998) 209 - 221

[67] Aideen Ireland, 'Glendalough: the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland's contribution to its preservation, examination and illustration', in *Glendalough: City of God*, eds. Charles Doherty, Linda Doran and Mary Kelly (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011) 332 - 348

[68] Máirín Ní Cheallaigh, 'From "city of God" to a blueprint for the future: Glendalough in the nineteenth century', *Glendalough: City of God*, 314 – 331.

[69] Adrian Wilkinson, 'St. Brigid's Cathedral, Kildare, and the Challenge of Disestablishment', in *St. Brigid's Cathedral Kildare: a history*, ed. Raymond Gillespie, (Maynooth: National University of Ireland Maynooth, Department of Modern History, 2001) 96 - 115

[70] The Very Revd N. Lynas, Dean of Ossory, 'The Restoration of St. Canice's cathedral, 1844 – 1867 under Dean Vignoles', in *Kilkenny: Studies in Honour of Margaret M. Phelan*, ed. John Kirwan, (Kilkenny: Kilkenny Archaeological Society, 1997) 183 – 191, J.A. Claffey, 'The Restoration of St. Mary's Cathedral, 1863 – '78', in *Glimpses of Tuam Since the Famine*, ed. J.A. Claffey, (Tuam: Old Tuam Society, 1997) 79 - 87

[71] Jane Fawcett, 'A Restoration Tragedy: Cathedrals in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries' and Nikolaus Pevsner, 'Scrape and Anti-Scrape' in *The Future of the Past: Attitudes to Conservation*, ed. Jane Fawcett, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976)

approach to conservation, and is an essential and encyclopaedic contextual text.[72] Essays by Jokilehto and by Janet Null on different aspects of historic and contemporary conservation practices provided international contexts for this thesis, and are part of an increasing literature on conservation histories and philosophies around the world.[73]

The development of scholarship responding to medieval buildings in Ireland has been examined by Rachel Moss, in her chapter on the historiography of Irish architectural heritage.[74] Moss highlighted the different types of publications and authors which dealt with medieval architecture. Colum Hourihane also included a chapter on changing attitudes towards medieval art and architecture in his 2003 volume, *Gothic Art in Ireland 1169 – 1550: enduring vitality*.[75] Moss surveyed the print culture which responded to Irish medieval architecture, and several authors have carried out detailed studies of individual scholars and artists, who illustrated and documented Irish antiquities. These include the many works by Peter Harbison on antiquarian drawing and illustration, including his works on Gabriel Beranger and Austin Cooper, and Roger Stalley's volume on Francis Grose.[76]

Producing the Past: Aspects of Antiquarian Culture and Practice 1700 – 1835, the collection of essays on antiquarian practices edited by Martin Myrone and Lucy Peltz, and *Tracing Architecture: the aesthetics of antiquarianism*, the collection of essays on the visual representations of antiquarianism and architectural heritage, edited by Dana Arnold and Stephen Bending are key works in a growing body of scholarship on the subject, which provide a broad,

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[72] Jukka Jokilehto, 'A History of Architectural Conservation: The Contribution of English, French, German and Italian Thought Towards an International Approach to the Conservation of Cultural Property', D.Phil Thesis, University of York, 1986, available at www.iccrom.org.

[73] Jukka Jokilehto, 'International Trends in Historic Preservation: From Ancient Monuments to Living Cultures', *APT Bulletin*, 29, no. 3/4 (1998): 17 – 19, Jukka Jokilehto, 'Authenticity in Restoration Principles and Practices', *Bulletin for the Association for Preservation Technology*, 17, no. 3/4, (1985): 5 – 11, Janet Null, 'Restorers, Villains and Vandals', *Bulletin for the Association for Preservation Technology*, 17, no. 3/4, (1985): 26 - 41

[74] Rachel Moss, 'Architecture' in *The Heritage of Ireland*, eds. Neil Burrimer, Colin Rynne, Helen Guerin, (Cork: The Collins Press, 2000) 62 - 70

[75] Hourihane's approach is examined in detail in Chapter 2 of this thesis.

[76] See footnote 8

international context for the situation in Ireland.[77] These texts by Myrone and Peltz, Arnold and Bending, reflect the discourse which has developed throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries on concepts of the image of the past, of proof, evidence and historical practice, and the representation of the history and its objects. These texts provide important commentaries on both the tradition and history of these discourses, as well as important surveys of contemporary scholarship in the area.

Critical readings of the scholarship of the past in Ireland, and its social, political and religious contexts, are the subject of Clare O'Halloran's path-breaking text, *Golden Ages and Barbarous Nations*, which examined the cultural politics of the mid-eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century in detail.[78] Two other texts from the same Field Day series, by Joep Leerssen on cultural politics and representations of Ireland, are canonical texts in this subject area, and have informed many subsequent examinations of the subject.[79]

While the texts above provide important corner-stones for this thesis, in terms of the detailed histories and case studies which they elucidate, they do not bring together the concepts of canonicity together with a close reading of the texts produced on medieval buildings in the nineteenth century. The overall approach and methodology of this thesis has been informed by the discourses of Irish studies and critical theory, and by historians such as O'Halloran and Leerssen, and has considered the contexts of the restoration and study of medieval buildings in Ireland within this critical framework.

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[77] Martin Myrone and Lucy Peltz, *Producing the past: aspects of antiquarian culture and practice 1700 – 1850*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), Dana Arnold and Stephen Bending, *Tracing architecture: the aesthetics of antiquarianism*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003)

[78] Clare O'Halloran, *Golden Ages and Barbarous Nations: Antiquarian Debate and Cultural Politics in Ireland c. 1750 – 1800*, (Cork: Cork University Press in association with Field Day, 2004)

[79] Joep Leerssen, *Mere Irish and fíor-ghael: studies in the idea of Irish nationality, its development and literary expression prior to the nineteenth century*, (Cork; Cork University Press in association with Field Day, 1996), Joep Leerssen, *Remembrance and imagination: patterns in the historical and literary representation of Ireland in the nineteenth century* (Cork: Cork University Press in association with Field Day, 1996)

Restoration, Conservation, Preservation

Throughout the thesis, the terms 'restoration', 'preservation' and 'conservation' are used. Each term has a specific meaning, and refers to a specific type of action.

Restoration refers to the process of returning a heritage building to a known earlier state, without the introduction of new material. Reconstruction generally means altering a heritage object by the introduction of new, or old, materials, into the fabric, to produce a work which respects the original. The two processes are often intertwined. Throughout this thesis, the intertwined works of restoration and reconstruction are referred to as 'restoration', as this reflects the nineteenth-century usage of the term, and as restoration and reconstruction are always carried out together in the cases examined in this thesis.

The conservation of historic buildings can generally be considered as the action taken to prevent decay, and to prolong the life of the structure. The conservation process should be carried out without damaging the building, and without destroying or falsifying historical evidence. Conservation aims at the long-term survival of the building.[80]

I have also used the term 'preservation' throughout this thesis to reflect both the language and practice of architects and interested groups in nineteenth-century Ireland. The preservation of national monuments was called for, and the type of action generally approached what is now considered 'conservation'. The types of interventions including shoring up walls, pinning masonry, raking and repointing masonry, rebuilding walls, introducing elements of security to the buildings to prevent vandalism. However, I have maintained their term of preservation to refer to these types of works in this period, as they were not yet entirely informed by clear sets of guidelines and principles as conservation practices had, and generally took the form of a more *ad hoc*, case-by-case, approach, however well-intentioned and based on well-informed decisions.

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[80] The definitions of 'restoration', 'reconstruction' and 'conservation' have been taken from the Department of the Environment, Community and Local Government's website, www.environ.ie, and the policy documents on the care of Ireland's built heritage: http://www.environ.ie/en/Publications/Heritage/BuiltHeritagePolicy/FileDownLoad,2224,en.pdf, accessed 18/09/11

Chapter 2: Creating Canons and Critical Historiography

The breach widens at every push,
The copingstone falls
To shatter the paved floor.
Then silence for three centuries
While a taste for ruins develops.[1]

Architectural history, in recent decades has been transformed as an academic discipline, due to the interaction with critical scholarship in other areas of the humanities and social sciences, and the expansion of frameworks, subject matters, themes and disciplines.[2] Dana Arnold has drawn attention to one facet of this 'new' interdisciplinary approach to architectural history; the need for a fracturing of the 'monolith' of architectural canons and standards, to 'examine the strategies used in the telling of various narratives of architectural history.'[3] Arnold, in this text, was referring specifically to critical approaches informed by post-colonial theory; however, in this section, the concept of 'fracturing the monolith' has been used as an approach towards the canon and the creation of value systems within the historiography of Irish medieval ecclesiastical architecture. This chapter evaluates traditions of critical historiography as they exist, or do not exist, within the study of Irish visual culture, and considers the interaction between the discourse of Irish art history and Irish history as they have developed as academic subject areas. This chapter also considers relevant theoretical positions which have informed the approach taken in reading texts produced on Irish Gothic architecture. These include both the philosophers of language, discourse and textuality, and those who have critically examined texts on English Gothic architecture.

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[1] Eiléan Ní Chuilleanáin 'Daniel Grose', *Selected Poems*, (London: Faber and Faber and The Gallery Press, 2008)
[2] Dana Arnold, Elvan Altan Ergut, Belgin Turan Ozkaya, *Rethinking Architectural Historiography*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2006) xix
[3] Arnold, Ergut, Ozkaya, *Rethinking Architectural Historiography*, xviii

A foundation text for this methodological approach is *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, by Michel Foucault, published in 1969.[4] Foucault explored potential methodologies for processes of 'fracturing the monolith' of the apparently self-evident terms of a discourse. These processes included addressing the 'ready-made syntheses, those groupings that we normally accept before any examination', syntheses of 'notions', which, while not necessarily defined by rigorous conceptual structures, have a precise function in the structure of a discourse.[5] Foucault gave the 'notions' of 'tradition', 'influence' and 'spirit' as examples, and pointed to the essentially constructed nature of these powerful epistemological concepts – a methodological approach which facilitates the deconstruction of canons and value systems in cultural histories.

Foucault's analysis of a history of thought as a discourse which 'can only be reconstituted on the basis of a definite discursive totality' is illuminating in the context of the aims of this thesis. He stated that, in the analysis of the discursive field:

> (W)e must grasp the statement in the exact specificity of its occurrence; determine its conditions of existence, fix at least its limits, establish its correlations with other statements that may be connected with it, and show what other forms of statement it excludes.[6]

While Foucault's paradigm for exploration posits an inexhaustible series of potential references, and can perhaps only be conceived of as an ideological model rather than a practical methodological approach, it is indispensible in structuring the terms of engagement of a 'history of thought'.

Foucault established the ideal paradigm for this type of investigation: the exploration of the 'statement' (text) as linked to the gesture of writing or the articulation of speech, its 'residual existence', in the field of memory or in the materiality of printed matter, and most relevant to this thesis, the way in which it is 'linked not only to the situations that provoke it, and to the consequences that it

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[4] Michel Foucault, 'The Archaeology of Knowledge', *Literary Theory: An Anthology* (revised edition), eds. Julie Rivkin, Michael Ryan, (Massachusetts and Oxford: Blackwell, 2001): 421 - 422
[5] Foucault, 424
[6] Foucault, 424

gives rise to, but at the same time, and in accordance with a quite different modality, to the statements that precede and follow it.'[7]

Emphasising the enabling rather than the limiting nature of this approach, Foucault stated again that what must be examined are the:

> (R)elations between statements (even if the author is unaware of them; even if the statements do not have the same author; even if the authors were unaware of each other's existence); relations between groups of statements thus established (even if these groups do not concern the same, or even adjacent, fields; even if they do not possess the same formal level; even if they are not the locus of assignable exchanges); relations between statements and groups of statements and events of a quite different kind (technical, economic, social, political). To reveal in all its purity the space in which discursive events are deployed is not to undertake to re-establish it in an isolation that nothing could overcome; it is not to close it upon itself; it is to leave oneself free to describe the interplay of relations within it and outside it.[8]

While there have been a number of critical and theoretical responses to Foucault, this conceptualisation of statement, meaning and discourses was transformative, and Leerssen's model of the 'textual fabric' of Irish history is informed by Foucault's broad, all-encompassing conception of discourses.[9]

The close readings of narratives of architectural history in this section are informed by the work of critical theorists such as Louis Montrose, and the tradition of 'new historicist' theory. In 1989, Montrose outlined a concern with the historical, social and political conditions and consequences of literary production and reproduction. This, for Montrose, included both the reading and writing of texts, but also the contexts of circulation, and critical analysis in different locations. According to this conception of the text:

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[7] Foucault, 424

[8] Foucault, 425

[9] Lisa Downing has surveyed the critical responses to Foucault's concept of a discourse and a statement, and has highlighted the often-criticised absence of a value for human agency and intentionality within his formulation. Lisa Downing, *The Cambridge Introduction to Michel Foucault*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008): 50

> (A)pparently autonomous and aesthetic issues are being re-understood as inextricably though complexly linked to other discourses and practices – such linkages constituting the social networks within which individual subjectivities and collective structures are continuously shaped.[10]

My critical readings of architectural texts, therefore, focus on potential textual models and exemplars, the relationship between texts on architectural history and other genres, including fiction, poetry, religious tracts and historical writing, and the specific location of the author; the cultural, economic and social situation of the author of each text, and their relationship to the textual models and contemporary discourses within which their own work was situated. There are some points of potential conflict in using an expanded conceptualisation of the text with a new historicist approach. For example, it could be perceived as an anomaly to consider landscape, or the image of landscape, as a text which can be read by isolating and analysing its constituent parts, in a piece of work which is informed by a new historicist approach, which involves focusing on the idea of textuality, and the interplay of texts. However, in using these theoretical concepts as enabling tools, rather than working within the boundaries of a strictly defined theoretical reading in one 'camp' or another, it is possible to combine the two. The arguments which follow do adhere more closely to a classical new historicist approach. However, the premise of this work, and the formation of its theoretical approach, in particular in terms of reconsidering viable texts for analysis, and a decentering of the historiography of the treatment of Gothic in Ireland to consider smaller, less controversial projects, has been informed by a broader, more all-encompassing conceptualisation of text. In this way, I see the two approaches as being mutually supportive, rather than mutually exclusive.

Following this, it is necessary to question the impact of these texts under discussion in the following chapters on the treatment and engagement with the physical buildings themselves: Montrose emphasised the

> (R)eciprocal concern with the historicity of texts and the textuality of history. By the historicity of texts, I mean to suggest the cultural specificity,

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[10] Louis Montrose, 'Professing the Renaissance: The Poetics and Politics of Culture', in *Literary Theory; An Anthology*, eds. Julie Rivkin and Michael Ryan (London: Blackwell, 2001) 777

> the social embedment, of all modes of writing [...] by the textuality of history, I mean to suggest, firstly, that we have no access to a full and authentic past, a lived material existence, unmediated by the survival of the those textual traces of the society in question.[11]

An examination of the value systems which developed around medieval architecture is an essential facet of assessing restoration, conservation and heritage management strategies as they developed in the past, and as they exist today. Rachel Moss in *The Heritage of Ireland* highlighted this 'reciprocal concern' within the relationship between historiography and contemporary attitudes towards architecture, heritage and restoration. She stated that:

> (T)he manner in which architectural heritage management in Ireland has developed, therefore, has tended to be determined by broadly held attitudes toward different types of architecture and an awareness of its value, based ultimately on the understanding of Irish architectural history.[12]

The 'broadly-held attitudes' identified by Moss can be discussed in the context of the canon. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, a canon is defined as 'a standard of judgement or authority; a test, criterion, means of discrimination.'[13] The construction and de-construction of canons has been the subject of a vast body of literature – the post-modern 'incredulity towards metanarratives' facilitating a redressing of a 'canon', within post-colonial, Marxist and feminist discourses.[14] The canon must also be acknowledged as integral to creative production and experience, as a source of inspiration and as enabling interpretation. The canon is part of what constitutes 'tradition', and is often used creatively by architects and artists.[15]

The extent to which canons are continually challenged and addressed in contemporary Irish scholarship on cultural history is a testament to their

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[11] Montrose, 781

[12] Moss, 'Architecture' in Burrimer, Rynne, Guerin, The *Heritage of Ireland,* 62

[13] 'canon, n.1'. *OED Online*. June 2011. Oxford University Press. 8 July 2011 <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/27148?rskey=OcZyTW&result=3&isAdvanced=false>.

[14] The construction and responses to canons of value in the study and production of art has been examined by, among many others, Gill Perry and Colin Cunningham, *Academies, Museums and Canons of Art*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998)

[15] Éimear O'Conner, 'Introduction: A View from Everywhere', Éimear O'Connor in *Irish Women Artists 1800 – 2009: Familiar but Unknown* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010) 25

continuing relevance and presence.[16] As demonstrated within this scholarship, the expansion of the boundaries of a 'canon' is a necessary project, but the supplanting of a canonical narrative with another does not take the place of a critical analysis of the terms of the canon itself. Anna Brzyski, in her introduction to *Partisan Canons* contended that in examining the mechanics of the canon, it is essential to query how canons of value exist in specific situations and under particular conditions. The questions which must be asked include 'how and where canons are formed, by whom and why, how they function under particular circumstances, how they are maintained, and why they may undergo change.'[17]

It is clear that a changing conception of value has informed the way in which built heritage has been dealt with through time in Ireland: why is Gallarus Oratory a protected and much-visited structure, while an example of 'Bungalow Bliss' architecture from the latter half of the twentieth century is seen as being of less interest and value? Throughout the twentieth century, examples of industrial architecture and social housing have been recognised as being part of a built heritage which should be preserved and interpreted, as being an essential thread in the complex fabric of the past. The DoCoMoMo movement in Ireland is a contemporary example of the reassessment of value in the architectural production of the country, and how to actively transform that changing assessment into protective legislation.[18]

In the latter half of the twentieth century, there has been an increasing focus on broadening the terms of inclusion to a 'canon' of Irish art and architecture, and this has been reflected in changes in conservation and

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[16] An example of a recent work of Irish art history which expressly challenges received canons of value is the collection of essays edited by O'Connor, *Irish Women Artists 1800 – 2009: Familiar but Unknown*.
The increasing focus on vernacular architecture in Irish architectural studies is also an example of a challenge to the canon of Irish architectural history. This includes the publications relating to traditional farm buildings, produced by the Heritage Council. Examples of these are available at www.heritagecouncil.ie/architecture/publications/

[17] Anna Brzyski, *Partisan Canons* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2007) 3

[18] www.docomomo.ie. Docomomo is a non-profit organisation dedicated to the documentation and conservation of buildings, sites and neighbourhoods of the modern movement.

restoration legislation and provision.[19] Arnold has defined the impact of the concept of the 'canon' within the discourses of architectural history thus:

> (W)hat is known as the "canon" of architecture regiments our understanding and interpretation of the evidence. Architects and buildings that comprise the canon are usually seen as being of the highest quality. Consequently, the canon plays an important role in the institutionalization of architecture, as new works are judged against it. As such, it is a means of imposing hierarchical relationships on groups of objects which usually favours the individual genius and the idea of the "masterpiece."[20]

One of the most immediately obvious challenges to inherited value-laden architectural histories in the last half-century is the inclusion of the Irish 'Big House' into a 'canon' of Irish architectural history. Nuala C. Johnson in her article, 'Where Geography and History Meet: Heritage Tourism and the Big House in Ireland', has examined the specific conditions of this reassessment of the canon, in particular the impact of tourism in shaping ideas of canons of Irish architecture.[21] More recently, the edited volume of essays *The Irish Country House: Its Past, Present and Future* continues this assessment of the position of the country house in both the scholarship on, and management of, Irish architectural heritage.[22]

With an increasing focus on the process of broadening the canon to include building types such as agricultural, vernacular and industrial architectural heritage, as well as the developing concept of heritage landscapes and urban landscapes, there is a risk that allowing the concept of the canon itself, its conditions and the nature of its formation, will remain unchallenged. The creation of a system of value is necessary for the organisation and management of architectural heritage, such as issues of planning, restoration and conservation. However, the ideological basis of the canon, and of the 'terms' of the canon must be investigated in order to create systems for inclusive heritage management into the future.

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[19] The integration of issues such as Areas of Special Planning Control into legislation relating to the protection of architectural heritage, reflecting a broadening view of a canon of Irish architecture, have been examined by O'Rourke, 'Changes in the Level of Protection for the Irish Architectural Heritage since the Enactment of the Local Government (Planning and Development) Act 1999'

[20] Arnold, Ergut, Ozkaya, *Rethinking Architectural Historiography*, xvi

[21] Johnson, 'Where Geography and History Meet: Heritage Tourism and the Big House in Ireland', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 86, no. 3 (1996), 551 - 566

[22] Dooley and Ridgeway, *The Irish Country House: Its past, present and future.*

The identification of the changing fortunes and tides of canons of Irish art and architecture in general is outside the bounds of this thesis, however. Here, the aim is to critically examine one aspect of canon; that which relates to Irish Gothic architecture, and the written texts and scholarship which support, change, challenge and reinforce it. Further to this is an examination of some aspects of the print culture which acted as an important agent of communication, education and debate about the origins and treatment of medieval buildings.

John Waddell, in his 2005 survey text, *Foundation Myths: The Beginnings of Irish Archaeology*, stated that:

> (W)hile the occasional short architectural study of sites such as Holycross, Co. Tipperary and Grey Abbey, Co. Down, were undertaken, the major analysis by Graves and Prim of the history, architecture and other remains of St. Canice's Cathedral in Kilkenny, published in 1857, would remain the only detailed study of a medieval building for almost a century.[23]

The following chapters complicate Waddell's statement, and examine the locations of the discourse on Irish Gothic architecture which existed in monographs from 1789 and in antiquarian and architectural periodicals from the mid-nineteenth century to the early twentieth century.

The texts which have been considered are examples of what Dana Arnold has identified as one of the main typologies of architectural history texts – narratives of style, rather than authorship. Arnold has written that:

> '(S)tyle allows the ordering of architectural production whether anonymous or not through aesthetic categories. The heterogeneity, discordance and lack of synchronisation between different strands of architectural production can then be sorted into movements coming into ascendancy and then declining [...] teleological patterns of stylistic dominance and recession are imposed.[24]

This thesis identifies and analyses the value systems which inform the narratives of style within architectural texts produced between 1789 to the early twentieth century.

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[23] Waddell, *Foundation Myths*, 118

[24] Arnold, Ergut, Ozkaya, *Rethinking Architectural Historiography*, xvi

In order to give a clear structure to the critical analysis of each text, the readings have been based on a series of queries:

a) What monuments have been selected for analysis, and why?
b) What level of comparative study has been used within the author's analysis of the monuments selected? This refers to monuments in a non-Irish context.
c) How does the author arrive at conclusions about the monuments? Archival sources? Textual sources? Images of the building – drawings and other depictions? Reliance on past scholarship? Archaeological evidence? Direct, personal experience of the monument?
d) Where does the author situate his/her text within existing scholarship?
e) What value judgements about the monuments are being made? What are these value judgements based on?

These queries help to identify the 'essential components' of written architectural histories, and the

> (L)atent assumptions in the scholarship, about the canonization of objects of study, and about not only the self-evidentiality of the document but also the objectivity of the historian, as well as the biases and absences in consequently formed narratives of history.[25]

In his 1996 preface to *Mere Irish and Fíor-Ghael*, Leerssen recognised that the interdisciplinary approach, and emphasis on historical constructivism, which he had advocated when the book was first published in 1986, 'has become practically a self-evident assumption.'[26] However, as outlined in Chapter 1, systems of understanding have received less in-depth critical attention in the context of Irish art and architecture. Studies in institutional history, such as Elizabeth Crooke's study of the social, political and cultural context of the foundation of the national museum in Ireland, and the close study of cultural politics through the life of Samuel Ferguson by Eve Patten are examples of a broad range of cultural histories

[25] Elvan Altan Ergut and Belgin Turan Ozkaya, 'Introduction: Mapping Architectural Historiography', in Arnold, Ergut, Ozkaya, *Rethinking Architectural Historiography*, 8
[26] Leerssen, *Mere Irish and Fíor-Ghael*, 3

which do emphasise the 'historical constructivism' identified by Leerssen.[27] Clare O'Halloran's detailed study of antiquarian and historical scholarship and cultural politics in Ireland between 1750 and 1800 pays close attention to the role of texts and institutions in the circulation and exchange of discourses, reflecting Montrose's emphasis on the post-production life of the text in the construction of its meaning.[28]

The discipline of history, as it has been studied in Irish institutions, has been characterised by periodic revisionism throughout the twentieth century. This self-reflexivity within the discipline facilitates a range of theoretical approaches and positions through which to examine and locate discourses on Irish architectural heritage. While the discipline of Irish history, considered as a distinct discipline, provides a useful comparison for the internal debate and revisionism for the discipline of Irish art history, these comparisons can only be taken so far, as the institutional frameworks and conditions of production were often significantly different.

The relationship between the narration of the past and the politics of the present in Ireland has a long and complex history, one which has been critically assessed by historians and theorists.[29] The field of Irish studies within history departments has particularly been subject to two well-defined periods of 'revisionism'. Leerssen and Guy Beiner have outlined some aspects of the two key revisionist periods, 1930s and 1980s, and have put these movements in an international context, examining the impact of these developments on subsequent historical practice.[30] This essay by Leerssen and Beiner represents just one strand of a tradition of self-reflexive practice within Irish history departments, characterised by attention to methodology, a critical approach to existing grand narratives, and to the source material and view taken, both of and from a subject. The foundation of *Irish Historical Studies* and the school of revisionist history of the

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[27] Crooke, *Politics, Archaeology and the Creation of a National Museum of Ireland*, Eve Patten, *Samuel Ferguson and the Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004).
[28] Clare O'Halloran, *Golden Ages and Barbarous Nations*.
[29] A collection of essays on Irish historiographical issues has been edited by Mark Williams and Stephen Paul Forrest, *Constructing the Past: Writing Irish History 1600 -1800*, (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010)
[30] Guy Beiner and Joep Leerssen, 'Why Irish History Starved: A Virtual Historiography', *Field Day Review*, 3 (2007): 66 - 81

1930s spearheaded by figures such as Theodore William Moody and Robert Walter Dudley Edwards, and the impact of this 'objective', and 'anti-myth' approach in Irish historiography into the 1980s have been examined by Ciaran Brady.[31] The debate, in particular during the 1980s, was focused, in large part, on the ethics, and perceived political motivations, of historiographical methodology. These relatively high-profile debates within the practitioners of Irish history writing have had the effect of ensuring that Irish historiographical practice has its own historiography. A growing body of literature on the subject reflects both on the nature of these periods of revisionism, and their impact.

Contrary to the statement by Francis Halsall that art history did not exist in Ireland prior to the 1960s, an assertion based on a very schematic and outdated view of both the art being produced and the art establishment around it, it is clear that both critique and historiography in the field of art and architecture were central to scholarship throughout the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[32] Despite the fact that departments of art history were not established until the 1960s, individuals and institutions were involved in the production of scholarship, as evidenced by Fintan Cullen's survey of sources for Irish art history, published in 2000.[33] Cullen's *Sources in Irish Art* highlighted individuals as diverse as Anthony Pasquin (1754 – 1818)[34], James Barry (1741 – 1806), Thomas MacGreevy (1893 – 1967) and Robert Elliott (1868 – 1910), and their role in creating a tradition of scholarship and criticism of visual art and architecture in Ireland.

While Halsall's assessment of scholarship and criticism in the first half of the twentieth century does not engage with the tradition which irrefutably did exist, it is perhaps more useful to examine the extent to which a self-reflexive practice has developed within scholarship on visual art and architecture, and the extent to which practices of writing in Irish art and architectural histories have been informed by the strong and clearly defined revisionist movements in history

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[31] Ciaran Brady, '"Constructive and Instrumental": the Dilemma of Ireland's first "New Historians"', in Brady, *Interpreting Irish History*

[32] Francis Halsall, 'Strategic Amnesia (on art history in Ireland in the 21st century)', *The Irish Review*, 39, (2008): 18 - 35

[33] Fintan Cullen, *Sources in Irish Art: A Reader*, (Cork: Cork University Press, 2000)

[34] Anthony Pasquin was the pseudonym used by John Williams, (1754 – 1818)

departments.[35] As noted above, institutional difference, and the absence of more defined 'schools' of thought, had the result that the same large-scale and well-documented debate was unlikely to take place. It could be argued that the Irish Exhibition of Living Art and Rosc can be viewed as 'revisionist art history', and individual works of scholarship usually critically assess the extant work and the frameworks and narratives which inform them. These important fora, however, did not engage in a concerted way with issues of interpretative ethics or methodology as a specific issue. An important text for the interpretation of methodological strategies as they had existed throughout the twentieth century in particular is Fintan Cullen's 1997 book *Visual Politics*, which addressed established narratives and their legitimacy and historical position.[36] As Tom Dunne pointed out in his review, Cullen's book 'explores and redraws' the terrain mapped out by Ann Crookshank and the Knight of Glin.[37]

Important and formative events in the field of self-reflexive historiography in Irish art history include the session entitled 'Irish Studies and History of Art: Impossible Dialogues?' as part of the 2007 Association of Art Historians annual conference, organised by Lucy Cotter. The conference programme is a key document in a history of the critical historiography of Irish art, recording the important questions which were addressed by art historians and theorists of Irish art history and its construction.[38] The magazine *Circa* also published several articles and series of articles in 2003 and 2006 on the conditions of Irish art history, with notable contributions by the art historian James Elkins, and responses by several art historians.[39] More recently, two events, one held at Trinity College Dublin in November 2010, and the second at the Association of Art Historians' annual

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[35] Issues such as the interrelationship between the disciplines of history and history of art and architecture will be considered in postdoctoral work. An example of a case study is Canice Mooney (1911 – 63), the Franciscan priest, historian and Irish language scholar, who wrote an important series of articles on Irish Franciscan architecture, published in the JRSAI in the 1950s.

[36] Fintan Cullen, *Visual Politics: the representation of Ireland 1750 – 1930*, (Cork: Cork University Press, 1997)

[37] Tom Dunne, 'Review: the cultural role of the visual', *The Irish Review*, 21 (1997): 136 - 139

[38] http://www.aah.org.uk/photos/conf%20programme%20final%281%29.pdf

[39] James Elkins, 'The State of Irish Art History', *Circa*, 106 (2003), 56 - 59
James Elkins, 'The State of Art History in Ireland, Revisited', *Circa*, 116 (2006), 48 - 55
Joan Fowler, Lucy Cotter, Maeve Connolly, Mia Lerm Hayes, Róisín Kennedy, Rosemarie Mulcahy, Sheila Dickinson, Siún Hanrahan, James Elkins, 'The State of Art History in Ireland, Replies and Responses', *Circa*, 118, (2006), 36 - 47

conference at Warwick addressed concepts of critical historiography, under the title 'Writing Irish Art History'. These two events explored the role of key texts in the formation of art histories and in art criticism.[40] A critical history of the historiography of Irish art, architecture and visual studies, however, has yet to be produced.

'Past history was made to serve a legitimising function for the present commitment'.

In his survey of New Historicist and Cultural Materialist theory, John Brannigan has highlighted the fact that as 'texts are understood as participating in the production of human beliefs and ideologies [...] both new historicists and cultural materialists insist that there is no division between text and context, or between literature and politics.'[41] The connections between the political, cultural and social lived reality of the historian and the history he or she produces has been the focus of much critical historiographical theory from the latter half of the twentieth century. These concepts provide an important context for the investigation of key authors on Irish Gothic architecture in the following chapters.

R.F. Foster, in his 1983 essay, 'History and the Irish Question' outlined the development of concepts of history in Ireland and the cultural, social and political worlds in which they were produced. As Foster has written, looking at the function of history in modern Ireland, 'past history was made to serve a legitimising function for the present commitment.'[42]

Bernadette Cunningham, in her work on Irish culture in the age of Geoffrey Keating, has examined the role of history writing in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. On the development of history-writing in early modern Europe, Cunningham has written that:

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[40] 'Writing Irish Art History', Trinity College Dublin, November 20, 2010 http://writingirisharthistory.blogspot.com/ and 'Writing Irish Art History' at the Association of Art Historians Annual Conference, 2011, Warwick. http://www.aah.org.uk/page/3307
Both sessions were coordinated by Caroline McGee and Niamh NicGhabhann.

[41] John Brannigan, *New Historicism and Cultural Materialism*, (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998) 21

[42] R.F. Foster, 'History and the Irish Question', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Series 5, 22 (1983): 170

> (T)he desire to know more of their own counties (as evidenced by the growth of map-making) and the use of history as a political tool both played important parts in the emergence of the past as a vital force in the present. The same was true of early modern Ireland.[43]

Both Cunningham[44] and Clare O'Halloran have examined this concept of the past as a 'vital source' in Ireland, in their explorations of the political and social context of seventeenth- and eighteenth- century cultural histories. O'Halloran, in her work on eighteenth-century antiquarianism has explored in detail Irish cultural politics in Irish antiquarian practices and historical writing. The competing claims for the barbarism or, conversely, the extreme sophistication, of pre-Christian Irish culture, that surface regularly in cultural narratives from the mid-eighteenth century must be considered within this background of competing histories. Almost all of the authors of architectural texts referenced in this thesis have prefaced their own interpretations of ancient Irish culture with statements which distance themselves from the exaggerated cultural claims of the earlier texts. The partisan nature of histories in this period is emphasised by O'Halloran, who has written that 'works which supported the claim of a great pre-colonial golden age were understood as signalling a pro-Catholic stance, whereas sceptics of the claim were taken as opponents of the relaxation of the penal laws.'[45] The consequences of this period of collapsed consensus can be read in the cultural histories of the following century. For example, a writer in the *Dublin Literary Gazette*, in the preface to a series of articles entitled 'On the Past and Present State of the Fine Arts in Ireland', wrote that 'prejudices, springing chiefly from political feelings, have equally blinded both sides, and an able and impartial work on the ancient state of Ireland is still a desideratum.'[46] The contested nature of histories forms an important context to the development of cultural histories, and more specifically, histories of architecture in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

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[43] Bernadette Cunningham, 'Seventeenth-century interpretations of the past: the case of Geoffrey Keating', in *Irish Historical Studies*, 25, no. 98 (1986): 116 - 128

[44] Bernadette Cunningham, *The world of Geoffrey Keating: history, myth and religion in seventeenth century Ireland*, (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000)

[45] O'Halloran, *Golden Ages and Barbarous Nations*, 5

[46] *Dublin Literary Gazette*, No. 1, January 2, 1830, 1

The publication of historical texts in Ireland changed significantly in the nineteenth century, with changes in publishing and marketing that allowed for the production of texts at lower costs, and with the growth in the number of groups and individuals in Irish society who were interested in producing and consuming these historical texts. These works of historical scholarship included transcriptions of archival documents, calendars or working notes relating to archives, or secondary texts, which offered analysis and opinion based on the study of previous histories or manuscripts and archives.[47]

Specific patterns in the representation of the past of regions in Europe from the eighteenth century, usually identified and discussed in scholarship under the rubric of cultural nationalism, are another essential context for texts on architectural history, and are the subject of a growing body of literature.[48] As explored in depth in Chapter 3, the concept of 'national' style of architecture which was interrupted by the introduction of alien building practices due to political factors was visible in its nascent state in the work of Petrie, and came to the fore in the works of Margaret Stokes and the third Earl of Dunraven. As demonstrated in Chapter 3, the creation of a narrative of Irish architectural progress which was largely characterised by political change and a distinct and decisive break with a native tradition due to the Anglo-Norman invasion is reflected in many cultural narratives from 1845 onwards, and remained an important trope in both cultural and political rhetoric throughout the twentieth century. Beaufort, Petrie and Brash all structured their works with the Anglo-Norman invasion as a definitive break, focusing on this political event as the harbinger of cultural transformation, rather than, for example, the arrival of different monastic orders or the introduction of new building styles through the interaction between ecclesiastical centres of power throughout Europe.

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[47] Raymond Gillespie, 'Printing History: Editing and publishing historical documents in nineteenth-century Ireland', in Print *Culture and Intellectual Life in Ireland, 1660 – 1941: Essays in Honour of Michael Adams*, eds. Martin Fanning and Raymond Gillespie (Dublin: Woodfield Press, 2006), 75

[48] Important texts in the theory of cultural nationalism include Benedict Anderson, *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*, (London: Verso, 2006) and, in an Irish context, John Hutchinson, *The dynamics of cultural nationalism: the Gaelic Revival and the creation of the Irish nation state*, (London: Allen & Unwin, 1987)

An article in the *Quarterly Review* from 1906, by the historian Robert Dunlop is a useful text through which to read these claims and counter-claims, based on ideologies of cultural nationalism. Dunlop claimed that the idea that Irish culture presented 'the spectacle of the arrested development' had become the 'orthodox view on the subject.'[49] This article, published sixty-one years after Petrie's *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, demonstrates how views on the subject had become more clearly defined, or perhaps hardened, in political terms, reflecting greater political unrest. It also demonstrates the greater emphasis on the political interpretations of broad historical narratives produced at this time, as opposed to antiquarian texts. Dunlop's article took the form of a review of four recently published works on aspects of early Irish history, and attempted to address this 'orthodox view' of change and displacement regarding the Irish culture and subsequent invasions. Dunlop quoted Patrick Weston Joyce, who was unambiguous in his stance: 'One momentous effect of the Danish and Anglo-Norman invasions must here be noted: they arrested the progress of native learning and art [...] what that civilisation would have come to if allowed to follow out uninterruptedly its natural course of development it is now impossible to conjecture.'[50] Dunlop's article attempted to address the conceptualisation of the 'native' and the 'invader' as a means of, as he somewhat undiplomatically stated, 'rescuing early Irish history from the *cul de sac* into which it had found its way.'[51]

His argument was based on the Celtic origins of the Irish, and the hybridity of what was considered 'Celtic' culture. His work was clearly influenced by a severe version of Arnoldian concepts of racial and ethnic identity, however, and he argued that rather than arresting a native school of learning, Danish and Anglo-Norman

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[49] Robert Dunlop, 'Art. IV – The Origins of the Irish Race', *Quarterly Review*, 205. no. 408 (1906, July), 79. Robert Dunlop, (d. October 6, 1930) was a Lecturer in Irish history in Manchester University. According to an appreciation written by Professor Edmund Curtis, Professor of Modern History in Trinity College Dublin, Dunlop was the greatest authority on modern Irish history from the 16th century onward, and carried out valuable work on the bibliographical and biographical side of Irish history. He published widely in Irish journals, including *Studies* and the *JRSAI*, and contributed important sections on Irish history to landmark survey texts and to the *Dictionary of National Biography*. There is no biographical entry for Dunlop in the Cambridge *Dictionary of Irish Biography* or the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 'The Late Mr. Robert Dunlop', The Irish Times, (October 15, 1930)

[50] Dunlop, 79

[51] Dunlop, 80

invasions served to enhance Irish culture, and that invasions proved that 'Irish civilisation perished of its own effeteness and inability to stand against a superior and more highly developed civilisation.'[52] Throughout, there is a resistance to the idea of any concept of 'native' cultural excellence in Ireland, whereas it is admitted elsewhere, particularly in France. On the period known as the 'Golden Age' in Irish art, he wrote that:

> The Irish were apt scholars, intelligent and enthusiastic; but it is ridiculous to suppose that a people just emerging from a state of semi-barbarism could of its own unaided efforts have produced such as masterpiece of art as "The Book of Kells" or have made itself master of all the learning of the civilised world.[53]

For Dunlop, what had been considered native Irish excellence by previous historians should be considered part of Christian cultural traditions, coming from Europe. He referred to the appellation of Cormac's Chapel as 'Hiberno-Romanesque' as evidence of the primacy of the influence of the European Romanesque on Irish architecture:

> The eastern origin of the beehive cells and the round towers has long been a recognised fact; art critics have referred the illustrations of the 'Book of Kells' and the 'Book of MacDurnan' and the ornamentation of the cross of Cong to Byzantine influences; and architects have dubbed Cormac's chapel Irish-Romanesque.[54]

Writing about the Anglo-Norman invasion, Dunlop argued that 'where they settled, they introduced the elements of a more perfectly developed civilisation [...] Irish learning and art survived almost into Anglo-Norman times, but they were dying of inanition.'[55]

While Dunlop's case against concepts of ethnic and cultural purity, and an idea of 'native' cultural achievement, was against the tide of cultural and historical opinion within Ireland, as evidenced in his contesting of points raised in the

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[52] Dunlop, 80
[53] Dunlop, 97
[54] Dunlop, 99
In his ascribing an indisputable Eastern origin to the round towers, Dunlop reveals an uncritical reading of several theorists of the origins of the round towers.
[55] Dunlop, 102

contemporary works of historiography he reviewed, different voices and opinions did exist on the subject – complicating the vision of early twentieth-century Irish cultural historiography as outlined by Kalkreuter and Hourihane.[56] Indeed, Dunlop's own view of Irish historiography obscured the scholars and antiquarians who incorporated concepts of hybridity in their work. The Cork antiquarian Robert Day, to give one of very many possible examples, discussed the similarities between an Indian metalwork and *Opus Hibernicum* on an Irish bronze fibula at the RSAI in 1869, and much late nineteenth-century antiquarian scholarship was characterised by this type of cross-cultural comparison.[57] While it is outside the scope of this thesis to consider the complex nature of publishing on early Irish political history in the early twentieth century, the positions of Joyce and Dunlop have been included here as an important context for the type of historical narrative utilised by Beaufort, Petrie and others in their cultural histories.

Antiquarianism and archaeology developed significantly during the same time period in Ireland, a period of growing national definition. Irish archaeology, and by extension, antiquarianism, can be seen as 'belonging within the nationalist tradition.'[58] This formulation is useful, but it does obscure important periods and agents within the growth of antiquarianism and archaeology, such as the contested

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[56] Dunlop was unsparing in his reviews of contemporary Irish historians: in an article titled 'Truth and Fiction in Irish History', he criticised Alice Stopford Green's 1908 *The Making of Ireland and its Undoing: 1200 – 1600*, writing that 'we deeply regret that Mrs. Green has written this book. No doubt it will secure her a certain popularity in circles where history is treated as the slave of politics; but it will be at the expense of forfeiting the respect of those who regard history as a serious subject, and the office of historian as one not lightly assumed'. 'Review of Reviews', *The Quarterly Review*, 39: 230 (1909: Feb) 180. William Murphy, writing about Stopford Green, described this book as being 'clearly motivated by, and had implications for, contemporary politics', and that for Stopford Green and other nationalist history writers, the English presence in Ireland had destructive rather than beneficial effects, and 'the achievement of independence would see the return to a prelapsarian idyll'. As well as noting the nationalist agenda in these works, Murphy also highlighted the aspects which were pioneering, such as her examination of Gaelic society and economy.
William Murphy. "Green, Alice Sophia Amelia Stopford". *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. (Eds.)James Mcguire, James Quinn. Cambridge, United Kingdom:Cambridge University Press, 2009.

[57] 'Proceedings', *The Journal of the Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland*, Third Series, Vol. 1, No. 2, (1869), 219
Antiquarian scholarship such as Day's, in its often close focus on individual objects, could perhaps lend itself more readily to an open view of Irish cultural and political relations with the world, rather than the grand historical narratives of development and progress, as written by Dunlop, Stopford Green or Joyce.

[58] Gabriel Cooney, 'Building the future on the past: archaeology and the construction of national identity in Ireland', in *Nationalism and Archaeology*, eds. Margarita Diaz-Andreau and Timothy Champion (London: UCL Press, 1996) 146

role of the Ordnance Survey and its position within archaeological development, and the concept of patriotism identified by Leerssen as an important social and political context.[59]

The close relationship between cultural scholarship and emerging discourses surrounding national identity and political nationalism from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth centuries provides an important context for this discussion. However, this is one context, and should not exclude others, such as the existence of wide scholarly networks which existed. The concept of cultural transfer in terms of how texts, narratives and interpretations were being produced and exchanged, and the close relationships which existed between individuals is fundamental to a contextual analysis of scholarship in this period. It is clear that close and mutually enriching relationships developed between Irish antiquarian scholars and those living elsewhere: John Waddell noted James Fergusson's visit to William Wilde's home in Moytura House, in Co. Mayo, and the proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, for example, reveals a close knowledge of a wide range of Fergusson's publications on architectural history.[60] As the nineteenth century progressed, and travel and communications increasingly improved, the practice for learned societies to both exchange journals and publications, and to visit their counterparts in other regions became more common. There are many examples of

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[59] Oona Frawley described the Ordnance Survey as 'an assertion of colonial control', while Leerssen has argued for its importance in conserving both Irish placenames, antiquities and landscapes, and Gillian M. Doherty has traced the importance of the scholarship on Irish language and antiquities which was central to the Survey. Oona Frawley, *Irish Pastoral: Nostalgia and Twentieth-Century Irish Literature*, (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2005) 45, Leerssen, *Remembrance and Imagination*, 102, Doherty, *The Irish Ordnance Survey*.

[60] Waddell, *Foundation Myths* 134.
David Boyd Haycock, "Fergusson, James (1808–1886)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004); online ed., ed. Lawrence Goldman, September 2010, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9336 (accessed September 21, 2011).
References to Fergusson's works on architectural history range from his works on Indian antiquities, in connection with an image of a bronze bovine mask found in the Galtees, and bought by the Rev. James Graves from an iron dealer in Mitchelstown, Co. Cork (*JRSAI*, 5, no. 8, (1881), 561 – 570), to Hodder M. Westropp's referencing Fergusson's architectural histories in his paper on round towers (*Journal of the Kilkenny and South-East Ireland Archaeological Society*, New Series, 4, no. 1 (1862), 181 – 209. Fergusson's work was referred to as a reference source, and as a point of departure for further critical enquiry by Irish antiquarians, as evidenced by Wakeman's assessment of his *Rude Stone Monuments* in an article on the Glen Malin monument (*JRSAI*, 5th Series, 1, no. 4 (1890): 255 – 272, in which he described the section included by Fergusson (which had been communicated to him by a Mr. Norman Moore of Dunminning, Glarryford, Co. Antrim) – 'they do not...seem to have been more than superficially examined by Mr. Moore.'

Irish involvement in this international scholarly community in this period, from the visit of Sir William and Lady Jane (Speranza) Wilde to Copenhagen in 1859, to examine the use of the Three Ages System of archaeology as developed by Christian Jürgensen Thomsen and Jens Jacob Asmussen Worsaae, to the visit of the British Association to Ireland, which culminated in an open-air banquet at Dún Aengus on the Aran Islands in 1857.[61]

The texts and histories which were being produced from different sources and locations on the arts and architecture of Ireland were central to the shift in valuing national antiquities. These were produced in different locations, and for different audiences: they included antiquarian/scholarly and religious publications, and those aimed at a more general readership, such as those published in newspapers and journals. One of the results of this body of literature was to classify, codify and to provide a framework for understanding the remains of buildings from early Christian and medieval Ireland. Accounts and histories of architectural history reflect specific value systems, and the relative importance placed on specific architectural monuments to the exclusion of others. Of equal importance, however, is the way in which architectural histories perpetuate or create value systems, which, as Moss has pointed out, have a direct bearing on the management of cultural heritage into the present day.

While the development of post-modern 'incredulity towards meta-narratives'[62] since the 1970s has facilitated new approaches to the study of history and its methods, it is clear that historians have almost always included critical attitudes to past historical interpretations in their work, situating their work within the context of the extant literature on their subject. The development of historiography as a discipline by writers such as Robin George Collingwood (1890 – 1943) throughout the twentieth century used the tools of semiotics and

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[61] Michael Ryan, 'Sir William Wilde and Irish antiquities', in Eileán Ní Chuilleanán, ed., *The Wilde Legacy*, (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003), 76
'The ship, with its "freight of Ethnologists and Antiquaries", sailed from Galway to Inishmore, where the antiquities of the island were examined. The highlight of the visit was a feast on the "velvet turf" of Dun Aengus. The Provost of Trinity presided, and the meeting was addressed by Wilde', Jeanne Sheehy, *The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past: The Celtic Revival 1830 – 1930*,(London: Thames and Hudson, 1980) 26

[62] Jean-Francois Lyotard, 'The Postmodern Condition' (1979) in *Literary Theory: An Anthology*, eds. Julie Rivkin, Michael Ryan, 509

structuralism to examine the history and the methodology of the study of history, and to facilitate critical readings of works of history.[63] In terms of architectural history, an increasing body of literature has developed, and is developing, around addressing the methods of art and architectural history in an international context; systems and canons of value in particular have received much critical attention. This body of scholarship has provided important methodological models for the analysis of Irish architectural histories in this thesis.

Writing Gothic Architecture

Paul Frankl, in his 1960 work *The Gothic: Literary Sources and Interpretations through Eight Centuries* outlined in detail the development of different attitudes towards Gothic architecture, examining early modern attitudes towards Gothic architecture, and the development of what he terms the 'scientific trend' in the study of the history of art and architecture, and the development of the study of art as a scientific discipline.[64] Conrad Rudolph, in his wide-ranging introduction to the 2006 compendium *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, also examined the development of architectural history, with the aim of understanding the formation of the discipline and the position of Gothic architecture within it. Rudolph's introductory essay 'A Sense of Loss: An Overview of the Historiography of Romanesque and Gothic Art' explored the development of different approaches to medieval art and architecture, with a focus on specific historians and their interpretations, particularly in the twentieth century.[65]

One of the most important contexts for the development of the discourse of architectural history in the nineteenth century in Ireland is the contemporary historiography of Gothic architecture in the United Kingdom. Historians such as

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[63] Roger Spalding and Christopher Parker, *Historiography: An Introduction*, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press: 2007, 1
Key texts on nineteenth-century historiography include Hayden White, *Tropics of Discourse: essays in cultural criticism* (Baltimore; London: John Hopkins University Press, 1978), and Stephen Bann, *The clothing of Clio: a study of the representation of history in nineteenth-century Britain and France*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984)

[64] Paul Frankl, *The Gothic: Literary Sources and Interpretations through Eight Centuries*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1960)

[65] Rudolph, Conrad, 'Introduction: A Sense of Loss: An Overview of the Historiography of Romanesque and Gothic Art' in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. Conrad Rudolph, (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006) 1-43

John Frew, Simon Bradley, Alexandrina Buchanan and Carla Yanni have examined the formation of the discourses around Gothic architecture. These historians have examined the texts produced as contemporary texts, and as works which are reflective of contemporary concerns, as well as texts which deal with, and contain information about, the past. Also central to the work of these historians is the importance of the complex interrelationship between cultural narratives and nationalism, particularly in the context of a growing tradition of nationalist theory across nineteenth-century Europe. They also deal with the developing discipline of architectural history, and where it was located in the context of the disciplines of science and engineering. This focus on historiography is an important critical context for the study of the culture of architectural history and of building in nineteenth century Ireland.

John Frew in his 1980 essay 'An Aspect of the Early Gothic Revival: The Transformation of Medievalist Research, 1770 – 1800' examined the early texts produced on English Gothic architecture, and the interrelationship between these texts and architectural practice.[66] Frew examined the early culture of antiquarian publications, and the conditions surrounding the production and dissemination of architectural knowledge about medieval architecture in England. Limitations included a scarcity of good architectural draughtsmen, an overwhelming bias in favour of classical antiquity, as well as a continuing disparaging of the work of medieval antiquarians as 'humdrum plodding fellows, who wanting genius for nobler studies, busied themselves in heaping up illegible Manuscripts, mutilated statues, obliterated coins and broken pipkins.'[67] Frew has charted, in this essay, the increasing popular interest in national antiquities following Britain's struggle with the American colonies and the Napoleonic wars, a shift which was reflected in the rise in membership of the Antiquarian Society and the publication of popular books of antiquities, aimed at those who could not afford the earlier, more costly

[66] Frew, John 'An Aspect of the Early Gothic Revival: The Transformation of Medievalist Research, 1770 – 1800', 174 - 185

[67] Frew, 'An Aspect of the Early Gothic Revival: The Transformation of Medievalist Research, 1770 – 1800', 175

publications.[68] Henry Boswell's 1795 *The Antiquities of England and Wales* is an example of these cheaper, more popular publications.

Frew's essay concentrated on the nature and influence of antiquarian publishing on the development of architecture, and on architectural history. This analysis of the textual context of the Gothic revival in architecture also takes as an important and influential factor the growth of nationalist feeling in Britain following wars with the American colonies and France. These first publications dedicated to the analysis of architectural style were situated very firmly within a context of increasing nationalism, and this is clearly reflected in the developing language of architectural history. Frew's exploration of the culture of architectural publication is an important context for the texts on Irish architecture explored in Chapter 3.

Both Frew and Simon Bradley have examined, in detail, the nationalist context of the literature being produced on English medieval architecture in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This is a crucial context for the consideration of the historiography of Irish architecture, given the creation of a distinctively separate national identity for Ireland during the course of the nineteenth century.

Frew has pointed to the importance of the alignment of Gothic building with a national, English taste, and English genius, in opposition to Grecian architecture, seen as the invention of foreigners.[69] This was expressed by John Carter in *The Builder's Magazine*, and in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, and in Frew's opinion represented a more significant reassessment of the value and cultural position of Gothic architecture than Horace Walpole's earlier 'tentative Revivalism, tempered by an unqualified acceptance of the correctness and superiority of classical taste.'[70] Key texts produced in this period of transformation of medievalist research, such as John Milner's 1798 – 1801 two-volume *History of Winchester* and Carter's *Ancient Architecture of England*, contained a narrative of Gothic as English,

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[68] Frew, 'An Aspect of the Early Gothic Revival: The Transformation of Medievalist Research, 1770 – 1800', 179

[69] John Frew, 'Gothic is English: John Carter and the Revival of the Gothic as England's National Style', *The Art Bulletin*, 64, no. 2 (1982), 315 - 319

[70] Frew, 'Gothic is English: John Carter and the Revival of the Gothic as England's National Style', 316

as a distinctive national style, in opposition to classical architecture. The discourse on medieval architecture, therefore, was entwined with the language of nationalism in this formative period. Frew emphasised Carter's responsiveness to the sharply nationalistic mood at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when there was a genuine fear in England of an invasion from France. His articles in the *Gentleman's Magazine* explicitly linked an appreciation for national architecture as part of a more general national movement:

> I know of no way that can so aid the general cause, as to stimulate my countrymen to think well of their own national memorials, the works of art of ancient times, and not to hold up any foreign works as superior to our own.[71]

Carter rejected the term Gothic, which he considered a reproach to 'our Ancient English architecture, the pride of human art, and the excellence of all earthly scientific labours.'[72] In the Society of Antiquaries' highly influential publication on Durham Cathedral, Carter suggested a change in nomenclature, influenced by his belief that the 'light and elegant' style had been invented in England, and therefore should be termed 'English' rather than 'Gothic'.[73] This shift was not without its critics, who introduced a greater understanding of French and Italian medieval architecture to the debate.[74]

Simon Bradley in his 2002 essay 'The Englishness of Gothic: Theories and Interpretations from William Gilpin to J.H. Parker' also examined the culture of English nationalism in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century in architectural theory, and questioned why the 'monoculture that went before tends to be taken for granted, or to be overlooked, in favour of the growth of Gothic archaeology or of the incipit "Battle of the Styles".'[75] In his discussion of the insular

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[71] 'Gothic is English: John Carter and the Revival of the Gothic as England's National Style', 317

[72] 'Gothic is English: John Carter and the Revival of the Gothic as England's National Style', 318

[73] Frew, 'Gothic is English: John Carter and the Revival of the Gothic as England's National Style', 318

[74] Frew cited the examples of G.D. Whittington's survey of French architecture, which suggested that St. Denis and the work of Abbot Suger had predated English experiments, and Thomas Kerrich's 1809 papers delivered to the Society of Antiquaries on Italian medieval architecture. Frew, 'Gothic is English', 318

[75] Bradley, Simon 'The Englishness of Gothic: Theories and Interpretations from William Gilpin to J.H. Parker', *Architectural History*, 45 (2002) 325

nature of the discourse developing around English medieval buildings, Bradley included the particular appropriateness of national medieval architecture for use by the Church of England in an era of increasing reform, after Catholic Emancipation in 1829.[76] In this essay, Bradley takes up the points made by Frew in his earlier work, and expands his discussion of the issue of national style and origins throughout the nineteenth century debate on medieval architecture. As Bradley states, 'whether Gothic was diagnosed simplistically, as a matter of the use of pointed arches, or more sophisticatedly, as an aesthetically and structurally coherent system, a preoccupation with its national origins usually hovered in the background.'[77] Bradley identified the importance of the cheap and widely available *Essays on Gothic Architecture*, published in 1800, which included essays by Milner, James Bentham, Francis Grose and Thomas Warton. This publication was described in the contemporary press as being 'in everybody's hands', and was in its third edition by 1808. The nationalist bias of the book, substituting 'English' and 'Norman' as alternatives to Gothic, and its wide circulation, would have made it one of the most influential texts to shape the understanding of medieval architecture for non-specialists.[78] Bradley has traced the debate on the origins of the Gothic style throughout the books and journals of the early nineteenth century in detail. Another landmark text in the study of medieval architecture in England was Thomas Rickman's *Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of English Architecture* in 1817. As Bradley notes, the longevity of Rickman's nomenclature, couched in the language of the nationalist debate on the origins of Gothic, Decorated English and Perpendicular English; are still used in their abbreviated forms in contemporary publications.[79] The competition for the honour of having invented Gothic continued into the nineteenth century, and was heightened by the publication of an English translation of Georg Moller's *Denkmaler der deutschen Baukunst* in 1824, and the debate surrounding the origins of Gothic architecture was to continue within the Architectural Society, and the fledgling Institute of British

[76] Bradley, 326
[77] Bradley, 326
[78] Bradley, 328
[79] Bradley, 331

Architects into the 1840s.[80] Bradley cited the cultural nationalism and Anglocentrism which informed the writings of Pugin on medieval architecture, in spite of his deep knowledge of Continental architecture, and the fact that the influential Cambridge Camden Society occupied a similar position in the debates on national stylistic origins.[81] Overall, Bradley's work examined in detail the development of the discourse on Gothic architecture through the literature of the time, and in particular the extent to which the understanding of the relationship between English and continental medieval architecture developed through a dialectical process, rather than the 'propagation of ascertained facts.'[82] The position of Irish architecture within this discourse is mentioned only once, with Bradley's mention of Thomas Bell's thesis on the progress of Gothic architecture; Bradley identified Bell as one of the few regional writers who claimed the national origins of the pointed arch for their own region.[83]

Carla Yanni, in her 1997 essay 'On Nature and Nomenclature: William Whewell and the Production of Architectural Knowledge in Early Victorian Britain' has examined the philosophies which underpinned the work of architectural history, and the intersection of the discourse of architectural history with the disciplines of scientific inquiry.[84] In her work, Yanni again asserts the importance of analysing the scholarship of the early antiquarians, as 'much of what we take for granted as architectural knowledge today was legitimated and codified in the early nineteenth century.'[85] Looking at the processes through which architectural knowledge was legitimated in early Victorian Britain, Yanni has examined the background to what Frankl termed the 'Scientific Trend'. The creation of a reliable, unchanging language of architecture was central to the development of the scientific trend, and echoed the codification of universal scientific language in the same era. Yanni emphasised William Whewell's lifetime's work in the philosophy of science, and the importance he attached to the concept of induction – the idea

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[80] Bradley, 334
[81] Bradley, 339
[82] Bradley, 341
[83] '...the suggestion by Thomas Bell that the style sprang from the triangular-headed apertures of Ireland's round towers' Bradley, 333
[84] Carla Yanni, 'On Nature and Nomenclature: William Whewell and the Production of Architectural Knowledge in Early Victorian Britain', *Architectural History*, 40 (1997), 204 - 221
[85] Yanni, 204

that truths could best be discovered by personal investigation, and that those undertaking research should 'proceed directly from directly-observed empirical knowledge to general laws.'[86] The development of the scientific trend in architectural history had far-reaching consequences for research methodology, with a far greater emphasis being put on structural analysis, and a far more careful and specific use of terminology. The development of this more scientific and objective mode of analysing medieval architecture could be seen as a reaction against the more impassioned architectural critiques emerging from quarters with a strong cultural nationalist agenda. The introduction of the agenda of scientific objectivity to the development of architectural history as a discipline had many consequences. Many writers did aim to follow Whewell's[87] call for scientific objectivity, while other authors simply prefaced their work with a claim to such objectivity, and continued in a different vein entirely.

The idea of objectivity, and of induction from physical proof, rather than relying on biased interpretations had important implications for the study of Irish architecture in the nineteenth century. Many writers, such as Bell and Petrie, as well as those writing in journals and periodicals, prefaced their works with a statement of relative objectivity. Indeed, as discussed in the following chapters, overly celebratory accounts of early Irish culture from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were seen as unreliable, and even laughable. The trend towards scientific objectivity, and induction from proof in the history of English medieval architecture mirrored a similar trend in the writing of Irish history in the eighteenth century.

The publications of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland demonstrate that sustained and enthusiastic communication existed between the Irish antiquarian societies and those in England, and indeed, societies such as The Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, founded in 1844, which encompassed both islands. There was a constant trade in publications, and bibliographies of architecture in seminal texts such as the publications of the

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[86] Yanni, 209

[87] Richard Yeo, 'Whewell, William (1794–1866)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004); online ed., ed. Lawrence Goldman, May 2009, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29200 (accessed September 21, 2011)

Society of Antiquaries, and the transactions of various different regional archaeological and antiquarian societies, as well as publications such as *The Gentleman's Magazine*. Two of the key issues examined in this chapter are the extent to which Irish architectural histories, or histories of architecture produced in Ireland, are part of the discourse on English architecture, and the extent to which cultural histories reflect developing issues of cultural nationalism in Ireland throughout the nineteenth century.

The literature on the development of narratives of architectural history in an Irish context is less comprehensive than that on the English context. Several of the contributions which scholars have made to the discussion in this field within larger books have been outlined in Chapter 1. J.D.C. Masheck's 1981 essay 'Irish Gothic Theory before Pugin' aimed to reinsert the Irish contribution to the development of architectural theory on Gothic architecture into overviews of the development of medieval architectural studies in Europe. Outlining the premise of his essay, Masheck stated that:

> (S)ince reconstructing the cultural history of a subject people is complicated by the fact that anything achieved in a colony tends to get thrown in to the imperial pot, to the greater glory of the capital, the present study attempts to collect as Irish, in suspension as it were, material that has come to be classified in art history as simply British.[88]

He highlighted the obvious historiographical pitfalls of this approach, the retrospective nature of 'disconnecting metropolitan relations.'[89] Masheck focused on the contributions of Burke to the Gothic Revival, of James Barry, James Gandon, Matthew Young, James Cavanagh Murphy, John Milner, Thomas Bell and George Petrie. The main focus of Mascheck's essay is to highlight the authors and their texts, and to examine them as texts which apply a classical style of taxonomy and measurement to the Gothic Revival, and to the study of medieval buildings, rather than examining the texts themselves in detail.

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[88] Masheck, J.D.C., 'Irish Gothic Theory before Pugin'. *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 20, no. 278/279 (1981)
[89] Mascheck, 206

Douglas Scott Richardson's 1983 *The Architecture of the Gothic Revival in Ireland* also includes a short section on the Irish literature on medieval architecture produced during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Ireland. Much of Scott Richardson's assessment is taken from the review of the literature on the Gothic Revival in Ireland included in the *Irish Builder* in 1875.[90] As in Mascheck's text, Scott Richardson highlights the authors, but does not include an analysis of their work. The following chapters expand on the work of Masheck and Scott Richardson, and examine the contributions of individual authors in detail. In order to more fully understand the contribution of these authors to narratives of Irish architecture and a canon of Irish architectural history, their work must be critically examined and considered within a broad context of both domestic cultural politics and international scholarly developments.

Colum Hourihane included a chapter on the tradition of historiographical approaches to Irish Gothic architecture in his 2003 publication *Gothic art in Ireland, 1169 – 1550: enduring vitality*.[91] This chapter examines the concept of the formation of historical approaches to Gothic in Ireland. However, the following chapters of this thesis aim to complicate and question several of the statements outlined in this chapter. In this chapter, Hourihane surveyed the extent to which the subject had been dealt with prior to the 'antiquarian age' of the mid-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is contended that there is an absence of any medieval Gaelic response to Gothic architecture, a continued antipathy on the part of the 'native' Irish/Gaelic towards the Gothic style, which continues in contemporary Irish scholarship. His chapter also identifies the location and format of antiquarian scholarship which did consider later medieval art and architecture.

Hourihane's assessment of the historiography of Gothic art and architecture until the middle of the 1700s is schematic, separating the 'Gaelic' and 'Protestant' accounts or records of monuments and antiquities. While different traditions of scholarship and education did exist in Ireland in this period, Hourihane does not make reference to the nuanced engagement with the past and

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[90] Douglas Scott Richardson, *Gothic Revival Architecture in Ireland*, (New York; London: Garland Publishing, 1983)

[91] Colum Hourihane, *Gothic Art in Ireland 1169 – 1550: enduring vitality*, (New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, 2003)

the remains of the past of different social groups at different times from the medieval to the early modern period. Focusing on Hourihane's assessment of the study of Irish antiquities prior to the end of the eighteenth century, that antiquarian scholarship was exclusively a Protestant pursuit, it excludes Roman Catholic figures such as Charles O'Conor of Belanagare (1710 – 91) or Sylvester O'Halloran (1705 – 76), to name but two of the most visible exceptions to Hourihane's schema.[92]

While this ethnic/religious separation certainly does have some validity, it applies a model of division which is based on the nationalist cultural politics of the late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century Celtic Revival to a much earlier period (codified in the cultural and literary theory of figures such as Daniel Corkery, who defined 'Irish' culture by the Irish language, Catholicism and the rural landscape). The Celtic Revival, although it is one of the most visible episodes in Irish cultural history, was but one current among many, less extreme, positions. As Joep Leerssen has argued, defined and often starkly opposed notions of cultural difference certainly existed in early modern Ireland, and these were often organised along ethno-religious lines. However, he countered this by referencing the importance of close studies of specific locations, groups of people and events which have 'refined and nuanced to a great extent the manichean historical views of earlier generations'. Leerssen highlighted the importance of considering cultural exchange and increasing hybridity in this period.[93] The conception of an intensely politicised view of specific forms of Irish art and architecture, allied to a particular ethnic/religious social group, has been retrospectively applied by Hourihane to pre-1750 scholarship in an overly generalised way.[94]

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[92] Sylvester O'Halloran, (1728 – 1807), Limerick-born Roman Catholic surgeon and historian. Charles O'Conor, (1710 – 1791), Irish language scholar, antiquarian and Roman Catholic activist, of Belanagare in Co. Roscommon. J. B. Lyons, 'O'Halloran, Sylvester', in James McGuire and James Quinn (ed), *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. (Cambridge, 2009). (http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a6783)

[93] Joep Leerssen, *Mere Irish and Fíor-Ghael: Studies in the Idea of Irish Nationality, its Development and Literary Expression prior to the Nineteenth Century*, (Cork: Cork University Press in association with Field Day, 1996),1,383

[94] An important example of focusing on hybridity and complexity in terms of cultural identity and cultural production is Roger Stalley, 'Gaelic friars and Gothic design', in Eric Fernie and Paul Crossley (eds.), *Medieval architecture and its intellectual context*, (London: Hambeldon, 1990), 191 - 202

This schematic separation does not take into account media other than the factual written account: for example, the link between Gothic ruins, Roman Catholic 'superstitions' as they were perceived, and the idea of the 'Gothic' in its literary sense, as discussed above, which again complicates Hourihane's statement that Gothic was exclusively linked to English, Protestant identity. Several examples cited in the introductory section to the following chapter serve to contradict this position.

Hourihane bases his assessment on the interpretation of 'text' solely as a printed document. Following this interpretation, he argued that a 'Gaelic' response to antiquities in the landscape has not been recorded. However, as has been convincingly argued by scholars of historiography, a broad view of what can be considered historical 'evidence' must be considered when comparing the responses or attitudes of different sectors of society. For example, what is considered a high-status text in one sector is unlikely to be mirrored exactly in another. The study of literacy in Ireland, for example, presents a range of sources which are equally important to the recognisable 'antiquarian' text, in terms of the representation of antiquities, and the past more generally, but which look and act differently, in terms of their use, distribution and consumption. Hourihane acknowledges this, highlighting the fact that the 'antiquarian' accounts he has included were informed by conventions of existing scholarship, often on classical antiquities, which were located within a particular type of educational structure or set of cultural practices. However, his statement that 'English' perspectives predominate is based on the exclusion of a wealth of material which can be used to complicate and broaden this view. Niall Ó Ciosáin, in his study of popular reading practices from 1750 – 1850, has examined the features of historical narratives and aspects of Catholic dissent in popular print, both of which feature medieval ecclesiastical buildings as important symbols and subjects, and which are important alternative sources for the reception and perception of ecclesiastical ruins in this period.[95]

[95] Ó Ciosáin, *Print and Popular Culture in Ireland 1750 – 1850*, (Dublin: Lilliput, 2010)

The physical engagement of different, particularly Roman Catholic, congregations, with Gothic buildings is also not considered by Hourihane as a source. He stated that 'from the end of the sixteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth century, there is an absence of any evidence that might shed light on the Gaelic response to Gothic art and architecture.'[96] The extent to which it is useful to conceptualise a continuous 'Gaelic' response, stretching to the middle of the nineteenth century is debateable, and is so problematic that it is difficult to unpack Hourihane's meaning. Indeed, it is clear from several different studies that there were a wide range of responses across socio-religious-economic groups in this period. For example, Ana Dolan has examined the way in which Roman Catholics repossessed medieval parish churches during the period of the Confederacy in the seventeenth century and the re-repossession of the sites by the Established Church in the aftermath of the conflict.[97] The continued use of the sites as burial places by Roman Catholics is documented in a number of sources, and is still evident in many medieval churches. Complicating this picture, however, is the evidence in studies of engagements with the buildings in the nineteenth-century which demonstrate a lack of respect for antiquarian sites in the face of increasingly intensive farming practices and the expansion of urban areas, often by predominantly Roman Catholic communities.[98]

The range of responses across the period identified by Hourihane is so broad that it is almost impossible to create an over-arching narrative of how different groups responded to the medieval built heritage in the landscape.

Both early travelogues and illustrated antiquarian texts have been considered by Hourihane, and he references several important examples. However, he frames his discussion of these texts and imagery within an overly schematic political framework – antiquarian illustrations are described as '"colonial" illustrations', due to the conventions of representation, and use of the

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[96] Hourihane, 23

[97] Ana Dolan, 'The large medieval churches of the diocese of Leighlin, Ferns and Ossory – a study of adaptation and change', *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies*, 2, 1999, pp. 27 - 36

[98] 'Monument destruction' in the nineteenth century is discussed by Gillian M. Doherty, *The Irish Ordnance Survey: History Culture and Memory*, (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006) and by Máirín Ní Cheallaigh, 'Mechanisms of monument-destruction in nineteenth-century Ireland: antiquarian horror, Cromwell and gold-dreaming', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature, Vol. 107C.* (2007): 127 - 145

term 'Anglo-Norman' rather than Gothic. While these illustrations can certainly be considered within a political framework, it is distorting not to include the transfer of pictorial conventions from the tradition of classical landscape, the expectations of the audience and market for these illustrations, and indeed, the still-developing language of architectural history, which was very mutable at this period, without a consensus on the terminology used by authors.[99] As Leerssen has argued, the intertextual context of interpretations cannot be ignored, as well as the political or ideological context of production.[100]

While Hourihane does reference the tradition of classical illustration in this chapter, it is to compare the two genres in a way which is misleading: he stated that the antiquities of Ireland (and Scotland and Wales) were considered 'less exotic than the Classical world, but nevertheless worthy of examination'.[101] Here, it would have been more fruitful to consider these within the political realities of the time, including the increasing danger of travel during the Napoleonic wars, and increasing nationalism due to the division between France and Great Britain.[102]

Overall, while Hourihane's treatment of the early historiography of Gothic art and architecture in Ireland does address issues which have not been explored in detail elsewhere, many of the conclusions drawn are based on generalisations which are so broad as to obscure important and transformative nuances in Irish cultural politics in the early modern period.

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[99] For a discussion on the creation and codification of taxonomies of medieval architecture, see Frew, 'An Aspect of the Early Gothic Revival: The Transformation of Medievalist Research 1770 – 1800', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 43 (1980), pp. 174 – 185, and Yanni, 'On Nature and Nomenclature: William Whewell and the Production of Architectural Knowledge in Early Victorian Britain', *Architectural History*, Vol. 40, (1997): 204 - 221

[100] Leerssen, *Mere Irish and Fíor-Ghael*, 4 - 5

[101] Hourihane, 23

[102] These contexts, and their impact on the Gothic Revival, have been discussed by Chris Brooks, *The Gothic Revival*, (London: Phaidon, 2001)

Chapter 3: Writing Gothic architecture in Ireland – 1789 to 1877

Then shall our monks and Jesuits all return
And holy incense on our altars burn.[1]

This chapter examines seven single-author texts, which are narratives of Irish architectural history produced between 1789 and 1877, and which either focus on Gothic architecture exclusively, or which represent important methodological developments in the study of Irish medieval architecture. These date limits have been determined by the texts – the first text considered is the Rev. Matthew Young's *Origin and Theory of the Gothic Arch* (1789) and the Earl of Dunraven and Margaret Stokes' *Notes on Irish Architecture* (1875 – 1877). Several other relevant publications are also discussed within this chapter as key contexts, including works by Louisa Catherine Beaufort and George Petrie.[2] These texts, and those in the following Chapter 4, have been selected and examined as they represent the most important debates on the nature of Gothic architecture in Ireland produced in the period. They also, crucially, reflect important trends in historiographical practice. They were produced as part of an international scholarly movement, which combined the disciplines of palaeography, archaeology, history and antiquarianism to form a new type of representation for the European past. They are distinct as a genre from more general antiquarian surveys, as their subject is more focused and precise, and are less concerned with the picturesque or beautiful visual aspect of the buildings in the landscape. Therefore, while works such as Grose's *Antiquities* do include Gothic buildings in their surveys, they are a markedly different genre in terms of their function, and in many cases, their audience.

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[1] Niall Ó Ciosáin, *Print and Popular Culture in Ireland 1750 – 1850*, (Dublin: The Lilliput Press, 2010), 130

[2] It is outside the bounds of this thesis to examine every relevant text on the subject, and the publications analysed in this study have not been examined at length in the extant scholarship. Important texts which have thus been excluded include the antiquarian and topographical records produced by Ledwich, Grose and Cooper, Graves' and Prim's major work on the cathedral of St. Canice in Kilkenny, and the architectural histories produced by George Edmund Street at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, prior to and following his restoration works.

The historiography of Gothic architecture in early modern Ireland

Before examining narratives of Irish architectural history, it is important to note that Irish Gothic buildings have been represented in different types of texts, from maps, drawings and episcopal seals to ballads, popular plays and the landscape itself, throughout the history of representation on the island of Ireland. These forms of representation can be considered as part of a tradition of the historiography of Gothic architecture. While they are not always focused on the aesthetic appearance of the building as an aspect of cultural history, they must still be considered within the tradition of the interpretation of medieval culture in Ireland. The exclusion of interpretations outside the standard descriptive account has often led to statements about the absence of recorded response to the monuments from large swathes of society. These 'alternative' records of responses are considered here as histories, created by individuals, in response to the continuing presence of the buildings in the landscape.

The records discussed below must be considered as interpretative, rather than as documents with the expressed function of recording factual information, as, for example, an antiquarian measured drawing contends to do. As W.J.T. Mitchell argued in his seminal work, *Landscape and Power*, the language of the visual representation of land and landscape, and by extension, the built environment, must be examined critically, as systems of meaningful signs and references.[3]

Many of the most important sources on the visual appearance of medieval buildings are within texts: the visual appearance of the the cathedral at Emly, in Co. Tipperary, long since dismantled and disappeared, is known from the drawing included in Thomas Dineley's travelogue (Fig. 3.1).[4] The architectural form of the important Cistercian foundation of Abington, in Co. Limerick, is also only known

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[3] W.J.T. Mitchell, *Landscape and Power*, (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1994)

[4] The Dineley drawing is illustrated in E. P. Shirley, Thomas Dineley, James Graves and others, "Extracts from the Journal of Thomas Dineley, Esquire, Giving Some Account of His Visit to Ireland in the Reign of Charles II (Continued)", *The Journal of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society*, New Series, 5, no. 2 (1865): 285, and the diocesan seal is illustrated in David J. Butler, *South Tipperary 1570 – 1841 Religion, Land and Rivalry*, (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007) 192

from this account.[5] Evidence for the visual appearance of buildings can also be found within other forms of representation, such as seals: a further source of evidence for the fabric of the cathedral at Emly is found in the seal of the diocese (Fig. 3.2) While seals are important sources of visual evidence, their use as records of the appearance of individual buildings is limited, due to the fact that they often represented an ancient building as 'symbol' which functioned to communicate antiquity and authority, rather than an actual depiction of the building itself. Drawings by figures such as Dineley are indispensible for reconstructing some idea of the appearance of buildings prior to restorations or alterations, as in the case of the cathedrals of Christchurch in Dublin, or St. Carthage in Lismore; or indeed, in the case of buildings which have since been demolished, as in the case of Christchurch cathedral in Waterford.

The 1634 *Pacata Hibernia* of Sir Thomas Stafford is another example of a text which includes illustrations and descriptions of ecclesiastical foundations at a particular point in their history.[6] For example, the illustration of Askeaton in Co. Limerick is particularly important, as it depicts the parish church of St. Mary, which was almost entirely removed by the Irish Ecclesiastical Commission in the mid-nineteenth century.[7]

The examples mentioned above combine both image and text, while sources which contain only visual information are indispensible as sources of information on the changing fortune of the fabric of medieval buildings. Rachel Moss has demonstrated the importance of early modern maps in her work on the reuse of ecclesiastical buildings as fortifications.[8] The Irish Historic Towns Atlas project, currently in process at the Royal Irish Academy, has a strong visual

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[5] Roger Stalley, *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 241 – 242, Roger Stalley, 'Style and Identity: early Gothic architecture in the archdiocese of Cashel', in Roger Stalley (ed.), *Medieval Art and Architecture in Limerick and south-west Ireland*, British Archaeological Association transactions for 2008, (Leeds, 2010), 94 - 6

[6] Thomas Stafford, *Pacata Hibernia: Ireland appeased and reduced, or, An historie of the late warres of Ireland*, (London: Printed for R.M. and part of the Impression made over, to be vented for the Benefit of John Mynshevv, deceased: 1634)

[7] The works of the Irish Ecclesiastical Commission at Askeaton is more fully discussed in Chapter 9 of this thesis.

[8] Rachel Moss, 'Reduce, reuse, recycle: Irish monastic architecture c. 1540 – 1640', *Reconstructions of the Gothic Past*, ed. Roger Stalley, (Dublin: Wordwell, 2012)

element to the representation of evolving townscapes, and has included visual material, from early maps to photographs in each atlas.

Non-visual accounts of ecclesiastical buildings from the early modern period to the Georgian era are also extremely important and informative. One key example is the 1616 – 1617 visitation report of Fr. Donatus Mooney of the Franciscan friaries and communities in Ireland. Mooney's account gives a wide range of information about the contemporary state of the buildings, and their furnishings and decoration. His account of the Franciscan friary at Adare, for example, lists the ciborium, 'gilt with gold and of good workmanship', a silver processional cross, and 'six or seven chalices, some of which are also gilt with gold', a large number of sacred vestments, as well as the fact that 'the roof has fallen in, but the walls stand, and the glass even is uninjured in some of the church windows'.[9] Of course, these 'records' must be subject to close readings which take into account the political and religious positions of the author. Mooney, as propagandist for the Franciscan order in Ireland, for example, emphasised and in some cases exaggerated the destruction of the Franciscan friaries. For example, he reported that the friary at Cavan had been destroyed, when in fact it was in use as a Church of Ireland parish church.[10]

The descriptions in Mervyn Archdall's 1786 *Monasticon Hibernicum* are another key source for the study of medieval ecclesiastical architecture in Ireland. Archdall includes detailed descriptions of some of the buildings mentioned, but not all: for example, the Franciscan friary ruins at Askeaton are not described, while the ruins of the Augustinian friary at Adare are given a relatively full description. In the case of Adare, this description provides an example of a source for the condition of the building prior to a transformative restoration in the early nineteenth century, as illustrated by Austin Cooper's late eighteenth-century view of the building, and its contemporary condition. (Fig. 3.3, Fig. 3.4)

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[9] 'Adare', *The Franciscan Tertiary: a monthly journal of the Third Order*, 5, no. 12, (1894) 356

[10] I am grateful to Dr. Rachel Moss for this point on Cavan friary. The importance of Mooney's visitation is discussed in Michael O'Neill in 'Irish Franciscan Friary Architecture', Edel Bhreathnach, Joseph MacMahon OFM, John McCafferty, *The Irish Franciscans 1534 – 1990*, (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009) 319 – 320

> A great part of this friary still remains in good preservation; the steeple similar to that of the Trinitarians, is supported on an arch; the choir is large, with stalls etc., and the nave is answerable thereto, with a lateral aisle on the south side; to the north of the steeple are some beautiful cloisters with Gothic windows, within which, on three sides of the square, are corridores *(sic)*, and on most of these windows are escutcheons with the English and Saltire crosses, generally ranged alternately; the workmanship is simply elegant, the principal parts being of hewn lime-stone, which appears so fresh, as to give it, on the whole, a modern yet venerable appearance. Adjoining the cloisters are several apartments, which seem to be much more ancient than the other parts of the building.[11]

The visitation of Donatus Mooney, referred to above, provides an extremely detailed report. However, standard visitation reports of dioceses which survive in Ireland also record necessary information about the state of the churches, parishes and clergy, and can be used to trace changes to buildings through time.[12] Travelogues are also frequently used as sources for the history of Irish ecclesiastical architecture: the earliest account considered in Christopher Woods' recent collection of travelogues is from 1635, by Sir William Brereton: *Illustrations of Irish History and Topography, mainly of the seventeenth century*.[13] Sites with important medieval remains, such as Adare, for example, which were firmly established as part of the 'tourist trail' in Ireland from the early eighteenth century, were described in some detail in many travellers' records. The three important monastic foundations at Adare, their history and condition, were noted by individuals such as Arthur Young and Richard Twiss. These accounts provide contemporary descriptions of the state of the buildings, particular important in the

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[11] Mervyn Archdall, *Monasticon Hibernicum: or a history of the abbies, priories and other religious houses in Ireland*, (London: G.G.J. Robinson, Pater-Noster Row, and Luke White, Dublin, 1786), 415 - 416

[12] Olivia Horsfall Turner has examined the visitation reports for the diocese of Ossory throughout the seventeenth century in order to trace changes to the fabric of the parish churches through time. Olivia Horsfal Turner, 'The changing fortunes of parish churches in the diocese of Ossory', *Reconstructions of the Gothic Past*, ed. Roger Stalley, (Dublin: Wordwell, 2012)

[13] C. J. Woods, *Travellers' Accounts as Source-Material for Irish Historians*, (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009)

case of Adare, as two of the ruins, 'rendered elegant by ivy', have been restored for reuse by the Roman Catholic and Church of Ireland congregations.[14]

These records of the visual appearance of Gothic buildings are extremely important as sources for the history of medieval architecture. However, different genres of descriptive record can also be used as sources for the history of the perception of, and attitudes towards, Irish Gothic buildings. For example, eighteenth-century descriptions of Muckross Abbey reveal much about the link between the ruined edifices and the threat of resurgent Roman Catholicism in the country:

> 'At the same time, we cannot behold these antient fabrics – their long dismal aisles – their dark and narrow cells – without drawing a favourable comparison favourable to ourselves between the gloomy and bigoted notions of monkery and the more enlightened opinions of modern day.'[15] Descriptions such as these were paired with illustrations of the buildings which represented them as dark, forbidding and unhealthy.[16]

Both the language and pictorial conventions used in these texts place them firmly within the European tradition of Gothic literature, and, by extension, of anti-Catholic thought and representation in the eighteenth century. In an Irish context, the 'Gothic' interpretation of these buildings was heightened by their use as burial grounds – Isaac Weld described the horror of visitors, who, exploring the abbey at Muckross, found themselves 'unexpectedly environed by all the horrors of a charnel house'.[17] Sir John Carr, in 1806, supported this report of Muckross, warning 'every one who visits Killarney, as he values life, not to enter this abbey'. Carr recounted the same practices at Adare: 'the superstition of the people in the

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[14] Richard Twiss, *A Tour in Ireland in 1775, with a view of the Shannon Leap at Ballyshannon*, (Dublin, 1777), 129

[15] Isaac Weld, *Illustrations of the Scenery of Killarney and the Surrounding Country*, (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orme, 1807) 21

[16] Weld's delineation of Muckross Abbey is examined in John Waters, 'Reading Isaac Weld: The Enlightenment Gentleman in Ireland and the Politics of Culture after the Act of Union', *Radharc*, (New York University, Glucksman House, 2 (2001), 101 - 131

[17] Waters, 26

neighbourhood of Adair, which I have mentioned, crowded one of the abbeys there with their dead, until the spot became the seat of infection'.[18]

In this way, the link between the ruined medieval ecclesiastical buildings and contemporary Roman Catholic religion was strengthened, highlighting the supposed superstition and backward nature of the religion of the majority of the lower socio-economic groups in society. In this context, the antiquities are aligned with Roman Catholic religion, its continuing strength, the fear of its resurgence during the era of the Penal Laws, and opposition to enlightened Protestantism.[19] The romantic or Gothic (in the literary sense) position of the Gothic ruin is one example of the use of texts in the reconstruction of attitudes towards or perceptions of the Gothic past.

A poem written by Lochlainn Ó Dálaigh on Multyfarnham abbey in Co. Westmeath, quoted here in a twentieth-century translation, is an example of a source for the perceptions of Gothic buildings.[20] The seventeenth-century poet recalled the expulsion of the Franciscan friars from Multyfarnham, following the burning of the church. The building is the central figure of the poem, rather than the friars, and is addressed by Ó Dálaigh: 'Lonely art thou, O friary'.[21] The structure of the building is referred to throughout: the 'fair, bright smooth dwelling/ with none to serve thee', 'O smooth-walled monastery' and the 'close-built cloister.'[22] While these descriptions do not reveal much detail on the appearance of the friary, the poem is especially valuable in gauging contemporary perceptions of the O'Reilly chieftains and, by extension, their peers, of the buildings and their significance as symbols of political and territorial dispossession. The injustice of the

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[18] Sir John Carr, *The Stranger in Ireland or a Tour in the Southern and Western Parts of that Country in the year 1805*, (London: Published for Richard Phillips, 1806), 217

[19] For a discussion of these complex issues, see David Punter, 'Scottish and Irish Gothic', in *The Cambridge Companion to Gothic Fiction*, ed. Jerrold E. Hogle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 105 - 123

[20] There are several mid sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century poets called Lochlainn Ó Dálaigh, given that the Ó Dálaigh-Breifneach family was the hereditary poets to the O'Reilly chieftains of Briefne. Darren McGettigan, ' Ó Dálaigh, Lochlainn', in James McGuire and James Quinn (ed), *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. (Cambridge, 2009). (http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a6323), 05/07/11

[21] Lochlainn Óg Ó Dálaigh and L. McKenna, 'To Franciscan Abbey, Multyfarnham', *The Irish Monthly*, 49, no. 528 (1921): 507 - 509

[22] Lochlainn Óg Ó Dálaigh and L. McKenna, 'To Franciscan Abbey, Multyfarnham', 507 - 509

friars' expulsion is reiterated, and the final stanza leaves the reader in no doubt as to the political allegiance of the author or his patron.

> This sunlit fair-buttressed mansion
> is for long past a lonely ruin;
> may it be a holy, well-thronged house
> spite of the power of wicked men.[23]

Crucially, the perception of the building in this poem is linked to its use, rather than to a purely aesthetic appreciation for its formal qualities. Therefore, it is not an equivalent to the antiquarian texts, but is a rich source which must be considered in the early historiography of Irish medieval architecture.

A poem by William Smith (d. 1655) refers to the re-use of medieval ecclesiastical buildings, which was commonplace, the monasteries often serving as fortifications or administrative buildings. However, it is most valuable as contemporary evidence for the condemnation of these practices:

> Have not thy Altars, where the spotless price
> Of Man's Redemption, the true Sacrifice
> Was daily offered, lain to long recluse,
> Or, being employed, served to a different use?
> Thy sumptuous piles, built for Religious vows
> Are the secure retreat of daws and doves;
> The owls, the bats, the direful birds of night
> Have been preserved before the Sons of light.[24]

As noted above, many key sources for the history of Gothic architecture in Ireland are purely visual – these can also be used as sources for the perception and reception of the buildings which they represent in Ireland. Through the analysis of the conventions of landscape representation, a tentative 'reading' of the relative value or position of medieval buildings within images such as maps and landscape paintings is possible. Landscape painting, in particular 'demesne portraits' which included ecclesiastical ruins, from the later years of the eighteenth century, can be

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[23] Lochlainn Óg Ó Dálaigh and L. McKenna, 'To Franciscan Abbey, Multyfarnham', 509

[24] William Smith (d. 1655), 'To Ireland', in *The Penguin Book of Irish Poetry*, edited by Patrick Crotty, (London: Penguin Books, 2010) 230

read as being part of a tradition of classical, and later, picturesque, representation, with the position of the ruin being part of a larger rhetoric of history, power and land.

Discursive Convention: Publishing Architectural History 1789 - 1877

The following section deals with long essays and monographs which focus on, or which are in large part focused on, Irish Gothic architecture. In order to contextualise these books, the specific contexts of both book production and of similar scholarship on Gothic architecture in the final decades of the eighteenth century, and throughout the nineteenth and early years of the twentieth century require consideration. Following Leerssen's assertion that the representation of Ireland – and by extension, Irish culture – is 'a textual fabric in which ideological climate and discursive convention are the warp and the woof', this section is prefaced with an outline of both of those factors for the period under review.

David Watkin, in his 1980 work, *The Rise of Architectural History*, outlined a widely accepted view of the development of architectural history as a discipline, from the late seventeenth century onwards, from the schools of aesthetic theory and thought in Germany and Austria from the early eighteenth century, and the figures – Wincklemann, Fischer von Erlach and, later, Hegel – who profoundly influenced the shape of the discipline as it developed.[25] Conrad Rudolph, in his 2006 essay on the scholarship on medieval architecture, has examined the rise of the development in medieval architectural history in detail, from the development of preservation measures following the French Revolution, to the foundation of the International Centre for the Study of Medieval Art in 1956.[26]

Scholarship in Ireland must be considered within this international framework, as is evident in both the frames of reference used by authors within their own texts on Irish Gothic, and in the lists of publications received and reviewed by Irish learned societies. As Philippa Levine has explored in detail in her

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[25] David Watkin, *The Rise of Architectural History*, (London; New Jersey: The Architectural Press, 1980)

[26] Conrad Rudolph, 'Introduction: A Sense of Loss: An Overview of the Historiography of Romanesque and Gothic Art', Conrad Rudolph, ed. *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006): 1 - 43

work, the attendant tools of the increasingly professionalised historical disciplines, learned societies, professional appointments and professional journals, were instrumental in directing the international nature of the discourse.[27] As can be viewed from the proceedings and transactions of many learned societies, the interaction between groups, evident in the transfer of communications and the exchange of books and journals, was central to their operation.

Ireland, and particularly Dublin, had a flourishing culture of book production in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Christopher Morash highlighted the thriving book trade which existed in Dublin since 1672, and the establishment of the Guild of St. Luke, avoiding the monopoly which had been given to the King's Printer in London. Due to the fact that copyright legislation which regulated the English book trade since 1709 was not passed in Ireland, and did not become law in the country until 1801, Irish printers were able to produce books cheaply for both the domestic market and for export, resulting in a vibrant domestic publishing sector.[28] According to Morash, 'the decades after 1709 were boom years for readers. In the streets and alleys off of Dublin's Dame Street, with Trinity College on one end, Christchurch Cathedral at the other, there were literally dozens of small printers and booksellers, jostling for attention amid the coffee houses and taverns'.[29] Publishing on history was a key part of this printing boom. One of the important sources for the publications on history in this period is the bibliography which was produced by William Nicholson, the Lord Bishop of Derry. This attempted to list all available printed historical works. Nicholson's book, titled *The Irish Historical Library*, was published in 1724 and is divided into genres of history writing. These include general histories, histories of geography, natural history and the government of Ireland, on the ecclesiastical historians, on the lives of the saints, on the register books of cathedrals and monasteries, on biographers, on Irish records and law and on Irish coins and medals.[30] A category which would

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[27] Philippa Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional: Antiquarians, Historians and Archaeologists in Victorian Britain 1838 – 1886*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986)

[28] Christopher Morash, *A History of the Media in Ireland*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 38

[29] Morash, 39

[30] William Nicholson, *The Irish Historical Library: Pointing at most of the authors and records in print or manuscript, which may be serviceable to the compilers of a general history of Ireland, by William,*

approximate an 'antiquarian' approach, however, with an emphasis on monuments for their own sake, is not included.

While more general historical works were part of the publishing culture, illustrated volumes on Irish antiquities were more expensive to produce, and therefore would have had a smaller market when they began to be produced. Thomas Bell's papers relating to the publication of his prize-winning essay on Irish Gothic architecture, discussed below, reveal the trials and frustrations in such an enterprise. Bell listed the price range for his work in a letter to the King's bookseller, revealing the different prices which would be charged for a work of this type, with the price varied according the paper quality, illustrations and binding.[31] Clare O'Halloran's research on the Rev. Charles O'Conor's difficulties in publishing his translations of Irish manuscripts, under the sponsorship of the Marquis of Buckingham at Stowe, is another record of the difficulty of such an enterprise.[32] Large-scale historical publishing projects generally had to be state-sponsored, whereas improvements in technology meant that smaller, cheaper works could be produced more easily, and had a wider audience, as outlined by Raymond Gillespie.[33]

Walter D. Love, in his essay on the Hibernian Antiquarian Society focused on the extent to which it was motivated by the need to produce publications on Irish antiquities. The society, active 1779 – 1783, was an important forerunner of many Irish nineteenth-century learned societies. Love argued that this was motivated by the desire to place Irish antiquarian scholarship more on a par with that in England and on the Continent, creating a genre of publication that was

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Lord Bishop of Derry, (Dublin: printed by Aaron Rhames, for R. Owen, Bookseller, in Skinner-Row, 1724)

[31] Bell's correspondence with the bookseller reveals that he thought Bell's book far too expensive, and Bell's detail was an attempt to justify that cost. Thomas Bell's copies of some of his papers on Irish architecture and polemics in the Protestant interest, National Library of Ireland, Ms. Joly 14

[32] Clare O'Halloran, conference paper at the 'Ireland and Modernity' conference, 'Manuscripts and Modernity: Revd Charles O'Conor's Translations of Gaelic Sources in the Early Nineteenth Century', Ireland and Modernity, Queens University Belfast, 11 – 13 November 2010.

[33] Raymond Gillespe, 'Printing history: editing and publishing documents in nineteenth-century Ireland', in Raymond Gillespie and Martin Fanning (eds.), *Print Culture and Intellectual Life in Ireland 1660 – 1941*, (Dublin: Woodfield Press, 2006), 74 - 94

absent from Nicholson's list, as given above.[34] Love's discussion of the society includes both its significance in commissioning antiquarian drawings from Gabriel Beranger, and as a prism through which to view the tensions in antiquarian representation and narrative which were to persist in various forms throughout the nineteenth century. This early antiquarian enterprise was ultimately riven by ideological and political divisions between its members, which manifested themselves in disputations on historical narratives of development. While the hyperbolic cultural claims of the eighteenth century historians regarding early Irish culture, as examined by O'Halloran, were being consciously discarded by late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century historians, their work was often equally politically motivated.

One of the most prominent episodes in nineteenth-century scholarship and publishing on architectural history in Ireland is the controversy surrounding the origin and use of round towers. This issue came to a head in the early 1830s, when the RIA announced a premium for the best essay on the subject. Many well-known figures from antiquarian circles submitted essays, including William Betham, Thomas Bell and George Petrie, the successful entrant, whose exposition of Irish medieval architecture was to inform almost every later scholar on the subject. However, the RIA competition did not completely resolve the round tower controversy, and as learned and engaged an antiquarian and artist as Richard Rolt Brash could still hold that the round towers had a pre-Christian origin in the 1870s.

In her study of antiquarian scholarship and production, Philippa Levine examined programmes of historical and antiquarian publishing in England, carried out both by societies and by government-sponsored agencies. This context can be extended to contemporary Ireland – from the mid-eighteenth century societies such as the Physico-Historical society, to the important Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. Important regional societies were founded throughout the nineteenth century, and were an important part of antiquarian and intellectual life throughout the country: examples include the South Munster Antiquarian Society (mid- to late-

[34] Walter D. Love, 'The Hibernian Antiquarian Society: A Forgotten Predecessor to the Royal Irish Academy', *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 51, no. 203 (1962), 419 - 431

nineteenth century, replaced by the Cork Antiquarian Society in 1891) and the Ulster Archaeological Society (founded 1853).[35]

Some of the earliest books which deal explicitly with Irish antiquities as objects of historical and aesthetic value were published as county surveys, such as Thomas Wright's *Louthiana*, while later antiquarian publishing took the form of monographs focused on a particular type of monument, articles in scholarly journals or the state-sponsored publication of primary documents – such as state calendar rolls or the John O'Donovan's translation of the *Annals of the Four Masters*.

Specific publishing houses became associated with historical and antiquarian publishing. In Ireland, the publishers most associated with antiquarian works include the Hodges and Smith publishing house, which published Petrie's *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland* (1845) and John O'Daly (1800 – 1878), an important antiquary in his own right, who published work by John O'Donovan, Standish O'Grady and others. London publishing houses were also association with the publication of works on Irish antiquities – *Notes on Irish Architecture*, by the Earl of Dunraven and Margaret Stokes, was published by John Henry Parker, the important antiquarian publisher. Parker also published *The Memorials of Adare Manor* for private circulation for the Dunravens.

Both the conditions of publication and the types of publications being produced, and how these were consumed by different audiences, are important contexts for my examination of the antiquarian works on Gothic architecture produced in Ireland between 1789 and 1877.

As discussed above, the cultural and intellectual shift towards 'national' antiquities, rather than focusing entirely on classical culture, has been the subject of many important texts in recent decades. Leerssen has highlighted the extent to

[35] A sketch of the history of the South Munster Antiquarian Society and some of its members is given by James Coleman, 'Contributions to Irish Biography: No. 34. The South Munster Antiquarian Society. Part I: John Windele', *The Irish Monthly*, 26, no. 298 (1898): 182 - 189

which the discipline of philology was central to this, and many of the ideological and theoretical tools of this discourse informed that of national antiquarianism.[36]

An important aspect of the shift towards the study of antiquities as historical documents, rather than solely relying on documents and inscriptions, is the changing nature of the concept of 'evidence' within historical discourses across Europe. This is a very large subject, and it is outside the scope of this thesis to explore it in any depth. Archaeological theorists have charted the increasing importance of archaeological evidence in the writing of histories from the 1600s, rather than relying on literary or epigraphical material,[37] and have highlighted the religious and political disputations of the seventeenth century which were central to this revolution in historical method: the reliability and nature of evidence was debated across European universities and places of learning. The renewed importance attached to that which could be visually assessed increasingly became central to the process of charting history. This shift was expressed by the late seventeenth-century historian, Francesco Bianchini, who wrote that archaeological proof was both 'symbol and proof of what happened'.[38] Petrie's statement that 'the antiquary is the necessary pioneer to the historian, clearing the path before him' in the introduction to his *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland* also reflects this understanding of the role of material evidence in the writing of histories.[39]

The historiography of Irish Gothic architecture 1789 – 1828: 'Like a man exploring the buried ruins of a subterranean city'.

The first text to be considered is the Reverend Matthew Young's 1789 essay on 'The Origin and Theory of the Gothic Arch', published in *The Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*.[40] Young (1750 – 1800) was a clergyman, Irish scholar and

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[36] Joep Leerssen, 'Philology and the European Construction of National Literatures', in *Editing the nation's memory: textual scholarship and nation-building in nineteenth-century Europe*, eds. Dirk van Hulle and Joep Leerssen (Amsterdam: Rodophi, 2008) 1

[37] Arnoldo Momigliano, 'Ancient History and the Antiquarian', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 13, 3/4 (1950) 285 - 315

[38] Momigliano, 299

[39] George Petrie, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland anterior to the Anglo-Norman Invasion*, (Dublin: printed by M.H. Gill and sold by Hodges and Smith, 1845) viii

[40] Matthew Young, 'The Origin and Theory of the Gothic Arch', in *The Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, 3 (1789), 55-87

natural philosopher, and was born at Castlerea, Co. Roscommon. He entered Trinity College Dublin in 1766, and following the influence of his tutors, Henry Ussher and Richard Murray, developed an interest in the physical sciences and became an ardent Newtonian. He was awarded a doctorate in divinity and elected professor of natural philosophy in 1786. Young published on a wide range of subjects, from the physics of sound, Syriac and theology, the natural sciences, algebra, optics, Gaelic poetry and hydrodynamics. A founding member of the Royal Irish Academy, Young had a deep interest in Irish literature, encouraged by his friendship with Theophilus O'Flanagan, and he catalogued the Irish manuscripts in the TCD library. In 1798, Young was made bishop of Clonfert. He died in 1800, in Whitworth, Lancashire, and is buried in the chapel at TCD.[41]

Young's essay on the origin and theory of the Gothic arch examined the various models given by writers on pointed architecture, and posits his own analysis, based on mathematical principles, and illustrated with a page of mathematical drawings, which illustrate the mechanics of the pointed arch (Fig. 3.5).

Young began his text with the statement that the successors of medieval builders had not given due consideration to the role of the arch in the development of pointed architecture, due, he mused, perhaps to the 'superior excellence' of 'Grecian' architecture, or to the contempt for anything that the 'barbarians' might have produced. [42] The three types of architecture which he identified are 'Saxon', 'Norman' and 'Gothic', grouping the first two together due to the similarities in their form: 'the pillars round, square or polygonal, and very strong and massive.'[43] He did make some distinctions between the comparative refinement of the Norman piers in comparison to the massiveness of the Saxon, which were based on his observations of the illustrations in Ducarel's *Anglo-Norman architecture considered in a tour through part of Normandy* (1767), which is referred to as 'Dr.

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[41] Enda Leaney. 'Young, Matthew'. *Dictionary of Irish Biography*.
(Eds.)James Mcguire, James Quinn. Cambridge, United Kingdom:Cambridge University Press, 2009.
<http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a9175>

[42] Young, 55

[43] Young 56

Ducarel's Norman antiquities' by Young.[44] Norman architecture in England is considered by Young to be a progression in style from the Saxon. Gothic architecture is defined by Young in opposition to both Saxon and Norman:

> the marks which constitute the character of what is called Gothic architecture, are its projecting buttresses, its pinnacles and spires, large ramified windows, niches, canopies and the sculpted saints, the fretted roof, the clustering pillar, but above all, the pointed arch.[45]

Young related the 'ascending progression' of the medieval styles to a pattern of development from classical studies, equating the Saxon to the Tuscan order, the Norman to the Doric and the Gothic to the Corinthian and Composite.[46]

The text displays a clear awareness and familiarity with texts being produced on medieval architecture, and on the origin of the Gothic style, in England and on the Continent. Young referenced the writings of James Bentham, Ducarel, Rious's Architecture, Sir Christopher Wren, William Stukeley and Cornelius le Brun's writings on the architecture of the Holy Land in his opening paragraphs. Throughout the text, he refers to and quotes at length from Vasari's *Lives of the Artists*, and also refers to James Barry's *Inquiry into the Real and Imaginary Obstructions to the Acquisition of the Arts in England*.[47]

In his opening paragraphs, he noted the 'diversity of sentiment' which characterised the study of Gothic building, noting that no less than five separate schools of thought existed on the subject of its origin. The five schools of thought which Young identified were the Saracenic, which opined that Gothic architecture was derived from the Holy Land, brought back by pilgrims; the Moorish school of thought, the proponents of which advanced the opinion that Gothic architecture was introduced to Europe via the Moorish conquests in Spain, the 'natural school', which asserted that the form of the Gothic cathedral came from the forms of

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[44] Young, 56

Dr. Andrew Coltée Ducarel (1713 – 1785), was a library and antiquary. He was a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and his work on Anglo-Norman architecture is considered a masterpiece in comparative study of medieval architecture. Robin Myers, 'Ducarel, Andrew Coltée (1713–1785)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8126, accessed 28 July 2011]

[45] Young, 57 - 58

[46] Young, 58

[47] Young, 67

groves of trees which would have been used in pre-Christian worship, forms which were then transferred on to Christian edifices, the intersection of round arches on Saxon architecture, and finally, the intersection of round arches within Grecian architecture.[48]

Young discounted the theories outlined above. His method of analysing these arguments and their relative merits is largely based on his understanding of the nature of different architectural types, knowledge which he derived from books, rather than direct experience. Young references illustrations in publications by authors such as Grose and Le Brun in making his arguments. Although he is, in a sense, relying on textual evidence in making his arguments, his analysis is based on the visual proof of the buildings under discussion, in that he based his analysis on the written descriptions of visual evidence, rather than on documentary sources relating to the buildings. He does reference the use of inscriptions as a method of analysing buildings, but his primary method is based on the analysis of the fabric of the building itself.

For example, he discounted the 'Saracenic' argument on the grounds of his reading of illustrated texts by travel writers such as Pococke, Norden and Shaw which gave him a broad view of the architecture of the regions, and on a comprehensive knowledge of the scholarly writing on the subject. Young drew the conclusion that 'there is little or no reason for supposing our Gothic buildings imitations of the Eastern, for although the pointed arch may in some few places occur, yet it by no means is the characteristic of the Eastern style'.[49]

His broad reading of material, from Pope's essays (presumably the 'essay' on architecture, written in 1731 and later part of his *Moral Essays*) to Le Brun's accounts of travels in the Levant, resulted in his having a very wide range of material from which to make decisions based on comparative study. In this, his method of analysis is similar to Whewell's desire to make decisions from induction, based on a large body of information. Like Whewell, but writing almost half a century earlier, this method of analysis reflects Young's similar background as a

[48] Young, 58
[49] Young, 61

natural philosopher and a professor of the natural sciences.[50] Young eschewed the cultural politics of the writers discussed by Frew and Bradley. However, Young focused on English architecture as examples in his work, as he based his arguments around texts already produced using those same examples. Although he was a scholar of Irish literature, and this publication was prepared for the proceedings of the RIA, Irish examples are not mentioned, and he frequently referred to 'our English churches', aligning himself as author, culturally, with England.

In contrast to the monocultural focus of much contemporary English architectural history outlined by Bradley, Young used examples from Spain, Italy and Cyprus in his outline of the origin of Gothic architecture. It is significant that he did not invoke the architecture of these countries as an example of inferior architecture, however, and referred to them more as contemporary examples of an equal worth to the work he examined. For example, in his discussion of the theory of the origin of the Gothic arch which posits that the pointed arch was a result of the intersection semicircular or Saxon arches, he argued that:

> (T)here does not appear sufficient grounds for our attributing the origin of this arch in general to the intersection of Saxon circles; for if so, the Gothic architecture would have had a Saxon original; but we find it in countries where no other traces of the Saxon style occur. Thus, the pointed arch discovers itself amongst the Moorish arches in the famous palace of Alhambra, and not only the pointed arch but the fluted pillar also is to be found in (pg. 66) the church of St. Mamas, at Morfou in the island of Cyprus.[51]

Young's reference to the possible Norman influence on English Gothic architecture does belie an awareness of the overtly nationalistic scholarship of people like John Carter in the 1770s who denied any foreign influence on the development of English Gothic architecture. There is a striking comparison between Young's analysis, 'that we, of these countries, are not in any wise indebted to the Norman builders for the pointed arch itself, cannot I think be very positively asserted, when we consider that the windows of the palace of William the Conqueror at Caen

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[50] Whewell's (1794 – 1866) *Architectural Notes on German Churches* was published in 1830.
[51] Young, 65 - 66

were all pointed'[52], and Carter's assertion that the presumption of French influence could only be the result of a 'mania of travelled prejudice', and was poisoned by 'Gallic scientific presumption'.[53]

The second part of Young's essay concerns the physical structure of the arch, and his work in this area is an interesting and very early example of the 'functional' or inductive method of architectural history. His background as a natural scientist shines through his final assessment of the five schools of thought which he had outlined:

> it seems extremely nugatory and fruitless to endeavour to ascertain the specific accident which gave birth to the pointed arch; many almost innumerable different circumstances could be assigned from which it might have originated; and who would venture confidently to adopt one in exclusion of the rest[...]who, for instance, after studying the works of Newton, could have conjectured that his great theory of the universal gravitation of matter had been suggested by the falling of an apple from a tree? The mind indeed may sometimes amuse itself with excursions into the aerial regions of fancy and conjecture, but to find rest, it must return to the firm ground of fact. However entertaining, therefore, our speculations may be on the possible causes which gave rise to the idea of the Gothic arch, we can be said to reason only when we direct our enquiries to the actual properties of the arch, which might have recommended its introduction into architecture, after the fashion of such an arch had been achieved'.[54]

It is interesting that, despite Young's interest in Irish civilisation, he did not mention Irish examples of architecture in his essay, or include any mention on Irish antiquities.[55] This could, perhaps be due to the fact that he was dealing with the progress of Gothic architecture on a broad, European scale, and furthermore, was basing his analysis on existing well-illustrated texts on the architecture of specific

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[52] Young, 69

[53] Frew, 'Gothic is English: John Carter and the Revival of the Gothic as England's National Style', 318

[54] Young, 72

[55] Young catalogued the Irish manuscripts in the TCD collections in 1781, and in 1784 he travelled to Scotland in search of Gaelic manuscripts. Dictionary of Irish Biography, accessed 26/03/10

regions, which did not exist in the Irish context. Despite the fact that Young's essay is not a narrative of Irish architecture, it has been included here as an example of the literature being produced in an Irish context, and as evidence of the reading material on Gothic architecture which was available to an Irish professor and clergyman, and finally, because of the influence of this text on subsequent scholars, such as Thomas Bell.

The Royal Irish Academy 1826 premium: Thomas Bell

In 1826, three prizes were offered, one, 'not exceeding thirty guineas, for the best essay on the origin and progress of Gothic architecture, with reference to the ancient history and present state of the remains of such architecture in Ireland.'[56] This premium was part of the Academy's Cunningham fund: £1,000 which had been bequeathed to the RIA by Timothy Cunningham for the improvement of natural knowledge and other objects of the institution.[57] Thomas Bell was the recipient of the premium from the Academy, and his essay was published in 1829,[58] by William Frederick Wakeman, of D'Olier Street, Dublin and Baldwin and Cradock, Paternoster Row, London.[59]

Thomas Bell was a portrait and landscape painter. In a letter from Bell in the National Library of Ireland, John Hutton is referred to as his first tutor in art.[60] Bell exhibited paintings at the various artists' societies in Dublin, and had

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[56] An Historical Account of the Cunningham Fund', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy (1836-1869)*, Vol. 7, (1857 – 1861) 414

[57] 'An Historical Account of the Cunningham Fund', 406

[58] The manuscript catalogue of the RIA has listed an essay on the subject of Gothic architecture, by William Hamilton Drummond (1778 -1865), Unitarian minister, theologian, scholar, controversialist and Academy librarian: RIA MSS 12 0 11. However, the manuscript is the text of Bell's essay, and is prefaced with a note that it was read aloud at an Academy Council meeting on 7 November 1825. The Council Minutes of the Academy for 7 November 1925 corroborate this, stating that 'two prize essays on the State of the Poor and one on Gothic Architecture received, and part of the last read'. RIA Council Minutes, 7 November 1825, 104
The handwriting of the RIA manuscript is also extremely close, and probably identical, to that in Bell's books of letters in the NLI, relating to the publication of his prize-winning essay.

[59] Bell's Dublin publisher was the father of William Frederick Wakeman (1822 – 1900), the antiquarian artist and writer.

[60] Letter from Thomas Bell to John Hutton. Hutton is not mentioned in Anthony Pasquin's 1796 dictionary of Irish artists and architects. A firm of carriage-makers, John Hutton and Company, are listed as being based in Summerhill, in Watson's 1801 *Dublin Directory*. Bell referred to his time with Hutton as an 'apprenticeship', and could possibly be referring to a time as a decorative carriage-painter.

addresses at 36 Pill Lane, (1809 – 1815), and 8 Mary's Abbey (1816 – 1821).[61] The essay is illustrated with seven lithographic plates by both Bell and Thomas James Mulvany, who also contributed to architectural historiography in Ireland, editing a life of James Gandon with Gandon's son.[62] Mulvaney was instrumental in the publication of the essay. Bell's letters reveal that he was extremely dejected about the possibilities of getting the essay published at all, due to discouraging behaviour both from London publishers and from the RIA itself. Mulvaney encouraged Bell, and having given the essay to the architect Francis Johnston to read, also passed on the encouragement of Johnston to Bell.[63] His published essay was dedicated to Henry William, Marquis of Anglesea, who was Governor General of Ireland, and Bell referred to the subscribers as including 'the highest Dignitaries of the Church – the most illustrious of our Nobility – and the most eminent names in the walks of science, literature and the arts.'[64] Further evidence of Bell's interest in Irish architecture includes a series of papers in the National Library of Ireland, which relate to the publication of his essay on Irish Gothic architecture and polemics in the Protestant interest, and an essay, in manuscript form, in the Royal Irish Academy, on the round towers of Ireland.[65] The series of letters relating to the publication of the essay provide an insight into both Bell's experience as a writer, and into the process of publication, which included the arduous process of gaining subscribers to the volume.

Throughout the letters, Bell mentioned a volume on the antiquities of northern Wales which he had been hoping to publish some time before the success of the work on Irish Gothic. The project had been abandoned due to insufficient interest and subscription. Two of Bell's Irish correspondents had offered their support for this volume: Lord Talbot de Malahide, and the Duke of

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[61] *Dictionary of Irish Architects 1720 – 1840*, http://dia.ie/architects/view/421/BELL-THOMAS%5B1%5D#tab_biography, accessed 29/07/11

[62] James Gandon and Thomas J. Mulvany, *The Life of James Gandon*, Esq., M.R.I.A., F.R.S., etc. (Dublin: Hodges and Smith, 1846)

[63] Letters between Johnston, Mulvaney and Bell regarding the publication of the essay, National Library of Ireland MSS Joly 14.

[64] Thomas Bell, *Essay on the Origin and Progress of Gothic Architecture, with reference to the ancient history and present state of the remains of such architecture in Ireland*, (Dublin; London: William Frederick Wakeman, Baldwin and Cradock, 1829)

[65] Thomas Bell, "A descriptive and philosophical survey of the round towers of Ireland, 1833", Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, Mss. 12 I. 17-18

Leinster. On the latter's refusal to subscribe to the volume on Irish Gothic architecture, Bell took the opportunity to remind him that he had been willing to support the previous enterprise, and that he had not imagined 'that to a patriotic Irish Nobleman, the antiquities of Ireland would have proved less interesting than the antiquities of Wales, or any other Country. Mr. Bell regrets to find that in so calculating he was greatly mistaken.'[66] The letters soliciting subscriptions for the volume which Bell sent to various high-ranking individuals also reveal the nuanced ways in which Irish Gothic antiquities were likely to be interpreted, and to be meaningful to different groups in society. For example, in a letter to the preacher and minister, Rev. J. Nash Griffin, he highlighted the fact that the essay 'contains a brief sketch of the scenes of the early Labours of the ancient Irish church.'[67] Bell's letters to Griffin also reveal his own political and religious affiliations: he lauded Griffin's work in 'the sacred Duty of vindicating Church principles and Protestant truth in these degenerate times [...] where Jesuitism and spiritual wickedness prevails in high places.'[68] His letters to members of the Irish nobility are inflected with different emphases, the better to 'sell' the concept of Irish Gothic architecture to their different interests. The letter to the Duke of Leinster appealed to his patriotic interests, letters to ecclesiastics emphasised the link between the early church and its contemporary position, while the letter to the King's bookseller appealed to a sense of a shared heritage: 'a national subject, connected with an interesting portion of the British Empire, and perhaps conveying some information on the ancient architecture of the country.'[69]

Bell opened his text with a quotation from Horace Walpole, which, rather like Young's statement of the superior aesthetic merit of classical architecture, positions the author in a rather ambiguous, if not wholly ambivalent, relation to his subject matter:

> When men enquire who invented Gothic Buildings? They might as well ask, who invented bad Latin? The former was a corruption of the Roman

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[66] Letter from Thomas Bell to the Duke of Leinster, Carton, November 7, 1829, Thomas Bell's copies of some of his letters on Irish architecture and polemics in the Protestant interest, NLI MS Joly 14
[67] Letter from Thomas Bell to the Rev. J. Nash Griffin (undated), NLI Thomas Bell's copies, Ms Joly 14
[68] Letter from Thomas Bell to the Rev. J. Nash Griffin (undated), NLI Thomas Bell's copies, Ms Joly 14
[69] Letter from Bell to the Royal Bookseller, August 21, 1830, NLI Thomas Bell's copies, Ms Joly 14

> Architecture, as the latter was of the Roman Language: both were debased in barbarous ages; both were refined as the age polished itself; but neither were restored to the original standard. Beautiful Gothic Architecture was engrafted upon Saxon deformity; and pure Italian succeeded to vitiated Latin (Walpole).[70]

As with Young, Bell is caught between his own admiration and appreciation of Gothic architecture, and his conception of the buildings within a canon established by figures such as Vasari. His statement that Gothic buildings 'are well calculated to fill the contemplative mind with admiration', despite the fact that 'in our enlightened days, we are perhaps too apt to stigmatize as barbarous and superstitious', reveals this dichotomy.[71] Indeed, at points throughout the text, Bell reveals a view of architectural history which privileges the Gothic rather than the classical, and wrote that following the architecture of Greece and Rome, 'we will find a new order of architecture gradually formed and perfected; possessing more variety than the five orders of Greece and Rome, and equally beautiful, notwithstanding the fastidious criticisms of some zealous admirers of those more ancient and regular orders of architecture'.[72] In these different comments, it is possible to discern the shift in taste, from Georgian neo-classicism towards an increasing appreciation for the picturesque detail of medieval styles throughout the nineteenth century.

Bell considered his work as a starting-point, which would be expanded on by successive generations of antiquarians, 'like a man exploring the buried ruins of a subterranean city'.[73] He also believed that the study of the monuments would lead to greater understanding of the 'manners and morals' of antiquity. In this, he positioned his own scholarship as being beyond the hyperbolic work of those in the preceding century, which, as O'Halloran has demonstrated, was characterised by extreme claims for either the savagery or high civilisation of the early Irish. Bell does distance himself from this type of work, but his own position on early Irish culture and the subsequent centuries is ambiguous: he refers to the 'uncultivated

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[70] Bell, 51
[71] Bell. 1
[72] Bell, 18
[73] Bell, 19

taste' of a 'half-civilised people' in reference to ancient Ireland, and painted a very grim picture of Irish history: 'though the seat of learning in the West, she has for centuries been sunk in misery, and overshadowed by barbarity and ignorance.'[74] As well as displaying a familiarity with contemporary controversies surrounding the study of Gothic architecture, he was clearly aware of the detailed domestic cultural politics of the eighteenth century, referring to the debate surrounding the introduction of building with stone and mortar into the country. Bell argued that the Round Towers proved the existence of such technology prior to the Anglo-Norman invasion, and included a section on the Round Towers in order to refute both this school of thought, and that which claimed that the towers owed their presence in Ireland to earlier Danish invasions. According to Bell, 'this mode of proceeding will also assist us in tracing the gradual progression of Irish architecture from those early, though rude, efforts of her genius, to the most complex and ornamental specimens of Gothic architecture, of which we possess *(m)*any remains.'[75] In this quote, it is evident that Bell clearly conceived of Irish architecture in terms of progression and development, in which European influence and the development of Gothic building represents a zenith, rather than the supplanting of a native tradition, as will be seen in certain later nineteenth-century texts and interpretations.

Bell's work engages with the literature on Gothic architecture on several different fronts: on the issue of the origin and theory of the Gothic arch, on the issue of nomenclature and on the issue of national origins and cultural nationalism. The text is divided into twenty sections: the first five dealing with the theories and scholarship on the origins of the Gothic arch, and its attendant controversies, and the remaining sections deal with Irish architecture. The final chapter deals with the Gothic Revival in Ireland, and the chapel at Dublin Castle, designed by Francis Johnston between 1807 and 1814. Bell's illustrations all depict details or views of Irish Gothic architecture.

Bell, in his preface, outlined his reasons for writing a section on Irish architecture: 'that portion of the essay, which from the circumstance of its

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[74] Bell, 20 - 21
[75] Bell, 22

descriptions being confined to Ireland, might be considered of a limited or local nature, also assumes a more general character, if regarded as a necessary supplement to the history of architectural antiquities, and gothic cathedrals of the British islands.'[76] The history of architectural antiquities which he referred to is the multi-volume *Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain*, by John Britton, the first of which was published in 1807. The volume referred to by Bell was the fifth, which was published in 1826. In his discussion of Irish architecture, Bell was consciously addressing his work to those familiar with English architecture, and with the literature on architecture in England. He included explanations as to why he devoted himself to the study of Irish antiquities throughout his essay, and argued that although 'the field [...] may not be so widely extensive as the Gothic antiquities of England might present; nor are the generality of Irish subjects of so rich and magnificent a class; still, however, limited as it is, there is scope enough for the inquirer, and enough of treasure to reward his toil.'[77]

As in Matthew Young's work on the theory of Gothic architecture, Bell's essay also includes clear references to controversies surrounding the scholarship on Gothic architecture. He has prefaced the work with a note on nomenclature, and his first section deals with the contemporary use of the term 'English' rather than 'Gothic'.[78] As John Frew and Simon Bradley have pointed out in their work, this was a controversial issue amongst English antiquarians, advanced by figures such as John Carter[79], Revd. Milner[80] and Thomas Rickman[81], but which many

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[76] Bell, xii

[77] Bell, 19

[78] Bell, 24

[79] John Carter (1748 – 1817), draughtsman and antiquary, J. Mordaunt Crook, "Carter, John (1748–1817)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004); online ed., ed. Lawrence Goldman, January 2008, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4791 (accessed September 23, 2011).

[80] Revd. John Milner (1752 – 1826), author of *The History, Civil and Ecclesiastical and Survey of the Antiquities of Winchester*, 2 vols., (1798 – 1801), Judith F. Champ, "Milner, John (1752–1826)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004); online ed., ed. Lawrence Goldman, January 2008, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18791 (accessed September 23, 2011).

[81] Thomas Rickman (1776 – 1841), architect and author of several texts on architectural history, including the very influential *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of English Architecture*, first published in 1817. Megan Aldrich, "Rickman, Thomas (1776–1841)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004); online ed., ed. Lawrence Goldman, May 2009, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23607 (accessed September 23, 2011).

other antiquarians opposed. Bell disagreed with the use of 'English', and like Young, his argument is based on a Europe-wide conception of Gothic architecture. In the first section of the book, Bell argued that 'without entering upon a controversy as to the merits of the claim thus advanced by our parent or sister country, let me ask, how would this claim be met by an Italian, a German, or a French writer on the subject? I am almost certain they would not; and I really believe that they might advance very just reasons for resisting the claim.'[82] Bell posited that the term 'Anglo-Gothic' would be more appropriate, and that similar variations could be used across the spectrum of European Gothic building. Bell's use of European examples echoes Matthew Young's approach, as does his use of the language of scientific discourse. Indeed, Bell draws comparisons between nomenclature in science and in architectural history. His concern with the importance of stable and unchanging nomenclature echoes contemporary concerns in scientific enquiry, as discussed by Yanni.[83] For example, Bell explicitly stated that 'A change in the terms of any science or art should not be lightly attempted, nor adopted without very powerful reasons in support of its necessity or utility.'[84]

The second section of Bell's text deals with the origin of Gothic architecture. Bell was aware of Young's thesis on the development of Gothic architecture, and he referenced it throughout his own text. He concurred with Young's analysis of the prime importance of the arch, and also in his agreement with James Barry's opinions of the relationship between classical and Gothic building.[85] As stated above, Bell discussed the origins of the Gothic style of building, much in the same style as Young, looking at the Moorish, Saracenic and 'natural' theories, and disproving them all. Bell's language reveals his own comprehensive knowledge of the literature on Gothic as it existed, quoting from recently published papers as well as more well-known texts such as Warburton, Christopher Wren and John Milner. He displayed a confident, critical sense in

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[82] Bell, 26

[83] Yanni, 204 - 221

[84] Bell, 25

[85] Bell highlighted the almost simultaneous publication of treatises on the Gothic arch by Matthew Young and James Barry, 'that unfortunate genius', stating that Barry could not have been aware of the similarity of his thesis to Young's until after the publication of both.

relation to the canon of scholarship on the subject: for example, he summed up Wren's contribution to scholarship as only remaining in circulation due to his pre-eminence as an architect: 'his written speculations on Gothic architecture would probably long since have been sunk in oblivion.'[86] In a later passage on the Irish Round Towers, he frankly assessed the failings in texts by Ledwich, an authoritative figure in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Irish antiquarianism. Bell's own career as a painter could also have informed his writing style: in discussing the plausibility of the Gothic cathedral being based on the complex interlinking branches of groves of trees, he wrote that only a trained eye could see the potential there, such as that of the artist, who can 'derive hints from shadowy and grotesque shapes, they can discover in the playful outline of the clouds – the weather-stains on old walls, - or the fantastic forms, that may be traced by the assistance of fancy, in the burning coals of the fire'.[87] Bell's consideration of the theories for the origin of Gothic architecture includes the theories of James Hall, published in 1813, and which ascribed the pointed arch to the interlacing material in primitive wattle structures. Bell discounted Hall, arguing that the pointed arch developed 'long after architecture had reached perfection', and therefore could not have spontaneously been discovered, as Hall believed.[88] James Barry's comments on Gothic are treated more fully in Bell's thesis than by Young. Bell noted Barry's contempt for the style, which he denotes as 'barbarous' throughout his work. Bell quoted Barry's discussion of clustered piers, which he attributed to a corruption of the fluting in Corinthian columns. Barry described late classical columns, with fluting so deep that 'a man might hide in each recess'.[89] As mentioned above, Bell concluded that the most plausible theory for the origin of Gothic architecture was that advanced by his countryman, that the style was developed from the corruption of pure classical architecture, moving from classical

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[86] Bell, 43

[87] Ibid., 36

Bell's language here indicates a familiarity with Leonardo da Vinci's famous Treatise on Painting, in which he exhorts artists to be alive to the 'stains on walls, the ashes from the fire, the clouds, the mud or other similar places. If these are well contemplated, you will find fantastic inventions that awaken the genius of the painter to new inventions'. Bell perhaps included this as a play on his own name: da Vinci wrote that these forms of inspiration, to the artist, are 'like the sound of bells'.

[88] Bell, 39

[89] Bell, 48

to the Saxon, or Lombardic style, which gradually shifted from circular to a pointed forms. According to Bell, Barry's confessed dislike of the style made his argument all the more convincing, as he was a 'most disinterested witness.'[90]

On the development of the style, Bell posited the model of increasing levels of corruption from Greek perfection: the Roman a corruption of the Greek, the Saxon a further corruption of the Roman, and so forth. In his discussion of Saxon architecture, which he noted as flourishing in sections of Europe, including England, from the seventh to the ninth centuries, Bell introduced Irish architecture to his study. He described the Irish architecture of this period as assuming the form of 'circular arches, decorated with waved chevrons, billet mouldings, fret work, lofty crypts, and various other rude characteristics of those dark ages, in which there was so much of grandeur, and so much of ignorance.'[91] Bell cited the testimonies of Matthew Paris and William of Malmesbury in his advancement of the theory that the Gothic arch had been first developed in Normandy, and then introduced to England in their conquest of England. According to Bell, there was 'unanswerable proof' that the Gothic style of building was introduced into Ireland before the Norman invasion of England. Bell's 'proof' was the existence, as he read it, of aspects of the style intermixed with the Saxon, in the transepts of Christ Church Cathedral in Dublin, the foundation of which he dated to 1038, and the presence of the pointed arch in the Abbey of St. Mary, in Dublin. The latter he described as 'a most curious specimen of the art', and he stated that this building proved the early introduction of the pointed arch to Ireland, as he dated the foundation of the abbey by 'Danes or Normans' to 938. No references are used within the text for the dates given by Bell, and these claims are not supported by any illustrations or supporting evidence.

In discussing the theory which attributed the development of the pointed arch to the interweaving of circular arches, put forward by Milner with regard to Winchester Cathedral, Bell referenced the arcading of Cormac's Chapel in Cashel, thus positioning Irish medieval architecture within an international frame of reference, albeit one with many errors. Bell also argued for another international,

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[90] Bell, 49
[91] Bell, 52

or trans-cultural, dimension to the understanding of Gothic architecture in Ireland. He posited that the Free Masons, a society composed of French, German, Italian and English 'artificers' would have visited Ireland, and that they were responsible for all, or at least the best vestiges of architecture' in Ireland.[92] He acknowledged that this statement was 'humiliating to the native artists of the country', but that it satisfactorily accounted for the high quality of certain buildings in the country: 'if we employed the identical workmen, who had built Westminster Abbey or York Cathedral, the only difference in their *Irish* productions, would arise either from limited funds, or inferior materials'.[93] Despite his reference here to 'inferior materials', he also ascribed the survival of carving and ornament in places such as Boyle and Holycross to the hard native stone, rather than the soft, easy-to-work Norman stone which had been imported for use on a number of English cathedrals. Bell's conception of the introduction of Gothic to Ireland was based on his dating of St. Mary's Abbey to 938 and Christ Church Cathedral to 1038, dates which proved, to him, that the Gothic arch had been introduced to Ireland long before the Norman conquest of England, or, therefore, the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland. He noted that the Saxon style of building had been 'exploded' in the reign of Henry III, and that the lancet form of pointed arch had been universally adopted in Ireland, this change taking place about 1200. He took into account the fact that Ireland had come under the dominion of England at this point, and that Christ Church had been completed by Strongbow at this time, as a salvo for the taking of power in the country.[94] The style of Gothic which had been introduced to Ireland at this time was described by Bell as being based on groupings of lancet arches, three or five, with that in the centre being most elevated. As well as Christ Church, he referred to St. Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin, St. Francis' abbey in Kilkenny as expanding on this pattern.

Bell displayed a familiarity with contemporary architectural terminology, referring to the lancet style as 'the early English style', and the succeeding 'decorated' and 'perpendicular' styles and relating these to examples of Irish

[92] Bell, 58
[93] Bell, 58
[94] Bell, 61

building. These terms had been outlined by Thomas Rickman in his pioneering text, *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of English Architecture*, first published in 1817.[95]

The acme of Gothic perfection, according to Bell, is the Henry VII chapel in Westminster abbey, after which, the style began its decline. This decline, in Bell's view, was due in part to the religious Reformation, but more so to the reformation in taste, and the Renaissance. In Bell's view, this often resulted in architecture of 'a spurious kind, in which Grecian and Gothic were often jumbled together in a very tasteless manner'.[96]

'This part of my subject will, I fear, prove a dry and barren field of inquiry'.[97] Bell began his section on Irish Gothic architecture with a caveat, which is typical of his contradictory attitudes towards both Gothic architecture and Irish culture. His fears for the reader regarding Irish Gothic were based on what he felt was the inferior nature of Irish examples, in comparison to those in England and on the Continent, and due to the lack of monastic archives and annals which would illuminate the history of the buildings.

Bell included a swift narrative of Irish architectural development: as opposed to much of the rest of Europe, Ireland had never 'suffered under the tyranny and degradation of Roman subjugation', and therefore 'neither did she in those early times, reap any of the advantages which the refinement of Roman arts and manners had diffused, more or less, among other nations'.[98] In Bell's narrative, until the conversion of the country to Christianity, architecture was 'in a state of nature', the habitations of the ancient Irish, 'like those of all uncivilised and barbarous tribes', were either caves and caverns, or simple tents and huts. The development of agriculture was responsible, according to Bell, for the early formation of villages, towns and cities: 'the pristine state of some of our proudest

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[95] Megan Aldrich, 'Thomas Rickman's Handbook of Gothic Architecture and the Taxonomic Classification of the Past', *Antiquaries and Archaists: the past in the past, the past in the present*, (eds.) Megan Aldrich and Robert J. Wallis, (Reading: Spire Books, 2009), 62 - 74
[96] Bell, 64
[97] Bell, 65
[98] Bell, 67

and most flourishing cities'. [99] The introduction of Christianity is seen as central to architectural development by Bell, as according to his thesis, druidic worship had not required any enclosed spaces, and the first work of missionaries to Ireland was to erect buildings for worship. These were described by Bell as:

> peculiarly rude and unfinished, as far as neatness of workmanship comes under such a definition; but of a soundness of material and cement, where cement has been used, that may defy, in point of durability, the best specimens of building at the present day.[100]

On the round towers, he referenced all of the contemporary writers on the subject, such as Vallancey and Ledwich, and further afield, Milner, but was of the opinion that they were used as bell-towers. Bell included some discussion of the more outlandish theories in circulation, such as their potential use as penitentiary towers called 'inclusi' or 'cellani', which a penitent would either work his way from the bottom up, as he repented, becoming closer to god, or work his way from the top down, becoming part of the monastic community following the period of repentance.[101] The round towers are the first Irish architectural forms which receive any praise from Bell: he commented on their durability and fine stone-work. Bell actually terms the towers 'our earliest Gothic structures', due to the presence of some pointed openings within the buildings, among the flat and rounded openings, suggesting that, for him, the classification of 'Gothic' was purely based on the presence of the pointed arch. He later tempered this description: 'as the Irish Round towers, if not in themselves strictly Gothic, were at least the immediate precursors of the Gothic style in Ireland.'[102]

Bell's conception of Gothic is as an imported style, which was mixed with a native architectural tradition. This hybridity, for Bell, resulted in an inferior rather than a unique form of architecture, 'prevented from attainting *[sic]* that perfection of which it was susceptible, and which it did attain, in England and other countries

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[99] In an aside, Bell draws a comparison between the barbarous huts of the early Irish, and the poor accommodation suffered by many in the Dublin of his day, which he pointed out as a reproach to the city which he called the second in the Empire.
[100] Bell, 71
[101] Bell, 72
[102] Bell, 77

more wealthy, or more happily situated than our own.'[103] The 'imported' rather than the 'native' style has higher value in Bell's narrative, which is in stark contrast to architectural histories produced in the latter half of the century.

Bell's section on the round towers gives a list of the condition of the round towers in each county, and included interesting incidental details about their contemporary use. For example, the Clondalkin round tower, which was in 'quite perfect' condition in 1829, had a small observatory constructed at the top, which people could access and view the country from the top, for a small fee, which was collected to support a poor family.[104] Works being carried out have also been recorded, such as the repairs to Killala round tower following a lightening strike, which were undertaken by Mr. Papworth.

As part of his section on round towers, he referred to Grose's assertion that the origin of the pointed arch came from the observation of two flat stone of slates, laid against each other, forming a point. Following this, Bell suggested that this was the ancient origin of the Gothic pointed arch – he posited that *'from the Gothic Pointed arches of these towers, the pointed order first took its rise, some centuries before the time usually assigned to it* (original italics) ' – he immediately tempered this claim, however, with the statement that it was not his ambition in this text to claim for Ireland the origin of Gothic architecture, but to point out that the pointed arch existed at a remote point in history, prior to its supposed 'invention' in the theories Bell had discussed at an earlier point. He does use the term 'Gothic' in describing the buildings: Timahoe round tower, for example, is described by Bell as 'a beautiful and curious specimen of Saxon-Gothic'.[105]

Following his discussion of round towers, Bell described the stone-roofed church buildings of Ireland. As before, Bell situated his work within the context of existing scholarship, referencing the works by Ledwich and Beaufort on the churches – Ledwich having argued that they were introduced by the Danes, and Beaufort claiming that they were the legacy of Greek refugees in the country.[106] Bell considers Beaufort's argument, but does not come to any conclusion about it,

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[103] Bell, 76
[104] Bell, 79
[105] Bell, 87
[106] Bell, 100

as he has not had the chance to examine some of the Continental prototypes discussed by Beautfort in person, and stated that, while it was possible to get some sense of the structures through prints, 'we all know how apt they are to mislead the judgement.'[107] This is in marked contrast to Young's approach, who was willing to base his entire essay on the evidence of prints. As the move towards greater scientific objectivity in archaeology and antiquarianism developed, the emphasis was more firmly placed on inductive reasoning, personal observation and evaluation. The stone churches listed by Bell are described as 'genuine specimens of the Saxon-gothic, or corrupted Roman architecture'.[108]

As in his discussion on the round towers, Bell used the term 'Gothic' to describe any pointed elements of the buildings, such as a small pointed arch window in the oratory of St. Malua *(sic)* in Killaloe.[109]

From Section IX, Bell concentrated solely on the churches which he considers 'Gothic', rather than the hybrid, proto-Gothic framework through which he examined both the round towers and early stone-roofed churches. These are organised by county. Bell outlined the extent of his approach to the dioceses, stating that he would refer to comprehensive ecclesiastical histories by Usher, Ware, Harris, Archdal and Ledwich, rather than replicate that material in his text.

Bell briefly outlined the history of each building, giving its style, current condition, and a short history of the alterations which had been carried out, as well as giving a list of the measurements for each church. He did not dwell on the significance of the medieval architectural forms, their origin, potential makers or patrons, and sources of influence, but rather focused on the ways in which the original fabric had been changed throughout the centuries.

Writing about Armagh, he noted the conditions of its foundation, and listed the various stages of alteration to the church, and briefly mentioned the original features which remained. Likewise, in the case of Derry cathedral, which, having, according to Bell, been rebuilt in the early seventeenth century, is described as being 'probably the last of the *old* Gothic cathedral churches built in Ireland': an

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[107] Bell, 101
[108] Bell, 102
[109] Bell, 104

early identification of the Irish Gothic Survival.[110] Bell related liturgical change to alterations in the fabric of the building, noting that the original cruciform plan had been done away with at the Reformation, as there was less great a need for processions or related ceremonial functions.

In his language, Bell does not value the original medieval work more highly than alterations in an appropriate Gothic Revival style, while alterations which were in a different style are treated negatively. For example, the 'thorough restoration' of Derry Cathedral by Mark Murray in 1825, is described in glowing terms: the 'beautiful vaulted ceiling in the style of the flat or tudor arch, supported by Gothic pilasters, with castellated turrets as corbels', and externally: 'the two circular towers which terminate the eastern end have been enriched with octagonal ogee tops or domes, finished at the angles with crockets and terminating at the summit with rich finials'.[111] Similarly, writing about the windows of Down cathedral, which was almost entirely rebuilt in the early nineteenth century, Bell stated that 'the eastern window is large, and if of modern workmanship, as I imagine it is, has well preserved all the beauty of its original character.'[112] The windows at Armagh cathedral which had replaced the original medieval windows, however, are described as 'nothing but a plain, tasteless surface of lead lights.'[113] Likewise, the restoration of the cathedral of Raphoe is denounced by Bell, because of its result of 'depriving this cathedral, in a great degree, of its Gothic character, by converting its Pointed architecture into tasteless circular arches.'[114] It is significant that Bell did not define 'Gothic' as relating to a specific time period, but rather related it purely to style.

His text is marked by inconsistencies in attitude on a number of points, and the author takes contradictory attitudes towards restoration. While in certain cases, he approves of the works carried out, in others he roundly condemns the practice – on the proposed restoration of the Franciscan friary in Kilkenny, he wrote that 'I [...] sincerely hope that no one will be found sacrilegious enough to

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[110] Bell, 120
[111] Bell, 121
[112] Bell, 127
[113] Bell, 117
[114] Bell, 130

destroy its ancient beauty, by coupling it with deformity, as any modern addition must necessarily prove'.[115] In his section on the medieval cathedral at Cashel, he attempted to distinguish between different types of restoration – that which restored a building which had long-since been in ruins, and that which helped to maintain a structure with continuous use.[116] It is significant that the removal, or obscuring of original medieval fabric, is not condemned by Bell in the restorations which he examined – rather, it is the disturbance of the sense of the past within the ruins which he deplored: 'mementos of the piety and greatness of generations which have passed away'.[117] While he does admire the picturesque qualities of ruined structures, he expressed a preference for the continued use and upkeep of the buildings: 'as antiquarians, we may admire ruins much, but as christians *(sic)*, it is certainly our duty to prevent our churches from becoming such. Devotion, and a veneration for what is ancient, both combine for their preservation.'[118]

Unsurprisingly, both the cathedrals of Christchurch and St. Patrick in Dublin are discussed extensively by Bell. The chief Gothic monuments in Dublin listed by Bell, as well as the two medieval cathedrals, are the church of St. Audoen, the remains of St. Mary's Abbey, and the remnant of St. John's Abbey on Thomas Street.

On the church of St. Audoen, Bell has, curiously, written that it was 'the only remaining Gothic structure in the City of Dublin', which contradicts much of his work on the cathedrals. Further contradicting this, earlier in the text, he stated that 'it has been recently so changed in rebuilding, that, except the portion now in ruins, it retains little of the Gothic character.'[119] The church had, in the same year that Bell's treatise was written, undergone a series of works, led by the architect Henry Aaron Baker, which included alterations to the tower comprising corner pinnacles, works to the windows, doors, archways and the replacement of a

[115] Bell, 212
[116] Bell, 221
[117] Bell, 212
[118] Bell, 221
[119] Bell, 138

pyramidal roof with a flat one.[120] This was the most recent in a series of alterations described by Bell. The medieval mouldings and arcades are noted, and Bell was of the opinion that 'even now, bear evidence of very good workmanship.'[121] The section on the church is illustrated with a plate based on an original work by Mulvaney which depicts the ruined portion of the building, with a woman tending to a grave among the crumbling arches included as staffage (Fig. 3.6).

Writing on Christchurch cathedral, Bell ascribed its original foundation to the Danes, with a date of 1038, under the auspices of the King, Sitricus and Bishop Donat He gave the credit for the cathedral's design to Bishop Donat. While Bell does consider the building as a palimpsest, the result of many alterations through the centuries, he dates the medieval core of the building to 1038, and dates the now-demolished long choir to the 1170s. In describing what he considered the original medieval core of the building, therefore, Bell stated that it combined 'a mixture of the circular and pointed Gothic arches.'[122] From this, he erroneously drew the conclusion that Christchurch demonstrates an extremely early use of the pointed arch. The successive programmes of works to the building are described, and give a good record of the appearance of the building prior to the Street restoration. On the interior of the choir, he wrote that it had 'undergone so many alterations in the last two centuries, that there is little trace of the original Gothic character left. It presents, like most buildings erected during this period, a confused jumble of styles, purporting to be imitations of regular classic architecture, but in reality an incongruous mixture of both.'[123]

In his descriptions of specific parts of the cathedral, Bell clearly referred to a normative model of Gothic architecture, and related the Irish work to that. The result of this is that a system of value is put in place, where the closer to the norm the building appears, the more it is to be valued as a specimen of Gothic achievement in Irish architecture.

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[120] *Biographical Dictionary of Irish Architects 1720 – 1940*, http://dia.ie/works/view/34386/building/CO.+DUBLIN%2C+DUBLIN%2C+HIGH+STREET%2C+ST+AUDOEN%27S+CHURCH+%28CI%29, accessed 09 August 2011

[121] Bell, 170

[122] Bell, 139

[123] Bell, 148

Bell does not base his own dating of the building to any primary sources, and it takes the form of 'received knowledge' within the text. While the descriptions are clearly the result of close, personal observation, there is no rationale given for his history of the early building. In discussing some of the later alterations, he has relied on inscriptions in his dating of the wall built to support the southern nave wall which fell in the sixteenth century: 'we are informed by a laconic inscription, on the wall, curious for the quaintness of its style and orthography, that 'This Wal Fel Down In An. 1562. The Bilding Of This Wal Was In An. 1562'.[124] Inscriptions on monuments are also used by Bell where they relate to the fabric of the cathedral. However, it is likely that these are used simply because they exist as accessible pieces of information, rather than as being an essential part of the methodology used by the author. Primary research in the annals and manuscript sources is mentioned in a second-hand sense throughout the text: research by other authors in Marsh's Library is mentioned, in connection with the tomb of Strongbow, and he refers to the Black Book of the priory of Christchurch, as 'among our most ancient and authentic national records.'[125]

Similarly, Bell's description of St. Patrick's is not substantiated with any references to manuscript sources, and although not referenced, appears to be based on existing scholarship. Some manuscript sources are mentioned in connection with anecdotes relating to the building, but again, these appear as the result of the scholarship of others, rather than the primary research of the author. The preservation of the architecture of St. Patrick's cathedral is highly praised, but the quality of style at Christchurch is considered more excellent. Bell wrote that 'taken as a whole, this church is an excellent specimen of the Gothic architecture of that age; there being none in the country of the same antiquity equally perfect'.[126] As with Christchurch, the windows are used as a guide to the style of the church, and this is determined through the relation of the Irish building to a standard conception of the different periods of Gothic – 'the eastern window of St. Patrick's is composed of five distinct lancet arches, of exactly the same style which

[124] Bell, 142
[125] Bell, 149
[126] Bell, 152

was in general use at the time. They form a fine specimen of the earliest style of Pointed arches.'[127]

In his quite detailed description of the interior of St. Patrick's, Bell made a rare reference to an international model, and related the small size of the choir to that at Westminster.[128]

An anecdote about Bell's own research for this essay reveals much about the perils of undocumented restorations for the antiquarian basing an interpretation on visual evidence alone: Bell recounted examining sculpted corbel heads in the south transept of the cathedral, and considering them 'superior in character to any thing I could conceive of that age', when the sculptor John Smyth informed him that they were his own work, and that others in the cathedral had been slightly altered by him also. Smyth admitted of the original sculptures that 'the heads truly owe their origin to former times; but I must acknowledge that my profane hands have contributed to their regeneration [...] touch with my chissel "the mutilated countenances of yonder old gentlemen".'[129] Bell included this exchange with Smyth, 'lest any future antiquary should be led into simple error, when such a simple explanation would be beyond our reach.'[130]

In contrast to his approbation of the stylistically-appropriate restorations at Armagh and Down, Bell is more censorious of the works carried out in the northern transept, which had been in use as the church for the parish of St. Nicholas, but had for the preceding forty years, been in ruins. Of the exterior, Bell considered that the 'style of architecture is equal to the original in point of execution, and certainly superior to it, in the material with which it is built', again demonstrating the primacy of style rather than date of execution in Bell's conception of Gothic, he likened the use of lath and plaster in the interior to 'plating and tinsel, compared with solid bullion'.[131]

It is outside the scope of this thesis to examine in detail every parish church and cathedral examined by Bell in this essay. The Gothic structures in all of the

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[127] Bell, 153
[128] Bell, 155
[129] Bell, 159
[130] Bell, 159
[131] Bell, 160

dioceses have been examined by Bell, with the type of commentary as examined above included for each building. Essentially, Bell created a descriptive gazetteer for the country. Smaller parish churches are listed, with a very short description given in some cases.

As with the examples discussed above, there are very few references to manuscript sources, or to comparisons with similar buildings or styles of building elsewhere. Technical language is used throughout, again displaying the author's familiarity with current practice in terminology.

Bell included more detail on medieval churches and cathedrals, whether repaired or in ruins, than on the monastic ruins in the Irish landscape. His description of Clonmacnoise is clearly inflected by the well-established role of the location as a site for picturesque tourists and artists: 'these ruined churches [...] and the remains of an old castle, have a most imposing effect on the eye.'[132] The northern doorway of Temple 'Dermot' is given the most attention by Bell, due to its pointed forms, and is the subject of a full-page illustration. Unlike the detailed measurements and lists of information given on the cathedrals, Bell merely outlined the complex of buildings at Clonmacnoise, and summarised that 'these specimens of Gothic architecture, both in their style and masonry, have a peculiar character and stamp of antiquity attached to them.'[133]

Mellefont (sic) Abbey and Bective Abbey are described by Bell. Mellifont is described as being in a 'rapid state of decay'. The lavabo, noted as 'an octagonal baptistry', is mentioned, as well as the decorated arch illustrated in Wright's *Louthiana*. This archway was lost, according to Bell, by 'becoming a stake at a gaming table.'[134] Likewise, the ruins of Bective Abbey are given scant attention by Bell: he does not include any detail, but summarises that the ruins 'are extensive, and comprise several beautiful specimens of Pointed arches, and other remnants of Gothic architecture'.[135]

The chapter-house of St. Mary's Abbey in Dublin is given an extensive description, and is the subject of a full-page illustration. This is unsurprisingly, as

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[132] Bell, 133
[133] Bell, 134
[134] Bell, 135
[135] Bell, 136

this was in the immediate vicinity of Bell when he was writing his work. The foundation of the monastery is outlined, the vaulting is described in some detail, and the contemporary condition of the building is given. The former proprietor, a Mr. Maziere, had built a vault underneath, with the result that the floor of the upper level reached to the base of the shafts which supported the vaulting, and this is depicted by Bell in his illustration (Fig. 3.7). More well-known examples of Irish Gothic monastic architecture, such as those at Holycross and at Boyle, are given quite extensive descriptions. The architecture at Holycross described as 'the most beautiful Gothic then in use'. Bell considered the foundation of the abbey anterior to the Anglo-Norman invasion, and therefore stated in his text that the architecture 'affords another proof of the progress which Gothic architecture had made in Ireland previous to the age of Henry II.'[136]

Overall, the picturesque appearance of monastic ruins is that which is most commented on by Bell. In certain cases, such as White Abbey, in Kildare, the restoration of the monastic churches is recorded by Bell: when he visited the site in 1818, it was in a ruined condition, but by 1824, 'upon these ruined walls, they have erected others, by which means a beautiful and interesting ruin has been transformed into a neat, though homely chapel, now known by the name of "The Friary".'[137]

Despite including an extensive list of monuments, Bell has omitted a number of important sites from his gazetteer, including those at Askeaton and Adare, in Co. Limerick, and Muckross, in Co. Kerry, which were among the most popular as tourist or artist venues.

Bell's essay concluded with a section on 'modern Gothic': the shift in taste towards the revival of Gothic forms was lauded by Bell, and specific examples which he admired listed: these included the churches at Booterstown, Dundrum, Rathmines, Donnybrook, and others outside the city, including those at Swords, and Ballynagal, in Westmeath, by John Hargrave.[138]

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[136] Bell, 231
[137] Bell, 197
[138] Bell, 247

Bell also noted several Gothic Revival churches built by Roman Catholic communities in the diocese of Dublin, and wrote that 'it is not surprising that Roman Catholics should be partial to such structures. With the zeal and piety of their ancestors, whether well or ill directed, the Gothic order originated.'[139] The Chapel at Dublin Castle is described in full, as a complete example of revived Gothic, and the architect, Johnston, is highly praised, unsurprisingly, as he was a major supporter of the publication of Bell's essay.

The comments with which Bell closed his essay deal with the contentious issue of the origin of Gothic in Ireland, an issue which he had largely avoided throughout the body of the text. Following his statement that Irish ecclesiastical Gothic did not at any point reach the level attained by English architects and builders, he noted that many of the structures which he had discussed in his essay 'were either founded or rebuilt within the period from the arrival of the English, in the year 1172, to the end of the thirteenth century.'[140] What Bell saw as the degeneration in architectural achievement in Ireland, throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, is described as being due to both the turbulent political state of the country, and, crucially, the increasing cultural distance of the English colonisers from England itself: 'when that generation had passed away, their descendants evidently degenerated in the scale of civilisation and refinement; the taste and love for the architectural embellishment of their churches, which once distinguished their forefathers, had perished'.[141] This, to Bell, was in marked contrast to the cultural situation in England:

> (W)hilst England went on improving her architectural structures, the former country evidently retrograded from that point of improvement she had previously acquired, and through her civil dissentions, became sunk into a state of ignorance and barbarity – like the demoniac in sacred writ – worse than she was at first.[142]

This severe condemnation of Irish culture during the early modern period, given a religious cast through the language used, reveals much about early nineteenth-

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[139] Bell, 248
[140] Bell, 258
[141] Bell, 259
[142] Bell, 259

century cultural politics, in which Ireland was seen as being naturally inferior, and in need of the guidance and genius for both cultural and civil order and law of England, as has been examined by critics of colonial rhetoric in Ireland in this period.[143] As is reinforced throughout his letters held in the NLI MSS, Bell was an ardent supporter of the Union, and he completed his essay with the statement that, following 1801, Irish culture and architectural achievement should continue to flourish.[144]

Towards a Scientific Method: 1828 – 1875

Louisa Catherine Beaufort, 'Essay upon the State of Architecture and Antiquities, previous to the Landing of the Anglo-Normans in Ireland' (1828) George Wilkinson, *Practical Geology and Ancient Architecture of Ireland* (1845)

Several long works on Irish architecture referencing Irish Gothic building, were published in the years following the RIA competition 1826, including those by Louisa Catherine Beaufort and George Wilkinson, authors from very different professional and social backgrounds. While it is outside the scope of this thesis to examine these texts in the same level of detail as Bell's prize-winning essay, they have been included here as examples of texts by an 'amateur' antiquarian, and by a professional architect.

The *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* published a long essay by Beaufort which was titled 'Essay upon the State of Architecture and Antiquities, previous to the Landing of the Anglo-Normans in Ireland.'[145] Beaufort was a

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[143] Terry Eagleton, *Heathcliff and the great hunger: studies in Irish culture*, (London: Verso, 1995), Declan Kiberd, *Inventing Ireland: the literature of the modern nation*, (London: Vintage, 1995)

[144] Bell, 260

[145] Louisa C. Beaufort was a member of a highly industrious family – her father was the Rev. Daniel Beaufort, author of the *Ecclesiastical Map of Ireland* (1792), the Beaufort scale is named after her brother Francis, and her sister Bertha was the author of several children's books. Beaufort's niece was Maria Edgeworth, author of, among other texts, *Castle Rackrent* (1800). There is no entry for Louisa C. Beaufort in the *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, published by the Royal Irish Academy and Cambridge University Press. Sources for the life of Beaufort include a tour journal, giving details of a trip to the north of Ireland, between 1807 and 1808 (IE TCD MSS 4034), which has been used by Mary Davis, in her essay 'The Beaufort visits to Downhill', in Jane Fenlon, Nicola Figgis, Catherine Marshall (eds.), *New Perspectives in art history in honour of Anne Crookshank*, (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1987). There are several letters to and from Beaufort in the Papers of Maria Edgeworth, held in the NLI (MS 10, 166/7 1-128). An article in *The Irish Times* on Portumna Castle also mentions her travel diaries, Elgy Gillespie, 'Portumna Castle, Galway', *The Irish Times*, June 15, 1976, 8

member of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society, from its early years, and was in correspondence with John Windele and Thomas Crofton Croker, two of the most prolific antiquaries of the nineteenth century, from her address on 9 Hatch Street in Dublin.[146] William Wilde mentions Beaufort in a reference in his life of Gabriel Beranger, highlighting her good reputation in antiquarian circles, and lamenting the fact that no record existed of her work: 'the charming Miss Louisa Beaufort, a writer of distinction'.[147]

While Irish Gothic architecture is not the major focus of her essay, Beaufort's antiquarian survey does reveal much about the position of earlier and later medieval architecture, within a narrative system and a system of value, and also about the methodologies used to arrive at her conclusions.

The bulk of Beaufort's text deals with early field monuments, such as the 'crom-leac', cairns and passage graves, stone circles and 'pillar-stones', and she examined Christian architecture towards the end of the essay. The buildings which Beaufort included in this survey include examples of the early Christian buildings, founded in the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries, of which 'a few, and those uncertain, fragments have descended to these times.'[148] Beaufort noted the remains on Lough Derg, on the Aran Islands, Innismurray (sic), Cape Clear Island, Ardmore in Waterford, St. Molaise's Church on Innismore (sic), Clonatin Church in Wexford, St. Fechin's chapel in Fore and chapels in Co. Cork, particularly those in Rosscarbery.[149] The attempt to identify a cultural 'avant-garde' in Ireland is evident here, as both O'Halloran and Waddell noted; Beaufort argued that the above-mentioned buildings 'belong to the era of our very earliest ecclesiastical remains,

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[146] Letters in the Windele Collection include correspondence from the 1850s on the merits and flaws of recent antiquarian scholarship by Petrie and James Graves, and on her own theories regarding ogham stones (RIA MSS 4 B 9/111), on Scandinavian runes (RIA MSS 4 B 9/29), and the RIA also holds a letter from Crofton Croker to Beaufort from 1840 again assessing work by Petrie, on John O'Donovan's capabilities as a translator and on the antiquarian scholarship of William Betham. (RIA 4 B 55).

[147] W. R. Wilde, 'Memoir of Gabriel Beranger, and His Labours in the Cause of Irish Art, Literature and Antiquities, from 1760 to 1780, with Illustrations', *The Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland*, (Fourth Series, Vol. 1, No. 1, (1870), 62

[148] 'An Essay upon the State of Architecture and Antiquites, Previous to the Landing of the Anglo-Normans in Ireland', L. C. Beaufort, *The Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, Vol. 15, (1828), 230

[149] 230 – 231. It is interesting to note that Beaufort contradicts her own father on a number of points, in particular his theories on the Greek origins of early, stone-roofed Irish churches, also mentioned in Bell's text., 181

bearing marks of the highest antiquity, and appearing of a more remote date than any of those buildings in England which are assigned to the first ages of Anglo-Saxons.'[150] Much of the text is taken up with proofs of Ireland's cultural and economic importance in the early middle ages. Later works included by Beaufort include the churches at Clones, Aghadoe (in particular, the sculpted ornament of its doorway), Dungiven, due to its narrow pointed lancet windows and its similarity to the buildings on Iona, and, near Dublin, the church of Lusk, and that of St. Doulough in Malahide.

Writing about Cormac's Chapel, Beaufort argued for the existence of continental influence, noting that the building's patron had been 'a man of great learning, who had travelled much in foreign parts, and may have introduced improvements in style and sculpture from the Continent, with which Ireland had always much intercourse.' She drew comparisons with the architecture of Normandy, and the church of St. Nicholas at Caen, basing her comparative analysis between the two buildings on a precise description of the architectural elements:

> (T)he low pillars rising only to the cornice; the arches of the intercolumniations under the windows, formed each of a single stone; the roof constructed of stone, with its steep wedge-shaped pitch: all these particulars agree so exactly with those at Cormac's chapel, as to leave no doubt of its identity with the Norman style.[151]

Beaufort also drew comparisons between Cormac's Chapel and two churches in England, Melbourne in Derbyshire and St. Andrew's, Hexham, in Northumberland.[152] She extended the discussion of the origin of the stone-roofed style to a broader examination of the architecture of the north of Germany through her reading of Dawson Turner's recently-published accounts of his European travels, again reinforcing the importance of the role of international networks of scholars, and of publications in creating channels of communication between them.[153]

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[150] Beaufort, 230

[151] Beaufort, 238

[152] Beaufort, 238

[153] Dawson Turner (1775 – 1858), banker, botanist and antiquary, author of *Account of a Tour in Normandy* (2 vols. [S.l.] : Printed for J. and A. Arch, 1820) Angus Fraser, 'Turner, Dawson (1775–

Indeed, Beaufort's work is marked by a much stronger commitment to comparative study than Bell's essay: her opening remarks on the eastern origin of the earliest inhabitants of Ireland is corroborated by references to specific manuscripts, to the work of Orientalist scholars such as Sir William Jones, and through a comparison with specific Oriental and Irish myths.[154] Her references to philological studies also reflect the close nature of the two disciplines, as highlighted by Leerssen.

Her assessment of architectural development is overwhelmingly negative, and is summarised thus:

> (A)t the English invasion, Irish architecture may be said to have ceased; the English adventurers brought with them their own fashion of building, which was afterwards copied by the Irish; hence there is little difference between the ecclesiastical edifices of England and Ireland from that period, except in the inferiority of workmanship, which (generally speaking) is the distinguishing mark of the latter.[155]

Beaufort has used political divisions in structuring stylistic arguments. While there is an obvious logic to this with the change in systems of government and attendant civic upheaval, this alliance of architectural style to political authority in Ireland is much more strongly stated here than in Bell's essay, who argued for the existence of certain Gothic structures in Ireland anterior to the Anglo-Norman invasion. This is a recurrent feature in her text: changes in roofing construction are explicitly linked to a political change. Writing about the stone-roofing system at St. Doulough's Church in Dublin, she noted that 'of this there is no instance since the landing of the English.'[156] Similarly, Beaufort's language in describing the shift from round towers reflects, more clearly, a system of value which is based on this sense of cultural difference as linked to political change: 'why did the architects of churches of a later date, rejecting the beautiful and national round tower, either

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1858)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27846, accessed 10 Aug 2011]

[154] Beaufort, 103

[155] Beaufort 101-241

[156] Beaufort, 239

raise no tower at all, or invariably build square steeples?'[157] While it may appear to be a clear statement of fact, it does bring together two strata of cultural and political history, not necessarily linked, to form narrative logic between the two. This binary structure within cultural narratives, pre- and post- invasion, became the single most prominent organisational factor in cultural histories written by figures such as Petrie and Brash.

Beaufort's use of terminology relating to Gothic architecture is interesting – she uses the term 'gothic' twice. The first instance relates to the pointed arch created through two flat stones leaning against each other in a church at Dungiven: 'the arches over the extremely narrow pointed window if the chancel, being a kind of gothic [...] by two flat stone of equal length [...] forming an acute angle'.[158] The second reference is to a window at the west end of St. Doulough's Church, described as being 'formed in the simplest way, half of each head, with its ill-shaped cusps, being cut out of one stone, a mode which belongs only to the very rudest age of gothic architecture'.[159] In describing Gothic monuments such as the cathedral at Cashel, Beaufort has used terms such as 'the narrow pointed style.'[160]

Beaufort's text is valuable as an early narrative of architectural style and progress from the early nineteenth century – it also reveals much about the sources which she used in creating her own text. The key works referenced by Beaufort regarding Irish early Christian and early medieval architecture include Grose's *Antiquities*, Archdall's *Monasticon Hibernicon*, Brewer's *Beauties of Ireland*, Ledwich's *Antiquities*, Ware's *Antiquities* and outside Ireland, Britton's *Antiquities* and Turner's *Tour in Normandy*. She also references articles in scholarly publications such as *Archaeologia*, the publication of the London Society of Antiquaries.

More general histories of Ireland mentioned by Beaufort include O'Connor's *Dissertations*, Bishop Hutchinson's *Defence of Ancient History of Ireland*, Campion's *History of Ireland* and Thomas Campbell's 1777 *Philosophical*

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[157] Beaufort, 189
[158] Beaufort, 231
[159] Beaufort, 265
[160] Beaufort, 237

Survey of the South of Ireland. Other general historical sources include Warner's *Albion's England*.

Beaufort also referenced several studies of smaller areas; these include Wright's *Killarney*, Weld's *Killarney*, Dr. Shee's *Account of the Cathedral of Kilkenny*, Whitelaw's *History of Dublin* and several surveys and parochial surveys.

Although Beaufort does argue for a pre-Christian origin for the round towers in Ireland, her text is extremely sophisticated, and includes a far greater range of bibliographical references than Bell's, and a broader comparative system.

Oxfordshire-born George Wilkinson (1814 – 1890), the son of a carpenter and builder, won the position of architect to the Poor Law Commission, with responsibility for the erection of workhouses throughout Ireland. Following the 1838 Act for the More Effectual Relief of the Destitute Poor, one hundred and thirty workhouses were to be built by the Commission – given the scale of this undertaking, Wilkinson worked with other architects and with assistants in this role.[161] Wilkinson's not-uncontroversial tenure as architect to the Commission came to an end with his retirement in 1855, upon which he established a private practice in Dublin, where he remained for a further thirty-two years.[162] Notable buildings by Wilkinson from this period include the train station on Dublin's Harcourt Street.[163] In 1860, he was appointed as architect to the Commissioners of Asylums for the Lunatic Poor, and designed identical asylums in Castlebar, Co. Mayo and Letterkenny, Co. Donegal. Wilkinson returned to England in 1887, and died in Twickenham in 1890.[164]

Wilkinson's book on Irish geology and ancient architecture was published in 1845 by John Murray, Albemarle Street, London, and by William Curry, Jun. &c. in Dublin. A publicity pamphlet for the book printed sections of favourable reviews by

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[161] Frederick O'Dwyer, 'Building empires: architecture, politics and the Board of Works 1760 – 1860', *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies* 5 (2002): 108 - 175

[162] Following a series of complaints from various Boards of Guardians about defects in the workmanship of the new workhouses led to two separate inquiries into Wilkinson's work in 1843 and in 1845, the year of publication of his monograph.

[163] Michael Gould, Ronald Cox, 'The railway stations of George Wilkinson', *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies*, 6 (2003), 182 - 201

[164] *Dictionary of Irish Architects: 1730 – 1940*, http://dia.ie/architects/view/4918/Wilkinson-George, accessed 11/08/11

many of the authoritative journals, including the *Archaeological Journal* and *The Gentleman's Magazine*, as well as several newspapers, including *The Freeman's Journal* and *Saunder's Newsletter*.[165]

Wilkinson's text differs from the others examined here, with its purely scientific focus on the objects under discussion, rather than creating a narrative of architectural or cultural superiority for a particular location. According to the *Archaeological Journal*, 'he appears to avoid reference to historical records, if indeed there are any upon which reliance can satisfactorily be placed, and grounds his conclusions upon the architectural character displayed in these monuments.' The *Freeman's Journal* reiterated this, and stated that 'the work now before us may be considered as a vast, but methodised mass of practical results obtained by Mr. Wilkinson.'[166]

Wilkinson's text is divided into three sections – a general introduction to the geology of Ireland, a section on the ancient architecture of Ireland, and the final part comprising a detailed description of the geology of each of the Irish counties, with examples of buildings in different stones. A table of experiments on the different building stones in Ireland forms an appendix. For Wilkinson, the study of architectural antiquities together with geology allowed the architect to study the nature and durability of different building stones, as they had survived the centuries since they had been first erected: 'the study of the Ancient Architecture of the country is therefore necessary, being the best means of acquiring a knowledge of a very important character of the various rocks with regard to their durability under exposure to the atmosphere'.[167] Likewise, the antiquarian, in Wilkinson's view, needed the knowledge of the geologist, in order to understand building techniques and how the materials employed had been used and had weathered.[168] Wilkinson asserted that the antiquary who relied on historical records alone was likely to fall into error, but 'the practised architect, the similarity

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[165] Publication notice heralding the publication of *Practical Geology and Ancient Architecture of Ireland*, RIA Windele MSS 12 C 1/183

[166] Publication notice heralding the publication of *Practical Geology and Ancient Architecture of Ireland*, RIA Windele MSS 12 C 1/183

[167] George Wilkinson, *Practical Geology and Ancient Architecture of Ireland*, (London: John Murray, Albermarle Street; William Curry Jun. and Co., Dublin, 1845), 45

[168] Wilkinson, 46

of constructive arrangement of two distant buildings frequently affords conclusive evidence of the period of their coeval construction.'[169]

Wilkinson noted that much destruction to ancient buildings had been carried out in the name of despoliation, for example squared stones taken from the structures, and limestone taken to be burned for lime. Wilkinson's text is informed by the primacy of personal investigation and inductive reasoning in the writing of historical narratives, and in the primacy of the proof of the monument or architectural remains, rather than secondary historical narratives. He argued for their preservation, stating that 'there are characters in the architecture of the past ages which, in a chronological point of view, have the force of language.'[170] The illustrations in the text reinforce the prime importance of the monument rather than manuscript or secondary sources in Wilkinson's methodology. The copious illustrations were largely carried out by a team of commissioned artists. These included Edward Hassell, a British painter and secretary of the Royal Society of British Artists, who was responsible for elaborate plates, often of Gothic interiors, such as that of a group of raggedly-dressed figures, praying among the broken tombstones and debris of the ruined Ballintubber Abbey. Other contributors include the Portlaoise-born Kivas Tully and Wexford-based John Kelly, both architects.[171] The NLI Wilkinson Collection reveals much about the careful and thorough investigations of Tully and Kelly: many of their drawings are heavily annotated with detailed measurements and notes on the monuments, and are supplemented with further close studies of individual details, such as bases, corbels and window tracery.[172] The studies by Kelly of Muckross friary and Dunbrody Abbey, and by Tully, of Killaloe Cathedral and Kilmallock Dominican friary, are fine examples relating to Irish Gothic architecture. (Fig 3.8, Fig. 3.9, Fig.

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[169] Wilkinson, 46

[170] Wilkinson, 47

[171] The DIA ascribes the works in the Wilkinson collection to John Kelly, builder, of Gorey, Co. Wexford who was active in the 1850s and 1860s. *Dictionary of Irish Architects 1720 – 1940*, http://dia.ie/architects/view/4619/KELLY-JOHN[4]* (Accessed 18/08/11).Kivas Tully (1820 – 1905), Laois-born architect whose practice was based largely in Limerick, and from 1844, in Toronto. Tully worked with Wilkinson during his time with the Poor Law Commissioners. *Dictionary of Irish Architects 1720 – 1940*, http://dia.ie/architects/view/5394/tully-kivas, (Accessed 18/08/11)

[172] George Wilkinson Collection, 1842 – 1849, NLI, AD 3588

3.10, Fig. 3.11, Fig. 3.12, Fig. 3.13, Fig. 3.14, Fig. 3.15. Fig. 3.16 a & b, Fig. 3.17 a & b)

Wilkinson began his account of ancient Irish architecture with a description of Neolithic structures, and included an overview of the progress of architecture both in Europe and in Ireland. Writing about the situation in Ireland, he stated that due to its geographical isolation from the rest of Europe, it had a degree of cultural independence. He ascribed the development of structures such as the round towers to the political weaknesses of the country, in comparison to England's contemporary situation, which necessitated the construction of defensive structures as part of ecclesiastical settlements.[173] An illustrated table giving the name, county, present state and height of the tower, and particulars of construction and materials used, is included.

In his description of the early stone-roofed churches, Wilkinson described the style as 'purely Norman', giving the elevations, plan and section of Killaloe as an example. The cell under the roof is given as an architectural feature unique to Irish buildings. Cormac's Chapel, likewise, is described as presenting 'very fine examples of elaborate Norman architecture.'[174] Certain features, such as the doorway of Killeshin Church in Co. Carlow is described as being in 'a style of architecture which in its minor details is almost peculiar to Ireland, being evidently a very early kind of imitation of the Norman or Lombard structures.' This is given as a trait of Norman architecture more generally, in that 'it differs in almost every county where it has been introduced, in each of which a distinct style has originated, varying in details from each other, but all displaying the same leading features and common origin - from the Lombard or Byzantine structures.'[175] St. Doulough's Church is described as the last of the stone-roofed churches, until the 'period when the pointed arch began to prevail.'[176]

In his account of the introduction of Gothic architecture to Ireland, Wilkinson does not present it as an abrupt cultural change, or as supplanting a native building tradition. The introduction of Gothic is unceremoniously described

[173] Wilkinson, 67
[174] Wilkinson, 96
[175] Wilkinson ,97
[176] Wilkinson, 97

as 'Of a style succeeding the Norman early pointed architecture, the Abbey of Timoleague presents a simple and interesting example.'[177] The cathedrals of St. Patrick's and Christchurch in Dublin are mentioned as 'interesting remains in the Norman transition and early pointed style of architecture', and the cathedrals of Cashel and Kilkenny are noted as good examples of the 'early pointed style.'[178] The abbeys of Jerpoint, Boyle and Ballintubber are described as buildings in the Norman style, which display styles peculiar to the Norman architecture of Ireland, and the progressive change to the early pointed architecture, as well as what Wilkinson felt were excellent examples of constructive masonry.

His descriptions of Irish Gothic are largely based on the uses of building materials: his interpretation of Irish building in this way facilitated a unique appreciation of the importance of how building material and style interact to create a characteristic form of architecture in a region. His overall, positive view of Irish medieval ecclesiastical architecture was that it was 'admirably adapted to the climate of the country and its geological character.'[179]

As noted in several of the reviews, Wilkinson's style of writing is concise and scientific, and his account of the development of architectural style in Ireland is quite unique, in that it does not take into account any human agency. Rather, he presented the styles as developing almost as forces with their own internal logic and pattern. His work also completely bypasses the cultural politics of figures such as Bell, Beaufort, and even Petrie, and does not connect advancement in style with any political condition, maintaining a purely formalist approach throughout. For example, Wilkinson described the rebuilding of churches in different styles thus: 'When, from the enlargement of the building, the increase of light, or other causes, any change had to be made, the architecture of the building is largely superseded for the new or prevailing style.'[180] He almost completely eschews the debates on stylistic origins, so characteristic of the work of many of his contemporaries.

In a concluding note in this section, Wilkinsons commented that medieval Irish ecclesiastical architecture, while not as splendid as examples in England or on

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[177] Ibid., 109
[178] Ibid., 105
[179] Ibid., 149
[180] Wilkinson,

the Continent, should be used by contemporary architects as models for new building projects, rather than continually referring to what he felt were less suitable building types.

George Petrie: *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland anterior to the Anglo-Norman invasion, comprising an essay on the origin and uses of the round towers of Ireland* (1845)

George Petrie (1790 – 1866) is, without a doubt, the nineteenth-century Irish antiquary whose work has received the most contemporary critical attention.[181] He was among the most highly-regarded antiquarians of his peers: William Wilde dedicated his 1849 book on the Boyne valley to Petrie, 'whose learning and critical research have placed the archaeology of this country on a philosophic basis, and by whose pencil its scenery and antiquities have been so happily illustrated.'[182] His various works on Irish architecture were cited as the standard works in reviews into the closing years of the nineteenth century.

Petrie's scholarly interests included Irish music, language and archaeology. A professional artist, he was closely involved in high-quality magazines such as the *Dublin Penny Journal* and the *Irish Penny Journal*, and in major programmes of research such as the Irish Ordnance Survey which commenced in 1824. Petrie was a three-time recipient of the RIA's gold medal for essays on Irish architecture: on round towers, on early Irish ecclesiastical architecture, and on Irish military architecture.[183]

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[181] Recent work on Petrie's antiquarian scholarship includes Marian Bleeke, 'George Petrie, the Ordnance Survey and Nineteenth-Century Constructions of the Irish Past', in Janet Marquardt and Alyce A Jordan, *Medieval Art and Architecture after the Middle Ages*, (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2009), Edel Bhreathnach, 'In retrospect: Introduction to George Petrie's 'On the History and Antiquities of Tara Hill', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, section C*, 106 (2006), pp. 409 – 416. In 2004, the Crawford Gallery in Cork held an exhibition of Petrie's work, and published a book of critical essays on his life and scholarship. *George Petrie (1790 – 1866): the rediscovery of Ireland's past, Exhibition curator and editor, Peter Murray, with essays by Joep Leerssen and Tom Dunne*, (Kinsale, Co. Cork: Gandon Editions for the Crawford Municipal Art Gallery, 2004)

[182] William R. Wilde, *The Beauties of the Boyne, and its tributary, the Blackwater*, (Dublin: J. McGlashan, 1849)

[183] Full biographical note for George Petrie available at David Cooper. "Petrie , George ". *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. (Eds.)James Mcguire, James Quinn. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2009.<http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a7300>

While Petrie's 1845 *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland* does not deal specifically with Gothic architecture, it has been included here as a seminal text which had a great impact on the discourses of Irish architecture and culture following its publication. Furthermore, while Gothic is not its prime focus, it is referred to occasionally and incidentally throughout the text. As in the case of Beaufort's long essay on the ancient architecture of Ireland, Petrie's text has been examined here in order to assess the value system which informs its narrative and structural logic, and the relationship within the narrative between cultural and political change.

The main focus of Petrie's dense text is the round towers of Ireland, the origins of which many authors had given their various opinions. William Stokes, in his memoir of Petrie, recounted the different factions and controversies surrounding the monuments, most notably the Dublin antiquaries' condemnation of the approach of the South Munster Antiquarian Society, which he described as examination by 'pickaxe and crowbar.'[184] Petrie's essay was awarded the Cunningham Prize by the RIA in 1830, in response to an essay competition with the unwieldy title, 'On the Round Towers of Ireland, in which it is expected that the characteristic architectural peculiarities belonging to all those ancient buildings now existing shall be noticed, and the uncertainty in which their origin and uses are involved be satisfactorily removed'.[185] Stokes pointed out the irony of the Academy's proposal of such a competition, when Louisa Beaufort's essay was awarded a gold medal and a prize of £50, which concluded that the towers were clear evidence of the Persian origins of the Irish Celts.[186] He also noted that Petrie himself proposed the competition, having been elected to the Council in 1830, and was evidently desirous of addressing the conflicting opinions on the subject.[187]

Stokes described Petrie's methodology in carrying out antiquarian research: in complete contrast to Bell and Beaufort, he did not rely on any received opinion,

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[184] William Stokes, *The life and labours in art and archaeology of George Petrie*, (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1868), 143

[185] 'An Historical Account of the Cunningham Fund', 406 - 419

[186] 'An Historical Account of the Cunningham Fund', Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy (1836 – 1869), Vol. 7, (1857 – 1861), 415, Stokes, *Life and Labours of George Petrie*, 146

[187] Stokes, 146. Stokes noted that the third prize was given to an essay which argued for the pagan origin of the round towers, which he took as indicating some indecision on the part of the council.

and based his arguments and conclusions on the observation and comparative analysis of the monuments under investigation and personal examination of manuscript sources. He also critically reviewed the extant scholarship on the subject, a task which, according to Stokes, 'required the constant exercise of a calm and philosophic spirit.'[188] In his examination of manuscript sources in Irish libraries as well as those in Oxford, Cambridge and the British Museum, he had the assistance of the well-known scholars, John O'Donovan and Eugene O'Curry, as well as that of James Henthorn Todd and William Reeves.[189] These methods of inductive reasoning based on comparative study and the personal investigation of manuscripts meant that, in Stokes' words, 'for the first time archaeological science in its full meaning was used to illustrate the history of our national monuments.'[190] Indeed, many of Petrie's conclusions on the round towers remain current in contemporary scholarship – as bell towers, as places of refuge and surveillance, and as safe-houses for the treasures of a monastery in times of danger.[191] Like Wilkinson, the language of Petrie's *Ecclesiastical Architecture* reflects his 'scientific' approach, eschewing descriptive passages for a simple, factual style, peppered throughout with numbered lists of conclusions. Antiquarian illustrations throughout nineteenth-century publications focused on graphically representing specific sections of buildings relating to the text. This approach was in contrast with the atmospheric, evocative images such as the illustration of St. Audoen's Church in Bell's earlier essay, and reflected the trend towards scientific objectivity, as opposed to more romantic and often exaggerated interpretations of Irish culture.[192] The vast majority of the illustrations in Petrie's text are examples of this type of scientific representation, with few more picaresque passages. His stark,

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[188] Stokes, 149

[189] John O'Donovan (Seán Ó Donnabháin), (1806 – 61), Irish scholar, Eugene O'Curry (Eoghan Ó Comhraí) (1794 – 1862), Irish scholar, William Reeves, (1815 – 92), Church of Ireland bishop, antiquary and librarian, James Henthorn Todd, (1805 – 69), librarian and scholar.

[190] Stokes, 150

[191] Roger Stalley, 'Sex, symbol and myth: some observations on the Irish round towers' in *From Ireland Coming:* Irish art from the early Christian to the late Gothic period and its European context, ed., C. Hourihane (Princeton, N.J. : Index of Christian Art, Dept. of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University in association with Princeton University Press, c2001.

[192] Máirín Ní Cheallaigh, 'Seeing past remains: drawings, maps and photographs in Irish nineteenth-century antiquarian journals', paper delivered at the 'Visualising Antiquarianism in Ireland' symposium, UCD Humanities Institute of Ireland in partnership with UCD John Hume Institute for Global Irish Studies, 11 September 2009.

unadorned illustration of the eastern window at Gallarus Oratory is a good representative example, which isolates the feature being represented rather than creating a picturesque vista. (Fig. 3.18)

In his *Life* of Petrie, Stokes reproduced a letter which Petrie had sent to Thomas Newenham Deane, the architect in charge of the 1860s restoration of Tuam Cathedral. This letter commended Deane's approach to the restoration, and his approach taken to both the main body of the building, and the preservation of earlier structures on the site.

While Petrie does not express an antipathy towards the later medieval style, it is clear that he values the earlier remains more highly, and that this higher value is linked to a perceived relationship between stylistic form and a former state of greater cultural or political independence. On Deane's choice regarding the body of the cathedral, he wrote that 'you have most judiciously chosen for this structure that earliest style of our Gothic or pointed architecture, which, in its forms and details, is the most chaste and harmonious'.[193] However, following this, he wrote 'but I am particularly delighted to find, that with a patriotic feeling and highly cultivated taste, you have made it an essential point to preserve, in all its remaining entirety, the beautiful little chancel of the ancient church'. The language which Petrie used to describe the Hiberno-Romanesque chancel arch linked it to a broader debate on preservation and national culture:

> (T)he destruction, or even partial preservation, or the want of judgement in the mode of preservation, of such an interesting and, as I may truly say, unique historical relic of ancient Irish architectural art, would give deep pain to all existing cultivated and patriotic minds [...] and would surely be regarded by future generations of such minds as a barbarism disgraceful to our times.[194]

In considering its style, Petrie wrote that 'though it exhibits in a general way the characteristics of the Romanesque or Anglo-Norman style, its ornamentation is essentially native, or that designated by antiquaries by the term *Opus*

[193] Stokes, 409
[194] Stokes, 409

Hibernicum'.[195] Petrie does not place the two architectural styles in opposition to one another, but the greater focus, and language used, places the earlier work within a more prominent position in his conception of Irish medieval architecture. In his descriptions of a native tradition of building, he did not link this to concepts of ethnicity, or native genius, and did refer to the importance of communication between Ireland and Europe. On the subject of the introduction of lime cement in Ireland, he asked 'is it probable that they would remain ignorant of the use of lime cement in their religious edifices, a knowledge which must necessarily have been imparted to them by the crowds of foreign ecclesiastics, Egyptian, Roman, Italian, French, British and Saxon, who flocked to Ireland as a place of refuge in the fifth and sixth centuries'.[196] He also included several comparisons in building technique with those of Saxon origin, again focusing on cultural exchange rather than an isolated native tradition: 'the style of masonry, now known among architectural antiquaries by the appellation of 'long and short', and which Mr. Rickman was the first to discover to be a characteristic feature of the Anglo-Saxon churches, is also very generally found in the ancient churches of Ireland'.[197] At the end of his chapter on the various early Irish ecclesiastical structures, he reasoned that he had not been able to include a more extensive comparative study with English architecture because he had not the opportunity to make as extensive a study of those monuments in order to do so.

Petrie's accounts of early Irish ecclesiastical structures also describe their simplicity and austerity as positive, unique attributes, an approach which was very different to the negative accounts of early Irish building practices which existed elsewhere. Indeed, Petrie drew a comparison with European Gothic architecture, in which the early Irish work is praised for its purity and simplicity, in comparison to Gothic ostentation:

> It is true that these remains will be found to be of a very simple and unartificial character, and to exhibit nothing of that architectural splendour so gratifying to the taste which characterises the Christian edifices of

[195] Stokes, 409
[196] Petrie, *The ecclesiastical architecture of Ireland*, 137
[197] Petrie, *The ecclesiastical architecture of Ireland*, 188

> Europe erected in the later days of ecclesiastical power...these simple memorials of a Christian antiquity, rarely to be found outside our own *insula sacra*, and which, in their grave simplicity, exhibit a characteristic absence of meretricious grandeur, typical of the primitive ages of the Christian Church, can scarcely fail to excite a deep and reverential interest in the minds of Christians generally, and still more of those who justly take a pride in such venerable remains of their past history'.[198]

While this cultural narrative is far from apolitical, it would over-simplify the political positions of figures like Petrie and Stokes to claim that this was a 'separatist' approach – as succinctly expressed by Stokes in his introduction to the work:

> (I)t becomes plain to all who desire the prosperity of the United Kingdom, that he who showed, on the one hand, what is true, great and commendable in Irish history, and, on the other, what is false and productive only of national enmity, must be held as a benefactor to the common country, and an apostle in the cause of peace and progress.[199]

Stokes, in his introduction, also urged a government-sponsored programme of publication from early Irish manuscript sources, as a gesture which would promote the shared understanding and good relations between England and Ireland.[200] In other letters, Petrie also linked his conception of 'national' or 'patriotic' pride in monuments to a collective responsibility for their preservation, rather than as part of a broader argument for political independence. As Elizabeth Crooke has explored in her work, it is necessary to distinguish between the discourse around culture, as part of a celebration of national cultural achievement, and that which was expressly linked to a political movement. As Crooke argued, while antiquarian scholarship must be considered within its political context, political intent varied widely in this period, and what can be viewed as cultural revivalism must be distinguished from a politicised cultural nationalism.'[201]

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[198] Petrie, 125
[199] Stokes, vi
[200] Stokes, viii
[201] Crooke, 25

Rev. John Louis Petit, "On the Abbeys of Ireland", RIBA address, 1863

The development of historical, antiquarian and historical research in Ireland throughout the nineteenth century was inextricably linked to the transforming discipline of medievalist research in England, and across the Continent. The traffic and exchange between models and practices of research form a central part of this examination of architectural historiography, as well as the extent to which a discourse on Irish architecture existed or was developed outside Ireland, and its impact on the discourse within Ireland and Irish institutions.

In a short, illustrated monograph on Holy Cross Abbey, published in the same year as Samuel Patrick Close's magnificent series of drawings on the building, the author, M.E.C., cited a pamphlet by the Rev. John Louis Petit, titled 'On the Abbeys of Ireland' as an important source for his own work.[202] Petit's pamphlet comprises the text of a lecture which he read at the ordinary general meeting of RIBA in 1863.

This pamphlet is extremely interesting both as an example of a discourse on Irish Gothic architecture outside Ireland at this time, and, on account of its appendix, which includes a series of responses from leading members of the architectural profession, responding to the issues in the scholarship of medieval architecture.[203]

The lecture on Irish architecture was written by Petit (1801 – 1868), the Lancashire-born architectural historian and watercolourist. Petit published a number of works on architectural history, often based on his travels, including *Remarks on Church Architecture* (1841), following an extensive tour of the Continent, and *Architectural Studies in France*, Petit's principal work, which appeared in 1854. A clergyman, he was a founder member of the British Archaeological Institute in 1844, he was elected as a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and was an honorary member of the Institute of British Architects. The

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[202] M.E.C., *A Short Account of Holy Cross Abbey*, Dublin: Edward Ponsonby 116 Grafton Street, 1868, 4. I have been unable to find any further biographical material on this author or on this work and its reception.

[203] John Louis Petit, *On the Abbeys of Ireland: Read at the Ordinary General Meeting of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, March 23, 1863 (n.p., n.d.)

pamphlet discussed here was published in the year of his death. He died in Lichfield, having caught a cold while sketching.[204]

Petit's essay takes the form of a travelogue. He stated that he had planned his trip along a route which would be accessible to others, but which was somewhat more adventurous than the standard tourist route.[205] The vast majority of buildings described are Gothic monastic structures, rather than the focus on earlier work in much contemporary scholarship. Highlighting the reciprocal nature of the traffic in antiquarian texts, and the textual nature of the antiquarian experience, Petit noted that he had consulted Grose's *Antiquities of Ireland* prior to undertaking his tour of the country. He remarked that he was surprised by the congruity between the illustrations in Grose and the state of the buildings as he viewed them, meeting with few disappointments.[206]

Opening statements on the nature of Irish medieval architecture included the similarity and 'uniformity' of Irish buildings, a lack of architectural detail ('the architect...will not go to Ireland to collect specimens of detail, for the churches have little or no richness of ornament'), which was attributed to the hardness of the stone being worked in the country and the absence of the apse in Irish medieval architecture. His description of the tracery patterns prevalent in the country was less than enthusiastic: 'there is one prevailing pattern of intersecting mullions which is often worked without foliations, and has a somewhat meagre look', although he admitted that some more interesting examples existed.[207] More positive notes included the stepped battlements on parapets, the tall, tapering towers on friary buildings, the interesting rooms positioned above chancels in some cases, and the collections of piscinae, sedilia, niches and tombs within the churches. Petit disregarded the medieval buildings still in use in his essay, as he

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[204] Guy Braithwaite, 'Petit, John Louis (1801–1868)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online ed., ed. Lawrence Goldman, Oxford: OUP, , http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22037 accessed 01/06/11

[205] Petit's journey is also an account of antiquarian views from train routes throughout the country at this time, emphasising the importance of improved infrastructure for tourists in Ireland. Irene Furlong has examined the impact of improved communications and infrastructure in her work, *Irish Tourism, 1880 – 1980*, (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2009)

[206] John Louis Petit, *On the Abbeys of Ireland: Read at the Ordinary General Meeting of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, March 23, 1863 (n.p., n.d.), 191

[207] Petit, 192

considered them to be 'of no interest whatever, being either entirely modern, or so modernised as to lose every trace of their former aspect.'[208]

Another positive value ascribed to Irish architecture by Petit was the fact that Cistercian architectural style in its 'pure' form could still be viewed in Ireland. The long nave, low tower, short choir or chancel, north and south transepts with recesses for altars, an arrangement which, in his view, was 'in England nearly lost after the close of the twelfth century.'[209] The simplicity of design is praised throughout, as is the picturesque situation of many of the monastic remains, reflecting his artistic interests. Petit aimed to discuss the buildings 'which lie out of the general beat', and therefore did not include the cathedrals at Dublin, Kilkenny and Cashel. The monuments described are largely monastic settlements, with an emphasis on Cistercian monasteries. Petit's tour took him from St. Doulough's Church, Malahide (Fig. 3.19), through Tipperary and Kilkenny, Waterford, Limerick, Galway, Athlone and Mayo. His narrative includes buildings often overlooked by authors taking more conventional routes – Athassel abbey and the remains of the Dominician abbey in the town of Cashel, both in Co. Tipperary, Athenry Abbey in Co. Galway (Fig. 3.20), among many others.

Throughout, Petit described the Irish monuments in the language of continental architectural history, placing Irish architecture within this framework, and inevitably, therefore, creating a system of comparison between Irish work and that in other counties. Describing Holy Cross Abbey, in Co. Tipperary, for example, he noted that 'the remains are rather a late Gothic, very similar to the French Flamboyant', and on a tomb or sedilia, that it had 'a little of the character of late perpendicular, (the true perpendicular does not, I think, appear in Ireland).'[210] The cathedral at Killaloe is described as a 'pure English cross church, with a massive central tower', which had 'not suffered very much from restoration' – Petit visited the cathedral before the major series of renovations carried out by James Franklin Fuller in the late 1880s.[211] The carved Hiberno-Romanesque doorway at Killaloe is described as being 'a Norman arch of several orders.' Petit's framework for

[208] Petit, 192
[209] Petit, 192
[210] Petit, 193
[211] Petit, 197

discussing and describing Irish medieval architecture is informed by the concept of an absolute standard, against which regional varieties could be measured. Few of the abbeys receive more than a cursory description, with a note on the main features and present condition. Petit creates comparisons with English buildings throughout the text: Holy Cross Abbey is compared with a church in Sussex, and Jerpoint Abbey is compared with Buildwas Abbey in Shropshire. Features unique to Irish architecture, as observed by Petit, are noted, including the projecting bracket which tapers down to a point, terminating the lower chamfered order of an arch, as seen at Adare Franciscan friary: 'this bracket I take to be one of the peculiarities of Irish Gothic.'[212] The buildings visited by Petit are described in detail, but he did not attempt to create a narrative of chronological development in text, and structured according to his route, rather than in order of period or style.

In his assessment of the fabric of the buildings, Petit disagreed on certain points with the standard texts on Irish architectural history. Writing about St. Doulough's Church, he noted that while the guidebooks and secondary sources he had consulted ascribe to it a very great antiquity, 'I did not see any architectural features earlier than the fourteenth century.'[213] Throughout, Petit refers to issues of reconstruction and conservation: he was an advocate of careful intervention, and had been involved in controversies surrounding proposed alterations to medieval buildings in England, most notably George Gilbert Scott's proposed alterations to St. Mary's, Stafford in 1841. He passed a negative comment on the restoration works at Cong Abbey, and noted that the chancel at a church in Kilcooley had been rebuilt in the 'worst modern Gothic.'[214] On Limerick cathedral, he wrote that 'much restoration, as I suppose we must call it, is going on, and the interest becomes proportionably decreased.'[215]Grose is the only secondary text which Petit referred to – he admitted that he was not a scholar of Irish history, and that a full essay on Irish monastic architecture should take into account the different monastic orders and their individual histories.

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[212] Petit, 196
[213] Petit, 193
[214] Petit, 194
[215] Petit, 196

Petit illustrated his text with finely-drawn details of individual buildings (Fig. 3.21), and looser, more atmospheric renderings of buildings, such as the abbeys at Jerpoint, Clonmines and Boyle (Fig. 3.22, Fig. 3.23). Several plans of monastic buildings, including Quin Abbey in Co. Clare, drawn by the architect Gordon Macdonald Hills, whose own writing on Irish medieval architecture is examined in the next chapter, are also included in Petit's text.

Petit's pamphlet is especially valuable as a document in the study of the historiography of Irish medieval architecture as it reproduces the debate which took place following his presentation. Respondents to Petit's remarks included the chairman, Mr. Tite, M.P., Professor Donaldson, Mr. Gordon Macdonald Hills, Mr. Arthur Ashpitel, George Edmund Street and John P. Seddon. Tite, the President of the Institute, gave the opinion that Irish medieval architecture was 'extremely rude, and of a very peculiar type', and that his own experience of the cloister at Muckross Abbey led him to believe in a stronger Italian rather than English influence on Irish design.[216] Professor Donaldson referred to a paper which he had given on Irish building some years ago, reflecting a continuing interest in Irish antiquities at the Institute, made some general points on Irish medieval building. He stated that although Ireland had preceded England in conversion to Christianity, it was always less advanced in architectural terms, and that early Irish Gothic could be regarded as a debasement of the Norman or pre-Norman periods, rather than the more refined work of England and France. Like Petit, and Wilkinson, Donaldson gave the geology of the country, with its hard marbles and stones, as a reason for this less decorated style. He gave the examples of Boyle Abbey and the Dominican friary of St. Saviour in Kilmallock as 'good general types of the Abbeys of Ireland.'[217] Donaldson had a poor opinion of architectural scholarship in Ireland; in his opinion, the antiquities of the country had not yet been subject to a scientific study, and the absence of 'real theoretical progress', such as Edmund Sharpe had achieved in his study of the Abbeys of Yorkshire, and noted that he had urged his friend, Mr. Deane (presumably Thomas Newenham Deane), to encourage young architects in the study of Irish architectural

[216] Petit, 203
[217] Petit, 203

antiquities.[218] Gordon Macdonald Hills, in particular, was well-placed to respond to Petit's paper, and his remarks essentially took the form of an extremely informed second paper on the subject of Irish Gothic architecture. Hills' contribution to the discussion demonstrated his own familiarity with Irish medieval architectural sites, which he had visited ten years previously. He corrected Petit on a point relating to the orientation of the domestic buildings and water supply of Irish monasteries, and he supplied detailed information on the dates of specific buildings, and on the different monastic orders and their buildings. Adding to Petit's brief comments on Killaloe, Hills expanded on this point, drawing comparisons between the smaller, twelfth-century chapels on the Rock of Cashel and at Killaloe and the Gothic cathedrals which were built so closely beside the earlier structures. Hill highlighted both the coming of the English, bringing a new wave of architectural influence, as well as the foundation of Mellifont and the introduction of the Cistercian order in Ireland, as the keys of architectural change. In this analysis, he clearly identified Gothic with English, as supplanting an earlier form of building.[219] Hills also corrected Petit on several points on the Hills' own plans, which Petit had used to illustrate his lecture, noting aspects which had been added subsequent to the dissolution and suppression of the monasteries. He spoke extensively on the position of towers in both monastic and parochial buildings, noting subsequent alterations and a keen awareness of the palimpsetisic nature of Irish medieval building.

George Edmund Street, at the time almost unrivalled in his knowledge of Gothic architecture, provided a detailed commentary on Petit's paper. Like Hills, he emphasised the national associations of particular building styles, creating a narrative of architectural and political developments which did not allow for the concept of a 'native' Irish Gothic style; for example, he described the cathedral of St. Canice in Kilkenny 'from first to last an English church, except that the Irish architects of later day had added the parapets.' Cashel cathedral was also described as being in a 'distinctly English style', with Cormac's Chapel 'a famous

[218] Petit, 203
[219] Petit, 205

example of Romanesque work of distinctly national and un-English character.'[220] He summarised that English architects had introduced the style following the invasion, and that 'native architects copied the English work, but they did this with very little variety or originality.'[221] In conclusion, he gave the opinion that 'there could be no doubt that it was to England they were indebted for most of these churches, and that the share due to the Irish school of architecture was very insignificant.'[222] The Honorary Secretary, John P. Seddon, contributed to the discussion, stating that the Italian influence on Irish medieval architecture had been overstated, and that, in his opinion, the Welsh influence was greater, which in turn, was influenced by English Gothic architecture.[223]

This debate on Irish medieval architecture and its stylistic origins and merits is an example of Irish culture being discussed on an international stage, and being framed very much within both an international frame of reference, and one which increasingly aligned specific cultural achievements with political boundaries and national entities. Despite the high professional status of those taking part in this debate, and the high status of its location, it does not seem to have been integrated into a canon of scholarship on the subject within Ireland, and apart from the cursory mention in the short book on Holycross mentioned above, does not reappear in subsequent scholarly texts on Irish medieval architecture.

Samuel Patrick Close, *Holy Cross Abbey, Co. Tipperary: a series of measured drawings of the church* (1868)

Samuel Patrick Close (1842 – 1925) was born at Kilmaine rectory, in Co. Mayo. He was educated at a private school in Dublin, and was intended for a military career, which did not come to pass due to the loss of an eye in an accident. Instead, he entered the Belfast-based firm of Lanyon, Lynn and Lanyon as an apprentice at the age of twenty. His skill as a draughtsman earned him the position of key draughtsman for the firm's designs as published in architectural periodicals, and in 1868 he won the Fitzgerald Silver Medal, awarded by the RIAI for the best

[220] Petit, 207
[221] Petit, 207
[222] Petit, 208
[223] Petit, 208

measured drawings of Irish ecclesiastical remains. The fruits of this series of works formed the basis for his slim volume published in 1868, *Holy Cross Abbey, Co. Tipperary: A Series of Measured Drawings with Descriptive Letterpress*.[224] The volume, with thirteen sheets of large-format lithographs drawn on stone by Close, was printed by the Belfast firm of Marcus Ward & Co, and is dedicated to a Richard Mills, Esq.[225] Subscribers to Close's work included many leading Irish figures in architecture and antiquarianism, such as Thomas Drew and the Earl of Dunraven, but also several important English architects, such as William Butterfield and George Edmund Street. As Larmour pointed out, studies of individual buildings were important antiquarian records, but were also used as important source books by Gothic Revivalists.[226] The works carried out by Close throughout his career, both with architectural partnerships and his own private practice, have been discussed by Paul Larmour; the focus in this study is to examine his contribution to the history of late medieval Irish ecclesiastical architecture, through a close reading of his text on Holy Cross Abbey.

Close opened his study of the building with references to key works on the subject, including *Monasticon Hibernicon*. His style throughout is scientific, analytical and, like Wilkinson, employed unadorned scientific language. The abbey is described principally using Rickman's terminology. Particular aspects of the building such as window tracery are used as the key to assigning date and period, reflecting the importance of English theorists of Gothic such as Edmund Sharpe, whose influential texts on English ecclesiastical architecture, window tracery and Cistercian architecture were published between 1848 and 1874.[227] The

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[224] Samuel Patrick Close, *Holy Cross Abbey, Co. Tipperary: A Series of Measured Drawings of the Church; with descriptive letterpress*, (Belfast: Marcus Ward & Co., 1868)

[225] Paul Larmour, 'A Worthy Victorian Architect', *Perspective: the Journal of the Royal Society of Ulster Architects*, (May/June 1998), 72 – 75
Richard Mills was obviously an important figure to Close, as his son, also an architect, was named Richard Mills Close (1880 – 1949)

[226] Larmour, 'A Worthy Victorian Architect', 72

[227] Edmund Sharpe (1809 – 1877), architect and engineer. Sharpe published several major books on medieval architecture, including *Decorated Windows: a Series of Illustrations of the Window Tracery of the Decorated Style* (1849), *The Seven Periods of Architecture* (1851), and *The Architecture of the Cistercians* (1874). He was a member of the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. Sharpe was a prolific church architect, involved in civic improvements and foundry owner and director. He was an influential scholar on medieval architecture, and published several important works on the subject, including his *Architectural Parallels: or The Progress of Ecclesiastical*

comprehensive description given by Close essentially forms a textual counterpoint to his detailed measured drawings of the building, reflecting the endeavour, throughout the nineteenth century, to create a descriptive language for architecture which would have the same objective accuracy as a visual image. Close's drawings are to scale, with measurements throughout, and with new and old work clearly distinguished, through the use of a colour code (Fig. 3.26). Close included a plan of the ground floor, and an 'upper plan', which showed rooms over the transepts and chancel (Fig. 3. 25, Fig. 3.27), a section of the nave, with figures for scale (Fig. 3.28), longitudinal sections (Fig. 3.29), and a section looking east, delineating the magnificent reticulated tracery of the east window (Fig. 3.30). He also included a series of elevations from each aspect of the building. Moulding profiles, tracery patterns, window styles and individual carvings were included (Fig. 3.31), as well as several more evocative views, showing the massing of the building through a cloister arch (Fig. 3.32), or the abbey, seen from a distance, against the water (Fig. 3.33). Close did not offer any commentary on the position of the building within a narrative of Irish architectural history or development, and merely stated that 'although, for the most part, comparatively of the simplest character, and in many cases, fragmentary in their remains, the Monuments of Ireland possess a strongly marked individuality of character'.[228]
Close also contributed drawings to an article published by William Henry Lynn on the ruins of Dunluce Castle in Co. Antrim (Fig. 3.35).

Architecture in England during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries (1849), *Decorated Windows* (1849), *The Seven Periods of Architecture* (1851), *The Mouldings of the Six Periods of British Architecture* (1874), *The Architecture of the Cistercians* (1874) and several others, including many articles in learned periodicals. Sharpe was a distinguished and active member of the major learned societies of the period. F. M. O'Donoghue, 'Sharpe, Edmund (1809–1877)', rev. Geoffrey K. Brandwood, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25228, accessed 24 Aug 2011] Sharpe proposed an extension of Rickman's nomenclature for medieval architecture, supplanting his four periods with seven – Saxon, Norman, Transitional, Lancet, Geometrical, Curvilinear and Rectilinear.

[228] Close

James John Phillips, *St. Mary's of Grey-Abbey, Co. Down, as existing in the year AD 1874*

A further single-building monograph on Irish Gothic architecture was written and illustrated by James John Phillips (1841/42 – 1936), architect, draughtsman and watercolourist of Belfast, who contributed a number of articles on, and drawings of, Irish medieval architecture to the *Irish Builder*, and to meetings of architects and antiquarians.[229] His writing dealt with Irish Cistercian architecture and medieval military architecture in Ireland, and he published two monographs on St. Mary's of Grey-Abbey, Co. Down.[230] According to the report of the RSAI meeting held in Belfast in 1899, Phillips read the paper to members within the abbey itself.

The *Irish Builder* published an article on Phillips' work on Grey Abbey in October 1874, hailing it as 'a valuable contribution to the study and illustration of the architecture of the Cistercian order' (Fig. 3.36).[231] The author of this article displayed a clear understanding of the status of scholarship on Cistercian architecture being produced in Ireland and in other locations, as well as the politics of history-writing, and its reception by different social groups: "attention of late years has been directed to the architecture of the Cistercian and more than one British architect and architectural writer, but among the most recent and able illustrators of this class of buildings is Mr. Edmund Sharpe'.[232] The author continued that 'Roman Catholic opinion may not agree with some of the views expressed by Mr. Sharpe, or admit his deductions where religion is made to flash a side light, and account for the evolutions that may or may not be owing to its influence'.[233] The comparison with Sharpe is unsurprising, as Phillips himself drew

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[229] According to the reports of the Antiquary magazine in 1884, Phillips read a paper to the Royal Historical and Archaeological Society. Drawings by Phillips in the IB include Jerpoint Abbey, Kilkenny Cathedral and Inch Abbey, Downpatrick. *Dictionary of Irish Architects 1720 – 1940*, http://dia.ie/architects/view/4348/PHILLIPS-JAMESJOHN#tab_bibliography

[230] John James Phillips, *St. Mary's of Grey-Abbey, Co. Down, as existing in the year AD 1874*, (Belfast: published by the author, 6 Castleton Street, Belfast, 1874), and John James Phillips, *Greyabbey, Co. Down: a famous Cistercian monastery*, (Belfast: the author, 1899)

[231] 'The Architecture of the Cistercians', *The Irish Builder*, October 1, 1874

[232] *Irish Builder*, October 11, 1874 , 263

The background to Sharpe's engagement with architectural history, and epistemologies and taxonomies of architectural history and the study of form has been discussed in J.B. Bullen, 'The Romanesque Revival in Britain, 1800 – 1845: William Gunn, William Whewell and Edmund Sharpe', *Architectural History*, Vol. 47, (2004), 139 - 150

[233] *Irish Builder*, October 11, 1874 , 263

on his scholarship on English Cistercian architecture within the text as an important standard, and reference, for his own work.[234] The author of this article noted, somewhat archly, the lack of contention in general among the scholars of Cistercian art, in comparison to comparable antiquarian debates: 'we are concerned to see all scholarly architects and archaeologists, no matter of what school, taking up the subject of Cistercian architecture without prejudice, and honestly doing their best to illustrate all that remains to us of those grand old buildings.'[235]

Phillips was a contemporary of Samuel Patrick Close, whose help is acknowledged in the opening of the text, as well as William Reeves and Thomas Drew, among others. The Rev. Mackenzie Edward Charles Walcott (1821 – 1880) was acknowledged throughout as the single greatest influence on Phillips, who noted that his works on architectural history were, in his opinion, second only to those by Sharpe himself.[236] Walcott, an ecclesiologist, was the author of several historical accounts and guides to English cathedrals and other ecclesiastical buildings.[237]

While the overall format of Phillips' text is similar in format to that by Close, with a single-building focus and an emphasis on precise, measured illustrations, Phillips' text is clearly rooted within a more politicised narrative. The text began with a strong statement of the independence of the early Irish Christian church, and crucially, its independence from Rome. The assertion of an independent Irish church was a crucial and recurring element of the debate surrounding the legitimacy of the Church of Ireland, particularly following its disestablishment in the early 1870s: 'it had its own metropolitan government; a distinct liturgy with rites and ceremonies peculiar to itself; and, from the fact of its own previous eminence, held little or no communication with the head of the "Western Church", till the renowned St. Malachy, then Bishop of Down, undertook his memorable

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[234] Phillips, 9

[235] *Irish Builder*, October 11, 1874 , 263

[236] Phillips, 9

[237] W. P. Courtney, 'Walcott, Mackenzie Edward Charles (1821–1880)', rev. Triona Adams, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28431, accessed 24 Aug 2011]

journey to Rome'.[238] The legitimacy of the Anglo-Norman arrival in Ireland is also underscored by Phillips, who emphasised the papal bull issued to Henry II to allow intervention in a country 'divided by intestine strife. This shift in temporal power was allied by Phillips to a shift in architectural style: 'during this slowly-occurring transference of the country from Irish petty chieftancy *(sic)* to English sovereignty there was an accompanying, but much more rapid *architectural* transition from the then waning Hiberno-Romanesque to that "first pointed", or Early English style.'[239] Phillips stated that this 'extremely beautiful phase of architecture, very properly termed "Early English"' was adopted by 'native princes' from early in the thirteenth century, although they simultaneously resisted English rule: 'although refusing allegiance to the English monarch, adopted in their ecclesiastical structures the style then perfected in the invader's country'. This rhetoric, based on the assumption of a previously-existing distinctly national style and culture, also informs the statement that Early English architecture 'supplanted, almost to annihilation, the ancient Celtic characteristics of architecture.'[240] In Ulster, Phillips cited the important presence of John de Courcy as key to the introduction of Gothic styles of building in the region.

Phillips cited both secondary sources, such as the *Monasticon Hibernicon*, as well as reliable translations of primary sources, such as the Rev. William Reeves' translation of the Chronicon Mannice (a chronicle relating to the Isle of Man) in his text. Taxation records, topographical accounts and annals are used by Phillips to present a comprehensive account of the foundation and history of Grey Abbey, with sources often reproduced in full. The history of the dissolution of the monastery and its post-suppression history are also outlined by Phillips, again using evidence from manuscript sources, rather than secondary accounts. The 'common tradition' regarding the destruction of the monastery, according to Phillips, was to lay the blame at Cromwell's door, but he argued that the ruin had been effected by Sir Brian MacFelim O'Neill (the 'Vandalistic Celt') who destroyed much of the property in the area in response to Queen Elizabeth's granting of the

[238] Phillips, 5
[239] Phillips, 5
[240] Phillips, 5

locality to Sir Thomas Smith.[241] Phillips based this argument on the Montgomery Manuscripts, which he claimed could be trusted as 'reliable information', in contrast to the *Monasticon Hibernicon*, which he derided as unreliable.

The well-known history of the foundation of the Cistercian order in Ireland was included by Phillips, and he reproduced a section of Sharpe's own text relating to the progress of the order across Europe.[242] He noted that of the forty-one Cistercian monasteries and two Cistercian nunneries recorded by James Ware in Ireland, many remains were extant, but that these 'fragmentary but still noble ruins' had been neglected by architects and archaeologists, while they 'have had appreciative attention at the hand of the Art Student'.[243] Grey-Abbey is examined by Phillips as having all the characteristics of European Cistercian building, not least in its secluded water-side site and the uniformity of plan in the conventual buildings. Some idiosyncrasies in the church were noted. For example the aisleless nave was explained by Phillips as being due to the fact that it was based on a pre-existing 'Irish' building. Phillips referenced Thomas Drew's report on the ancient church of St. Nicholas, Carrickfergus, and his work on Grey-Abbey, in drawing this conclusion, noting Drew's assessment of the door and window openings in the north and south walls of the church as being 'more Scotorum' in their character, that is, closer to the position which they would have in an early Irish church.[244] These 'Scoti-Celtic' aspects of the work, which Phillips conjectured could be due to the presence of an earlier building, upon which the new monastic order 'engrafted their Cistercian abbey on it', could not be reinforced with documentary evidence.[245] The various Cistercian characteristics of the church were examined by Phillips, such as the presence of the night stair, and he described each aspect of the form, original use and present condition of the conventual buildings. The mason's marks found throughout the building were reproduced in scale, and compared with a series of marks collected by George Godwin, which was published

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[241] Phillips, 8

[242] Sharpe's account of the Cistercian order highlighted their 'manly independence' from Rome, and other degenerate and corrupt monastic orders, reflecting Phillips' opening passage on the essential independence of the early Irish church.

[243] Phillips, 9

[244] Phillips, 13

[245] Phillips, 14

These ideas are no longer accepted in contemporary scholarship.

in *Archaeologia* in 1843 (Fig. 3.37).[246] Illustrations of an encaustic tile and episcopal seal found at the site were included in Phillips' history of the abbey (Fig. 3.38). Phillips' plans of the site are similar to those produced by Close, using precise scale and a colour code to distinguish between ancient and modern work, reflecting their shared architectural backgrounds. Phillips also included one page of illustrations which brought together the plans of the Cistercian abbeys of Fountains, Rievaulx, Tintern, Beauport in France, Furness, Byland and Kirkstall, in order to demonstrate the 'general coincidence to the Cistercian ideal' (Fig. 3.39). Phillips' extensive illustrations revealed the breadth of his ability as a graphic artist, and ranged from the detailed delineation of carved details and moulding profiles (Fig. 3.40) and exacting sections through the abbey (Fig. 3.41), to expansive drawings which captured the picturesque potential of the ivy-clad ruin (3.42), and a birds-eye view, showing the arrangement of the church, conventual building within its landscape (3.43). A post-suppression history of the abbey is given as an appendix, with some letters sent to the author by various authorities assisting his research. In conclusion, Phillips commented on the enduring popularity of such a monument to four distinct groups: the artist, the picturesque tourist, the archaeologist and the modern architect. In this conclusion, Phillips does not reference a continuing religious significance of the monument for neither Roman Catholic nor Church of Ireland communities. This absence perhaps reflects both religious and political unrest following the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland, the increasing strength, both politically and economically, of Roman Catholic congregations, and the ambiguous position of religious ruins as antiquarian artefact or iconic religious heritage at this period. This ambiguity underlined much of the debate surrounding both the restoration of medieval churches in the period, and the drafting of legislation and protective measures for what could be considered 'national' or 'ancient' heritage.

Phillips' text is an example of the increasingly-popular single-monument illustrated monograph. Other notable authors of such publications include the

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[246] George Godwin (1813 – 1888), architect and third editor of the Builder magazine. G. B. Smith, Ruth Richardson, 'Godwin, George (1813–1888)', rev. Ruth Richardson, Robert Thorne, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10891, accessed 24 Aug 2011]

Cork-born architect Arthur Hill, who published monograph studies on Kilmakedar, Co. Kerry in 1870, on Ardfert Cathedral, in Co. Kerry in 1870 and on Cormac's Chapel in 1874.[247] His work reflects the increasing professionalism of the historical disciplines, with its scrupulous system of references and insistence on the reproduction of primary sources. Phillips' text is more ambiguous than that by Close, which had a very brief text and a strong emphasis on images. While the emphasis on primary sources, on architectural details and on measured visual representations in the work on Grey-Abbey place it within the developing 'scientific' school of architectural historiography, the expanded history of the abbey and of the early Church in Ireland, together with the exclusion of any acknowledgement of the contemporary religious significance of such building, reflects the growing awareness and anxiety among different religious groups of the position of medieval ecclesiastical buildings. In the Post-Disestablishment period, medieval ecclesiastical buildings were important agents in narratives of ecclesiastical Irish history which had immediate and real consequences for the contemporary political order. The extremely scientific and apolitical focus of the single-building monographs by Close and Phillips reflects one type of antiquarian response to the more contentious religious and political debates surrounding the monuments.

Richard Rolt Brash, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland* (1875)

The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland to the Close of the Twelfth Century &c., published in 1875, was written by Richard Rolt Brash (1817 – 1876), an architect, writer and antiquarian whose career was based largely in the Cork region.[248] This work, one of his two major monographs, was based on a series of articles first

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[247] *Dictionary of Irish Architects 1720 – 1940*, http://dia.ie/architects/view/2576/HILL-ARTHUR#tab_bibliography, accessed 24/08/11

[248] An account of Brash's life and career is given in 'Three memorable Cork archaeologists, John Windele, Richard Rolt Brash and Richard Caulfield. With portraits, and notes by Corkonian and Mananaan mac Lir i.e. D.A. O'Leary', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, Series 2, VI (1900), 32 – 47. Brash's restoration and conservation works are discussed in Chapter 7 of this thesis.

published in the *Irish Builder*.[249] Brash began his career in his father's trade as a builder, later defining himself as an architect, as did his older brother, William Needham Brash.[250] In *Aldwell's General Post-Office Directory of Cork for the year 1845*, there is an entry for W. and R. Brash, Builders, at 22 Marlboro Street, suggesting that they were in practice together.[251] He was an active member of the South Munster Society of Antiquaries, and the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, and was also a member of the Antiquarian Society of Scotland, and submitted papers to the Cambrian Archaeological Society.[252] Brash was a close friend of John Windele, the Cork antiquary, about whom he wrote a memoir for the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1865, and he designed Windele's memorial in the form of a high cross, in the Botanic Gardens Cemetery in Cork.[253] Brash lived at Sunday's Well, Cork, and married Jane Jackson on 14 September 1847. He was survived by 'some daughters'.[254]

Brash contributed papers to many of the scholarly and literary journals of the day, including the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the *Irish Builder* and the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, and also supplied the many entries on Irish architecture to the prestigious *Architectural Dictionary* which was published by the Architectural Publications Society in London from the 1850s onwards, the instigators of which included such leading lights of the architectural profession as John Alfred Gotch, Francis Bond, Edward Shroeder Prior and William Richard Lethaby.[255] His main monographs are *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland, to the close of the twelfth century*, published in 1875, and *The Ogam inscribed*

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[249] Richard Rolt Brash', 'Notes on the ecclesiastical architecture of Ireland', *Irish Builder* 1872 - 1874

[250] 'Obituary', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, April, 1876, 149. William Needham Brash, (1810/11 – 65), according to his obituary in the *Builder*, he was one of the most eminent builders in the south of Ireland. Builder, 23, 14 Jan 1865, 35

[251] *Aldwell's General Post Office Directory of Cork for the year 1845: List of Traders, Public Officials and Prominent Citizens*, www.corkarchives.ie, accessed 04/03/11. It is interesting that they are not listed as 'architects', as several practices are, including that of Deane.

[252] 'Obituary', *Archaelogia Cambrensis*, 149.

[253] *Irish Builder*, IX, 1867, 270

[254] The Irish census returns for 1901 shows Brash's widow, Jane Brash, aged 77, living at Sunday's Well road, as head of the household, with a 21-year old companion, Maggie Riddall, who was a member of the Church of Ireland, and a 20-year old servant, Ellen Linnan, who was Roman Catholic. www.census.nationalarchives.ie, *Dictionary of Irish Architects 1720 - 1940*, www.dia.ie, accessed 04/03/11, 'The Late Richard Rolt Brash, Architect', *The Builder*, February 5, 1876

[255] *The dictionary of architecture issued by the architectural publication society; with illustrations* (London: [s.n.], 1853 – 92)

monuments of the Gaedhil in the British Islands, which was published posthumously, and edited by his friend George M. W. Atkinson in 1879.

As well as his contributions to various periodicals and journals on architectural history, Brash commented on the erection of St. Finbarre's Cathedral in Cork, designed by William Burges. The letter which Brash wrote to the editor of the *Irish Builder* was published in the journal on April 1, 1863. In this letter, he warned that if the cathedral was built according to Burges' plan, it 'would be a perpetual monument of the deficient judgement of its promoters, and a source of endless annoyance and discomfort to those who should be obliged to avail themselves of its accommodation.'[256] Brash outlined what he felt were important errors in the plan for the cathedral, according to him, 'at the request of several respectable and influential citizens', which included incongruities in scale and style. Brash argued that the French cathedral style of the plan would not be appropriate for the building which would not exceed in size an ordinary parish church. Brash also noted that a chapter house, baptistery nor proper accommodation for a vestry was provided for, with 'everything of real proportion, comfort and utility...sacrificed to a vague idea of grandeur, very doubtfully and indifferently realised.'[257] He situated himself firmly outside of the views the Ecclesiologists: in this letter, he wrote that

> (A) flight of seven steps leads from the nave up to the choir; to which I most strenuously object. The veneration for high places had a conspicuous position in all pagan rituals, and the introduction of highly raised choirs and chancels in places of worship consecrated to the Christian faith has a significant meaning and intent amongst that ultra-Church party in the sister isle, known amongst us as Puseyites, and whose peculiar ideas of ecclesiastical architecture and arrangement have been most carefully carried out in the adopted plan for the Cork Cathedral.[258]

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[256] 'The New Cathedral, Cork', *The Irish Builder*, April 1, 1863, 79
[257] 'The New Cathedral, Cork', *The Irish Builder*, April 1, 1863, 79
[258] 'The New Cathedral, Cork', *The Irish Builder*, April 1, 186

It is interesting to note that Brash intimated that he was not alone among Irish architects in distancing himself from the 'Puseyites', or the Ecclesiological movement.

Brash was a key member of what is often termed the 'Munster school' of thought regarding Irish archaeology, which included his friend and frequent correspondent, Windele. Waddell has observed that 'the published work of Richard Rolt Brash is the most public monument to the activities of the gifted amateurs of the South Munster Antiquarian Society.'[259] His commentary and work on medieval architecture was overshadowed by his determined adherence to a pre-Christian origin for the round towers, in opposition to George Petrie. An article in the *Saturday Review* described Brash as 'one of those who had gallantly shut their eyes to the light when it was set before them.'[260] This aspect of his research has led to his being classed among the somewhat indulgently-named 'romantic school' of archaeologists and writers, which included Marcus Keane and Canon Ulick Burke.[261]

While his publications on Ogham stones and the round towers were among the most controversial in his career, they are outside the scope of this thesis. Although the bulk of his monograph examined early Christian architecture, he included a section on the architecture of the Cistercians. The position of the later medieval work in relation to the main focus of the text, pre-Christian and early medieval architecture, also reveals his overall conception of the development of Irish architecture. He was far from disinterested in later medieval work, and according to the preface of *Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture*, he had planned to write a companion volume on the later medieval period: 'if spared, I intend to return to the subject, in a volume devoted to an elucidation of the Pointed Styles, as practised in Ireland.'[262] The author of his obituary in *The Builder* also noted that Brash had intended to write a book 'in illustration of the Pointed styles as practiced

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[259] Waddell, *Foundation Myths*, 145

[260] 'Brash's Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland', *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, 26 June, 1875, 831

[261] Waddell, 145

[262] Brash, 'Preface', *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland, to the close of the twelfth century*, (Dublin: W.B. Kelly; London: Simpkin, Marshall & co., 1875)

in Ireland, for he believed that there were several features in Irish structures peculiar to the country.'[263]

Brash's reputation as an authority on medieval architecture suffered during his own lifetime and after his death from comparisons with Petrie's scholarship, and from the variable quality of his work, which was borne out in its critical reception, discussed below. He continually argued for the pagan origin of round towers, to the extent that he left them out of his book on ecclesiastical architecture, a fact commented on by James Graves in his review, published in the *Academy*: according to Graves, Brash 'omitted to cite them as triumphant proofs that cemented and tool-dressed masonry was known to the pagan Gaels.'[264]

While he was criticised due to his position on this long-running debate, his contemporaries did not entirely dismiss his scholarly research. In his obituary, published in *The Builder*, on 5 February, 1876, it was noted that despite Brash's preference for a monumental or sepulchral use of fire-towers, 'Mr. Brash brought to the study of the ancient architecture of Ireland considerable knowledge.' [265] It is interesting to note that in the *Builder*, his skills as a practical architect are seen as central to his ability to understanding antiquities: 'Mr. Petrie was no architect, and he failed to detect architectural features that could not escape the eye of a professional architect.'[266] A contrasting view was taken in an article in the *Saturday Review*, where is professional skills were barely recognised as an advantage: 'we are never favourable prepossessed by the assumption of the merely professional style on any subject, and [...] we are not inclined to admit that the professional architect is, as such, necessarily the better judge on such a point.' These contrasting attitudes perhaps reflect the concerns of two very different audiences.[267]

Brash's last work published during his lifetime could not escape the reputation for unreliability which his previous works had gained him, as was borne out in the reviews of this work in British periodicals. The opening line of the review

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[263] 'The Late Richard Rolt Brash, Architect', *The Builder*, February 5, 1876
[264] James Graves, "The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland to the close of the Twelfth Century &c."', *Academy*, 152, 1875, April 3, 337
[265] *The Builder*, Feb 5, 1876
[266] *The Builder*, Feb 5, 1876
[267] *The Saturday Review*, June 26, 1875, 831

of *The Ogam Inscribed Monuments* summarises the approach which most reviewers had to Brash's work: 'every one will acknowledge the zeal and industry shown by the late Mr. Brash in all that concerns the ancient monuments of Ireland. Further than that we cannot conscientiously go in the way of praise.'[268]

However, James Graves' review of Brash's book in the *Academy*, published on April 3, 1875, begins with the very positive statement that *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland* was 'the most important and valuable contribution to an interesting an unexplored branch of knowledge' since an unfinished work by Petrie on the same subject.[269] Like the reviewer at the *Athenaeum*, he allows the corrections to Petrie's work as valuable, but does not equate Brash's scholarship with that of Petrie. Overall, Graves gives this a more positive review, explaining faults as being due to its original serialised reproduction in the *Irish Builder*. He was confident that the book would reach a second printing.[270]

Brash opened his chapter on the Cistercian monasteries of Ireland with the statement that Cormac's Chapel 'was one of the last, if not the last, church of any importance erected in Ireland whose arrangements, construction and details were in accordance with the traditions of native architecture.'[271] Brash does not use the term 'Gothic' in reference to the buildings of the Cistercian order, but rather uses the term 'Romanesque', denoting a European rather than a native style, and the terms 'First Pointed', 'Second Pointed' and 'Third Pointed'. While the introduction of the Cistercians is presented as a rupture with the native tradition by Brash, his narrative of this shift is far more positive than that written by Margaret Stokes, published in the same year and discussed below, in which she presented the introduction of Gothic architecture as extinguishing a vital native tradition of

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[268] 'Book Review', *Athenaeum*, Jan 10, 1880, 50

[269] James Graves, "The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland to the close of the Twelfth Century &c.", *Academy*, 337. James Graves (1815 – 86), was a clergyman, archaeologist and historian. He was the co-founder of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society in 1849, and was instrumental in establishing its museum and library. He was the author of several works on Irish histories and antiquities, and was an active member of Ireland's professional historical community until his deah in 1886. Fionnuala Carson Williams, 'Graves, James', in James McGuire and James Quinn (ed), *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. (Cambridge, 2009). (http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a3586), accessed 04/03/11

[270] James Graves, "The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland to the close of the Twelfth Century &c.", *Academy*, 337

[271] Brash, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, 121

building. Brash, on the other hand, referred to the introduction of the Cistercian order to Ireland as 'the great improvement in Irish ecclesiastical architecture.'[272] The most obvious point of comparison between pre- and post- Cistercian architecture, in Brash's view, was scale, the smaller scale of the earlier work being linked to 'the strong predilection which our Gaedhelic architects had for that national covering, the stone roof'.[273]

Brash gave an account of the life of St. Malachy, in which the advent of greater communication between the Irish and the European churches was presented as a positive development, especially in its architectural equivalent – the Irish 'edifices [...] planned by the Gaulist monks from Clairvaux'.[274]

The Irish Cistercian foundations were listed together with their founders, and date of foundation; a brief note on the architectural style and condition of each monument is mentioned. For example, the entry on Dunbrody Abbey includes the information that what was extant was 'nearly the entire of the abbey church, and considerable remains of the conventual buildings. The church is of the Early Pointed character, with Second Pointed insertions.'[275] Several of the most significant remains were examined in greater detail: Mellifont, Boyle, Jerpoint and Monasternenagh, with plans and details of carved capitals given as illustrations. In comparison to the detailed and exquisitely rendered illustrations by Close and Phillips, Brash's illustrations and details are summary in character, and tend to be quite clumsy and bulky (Fig. 3.44, Fig. 3.45).

These longer entries take the form of detailed, technical descriptions of the surviving fabric of the monasteries, with some preliminary information on the dates and circumstances of foundation, usually taken from Ware and Archdall. On Monasternenagh, Limerick, Brash stated that it was bigger than any other Cistercian church in the country, and described the nave, chancel and transepts, noting that 'it has [...] been so altered that little of the original building remains.' He noted that the stonework of the Western doorway had been torn away, 'leaving an unsightly gap', and noted the couplet window above, which was semi-

[272] Brash, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, 121
[273] Brash, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, 121
[274] Brash, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, 125
[275] Brash, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, 125

circular headed with broad mouldings (Fig. 3.46). Brash noted that the nave had originally had an arcade of semi-circular arches which sprung from circular piers with carved capitals – basing this opinion on the responds existing – but that, at some period, 'not a very remote one', these arches fell or were destroyed, and the current arrangement of 'heavy quadrangular piers with plain pointed arches' was substituted (Fig. 3.47).[276] Brash listed the post-medieval alterations to the fabric of the building – the insertion of a wall the full height of the nave elevation, bisecting the length of the nave, with a small pointed entrance inserted (Fig. 3.48). Following this, Brash suggested that the building had fallen into the hands of an order other than the Cistercian. The post-medieval reconstruction of the nave walls was noted, and Brash recorded that the builder had reinstated 'the old semicircular-headed clear-storey windows in their proper places.'[277] The east window was described as a 'lofty triplet, Early English in style.'[278] Brash praised the stonework of the older portions of the building – the dressings of the east window and other portions, 'very finely executed, in a yellowish stone of oolitic character, not found in the neighbourhood, the blocks being finely cut and closely jointed' (Fig. 3.49).[279] The descriptions of Boyle, Jerpoint and Mellifont are of a similar nature, with precise descriptions of striking masonry or craftsmanship, and post-medieval additions and alterations noted.

Brash's overall assessment of the Irish Cistercian buildings was that they were of a Romanesque character, with side chapels and chancels generally being in the First Pointed style, and the towers generally being in the Second or Third Pointed. These shifts in style were attributed to the 'struggling circumstances' of the Order at their introduction to Ireland, and their not being able to erect the entire monastic complex or church in one programme of building.[280] Contradicting

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[276] Brash, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, 137
Roger Stalley has examined these features in 'Perception and Meaning: Early Gothic Architecture in the Archdiocese of Cashel' in Roger Stalley (ed.), *Limerick and South-West Ireland: Medieval Art and Architecture*, The British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions XXXIV, 93

[277] Brash, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, 137

[278] Brash, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, 137

[279] Brash, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, 137

[280] Brash's account of the buildings was based on the analysis of style, and he did not take into account the revival of earlier types of ornament in building programmes throughout the West of the country in the fifteenth century.

the views of earlier authors such as Bell, who had stated that craftsmen from Europe were responsible for much of the best architecture of the later medieval period, Brash argued that the only documentary evidence for the importation of craftsmen or architects was the arrival of Robert, the 'Gaulish' monk, sent by St. Bernard of Clairvaux in the Life of St. Malachy, and that, from the 'peculiar character of the details of the architectural edifices', it was clear that the builders had been Irish.[281] Concluding his chapter on the Cistercians, he reiterated his positive view of the engagement between the Irish and wider European architectural traditions.

> It cannot be denied that they caused a great revolution in native church architecture as to size and plan, but certainly not as to details, as the decorative features to be found in their edifices are those which had been in use long previously. In truth, that Order appear to have studied grandeur and simplicity in their buildings rather than ornate effects; carving was used sparingly by them, and their mouldings were of the simplest character, though in general effective.[282]

He referenced the series of articles on Irish architecture, published in the 1860s, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, which are examined in the next chapter of this thesis, and the views expressed therein on the 'national distinctions' of Irish medieval architecture.[283] Brash's final statement, as far from the bombastic claims of the eighteenth-century school of antiquaries as it was possible to travel, was to state that 'we have therefore no grounds for depriving our countrymen of the merit of having developed, in their own land, a peculiarly national and interesting, the various eras of Romanesque and Pointed architecture.'[284]

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[281] Brash, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, 138

[282] Brash, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, 138

[283] Brash referenced the work of Marcus Keane, an antiquarian who had been excoriated by Stokes in his Life of Petrie. Brash referred to his work 'admirable'. Keane echoes Brash's positive interpretation of the introduction of Gothic styles to Ireland: on the Abbey of Corcomroe (between assigning elements of its fabric to 'ancient Cuthite' practices, he noted that "Corcomore Abbey was occupied for four hundred years from its erection in the 12th century, during which interval the science of architecture made great progress in Ireland'. Marcus Keane, *The Towers and Temples of Ancient Ireland: Their Origin and History*, 362

[284] Brash, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, 138

Brash was unique among the authors surveyed in this thesis in that he focused entirely on the monastic context for the introduction of a new architectural style to Ireland, and examined this in terms of the expansion of the church, rather than in political terms. In contrast to Wilkinson, he did situate stylistic change within an historical context, rather than his purely formal approach, but it is a context which entirely eschewed the polemics of cultural nationalism. The Anglo-Norman invasion is mentioned only as an aside: on Boyle Abbey, he noted that the change in building style may have been the result of a delay in the process of erection, 'owing to want of funds or the distraction of the Anglo-Norman invasion.'[285]

Brash's style of writing is closer to that of Wilkinson, with an emphasis on stonework and on structure, than the more elaborate language used by Stokes. Reflecting his professional background, there is a strong focus on the tectonic structure of the buildings under examination throughout, with conclusions based on the evidence of the masonry rather than documentary or secondary sources. For example, he asserted that the upper storey of the lavabo (referred to as a baptistery by Brash) at Mellifont was a comparatively modern rebuilding, due to the 'character of the work and from the window-opes' (Fig. 3.50).[286] Further conclusions, proposing the original nature of the building, are also based on structural analysis. On the lavabo, again, Brash conjectured that he could not positively assert that a chamber had existed above the groining of the ground storey, but that he felt there must have been, 'from the very moderate thickness of the existing walls, and the absence of the buttresses, they could not have stood the thrust of the groining, and we must therefore presume that they had been raised sufficiently high as by their weight to counterbalance such a thrust.'[287] The clarity and practical language used by Brash was praised by many of his reviewers, as appealing to a general audience.

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[285] Brash, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, 131
[286] Brash, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, 127
[287] Brash, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, 127

Comparative Archaeology and Cultural Nationalism: The Earl of Dunraven and Margaret Stokes.

The works examined below, by the third Earl of Dunraven and Margaret Stokes can be considered as continuing the tradition of scientific antiquarianism, as developed by Petrie and others. This is particularly evident in the emphasis on illustrations, extensive systems of referencing and precise descriptions in professional terminology. The use of photography in these texts also heralded a new era of verisimilitude in antiquarian reportage.[288] The texts were comprehensively reviewed by both Irish and English scholarly journals. However, they were produced in an increasingly defined climate of cultural nationalism within Ireland.

As Declan Kiberd argued in his important study of the dynamics of cultural nationalism in Irish literary culture, the 'national longing for form' which he identified as a defining factor in the Celtic Revival was, on one level, a response to the dynamics of colonial rhetoric. Kiberd cited the political theory of Giuseppe Mazzini (1805 – 1872) as an example. Mazzini argued that the political independence is deemed justifiable only by a distinctive national 'idea', manifested in distinctively national philosophy, literature, language, dances and other forms of cultural expression, such as architecture.[289] According to this logic, therefore, cultural definition was a prerequisite for national independence. The essays by Stokes, in particular, reflect an increasingly popular narrative of Irish architectural history, with a clear canonical system privileging pre-Gothic architecture, based on its perceived link to a period of greater political and cultural independence. Furthermore, the symbolic function of medieval ecclesiastical buildings was represented in the media in this period as a central part of the Disestablishment of the Church of Ireland, and, following this, became an important factor in the drafting of legislation surrounding the preservation and restoration of antiquities. For example, many of the newspaper articles exhorting Church of Ireland

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[288] While the use of photography did create a system of reportage which allowed absolute accuracy, to an extent, the images in texts such as *Notes on Irish Architecture* must also be considered critically, the selection of views and images often creating views of romantic, stark beauty, devoid of any human interaction with the buildings or their significance beyond the purely archaeological and visual.

[289] Declan Kiberd, *Inventing Ireland: The Literature of the Modern Nation* (London: Vintage, 1996), 116

parishioners to donate funds to large restoration projects frequently drew on the link between an ancient church and the Church of Ireland, with continuous territorial possession of the medieval churches throughout the Reformation, to encourage greater generosity from parishioners. In one such article, as part of the funding appeal for the continuing restoration of Kildare Cathedral, the restoration was deemed absolutely necessary, as to continue to worship in 'a corner of a ruined cathedral might be regarded as a monument to ruin and failure', but also because the Church of Ireland 'by lineal descent, and also by the character and organisation of their Church represented the ancient Church of St. Patrick, which for its own district the Cathedral of St. Brigid represented'.[290] The debates surrounding the designation of medieval buildings as 'ancient' or 'national' antiquities reflected the anxiety surrounding the concept of a distinctly 'national' Irish heritage, and the social, political and religious implications of this.[291] Eve Patten, in her analysis of the content, context and reception of Samuel Ferguson's 1864 series on public and domestic Irish architecture within the *Irish Builder*, highlighted the extent to which architectural form had become a 'complex metaphor in the debate between aristocratic traditionalism and democratic utilitarianism, or between reactionary Augustan values and revolutionary romanticism'.[292] This identification of architecture as both an important symbol and a focal point in social debate in this period can be extended to architectural antiquities. The image of the ruined or restored ecclesiastical building was seen as a key to the health of the church in possession of the structure, as in the case of Kildare cathedral. From a different perspective, the medieval buildings were seen as a call to action for an increasingly powerful Roman Catholic population. Although the medieval cathedral of St. Mary in Limerick city has remained in use by the Church of Ireland congregation there, an article published in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* in 1880 included the lines 'the time may yet come when St. Mary's bells will peal out once more, calling the faithful to assemble under its

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[290] 'Restoration of Kildare Cathedral', *The Irish Times*, August 10, 1892

[291] Rachel MacRory, 'The evolution of policy for the conservation of historic monuments in Ireland', MUBC thesis, School of Architecture, Landscape and Civil Engineering, University College Dublin, 1994.

[292] Eve Patten, *Samuel Ferguson and the Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004) 131 - 154

ancient roof', and discounted the legitimacy of its role as a Church of Ireland place of worship: 'as you now see it, lone, lorn, desolte, without an altar, without a sacrifice, without a priesthood'. The article recalled the times during the Confederacy period when the churches had been 'returned to their rightful owners', creating a narrative of dispossession which stretched back from the Reformation to the present day.[293] The debate about how best to preserve or use the medieval buildings reflected the diverging and often opposed views on issues of religious identity and political power. The texts on Irish antiquities produced by Dunraven and Stokes are considered within these cultural and political contexts.

Notes on Irish Architecture was published in two volumes by the antiquarian publishers George Bell & Sons, of Covent Garden, London, in 1875 and 1877.[294] While the work does not deal with Irish Gothic architecture as a key subject, it represents an important stage in the development of architectural history in Ireland. It is one of the first examples of the use of photography in Irish antiquarian publishing and, in the preface and concluding essays, a landmark text in the creation of canons of Irish architecture, and national form.

Edwin Wyndham Windham Quin, the third Earl of Dunraven, died before the book was completed, and it was edited by Margaret Stokes. As Hector McDonald noted in his work on Stokes, 'the essay which concludes these superb volumes of photographs and descriptions of individual sites, though it draws upon Dunraven's observations, is largely Margaret Stokes' own work'.[295]
Edwin, third Earl of Dunraven (1812 – 71), was an MP for Glamorganshire and a key figure in Irish antiquarianism and archaeology from the middle of the century. He was born in London, the only son of Windham Henry Quin, the second earl of

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[293] Rev. Denis J. Murphy, S.J., 'The History and Antiquities of St. Mary's Cathedral, Limerick', *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Series 3, 1, 1880

[294] The London-based Bell family of publishers became one of the most important in the trade in Victorian London, under the direction of George Bell (1814 – 1890) and Edward Bell (1844 – 1926). The company developed a reputation for publications on art, archaeology and architecture with works such as *The National Gallery* (1843), *Examples of Ornament* (1855) and *The Great Works of Raphael Sanzio of Urbino* (1866).
Alexis Weedon, 'Bell family (*per.* 1814–1968),' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004); online ed., ed. Lawrence Goldman, May 2006, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/66131, accessed 02/03/11

[295] Hector McDonnell, 'Margaret Stokes and the Irish Round Tower: A Reappraisal', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, Third Series, Vol. 57, (1994), 70

Dunraven, and his wife Caroline, daughter and sole heir of Thomas Wyndham of Dunraven Castle, Glamorganshire, Wales. He was educated privately, before going to Eton, and entered Trinity College Dublin in November 1831. He studied astronomy under Sir William Rowan Hamilton at Dunsink, the intensity of his study damaging his eyesight. Following this, he devoted himself to the study of Irish history, antiquities and language, and was actively involved in many of the learned societies of the day. He was a founding member, with George Petrie, of the Irish Archaeological Society in 1840 and of the Celtic Society in 1845. His links with antiquarians and learned societies internationally illustrates the importance of the international context of Irish historical study: he was a member of the Cambrian Society, serving as president in 1869.[296] He accompanied the historian and politician Charles de Montalembert on a research tour of Scotland, Montalembert later dedicating a volume of his *Monks of the West* to Dunraven. He visited Italy and France, taking a special interest in medieval campaniles. In Ireland, he toured the country, recording and examining antiquities; this research formed the basis of the papers which he published in the *Transactions* and the *Proceedings* of the Royal Irish Academy, and his two major works, the section on the antiquities of Adare in the *Memorials of Adare Manor*, written by his mother, Caroline, Countess of Dunraven, and the *Notes on Irish Architecture*, which is the subject of the present study. He died in October, 1871 in the Imperial Hotel in Great Malvern, and his remains were returned to Adare and buried in the family vault. Dunraven was a well-known convert to Roman Catholicism. He belonged, along with William Monsell and poet Aubrey de Vere, to what was known as the Tervoe Convert Set. His conversion is reflected in the restorations which he supported at the Roman Catholic church at Adare, about which he corresponded with A. W. N. Pugin. The church itself bears many marks of the Earl's interest, in particular in the dedications inscribed on its many stained glass windows.[297]

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[296] Edwin, third earl of Dunraven, edited by Margaret Stokes, *Notes on Irish Architecture*, (London: G. Bell, 1875), xii

[297] For a full discussion of the work of the first three Earls of Dunraven at Adare, see Niamh Nic Ghabhann, "The Elysian Village of Renovated Adare", in Laura Cleaver and Ayla Lepine, *Gothic Legacies: Four Centuries of Tradition and Innovation in Art and Architecture*, (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, forthcoming)

Margaret McNair Stokes (1832 – 1900) was the book's editor, and an important antiquarian scholar, archaeologist and artist.[298] Her father, William Stokes, was a well-known Dublin surgeon, biographer of George Petrie, who combined his medical work with a passion for antiquarianism which his children continued: Stokes' brother, Whitley Stokes, was a renowned Celticist and philologist. Margaret Stokes studied antiquities in the West and on the Aran Islands with her father and his antiquarian colleagues, a group which included Petrie, William Reeves, Todd and Samuel Ferguson. Among Stokes' works of Celtic Revival illumination are the initial letters for Ferguson's poem, *The Cromlech at Howth* (1861). She contributed to a number of works on Irish manuscripts, assisted in the editing of Petrie's *Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language* (1870) as well as Dunraven's *Notes*, and published several papers and books on the subject of Christian art, antiquities and architecture in Ireland, as well as two books which traced the vestiges of the Irish saints in Europe.[299] Her books on early Christian art and architecture were illustrated throughout with her own engravings. Stokes was among the foremost antiquarian scholars of her day, and was recognised as such by her contemporaries. She was the recipient of a civil pension, and Alexandra College in Dublin instituted a lecture series in her honour, at which several prestigious international antiquarians presented.[300]

Notes on Irish Architecture begins with a preface written by Windham Thomas Wyndham-Quin, the fourth earl of Dunraven, in which he outlined the origin of the contents of the volumes, and 'the circumstances that affected the style and form of their production.'[301] Dunraven noted that his father had many interests in his life, from geology to botany and astronomy, but that in the later years of his life, he devoted himself to archaeology, and that he counted Dr.

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[298] Recent scholarship on Stokes includes Jan Stokes, 'Margaret Stokes (1832 - 1900) and her Intellectual Circle: An Approach to Early Christian Art', M.Litt, Department of History of Art and Architecture, Trinity College Dublin, 2003.

[299] The reception of these works on the Irish saints in Europe is discussed by Elizabeth Boyle, 'Margaret Stokes (1832 – 1900) and the study of medieval Irish art in the nineteenth century', Ciara Bhreathnach and Catherine Lawless, *Visual, material and print culture in nineteenth-century Ireland*, (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010)

[300] Andrew O'Brien, Linde Lunney. "Stokes, Margaret McNair". *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, (Eds.)James Mcguire, James Quinn. Cambridge, United Kingdom:Cambridge University Press, 2009.

[301] Edwin, third earl of Dunraven, edited by Margaret Stokes, *Notes on Irish Architecture*, (London: G. Bell, 1875)

Graves, Bishop of Limerick, the Rev. James Graves of Kilkenny, the Rev. William Reeves, Bishop of Armagh, William Stokes, James Henthorne Todd, a group, which according to Dunraven, 'relaxing from their several labours, delighted to stretch their physical and mental muscles in grappling with a subject interesting to them all.'[302] Dunraven listed his father's involvement in antiquarian societies, and noted his dedication to on-site research, accompanied by Mr. Mercer, the photographer, and often by Dr. Stokes and his daughter, Margaret, who would later edit the work.[303]

Dunraven accorded his father's interest in Irish antiquities to his attachment to Ireland, and to Irish people, to his friendship with Petrie, and with his 'love of truth and abhorrence of cant and injustice.'[304] He clearly distinguished the work of his father from 'that school of patriots who teach a people to sustain their self-respect by dreaming of ancestral glories instead of by looking at the honourable results of their own exertions'.[305] Positioning his father's work in the canon of Irish antiquarian scholarship, Dunraven wrote that:

> (W)hile he thoroughly appreciated the stupidity of striving to give a fictitious value to things Irish, by claiming upon their behalf a measure of remote antiquity, vague and impossible to sustain, yet he also felt deeply the injustices of those who [...] denied to Ireland her fair share of credit, and looked upon the Celtic population as a people which had never emerged from barbarism.[306]

Dunraven argued that his father's research was motivated by the desire to demonstrate that despite the misleading myths which had circulated surrounding Ireland's early civilization:

> (I)t was certain and demonstrable that as early as the sixth century, the Irish nation showed symptoms of a vigorous individual life, was intrinsically strong enough, was endued with possibilities of development sufficiently

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[302] Dunraven and Stokes, xii
[303] Dunraven and Stokes, xiv
[304] Dunraven and Stokes, xiii
[305] Dunraven and Stokes, xiii
[306] Dunraven and Stokes, xiii

persistent to enable it to originate and foster to a considerable degree of perfection a distinctively national form of architecture.[307]

He commended Margaret Stokes on her abilities as a scholar and an editor, having taken on the raw materials for the book, which were 'voluminous but in great disorder.'[308] As the Comte de Montalembert had dedicated his major work to his father, Dunraven dedicated *Notes on Irish Architecture* to Montalembert, and significantly, noted that he left it to the fair criticism of those interested in 'Comparative Archaeology', emphasising the international, rather than national, character of the antiquarian culture with which his father had been so heavily involved.[309]

The book is illustrated by many of Dunraven's own magnificent photographs, and by engravings of original works by a number of well-known artists and antiquaries, including Sir Frederick William Burton, William Wakeman, Margaret Stokes, Dr. Graves, Bishop of Limerick, George Victor du Noyer, Gabriel Beranger, as well as less immediately recognisable figures, Robert Callwell, J. Rogers and H. Burchett. The engravers listed were Swain, Oldham, Gray, Hanlon and Branston.

The pages of the book are illustrated by sections of interlace, which clearly reference historiated initials and details from the Book of Kells (Fig. 3.51). This reflects the increasing interest, towards the end of the nineteenth century, in the illuminated manuscripts and metalwork of what was seen as an Irish 'Golden Age' of artistic production.

The text of *Notes on Irish Architecture* was shaped by these two figures, Dunraven and Stokes. On the overall structure of the book, Stokes explained that Dunraven had originally intended a topographical survey of Irish antiquities, but that his final decision was to show the development of style: what she described as 'sacrificing the merely local interest attaching to the situation of these buildings, to the wider one of giving them a place in the history of Architecture.'[310] Stokes' introductory essay, with its clear tone and opinions on concepts of national

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[307] Dunraven and Stokes, xiv
[308] Dunraven and Stokes, xiv
[309] Dunraven and Stokes, xiv
[310] Dunraven and Stokes, xxvi

culture, very much shaped the position of the text within the canon of literature on Irish architecture. This essay by Stokes which prefaces the main body of the text outlines her conception of the development of architecture in Ireland. It also addresses her conception of value systems within architectural heritage more generally, and an assessment of methods of investigation and historiography as they had been applied to Irish building.

The major value judgement in this essay relates to the styles of architecture which are conceived of as being 'pure', or allowed to develop without the interference of other styles. In this, Stokes is clearly writing within the tradition of late nineteenth cultural nationalism identified by Dunlop, in which nations were considered to be defined by, and embodied in, expressions of nationally specific culture. Her essay began by clearing distinguishing her approach from the more enthusiastic antiquarians of previous generations:

> (T)he special interest which attaches to the study of Ecclesiastical Architecture in Ireland before it ceased to be essentially Irish is, not that it possessed, as some have vainly asserted, any unequalled antiquity or beauty as compared with works of ancient art in other countries, but rather that, owing to various circumstances, the remains of a great number of monuments from the period between the sixth and twelfth centuries of the Christian era have survived, untouched by the hand either of the restorer or of the destroyer, and that in them we may trace the gradual development from an early and rude beginning to a very beautiful result; the dove-tailing, as it were, of one style into another, till an Irish form of Romanesque architecture grew into perfection.[311]

This passage is informed by a clear idea of what constituted 'Irish' architecture, and that a break had occurred, with the result that the subsequent architectural production could not be considered essentially Irish. Stokes echoes Wilkinson, Petrie and others in emphasising the strength and simplicity of design in early Irish architecture, and wrote that 'lowly in aspect when placed beside the grand monuments of Norman art in England, lowly, but not unlovable [...] a "true

[311] Dunraven and Stokes, xvii.

instinct of composition", and a pure vital principle at the source of art so noble and so chaste.'[312] Later in the text, Stokes compared the simplicity of early Irish Christian architecture to icons of Greek classicism, in their formal, functional simplicity of design: 'a classic character marked by a certain simplicity and repose, as well as a delicate perception of fitness in ornament, with a noble reserve in its use, has been attained by both.'[313] The Anglo-Norman invasion is repeatedly referred to as the breaking-point for this flowering of national culture, and the arrest of a vibrant national tradition. She asserted that the point prior to the Anglo-Norman invasion was 'the period at which this art touched its highest point', and vehemently disagreed with Froude, whose comments on the state of pre-1169 Irish culture in his 1872 *The English in Ireland in the eighteenth century* – that nothing had been achieved by people, 'scarcely better than a mob of armed savages [...] which posterity will not be anxious to forget'. On Ireland's architecture, Stokes quoted Froude's comments that Irish craftsmen and architects had 'little architecture of their own, and the forms introduced from England have been robbed of their grace.'[314]

Stokes' assessment of English architecture of the same period is informed by a similar premium on cultural 'purity' or insularity rather than hybridity of form. She argued that it had been significantly diminished by the influence of the Romans, leading to the arrest of what Stokes conceived of as a natural progression, an arc, with a defined and predictable progression:

> at one period in the history of Britain, there was a school of Celtic decorative art existing in the country, from which source forms of infinitely varying beauty might have been drawn, yet it seems as if all traces of this native art had died out during the long occupation of the country by the Romans, and the power of free and graceful design, shown in the decorated bronzes and other relics of the late Celtic period, no longer lives in the art of the Anglo-Norman times. [315]

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[312] Dunraven and Stokes, xxv
[313] Dunraven and Stokes, xxv
[314] Dunraven and Stokes, xxvi
[315] Dunraven and Stokes, xx

Irish art, by comparison, in Stokes' analysis, was free to grow unimpeded by 'foreign' influence until the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries, when, 'after the settlement of the Normans, a foreign school of art gradually superseded the native style'.[316] On Irish Romanesque, she noted that while it was the product of some 'foreign influence', it was 'pre-existent to Anglo-Norman architecture and entirely independent of it. It was a native style springing from a people possessed of original power and mind'.[317]

The major secondary texts referenced by Stokes include Wilkinson's *The Practical Geology and Ancient Architecture of Ireland* and James Fergusson's *A History of Architecture in All Counties*, along with Petrie, as the major scholar on architectural history. In comments on antiquarian debate, she referred in passing the essays of Sir James Simpson Bart. , edited by John Stuart, LLD, Viollet-le-Duc, Freeman's History of Architecture, Arthur Hill's monograph on Cormac's Chapel and the series of articles on Irish architectural history in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

Outlining her approach to the scholarship on medieval architecture, Stokes insisted upon a broad, European framework for the study of Irish building, and disagreed with too close a focus on comparative studies with England. She stated that while Ireland had developed a 'national and individual style', it was part of the Romanesque period throughout Europe. However, she argued that it should be considered as a distinctively national form, as a particularly *Irish* Romanesque: 'when the Romanesque wave reached our shore, there was already a style of architecture here which had attained to very noble results.'[318] Throughout the text, Stokes drew attention to the relationship between the scholarship on medieval Irish and English architecture. It is significant that while she insisted on the importance of a broad frame of reference for the study of Irish building, she disagreed with too close a focus on English architecture as the key to understanding Irish work. Writing on recent developments in English architectural historiography, she noted the insistence on moulding profiles as the proper basis

[316] Dunraven and Stokes, xx
[317] Dunraven and Stokes, , xxv
[318] Dunraven and Stokes, xxv

for any attempt at dating. She suggested that Irish architectural decoration was drawn from so completely different a source, namely illuminated manuscripts and decorated metalwork, rather than the round arch and capitals of 'foreign origin', that the application of English methods to Irish building was essentially flawed. According to Stokes, 'the history of the development of art in England and Ireland is so different, that no arguments founded on English experience can lead to any safe conclusion as to the date of similar work in Ireland'.[319]

Volume one deals with early building types, focusing on forts such as Dun Aengus and Staigue Fort, examining early single-cell ecclesiastical structures and enclosures, such as Skellig Michael and Inismurray, and early churches such as Temple Benen. Buildings such as Gallarus Oratory are also placed within this section. Almost every monument is illustrated by one of Dunraven's photographs, and is given a full description, with reference to the key extant texts dealing with the monument (Fig. 3.52, 3.53). For example, Parker's series on Irish medieval architecture is referred to throughout. Further to the photographic images, the entries on each individual monument are illustrated with diagrams of individual features and finely drawn architectural plans (Fig. 3.54). Several plates group examples of plans together, to demonstrate the development of a particular style or tendency in Irish architecture through time. The descriptions which accompany the text often err towards the romantic, emphasising the congruency between the starkness and simplicity of the monuments and their setting, a point strengthened by Dunraven's photographs, which celebrate the massive, lichened stone buildings within their sweeping, bare landscapes. It is unclear exactly how much of this topographical rather than architectural description can be attributed to Stokes or to Dunraven, as in the preface, Stokes acknowledges that this was very much a collaborative aspect of the text. The second volume dealt with round towers, referred to as belfries, followed by a chapter on Irish Romanesque architecture, beginning with an analysis of buildings with double stone roofs and then dealing with early twelfth century churches, and concluding with an essay on pagan forts and early Christian monuments. These sections are magnificently illustrated by

[319] Dunraven and Stokes, xx

Dunraven's photographs and many engravings of plans and details. The entries on each individual building take the form of precise description, and the delineation of a narrative of national style and its fortunes is largely confined to the introductory essay by Stokes prefacing the first volume. Secondary works referenced include those by Brash, Parker, William Wakeman and Gordon Macdonald Hills.

Irish Gothic architecture is notable in its absence from *Notes on Irish Architecture*. Although several key monuments of later medieval Irish building are referred to, for example, the cathedral at Killaloe and the Cathedral of St. Patrick on the Rock of Cashel, they are not discussed or detailed in any depth, reflecting the higher value which Stokes and Dunraven placed on earlier, supposedly more 'pure' building, a point borne out in the introductory essay by Stokes. In her discussion of the stone-roofed churches such as St. Flannan's Oratory at Killaloe, Stokes noted that this roofing system was, in her opinion, superior to the wooden roofs of Gothic structures which superseded them.[320]

Stokes included her essay from *Notes on Irish Architecture* as an introduction to her own volume on early Christian Irish architecture, which also closes its investigation at the Anglo-Norman invasion. In a long review of this volume in *The Irish Monthly*, a journal published by the Irish Jesuits, the author foregrounded the link between a unique national culture and the political life of a nation: drawing a comparison between a continuous individuality of any human to that of a nation, the reviewer wrote that nations 'have an indestructible sense of being one with the past which not only the silent ravages of time, but invasions and the most ruthless and wars the most exterminating, are impotent to destroy.'[321] Throughout this extensive review, the author reinforced, in emotive language, Stokes' identification of a break or cessation of a national architectural style – a 'fatal arrest', due to the Anglo-Norman invasion:

> From the sixth to the ninth century, and on to the twelfth, down to very time of the Norman invasion, there seems to have been in all these departments of art a continual progress. And what is singular,

[320] Dunraven and Stokes, xxiv

[321] 'Miss Stokes on Early Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture', *The Irish Monthly*, 12, no. 138, (1884): 624

> no cessation or interruption of this progress appears to have been caused by the Danish wars and broils. Through all there was a steady advance, but this advance was suddenly and almost magically arrested by the English invasion.[322]

Specific monuments are held up by the reviewer as icons of a native Irish architectural tradition – in particular, the churches at Clonmacnoise: 'the classic pillars and carved arches of Queen Dervogilla's Church at Clonmacnoise left their mute forms in witness to the life as to the death of the native art'.[323]
Stokes' own words, again using extremely emotive language, are quoted by the reviewer, demonstrating the canonical narrative of development and arrest which informed her study:

> It was this queen's lover, Dermot, King of Leinster, who led Fitzstephen and the Anglo-Normans into Ireland to aid him in his
> war against her husband. Since then, the native character of Ireland has best found expression in music. No work of purely Celtic art, whether in illumination of the sacred writings, or in gold or bronze or stone, was wrought by Irish hands after that century. Her language, once so subtle and refined, 'seems to lose its grammatical conscience', and her true national life to sink into the sleep of death.[324]

Both volumes of *Notes on Irish Architecture* were reviewed in many of the important periodicals dedicated to culture, again reflecting the reception of views on Irish architecture within a broader context. Comments on the texts varied greatly; in some instances its publication was heralded as a definitive rebuttal to Froude's statements on Irish culture, while others viewed it as proof of the essential barbarism of early Irish civilisation.

For example, a review published by the *London Quarterly Review* in October 1878 stated that the 'numerous autotypes of Irish buildings from the earliest times to the eve of Strongbow's invasion' conclusively proved the existence of a highly civilised early Irish civilisation, and a comprehensive

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[322] 'Miss Stokes on Early Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture', *The Irish Monthly*, 12, no. 138, (1884): 635
[323] 'Miss Stokes on Early Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture', *The Irish Monthly*, 12, no. 138, (1884): 635
[324] 'Miss Stokes on Early Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture', *The Irish Monthly*, 12, no. 138, (1884): 635

contradiction to Froude.[325] The reviewer drew numerous comparisons between the Irish work examined by Dunraven and early Christian architecture in Wales. The narrative of Irish architectural history reinforced by Stokes in her introductory essay is mirrored by the reviewer in this essay, with the Anglo-Norman invasion signalling a definitive break for an essential 'Irish' architecture: for example, the book is described as including examples of 'nearly every [...] pre-English ecclesiastical building in Ireland'. The reviewer also noted that 'ruins like Jerpoint, Holy Cross near Thurles, Hore Abbey, at the foot of the rock of Cashel, Quin Abbey, near Limerick, with its splendid marble pilasters, and the many more Cistercian and Franciscan monasteries which are the delight of the tourist, of course do not find a place in a work devoted to earlier buildings' – the reason for this, according to the author, was that 'they present few or no Irish features'.[326] Interestingly, the reviewer dedicated a significant section of the review to the worth of such antiquarian projects for increased peace between the two countries, arguing that 'to put these records of the past before the intelligent English public is the surest way of meeting the ungenerous cry of inferiority of race', and that the identification of cultural commonalities between England and Ireland 'cannot but lessen partisan rancour, and abate national ill-feeling'.[327] Similarly, a review by James Graves in *The Academy* likened the pre-invasion culture of Ireland to ancient Greek culture, 'until the ravages of the Northmen checked it, and the Anglo-Norman invasion broke it up'.[328] *The Saturday Review*, in 1877, published a more ambivalent account, stating that while an Irish variety of Irish Romanesque developed prior to the Anglo-Norman invasion, the later work became so close to that in England and elsewhere that it was almost indistinguishable as a native style. The reviewer here differentiated between the English and Irish architectural traditions, stating that English work was purely Roman in influence, but in Ireland 'a continuous succession of native buildings from pagan times till the twelfth century', and also posited that the round arch had developed independently of the

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[325] 'Dunraven's Irish Architectural Antiquities', *London Quarterly Review*, 51, no. 101 (1878, October): 247
[326] 'Dunraven's Irish Architectural Antiquities', *London Quarterly Review*, 51, no. 101 (1878): 249
[327] 'Dunraven's Irish Architectural Antiquities', *London Quarterly Review*, 51, no. 101 (1878): 249
[328] James Graves, 'Fine Art', *The Academy*, 211, May 20, (1876): 493

Roman tradition in Ireland.[329] Interestingly, this review does not present any violent interruption of a 'native' tradition of architecture in Stokes' manner, but rather presents architectural change as something which happened outside human agency: 'the whole history of native Irish architecture, from its pagan beginnings till it is merged in the English architecture of the thirteenth century'.[330]

The *Athenaeum* published a review of the first volume, on 15 April, 1876. The reviewer opened with a scathing account of pre-Christian Irish culture, stating that he hesitated to term the subject of the book for the most part 'architecture'.[331] The examples which the reviewer uses to compare with the monuments discussed in Dunraven's book reveal a critical framework clearly informed by imperial or colonial rhetoric, both exoticising and distancing early Irish cultural production from that of English pre-Christian and medieval culture. The author wrote that 'there is immeasurably more art in the carved decorations of a South Sea or South African spear-handle, or Sandwich Island paddle, than in anything this volume shows', and summarised that 'it is simply nonsense to talk about art when speaking of structures which are of less architectural value than so many New Zealand pahs'.[332] Throughout, the author questioned the validity of the category of 'Irish' architecture, a criticism based on the author's disagreement that the work discussed in Volume One should be denoted as 'architecture' at all, and also as they felt 'a certain sense of discomfort at the use of the term "architecture" or artistic expression of any form, in a sense implying originality of any unusual or peculiar kind in Ireland in the sixth or any other century, - or, for the matter of that, any country or century whatever'.[333] The review of the second volume, published in 1877, was more positive on Dunraven and Stokes' advances on what is described as a seriously flawed historiographical tradition, but retained an entirely negative approach to Irish antiquities.[334] A similar review of Margaret Stokes' work on early Christian Irish art by Frederic George Stephens, was

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[329] 'Lord Dunraven's Irish Architecture', *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, 44: 1, 140, September 1 (1877), 271

[330] Lord Dunraven's Irish Architecture', *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, 44: 1, 140, September 1 (1877), 272

[331] 'Notes on Irish Architecture', *Athenaeum*, April 15, (1876), 539

[332] 'Notes on Irish Architecture', *Athenaeum*, April 15, (1876), 539

[333] 'Notes on Irish Architecture', *Athenaeum*, April 15, (1876), 539

[334] 'Notes on Irish Architecture', *Athenaeum* July 28, (1877), 119

published in *Portfolio*. Stephens criticised the identification of a specifically Irish art by Stokes.[335] For example, on shrines such as St. Patrick's Bell Shrine, illustrated, he noted that there was no sense of 'an original design which is national or Hibernian', and that 'so far are they from possessing special Irish characteristics, that they illustrate Byzantine, Romanesque, and other phases of decoration' – and, in Stephens' opinion, backward and bad examples of those styles.[336] Stephens' review, while allowing Stokes advances in her subject on certain points, is characterised by a negative approach to Irish production. It concluded with a statement by John Pinkerton, the Scottish antiquary with whom Petrie argued a generation previously:[337]

> [...] if the claims of Irish writers for their country's possession of a high civilisation at some remote, but never defined age, rest on evidence no better than that which has been furnished on behalf of Hibernian architecture and sculpture of an older date than, say the ninth or tenth century, the time will shortly come when the words of Pinkerton – that the boasts of ancient Irish civilisation are laughed at by every antiquary in Europe – will be popularly accepted.[338]

The reassessment of Irish art and architecture along national lines by scholars on Irish art and culture, provoked, in certain periodicals and by certain authors, a reaction which was closer to the extremism of the late eighteenth century than to the scientific tradition which had developed throughout the nineteenth century. Overall, the development of the discourse was complex and multi-faceted, characterised and created by many different voices, influences and political opinions. It is possible, from one perspective, to posit a narrative of the development of this discourse, which emphasises the increasing importance of systems of citation, with authors becoming increasingly fastidious about both the personal investigation of sources, the reproduction of sources in full within the

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[335] Frederic George Stephens, (1827 – 1907), art critic and art historian.
[336] F. G. Stephens, 'Early Christian Art in Ireland', *Portfolio*, 20, January, (1889), 107
[337] Petrie's rebuttals of Pinkerton's claims about Irish culture are discussed in Chapter 5 of this thesis.
[338] Stephens, 111

text, and complex and comprehensive referencing systems. Another strand of this narrative would be that of personal investigation and the principle of induction – from Bell's text, up to *Notes on Irish Architecture*, there is a pronounced emphasis on the personal experience of the author of the monument under discussion. Further to this, an increasingly wide network of comparisons with international models of architecture becomes evident throughout the texts produced between 1789 and 1877. However, countering this, it cannot be inferred that these points of development, seen in concert throughout these texts, is evidence of a unified approach. Indeed, there are some points on which Brash is more in agreement with Bell than with Margaret Stokes, in particular on the point of the introduction of Gothic as quashing a flourishing native tradition. It is not the case that an increasingly apolitical approach developed in parallel with an increasingly 'scientific' or objective approach. While Wilkinson's text focuses on material evidence almost to the exclusion of human agency, Stokes, in her preface to *Notes on Irish Architecture*, created a narrative which provides a model of native displacement as the result of invasion, and glorified a pre-invasion style of building – a narrative very much in line with many examples of cultural theory being produced around the Celtic Revival at the end of the nineteenth century.

Chapter 4: Irish Gothic architecture in antiquarian, historical, professional journals

There are many educated persons who assume that Ireland never possessed a pointed architecture of its own.[1]

Frank Jenkins, in his history of nineteenth-century architectural periodicals, highlighted the impact of technical improvements in printing in the early nineteenth century which brought a new type of literature into being: 'the modern magazine, lavishly illustrated, inexpensive, and published at regular intervals.'[2] Architectural periodicals formed part of this new publishing genre – among the earliest examples were the *Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* (commenced 1837), the *Surveyor, Engineer and Architect* (commenced 1840), and the weekly *Builder* (commenced 1842), which was to be the most influential architectural periodical of the nineteenth century.[3] In an Irish context, the *Dublin Builder* (commenced 1859), later the *Irish Builder*, was the most influential publication relating to the profession.[4] These magazines differed from those produced in the previous century, which had often taken the form of pattern-books for practitioners, and were instead repositories of information on contemporary and proposed building projects, tenders and advertisements, notices of events relating to the architectural profession or professional societies, editorial comment on pressing issues of the day, and were, of course, an important forum for criticism and debate. They were also a point of connection for architects working around the world – British and Irish architectural magazines often included pieces on architectural practice in, among other locations, Australia, New Zealand, India and America.

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[1] R. M. Butler, 'Irish Gothic Architecture', *The Irish Monthly*, 43, no. 508, (1915) 613

[2] Frank Jenkins, 'Nineteenth-Century Architectural Periodicals', in *Concerning Architecture: Essays on Architectural Writers and Writing presented to Nikolaus Pevsner*, ed. John Summerson, (London: Allen Lane; the Penguin Press, 1968) 153

[3] Jenkins, 153

[4] A history of the Irish Builder and its different editors was published in the Jubilee issue, marking fifty years of publication. *Irish Builder Jubilee Issue*, 1909

Architectural history and antiquarianism are represented, in some capacity, in almost all of these journals – whether from the advertising of tenders for restoration and conservation works, or the inclusion of articles on aspects of architectural history, often written by practising architects as a result of their own on-site work. The *Irish Builder* published works on Irish architectural history by many of the leading authors of the day, and much of this work is uncollected elsewhere. The periodicals also provide important records of talks, lectures and site visits by architectural groups to antiquities, which help to recreate some sense of the contexts and conversations surrounding interventions to medieval buildings in this period. These periodicals form an important strand in an examination of the historiography of Gothic architecture in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Further to the professional periodicals, the journals published by antiquarian societies such as the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, published much important architectural history. Many of the leading architects throughout the nineteenth century were heavily involved in antiquarian societies and in the production of architectural histories, much of this activity being informed by their own on-site research.[5] Antiquarian, historical and archaeological societies in Britain were involved in publishing both reproductions of ancient texts and the fruits of the research generated within these groups of largely amateur historians, as examined by Philippa Levine.[6] While Levine does not discuss the Irish societies, their work can be examined within a similar context.

A key aspect of this chapter is the consideration of periodicals as sites of cultural exchange, both periodicals produced within Ireland, and those produced elsewhere. These included long-running magazines such as *The Gentleman's Magazine*, not aimed specifically at architects or antiquaries, but which always carried a number of articles on Irish history and antiquarianism, and also antiquarian magazines such as *The Reliquary*, which published important work on Irish antiquities. As examined in the previous chapter, the reviews sections in these periodicals also often included in-depth critique of the scholarship on Irish

[5] This is discussed further in Chapters 6 and 7.
[6] Levine, 40 - 69

architectural history. The different layers of information, therefore, which can be accessed through the analysis of periodicals make them an invaluable resource in this consideration of the print culture surrounding the study and treatment of medieval Irish architecture in the nineteenth century.

This dramatic increase in the number of publications dedicated to antiquarianism, history and archaeology in Europe in the period under discussion poses obvious difficulties in critically assessing the narratives of progress, development and cultural exchange within them. In her discussion of eighteenth-century architectural texts, Christine Casey highlighted these obstacles in her assessment of the literature of the subsequent century, describing the proliferation of architectural texts after 1780 as 'daunting.'[7] This assessment is true of both single-author monographs and architectural periodicals. In order to structure this examination of critical writing on Irish Gothic architecture from 1789 to the early twentieth century[8], the main focus will be placed on the publications which were most frequently read and used by those who were actively engaging with the fabric of medieval buildings in this period. This selection of periodicals is also informed by the bibliographies included by antiquarian scholars in their own research, and in a crucial way, which texts became part of a 'canon' of scholarship on Irish medieval architecture.

The Irish journals which have been included in this chapter are the *Irish Builder* which was the principal journal of the architectural profession in Ireland. The contributions on Irish Gothic architecture to the *Journal of the Royal Societies of Antiquaries of Ireland* (*JRSAI*) represent another important strand of antiquarian research. As these largely took the form of reports on individual buildings, and reports of works carried out on specific sites, rather than overall narratives of architectural development, they have not been examined in detail in this chapter.[9] As stated above, a number of architect members of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland contributed important works on architectural history:

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[7] Christine Casey, 'Architectural Books in Eighteenth-Century Ireland', in *Eighteenth-Century Ireland/ Iris an dá chultúr*, 3, (1988) 106

[8] While the date range for the rest of this thesis is 1789 – 1877, it has been extended here to include Rudolf Maximilian Butler's essays on perceptions of Gothic in Ireland and Conor O'Brien's series of articles in the *Architectural and Topographical Record*.

[9] Several reports from the *JRSAI* have been examined in Chapters 7 and 8.

Richard Langrishe and Robert Cochrane, for example, were both actively involved in architectural preservation, and were regular contributors to the *JRSAI*.

This chapter concludes with an examination of texts on Irish architecture, and Irish Gothic architecture in particular, within scholarly publications from outside Ireland. These publications include *Archaelogia*, the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the *Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist*, the *Ecclesiastical Art Review* and the *Architectural and Topographical Record*.

The *Irish Builder* was one of Ireland's longest-running periodicals, an unusual success in an era when an astonishing number of journals was launched and then failed to prove profitable after a very short period of time.[10] While over one hundred and fifty periodicals were launched in Ireland between the Act of Union and the Rising of 1848, less than a quarter of them lasted a year, although many were of high literary standard.[11] Economic factors were central to the long-running success of the *Irish Builder,* as farming and building were trades crucial to the Irish economy, and 'must partially account for the longevity of the periodicals devoted to them'.[12]

The journal was launched in 1859, under the title *The Dublin Builder or Illustrated Irish Architectural, Engineering, Mechanics' and Sanitary Journal*. In 1867, the name of the publication changed to *The Irish Builder and Engineering Record*, reflecting the increasing importance of the industry outside the capital.[13] Enda McKay, in his essay on Irish trade journals, concluded that the *Irish Builder* 'stands head and shoulders above all others', and 'its lay-out, content, and general production were all of a very high standard.'[14]

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[10] The foundation and early success of the Irish Builder is the subject of a PhD thesis by Gearóid Crookes, 'The genesis of an archive, forty years of the Irish Builder, 1859 – 1899', School of Art History and Cultural Policy, University College Dublin, 1994

[11] Tilley, Elizabeth, 'Trading in Knowledge: The Irish Builder and Nineteenth-Century Journalism', *Revue LISA/LISA e-journal* (Online), 3 (2005), 2 http://lisa.revues.org/index2602.html

[12] Tilley, 2

[13] Tilley, 2

[14] McKay, Enda, 'A Century of Irish Trade Journals 1860 – 1960', in *300 Years of Irish Periodicals*, eds. Barbara Hayley and Enda McKay, (Association of Irish Learned Journals, Mullingar: Lilliput Press, 1987) 104

The *Irish Builder* included articles and notes on Irish antiquities and medieval architecture, as well as information and opinion pieces on restoration activities across the country from its inception to the early years of the twentieth century, when, under the editorial control of Capt. John Todd Rea:

> (T)hat feature of close devotion to antiquarian interests, which for so many years previously had been its most distinguishing characteristic, and which brought into its literary circle so many able writers, gave place to a more general treatment of technical matters relating to engineering, architecture and building affairs.[15]

The journal covered nearly every aspect of antiquarian culture of the period: for example, early issues included notes on J.J. McCarthy's works at 'Black Abbey', Kilkenny[16]; an atmospheric description of the ruins at Glendalough by Limerick author, Gerald Griffin[17]; an essay on the architectural antiquities of Kilmallock, Co. Limerick[18]; and a note on the publication of a pamphlet titled 'A Word to the Goths', which ridiculed Gothic architecture, and was rumoured to have been published by John Henry Newman, who strenuously denied any involvement.[19] The *Irish Builder* continued to publish articles on the overall development of Irish architecture, and included notices on the expanding literature on Irish architectural history, and reviews of contemporary publications on the subject. While the first two editors of the *Irish Builder* were not known for their own personal written observations on architectural practice or history, Rudolf Maximilian Butler, who was the third editor, was a prolific writer, and who published an important analysis of contemporary conceptions of Gothic as part of narratives of Irish architectural history.[20] The representation of Gothic architecture in the magazine deserves close examination, as well as the contributions of a number of specific individuals.

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[15] *Irish Builder Jubilee Issue*, 1909, 1

[16] 'Restoration of the Black Abbey, Kilkenny', *The Dublin Builder*, April 1, 1859, 41

[17] Gerald Griffin, 'The Seven Churches, Glendalough, Co. Wicklow', *The Dublin Builder*, March 1, 1859, 26

[18] "Architectural Jottings: Kilmallock", *The Dublin Builder*, March 1, 1859, 26

[19] *The Dublin Builder*, February 1, 1859, 21

[20] RM Butler's editorial style and approach are discussed briefly by Sean Rothery, 'Some Irish Writers on Architecture in the Early 20th Century', in Graby, ed., *150 Years of Architecture in Ireland*, 63 - 67

Many key authors in the development of Irish architectural history, including John James Phillips, Samuel Patrick Close and Richard Rolt Brash, were professional architects, and their opinions and experiences are recorded in the *Irish Builder*. While some, such as Brash, used their articles as the basis for full-length monographs, many were not printed elsewhere, making the *Irish Builder* an invaluable source for understanding the print culture surrounding of the study of Irish medieval ecclesiastical architecture. Prolific writers such as Butler, Thomas Drew and Robert Cochrane, all at the helm of busy architectural practices, regularly contributed articles on different aspects of architectural history to the journal.[21]

The character of the articles on architectural history in the first volume (1859) of the *Dublin Builder*, unsurprisingly, reflects the overall development of the antiquarian scholarship in this period, ranging from a quite romantic engagement with ruined buildings to a more scientific, objective approach. For example, this volume included an article on the seven churches at Glendalough by Gerald Griffin, the Limerick-born novelist and poet, which certainly framed the scene in a romantic light – 'the long continuous shadow of the lofty and slender Round Tower moves slowly, from morn till eve, over wasted churches, crumbling oratories, shattered crosses, scathed yew trees, and tombs, now indistinguishable, of bishops, abbots and anchorites.'[22] An antiquarian notice published in March, 1859 on the history of Kilmallock, Co. Limerick, is cast in a similarly wistful light, mentioning the 'churches where worshippers no longer kneel, abbeys once stately, and beautiful even in decay', now the province of 'placid cows or nibbling sheep.'[23] Some architectural information is included here, in a description of the Dominican abbey: 'the remains of the Dominican monastery are well worth minute examination [...] consist of a lofty square tower or steeple, and the choir, nave and part of the transept. Sir Richard Hoare observed of this monastery: it surpasses, in

[21] A comprehensive study of the contribution of these figures to the development of architectural history will form the subject further research on this subject.

[22] Gerald Griffin, 'The Seven Churches, Glendalough, Wicklow', *The Dublin Builder*, March 1, 1859. Gerald Griffin, (1803 – 40), Limerick-born novelist and poet, whose most successful work *was The Collegians* (1829), Bridget Hourican, 'Griffin, Gerald', in James McGuire and James Quinn (ed), *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. (Cambridge, 2009). (http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a3640)

[23] 'Archaeological Jottings: Kilmallock', *The Dublin Builder*, March 1, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1859, 28 - 29

decoration and good sculpture, any I have yet seen in Ireland, but does not seem older than the reign of King Edward III'.[24] However, only a few lines in this long article have been dedicated to the antiquities, and its character is more of a romantic, topographical sketch.

The same volume included more focused articles on individual buildings, including St. Doulough's Church in Malahide, and Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin. As mentioned above, these articles reflect the contemporary state of antiquarian scholarship at the mid-century, which was still characterised by a lack of consensus around the origin and dating of certain structures, such as the round towers. The article on Christ Church cathedral does not examine manuscript sources, and is closer in methodological approach to work produced by Bell, in the 1820s, rather than Petrie and the more scientific school of writers. More wide-ranging articles on the history of Irish architecture first volume included one by Thomas Bell on the progress of Irish architecture, and pieces on Irish Tudor architecture.

From its first volume, the *Irish Builder* reported and commented on the contemporary restoration of medieval buildings. The first volume included notices on the restoration of St. Patrick's Cathedral, a report which commended the restoration works as necessary to prevent the complete ruin of the building: 'much more, however, is required to be done, to save portions from certain if not speedy ruin.'[25]

These medieval antiquarian notices were accompanied by more general architectural history articles, biographical sketches of important architects such as James Gandon, and more exotic topics, such as 'The Mechanical Labours of the Ancient Egyptians', 'Ancient Fortifications in North America', and an article on the 'Bronze Horses of Lysippus', following their illustration in the exhibition catalogue of the London Photographic Association.[26]

As the journal progressed, it reflected developments in archaeological and antiquarian practice. From the 1860 and 70s, it included important articles and series of articles on specific Irish medieval buildings.

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[24] 'Archaeological Jottings: Kilmallock', *The Dublin Builder*, March 1, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1859, 28 - 29
[25] 'Restorations at St. Patrick's Cathedral', *The Dublin Builder*, March 1, 1859, 31
[26] 'Mechanical Labours of the Ancient Egyptians', 'Ancient Fortifications in North America', both in *The Dublin Builder*, Jan 1, 1859

One of the early contributors who focused on issues surrounding medieval architecture and its preservation was Thomas Drew (1838 – 1910). Drew was born in Belfast, and was articled to Charles Lanyon in 1854. A noted success in his early career, he became the diocesan architect for the Diocese of Down, Connor and Dromore in 1856. Church architecture was an important part of his architectural practice, and he was consulting architect on a number of major restoration projects, including Christ Church Cathedral and St. Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin, Armagh Cathedral (CI), St. Columb's Cathedral, Derry, and was responsible for the restoration of Holy Trinity Cathedral, Waterford. He was consulted on the cracking of nave pillars at Truro Cathedral, Cornwall. Drew was involved to a great extent in professional societies, and, at different times, was the president of the RIAI, the AAI, the RSAI and the RHA. He made a number of antiquarian tours, sketching and painting what he saw, and often gave papers on antiquarian subjects, including a lecture every St. Stephen's Day on the history and fabric of Christ Church and Strongbow's Tomb.[27] Drew contributed a number of articles and letters on the subject of ancient Irish architecture to the *Irish Builder*, in addition to his pieces on architectural education and practice, and on the functioning of the architectural societies of which he was a member. His best-known works of architectural historiography relate to his criticism of George Edmund Street's restoration of Christ Church cathedral, published from the 1880s onwards.[28] However, his other contributions to the discourse on Irish medieval architecture are less well-known, and are characterised by a practical approach, and a commitment to close study of the fabric of the building. His contributions to the *Irish Builder* included letters on the restoration of Tuam Cathedral, the transcript of his lecture on St. Audoen's Church following his receipt of the Fitzgerald Medal for measured drawings of the church, and practical reports on the care of antiquities.

In 1863, a letter to the editor on the subject of the antiquity of Tuam Cathedral, responding to some points raised by the restoration architect at work

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[27] Sir Thomas Drew, *Dictionary of Irish Architects, 1720 – 1940*, http://dia.ie/architects/view/1650/DREW-THOMAS%28SIR%29, accessed 21/09/11

[28] Both Street's restoration and Drew's response have been examined by Roger Stalley, *George Edmund Street and the restoration of Christ Church Cathedral*, Dublin, (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000)

on site, Thomas Newenham Deane.[29] Drew disagreed with Deane on a number of points regarding the antiquity of certain parts of the building, and how they should be treated. This debate is a good example of the way on-site discovery and restoration work informed the print culture, and the way in which debate within the print culture, in turn, informed restoration and conservation practices.

Further examples of the manner in which Drew's expertise as an architect informed his writing on architectural history include a report, prepared for the JRSAI and subsequently published in the *Irish Builder*, on the condition of the Franciscan Abbey, Kilkenny.[30] The 'dangerous condition' of the Tower of St. Francis had been highlighted by members, who had decided that the opinion of an architect was necessary; Drew offered his services free of charge, and provided a comprehensive report of the building. The Society, however, did not have the funds to carry out any works to the building, and having 'done what in it lies to call attention to the threatened fall of the tower [...] it now rests with the public to supply the means of averting that disaster.'[31] Drew's report noted that the state of the building was critical, and that urgent steps had to be taken for its preservation. The most immediate danger came from the south side, where the building was listing one side, and threatened to fall if further disturbed by any weather damage. The nature of the structure was noted, the 'lofty tower, wholly over the void of a great arch, as in other towers of the same type, at all times a daring feat in constructive masonry.' On the design merit of the tower, Drew noted that it was 'in simple grace, perhaps unsurpassed by any tower of a similar type in Ireland.' The protective measures which Drew recommended, 'which will require to be undertaken with the greatest caution and skill, and not unattended with some contingent risk', including the raking out of the joints on the north side, and their repointing with Portland cement, raising the masonry to its original level, covering recommended areas with flags or jointed in cement, and centering and bracing the large central arch. The securing of loose masonry was recommended, as was the 'shoring up' of the south wall, to prevent subsidence. Once the south wall was

[29] *The Dublin Builder*, March 1, 1863, 42
[30] *The Irish Builder*, Feb. 1, 1868, 34
[31] *The Irish Builder*, Feb. 1, 1868, 34

secured, the masonry was to be raked and repointed. Drew concluded his report with a note on his availability to take on the project should the works go ahead. This is an interesting example of the active links between antiquarian societies, architectural practice and architectural history: 'I have had the cost of this works estimated approximately at 100 pounds, and I need not say it will give me much pleasure personally to be of any assistance in my power in aiding in so interesting a work'.[32]

While the two articles mentioned above are examples of the more practical or professional aspects of Drew's communication, he also included detailed essays on specific monuments – one such essay was published in 1867, on St. Audoen's Church in Dublin (the text of which had been read at the Royal Institute of Architects of Ireland, 20th December 1866). Drew had been awarded the Fitzgerald Medal for measured drawing of the building in 1866; this award followed a competition that was alluded to throughout his text. His prize-winning drawing of the church was published in the same issue of the journal. Drew decried the lack of attention which archaeologists had paid to the building, and to others of similar character in Dublin city:

> [...] looking down the long list of Medieval churches which have disappeared from the city of Dublin, leaving scarcely a trace behind, the vicissitude of life and death which the history of these fabric is, one is a loss to divine how St. Audoen's, a parish church perhaps inferior in beauty and importance to many of its contemporaries, has survived them.[33]

Following a sketch of the life of St. Audoen, he noted that 'some doubt may exist whether or not any church existed here antecedent to the English Invasion.' However, he argued that both foundation and name came from the Anglo-Norman invasion, on the basis of the western doorway – 'the most unquestionably ancient remains, those of the west doorway, have no character which would justify one in affirming that they dated from any period later than 1169'.[34] He noted that the church's plan was uncommon – a double-aisled church, eight bays in length,

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[32] *Irish Builder*, Feb. 1, 1868, 34

[33] Thomas Drew, 'St. Audoen's Church', *Irish Builder*, 1 Jan, 1867, 2 - 3

[34] For a comprehensive study of St. Audoen's Church, see Mary McMahon, *St. Audoen's Church. Cornmarket, Dublin: archaeology and architecture*, (Dublin: Stationery Office, 2006)

without distinctive chancel, and the side aisle nearly equal in width to the nave. The tower is noted as a 'very common Irish type', and the measurements of the church are described as presenting 'many of those eccentricities common among ancient churches.' The northward inclination of the eastern bays of the building is noted, 'a vagary in building, as you are aware, not uncommon, and having a precedent in the neighbouring Cathedral of Christ Church' – Drew noted a rather high-minded interpretation which circulated about such subsidence, that this was a 'mystical allusion to the inclination of Our Lord's head on the cross'; Drew himself was more convinced by the 'bungling builders', believed in by 'less reverent minds'.[35] This reflects a similar conflict of approach to that in the long-running debate around the round towers, with a determinedly professional and scientific view clashing with those with a more romantic frame of reference.

Overall, Drew's history of St. Audoen's took the form of a close analysis of the monument, rather than an attempt to fit the building into a narrative of Irish architectural development. Prior scholarship is barely noted – he suggested a disagreement with Petrie, and on the dating of the arcade, he stated that 'I know that the details of the arcade have been pronounced of the fifteenth century, but I still can see nothing to shake my belief in their early thirteenth century character.' Apart from these bare references, his are the concerns of the architect; the plan, subsequent phases of building, and the nature of materials and how they had been worked by craftsmen. For example, on the 'scratchy character' of the mouldings, Drew suggested that this could be evidence that 'the first experience of Irish limestone rather bothered Anglo-Norman builders. Anyone who has witnessed the first essays of an English carver on Irish limestone will see something not unlike them.' The proportions of the arcade are described as 'pleasing', with 'nothing of the Perpendicular air about it.'[36] Tracing the progression of building from a close analysis of the fabric of the building – following the arcade, Drew was of the opinion that the choir was next erected. The tracery of the windows, which he described as 'plain basketwork' – intersecting tracery without cusps, a featurelessness, which 'baffles, like some unintelligent-looking people – a guess at

[35] Drew, 'St. Audoen's Church', 2 - 3
[36] Drew, 'St. Audoen's Church', 3

their age.'[37] Episodes in the building's history, such as the authorising of a chantry by Henry VI, were related by Drew to programmes of building, rather than to the individuals involved. The font of the building was noted 'a very uncommon and beautiful specimen', which had been found in the vaults and broken in 1848, but 'skilfully put together, and is in excellent preservation.'[38] On the post-medieval history of the building, Drew observed that the tower had been blown down in 1668, rebuilt in 1870, and that it had been rebuilt faithfully on the ancient model. Henry Aaron Baker's restoration is noted in fairly scathing terms: 'the battlements in the present garden-wall style of embrasures, took away the roof, and stuck up the present cast-iron pinnacles in 1820.'[39] Of all the works and changes to the fabric of the building, Baker's was the most 'fatal' according to Drew – 'the south aisle and a portion of the chancel was most wantonly unroofed, and suffered to go to decay, and many interesting monuments left to destruction of the elements'. Later works are also mentioned, including a further unroofing on the part of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. In conclusion, Drew stated that 'however rude in its details, St. Audoen's was sufficiently noble a church to have deserved a better fate than to have had three-fourths of the fabric almost wantonly consigned to ruin.' Overall, his architectural history took the form of a practical report on the building's fabric, drawing conclusions from the evidence of the structure. The use of architectural terminology was spare, and his criticism of early nineteenth-century restoration practices was unstinting.

Further contributions by Drew included letters on the restoration of Kildare Cathedral in which he noted both Brash and Street's contributions to the debate on its restoration, notices on the Cathedral and surrounding area of St. Patrick, in Dublin, and notes on his works to the cathedral in Truro, Cornwall.[40] Overall, Drew's style of writing reflected his professional concerns, which are in contrast to more romantic views of the monuments in question. Drew's engagement with medieval buildings also reflects the close relationship which developed between

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[37] Drew, 'St. Audoen's Church', 3
[38] Drew, 'St. Audoen's Church', 3
[39] Drew, 'St. Audoen's Church', 4
[40] Drew, Kildare Cathedral', *Irish Builder*, 17, 1 October, 1875, 276 -8, Drew, 'Truro Cathedral', *Irish Builder,* 44, 8, 22 May 1902, 1230,1236,1257

architects and antiquarian societies, and the professional opportunities which became available as a result of this.

Further to the articles on individual buildings, the *Irish Builder* included a number of editorials on the history, theory and contemporary use of Gothic architecture. A one-page editorial, titled 'Gothic Architecture – theories of its origin, its revival and use' was published on January 15, 1867.[41] This was a broad-ranging article, not focusing specifically on Irish Gothic, but rather on religious building more generally, ranging from the temple of Solomon to Early Christian buildings. Gothic architecture was described as 'the favoured daughter of Christianity', and the shifting fortunes of the style within the historiography of architecture was noted, from Vasari and Palladio's negative interpretation of the style, to the arguments surrounding its origin in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[42] The author disagreed with the use of the term 'Gothic', as it referred to a 'barbarous people, and originally adopted in contempt', but admitted that it was the commonly accepted term throughout Europe, and therefore must be accepted. Early nineteenth-century debates on nomenclature were noted, and Britton's work was mentioned as being central to those debates. Following the note on Britton, who was so involved in claiming the origin of the style for England, the author of the *Irish Builder* editorial stated that:

> (I)t appears most becoming to us that the Gothic should be chosen as the natural style of Christianity, and whatever may be its origin, it seems to have been all but simultaneously adopted throughout Germany, France, Spain, England, and our own country.[43]

Turning to Gothic in an Irish context, the author noted that 'here it had fallen into a state of desuetude for a long time, and for it, a dark period, and when it had been attempted at all, either in new building or so-called restoration, it was treated with such barbarities of detail or ruthless innovation as to be no longer recognisable.' The author drew a clear line between contemporary work and that

[41] 'Gothic Architecture – theories of its origin, its revival and use', *Irish Builder*, January 15, 1867, 15
[42] 'Gothic Architecture – theories of its origin, its revival and use', *Irish Builder*, January 15, 1867, 15
[43] 'Gothic Architecture – theories of its origin, its revival and use', *Irish Builder*, January 15, 1867, 15

which he criticised in recent past, and stated that 'we see in our modern revivals of it only such examples as will bear comparison with the glorious works of our forefathers.' The choice of Gothic as the most appropriate and correct style for ecclesiastical building projects was highlighted: 'it seems to us altogether out of place to build other than churches in the style of our own early Christianity in particular.' The use of the classical style was explicitly linked to pre-Christian traditions, as 'the very memories of the festive rites celebrated within the walls of the former (classical temples) render them unfitting prototypes to select for the edifices of our religion', perhaps a reference to the programme of monumental neo-classical church building by the Roman Catholic church throughout the nineteenth century, in particular from the middle of the century onwards, including works by Patrick Byrne (1782/3 – 1864), such as St. Audoen's Church, High Street (1841 – 1852), Dublin, and the Church of Our Lady of Refuge (1850 – 1856).[44] The author concluded by praising contemporary practice as a 'revival of pure Gothic architecture in our day, undefiled by reckless innovation'.[45]

As well as including articles on specific monuments, under the editorship of Sir Thomas Drew, the *Irish Builder* included a series of editorials on the literature of the Gothic Revival in Ireland in 1875 and 1876.[46] The aim of this series was 'not to supply an analytical essay on the subject of Gothic architecture in general, or even in particular, as regards Ireland', but rather to 'furnish the views of the principal native writers [...] before the close of the last century to the present.'[47] The fact that this series of editorials dealt with the round towers, and their various theorists, as well as the early Christian ecclesiastical structures in Ireland, in far more detail than later medieval architecture, reflected the still-uncertain use of terms such as 'Gothic'. In this instance, the term 'Gothic' is used as a catch-all term to refer to the ecclesiastical architecture of Ireland prior to the Reformation. Interestingly, terms such as Romanesque, Hiberno-Romanesque and Pointed are

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[44] 'Patrick Byrne', *Dictionary of Irish Architects 1720 – 1940*, http://dia.ie/architects/view/851/BYRNE-PATRICK#tab_biography, accessed 21/09/11

[45] 'Gothic Architecture – theories of its origin, its revival and use', *Irish Builder*, January 15, 1867, 15

[46] The first editor of the Irish Builder and Engineer was J.J. Lyons, who was succeeded in 1864 by Sir Thomas Drew. In 1899, the architect R.M. Butler became the editor.

[47] 'The Literature of the Gothic Revival in Ireland', *Irish Builder*, March 15, (1875) 73
The majority of the writers examined in this series are examined in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

used throughout as variations of 'Gothic' building, again reflecting the lack of consensus regarding terminology.

The first in this series of articles ran in the February 1 issue, 1875, and included both an account of seminal Gothic Revival buildings in Ireland, as well as the literary background to the Gothic Revival.[48] In this first article, the author outlined the predilection of architects at the turn of the nineteenth century for Classical design principles in building, despite 'the numerous examples of the Pointed style studding every county in Ireland.'[49] Francis Johnson is cited as 'our first native architect of note who attempted the Gothic as well as Italian and Grecian styles', with the chapel in the Lower Castle Yard at Dublin Castle given as a key work.[50] Richard and William Vitruvius Morrison are also mentioned as building in Elizabethan and Tudor style, as well as in the classical style. These architects are not noted as having added anything of note to the literature on architecture in Ireland, apart from a publication by Richard Morrison, which included a survey of the development of architecture throughout Europe, and a series of his own designs.[51]

In terms of the literature on medieval architecture, Thomas Bell and Matthew Young are mentioned, as examples of architectural criticism in the 'scientific' style. James Cavanagh Murphy's exquisitely-illustrated treatise on the buildings of Batalha in Portugal is treated gently, while being dismissed as having a 'bold originality if nothing else.'[52]

Throughout this series, the idea of progress and change in terms of the analysis and understanding of medieval architecture is emphasised. A central trope throughout the series is the great difference between the production of architects

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[48] As mentioned above, Douglas Scott Richardson, in his *Gothic Revival Architecture in Ireland*, referenced this series of editorials in his short section on bibliographical sources for the Gothic Revival in Ireland.

[49] 'The Literature of the Gothic Revival in Ireland', *Irish Builder*, Vol. XVII, No. 363, Feb. 1, 1875, 29

[50] Other works mentioned by Johnson as being in the same style include the chapel to the infirmary of the south Dublin Union Workhouse, (formerly the Foundling Hospital); and the entrance gate to the Royal Hospital, Kilmainham, first erected at the entrance to the old Military Road at Barrack (now Victoria) Bridge (subsequently removed). 'The Literature of the Gothic Revival in Ireland', *Irish Builder*, Vol. XVII, No. 363, Feb. 1, 1875, 29

[51] Richard Morrison, *Useful and ornamental designs in architecture composed in the manner of the antique, and most approved taste of the present day*, (Dublin: Robert Croswaithe, 1793)

[52] 'The Literature of the Gothic Revival in Ireland', *Irish Builder*, Vol. XVII, No. 363, Feb. 1, 1875, 29

working in the Gothic idiom and the writers on Gothic architecture at the beginning of the nineteenth century and those at work at the moment of writing. This contrast provided an overarching narrative for this series of articles. For example, the author stated that:

> (A) comparison of the treatise of Mr. Bell with that just published by Mr. Richard Rolt Brash, on the *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland* will show in what an advanced state is our knowledge of the rise, progress and practice of the Gothic Architecture of the past in this country.[53]

The majority of the articles in the series examined the various writers on the Round Towers. Again, the advanced state of contemporary scholarship in contrast to the works produced in the eighteenth century was highlighted: 'it was reserved for the writers of our own time, some artists but possessing respectable architectural knowledge, and others architects resolving to be the first to lead the way to a more satisfactory elucidation of the vexed problem.'[54] Both the works of Bell and Brash were included in this survey. On the merits of Brash's work, the author summarised that 'although he eschews the Round Tower discussion in his late work, it will be found an invaluable reference on our ancient ecclesiastical structures.'[55] Reflecting the uncertainty surrounding both nomenclature and key issues of history, it is clear that the author is more convinced by the pre-Christian origin of the round towers, and that they had been appropriated for Christian use: the author agreed with Brash, and complained that the 'modern school of Irish antiquarians, through an affected sentimentality [...] attribute everything in letters, arts &c., to the introduction of St. Patrick.'[56]

On March 15, 1875, the architectural histories of James Barry, James Gandon (claimed as a 'native' writer) and Edward Ledwich were outlined. While the merits and demerits of the work of Barry and Gandon were examined with relative equanimity, Ledwich's contribution is scathingly criticised. Of him, the author wrote that 'he was a mere antiquarian...having formed a favourite theory,

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[53] "The Literature of the Gothic Revival in Ireland", *Irish Builder*, Vol. XVII, No. 363, Feb. 1, 1875, 29
[54] 'The Literature of the Gothic Revival in Ireland', May 1 1875
[55] 'The Literature of the Gothic Revival in Ireland', May 1 1875
[56] 'The Literature of the Gothic Revival in Ireland', November 15, 1875

he twisted everything to assume the shape he needed it to take.'[57] Gandon's antipathy to the Gothic style was noted, but the author claimed that he 'was no blind opponent of the Gothic school', and quoted his magnificent, if somewhat grudging, opinion of the English Gothic landscape – the cathedrals, religious house, the castles of the barons, the 'surprise' of these Gothic landscapes which pleased painters so much.[58]

The article published on April 1 continued the discussion of Gandon, giving his opinions of Matthew Young, and described the various schools of thought surrounding the origin of the pointed arch. In the April 1 article, the publication of an essay in *Anthologia Hibernica* (published 1893 – 4) titled 'An Examination of Bishop Warburton's Account of the Origin of Gothic Architecture.' This was signed H.D., and the author of the *Irish Builder* articles suggested that Edward Ledwich himself was the author, the initials being the last letters of his Christian and surname. On April 16, the theories of Warburton, Milner and others surrounding the natural or Saracenic origins for the Gothic arch were examined. 'Several stray notices' on Gothic architecture in literary periodicals, towards the end of the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth are mentioned as not worthy of review.[59] Again revealing a broad conception of the term 'Gothic', the author stated that he agreed with Bell, in identifying the pointed openings in the round towers as part of the tradition of pointed or Gothic architecture in Ireland. The articles on May 1, May 15, June 1, June 15 and July 1 continued the review of the literature on the round towers, including a review of non-Irish antiquarian approaches to the subject. On August 15, 1875, the contribution of George Wilkinson was outlined, in particular the sections on early Christian churches. Wilkinson's attention to different periods of building was commended, the author using this point to reinforce his belief about the pre-Christian origin of the round towers: 'our towers have witnessed an era or eras of appropriation and alteration, the same as our Hiberno-Romanesque and Gothic cathedrals have witnessed their

[57] 'The Literature of the Gothic Revival in Ireland', March 15 1875, 74
[58] 'The Literature of the Gothic Revival in Ireland', March 15 1875, 74
[59] 'The Literature of the Gothic Revival in Ireland', April 16 1875, 101

periods of restoration.'[60] The article published on 1 September continued the review of Wilkinson, and included his treatment of Gothic architecture – noting that the most interesting remains of Gothic architecture are to be found in the monastic and cathedral structures of the country. In this regard, the term 'Gothic' is used to denote a specific type of building style, in contrast to the earlier instalments.[61] The commonly-held identification of three phases of Gothic, early Pointed, late Pointed and Florid or Perpendicular was noted, prefacing the inclusion of Wilkinson's narrative of the introduction of Gothic to Ireland. His argument that the pointed style had chiefly been introduced through England, with regional variations in the West of the country, described as having a more continental than English influence, with 'fine examples of the transition style from the circular Norman arch.'[62] The author noted that the dissolution of the monasteries was responsible for the decline of Gothic architecture in Ireland, and Wilkinson's opinion that, by this the Perpendicular style had 'barely developed itself in Ireland.'[63] Further instalments of this series were published on September 15, again on the round towers (including some florid poetry on the subject: 'Finger of time! Symbols whose meaning no man knoweth/ more than whither the tempest goeth/ that soars sublime')[64], and on domestic and castellated architecture on September 24. The latter article contained some further notes on ecclesiastical Gothic, focusing on the opinion expressed by Wilkinson and others that the style would have developed naturally in Ireland from the round-arch styles, without the intervention of England or the Continent. The abbey of Timoleague in West Cork was given as an example, the author stating that it was difficult to discover the influence of local or English styles for the 'pointed arches on low Norman piers [...] so close is the resemblance of both.'[65] The succeeding articles, published on October 15, November 15, December 1, February 1 1876, February 15, 1876 and March 1 1876, all on *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland* by Richard Rolt Brash, dealing with his theories of the round towers, on

[60] 'The Literature of the Gothic Revival in Ireland', August 15 1875, 224
[61] 'The Literature of the Gothic Revival in Ireland', September 1, 1875, 235
[62] 'The Literature of the Gothic Revival in Ireland', September 1, 1875, 236
[63] 'The Literature of the Gothic Revival in Ireland', September 1, 1875, 236
[64] 'The Literature of the Gothic Revival in Ireland', September 15, 1875, 253
[65] 'The Literature of the Gothic Revival in Ireland', September 15, 1875, 255

early Christian architecture and on sculpted ornament in Hiberno-Romanesque buildings.

Overall, this article presents something of an anomaly in the literature on architectural history in this period – as outlined in Chapter 3, the leading authorities in Ireland and further afield did not hold with the pre-Christian origin for round towers by this period. The uncertain use of architectural terminology also reflects an approach which was very far from the ideas of Whewell and his Irish counterparts. Overall, the series represents a descriptive bibliography, with a determinedly personal interpretation of the relative merits of each author's contribution. The series appears to have been well-received – the August 1, 1875 issue carried a letter from James Graves, who wrote that 'all archaeologists must thank you for your continued exertions to forward architectural and antiquarian studies and interests in Ireland', but who may not, of course, have been referring specifically to this type of interpretative editorial.[66]

The writings of Rudolf Maximilian Butler (1872 – 1943) represents a shift to a slightly later generation of architect-antiquarians to that of Brash and Drew. Butler, architect, engineer, professor of architecture and writer was born in Dublin in 1872, and was a key figure in Irish professional architectural circles throughout his long and distinguished career, as an active member of the IAA and the RIAI, long-serving editor of the *Irish Builder* (1899 – 1935), and as professor of architecture at UCD.

Butler's long list of publications include several articles on the subject of medieval Irish architecture, often the published transcripts of lectures given to professional societies, such as the AAI, the Royal Institute of Public Health, the Association of Municipal Authorities of Ireland, the Dublin Rotary Club, and the Royal Institute of British Architects.[67] Butler's own views on Irish Gothic architecture were articulated in two articles published in the *Irish Builder*, and in a response to architect Conor O'Brien's 1912 address to the Architectural Association of Ireland on the subject. As discussed in more detail below, O'Brien

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[66] 'Letter from James Graves', *Irish Builder*, August 1, 1875

[67] 'Rudolf Maximilian Butler', *Dictionary of Irish Architects 1720 – 1940*, http://dia.ie/architects/view/807/BUTLER-RUDOLFMAXIMILIAN, accessed 23/03/11

argued that some features of Irish Gothic architecture which could be considered 'vernacular', but that, in the main, Irish Gothic also was largely based on the building practices and styles of the West of England.[68] In his response, Butler disagreed, and gave the opinion that buildings in Ireland developed features which were totally unlike English work, and which were obviously inspired by some other foreign influence, possibly Portuguese or Spanish.

In 1915, Butler published two long articles in the *Irish Builder* on the subject of Irish Gothic architecture.[69] A shorter version of the same piece appeared in the *Irish Monthly*.[70] Although these two articles are later than the majority of the works examined in this thesis, they represent an important part of the discourse on Gothic architecture and national style which had developed throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and therefore form an important facet of this examination of narratives of Gothic in Ireland during this period. Throughout this article, Butler stressed the lack of scholarship in Ireland on later medieval architecture: 'Irish Gothic Architecture is not a subject that can be said to have attracted much study, and there are many educated persons who assume that Ireland never possessed a pointed architecture of its own.'[71] The writers on Irish history and antiquities which Butler cited in these essays reiterated this view: he referenced Captain Philip Herbert Hore,[72] the Wexford antiquarian, who also gave the opinion that 'while the Irish Romanesque has received a measure of attention, inadequate to be sure, the study of Irish Gothic has been almost wholly neglected.'[73] Butler mentioned the work of Samuel Patrick Close as an exception to this lacuna in historical scholarship: Close's work was also mentioned by Leask in his introduction to Volume 3 of this *Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture*.

Butler's article is a defence of Irish Gothic architecture, and a call to the students of architectural history to include it in their research. While Butler's

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[68] *Irish Builder*, 54, 2 Mar 1912, 125

[69] All of the first article, and a section of the second, were reprinted in The Irish Monthly. Both were reprinted as pamphlets by the Sackville Press, RM Butler, *Irish Gothic Architecture*, (Dublin: The Sackville Press, c. 1915)

[70] Butler, 'Irish Gothic Architecture', *The Irish Monthly*, 43, no. 508, (1915), 613 – 614

[71] Butler, 'Irish Gothic Architecture', 613

[72] Seamas de Val, 'An account of the life of Captain Philip Herbert Hore, and his father Herbert Francis Hore', *The Past: The Organ of the Uí Cinsealaigh Historical Society*, 10 (1973/74): 21 - 29

[73] Butler, 'Irish Gothic Architecture', *Irish Builder*, 2 September, 1916, pg. 412

articles are not framed in overtly political terms, it reveals much about the direction of medieval architectural history as it had developed as a discipline, and the critical framework which had become established at this point for the discussion of the development of architecture in Ireland. For example, he challenged the commonly-held view that 'the English invasion was directly responsible for the decline of Romanesque, or the rise of Gothic in Ireland.'[74] Butler countered this with the opinion that, had the English invasion never happened, Romanesque may have 'lingered longer', but that the conversion to Gothic was inevitable. He related contemporary production in the arts, and popular conceptions of the past, to the conception of Gothic as a foreign style. 'In the recent revival of interest in native art and literature', he wrote:

> (A)rchitecture has come in for but a small share of attention: yet it has been said that "the architecture of a country is the nation's history in stone". For the reason stated, namely, that Ireland greatly excelled in art during the Romanesque period, attention was focussed thereon; from this it is an easy step in popular imagination to suppose that this country possessed but one style of architecture, and that the Romanesque was exclusively an Irish possession and Gothic wholly English.[75]

In order to 'dispel such an illusion', Butler outlined the international nature of the Romanesque style. His conception of stylistic movements until the nineteenth century – from Greek, to Roman, to Romanesque, to Gothic – was based on an idea of architectural form responding 'naturally' to the spirit of the age, in contrast to the eclecticism of his day. According to his view, 'these styles were the logical expression of the age, there was no such thing as choice of styles, for the architecture came as naturally to the builders of the time as the language, or the script to the writer.'[76] In contrast, Butler wrote, 'nowadays, there is no such thing as natural art in architecture. A style is selected as promiscuously as a choice is made from a catalogue.'[77]

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[74] Butler, "Irish Gothic Architecture", *The Irish Monthly*, 43, no. 508, (1915), 613 – 614
[75] Butler, "Irish Gothic Architecture", *The Irish Monthly*, 614
[76] Butler, 'Irish Gothic Architecture', *The Irish Monthly*, 614
[77] Butler, 'Irish Gothic Architecture', *The Irish Monthly*, 614

Butler examined the development, rather than the introduction, of Gothic architecture in Ireland, 'through a transitional style from the round to the pointed.' According to his narrative, Gothic architecture of a 'purely English type' developed where 'the English held sway', and Christ Church cathedral was given as an example – 'its detail is characteristically English', and stated that 'Christ Church sets forth English Gothic Art in Ireland.' Butler described the nave as a 'beautiful early English thirteenth century nave', and added that 'the present Cathedral has little connection with the traditions of the native church.' Identifying a distinct tradition of Irish Gothic, Butler stated that the historian had to turn to churches 'built under native auspices.' These, in his view, possessed 'a resemblance to the English manner', had essentially native peculiarities and amounted to the development of 'a definite national style.'[78]

The most striking differences between Irish Gothic and that in England and in Europe – the small size of the buildings in comparison to the vast scale of the cathedrals and monastic churches – were noted. The most interesting Gothic buildings in Ireland, according to Butler, were the abbey churches, in which 'evolved a very interesting, though plain type of Gothic Art.'[79] In the tradition of Petrie, Wilkinson and Stokes, Butler presented this unadorned quality as a virtue, 'the lofty vaulted naves of France were as little emulated as the rich exuberance of late English Gothic; but the style was appropriate and suited to the building materials of the country.'[80] Butler cited Champneys' *Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture* (the 'only connected and chronological narrative' of Irish architectural history), as reinforcing his presentation of the development of Gothic in Ireland and the importance of a native interpretation and national style. The Cistercian abbeys of Abbeyknockmoy, Boyle and Corcumroe (sic) are given as 'striking and very vernacular examples of Transitional work', with their tapering corbels given as a particularly national trait. Butler disagreed with Champneys' 'claiming a large and possibly excessive measure of English influence', and his underestimation of the impact of the architectural styles of countries other than England. Altar tombs at

[78] Butler, 'Irish Gothic Architecture', *The Irish Monthly*, 614
[79] Butler, 'Irish Gothic Architecture', *The Irish Monthly*, 614
[80] Ibid., pg. 616

Strade, Co, Mayo, Cahan Abbey, Co. Galway, and the carving in the north transept of Cashel cathedral, at Kilconnell Abbey are given as 'splendid specimens' of vernacular Irish work. St. Doulough's church is described as presenting 'a decidedly un-English appearance.' Further emphasising a break from English influence, Butler argued that the buildings of the fifteenth century 'plainly show the growth of the national style, and indicate influences which must have been derived from the Continent and not from England, but adapted and developed here.'[81] These features included the Franciscan towers with their delicate batter, 'unlike anything in England', and the tracery, which 'developed on lines entirely its own', with the:

> (E)lliptical heads to the lights, and the flowing curvilinear tracery, generally without cusping, and very simple in its lines, bear more resemblance to the French 'fishing net' or reticulated tracery, or perhaps to Spanish or Romanesque work than to anything English.[82]

The pronounced ogival finish to doors and windows, the finishing of crocketing to a bunch of foliage, battlements, and the shallow mouldings with little or no undercutting, were also noted as essentially vernacular characteristics of the period. The Franciscan friaries at Adare, Quin, Timoleague, Kilcrea are cited as examples, with the most 'un-English' features being found in the cloister arcades in the abbeys of Cong, Jerpoint and Quin.[83] Butler contrasted Holycross Abbey in Co. Tipperary with Christ Church cathedral, the abbey acting as a vernacular foil to the cathedral's essentially English character. According to Butler's argument, the abbey displayed a vernacular style, and vernacular interpretation of the architecture of southern Europe. Butler concluded his long description of Holycross with a reference to Close's Fitzgerald Prize-winning drawings of the abbey, and echoed Close's call for architects to emulate Irish medieval architecture in contemporary building projects, rather than look for models elsewhere.

The version of this piece in *The Irish Monthly*, published as a single article edited out several of the more detailed examples which were included in the *Irish Builder*. In the version published in the *Irish Builder*, published in two parts, Butler

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[81] Ibid. pg. 618
[82] Ibid., pg. 618
[83] Ibid., pg. 619

presented a more nuanced argument for the ebb and flow of different cultural influences, and of the methods by which different styles manifested themselves in different areas. To illustrate this point, Butler considered a group of abbeys in Wexford together as an example of buildings from an area, which 'although under English influence, present distinctive features' – Dunbrody, Tintern and Clonmines.[84] This section of the essay included more detail on the political history of the Irish middle ages, and related the architecture of the period to key events such as the Bruce invasions. Again, in this article, the individuality of Irish work is reiterated throughout: of the architecture of the fifteenth century, he wrote that the medieval builders 'were not slavish copyists. When they rebuilt they made no attempt to simulate early work, but boldy enforced the vernacular style of their own day and nation, not hesitating to pull down what did not appeal to them'. While the work of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is described as being, for historical reasons, less 'luxuriant' than the later, it was 'not [...] by any means colourless, or devoid of definite characteristics of its own.'

Butler also introduced a note on non-ecclesiastical building types, and included Quin Castle, and Bunratty Castle in his essay, and also makes a reference to late medieval ecclesiastical metalwork.

The second instalment of Butler's essay references several examples of contemporary scholarship, including Samuel Ferguson's accounts of the cloister at Kilconnell Franciscan friary ('more like a cloister in Sicily or Spain than anything in these islands'), and the work of Francis Joseph Biggar, who had also written a paper on Kilconnell which emphasised the 'strong foreign influence' of these 'flamboyant characteristics.'[85] Butler also referenced American art historian William Henry Goodyear's system of 'refinements' in architecture, a system which he stated had not been integrated into the study of Irish medieval architecture.[86]

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[84] Butler, 'Irish Gothic Architecture', *Irish Builder*, 2 Sep 1916, 410 - 11

[85] Francis Joseph Biggar was a Belfast solicitor, Irish language revivalist and amateur archaeologist. He was a member of the RIA, and a founder member of Feis na nGleann. Biggar actively contributed to conferences and publications on aspects of Irish history and culture, and presided over the History section at the Pan-Celtic Conference in Brussels in 1910. There is no entry for Biggar in the Cambridge Irish *Dictionary of National Biography*. All biographical notes from *The Irish Times*.

[86] William Henry Goodyear (1846 – 1923), archaeologist and architectural historian: first curator of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1882-1888, and later curator of art at the Brooklyn

Goodyear had included the Dublin cathedrals in his *Architectural Refinements in English Cathedrals* and his work in Dublin in 1914 is mentioned by Butler:

> (S)o far, no scientific investigation has been made of the Irish Abbeys to test the application of Mr. W.H. Goodyear's theory of architectural refinements, which he has proved to exist in the deliberate irregularities of so many English and foreign churches, but in the English foundations of Christ Church and in St. Patrick's, he has by minute and personal examination, found clear proofs of the existence of these methods.[87]

Butler's piece concluded with a call for greater regulation and legislation surrounding the preservation of Irish antiquities, comparing the lack of resources dedicated to them in Ireland with the Royal Commissions granted to the study and care of similar monuments in England, Scotland and Wales. Butler argued that:

> (E)ach one of them is a solid record in stone of the country's history, more enduring than any parchment annual, disclosing those, to those who care to read, the story of our whole civilisation, our rise, progress and downfall. As records alone, not to say as stimulants to a future, they deserve more notice at the hands of the Irish people.[88]

Throughout these two essays, Butler attempted to rehabilitate Gothic as a style which could be considered native and Irish, rather than addressing a sense of shared heritages between the two islands. His arguments are based on redefining and reinterpreting aspects of late medieval architecture as being part of a native tradition. A central trope of his argument is to emphasise cultural distance from English models, whether in the identification of a native and vernacular tradition, or arguing for greater emphasis on influence from Spain and Portugal. Many of the more nuanced arguments about shifting political influences, and scholarly

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Institute of Arts and Sciences. Lee Sorensen, 'Goodyear, William Henry', *Dictionary of Art Historians* (website), www.dictionaryofarthistorians.org/goodyearw.htm, accessed 18/09/11
Goodyear gave a series of lectures on architectural history while in Dublin, (Thomas W. Lyster, 'The Study of Architecture', *The Irish Times*, May 7, 1914. He is listed as being an honorary member of the RIAI.

[87] *Irish Builder*, 2 September, 1916, 410 - 11
Goodyear's visit to Dublin is also recorded in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, 'General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America December 29 – 31, 1914', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 19, no. 1, (1915), 74

[88] *Irish Builder*, 2 September, 1916, 410 - 11

references, were omitted from the reprint of the essays in *The Irish Monthly*, reflecting a more general readership, but also perhaps a somewhat simplified view of Butler's presentation of Irish Gothic architecture.

A contemporary of Butler, Robert Cochrane, was born in Co. Down into a family involved in the construction industry, and was educated in Queen's College, Belfast. Where Butler's contributions to the discourse on Irish Gothic architecture represent the intersection of the concerns of the professional architect, publisher and writer, Cochrane was positioned between the discourses of active, practical antiquarianism and professional architectural practice. Like Butler, he contributed to the development of the debate on later medieval buildings in Ireland, with a specific focus on their preservation and practical treatment. His architectural career involved a period as town surveyor of Banbridge and Dromore, following which he was appointed to the architects' department of the Board of Works. An active antiquarian, his work was highly regarded. He was a vocal advocate for the preservation of ancient and national monuments in Ireland, and strongly advised the establishment of a Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments for Ireland. Cochrane was appointed to post of Inspector of Ancient Monuments for Ireland in 1899, a position which he held until his death. His reports on the buildings, published in the annual reports of the Commissioners of Public Works, are an important contribution to Irish architectural history.[89] Many of Cochrane's contributions were published in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, of which he was the president between 1909 and 1912. These included several articles on Ogham stones, the Broighter hoard, on early Christian architecture, on professional architectural qualifications and practice, and on the legislation protecting architectural heritage. He contributed important articles on later medieval Irish architecture to the *JRSAI*, including those on Athassel Abbey in Co. Tipperary, the frescoes in Abbeyknockmoy, and on Quin Abbey in Co. Clare. These take the form of descriptions of the remains of the buildings, in spare and technical language, illustrated by views, scaled drawings and plans (Fig. 4.1, Fig. 4.2) . Cochrane has included comparisons with English structures, for example,

[89] Further work on this subject will include close readings of Cochrane's *Board of Works* reports.

noting the similarity between Abbeyknockmoy, in Co. Galway and the Cistercian abbey of St. Mary, Old Cleeve, Somersetshire and Strata Florida in Wales.[90]

Cochrane's contributions to the *Irish Builder* included sections from his Board of Works reports, and an important article on the care and study of ancient monuments since the foundation of the journal, published in its silver jubilee issue in 1909. Cochrane's article surveyed the culture of architectural production in Ireland from the lull in production caused by the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny, included some reminiscences on the different editors and fortunes of the journal itself, and surveyed important works of architectural historiography produced since 1859.

Adopting a similar approach to the 1875 essays on the literature of the Gothic Revival, Cochrane stated that:

> (T)he study of antiquities has advanced steadily during the previous twenty years, and Archaeology had become a recognised science, and was treated by the new school of Archaeologists in a very scientific manner. The inductive process dispelled the wild theories advanced by the older school on subjects such as the Round Towers.[91]

The key works of antiquarian research in the fifty years period following 1859 were, in his opinion, Brash's 'valuable work' on Irish ecclesiastical architecture and Petrie and William Wilde's 'three ages' catalogue of the museum for the Royal Irish Academy, completed in 1862. Within the *Irish Builder*, he noted important contributions such as John O'Hanlon's antiquarian and topographical *History of the Queen's County*, which later published in full, the work of Edward Evans on 'Old Dublin Houses', and the work of Mr. R. McC Dix on the 'Lesser Castles of Dublin'. The illustrations of Mr. F. Elrington Ball are also mentioned. Cochrane noted the role of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland in promoting the study of antiquities.

The introduction of legislation preserving national monuments was centrally important to Cochrane. By 1909, protected monuments included 'most of

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[90] Robert Cochrane, 'Abbey Knockmoy, Co. Galway: Notes on the Buildings and "Frescoes"', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, Fifth Series, 34, no. 3, (1904), 248

[91] Robert Cochrane, 'Some Antiquarian Notes and Reminiscences of 'The Irish Builder' 1859 – 1909', *The Irish Builder Jubilee Issue*, 1909, 42

the medieval structures of importance in Ireland, and a considerable number of the most interesting prehistoric monuments.'[92] Cochrane cited the Board of Works reports as another important source of Irish architectural history, and noted the reprints of portions of the reports were available at Holycross and Clonmacnoise for a nominal sum. He noted that the reports of the Rock of Cashel, the Grianan of Aileach and Grey Abbey Cistercian abbey, which had been included in the Report of 1907 – 8, were also available to visitors at those sites.[93] Cochrane's contributions to the *Irish Builder* reflect a type of writing which, unlike Butler's concern with narratives and stylistic identities, was much more concerned with the practical organisation of the future of the buildings. Cochrane's style and approach were informed by with the urgent need to communication information on the value of the buildings to the public and to the government in order to safeguard their survival.

It is evident, and was inevitable, that the transforming discipline of medievalist research in England, and across Europe, was inextricably linked to the development of historical, antiquarian and archaeological research in Ireland. While the traffic and exchange between models and practices of research form a central part of this discussion, the extent to which a discourse on Irish architecture existed or was developed outside Ireland, and the impact which this had on emerging scholarship in Ireland must not be overlooked.

Irish antiquarian controversies and developments were well-documented in magazines and journals produced in England. A scathing review of Henry O'Brien's universally ill-received *The Round Towers of Ireland, or the Mysteries of Freemasonry, of Sabaism, and of Buddhism for the First Time Revealed* which was published in the *Edinburgh Review*, for example, revealed a clear understanding of the politics and developments of Irish antiquarianism over the preceding decades. The author of this review referred to late eighteenth-century trends in Irish archaeology, and, in particular, the unscientific approach of figures such as Charles

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[92] Cochrane, 'Some Antiquarian Notes and Reminiscences of 'The Irish Builder' 1859 – 1909', 42

[93] As in the case of the reports of the Board of Works, the tourist literature provided at sites will form part of further work on this subject.

Vallancey. The view of antiquarianism, generally, is a negative one, similar to that popularised by Sir Walter Scott in his novels.[94]As was the case in Irish-produced periodicals, the bulk of the space dedicated to Irish antiquarian subjects is dedicated to the round tower controversies, their origin, date and makers, and to the antiquity of stone building, and of building with mortar, in Ireland. These controversies, as has been noted by critical writers such as Clare O'Halloran, were refracted through the complex prism of cultural and religious politics.

The *Gentleman's Magazine* was a hugely successful journal, published for over two hundred years, from 1731 to 1922, which consistently included antiquarian and archaeological notices and articles. The magazine is interesting to consider as an example of cultural transfer, as well as an example of a narrative of Irish architectural history produced outside Ireland, as it was received by the RSAI from the Society's inception.[95]

In the 1860s, the *Gentleman's Magazine* published a series of essays on Irish architecture, the authors of which included John Henry Parker (1806 – 1884), the antiquary and publisher and architect Gordon Macdonald Hills. Parker's work on the study of Gothic architecture was influential in scholarly circles, as well as in the more popular antiquarian context. Champneys, for example, referenced Parker's work on the study of Gothic architecture, throughout his own text, as did Brash. Parker had several contacts in Ireland, and his publishing house produced, for private circulation, the Memorials of Adare Manor. Dunraven and Parker collaborated on the final part of the series on the history of architecture in Ireland, discussed below. In his article on Adare and its environs, Parker acknowledged the loan of woodcuts from Dunraven's privately printed volume, and for his 'many corrections and valuable information.'[96] Parker also contributed to the scholarship on Irish domestic architecture; a paper on 'Ancient Domestic Architecture of Ireland' was published in *Archaeologia*. This was scathingly referred to as evidence of Parkers' 'despising everything Irish', by William Stokes in his *Life* of George

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[94] ART. VII.-the round towers of ireland; or the mysteries of freemasonry, of sabaism, and of budhism, for the first time unveiled. 1834. *The Edinburgh Review,*59, (119): 143-154

[95] This is recorded in the 'Publications Received' sections of the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*.

[96] 'Notes on the Architecture of Ireland – X', *Gentleman's Magazine*, (1865, March), 283

Petrie.[97] Further links between Parker and Irish antiquarian communities were given by William Wakeman, in an account of his career as an antiquarian, who noted that Parker had read a paper for him to the Architectural Society of Oxford, on the subject of megalithic remains and carvings at Slievenacalliagh.[98]

The series of essays on Irish architecture which appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* from 1864 was described thus by the editor:

> (T)he Notes on the Architecture of Ireland, which are fully illustrated from sketches made recently on the spot, and which, when complete, will be found to give a more full and accurate collection of genuine examples of Irish architecture than has hitherto appeared.[99]

Parker situated his analysis of medieval Irish architecture within a broad, Europe-wide understanding of building practices. His work, according to his preface, was distinguished from that of local antiquaries as it would provide a more impartial view. He wrote that:

> There are in all countries local antiquaries who study the buildings of their own city, or province, or country, with much zeal and assiduity, and who have rendered, and we hope will continue to render, great service to the science of archaeology. But each of these local antiquaries is ready to fight for the superior antiquity of his own buildings; those which he has studied so carefully must be a century or two earlier than the corresponding buildings of other countries. It is clear that they cannot all be right, and the chances are that they are all wrong.[100]

The overall narrative structure of the series is clearly stated by the author: that each country possesses a 'national' style of architecture, "almost as distinct as its language or any other national peculiarity."[101] Parker claimed that his history had the advantages of both modernised transport, and improved methods of representation – photography, in particular, allowing more accurate analysis of an individual monument, greater opportunity for comparison between monuments,

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[97] William Stokes, *The Life and Labours in Art and Archaeology of George Petrie*, 158

[98] Statement by W. F. Wakeman, Hon. Fellow, W. F. Wakeman, *The Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland*, Fourth Series, Vol. 8, No. 77 (1889), 486-490

[99] *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 'Preface', January to June inclusive, 1864, v

[100] Ibid, pg. 6

[101] Ibid., pg. 3

and the opportunity to compare and contrast geographically disparate monuments.[102]

The stated terms of Parker's study reveal much about methodological processes in the study of medieval architecture in 1864, including the key texts which were used as benchmarks by scholars. Parker referred to the text by Robert Willis on the history of Canterbury Cathedral, the methodology of which he described as 'equally applicable to all the principal buildings in Europe, and wherever they are applied, they are unanswerable.'[103]

The 'new architectural history', as developed by Robert Willis in his 1835 *Remarks on the Architecture of the Middle Ages, Especially of Italy*, and as outlined in his surveys of important English medieval monuments, was based on the comparison of word – manuscript or printed sources – with material evidence, so that the 'history and structure might illuminate each other.'[104] Parker had included examples of Willis' scholarship on the nomenclature of medieval architecture in the 1850 edition of his *Glossary of Gothic Architecture*, reflecting the interests of both authors in taxonomy and lexicography. Parker's emphasis on careful examination of successive stages of building and on the use of moulding profiles as the 'best and safest' guide to the history of a building reflects Willis' inductive methodology.[105] This approach is borne out in his approach to Irish medieval architecture. His work is illustrated with sketches of architectural features, heavily shaded, and often quite heavy-handed in execution, with plans and with sections of moulding profiles.

Parker's assessment of the extant scholarship in Ireland was that it lacked the inductive rigour and method of Willis: 'they have not been applied at all in

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[102] Ibid., pg. 3

[103] Ibid., pg. 7

[104] Ben Marsden, "Willis, Robert (1800–1875)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004); online ed., ed. Lawrence Goldman, October 2009, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29584, accessed 21/04/11
The important contribution of Willis to architectural history has been the subject of extensive research by Alexandrina Buchanan: 'Robert Willis (1800 – 1875) and the Rise of Architectural History', unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 1995, and 'The Science of Rubbish: Robert Willis and the Contribution of Architectural History', in Frank Salmon ed(s) *Gothic and the Gothic Revival*. SAH, London, 1998

[105] 'Notes on the Architecture of Ireland - I', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1 (1864, Jan.), 7

Ireland, and it is only by this process that the truth can be arrived at.'[106] According to Parker, scientific scholarship had been hampered by a local desire to exaggerate the importance of Irish buildings in the context of a world history of architecture, and an uncritical assessment of dating. For example, he highlighted the tendency in Irish architectural history to assume that foundation dates given in annals refer to the date of erection of an extant structure, not taking into account subsequent stages of rebuilding.

Parker's professed aim in publishing the series of articles on ancient Irish architecture was to increase the knowledge of Irish architecture across Europe:

> (W)hatever opinion may be formed as to the dates of Irish buildings, there can be no doubt of their very distinct national character, and that they are highly interesting, and deserve to be better known throughout Europe, than has hitherto been the case.[107]

The majority of the articles focused on early Christian architecture, with some notices of later medieval buildings, including an annotated plan of Muckross Abbey, Clonmacnoise.[108] The sites discussed were Clonmacnoise, Glendalough, Aghadoe, Devenish Island and its neighbourhood, Ardmore, Cashel and the castles at Lismore, Askeaton and Kilmolash. Gordon Macdonald Hills contributed Part V, which was titled 'The Seven Churches – Reasons for Rejecting the Tradition', which took the form of a carefully-argued criticism of traditional interpretations of groups of early Christian Irish churches.[109] As evidenced by his contributions to the RIBA debate following Petit's paper on Irish medieval architecture, Hills had dedicated considerable time to the study of Irish antiquities. According to his obituary in the *Builder*, Hills was 'an old member of the profession who held an honourable through unostentatious position in it'. He had been articled to a firm in Southampton, had become assistant to Butler, the cathedral architect at Chichester, a building on which he worked throughout his life, and set up a private practice in London, chiefly dealing with ecclesiastical works. He contributed much

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[106] 'Notes on the Architecture of Ireland - I', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1 (1864, Jan.), 7
[107] 'Notes on the Architecture of Ireland - I', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1 (1864, Jan.), 6
[108] 'Notes on the Architecture of Ireland – IV', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, April (1864), 418
[109] Gordon M. Hills, 'Notes on the Architecture of Ireland – V', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1, May, 1864, 547

to antiquarian research, having written on the Irish round towers, on acoustic vases and monastic remains. He was the Diocescan surveyor for the dioceses of London, Rochester and St. Albans, and was an Associate of the Institute of Architects and treasurer of the British Archaeological Society. He died in 1895. [110]

Parker's survey of medieval Irish architecture included Christ Church Cathedral and St. Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin and the medieval parish church of St. Audoen, on Dublin's High Street. His history of Christ Church Cathedral opened with a list of the individuals involved in the fabric of the cathedral, and their contributions to the development of its structure. Describing the appearance of the building as it existed in 1864, he wrote that 'the exterior of Christchurch is uninteresting in the extreme' due to its 'modernisation'. The interior, despite the 'sadly mutilated and barbarously "restored"' features of the building, still had much to offer to Parker in terms of assessing medieval Irish architecture.[111] Different aspects of the building's carving were noted as being in 'English' or 'Irish' style, a clear division existing between the two. The illustrations reflect Parker's approach, as influenced by Willis, in the inclusion of sections, moulding profiles and details (Fig. 4.3, Fig. 4.4, Fig.4.5) In his descriptions of St. Patrick's Cathedral, it is clear that Parker has created a system of value within which he is judging the Irish work, and that this system of value is informed by English medieval architecture as a standard (Fig. 4.6, Fig. 4.7).

A similar method of analysis is used in his discussion of the style of St. Audoen's: the piers and arches are described as 'Early English, but with Irish peculiarities', and the capitals are described as being 'made of a great number of small shallow mouldings, which give a flatness of effect to it, very different from the beautiful capitals of the genuine style.'[112]

Muckross Abbey, Killarney is the subject of the April 1864 entry, described by Parker as being 'exceedingly picturesque.' He noted that the building was a fine example of:

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[110] 'Gordon Macdonald Hills', *The Builder*, Vol. 68, 20 April, 1895, 302
[111] 'Notes on the Architecture of Ireland', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1 (1864, Jan.), 11
[112] 'Notes on the Architecture of Ireland', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1 (1864, Jan.), 20

> (T)he Irish style of the fifteenth century...evidently made out of the French, English and Italian styles of the two previous centuries, but worked out in so singular a manner, with mouldings and details peculiar to Ireland, that it is quite entitled to rank as the national Irish style.

Parker elaborated on this style in a footnote, writing that:

> (T)he buildings of this date in Ireland are much plainer than those in England at the same period; they have fewer mouldings and ornaments, and the mouldings are shallower and frequently much more clumsy than ours, but this is greatly owing to the material they had to work upon.[113]

The eighth article in Parker's series on Irish architectural history was on the ruins on the rock of Cashel, the magnificent situation of which he described somewhat breathlessly:

> (O)n entering [...] it is impossible to describe the feelings which crowd upon the imagination. The grey, hoary, solemn and melancholy-looking ruins seem in their mute eloquence like spirits of the past standing in the present – silent, and yet speaking (Fig. 4.8).[114]

Parker outlined his methodology for analysing the buildings on the Rock – firstly, writing the history from the Annals and original sources, secondly, seeing to what extent the architectural characters agree with this history, and thirdly, following this, to 'endeavour to fix the dates of the various erections.'[115] This methodology demonstrates his adherence to Willis' method of analysis.

Parker isolated what he felt were the 'essential' features of Irish medieval architecture: the tall, slender towers, oblong in plan, of the Franciscan friaries; stepped battlements with numerous openings for water; windows filled with tracery, frequently of an earlier style than the date of foundation; cloisters, with twin shafts and capitals; monumental recesses; arches with 'tongue corbels'; a peculiar mode of hanging and fastening doors.[116]

Parker concluded with some thoughts on the transference of the model of study of English architecture to the Irish remains. Parker suggested that the

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[113] 'Notes on the Architecture of Ireland, *The Gentleman's Magazine*, April (1864), 418 - 19
[114] 'Notes on the Architecture of Ireland – VIII' *The Gentleman's Magazine*, (1864, October), pg. 403
[115] Ibid., pg. 404
[116] 'Notes on the Architecture of Ireland – X', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, (1865, March), pg. 281

historian of English architecture would find that 'the knowledge he may previously have gained in England will require to be materially modified in applying it to Irish buildings.'[117] These 'modifications' included the dating structure around different styles, as 'the change of style was much slower in Ireland than in England', with the exception of certain monuments such as Cormac's Chapel. Parker also noted the appearance of 'foreign influence' – the possible Spanish character in the cloisters and parapets, and also gave the opinion that through careful examination of stonework, it would be possible to identify work carried out by English workmen, and the work of 'native artificers.'[118] Parker also emphasised the nature of the building material in Ireland as significantly impacting the nature of its architecture: the grey limestone, 'not a good substance for carving', and 'which may account for the very clumsy capitals which we find in fifteenth-century work, which have frequently few mouldings, and those of the rudest kind'.[119]

Many of the detailed plans were drawn by Hills, including those at Clonmacnoise and Cashel, and were engraved by Orlando Jewitt.[120]

Further to this series on Irish medieval architecture, the Gentleman's Magazine published a number of articles on individual buildings, including notices by Brash on Iniscealtra and John Swan Sloane on St. Doulough's Church in Dublin. For example, in 1906, the magazine included a long article on Holy Cross Abbey, Co. Tipperary, by Arthur Henry Bullen.[121]

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, and the early years of the twentieth, key architectural and topographical periodicals included articles, notices and surveys of medieval Irish architecture. *The Ecclesiastical Art Review*, advertised by its editors as being a cross-denominational periodical, dedicated to every aspect

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[117] Ibid, pg. 282
[118] Ibid, pg. 283
[119] Ibid, pg. 283
[120] (Thomas) Orlando Sheldon Jewitt, (1799 – 1869), engraver, Leo John De Freitas, "Jewitt, (Thomas) Orlando Sheldon (1799–1869)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online ed., ed. Lawrence Goldman, Oxford: OUP, , http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14814 (accessed September 23, 2011)
[121] Arthur Henry Bullen (1857 – 1920), literary editor and publisher. Bullen wrote on Elizabethan literature, and in 1891, founded the publishing house of Lawrence and Bullen, and in 1904, the Shakespeare Head Press, in Stratford-on-Avon. He edited the Gentleman's Magazine in 1906. Richard Storer, 'Bullen, Arthur Henry (1857–1920),' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online ed., ed. Lawrence Goldman, Oxford: OUP, , http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32163, accessed 25/03/11

of ecclesiastical art, from furnishings and architecture to music and funeral rites published two long articles on the antiquities at Ardmore, Waterford, in 1878.[122] The author was Michael Joseph Cunningham Buckley, the Cork-born antiquarian and designer, who was active between 1860 and 1905. Buckley became a partner in the firm of ecclesiastical decorators, which had its premises on the Strand in London.[123]

A far better-known writer on Irish architectural heritage was John Romilly Allen (1847 – 1907) became the editor of *The Archaeologist and Illustrated Reliquary* in 1893.[124] This periodical included a number of notices on Irish subjects; for example, the 1899 issue included a review of *The High Crosses of Castle Dermot and Durrow* (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co.), and more relevant to this review of the scholarship on Irish Gothic architecture, a long article on Timoleague Abbey, Co. Cork by H. Elrington.[125]

The engagement of John Romilly Allen (1847 – 1907) with the study of Irish antiquities demonstrates the importance of the friendly relationships that existed between learned societies in Ireland and elsewhere. Romilly Allen trained as an engineer with G.F. Lyster, and worked on a number of important engineering works, such as the Mersey Docks, the Persian railways of Baron Julius de Reuter and the construction of docks at Leith, near Edinburgh and at Boston, Lincolnshire. His antiquarian research was focused on prehistoric antiquities, and on pre-Norman art in Great Britain. Romilly Allen was the editor of *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, the journal of the Cambrian Archaeological society, from 1889 until his death in 1907. He was the Rhind lecturer in archaeology of the Royal Society of

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[122] Buckley's firm of ecclesiastical decorators and furnishers were one of the main advertisers in the journal, with large half-page adverts in almost every issue.

[123] An account of the firm of Cox & Buckley from 1882 described it as one of the busiest firms in the industry in late Victorian London, with a thriving export market. In this account, the separate firm of Messrs. Buckley and Company is mentioned, before it became Messrs. Cox, Sons, Buckley and Company. The earlier company is probably that which is advertised with premises on 72 Wigmore St., Cavendish Square, London W. in the *Ecclesiastical Art Review*. 'Messrs. Cox, Sons, Buckley and Company', *New Monthly*, 121: 721 (1882, Jan.), 82

[124] I. B. Henderson, "Allen, John Romilly (1847–1907)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online ed., ed. Lawrence Goldman, Oxford: OUP, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30388 accessed 06/04/11

The Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist was published between 1860 and 1909, by Bemrose & Sons Ltd. Of London, and contained a wide range of articles on classical and medieval archaeology, notices and reviews of new books and general archaeological notes.

[125] I have not been able to find any information on the identity of H Elrington.

Antiquaries of Scotland in 1887, the Yates lecturer in archaeology in University College London in 1898, and he published important monographs on the antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland, including *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland* (1903) and *Celtic Art in Pagan and Pre-Christian Times* (1904). His approach to the classification of pre-Christian and early Christian art has been described as 'pioneering scientific methods of description', with a dedication to comparative study of art in different media as a method of establishing chronology. Romilly Allen was also a fluent and passionate advocate of the preservation of monuments, and particularly urged the creation and collection of casts of important antiquities.

The obituary given in the *JRSAI* for Romilly Allen in 1908 outlined the level of engagement which he had with Irish antiquarian research: he became a member of the RSAI in 1876, a fellow in 1899 and an honorary fellow in 1902. He had been closely involved in the visit of the Cambrian Archaeological Society to Ireland in August 1891, continuing, as was noted in the obituary, a friendly and mutually enriching relationship which had existed between the two societies which had been established by a slightly earlier generation of antiquarians: the third Earl of Dunraven and James Graves.[126] Romilly Allen's major works offered close assessments of Irish archaeology, and he is noted to have claimed that, in the research for his 1904 *Celtic Art in Pagan and Christian Times*, he had personally examined nearly all of the early Christian monuments of Ireland, as well as those in Scotland, England and Wales.[127]

Romilly Allen also delivered a series of lectures as part of the Margaret Stokes Memorial Lectures at Alexandra College in Dublin, in Spring 1905. The subjects of his lectures were 'Celtic Origins and Celtic Metalwork of the Pagan Period', 'Celtic Metalwork and Illuminated Manuscripts of the Christian Period', and 'Celtic Art and the evolution of the High Cross'.[128] Romilly Allen was part of a distinguished line of Margaret Stokes Memorial Lectures, which had included Kuno

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[126] 'Proceedings', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 5th Series, 18, March 31, 1908, 87

[127] Ibid.

[128] 'Margaret Stokes Memorial Lectures', *The Irish Times*, March 30, 1905, 9

Meyer[129] on 'Civilisation in Ireland during the early Christian centuries, 400 – 800 AD,' George Coffey[130] in 1903, on 'Pre-Christian Civilisation in Ireland', and Patrick Weston Joyce[131], in 1904, who lectured on 'Education and Educators in Irish Schools'.[132]

Harold G. Leask, in the third volume of his seminal *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings*, acknowledged the importance of two writers on Irish architectural history whose work had been particularly important in guiding his own research. The first of these was Thomas Johnson Westropp, the well-known antiquary. The second, however, was less known. Mr. Conor O'Brien, 'though best known as a mariner, was an architect by profession'.[133] O'Brien was, as Leask noted, better known for his sailing than his work as an architect or antiquary, and sailed around the world in a yacht built to his own design. He married the artist Kathleen Frances Clausen (1886 – 1936), and died in 1952.[134] Leask praised O'Brien's antiquarian research, noting that 'his accounts of certain medieval Irish

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[129] *Irish Times*, April 26, 1902, 7

[130] *Irish Times*, April 30, 1903, 4

[131] *Irish Times*, May 14, 1904, 5

[132] Kuno Meyer (1858 – 1919), Celtic scholar, philologist and translator, born in Hamburg. Meyer was involved with the RIA, and with many of the key figures of the Gaelic League and Celtic Revival in Ireland at the turn of the century, and published widely on Celtic languages. Aidan Breen. 'Meyer, Kuno'. *Dictionary of Irish Biography*.(ed.) James McGuire, James Quinn. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
(http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a5810) accessed 06/04/11
George Coffey (1857 – 1916), archaeologist, journalist and writer, painter and supporter of the Irish Home Rule Movement. Coffey was curator of Irish antiquities at the National Museum of Ireland, and was a key figure in the artistic and literary circles of fin-de-siecle Dublin. Frances Clarke. 'Coffey, George'. *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. (ed.) James McGuire, James Quinn. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
(http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a1794), accessed 06/04/11
Patrick Weston Joyce, (1827 – 1914), educationalist, historian, linguist, translator, collector of folk music. Joyce was involved in the commission to reorganise the national school system, and was involved in the publication of several texts on education, and history course-books for children, which were used by Catholic institutions in Australia, New Zealand and America. He collaborated with Petrie on the study of Irish music, and was an important pioneer of the study of Irish and Hiberno-English linguistics. Frances Clarke, Sinéad Sturgeon. 'Joyce, Patrick Weston'. *Dictionary of Irish Biography*.
(ed.) James McGuire, James Quinn. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
(http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a4364) accessed 06/04/11

[133] Harold Graham Leask, *Irish monastic buildings, Vol. 3, Medieval Gothic and the last phases*, (Dundalk: Dundalgan Press W.Tempest), 1960), preface.

[134] *Dictionary of Irish Architects 1720 - 1940*, http://dia.ie/architects/view/4061/O%27BRIEN-EDWARDCONORMARSHALL accessed 01/03/11

buildings [...] are of outstanding excellence; his illustrations, in particular, are models of draughtsmanship and completeness'.[135]

O'Brien, as an antiquarian and architect, has largely been overlooked in recent scholarship on the development of the professions of Irish history and archaeology.[136] He was born in Limerick in 1880, and was educated at Winchester College, Trinity College Dublin and Oxford, following which he became an architect.[137] Judith Hill has noted his developing interest in Irish antiquities: letters from O'Brien to his artist brother Dermod, written from Oxford in 1901, reveal a confident and knowledgeable understanding of stained glass techniques.[138] In 1902, his last year in Oxford, he joined the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, proposed by George James Hewson.[139] Hill has suggested that an architect friend of the O'Brien family recommended that O'Brien be articled to John Thomas Micklethwaite[140], but has not found evidence that this apprenticeship took place.[141] His architectural works include the Co-operative Hall at Dungloe in Co. Donegal (1908) and the People's Hall, Kilmallock, Co. Limerick (1914).[142] O'Brien contributed a number of papers to the English architectural periodical, *Architectural and Topographical Record*, in 1908, a periodical produced by the Architectural and Topographical Society, founded in the preceding year. The dual aim of this society was the collection and the publication of a coordinated system

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[135] Harold G Leask, *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings*, Volume 3, (Dundalk: Dundalgan Press, W. Tempest Ltd, 1985)

[136] A recent book by Judith Hill examines his life, focusing on his sailing career. Judith Hill, *In Search of Islands: a life of Conor O'Brien*, (Cork: Collins Press, 2009)

[137] His brother was the artist Dermod O'Brien (1865 – 1945), who was president of the Royal Hibernian Academy for thirty-five years, the longest presidency in the history of the institution. Bridget Hourican. 'O'Brien, Dermod'. *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. (ed.) James McGuire, James Quinn. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2009. (http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a6460), accessed 16/03/11

[138] Hill, *In Search of Islands: a life of Conor O'Brien*, 10

[139] Hill, *In Search of Islands: A Life of Conor O'Brien*, 11

[140] John Thomas Micklethwaite (1843 – 1906), architect and ecclesiologist. Micklethwaite was a pupil of George Gilbert Scott, and the architect of a number of churches, as well as church restorations. He is most frequently associated with his work at Westminster Abbey, of which he has the custodian and surveyor. He was deeply involved in architectural history and writing, and was the author of a number of books and articles on various aspects of medieval and contemporary architecture. Paul Waterhouse, 'Micklethwaite, John Thomas (1843–1906),' rev. Donald Findlay, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004); online ed., ed. Lawrence Goldman, October 2007, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35014 (accessed 22/03/11)

[141] Hill, *In Search of Islands: A Life of Conor O'Brien*, 11

[142] http://dia.ie/works/view/12521/building, accessed 22/03/11

of the records of ancient buildings, up to 1800.[143] The periodical was particularly aimed at architects, as the group who would most need the information as part of conservation work, and as those who would be best placed in contribute records and drawings. The society's advisory committee included many of the most prominent and influential figures involved in both architectural conservation, and the study of medieval architecture: Lord Avebury, Francis Bond, Sir Thomas Graham Jackson, William Richard Lethaby, Mervyn Macartney and Edward Schroder Prior.

The published works of the society were noted in the Irish antiquarian press: a review of the work in the County Louth Archaeological Society from 1908 expressed a desire to highlight O'Brien's contribution, 'lest someone, or rather everyone, should give too much credit to our English friends who first having provided us with the finest ruins in Europe are now going to measure and appraise them for us'.[144] O'Brien's contributions to the study of Irish medieval architecture have been cited by many of the later authorities on the subject, including Canice Mooney's history of pre-Reformation Irish Franciscan architecture and Leask, as mentioned above.[145]

As the publications of the Architectural and Topographical Record Society were organised by parish, O'Brien's entries cover the parishes of Kells, Jerpoint Abbey Newtown Jerpoint and Callan in Co. Kilkenny, the parishes of Drumcliff and the parish of Quin in Co. Clare and in Co. Limerick, the parish of Askeaton. Following the stated objectives of the periodical, the emphasis in O'Brien's articles is on recording the extant architectural remains, rather than the details of people or events associated with the institutions. He included a detailed description of each section of the building under examination, noting stages in the development of the building, additions and alterations, and the contemporary state of the building.

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[143] 'The Architectural and Topographical Society', *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, Vol. 15, No, 78, September 1909, pg. 309

[144] *Journal of the County Louth Archaeological Society*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (November 1908), pg. 99

[145] Canice Mooney, 'Franciscan Architecture in Pre-Reformation Ireland (Part IV)', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, Vol. 87, No. 2 (1957), 103 - 124

For example, O'Brien's entry on the parish of Kells begins with a description of the fortifications which surrounded the church and conventual buildings, which he suggested had been built in the fifteenth century.[146] He noted the square towers which had been built along them at intervals, six of which were still standing in 1908. He noted the inner enclosure, which contained the church and conventual buildings, which was bounded on the north by a river, on the east and west by the outside wall, and on the south by a wall and a moat.[147] He then went on to describe the church building, with chancel, tower, transepts and chapels, and the conventual buildings.

O'Brien also included a note on the contemporary condition of the buildings, and any recent interventions: at Kells, he noted that 'much of the work is in a state of dilapidation', with only the chancel being 'fairly perfect', except for the east wall of the northern chapel, which had fallen.

The account is illustrated by a measured ground plan of the church, and surrounding fortifications (Fig. 4.9). In the plan, O'Brien used an unbroken line to indicate extant remains, and a broken line to indicate sections on which he could only offer conjecture. O'Brien's style of writing is clear, concise and does not stretch to superfluous description. His description of the various architectural features reveals a formal training in architectural history. His descriptions of particular details are often accompanied by an illustration, such as his description of the three-light window in the transept of the church at Kells: 'three lights divided by the fifteenth-century mullions, but finished with exceedingly depressed elliptical arches, and the head contained within a minute square label, the soffit of which is rounded at the ends to follow the curve of the window arches, leaving a small sinking in the spandrel of each corner'.[148] In addition to the primary and secondary sources mentioned in his entry on Kells, O'Brien has included two articles from the *Architectural Review*, from 1906 and 1907, in his bibliography.

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[146] For a recent major exploration of Kells, Miriam Clyne, *Kells Priory, Co. Kilkenny: archaeological excavations by T. Fanning and M. Clyne*, (Dublin: Stationery Office, 2007)

[147] Conor O'Brien, *Architectural and Topographical Record* (London: Architectural and Topographical Society, 1908), 45

[148] Conor O'Brien, *Architectural and Topographical Record* (London: Architectural and Topographical Society, 1908), 50

The entry on the churches Newtown Jerpoint is structured in a similar way, opening with a brief note on the foundation of the church, and previous buildings on the site, and continuing with a comprehensive description of the architectural features of the chancel, nave and of the monuments within the building. Dromcliff and Callan parishes are also examined by O'Brien. He included detailed articles on Ennis abbey (Fig. 4.10), Quin abbey (Fig. 4.14), and on the antiquities of the parish of Askeaton. These entries are illustrated by measured plans of the church, again using broken lines to indicate conjectural elements of the drawing. Other illustrations include those of window tracery (Fig. 4.11), a detail of the parapet to the chancel, showing an earlier roof-line discussed in the text, a view of the church, decorated capitals, illustrations of some of the monuments (Fig. 4.12, Fig. 4.13), and a perspective drawings of bays of the cloisters (Fig. 4.15), including profiles of bases and moulding profiles of cloister arches. While O'Brien's plans are carefully measured and conform to standard practices of the graphic representation of architecture, some of the perspective drawings are quite loose and impressionistic, and are unconcerned with accurately representing each detail of the building (Fig. 4.16).

While O'Brien has included a bibliography in each parish entry, he does not reference any documentary sources, or antiquarian drawings of the building under discussion. He based his analysis purely on the evidence of the architectural remains.[149] Overall, O'Brien confined himself to detailed description, and some analysis of the date and development of the buildings under discussion, rather than engaging in a wider discussion on the development of Irish architecture, and its relationship to English or Continental architecture.

An insight into O'Brien's conception of the development of Irish architecture and the existence, or otherwise, of a 'national' style, is found in the 1912 lecture which he gave to the Architectural Association of Ireland. The subject

[149] According to the stated objectives of the Architectural and Topographical Society, each parish record was to be accompanied by a full bibliography of relevant sources and secondary material. O'Brien's bibliography included Archdall's *Monasticon Hibernicum* (1786), James George Robertson's *Antiquities and Scenery of Kilkenny* (1851), Rev. William Healy's *History and Antiquities of Kilkenny* (1893), Rev. William Carrigan's *History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory* (1905), the JRSAI, Vol. XXXVI, 1906, which included Richard Langrishe's 'Notes on Jerpoint Abbey, County Kilkenny', and manuscript sources for the history of the Augustinian foundation at Kells in the Lansdowne Collection at the British Museum.

of the lecture, reported in the *Irish Builder* was Irish Gothic, with the title 'The Development of a National Style of Gothic Architecture in Ireland'. According to this report, 'the lecturer deprecated the belief that there was anything especially national or peculiar about the Irish Romanesque, which he said was in no way to be distinguished from the plainer and ruder forms of the Romanesque in England, Normandy and other countries'.[150] O'Brien had argued that there were some features of Irish Gothic architecture which could be considered 'vernacular', but in the main, Irish Gothic also was largely based on the building practices and styles of the West of England.[151] Several leading architects and writers were present at the lecture, and disagreed with O'Brien's conclusions. These included Rudolf Maximilian Butler, who was the editor of the *Irish Builder* at the time, Patrick Joseph Lynch and William A Scott.

Butler, in his vote of thanks, 'differed entirely from the lecturer's view on Irish Romanesque'. According to Butler, Irish Romanesque had 'remarkable characteristics of its own, absolutely different from the Norman'.[152] On Irish Gothic, Butler argued that buildings in Ireland developed features which were totally unlike English work, and which were obviously inspired by some other foreign influence, possibly Portuguese or Spanish. He emphasised that 'sufficient influence had not be attached to the fact that in Ireland throughout the Middle Ages, churches were built under two separate and distinct influences, English and Irish, as these were two separate and distinct nations, and the works built under those influences could be most easily distinguished'.[153] Butler offered Christ Church Cathedral in Dublin as an example of a typically 'English' church in Ireland, and Holy Cross Abbey in Co. Tipperary as a typically 'Irish' building, 'with no English influence apparent'.[154] Lynch and Scott added to, and agreed with, Butler's response.[155]Judith Hill has also cited this lecture in her work on O'Brien, emphasising the importance of his friendship with the architect and writer Page

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[150] *Irish Builder*, March 2, 1912
[151] *Irish Builder*, March 2, 1912
[152] *Irish Builder*, March 2, 1912
[153] *Irish Builder*, March 2, 1912
[154] *Irish Builder*, March 2, 1912
[155] *Irish Builder*, March 2, 1912. RM Butler's own opinions on the issue of architecture and national style are discussed further in Section 1, Chapter 3 of this thesis.

Lawrence Dickenson at this time; both, according to Hill, argued that Irish Gothic and Romanesque architecture were heavily influenced by Britain, flying somewhat 'in the face of Irish Revival orthodoxy, which stressed the Irishness of Irish art'.[156]

While the arguments here differ from the more emotive, and overtly political statements of more popular narratives of architectural history to be examined in the following chapter, the framework through which the understanding of the architecture of the past is clearly based on concepts of nationality and of specific national identity, expressed through culture. This epistemological framework which informs the discussion on culture, style and nationality described above reflects contemporary developments in the philosophy concerning race, ethnicity and culture. As with the analysis of individual, full-length works on Gothic architecture in Ireland in the previous chapter, these shorter, and in some cases, more ephemeral, contributions to the discourse reflect a multiplicity of viewpoints on matters as diverse as the terminology for describing medieval architecture to the origins of the Round Towers. Periodicals were one of the more important sources of information for those involved in the architectural profession, and they reveal the debates surrounding the interpretation and care of medieval buildings by architects and antiquarians in a much more immediate way than the longer texts. Drew's contributions, for example, reveal much about the actual interaction between scholarship and the interventions in the physical fabric of the buildings. Essays of a more theoretical nature, such as that by Butler on the nature of Irish Gothic, form an important facet of the debates on national style and medieval buildings which had continued throughout the nineteenth century. Butler's essay has not been considered in any of the assessments of the historiography of Irish medieval architecture by Kalkreuter or Hourihane, and represents an important, authoritative, dissenting voice, which complicates what is an overly-simplified view of the discourse in the period.

[156] Hill, *In Search of Islands*, 19

Chapter 5: Non-professional narratives of Irish Gothic Architecture

I went to Chartres for windows; angled my neck
to the stained light.

You did your cathedral thing: merged
with the oak pew;

lowered your lids over eyes blue as the glass.[1]

The *British Architect* in 1903 published an article by 'A Civil Engineer' which decried the state of architecture in Ireland. According to this writer, apart from the round towers, Ireland had never possessed an architectural style which could be considered unique, or 'national' in any way. In the opinion of the Civil Engineer:

> (P)rior to the English conquest we appear to have built in wood. Subsequent to this period and up to the Reformation, the architecture of the country was that of the Invaders, and subsequent to the Reformation such examples as are still existent are not national in any sense, but are mere reproductions of English architecture, occasionally modified by the introduction of features borrowed from the Continent, but totally lacking in local feeling.[2]

While the point being made by this unhappy correspondent related mostly to contemporary building projects, and the unsuitability of an 'English style' of building to an Irish situation, the attitude expressed towards the architectural heritage of the country through time is revealing.

The judgement of the value of architectural production in Ireland, expressed above, must be viewed within the context of increasing political and cultural nationalism across Europe in this period. The Celtic Revival in Irish literature, visual arts, applied arts and architecture has been analysed by writers across academic disciplines. Important studies on the dynamics of cultural nationalism and critical analysis of cultural production within this context have

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[1] Dorothy Molloy 'Chacun à son gôut', *Hare Soup*, (London: Faber and Faber, 2004) 55
[2] 'Architecture in Ireland', *British Architect*, August 1, (1903), August 14

been written by Declan Kiberd and Terence Brown.[3] Jeanne Sheehy, Nicola Gordon Bowe, Paul Larmour and Sighle Bhreathnach-Lynch have, to different extents, examined the importance of nationalist ideologies in the production of visual arts, and in particular, architecture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[4]

In many of these studies, the authors have highlighted the manifestations of what can be considered attempts towards a 'national form' in popular culture, rather than solely within the sphere which could be considered 'elite' culture. Examples of popular cultural forms in her study of the Celtic Revival: the figure of Erin, by Pat McAuliffe on the façade of the Central Hotel, at Listowel, in Co. Kerry, which featured a bare-breasted personification of Ireland as woman, with an Irish wolfhound by her feet and a round tower at her side (Fig. 5.1); gravestones were often carved in the form of Irish high crosses (Fig. 5.2), with interlace decoration; or the membership card of the Repeal Association, which featured a pantheon of Irish heroes, their portraits arranged in niches in a Gothic architectural frame, which had as its centre a cache of pennanular brooches, shields, axe heads and lunulae, and the harp.[5] The imagery produced by antiquarian scholarship, and originally used in elite scholarly societies and publications, became the foundation for the symbolic currency of different political and religious communities in Ireland throughout the nineteenth century. Irish architecture was represented as being part of specific narratives of identity or history. Images of architectural heritage were used as a sort of visual shorthand for a range of political, social and religious meanings. These buildings and their histories were also represented in popular print, and the narratives which developed around them worked in tandem with this symbolic, iconic use. The forms of these narratives ranged from travel brochures and guides, articles in popular magazines and sermons at the

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[3] Terence Brown, *The literature of Ireland: Culture and Criticism*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010)

[4] Paul Larmour, *The arts and crafts movement in Ireland*, (Belfast: Friar's Bush Press, 1992), Nicola Gordon Bowe, *Art and the National Dream: the search for vernacular expression in turn-of-the-century design*, (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1993), Jeanne Sheehy, *The rediscovery of Ireland's Past: The Celtic Revival 1830 – 1930*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980), Sighle Bhreathnach Lynch, *Ireland's Art, Ireland's History: representing Ireland 1845 to present*, (Omaha, NE: Creighton University Press, 2007)

[5] All images in Sheehy, *The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past: The Celtic Revival 1830 – 1930*, 28, 73, 81

inauguration of new or restored ecclesiastical building projects. As in the case of the professional and scholarly architectural periodicals, there is a vast range of material which could be included in a comprehensive survey. While such a survey lies outside the scope of the current project, key examples of individual genres, the popular magazine and the sermon, have been examined in detail as case studies.

These journals and periodicals created visible and widespread conceptions of Irish architecture, and of Irish architectural development. The popularity of these cheap periodicals, coupled with the improvements in infrastructure which meant that people could, for the first time, read the same thing at the same time. This resulted in something of a 'shared informational zone' being created across the country.[6] As Francesca Benatti has written in her work on the *Dublin Penny Journal* (*DPJ*), 'periodicals were the mass media of the nineteenth century, and their production and consumption shaped the lives of millions of readers in the United Kingdom. The 1830s saw the growth of a new market to the established one for expensive quarterly reviews and monthly magazines. It centred on weekly periodicals, and was aimed at the emerging working- and lower-middle classes of the great cities'.[7] Writing specifically about the *DPJ*, Benatti writes that its circulation which 'peaked at close to 40,000 copies per week, was meagre compared to the 200,000 copies per week of its British model, but far surpassed anything published in Ireland at the time.'[8] The developments in print media from the 1830s onwards, therefore, created the conditions for a popular conception of a 'national' style of architecture.

These texts on Irish history, antiquities and archaeology form part of what has been termed 'history culture'. David Harvey has defined this concept as the occasions, or locations, in which the past is 'present' in everyday life – through descriptions, interpretations and museums. The 'history culture' of a specific society is the manifestation, at a particular time, of the cultural memory of that society. The 'retrospective memory of ancient sites manifests itself through the

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[6] Christopher Morash, *A History of the Media in Ireland*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010)

[7] Francesca Benatti, 'Land and Landscape in the *Dublin Penny Journal*, 1832 – 3', in *Land and Landscape in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, Glenn Hooper and Úna Í Bhroiméil, (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008), 13

[8] Benatti, 13

history culture of a given time, functioning as important markers or 'sites of memory' which are made relevant through contemporary practice.'[9] Of course, the 'history culture' which survives, most often in the form of print or in imagery, reflects the cultural memory of specific groups in society, usually those who could afford, and who were able, to use these media. The 'history culture' of other, usually less well off, groups in society, would include folklore, surviving pattern or pilgrimage patterns and balladry.[10]

In the scholarship on popular cultural forms in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in Ireland, the extent to which complex and multivalent historical traditions were somewhat distorted or changed in the creation of a popular conception of a standardised national style has been highlighted in studies of traditional dance, music, language and games. Though traditions of a country, or a place, usually do have a genuine antiquity, the notion that this antiquity is shared in a uniform way across a unified political space is the invention of nationalism.[11] In introducing a common, country-wide, rather than a regional, heritage, a sense of common inheritance and community was forged. Seamus Deane argued in his book *Celtic Revivals*, in perhaps overly polemical and general terms, 'the conviction that there had once been a traditional civilisation which had been destroyed by foreign interference soon came to replace the memory of the actual past.'[12] Crooke, in her work on nineteenth-century culture and the museum, has written that nationalism can be said to create the nation via 'maps' of history – maps which are created by way of the 'poetic spaces of the nation – the historic sites and sacred places and the idea of the 'Golden Age', a point in the nation's history in which it can now model itself. In this way, the remains of the past are 'naturalised' to an extent, and integrated into this 'map' of history.[13]

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[9] David C. Harvey, "National identities and the Politics of Ancient Heritage; Continuity and Change at Ancient Monuments in Britain and Ireland c. 1675 – 1850", *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series, 4 (2003), 475

[10] For a comprehensive introduction to the uses of folk history and social memory, see Guy Beiner, *Remembering the Year of the French: Irish Folk History and Social Memory*, (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2007)

[11] Crooke, 27

[12] Seamus Deane, "Arnold, Burke and the Celts", in *Celtic Revivals*, (London: Faber and Faber, 1985) 19

[13] Crooke, 27

The journals and periodicals examined here were part of this process of creating a shared, popular consensus or understanding across literate Ireland regarding cultural heritage, and in particular, architecture. For this analysis of architectural texts in popular magazines, I have selected a magazine from the middle years of the nineteenth century the *Dublin Penny Journal*, which reflects the new departure in cheap periodical publishing from this period.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, the role and position of print media in Ireland had shifted significantly, from being a site for the reporting of facts to becoming a platform for opinion and analysis, often about national and political matters. Both newspapers and periodicals were widely read, and had become an important forum for debate and opinion. One of the most striking features of nineteenth-century Irish print culture was the sheer proliferation of periodical titles Almost 4,000 titles were in print at one point or another over the century as a whole; this has been described as 'a symptom of an increasingly mediated society that was becoming more complex on many different fronts.'[14] The position of discussions on Irish culture, arts and architecture in these periodicals, therefore, must be considered within this context.

Barbara Hayley examined the emergence of Irish periodicals with a literary or cultural bias in the middle of the nineteenth century, moving away from the more exclusively political and religious publications in the early 1800s.[15] Richard Kearney, in his analysis of the intersections between culture and politics also highlighted this shift in the popular print being produced from the 1830s onwards. He identified:

> a new kind of journal, one that would combine genuine literary interests with more broadly political ideas of interdenominational concern, ideals that sought a broad cultural consensus for a new Ireland, and could cut across the tribal conflict between Planter and Gael.'[16]

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[14] Morash, 70

[15] Barbara Hayley, "A Reading and Thinking Nation: Periodicals as the voice of Nineteenth-Century Ireland", *Three Hundred Years of Irish Periodicals*, eds. Barbara Hayley and Enda McKay, (Dublin: Association of Irish Learned Journals, Mullingar and the Lilliput Press, 1987) 29 - 48

[16] Richard Kearney, *Transitions: Collected Irish Essays*, (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 2006), 76

The *Christian Examiner and Church of Ireland Gazette* and the *Irish Catholic Magazine* have been identified as two pivotal periodicals which began to include literature and articles on the arts and on culture; these were essentially the forerunners of periodicals such as the *Dublin Penny Journal*. This journal, along with the *Irish Penny Journal*, and the *Dublin University Magazine*, were among those of the highest quality being produced.[17] The role of these journals in the creation of cultural narratives has been described by Kearney as 'creative' rather than 'reactive'; less focused on polemical responses to sectarian issues, and creative in the sense that they were involved in projecting novel visions of Irish culture and society.[18]

The *Dublin Penny Journal* (*DPJ*), which was founded in 1832 by the Rev. Caesar Otway, included articles on antiquarianism, science, Irish history and Irish topography by writers such as George Petrie, Otway himself, and Samuel Ferguson, all packaged in "a weekly publication suited to the pockets of the poorer classes of society."[19] The status of the contributors to this journal in the canon of Irish arts and literature has made the *DPJ* the focus of studies by various scholars in recent years.[20]

The *DPJ* included articles on art, architecture and antiquities in almost every number. In the first issue, for example, the journal featured articles on the history of Dublin, Irish legends and myths, and transcriptions from the annals. Architecture featured in most of the numbers, usually in the form of articles on specific monuments, such as Blackrock castle[21], the town of Kilmallock[22], or on new building projects. As the aim of this thesis is to examine the discourse of medieval architecture, and particularly Gothic architecture, in Ireland, two types of article in the *DPJ* are of particular interest.[23] The first type consists of articles which consist

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[17] Hayley, 38
[18] Kearney, 76
[19] Morash, 76
[20] Benatti has examined the position of land and landscape within the *DPJ* within a cultural, social and political context. Benatti, 13
[21] *DPJ*, 1, no. 6, August 11 1832, 49
[22] *DPJ*, 1, no. 9, August 25 1832, 65
[23] The *DPJ* was published between 1832 and 1836, by the printer and publisher John S. Folds, 5 Bachelor's Walk, Dublin until 1833, and from 1833 – 1836 by Philip Dixon Hardy. Its editors were

of a narrative of the progression of Irish arts and culture, the second comprises articles on specific medieval buildings or groups of buildings.

The concept of architecture reflecting a specific national identity was highlighted in the second issue of the *DPJ*, published on July 7, 1832. The first page of the journal featured a woodcut, often reproduced in studies of the iconography of Irish nationalism, which included a harp, the Milesian crown, the oak tree, objects from archaeological finds such as trumpets and axe heads, a castle and a round tower (Fig. 5.3).[24] The text accompanying the image was written by Terence O'Toole and took the form of a letter to the editor. The subject of the letter was the 'peculiar marks and tokens of Ireland, which are dear to my soul.'[25] While the author acknowledged that some of the symbols, including the oak tree, the shamrock and the harp were known throughout the world, 'the Round Tower and the Wolf Dog belong exclusively to our country.'[26] The author displayed his familiarity with the antiquarian controversy surrounding the use and origin of the Round Towers, noting that 'quires of paper as tall as a tower have been covered with as much ink as might form a Liffey, in accounting for their origin and use.'[27] O'Toole referred to (his co-editor) George Petrie's recent work on the round towers as the most authoritative work on the subject, which in his view, definitively accounted for the structures: 'the real nature of these Round Towers clearly explained, for the first time, in a Prize Essay, presented to the Royal Irish Academy, by an accomplished antiquarian of our city.'[28]

On September 8, 1832, the *DPJ* published the first in a seven-part series of articles entitled 'Historic Sketch of the Past and Present State of the Fine Arts in Ireland'. The series was a complete and corrected version of one which had been

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Charles Otway and George Petrie until 1833, and then Dixon Hardy until its close, due to his ill-health in 1836. Tom Clyde, *Irish Literary Magazines: An Outline History and Descriptive Bibliography*, (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2003), 92 - 93

[24] These symbols are examined by Ewan Morris, "'The wolf-dog lying down and the harp without the crown': Irish national symbols to 1922", *Our Own Devices: National Symbols and Political Conflict in Twentieth-Century Ireland*, (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2005), 11 - 37

[25] Terence O'Toole, 'National Emblems', *DPJ*, 1, no. 2, July 7, (1832) 9.
Benatti has identified 'Terence O'Toole' as the alter-ego of the Rev. Caesar Otway, the first co-editor, with Petrie, of the magazine. Benatti, 21

[26] Terence O'Toole, "National Emblems", *DPJ*, 1, no. 2, July 7, (1832) 9

[27] Terence O'Toole, "National Emblems", *DPJ*, 1, no. 2, July 7, (1832) 9

[28] Terence O'Toole, "National Emblems", *DPJ*, 1, no. 2, July 7, (1832) 9

begun in the *Dublin Literary Magazine*.[29] It is significant that the reason given for the series was the author's opinion that 'the Fine Arts, properly so called, or the arts of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture, have never had their chronicle, or indeed, received the slightest aid from the literature of the country.'[30] William Stokes, in his biography of Petrie, noted that many of the important articles in the *DPJ* were contributed by George Petrie and John O'Donovan: 'those by Petrie consist of short notices of objects of antiquity, together with an historic sketch of the rise, progress and decadence of the Fine Arts in Ireland.'[31] The first article in the series repeated the claim so familiar from nineteenth-century cultural histories: that the unfounded and exaggerated claims to antiquity damaged the reputation of Irish antiquarianism, but that the claims of others of the barbarism of early Irish culture were equally spurious: 'prejudices, springing chiefly from political feelings, have equally blinded both sides.'[32]

This first article focused on the arguments which had historically been presented for and against the level of civilised society which had existed in Ireland in prehistoric times. Petrie outlined each position with equanimity, while admitting that he had 'some drops of Milesian blood' in his veins.[33] He argued for the presence of an advanced civilisation in Ireland, answering the questions asked in print by the 'learned but dogmatic' John Pinkerton – 'where is the least trace of art or science in your whole island?' – with evidence of Ireland's ancient monarchy and institutions, Brehon laws, music, poetry, monumental remains and gold, silver and bronze antiquities.[34] As Stokes pointed out, the purpose of this series of

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[29] *DPJ*, 1, no. 11, September 8, (1832) 83
The first four instalments of this series were published in *The Dublin Literary Gazette*, in the January, February, March and May issues of its only year of publication 1830. The journal published poetry, literary reviews, editorial pieces, and was edited by Samuel Lover. Clyde, 87

[30] *DPJ*, 1, no. 11, September 8 (1832), 83

[31] Stokes, 68

[32] *DPJ*, 1, no. 11, September 8 (1832), 83

[33] Benatti names the author of this series of articles as George Petrie. Benatti, 20
Benatti has discussed the treatment of land and landscape in the *DPJ*, and has identified a similar approach to that of antiquities employed by the editors – a strong statement in support of the value of Irish antiquities and landscape, but one which was not couched in the language of political extremism – a presentation of Ireland which was not based on religious identity or political allegiance, but the construction of 'a version of Irish identity which could be both authoritative and engaging for their intended audience'. Benatti, 16

[34] John Pinkerton (1758 – 1826), Scottish historian, poet, cartographer and scholar of early Scottish literature. Pinkerton's historical treatise, *A Dissertation on the Origin and Progress of the Scythians*

articles was to 'answer to the statements of Pinkerton, that no traces of civilisation in remote times are to be found in the country.'[35] The second article in this series was published on September 22, 1832. It opened with a discussion of bronze figures from a Westmeath shrine, which Petrie used as evidence to again argue against Pinkerton's claims, stating that they were 'of great interest and value not only as illustrating the state of the Fine Arts in Ireland previous to the arrival of the English, but also for the light they throw on the costumes of the different classes of society in these remote times.'[36] The bronze figures were illustrated visually, with detailed sketches which highlighted their costume and detail (Fig. 5.4). The main section of the text in this article focused on the introduction of Christianity to Ireland, and the impact of this on art and architecture in the country. As in older texts, the 'bloodless conversion' of the Irish is used as an example of the high degree of civilisation of the Irish people at this period in history.[37] The article continued that while the arts in Ireland were in a 'corrupt and debased' state, with only a touch of Greek and Roman glory, they were part of the culture and scholarship within Ireland which ultimately 'kindled into a blaze, that lighted up all Europe'.[38] Church patronage of the arts is oddly described as 'circumscribing' artistic production – the sole patrons of the arts were the clergy, who:

> employed them, perhaps exclusively, to the service of their religion [...] the building and decorating of churches and other religious edifices, the illuminating of religious books, the carving of tombs and crosses, and above all, the manufacture in brass and other metals of shrines, crosses, crosiers and other sacred utensils.[39]

Regarding architectural production, Petrie included the oft-repeated opinion about the Irish not having the knowledge of lime cement, the arch, orders and

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or Goths (1787) was based on his belief in the congenital inferiority of the Celtic people – this dissertation was controversial in its day, and was refuted by a number of contemporary scholars. Sarah Couper, "Pinkerton, John (1758–1826)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004); online ed., ed. Lawrence Goldman, May 2008, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22301 accessed 07/02/11

[35] Stokes, 68

[36] "Fine Arts. No. 2: Historic Sketch of the Past and Present State of the Fine Arts in Ireland", *DPJ*, 1, no. 13, September 22, (1832), 97

[37] O'Halloran, 80

[38] "Fine Arts: No. 2", *DPJ*, 1, no. 13, September 22, (1832), 97 – 99

[39] "Fine Arts: No. 2", *DPJ*, 1, no. 13, September 22, (1832), 97 – 99

architectural ornaments in building until the Early Christian period. He argued that the early churches, therefore, were 'characterised by an uniformity of plan of extreme simplicity', with any of the above-mentioned architectural motifs used very sparingly. Continuing this description of Early Christian churches, the buildings are described as being of oblong form, with an Eastern orientation; the chancel arch is described as a 'choir arch, *Arcus triumphalis*', which was frequently ornamented with pilasters or three-quarter columns and ornamental mouldings. The light in the buildings is described as coming from 'small open apertures or windows in the East end, or sanctuary, in which the altar was placed: the use of glass in windows was not generally used till some centuries later.' While the buildings are described as extremely simple, the author argues that they are 'not inconsistent with the suggestions of good taste, or unmarked by the characteristics of propriety and fitness.' Significantly, the buildings are linked to the East: 'the model appears to have been derived from the most ancient models of the East.'[40] St. Brigid's church at Kildare is mentioned as an exception to this simplistic model, the greater formal complexity and decorative richness being described by Cogitosus.[41]

The remainder of this article deals with the carved stone crosses, croziers and shrines in metal, and architectural fresco work – the fresco painting in Cormac's Chapel in Cashel is described as 'merely ornamental in their design, but exhibit still a great richness in their colours.'[42] The chief artistic output of this period in Ireland, according to this article, however, is the illumination of religious books – of the books which remained in college libraries at the time of writing, the author describes the imagery, with its 'elaborate minuteness' as having 'a certain

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[40] 'Fine Arts: No. 2', *DPJ*, 1, no. 13, September 22, (1832), 97 – 99

[41] 'Fine Arts: No. 2', *DPJ*, 1, no. 13, September 22, (1832), 97 – 99
Cogitosus (fl. 650) was the author of a Latin life of St. Brigit of Kildare, written not much later than 650. It is possibly one of the earliest specimens of Irish hagiography, and the account is of great archaeological interest due to its description of the basilica at Kildare as the only 'eye-witness' account of the structure and furniture of an Irish church in the seventh century. *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, accessed 08/02/11

[42] 'Fine Arts: No. 2', *DPJ*, 1, no. 13, September 22, (1832), 97 – 99
Roger Stalley has argued against the 'purely ornamental' interpretation of this decoration, in Roger Stalley, 'Solving a Mystery at Cashel: The Romanesque Painting in Cormac's Chapel', *Irish Arts Review*, 18, (2002), 25 - 29

Byzantine richness which may well excite the wonder and admiration of a rude age.'[43]

The article concludes with an extremely brief summary of the following four centuries: the progress of the arts in this period 'may be noticed in a few words.'[44] The Danish invasions, 'a barbarous and unlettered race' meant that Ireland became an 'arena of rapine and blood', with the people living in perpetual warfare, forced to take on the warlike habits of their invaders, and 'they necessarily ceased, if they did not wholly forget, whatever they had previously learned of the arts of peace.'[45]

The third article in this series on the Development of the Fine Arts in Ireland was published on November 2, 1832.[46] Having passed over the eighth to the twelfth centuries in a few words, the author announced a new departure in the development of the arts in Ireland, and throughout Europe, in the twelfth century. He ascribed this development to the conversion of the Normans to Christianity, and to the pilgrimages and Crusades to the Holy Land, which 'let in a fresh stream from the fountains of taste, which had been so long neglected and dried up.'[47] The article begins with a list of the architectural manifestations of these Europe-wide developments in Ireland; the bridges which were erected, and the decayed churches 're-edified with a rude splendour of ornament and decoration hitherto unknown in the island.' No mention is made of the important arrival of the Cistercian order. Petrie also listed the manufacture of stone crosses, 'of more picturesque form and of greater variety and elegance of traceries', and the achievements in metalwork.

Of the style of this artistic production, he wrote that 'we perceive little change from that of the preceding ages; it was still the corrupt Roman, only rendered more grotesque by a greater mixture of Eastern embellishment'.[48] As in

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[43] 'Fine Arts: No. 2', *DPJ*, 1, no. 13, September 22, (1832), 97 – 99
[44] 'Fine Arts: No. 2', *DPJ*, 1, no. 13, September 22, (1832), 97 – 99
[45] 'Fine Arts: No. 2', *DPJ*, 1, no. 13, September 22, (1832), 97 – 99
[46] 'Fine Arts No. 3: Historic Sketch of the Past and Present State of the Fine Arts in Ireland (Continued)', *DPJ*, 1, no. 19, November 3, (1832), 147 – 149
[47] 'Fine Arts No. 3: Historic Sketch of the Past and Present State of the Fine Arts in Ireland (Continued)', *DPJ*, 1, no. 19, November 3, (1832), 147 – 149
[48] 'Fine Arts No. 3: Historic Sketch of the Past and Present State of the Fine Arts in Ireland (Continued)', *DPJ*, 1, no. 19, November 3, (1832), 147 – 149

the second article, Petrie noted that the artistic production was still limited to the ecclesiastical sphere. The monuments (which were still extant at the time of writing) which he selected as representative of this style and period include the Cathedral Church of Tuam, Cormac's Chapel, and the Church of Disert.

Some of the existing scholarship on ecclesiastical architectural remains is noted in this section. Petrie observed, with regard to Cormac's Chapel, that it had been 'ignorantly ascribed to an earlier age.' Petrie's terminology demonstrated a clear understanding of the contemporary study of architecture, as he listed the various appellations by which the architectural production of the twelfth century had been given – Saxon, Norman and Lombard.[49]

Continuing the motif of political change being reflected in artistic and cultural change, Petrie noted the impact of the 'stormy reign of Roderick O'Connor, the last native High King of Ireland', which was 'unpropitious to the advancement of the Fine Arts in the island', despite the fact that he gave them all the encouragement which he could. The main architectural achievements of O'Connor's reign, according to this account, included the Castle of Tuam, of which, at the time of writing, only 'small remains' existed, and the Monastery of Cong. In the discussion of the architecture of Cong Abbey, he introduced a narrative of stylistic development from Romanesque to Gothic, the transitional architectural style described as 'the characteristics of the pointed style struggling for the ascendancy with those of the old corrupt Roman.'[50] The architecture of Cong is described favourably: 'there is an elegance of taste, and a beauty of execution, which are not perhaps to be paralleled in any other monastic remains in Ireland.'[51]

Following this description of 'native' architectural developments, Petrie turned to the innovations introduced from outside. External influence, the result of the 'partial conquest of our island by the Anglo-Norman adventurers,' is described in positive terms. The 'characteristic love of splendour' resulted in the erection of castles, and ecclesiastical buildings, which 'have never since been equalled in

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[49] 'Fine Arts No. 3: Historic Sketch of the Past and Present State of the Fine Arts in Ireland (Continued)', *DPJ*, 1, no. 19, November 3, (1832), 147 – 149

[50] 'Fine Arts No. 3: Historic Sketch of the Past and Present State of the Fine Arts in Ireland (Continued)', *DPJ*, 1, no. 19, November 3, (1832), 147 – 149

[51] 'Fine Arts No. 3: Historic Sketch of the Past and Present State of the Fine Arts in Ireland (Continued)', *DPJ*, 1, no. 19, November 3, (1832), 147 – 149

beauty or magnificence'. The ecclesiastical buildings listed include Dunbrody Abbey, Co. Wexford, Athassel Abbey, Co. Tipperary, St. Patrick's Cathedral and the Priory of the Holy Trinity (Christ's Church) in Dublin.[52]

A clear distinction is drawn between the architecture of the Anglo-Normans and the architecture of the native Irish, but the interplay of stylistic influence is acknowledged. According to Petrie, the impact of the Anglo-Norman foundations on the 'native princes who by their valour or good fortune retained considerable portions of their ancient inheritances' is visible in the cathedrals of Cashel, Limerick and Killaloe, all founded by the O'Brien's, Jerpoint Abbey, Boyle Abbey and Mellifont Abbey, and many others, which may be lesser in terms of magnitude to those listed above, but which were 'in no respect second to the proudest structure of their invaders.'[53] These developments in Irish architecture, from the twelfth century onwards, are described as 'the imperfect triumph of that beautiful style of pointed architecture, so long known in Europe by the appellation of "Gothic" [...] towards the conclusion of the succeeding century it arrived at its highest state of perfection.'[54]

This article is concluded with an aside on the nature of the scholarship of medieval architecture, across antiquarian communities in Britain. Petrie stated that he will not give an account of the theories surrounding the development of Gothic, but that he 'cordially concurs' with those authors, 'far the greater and more judicious in number', who ascribe the origin of the pointed arch to the East, and the influence of the Crusades. Petrie cited the work of Dr. Edward Clarke, who asserted that the lancet or 'acute' arch was, in fact, the oldest known type of arch.[55] Petrie noted that these 'lancet' arches were to be found in the 'Cyclopean' buildings of Ireland, in many of the early churches and round towers, but that he

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[52] 'Fine Arts No. 3: Historic Sketch of the Past and Present State of the Fine Arts in Ireland (Continued)', *DPJ*, 1, no. 19, November 3, (1832), 147 – 149

[53] 'Fine Arts No. 3: Historic Sketch of the Past and Present State of the Fine Arts in Ireland (Continued)', *DPJ*, 1, no. 19, November 3, (1832), 147 – 149

[54] 'Fine Arts No. 3: Historic Sketch of the Past and Present State of the Fine Arts in Ireland (Continued)', *DPJ*, 1, no. 19, November 3, (1832), 147 – 149

[55] It is possible that Petrie is referring here to Edward Daniel Clarke, (1769 – 1822), antiquary and mineralogist, who has awarded the degree of LLD by the University of Cambridge in 1803. Anita McConnell, "Clarke, Edward Daniel (1769–1822)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004); online ed., ed. Lawrence Goldman, January 2008, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5494, accessed 14/02/11

did not pretend to claim the invention of Gothic for Ireland, as pointed arches alone did not constitute true Gothic architecture. Petrie suggests that the pointed arch, and the Gothic style of architecture, can be explained by its being the natural conclusion to the architect's quest to construct a harmonious building, and that this accounts for the simultaneous appearance of Gothic buildings across Europe – late medieval Gothic is explained as a refinement of the Saxon style, which was, in essence, a debased version of Greek and Roman purity. A pattern of cultural development and progression is therefore posited by Petrie: 'beautiful Gothic architecture was engrafted on Saxon deformity'.[56]

In a telling aside on early nineteenth-century cultural politics, Petrie noted that:

> nothing but the most mistaken national zeal could have induced learned and ingenious men to employ their talents and hazard their reputation, in the vain endeavour to win for Britain the honour of inventing the style, on such feeble grounds as those which they have stated – namely, the supposed origin of the pointed arch as having arisen from the intersection of two semicircular ones, of which an instance has been discovered in a church of the eleventh century.[57]

Petrie's sensitivity to the implicit nationalism in the jockeying for the position of the avant-garde which was taking place throughout the European – and in particular the English, French and the German – antiquarian communities, was likely to have been informed by the extremes to which cultural historians in Ireland had travelled in the previous century.[58]

The motif of stylistic development is reinforced in this article through the illustrations included. The Romanesque doorway of the Church of Dysert O'Dea in

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[56] 'Fine Arts No. 3: Historic Sketch of the Past and Present State of the Fine Arts in Ireland (Continued)', *DPJ*, 1, no. 19, November 3, (1832), 147 – 149

[57] 'Fine Arts No. 3: Historic Sketch of the Past and Present State of the Fine Arts in Ireland (Continued)', *DPJ*, 1, no. 19, November 3, (1832), 147 – 149

[58] Petrie was alluding to the claims for the English invention of the pointed arch, which were based on the evidence of the pierced, interlaced arcading of the choir gallery of the St. Cross Hospital church outside Winchester. In 1771, James Bentham had suggested this arcading as a possible origin for the Gothic style, and by 1798, the Rev. John Milner, in his *History of Winchester* of 1798, posited this arcading as an archaeological basis for the claim that Gothic was, in fact, English. Bradley, 325 - 346

Co. Clare, with its receding jamb shafts, decorated with carved ornament, and its round-headed arches, carved with heads and abstract ornament such as the chevron, is placed beside, and contrasted with, an image of a doorway at Mellifont Abbey, Co. Louth, with its pointed arch, and elaborate sculpted decoration and carved capitals (Fig. 5.5).

The fourth part of this series on the Fine Arts in Ireland was published in the *DPJ* on January 12, 1833. Although the purpose of this article is ostensibly to examine the arts other than architecture – fresco painting, sculpture, stained glass and metalwork – architectural history still takes up much of the text.
Petrie began by listing examples of Gothic architecture in Ireland, further to those which had been included in the previous instalment: he mentions buildings at Kilkenny, Cashel, Kilmallock, Jerpoint, Holycross and Adare as fine examples of the style in Ireland.[59] However, he summarised that these best examples are still 'poor and meagre' in comparison with many of the cathedral and abbey churches of England and Scotland, with flying buttresses only seen in Ireland at St. Patrick's Cathedral. While the Anglo-Norman invasion in the twelfth century was seen by Petrie has having a very positive impact on arts and architecture in Ireland, continuing foreign rule is seen here as negative: 'while our comparatively happy sister islands were advancing progressively towards refinement, it was the fate of Ireland to be retrograding into more than her ancient barbarism. If the English, as they say, 'waxed Irish', lost much of their civility, the 'mere Irish' gained as little by becoming harassed and unprotected servants of the British crown.'[60] The 'debased' architecture of the period acted as a 'melancholy, but interesting commentary' on the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Ireland.[61] The remainder of this article is concerned with fresco painting in the churches at Abbeyknockmoy, the stained glass which had existed in the cathedral church at Kilkenny, and with metalworking – which also, in Petrie's opinion, was debased in this period. The case of the 'Meeshac Cearnachan', repaired or newly ornamented

[59] 'Fine Arts No. 4: Historic Sketch of the Past and Present State of the Fine Arts in Ireland (Continued)', *DPJ*, 1, no. 29, January 12, (1833), 227 - 230
[60] 'Fine Arts No. 4: Historic Sketch of the Past and Present State of the Fine Arts in Ireland (Continued)', *DPJ*, 1, no. 29, January 12, (1833), 227 - 230
[61] 'Fine Arts No. 4: Historic Sketch of the Past and Present State of the Fine Arts in Ireland (Continued)', *DPJ*, 1, no. 29, January 12, (1833), 227 - 230

in 1533, is described as 'utterly barbarous'.[62] The pontificalia of the Roman Catholic bishop in Limerick are given as an exception to this. This article concludes with Petrie's comments on the link between the state of the fine arts in a country, and the political stability of that country – a theme which appears numerous times in cultural narratives throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The final point made in this instalment of this series on the Fine Arts in Ireland refers to the Portuguese monastery at Batalha, which, in this account, was 'planned by the creative imagination of David Hacket – an Irishman!' It is certain that Petrie would have been aware of the drawings of James Cavanagh Murphy of the monastery of Batalha, which were published, with the author's preface, 'Introductory Discourse on the Principles of Gothic Architecture', as *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Views of the Church of Batalha in the Province of Estremadura in Portugal* (1795).[63] Murphy's tour of the monastery at Batalha was sponsored by the Irish antiquary and improving landlord, William Burton Conyingham.[64]

The final three instalments of this series on the development of the Fine Arts in Ireland deal with the post-medieval period, and therefore are of less relevance to this study of narratives of medieval architecture, but which are briefly examined here, as their narrative structure is informed by a model of development and change. 'Fine Arts, No. 5' was published on March 23, 1833, and opens with an account of two bronze figure sculptures – the scholarship on these sculptures by Vallency and by Pinkerton is mentioned. The remainder of the article introduces artistic developments in Italy, described as 'the complete restoration of the Fine Arts', which 'was for a long time but little felt in Ireland'.[65] The main body of this article deals with artists who were patronised in England in this period, and on a

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[62] 'Fine Arts No. 4: Historic Sketch of the Past and Present State of the Fine Arts in Ireland (Continued)', *DPJ*, 1, no. 29, January 12, (1833), 229
The Miseach of St. Cairneach is now in the collection of the National Museum of Ireland.

[63] Cavanagh Murphy's work has been examined by Michael McCarthy, 'Three mausolea and a church: the drawings of James C Murphy for his book on Batalha of 1795', *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies*, 11 (2008), 167 - 20

[64] William Burton Conyingham, (1733 – 96), politician, antiquary and landowner – Burton Conyingham was the most important patron of Irish antiquarian research in his day.
Patrick M. Geoghegan, Linde Lunney, 'Conyngham, William Burton Burton', in James McGuire and James Quinn (ed), *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. (Cambridge, 2009).
(http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a1997), accessed 14/02/11

[65] "Fine Arts No. 5: Historical Sketch of the Past and Present State of the Fine Arts in Ireland (Continued)", *DPJ*, 1, no. 39, March 23, (1833), 308

statue of the Virgin Mary, supposedly carved in Irish oak, which was in the Carmelite church on Whitefriar-street. It is described as being 'dry and gothic', and even as such, as having too much merit to be supposed a work of Irish art. Petrie conjectured that it was probably the work of the school of 'Albert Durer' [*sic*].[66] Two other carved objects which had belonged to the Franciscan friary near Dublin are mentioned here – the Virgin and Child, and St. Francis – both described as 'utterly barbarous.'[67] The 'progress' or development of Irish arts and culture in this period is described as 'languid' in comparison to developments in England, but as 'decidedly an advancement of which the footsteps are still discernible.'[68] Sepulchral monuments, which demonstrated the restoration of the classical orders, are noted as manifesting this advancement in taste: those dedicated to the Earl of Cork, and to Archbishop Jones in St. Patrick's Cathedral are given as examples.[69]

'Fine Arts No. 6' was published on April 6, 1833. According to the author, the greatest advances in the arts in the sixteenth century in Ireland could be viewed in the domestic architecture of the period, which he compared favourably both to the 'gloomy towers' or houses of wood and mud of earlier periods and to the 'utterly tasteless and unsightly edifices' of his own time.[70] While the houses are not in the 'pure' (i.e. classical) style, and, in the author's opinion, quite poor in comparison with those in England, he praises their massive grandeur, picturesque chimney-pieces, ornamental doors and oriel mullioned windows. The Gothic Revival houses drawing on these buildings are referred to as 'fantastic, gimcrackery abortions'.[71] The buildings singled out for praise include Malahide Castle, the castle of Portumna (which the author mentioned had been burnt in recent years), and

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[66] "Fine Arts No. 5: Historical Sketch of the Past and Present State of the Fine Arts in Ireland (Continued)", *DPJ*, 1, no. 39, March 23, (1833), 308

[67] 'Fine Arts No. 5: Historical Sketch of the Past and Present State of the Fine Arts in Ireland (Continued)', *DPJ*, 1, no. 39, March 23, (1833), 308

[68] 'Fine Arts No. 5: Historical Sketch of the Past and Present State of the Fine Arts in Ireland (Continued)', *DPJ*, 1, no. 39, March 23, (1833), 308

[69] 'Fine Arts No. 5: Historical Sketch of the Past and Present State of the Fine Arts in Ireland (Continued)', *DPJ*, 1, no. 39, March 23, (1833), 308

[70] 'Fine Arts No. 6: Historical Sketch of the Past and Present State of the Fine Arts (Continued)', *DPJ*, 1, no. 41, April 6, (1833) 326

[71] 'Fine Arts No. 6: Historical Sketch of the Past and Present State of the Fine Arts (Continued)', *DPJ*, 1, no. 41, April 6, (1833) 326

the houses of the wealthy citizens of the city of Galway.[72] The remainder of the article deals with the changing fortunes of the city of Galway, and is concluded with a curious note by the author, where he stated that he would leave the readers to make their own comments on this period, 'lest in the expression of our own opinions we might probably wax indignant and political, a temper of mind wholly at variance with the mild influence of the humanizing subject of which we treat'.[73]

The final instalment of this seven-part series was published on May 4th, 1833, and opens with the opinion that while the advancements of the sixteenth century were negligible, they were still greater than those in the fine arts and architecture in the seventeenth century. Due to the political upheavals of the century, the only monuments which the author singles out as worth mentioning are sepulchral monuments, in the cathedrals of Dublin and at St. Audoen's, and several others around the country, including the tomb of the O'Connor, Sligo and his wife, the old Countess of Desmond in Sligo Abbey, the monuments in Ballintober Abbey, Co. Mayo, those of the Chichesters in Carrickfergus, of the Aylmers in Donadea Church, Kildare and the Bowen's monument in Bally-Adams, in King's County (Co. Offaly).

The architectural achievements mentioned here include the castle of Antrim, built by John Clotworthy, and the rebuilding of the Castle of Kilkenny.[74] The Royal Hospital at Kilmainham is given as an example of good public architecture, as was the Library building at Trinity College, Dublin. The Tholsel, which had been built in Skinner's Row, is also mentioned, due to the fact that it had been the first attempt at 'anything like classical architecture' in Ireland, and for the amusing character of the statuary which had adorned it.[75] The woodcarving at Kilmainham was judged by the author to be of too high quality to have been produced in Ireland, and probably to have been carved in England by Gibbons or

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[72] 'Fine Arts No. 6: Historical Sketch of the Past and Present State of the Fine Arts (Continued)', *DPJ*, 1, no. 41, April 6, (1833) 326

[73] 'Fine Arts No. 6: Historical Sketch of the Past and Present State of the Fine Arts (Continued)', *DPJ*, 1, no. 41, April 6, (1833) 326

[74] 'Fine Arts No. 7: Historical Sketch of the Past and Present State of the Fine Arts (Continued)', *DPJ*, 1, no. 45, May 4, (1833) 354 - 355

[75] 'Fine Arts No. 7: Historical Sketch of the Past and Present State of the Fine Arts (Continued)', *DPJ*, 1, no. 45, May 4, (1833) 354 - 355

his assistants.[76] This article is concluded with brief notices on the professional and amateur painters of note who worked in Ireland during the seventeenth century.

In this series, Petrie has designed a narrative of artistic production in Ireland which is informed by the concept of invasion and its impact. In this, Petrie's history reflects an important dynamic of the European historical tradition. Clare O'Halloran, in her examination of cultural narratives in Ireland between c.1750 and 1800, highlighted this central concept in European thought, which 'regarded invasion and conquest as the main dynamics of historical change'.[77] An analysis of the value system which informs Petrie's narrative of cultural narrative reveals that high value is put on early medieval culture, based on the level of skill involved in the craft and artwork produced. Examining the system of value which informs this early narrative of cultural development by Petrie, a high value is put on early medieval culture, with the level of skill in the craft being produced. The concept that classical art and architecture represents the more pure, and most highly developed form of cultural production informs Petrie's narrative. While his enthusiasm for medieval antiquities is evident in his positive descriptions of Boyle Abbey and Cong Abbey, they are still described as being in the 'barbarous' or 'grotesque' taste.

In order to examine the narrative framework through which Irish medieval architecture was being presented to a general audience in the period from 1830 onwards, the articles on individual monuments, principally those by Petrie, in the *DPJ*, have been surveyed below.[78]

According to William Stokes, Petrie contributed fifty-six articles on Irish art and antiquities to the *DPJ*. Of these, sixteen related specifically to medieval architectural history.[79] Medieval buildings with substantial remains, which occupied a position of importance within ecclesiastical developments in Ireland, were often the subject of full-length articles.

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[76] 'Fine Arts No. 7: Historical Sketch of the Past and Present State of the Fine Arts (Continued)', *DPJ*, 1, no. 45, May 4, (1833) 354 - 355

[77] O'Halloran, 14

[78] The articles on medieval antiquities which Petrie contributed were listed in an appendix to William Stokes' biography of Petrie.

[79] Stokes, 439

This total of sixteen includes the seven articles on the Progress of the Fine Arts in Ireland, discussed in detail above.

A substantial article was published by the *DPJ*, which gave the history of the important Cistercian foundation at Mellifont, which was published on November 24, 1832[80]. The 'chief incidents' connected to the foundation are listed, along with any individuals of note, and the conditions of its dissolution, the abbey having been granted to Sir Edward Moore, who 'made it his principle seat, converting the abbey into a magnificent residence, and at the same time, a place of defence'.[81] The remainder of the article focuses on the architectural style and details of the buildings – the 'trifling remains' which were, for the author, 'sufficient evidence of its ancient beauty and splendour.'[82] The chapel of St. Bernard is described as having been 'an exquisite specimen of the Gothic, or pointed architecture of the thirteenth century'. The architectural details are noted: the eastern window of the chapel, and side windows, nearly all now destroyed, and the doorway, which had been illustrated in Part 2 of the series of the Fine Arts, discussed above. The doorway is here described as having been 'ornamented with a profusion of gilding, and painting in variegated colours, and was justly considered as one of the most beautiful specimens of the kind to be found in Ireland.'. The author also mentions its current fate – sold to make a chimney piece, information gleaned from Wright's *Louthiana* of 1748.[83]

The Mellifont lavabo is also mentioned: it is described as an octagonal building, as a baptistery, due to the presence of a large cistern, from which, the author conjectured, water was conveyed by means of pipes to the different parts of the abbey.[84] The style of the lavabo is given as 'Roman', which is, for the author, evidence that the building is of an earlier age to the rest of the remains, and probably coeval with the foundation of the monastery. The final building mentioned is the gateway, which was, in 1832, 'appropriated to the humble purpose of a mill-dam.'[85]

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[80] The author of this article is given as P. – probably George Petrie.
[81] 'Mellifont Abbey', *DPJ*, 1, no. 22, November 24 (1832) 172
The post-dissolution history of Mellifont is examined by Rachel Moss in Rachel Moss, 'Reduce, reuse, recycle: Irish monastic architecture c. 1540 – 1640', *Reconstructions of the Gothic Past, ed. Roger Stalley*, (Dublin: Wordwell, 2012)
[82] 'Mellifont Abbey', *DPJ*, 1, no. 22, November 24 (1832) 172
[83] 'Mellifont Abbey', *DPJ*, 1, no. 22, November 24 (1832) 172
[84] 'Mellifont Abbey', *DPJ*, 1, no. 22, November 24 (1832) 172
[85] 'Mellifont Abbey', *DPJ*, 1, no. 22, November 24 (1832) 172

As in the case of many antiquarian articles in the *DPJ*, two engravings of Mellifont accompanied this piece – the gateway and the chapel of St. Bernard. The style of these illustrations tends more towards the 'picturesque' style, typical of travel books rather than the increasingly scientific, pared-back style of representation found in later antiquarian texts such as the monographs by Wilkinson and Petrie discussed above in Chapter 3. Again, this reflects the dual aims of education and entertainment which the editors of the *DPJ* had to hold in balance (Fig. 5.6, Fig. 5.7).

A second article on Mellifont was published in the *DPJ* on February 2, 1833, which took the form of a letter to the editors of the journal from Robert Armstrong, and an additional note, written by Petrie. This was accompanied by a full view of the monastic site, engraved by Ben Clayton after an original by Robert Armstrong of Raheny (Fig. 5.8).[86] The panoramic view of the site includes the modern mill buildings which had been built near the gate-house, as well as the lavabo and the ivy-clad ruins of the Chapel of St. Bernard. This view is accompanied by a letter to the editors from an individual who had grown up in the vicinity of Mellifont Abbey. As opposed to the rigorously unbiased account of the buildings and their history given in Petrie's articles, Armstrong draws out the symbolic potential of the ruins: the antiquarian pleasure of contemplating places which had been 'hallowed seats of religion and virtue, or celebrated as the residence of grandeur and power' which had now become 'crowned by the tangled ivy or noisome weed', and left to ruin.[87] The writer continued that the these sensations were 'excited with far more energy' when religious ruins were the subject of contemplation, places which, for this writer, were responsible for the preservation of historical records, the survival of civilisation throughout the 'Dark Ages' in Europe. The boorishness, and inappropriateness, of the inheritor of the lands and

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[86] 'Mellifont Abbey', *DPJ*, 1, no. 32 February 2, (1833) 249 – 252.
The authors are given as Robert Armstrong and P. – again probably Petrie. The note which appends this letter reveals that Armstrong, having once been the 'journeyman Housepainter of Raheny' had decided to become the 'Parish Schoolmaster of Raheny' – according to this editor, 'a situation humble indeed for a man of his abilities'.
Armstrong contributed a number of articles and illustrations to the DPJ, including one on St. Doulough's Church (1, no. 34, February 16 1833) 265 - 266 and on the baptismal font at St. Peter's, Drogheda, (1, no. 45, May 4 1833), 357 - 358

[87] 'Mellifont Abbey', *DPJ*, 1, no. 22, November 24 (1832) 172

abbey buildings, Sir Edward Moore, is referred to in the ways in which he had dressed religious statues of the apostles which had belonged to the abbey in 'scarlet, clapped muskets on their shoulders, and transforming them into British grenadiers, placed them to do duty in his hall.'[88] The letter is appended by two further illustrations: of the interior of the chapel of St. Bernard, and of the capitals and base of the columns in St. Bernard's chapel, also by Armstrong. Petrie has added his comments on the architecture of the building, writing that St. Bernard's chapel represents 'perhaps the earliest specimen of undoubted gothic or pointed architecture to be found in the British Islands', a statement which was uncharacteristically general, sweeping and unfounded for Petrie. He asserted that 'there can be little doubt of its having been erected by the Monks of Clairvaux sent to Mellifont by St. Bernard himself, and the building was probably the oratory and habitation of the Abbot.'[89]

While the suppression of the monasteries is presented in Armstrong's letter in a negative light, it is certainly a mild note of disapproval, in keeping with the non-sectarian stance of the *DPJ*, in comparison to the much stronger statements of religious identification with the ruined monastic foundations found in other locations. The dissolution, rather than the suppression of the monasteries, is described as 'despoiling' the abbey of its former glory, and the ruins are viewed by the author as 'a perishing, though striking memorial of the fallen pride of man, and an evidence of the instability and uncertainty of his most sanguine worldly hopes and expectations', rather than representing religious upheaval in the past and in the present.[90] In the final part of this chapter, the ways in which different religious communities used ecclesiastical ruins as symbols are examined – there is a marked contrast between the abstract, philosophical value which the *DPJ* correspondent gives to the monastic ruins with, for example, the heated argument which took place within the pages of the *Munster News and Clare Advocate* in the Spring of 1860, detailed below.

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[88] 'Mellifont Abbey', *DPJ*, 1, no. 22, November 24 (1832) 172
[89] 'Mellifont Abbey', *DPJ*, 1, no. 22, November 24 (1832) 172
[90] 'Mellifont Abbey', *DPJ*, 1, no. 22, November 24 (1832) 172

Petrie was also the author of an article on the restored Cathedral Church of Armagh, which was published on December 8, 1832.[91] An engraving of the Cathedral formed the frontispiece of the number: the Gothic Revival restoration set against a wooded landscape, with a graveyard in the foreground (Fig. 5.9). The aim of the *DPJ* to present Irish antiquities in a fashion which would transcend sectarian boundaries is reflected in the way in which the church at Armagh is presented: Petrie opens with the statement that 'the subject of our prefixed illustration can hardly fail of being interesting to our readers of every religious denomination'.[92] However, the author has taken the position of advocate of Irish cultural achievement, and this colours his historical narrative: 'In the minds of the Milesian Irish, it must awaken sentiments of just pride and recollections of national glory, for Armagh was a chief seat of religion and literature, a blazing star, when most other parts of the western world were involved in the darkness of idolatry and ignorance – and in the minds of the English, or Irish of English descent, it should excite sentiments of gratitude and affection for our country, for it was to this seminary of education that England was in a great degree indebted for the rudiments of learning, which have ultimately exalted her to such a pitch of glory'.[93] As in the case of the imagery, this more general and sweeping editorial position could reflect commercial necessity, in contrast to the more specialised publications aimed at historians and antiquarians.

The rebuilding of the church and the treatment of its monuments are described in a negative light by Petrie here, in particular due to the historic and national importance of the individuals interred at Armagh.[94]

In Petrie's article dealing with Lord Portlester's Chapel at St. Audoen's Church, Dublin, he included some comments on the treatment of Irish antiquities by his peers.[95]

> (T)here is, perhaps, no ancient city of present importance in the British Islands, that has preserved so few ancient architectural remains, as our

[91] 'The Cathedral Church of Armagh', *DPJ*, 1, no. 24, December 8, (1832), 185 - 186
[92] 'The Cathedral Church of Armagh', *DPJ*, 1, no. 24, December 8, (1832), 185 - 186
[93] 'The Cathedral Church of Armagh', *DPJ*, 1, no. 24, December 8, (1832), 185 - 186
[94] These included Brian Boru of Clontarf and his family. 'The Cathedral Church of Armagh', *DPJ*, 1, no. 24, December 8, (1832), 185 - 186
[95] 'Lord Portlester's Chapel', *DPJ*, 1, no. 26, December 22, (1832), 201

> own metropolis. Of modern ruins we have, alas, too many – but of ancient ones, such as the mind could take pleasure in surveying, there is almost none.[96]

The scarcity of interest of the people of Dublin in the few fragments which did survive, such as the church of St. Audoen, is also highlighted by Petrie. While the bulk of the article is on the tomb monument of Lord Portlester, Petrie has included some comments on the architecture, noting the antiquity of the parish as 'once the most wealthy and respectable within the city', and the original church building, which existed prior to the Anglo-Norman invasion. Of the extant ruins, he wrote that 'it exhibits the architectural particularities of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It consisted of a double aisle, separated by six massive columns supporting gothic or pointed arches.'[97]

The restoration of the church as a place of worship for the Church of Ireland congregation is barely alluded to here, and the emphasis is on the building as an interesting antiquity or ruin.[98] The accompanying illustration reinforces Petrie's conclusions about the neglect of Irish antiquities, as it depicts the piers of the nave arcade being used as supports for washing-lines by women, with the interior of the nave covered with weeds, and the monuments in some disarray (Fig. 5.10).

Following this, Petrie wrote an article on the subject of medieval ecclesiastical architecture which took the form of an exchange between Sir William Betham and Petrie – a polite and somewhat formal communication between the two scholars, which perhaps gave some indication of the professional rift between the two that arose a decade later.[99] Betham, while praising Petrie as a 'true

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[96] 'Lord Portlester's Chapel', *DPJ*, 1, no. 26, December 22, (1832), 201

[97] 'Lord Portlester's Chapel', *DPJ*, 1, no. 26, December 22, (1832), 201

[98] Petrie noted that 'the present church only occupies a fourth of the original edifice, the remainder being, as represented in our engraving, in complete ruin'. 'Lord Portlester's Chapel', *DPJ*, 1, no. 26, December 22, (1832), 201 Restoration works under the direction of Henry Aaron Baker at St. Audoen's Church are recorded in the *Irish Builder* as having taken place in 1826. This restoration included alterations to the tower, including corner pinnacles, windows, louvers, double doors and archway, and the replacement of the pyramidal roof with a flat one. This was the first of a series of restoration at this site.

[99] Sir William Betham, (1779 – 1853), archivist and scholar, was born at Stradbrooke, Suffolk. He was deeply involved in all aspects of Irish antiquarian life, advocating the creation of a central repository for public records and archives. He was made the Ulster King of Arms in 1820, and was

antiquary, distinguished from the stupid industry and grubbing propensities of those who are unable to rise above the rubbish which surrounds them', disagreed with his work.[100] Betham wrote to the editors of the journal to correct Petrie's assessment of the carved tomb in Holy Cross Abbey, which had been the subject of an illustrated article by Petrie in the *DPJ* of April 13, 1833.[101] Betham's corrections and comments to Petrie's article on the tomb in Holy Cross were based on his knowledge of heraldry. Petrie's response was published beside Betham's letter: he began by stating that he took 'great pleasure in giving publicity to the above communication from our kind and worthy friend, the Ulster King – the most competent authority on such a question'.[102] Petrie continued that he would have consulted Betham on the subject, had he not been out of the country prior to the publication of the article. These compliments aside, however, Petrie asserted that 'though it is not unlikely that we may be wrong, we are strongly inclined to believe that he is far from being right'.[103] Betham's main concern with Petrie's argument had been the person for whom the tomb was erected, rather than the dating of the monument itself. In response, Petrie gave a detailed analysis of the arms decorating the tomb, of the histories and biographies of the individuals relating to the arms and to the tomb, before concluding that 'further proof IS necessary before we should be satisfied that we are in error, at least, that Sir William himself is nearer the truth.'[104]

Betham's ire could, perhaps, have been invoked more by Petrie's invective against the state of antiquarianism in Ireland which preceded his comments on the Holy Cross tomb. Petrie had written that 'Ireland has never hitherto produced an

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elected FSA of London in 1824. His often criticised work on the Phoenician origin of the round towers was overturned by the publication of Petrie's prizewinning work in 1833. When the RIA awarded Petrie a gold medal for his work on Tara, he was outraged, involved the lord lieutenant in the controversy, and resigned from the Council of the RIA as a consequence in 1840. Linde Lunney, 'Betham, Sir William', in James McGuire and James Quinn (ed),*Dictionary of Irish Biography*. (Cambridge, 2009).
(http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a0637) (accessed 22/02/11)
The split between Betham and Petrie is examined by Joep Leerssen in his *Remembrance and Imagination*, 126

[100] William Betham and P., 'The Tomb in Holy-Cross Abbey', *DPJ*, 1, no. 45, May 4, (1833), 356 - 357

[101] P., 'Tomb of the Countess of Desmond', *DPJ*, 1, no. 42, April 13, (1833) 329 – 331.

[102] William Betham and P., 'The Tomb in Holy Cross Abbey', *DPJ*, 1, no. 45, May 4, (1833), 357

[103] William Betham and P., 'The Tomb in Holy Cross Abbey', *DPJ*, 1, no. 45, May 4, (1833), 357

[104] William Betham and P., 'The Tomb in Holy Cross Abbey', *DPJ*, 1, no. 45, May 4, (1833), 357

antiquary [...] we have had useful and laborious compilers – but in nothing else deserving the name'. Petrie continued that 'even this appellation is scarcely merited by the majority of those compilers, who extract every thing that falls in their way, without the ability to judge of its value, or to discriminate between that which is true that which is obviously disentitled to credit.'[105] As Betham had, at this point, published a number of antiquarian studies, including two volumes of his *Irish Antiquarian Researches*, in 1826 and 1827, this would have no doubt been galling to read.[106] Indeed, a contribution by Betham on the Plunket Arms provided something of a response to Petrie's claims: 'every one who contributes to the stock of historic material, by copying inscriptions or making sketches of the remains of by-gone ages, is entitled to the gratitude of his fellow man.'[107]

An account of the Abbey of Holy-Cross in Co. Tipperary, again with Petrie as the author, was given in the *DPJ*, on May 18, 1833.[108] The ruin is noted as being 'one of the finest remains of the pointed style of architecture in Ireland'. The details of its foundation are given, and of its supposed relic of the true cross. No further detail on the architecture is given in this number, but it is promised in a future issue. The article is accompanied by an illustration of 'the least striking portion of the building, namely the nave, being wholly insufficient to give a just idea of the extent, grandeur and variety of those magnificent ruins'.[109] The image is of the reticulated-traceried window, framed by a pointed arch; the ruined walls of the nave are covered with ivy, and the interior of the nave is partially obscured by trees and bushes (Fig. 5.11). Gravestones, leaning at odd angles and obviously untended, populate the uneven surface of the nave, and two dark figures, standing in a doorway, heighten the sense of 'sublime' grandeur of the scene.[110]

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[105] P., 'Tomb of the Countess of Desmond', *DPJ*, 1, no. 42, April 13, (1833), 330
[106] William Betham, *Irish Antiquarian Researches*, (Dublin: Curry etc., 1826), and Betham, *Irish Antiquarian Researches*, Part 2, (Dublin: Curry etc., 1827)
[107] W. Betham, 'The Plunket Arms', *DPJ*, 1, no. 46, May 11, (1833), 368
[108] 'The Abbey of Holy-Cross, County of Tipperary', *DPJ*, 1, no. 47, May 18, (1833), 373 - 374
[109] 'The Abbey of Holy-Cross, County of Tipperary', *DPJ*, 1, no. 47, May 18, (1833), 373 - 374
[110] This image is titled 'Nave of the Abbey of Holy-Cross', and is by H. Hill Esq, and engraved by Clayton.

A second, short, article on Holy Cross Abbey was published in 1834, written by C.J.W.[111] This article, which focused on the architecture and relics associated with the abbey, opened with the assertion that 'the architecture of the building was of the most beautiful Gothic then in use; consequently, as its erection was nearly coeval with the Anglo-Norman invasion, and the founder was evidently Irish, it affords another proof of the progress which Gothic architecture had made in Ireland, previous to the age of Henry II.'[112]

The final piece on medieval architectural history which Stokes included in his list was devoted to the Abbey of Inch, Co. Down.[113] The article was illustrated by an image of the abbey church by Nicholl, engraved by Branston and Wright (Fig. 5.12). This was characteristically picturesque, with three figures in the foreground, viewing the abbey ruins.[114] Petrie gives the circumstances of its foundation by de Courcy, referring to original sources, to previous scholars on the history of the site and to the architectural remains. In his discussion of the smaller and earlier church on the site, also illustrated by Nicholl as an ivy-clad single-cell ruin, Petrie refers to the architectural features as evidence of its earlier date, but does not give further detail, as no documentary evidence could supplement his analysis.[115]

Further to these articles which Stokes listed as Petrie's contributions to the *DPJ* on the subject of medieval ecclesiastical architecture are his articles on Muckross Abbey, Kerry and the Abbey of Dungiven, Derry.

Petrie's article on 'Mucruss' Abbey, Killarney, was published on June 22, 1833.[116] The accompanying illustration is similar in basic composition to that of the nave of Holycross abbey, giving a view of a window of switch-line tracery, framed by a pointed arch with mouldings, with much ivy and foliage obscuring the walls of the church (Fig. 5.13). The artist is again given as A. Nicholl, Esq., and the engravers

[111] 'Holy Oss Abbey' [*sic*], *DPJ*, 2, no. 80 (1834), 221 - 222
[112] 'Holy Oss Abbey' [*sic*], *DPJ*, 2, no. 80 (1834), 221 - 222
[113] P., 'The Abbey of Inch: County of Down', *DPJ*, 1, no. 50, June 8, 1833, 396 - 397
[114] P., 'The Abbey of Inch: County of Down' *DPJ*, 1, no. 50, June 8, 1833, 396 - 397
[115] P., 'The Abbey of Inch: County of Down', *DPJ*, 1, no. 50, June 8, 1833, 396 - 397
[116] 'Mucruss [*sic*]Abbey, Killarney', *DPJ*, 1, no. 52, June 22 (1833) 409 - 411

as Brandon and Wright.[117] The article opens with an acknowledgement of the huge tourist presence at Muckross, and at the Lakes of Killarney in this period: 'more generally visited and better known than any other ruin in Ireland, however superior to it in historical interest or architectural grandeur'.[118] The antiquity of the site is noted, with a reference to the record in the manuscripts collection in Trinity College Dublin to the burning of the church of Irrelagh in 1192.[119] Petrie's analysis of the various manuscript sources for the date of foundation of the Franciscan friary at Muckross reflects the increasingly empirical and scientific approach to material remains and written sources.

Petrie began by questioning the 1440, the then-commonly accepted date of erection, given in Ware, and which had been 'adopted' by Harris, Burke, Archdall and Ledwich.[120] Petrie referred to the date given in the Annals of the Four Masters – which concurred more closely with the evidence of the sections of the architectural remains: 'there are portions of its architecture which are characteristic of a somewhat earlier age, and we have the authority of the Annals of the Four Masters to support this conclusion, by whom its foundation is recorded a full century earlier, namely, in 1340'.[121] Petrie's analysis of the sources – primary and secondary – continued, and he examined Ware's date of 1440 in the light of the genealogy of the family, preserved in the Office of Arms. This source shows that while Teige Mac Carthy, known as Teige na Manistreach, founded the abbey, his son, Donald, called Donald na Dana, finished his father's work in the abbey in 1440.[122]

Petrie's sketch of the architectural style and detail of the abbey is slight. He noted its 'unusually perfect state of preservation', the extent of the conventual

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[117] Andrew Nicholl, (1804 – 86), artist, was born in Belfast, and worked in printing, and as a landscape artist. Much of his work in the 1830s was antiquarian and topographical, and engravings of his drawings were published in Irish travel books, and in journals such as the DPJ.
Carmel Doyle, 'Nicholl, Andrew', in James McGuire and James Quinn (ed), *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. (Cambridge, 2009).
(http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a6205) accessed 17/02/11

[118] 'Mucruss Abbey, Killarney', *DPJ*, 1, no. 52, June 22, (1833) 409

[119] 'Mucruss Abbey, Killarney', *DPJ*, 1, no. 52, June 22, (1833) 409 Irrelagh – another name by which the Abbey of Muckross was known.

[120] 1440 is the date accepted for the erection of Muckross in contemporary scholarship, Aubrey Gwynn and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, Ireland, (Dublin, 1970)

[121] P., 'Mucruss Abbey, Killarney', *DPJ*, 1, no. 52, June 22, (1833) 409

[122] P., 'Mucruss Abbey, Killarney', *DPJ*, 1, no. 52, June 22, (1833) 409

buildings which remained, allowing an insight into 'the various apartments necessary to the accommodation and habits of a religious community'.[123] A description of the church building, belfry and of the well-preserved cloisters is provided – the cloister arcades are given particular attention. While Petrie used some of the terminology from the contemporary international scholarship of medieval architecture, the language here is more descriptive and less technical, owing to the non-professional nature of the journal's audience. Petrie also noted the position of the friary ruins in the devotional practices of the local Roman Catholic congregations – something which was mentioned in many descriptions of Muckross throughout the nineteenth century.

Petrie's account of the Abbey of Dungiven was published on June 15, 1833.[124] Again, following Benatti's analysis of the editorial balance between creating a forum for the dissemination of information and an attractive publication for their readers, the article is prefaced with some comments on the romantic situation of the abbey, accompanied by an extremely romantic view of the nave by Nicholl (Fig. 5.14). This also employed the now-familiar pictorial device of the arch framing a view of the nave, suggesting exploration and discovery.[125]

In contrast to Petrie's focus on the monument, albeit in a popularising, sometimes overly general way, an article by Samuel McSkimin on the abbey of 'Bona-Marga' (sic) in Co. Antrim focused on the picturesque situation of the abbey, the historical figures associated with the abbey and the burials and sepulchral monuments within. No attention is paid to the architectural style or detail of the remains.[126] The accompanying illustration depicts a ruined single cell building, with steep gables, a chancel area still roofed, but the emphasis is largely on the landscape (Fig. 5.15).

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[123] P., 'Mucruss Abbey, Killarney', *DPJ*, 1, no. 52, June 22, (1833) 409

[124] P., 'Abbey of Dungiven', *DPJ*, 1, no. 51, June 15 (1833) 404 - 406

[125] P., 'Abbey of Dungiven', *DPJ*, 1, no. 51, June 15 (1833) 404 - 406

[126] Samuel M'Skimin, 'Abbey of Bona-Marga', *DPJ*, 1, no. 41, April 6, (1833), 321 – 322.
Samuel McSkimin (1775 – 1843) was a local historian and collector, born near Ballyclare, Co. Antrim. He wrote a history of Carrickfergus and wrote on the 1798 rising, and contributed articles to a series of contemporary publications, including *Belfast Monthly Magazine*, *The Gentleman's Magazine*, the *DPJ*, the *Northern Whig*, *Fraser's Magazine*, and *The University Magazine*.
Fionnuala Carson Williams, 'McSkimin, Samuel (Sam)', in James McGuire and James Quinn (ed), *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. (Cambridge, 2009).
(http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a5758), accessed 16/02/11

Further to these articles on medieval architecture, a piece on was published in the *DPJ* on January 4, 1834, author not known. The accompanying illustration depicted the ruins the abbey, in a style which was far less accomplished than the images of Holycross or Muckross.

An example of the shorter type of article is the entry on the remains of the Magdalene Steeple or Remains of the Dominican Convent, published on November 17, 1832. This article detailed the surviving fabric of the building, the circumstances of its foundation, and its current ownership by a branch of the local Leigh family. A conjectural account of the original appearance of the building is given, based on the remains, an approach to the building which reflects developments in empirical archaeology throughout Europe. The position of the building as an important focal point in political events such as the 1641 upheavals is also given. As Benatti suggested, this variety of information – from local history to antiquarian detail – reflects the need of the editors and authors to keep the attention of the *DPJ* readership, and to foster a greater interest and awareness among that readership in Irish antiquities.

While Petrie's careful negotiation of the state of scholarship surrounding medieval architecture, and Irish architecture specifically, is reflected in his use of terminology, and in the way in which he avoids aligning his narratives with any defined sectarian view, other writers on antiquities are clearly less focused on architectural significance, and are more concerned with tracing the history of people and events connected to the foundations in question. The comments on architectural style and its significance are usually in the context of Ireland's cultural superiority. Petrie's own comments on the ideal of antiquarian research are illuminating in this regard. The antiquary should possess a number of virtues and qualifications, according to this article, but 'above all, he should possess a vigorous and honest understanding, not to be swayed by visionary national prejudices, but able to weigh evidences, and seeking truth above all things'.[127] Overall, these representations of architectural heritage in the 1830s reveal the necessity of maintaining an continually purchasing audience, and the desire to create a new

[127] P., 'Tomb of the Countess of Desmond', *DPJ*, 1, no. 42, April 13, (1833), 330

type of discourse around the antiquities – the 'creative' rather than 'reactive' role, identified by Kearney.

Representations of Irish Medieval Architecture: 1880 - 1915

Sir John Pope-Hennessy, in an article published in *The Nineteenth Century* in June, 1884, remarked that 'Irishmen who return to their country after a few years' absence cannot fail to see, as one of the most remarkable changes, an extension of popular literature; a great increase in the number of readers, not, however, in the upper or middle classes, but in the lower classes – that is, lower as far as the possession of pounds, shillings and pence is concerned.'[128] Pope-Hennessy continued that the increasing number of readers was connected to political activity and a desire for greater power: 'the increase in readers is mainly in the class who, with an extension of the franchise, will get a voting power they do not now possess'.[129] The political character of both the reading material and the reading practices of the Irish people discussed in this article are reiterated throughout the piece. The types of literature mentioned include the popular ballads which reflected the earlier 'aisling' mode of writing – allegories of Ireland presented as a woman, named as 'My Dark Rosaleen', and the location of reading and discussion – the National League reading rooms, which had 'readers of pure, vigorous, national literature – 'readers such as Davis yearned for'.[130] Pope-Hennessy listed the books, newspapers and journals which were central to popular reading practices, in particular those which related to history. Further to his list of books on Irish history,[131] Pope-Hennessy mentioned works that formed part of the *Penny*

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[128] John Pope-Hennessy, 'What do the Irish read?' in *Nineteenth Century: A Monthly Review*, 15, no. 88, (1884)
Sir John Pope-Hennessy (1834 – 91), politician and colonial governor, was born in Cork in August 1834. Among his many and varied achievements in political life, he contributed articles to the *Proceedings of the Royal Society*, the *Contemporary Review*, *Nineteenth Century*, the *Philosophical Magazine*, and *Subjects of the Day*, as well as a series of pamphlets on various political subjects and a book on Sir Walter Raleigh in Ireland. C. J. Woods, 'Hennessy, Sir John Pope', in James McGuire and James Quinn (ed), *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. (Cambridge, 2009). (http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a3931), (accessed 17/04/11)

[129] Pope-Hennessy, 926

[130] Pope-Hennessy, 926

[131] Pope-Hennessy gave an extensive list of popular reading matter on Irish history: Abbe MacGeoghegan's *History of Ireland from the Earliest Times to the Treaty of Limerick* with John Mitchell's continuation; D'Arcy McGee's *History of Ireland to the Emancipation of the Catholics*,

Readings for the Irish People. By 1884, reached three small octavo volumes of about three hundred pages each. These were edited by Henry Giles, and included the work of figures such as Thomas Davis, Charles Gavan Duffy, Samuel Ferguson, Denis Florence MacCarthy as well as Swift, Burke, Goldsmith and Sheridan. On cultural and, specifically, architectural history, extracts from Eugene O'Curry's *Ancient Irish Learning*, Dr. Sigerson on *The Habits and Social Condition of the Ancient Irish* and George Petrie on *Early Irish Churches*.[132]

The increasingly nationalist and political view of cultural heritage in Ireland is alluded to in this article, when a sixteen-year old boy, who is being interviewed, stated that the *Lamentation of MacLiag for Kincora*, with the lines 'They are gone, those heroes of royal birth/ Who plundered no churches and broke no trust', brought to mind ruined medieval architecture: 'When I see the ruined abbeys and castles, I whisper that lamentation to myself.'[133]

Pope-Hennessy's article reflects the strong connection between popular conceptions of culture and a separate national identity. This link between political and cultural independence in this period has been examined by Declan Kiberd, who, argued in *Inventing Ireland* that 'Ireland after the famines of the mid-nineteenth century was a sort of nowhere, waiting for its appropriate images and symbols to be inscribed in it.'[134] Cultural independence and distinctiveness must exist for political independence. In this context, Kiberd has examined the role of literature and of the writer in a colonial situation, and the complex relationship between a 'national' style, and the literature of the centre of colonial power.[135] Responding to the same cultural construct, Elizabeth Crooke has examined the impact of Ireland's colonial position on the formation of its museums, and on the interpretation of the objects within those institutions – the display of ethnic or

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Duffy's *Four Years of Irish History* with the preceding fragment, *Young Ireland*, A.M. Sullivan's *Story of Ireland*, Justin H. McCarthy's *Outline of Irish History*, Lecky's *History of the Eighteenth Century*, Walpole's *History of Ireland to the Union*, O'Callaghan's *History of the Irish Brigade in France*, Justin McCarthy's *History of Our Own Times*, and the works of Macaulay, Hallam, Froude, with Father Tom Madden's *Refutation of Froude*, as well as several biographies of important nationalist figures such as Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Henry Grattan, Wolfe Tone and Father Mathew. Pope-Hennessy, 126

[132] Pope-Hennessy, 931

[133] Pope-Hennessy, 924

[134] Kiberd, 115

[135] Kiberd, 115

national distinctiveness.[136] It is through this paradigm of post-colonial critical theory that the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century narratives of architectural history in journals and newspapers have been considered.

The *All-Ireland Review*, which was published between 1900 and 1907, and was founded and edited by Standish O'Grady.[137] O'Grady wanted his new title to espouse a form of nationalism which would be inclusive, and which would support 'greater mutual tolerance for the achievements of greater national solidarity and the concentration of power.'[138] The journal focused on matters of Irish society, culture, literature and history. While the main focus was on the Irish language, and literature, the contributors and editor occasionally took a broader view of the arts. In 1902, a two-part article by a contributor with the pseudonym 'Mario', which clearly articulated the link between the expression of a distinct, national culture and political autonomy.

These articles called for a movement in the visual arts which would mirror that which had taken place with the Irish language movement, as the arts had an important role to play in creating that sense of national identity from which political freedom could be achieved: 'There is no one cure for our present condition. We have drifted so long and so far, that if we would regain a sense of Nationality, we should adopt not one but many cures. Our music, our language, our industries, all want development. Our art, the bond of union of these separate entities, also wants development.'[139]

The separate and distinct nature of Irish art was emphasised by this author, a sentiment found in many of the popular journals of the period: 'Art flourished in Ireland when cultured in a Gaelic atmosphere. Art in Ireland drooped and decayed when hampered and harassed with imported ideas.'[140] Arts and design which

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[136] Crooke, 5

[137] Standish James O'Grady (1846 – 1928), writer and journalist, was born in Castletownbere, Co. Cork. He wrote for a number of newspapers, founded the All Ireland Review, and was the author of a number of historical novels based on his study of the Elizabethan wars in Ireland.
Patrick Maume, 'O'Grady, Standish James', in James McGuire and James Quinn (ed), *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. (Cambridge, 2009).
(http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a6773), accessed 28/02/11

[138] 'Address to Friends', *All Ireland Review*, 1, no. 1, January 6, (1900) 1

[139] 'Gaelic Art Culture (continued)', *All Ireland Review*, 3, no. 16, June 21, (1902) 249

[140] 'Gaelic Art Culture', *All Ireland Review*, 3, no. 15, June 14, (1902) 233

displayed international influences were described as a 'mournful medley of cosmopolitanism.'[141]

The *All Ireland Review* published a series of letters from Michael Joseph Cunningham Buckley, in November 1900, on the subject of 'indigenous' Irish art. Buckley was an ecclesiastical designer and antiquarian, and played an active role in antiquarian societies.[142] In contrast to many of the more standard narratives of the time regarding Irish culture, Buckley's first letter to the editor challenged the concepts of an 'indigenous' Irish art; in particular the use of the word 'Celtic' to describe illuminated manuscripts such as the Book of Kells.[143] Buckley argued that the term 'Celtic' was a misnomer in this regard, as the style of illumination was based on Byzantine styles of decoration: 'not indigenous to our country in the slightest degree, no more than are the round towers (formerly supposed to be of fabulous age), the so-called Irish alphabet (which is really Romanesque), or the harp itself.'[144] While Buckley conceded that the Irish scribes had made this Byzantine style their own, through the introduction of animal and plant forms: 'it must also be recognised that the innate skill of the Kelltic (sic) craftsman has powerfully influenced and altered the original Byzantine types.'[145] Buckley's article took a similar approach to that adopted by Robert Dunlop, and argued for a view of Irish art which emphasised its European origins, while at the same time, maintaining a sense of the artistic value and importance of the works being discussed.

In his second letter to the editor, Buckley again drew attention to the international influences on Irish illumination and metalwork: 'we trace the same animalized forms in the metalwork of the Gaulish, the Teutonic, the Etruscan, Mexican and Semitic peoples; such art forms have certainly been used long before the very earliest dawn of our local history.'[146] On Irish architecture, Buckley identified a shift towards more advanced and developed building practices from

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[141] 'Gaelic Art Culture', *All Ireland Review*, 3, no. 15, June 14, (1902) 233
[142] *Dictionary of Irish Architects 1720 – 1940*, accessed 28/02/11
[143] M.J.C. Buckley, "'Indigenous" Irish Art", *All Ireland Review*, 1, no. 45, November 10 (1900) 4
[144] M.J.C. Buckley, "'Indigenous" Irish Art", *All Ireland Review*, 1, no. 45, November 10 (1900) 4
[145] M.J.C. Buckley, "'Indigenous" Irish Art", *All Ireland Review*, 1, no. 45, November 10 (1900) 4
[146] MJC Buckley, "Does Indigenous Irish Art Exist? (Continued)", *All Ireland Review*, 2, no. 3, January 19, (1901), 20

the ninth century. Until that point, in Buckley's opinion, buildings had not been decorated or embellished in any way. The example which he chose to discuss as evidence of this shift was Cormac's Chapel, which he discusses as displaying 'nothing really indigenous in early Irish art', but rather 'bears the impress, as an enlightened beholder can easily see, of that wonderful Byzantine school of Artists which during the darkest period of the earlier centuries had its home in the beautiful island of Como'.[147] Buckley reconstructed the interior decoration of the chapel as a Byzantine jewel, with his desire to create an international context for understanding its patterns and styles, leading him to draw parallels with even Japanese and Mexican work.[148] Buckley's broad range of references resisted the concept of 'national' style or definition. While this may seem at odds with O'Grady's desire to forge a distinctively 'national' art, it may have appealed to his desire to transcend partisan interpretations of the past which were part of a culture of dissent and unrest.

Many of the key contributions on Irish medieval architecture took the form of reviews or reprints from other sources. These included the review of Margaret Stokes' *Early Christian Architecture* and Butler's articles on Irish Gothic architecture, reprinted from the *Irish Builder*, and these have examined with reference to the source texts in Chapter 3.

Religious Identity and Architectural Heritage

While journals and popular histories can be examined as 'texts' which can be interpreted for a greater understanding of the symbolic role of medieval buildings in the nineteenth century, so too can the physical landscape and the built environment. Medieval buildings most often remained in the care of religious groups of different denominations. In particular, the Church of Ireland had ownership of numerous medieval sites, and was therefore actively involved in the restoration and maintenance of the buildings themselves. However, Roman

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[147] MJC Buckley, "Does Indigenous Irish Art Exist? (Continued)", *All Ireland Review*, 2, no. 3, January 19, (1901), 20

[148] MJC Buckley, "Does Indigenous Irish Art Exist? (Continued)", *All Ireland Review*, 2, no. 3, January 19, (1901), 20

Catholic congregations also emphasised a tangible link between the medieval fabric of the medieval buildings and their own religion. This link was expressed and articulated in sermons, scholarly writing on architecture, and indeed, in architectural practice itself, with builders such as JJ McCarthy creating visual links between medieval buildings. McCarthy drew on the reticulated tracery of the window in the south transept and the five-light east window of the Dominican abbey of St. Saviour in Kilmallock when designing the Roman Catholic church of SS. Peter and Paul in the town (Fig. 5.16 a & b, Fig. 5.17, Fig. 5.18, Fig. 5.19).[149]

Different religious denominations or groups in society used architectural forms in order to express their cultural, political and community identity.[150] Patten described architecture in the nineteenth century as a 'complex metaphor', and a very public one, through which intricate social ideas and philosophies were explored. The print culture surrounding this architecture 'interpellated' the buildings themselves, creating a debate, with often clashing and conflicting interpretations of the same monument.

In Ireland, the debates about the meaning of architectural style, origins and development were inevitably complicated by religious division, as well as political symbolism, as was the case in the debate surrounding the Houses of Parliament in England in the 1830s.[151] The extent to which people were very much alive to the appropriation of architectural styles, particularly in church building, is evident in the print culture of the period. One scathing comment from the Revered Caesar Otway on the inappropriateness of Gothic architecture for certain Catholic buildings is revealing: he described Tuam Roman Catholic Cathedral has having a 'pretending, assuming, falsetto look [...] its multitude of little spires, spiking up into

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[149] The use of motifs from local medieval antiquities in new building projects by James Joseph McCarthy was noted by Jeanne Sheehy, in particular in the case of the new Roman Catholic Church at Kilmallock, Co. Limerick, in which he quoted the magnificent honeycomb-tracery window of the nearby Dominican friary. Jeanne Sheehy, *J. J. McCarthy and the Gothic Revival in Ireland*, (Belfast: Nicholson and Bass for the Ulster Architectural Heritage Society, 1977), 10

[150] Alistair Rowan, 'Irish Victorian Churches: Denominational Distinctions', in Brian P. Kennedy and Raymond Gillespie, *Ireland: Art into History* (Dublin: Town House Press, 1994), 207 – 230, Eve Patten, 'Ireland's Architecture', in *Samuel Ferguson and the Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004) 131 - 154

[151] Key documents from the debate surrounding the rebuilding of the Houses of Parliament, London, from the 1830s, are included in Michael Charlesworth, *The Gothic Revival: Literary Sources and Documents, Vol. III Gothic and National Architecture*, (East Sussex: Helm Information, 2002), 7 - 90

the air, put me in mind of a centipede or scorpion thrown on its back and clawing at the sky.'[152]

The new building projects of the Established Church also reflected the desire to connect the present with the early Irish church: the church of St. Patrick at Jordanstown, Co. Antrim by William Henry Lynn in 1865 - 68, is one example. The architectural forms of the church, with its round-tower belfry and decorated round-arched fenestration, explicitly referenced what were seen as a native Irish style, reflecting the desire to link the Church of Ireland to the early Irish Church, rather than a Roman tradition (Fig. 5.20). A book published on the occasion of the opening of the church made this aim explicit in its sub-title: *the first attempt in modern times to revive the ancient ecclesiastical architecture of Ireland.*[153]

Medieval ecclesiastical buildings were also hugely significant for groups in Irish society, in particular Roman Catholic communities, which often had no territorial control over them.[154] The symbolic importance of the buildings was articulated at an official level; the Irish Ecclesiological Society stressed the importance of the remains of Irish medieval foundations as central to the future of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland.[155] The first of the 'objects' of the Irish Ecclesiological Society was to:

> (F)orm a medium whereby Catholics may co-operate with, and assist one another in the study and investigation of Catholic antiquities, particularly of the remains existing in this country – to show the exclusive connection

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[152] Sheehy, 'Irish church building: popery. Puginism and the protestant ascendancy', 138 - 139

[153] The use of early Irish architecture in the Jordanstown church is discussed in this publication as emphasising the distance from Rome: 'The period in which these eminent teachers flourished is a most remarkable one in Irish ecclesiastical history. The Church of Ireland formed then no integral part of the Church of Rome. In various respects, its discipline and other peculiarities have been more analogous to those of the Eastern church', *A Notice of St. Patrick's Church, Jordanstown* (London: printed for private circulation by Strangeways and Walden, 1868) 7

[154] Joep Leerssen has argued that the lack of control over public space and over the way in which history is memorialised, is a definition of the subaltern and oppressed situation, and he noted that 'the emergence of a nationally-oriented, Catholic middle class in Ireland can be faithfully registered in its slow but steadily increasing grasp on monumental space', Joep Leerssen, "Monuments and Trauma: Varieties of Remembrance", *History and Memory in Modern Ireland*, ed. Ian McBride, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) 204 - 222

[155] For a brief discussion of the foundation and history of the Irish Ecclesiological Society, see "Irish Ecclesiological Society", *The Irish Monthly*, 24, no. 275 (1896): 295 - 277

between them and our holy religion; and to apply the result of their investigations to the practical wants of the Church.[156]

The opening address of the Society, which was given by Rev. Charles Russell in 1849, focused on the position of Roman Catholics in relation to medieval ecclesiastical buildings:

> We have been excluded from the temples which our fathers raised in honour of the living God, where their children for ages offered the pure oblation, around whose venerable walls their ashes in after ages reposed, and with whose very ruins are yet associated the best and holiest of our national recollections.[157]

This explicit link between religious identity and architectural heritage was in direct contract to the almost contemporary statement of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society, which, in its mission statement, distanced itself from any kind of sectarian approach:

> (W)hen on the nineteenth of that month, some friends to the cause of Archaeology met in a private room, and determined to solicit the united cooperation of all classes and creeds in an effort to 'preserve, examine and illustrate all ancient monuments of the history, customs and arts of our ancestors...'[158]

The position of the medieval parish church within a settlement, and the impact of its site on subsequent parish development, must also be considered in a survey of responses to medieval Irish architecture that were not exclusively scholarly or antiquarian. The early nineteenth century saw the expansion of the country's industrial infrastructure, agricultural improvements, and transport systems, and a key facet of this period of change was the impact of the increasing power of the Catholic middle classes, particularly in building projects in rural and urban areas: the Catholic landscapes of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

From the middle of the century, and the demographic shifts following the Famine years, settlements in Ireland underwent another period of change, with

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[156] *The Address of the Irish Ecclesiological Society*, (Dublin: James Duffy, 1849) 13
[157] *The Address of the Irish Ecclesiological Society*, 13
[158] 'Proceedings', *Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society*, Volume 1, (1849 - 51): 5 - 6

certain areas left with a dramatically reduced population, while others increased in size. This led to the abandonment of churches no longer necessary, and centres of population shifting, leading to increases in certain areas, and the depopulation of others. These shifts are reflected in the ecclesiastical architecture of the settlements. Some parish churches, both Roman Catholic and Church of Ireland, were abandoned, particularly in the West of Ireland.

Kevin Whelan, in his 1983 essay 'The Catholic Parish, The Catholic Chapel, and Village Development in Ireland' identified the 'chapel village' as an important settlement type from the 1780 to 1860 period in Ireland. This was a period of profound transformation in the Irish Roman Catholic church during which it largely reconstructed its parish system, involving the building of churches in large numbers; Jeanne Sheehy noted that 1,805 Catholic churches were built between 1800 and 1863. The churches built in rural areas, according to Whelan's argument, became the focal points for developing small to medium size urban settlements across the country, with the position of the chapels being determined by the attitude of landlords, the wealth of the local Catholic community, and the sponsorship of prominent Catholic families, rather than the footprint of the medieval parish.[159] Whelan argued that the new network of parishes in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries 'showed little sentiment and little sense of its distinguished ancestry in creating a rigidly utilitarian network', organised according to the redistribution of the population in Ireland in this period, and informed by the post-Tridentine emphasis on pastoral care and the importance of mass attendance. Whelan demonstrated that the new parishes migrated to new lines of road, fair-green sites, or important focal points, rather than adhering to older holy sites, and that once the chapel was in place at the centre of the new settlement, trades, industries and facilities such as schools developed around it.[160]

While some medieval parish centres were abandoned, the assumption of complete dissonance between the early nineteenth century and post-Catholic

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[159] Kevin Whelan, 'The Catholic Parish, The Catholic Chapel and Village Development in Ireland', *Irish Geography*, 16, no. 1 (1983): 1 - 15

[160] A classic study of these changes in Catholic organisation and worship is Emmet Larkin's 'The devotional revolution in Ireland, 1850 – 75', *American History Review*, 77 (1972), 625 - 52

Emancipation parish, and the older medieval parish may be overstated.[161] Patrick Duffy has suggested that the eventual reorganisation of the parish structure by the Roman Catholic Church was more conservative than radical, with more adherence to the medieval footprint than has previously been assumed. Further to Duffy's argument, the importance of the medieval ecclesiastical buildings to the Roman Catholic culture is evident in the sermons, political speeches and general history culture of the period, and is an important factor to be considered in the development of the nineteenth-century Catholic urban landscape.

An examination of nineteenth-century parishes in Limerick, and their relationship to the position of the medieval parish church, illustrates the points made by both Whelan and Duffy. While the tradition place of worship does appear to be a factor in the selection of a new church site, other factors, such as the availability of land, the suitability of the site for building and the location of routes and services must be considered.

According to Whelan's analysis of post-medieval settlement development, many medieval parish centres lost their ritual and functional significance at the Reformation, when the lands of the old parish centre were given to an individual, and following this, the landowner, or occasionally a privileged tenant, would establish a demesne or a large farm on the site. These old parish centres generally have a ruined medieval church, a demesne and big house or large farmstead, and an Established Church of Ireland church building. However, looking at the small towns and dispersed rural settlements in County Limerick, the 'chapel villages' as defined by Whelan, responded in different ways to the medieval footprint.

For example, Whelan gave the example of the small town of Ardagh, in west Limerick, as a classic 'chapel village'. As in the case of Abingdon and Murroe, the changes through time in the town can be traced through the OS maps. In 1837, Lewis described the village as having 65 houses in a ruinous condition, and a large but old and neglected Roman Catholic parish church. The medieval parish church, according to his *Dictionary*, had been destroyed in 1641, and had never been rebuilt (Fig. 5.21). This old, T-shaped chapel can be seen in the 6 inch OS map (Fig.

[161] Patrick Duffy, 'The Shape of the Parish', *The Parish in Medieval and Early Modern Ireland*, eds. Elizabeth Fitzpatrick and Raymond Gillespie, (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006)

5.22), but the later 25 inch map shows the rebuilt cruciform Roman Catholic church, located beside the medieval parish church (Fig. 5.23). The medieval site continued to be used as a graveyard, reflecting the symbolic importance of the location to the Roman Catholic congregation. As with many mid- to late-nineteenth century Roman Catholic parish churches, the church at Ardagh was extensively remodelled in the latter half of the twentieth century, yet another period of change in the Irish ecclesiastical landscape (5.24).

The nearby village of Shanagolden, a typical nineteenth-century 'chapel village', with its nineteenth-century streetscape relatively intact, is another example of how chapel villages responded to the architecture of the medieval parish (Fig. 5.25, Fig. 5.26). The town was described by Lewis as having 3,212 inhabitants in the townland, with 847 in the town, and that its population was increasing: the Church of Ireland church building was described as a 'large and handsome edifice, apparently very old, the chancel being in ruins, the nave was fitted up for divine service having been roofed and a lofty square tower built in 1815, by aid of a loan of £450, from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners' (Fig. 5.27). In 1905, when Westropp published his survey of the ancient churches of Limerick in the Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, the chancel and nave of the thirteenth-century church remained, with an east window of 'handsome transition' design, from c. 1200. He noted that the nave had arcades, with "four plain pointed arches to each side and a curiously fretted font.' At present, only the nineteenth-century lofty square tower remains, and the site is a graveyard (Fig. 5.28). The nineteenth-century streetscape reveals that, during that century, activity was still focused on the crossroads at which the medieval church was sited. The Roman Catholic church, pictured on the 6 inch inch OS map, was built at a distance from the centre of the town where services, such as the national school, were subsequently developed in the twentieth century (Fig. 5.29, Fig. 5.30).

In many cases, the medieval parish church is retained as a burial site for local communities; in some cases, the church itself is subsumed into that function. For example, at Uregare, near Bruff, Westropp noted that the medieval parish church itself was broken up to build a wall around the graveyard, leaving little trace of the original structure (Fig. 5.31), while at Knocklong, at the hilltop site of

the parish church, only a footprint remains of the building (Fig. 5.32, Fig. 5.33). Whelan has claimed that only a tiny minority of the old holy sites were reoccupied by Catholic chapels in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; however, almost every medieval parish church site visited as part of this research project in Co. Limerick was in use as a graveyard, reflecting their continuing important ritual, functional and symbolic function within the Roman Catholic communities, even though the actual new church site was often located elsewhere.

The history and present position of the church played a major part in the long, and frequently very dramatic sermons which took place at large religious gatherings in the nineteenth century. Charity sermons were a common feature of nineteenth-century fundraising; a guest speaker, well-known for his oratory and persuasive prowess, would be asked to speak, and donations were made by the congregations afterwards. The charity sermon was a common feature of fundraising for nineteenth-century church building.

As well as those given for charity, sermons which took place at important events, such as the reopening or consecration of a church or cathedral building provided an important forum for the expression of ideas about church architecture, past and present. One example of a sermon in which the medieval building and its symbolism for the Roman Catholic community was that given at the consecration of the newly built St. John's Roman Catholic cathedral in Limerick (Fig. 5.34). The ceremony took place on the 21st June 1894, with the consecration ceremony performed by Cardinal Logue. The Irish Builder reported that the building had begun in 1854, and, after a lapse of forty years, the Catholics of Limerick 'finally have a splendid structure in their midst, and one of which they may feel proud.'[162]

The Limerick Chronicle, of Thursday evening, June 21, 1894, printed the text of the sermon given by the Rev. Dr. Sheehan. The most striking feature of this sermon is the position of the medieval cathedral of St. Mary, which occupies a central, symbolic role in the rhetoric of the sermon (Fig. 5.35). Speaking about the development of the new cathedral, from the laying of the foundation stone of the

[162] 'St. John's Roman Catholic Cathedral', *Irish Builder*, July 1, 1894

small parish church that had been first envisaged, to the gradual creation of the cathedral, the Rev. Dr. Sheehan stated that:

> (A)s the walls rose up, your fathers began to see that something more was needed here than an ordinary parish church. They could not forget, too, that there was a time when Catholic Limerick had a Cathedral worthy of its ancient name, and though they, the first generation of emancipated Irishmen, could hope to do aught to rival the glory of old St. Mary's, yet they could and would prove that in their faith and piety and everything they had power to accomplish, they came in nowise short of those who in happier times had raised across the river the stately pile, which, even now in its decay, every Limerick-man points to with so just a pride.

The speaker invoked the image of the Israelites building the second temple, as a metaphor for the work of the Limerick people in creating their new cathedral. The orator called up the different incidents in which Limerick Roman Catholics had expressed, through their actions, their devotion to the old cathedral; 'During the sixteenth- and seventeenth- centuries, it witnessed many scenes that bore eloquent testimony to the loyalty with which the clergy and people of Limerick clung to the ancient faith and its Supreme Head.'

It is interesting to note that Dr. Sheehan stressed the 'extraordinary care' which had been bestowed on the cathedral by the 'reformers' and Roman Catholics alike.

The sermon that was preached at the first Mass following the enlargement of the Roman Catholic church at Adare, by the Rev. T.E. Bridgett[163], was reprinted by the Irish Monthly, in 1891.[164] The sermon began with a history of the town of Adare, including the foundation of the religious establishments there. Bridgett noted that 'in the 300 years between the foundation of the White Abbey and the suppression of religious houses under Henry VIII, the people of Adare abounded in

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[163] Thomas Edward Bridgett, 1829 – 1899, was a priest in the congregation of the Redemptorists, who was born, and who died in England, but who spent three years with the Redemptorists in Limerick.
Cyril Ryder, with Abbot Gasquet, *Life of Thomas Edward Bridgett: priest of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer etc.*, (London; New York: Burns & Oates; 1906)

[164] 'The Religious Vicissitudes of Adare', T.E. Bridgett, *The Irish Monthly*, Vol. 19, No. 213, (March 1891), pp. 127 - 132

all external helps for instruction, for piety, for private and public worship'.[165] The sermon continued with the speaker asking the congregation to imagine the setting of religious worship in pre-Reformation Adare, with all the people of the country united in one religion, and then to imagine the circumstances in which that unity came to an end.

> How came they in ruins? Ah! It is a sad history for which I have no time now. On that 5th December, could a preacher have stood in the pulpit of the church and foretold what would happen before the end of the century, he would not have been believed. His words would have seemed like ravings. He would have foretold that before the century had run out, all the churches of Adare would be roofless ruins, their inhabitants dispersed, their very religion proscribed, and all that would be done, not by an invasion of heathen savages, as when the Danes wrecked Mungret, but by men who had been baptised and educated in the Catholic Church.

A series of letters to the editor of the *Munster News and Clare Advocate* in 1860 illustrated the importance of medieval ecclesiastical buildings to Roman Catholic communities, even when they did not have physical control over the buildings themselves. Major W. A. McDonnell wrote to the editors of the Munster News and Clare Advocate to defend his reputation on January 11, 1860.[166] He wrote that he had decided to preserve the picturesque ruin of Killone church from decay by enclosing the churchyard with a wall, building up the nave walls, and by tidying up the interior of the nave, which he stated were full of coffin-boards lying around, due to improper burials. However, rumours had been circulating that he desecrated the dead bodies within, that he was using the earth from the

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[165] Bridgett, 127 - 132

[166] It is very likely that the correspondent is Major William Edward Armstrong-McDonnell, who held the office of High Sheriff in 1853. He was born William Edward Armstrong, but legally changed his name to Armstrong-McDonnell in 1858. He gained the rank of Colonel in the service of the Clare militia, and held the offices of Deputy Lieutenant and Justice of the Peace. He married the Hon Juliana Cecilia O'Brien, daughter of Lucius O'Brien, 13th Baron Inchiquin. Information from www.clarelibrary.ie, (accessed 16/02/11)
This marriage is referred to in the editorial comment that respect on his part was all the more necessary since he 'has become connected with the old noble family that represented the royal line, and is of the princely descent of that same regal founder by whom in brighter and better times, the Convent and grounds were allocated and consecrated to the people's religion'. 'The Killone Churchyard', *Munster News and Clare Advocate*, January 14, 1860.

churchyard to manure his land, and that he was going to charge burial fees in future for Roman Catholics to bury their dead within the choir. The editorials and letters from parishioners in response to McDonnell's plea of innocence, however, confirm that they did not consider it appropriate for him to interfere with the ruin in this way. The editors opined that they did not think that McDonnell deliberately meant to outrage the people, but that the desecration was undeniable and unacceptable.[167] The editors concluded their article with the statement that the 'universal excitement and indignation should be remembered as warnings by every landowner who has a religious ruin on his property'.[168] A further letter, from one 'Old Mortality', stated that 'Mr. Armstrong is much mistaken in thinking that he can impart any shape to the holy clay he pleases, as easily as an Inspector of Police can regulate the trim of men's whiskers [...] For he who wars with the handful of dust at his feet is no friend to the living, and deserves to be treated as an alien to his kind'.[169]

This desire to link medieval ecclesiastical buildings in Ireland with a specifically Roman Catholic past is also evident in the building culture of post-Emancipation churches. One of the most influential church architects of the post-Emancipation era, James Joseph McCarthy, a key founder member of the Irish Ecclesiological Society, produced a pamphlet directed at parish priests in 1851.[170] This tract, which draws on Pugin's *Contrasts* in its use of illustrations to highlight the appropriateness of medieval-revival, rather than classical religious building, emphasised the appropriateness of medieval building styles for contemporary architectural practice, drawing his examples from foundations such as Holycross Abbey in Tipperary and Jerpoint Abbey in Kilkenny.

The view that Irish ecclesiastical antiquities 'belonged' to the Roman Catholic church was also part of more private, as well as public discourse, on the future of the Irish religious landscape. Aubrey de Vere, in a letter to Dr. Patrick Leahy, who was archbishop of Cashel from 1857 – 75, reflected on the future of

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[167] 'The Killone Churchyard', *Munster News and Clare Advocate,* January 14, 1860
[168] 'The Killone Churchyard', *Munster News and Clare Advocate*, January 14, 1860
[169] 'The Killone Churchyard', *Munster News and Clare Advocate,* January 14, 1860
[170] James Joseph McCarthy, *Suggestions on the arrangement and characteristics of parish churches. A paper read at the Irish Ecclesiological Society, 5th February, 1851,* (Dublin: Duffy, 1851)

the Roman Catholic Church and the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland. In his letter, de Vere has written that:

> (T)he more I reflect on the great religious destinies which Ireland must have before her both at home and in far lands, the more convinced I feel that both the complete independence of the clergy and also the restoration of her Church Property as such are necessary to her. Nor do I see anything visionary in the hope that one day a part of that property which has never ceased to be morally ours, may be spent in the restoration of the ancient Cathedral of Cashel and the maintenance there of a full Cathedral choir under Your Grace's protection and government.[171]

In the examples given above, the ruins of the medieval ecclesiastical buildings are described as being a central part of the narrative of dispossession, persecution, and finally, the post-Emancipation resurgence of Catholic power. This represents a major contrast to the antiquarian discourse, which continually emphasised the need for a non-sectarian view of antiquities.

As many commentators have pointed out, the nationalist movement in Irish politics in the late nineteenth century was increasingly linked to the concept of religious freedoms for Roman Catholics, and this is evident in the political rhetoric of the era, through the use of the religious ruin as symbol.

The image of the ruin as a potent symbol of dispossession was a common trope in both political rhetoric and in the 'nationalist' literature of the nineteenth century. Crooke gave the good example of the use of the ruin within political rhetoric in William Smith O'Brien's lecture to the Cork Young Ireland Society in 1885, arguing that O'Brien presented Irish patriotism as emanating from the archaeological remains scattered over the Irish landscape.[172] O'Brien's lecture used the image of the landscape as being peopled with 'the bones of uncanonised saints and martyrs': 'When the framers of the penal laws denied us books, and drew their thick black veil over Irish history, they forgot that the ruins they had themselves made were the most eloquent memorials of a history and a race destined not to

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[171] Mark Tierney, 'Correspondence concerning the Disestablishment of the Church of Ireland, 1862 – 1869', *Collectanea Hibernica*, No. 12 (1969), 164 - 165

[172] Crooke, 33

die.'[173] The analysis of both texts in scholarly and non-scholarly contexts is essential for a comprehensive view of the different ways in which medieval architecture was experienced and used in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Indeed, the extent to which non-scholarly, more community-oriented, and even private and personal, uses of medieval sites can be traced and interpreted through time is uncertain, given that the evidence for these practices is rarely documented. However, imaginative works of art, such as imagery, literature, poetry and ballads, opinion pieces and editorials in newspapers, sermons and the physical arrangement or use of a site within a landscape can be read as texts, or at least used a mirror which reflects these more ephemeral, but no less significant, histories of Irish Gothic buildings.

[173] Crooke, 33
The culture of pamphlet publishing on medieval building in the early twentieth century is outside the bounds of this thesis, and will form part of post-doctoral research on the subject. Many of the ecclesiastical ruins, such as Muckross Abbey and Holycross Abbey were the subject of strongly Catholic pamphlets, collected by the NLI. The ruins and their histories were strongly linked with Catholic faith – for example, the pamphlet on Holycross refered to its being Ireland's 'Santa Croce' and emphasised the link between the relic of the Cross and contemporary Catholic practice. John B. Cullen, *The "Santa Croce" of Ireland*, (Dublin: Catholic Truth Society of Ireland, 19-)

Chapter 6: Interventions in medieval buildings in the nineteenth century

Persisted, linked, through lengths and breadths
Of time. Snow fell, undated. Light
Each summer thronged the glass. A bright
Litter of birdcalls strewed the same
Bone-littered ground. And up the paths
The endless altered people came[1]

The history of Irish medieval ecclesiastical buildings is a story of continual use, adaptation and transformation. Church buildings were employed as civic and domestic buildings, such as the Abbey of St. Francis in Limerick city, which was used as a law court in the seventeenth century, and Mellifont Abbey, which became a dwelling place following the Dissolution.[2] Tintern Abbey, in Co. Wexford, now a ruin, was used as a family home by the Colclough family until the middle of the twentieth century (Fig. 7.1).[3] Medieval buildings were continually being reshaped in order to serve their changing functions. These alterations can be read in the fabric of buildings themselves; at Hore Abbey, in Co. Tipperary, for example, an analysis of window insertions and floors levels reveals a shift from ceremonial to domestic use. (Fig. 7.2, Fig. 7.3) While early alterations to medieval buildings, such as those at Hore Abbey, are mostly known through the surviving building fabric itself, the greater range of documentary evidence, relating to both technical process and critical response, which exists for the nineteenth century facilitates an in-depth study of restoration and conservation practices. This chapter examines types of restoration processes which were typical of the nineteenth century, within a broad social and political context.

In Richard Rolt Brash's article on Iniscealtra, published in *The Gentleman's Magazine* of 1866, he stated that he had 'almost invariably found a desire upon the part of the Protestant people and clergy to preserve the ancient monuments of

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[1] Philip Larkin, 'An Arundel Tomb', *Collected Poems*, (Victoria; London: The Marvell Press; Faber and Faber, 2003), pg.116

[2] Roger Stalley, 'Mellifont Abbey: A Study of its Architectural History', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature*, 80C (1980), 273

[3] Ann Lynch, *Tintern Abbey, Co. Wexford: Cistercians and Colcloughs; excavations 1982 – 2007*, (Dublin: Stationery Office, 2010)

the country; while the Roman Catholic population are their constant plunderers'.[4] While this statement oversimplifies in very many ways the relationship between antiquarianism, religion and social class in Ireland (those who owned land and had political power were by no means exclusively members of the Church of Ireland), and Brash had expressed strong views on religion on other occasions, it does reveal a perceived connection between a land-owning class and the duty of preservation. Landowner-led restoration or conservation works form one of the most important types of intervention throughout the nineteenth century.[5] Indeed, as Leerssen has argued, concepts of the stewardship of antiquities were part of wider discourses of patriotism and landlordism throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[6] Many of the groups advocating the preservation of Irish antiquities, such as the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland (RSAI), continually called for the support of those in positions of political and economic power. This made sound practical as well as financial sense, as not only did these socio-economic groups have the available resources to dedicate to expensive repair works, but very often owned the land on which the ruins stood, and therefore the monuments themselves. In some cases, this meant that the antiquities were at the risk of the caprice of the owner, or their agents.

The experiences of the RSAI in dealing with proposed conservation works at Dunbrody Abbey, Co. Wexford, reveal the potential difficulties: in 1856, the committee of the (then) Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society contacted Mr. W.A. Knox, who was the agent of Lord Templemore, the owner of the lands on which Dunbrody Abbey stood (Fig. 7.4). Efforts on the part of the society began in 1857, when it was reported that the honorary secretaries had attempted to preserve the further ruin of the Cistercian abbey church. In 1858, a comprehensive report of this frustrated attempt was published in the *Proceedings* of the Society: James Graves recorded that he had surveyed the building with Mr.

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[4] Richard Rolt Brash, 'Inishcaltra and its remains', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, January (1866) 22

[5] While landowner-led or –supported restoration and conservation projects continued throughout the century, professional architects were more commonly employed in the latter half of the century, and there was a greater range of critical responses to the projects, in periodicals and newspapers.

[6] Joep Leerssen, 'Around the Union: Patriotism into Nationalism', in *Remembrance and Imagination: Patterns in the Historical and Literary Representation of Ireland in the Nineteenth Century*, 8 - 32

Knox, and that they had outlined a list of the type of repairs to be carried out. Graves, and the Society, had been promised that £100 would be spent on repairs, to be carried out to their specifications, on condition that a medieval seal, in the possession of a Society member, should be given to Lord Templemore. However, the works had not been carried out as planned, and that Knox had taken matters into his own hands. In a letter attacking the society and James Graves, published in the *Wexford Independent*, Knox stated that he had 'by the direction of Lord Templemore, employed an architect (not Mr. Graves's man), who made part last year, and is finishing this, the necessary repairs, to keep the ruin from decay'.[7] These works, according to Graves, seemed 'calculated highly to deface the beauty of what remained of the structure whilst doing little for the judicious preservation of the building'. Part of these works were described in Graves' response to the *Wexford Independent*: deep trenches had been dug between the piers of the remaining row of nave arches, and this row of arches had been built up, 'thus reducing to the appearance of a *dead wall* the most beautiful and striking feature of the Abbey'.[8] Lord Templemore himself, according to the records of the RSAI, had not been an active supporter of the preservation movement: James Graves recorded that he had been told that a local clergyman had offered to make some repairs to the building at his own expense, and had been 'refused permission, in not the most civil manner, and told to mind his own affairs'.[9] Furthermore, following the collapse of much of the building in a storm on Christmas Eve, 1852, Lord Templemore and his agent were of the opinion that 'the abbey was *improved* by the fall of the arcade – the ruin being rendered more picturesque thereby'.[10]

Different types of private ownership existed: the ecclesiastical complex at Glendalough, for example, was in the possession of the Irish Mining Company in

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[7] "Proceedings and Papers", *The Journal of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society*, New Series, 2, no. 1 (1858): 151

[8] "Proceedings and Papers", *The Journal of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society*, New Series, 2, no. 1 (1858): 152

[9] "Proceedings of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society, 1853", *Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society* 1853, 2, no. 2 (1853) 385

[10] "Proceedings of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society, 1853", *Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society* 1853, 2, no. 2 (1853) 385

1857.[11] The RSAI praised the altruistic approach of the company chairman, Mr. Edward Atkinson Esq., who made a statement about their responsibility towards the heritage in their care: 'the Board being of the opinion, that as these relics of ancient times were considered of sufficient interest, from the peculiar circumstances attaching to them as connected with the history of the country, to induce eminent men from all countries to visit them, that it is their duty to prevent them, at least, from going to total ruin'.[12] The antiquaries noted that 'theirs is an example worthy of the imitation of every holder of landed property throughout Ireland, and furnishes a just rebuke to the acts of individuals who are said to have perpetrated desecrations'.[13] By the 1870s, following the Disestablishment of the Church of Ireland, many of the debates surrounding the development of legislation preserving national or ancient monuments related to the issue of private land ownership and private property. As Henry Wheeler has pointed out, private owners had the right to decide whether or not to appoint the Board of Works as guardians of a monument; this, ultimately, was at the discretion of the landowners themselves.[14]

While the legislation protecting national and ancient monuments was curtailed by issues of private land ownership, it marked the beginning of a systematic and enforceable process of dealing with built heritage, supported by a reasonably substantial budget.[15] Prior to the protection by law of architectural heritage, interest groups such as the RSAI could but try to communicate a sense of value to a broader public, and in particular, to those in possession of the building. Strong statements of the value of architectural heritage were made by those in political and civic power, and even formed the basis of judgement in legal cases,

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[11] Nineteenth-century works at Glendalough have been discussed by Máirín Ní Cheallaigh, and the works by the RSAI at the site by Aideen Ireland, in the recently published *Glendalough: City of God*, eds. Charles Doherty, Linda Doran and Mary Kelly (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011)

[12] "Proceedings and Papers", *The Journal of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society*, New Series, 1, no. 2, 1857, 246
In her MUBC thesis, Rachel MacRory examined the controversies surrounding individual landownership, and the vesting of monuments in the care of the Board of Works.

[13] "Proceedings and Papers", *The Journal of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society*, New Series, 1, no. 2, 1857, 246

[14] Wheeler, 84

[15] £50,000 was set aside for the maintenance of national monuments under the Irish Church Act of 1869. Wheeler, 81

such as that following an incidence of vandalism at Clonmacnoise in 1864. During the trial in Tullamore, the judge made the statement that 'such monuments were of national importance [...] it is impossible to over-estimate their importance as shewing the character of the nation in those early times'.[16] However, prior to the 1870s, the fate of medieval ecclesiastical buildings lay largely in the hands of individuals who invested considerable time, energy and resources into conservation efforts for different reasons and with different motivations.

The village of Adare and the Earls of Dunraven

> Once more I pace thy pillared halls,
> And hear the organ echoes sigh,
> In blissful death, on storied walls;
> But where art thou? Not here; nor nigh...
>
> Friend! Where art thou? Thy works reply –
> The lowly school, the high-arched Fane,
> Who loves his kind can never die,
> Who loves his God with God shall reign'.[17]

The village of Adare, in Limerick, is a particularly important example in an assessment of the treatment of medieval buildings by different groups, and as part of different types of improvement processes, from those motivated by tourism to landscaping. A detailed analysis of the relationship which existed between the landowning family, the Dunravens and the community in general and the medieval buildings which feature so prominently in the townscape, reveals their nuanced complexity.

The emphasis on buildings in the verses above, written by Aubrey de Vere in memory of the third Earl of Dunraven, is very appropriate as the third Earl,

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[16] "Vandalism at Clonmacnoise", *The Gentleman's Magazine*, October (1864) 445
[17] Aubrey De Vere, "In memory of the late Lord Dunraven", *The Irish Monthly Magazine*, 2, January-November 1874, 22.

Edwin Windham Wyndham-Quin was part of a family which had dedicated enormous energy and resources to improvements and building in the small village of Adare, Co. Limerick (Fig. 7.5).[18] The organ which echoes in the above lines was probably that built in Adare Manor (Fig. 7.6, Fig. 7.7), installed among the carved wood and stained glass heraldry which traced the lineage of the family; the 'high-arched fane' referring to the Trinitarian Priory that the third Earl had renovated and extended as a Roman Catholic church, and the 'lowly school' a reference to the school which he had formed in the conventual buildings of that priory (Fig. 7.8).

The Limerick antiquarian, Thomas Johnson Westropp (1860 – 1922) wrote in 1905, that "when a school arises to study the medieval castles and fortified towns, Limerick and Adare, Askeaton and Kilmallock will demand much of its attention."[19] Within the town of Adare, Co. Limerick, there are three important medieval ecclesiastical foundations, one small parish church, and a chapel.[20] The Desmond Castle is an important medieval building in the town, but its treatment is not considered here, as the focus is on ecclesiastical foundations.[21] Westropp gave 1291 as the earliest date for a record of the parish Church of St. Nicholas, which was used as the parish church until 1806 (Fig. 7.9).[22] According to Westropp's Survey, the 'alleged' date of foundation of the Trinitarian House, also known as 'White Abbey' was 1230 (Fig. 7.10).[23] The Augustinian House, also known as 'Black

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[18] Edwin Wyndham's grandfather, Valentine Richard Quin (1725–1824), was responsible for the restoration of many of the ruined buildings at Adare, and his son, Windham Quin (1782–1850), continued this restoration and began building the impressive Gothic Revival Adare Manor in the 1830s. Edwin Wyndham finished the building of the manor after the death of his father in 1850. The Quin family was one of the few native Irish families in the annals of the Peerage, and they are descended from the O'Quins of Inchiquin, Co. Clare.
Desmond Fitzgerald, Knight of Glin, *Adare Manor, Ireland. Christies Sale Catalogue, London*, 1982, 8.

[19] Thomas Johnson Westropp, "A Survey of the Ancient Churches in the County of Limerick", *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature*, 25 (1904/1905) 327

[20] The Desmond Castle at Adare is another very significant monument in the town, but in this essay I will focus on the ecclesiastical buildings. For a discussion of the castle, see Thomas Johnson Westropp, "The Principal Ancient Castles of the County of Limerick", *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, Fifth Series, 37/1 (1907), 24 - 40

[21] The nineteenth-century restoration of the castle is examined by Áine Doyle in her MUBC thesis.

[22] Thomas Johnson Westropp, "A Survey of the Ancient Churches in the County of Limerick", *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature*, 25 (1904/1905) 376

[23] This 'alleged' date is given in almost every account of the Trinitatian foundation at Adare, including Westropp, "A Survey of the Ancient Churches in the County of Limerick" 377, and Peter

Abbey', was founded in 1513 (Fig. 7.11), and the Franciscan Friary, sometimes called 'Grey Abbey', was founded in 1464, by Thomas, Earl of Kildare and his wife Johanne (Fig. 7.12).[24] Westropp stated that the small chapel-of-ease in the immediate vicinity of the church of St. Nicholas was probably built in the fifteenth century.[25]

The town of Adare is a fascinating example of a planned and improved nineteenth-century townscape, which has been remodelled at different stages, from the early nineteenth century removal of dilapidated dwellings[26], improvement of roads and the provision of services, such as the Dunraven Arms hotel[27], to the early twentieth century 'picturesque' housing schemes, designed by the architect Detmar Jellings Blow.[28] The medieval ecclesiastical foundations were central to the interventions in the townscape that were funded in large part by the Dunraven family, who lived at Adare manor, and who were major landowners at Adare.[29] The *Memorials of Adare Manor*, published for private circulation in 1865 by Caroline, Countess of Dunraven and her son, the celebrated antiquarian Edwin Wydham Quin, contains detailed descriptions of the histories of these foundations, as well as the history of the locality.[30] The Dunravens were instrumental in these

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Harbison, *Guide to the National and Historic Monuments of Ireland*, (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1992) 215

[24] Westropp, "A Survey of the Ancient Churches in the County of Limerick" 375 - 378

[25] Westropp, "A Survey of the Ancient Churches in the County of Limerick" 377

[26] This programme of replacing dilapidated dwellings with two-storey slated houses is discussed by Judith Hill, "Gothic in post-Union Ireland: the uses of the past in Adare, Co. Limerick", in Dooley and Ridgeway (eds.), *The Irish Country House: its past, present and future*, 68

[27] This was part of the First Earl of Dunraven's improvements at Adare, which were motivated, in part, by the desire to attract the burgeoning tourist trade, as Adare was an important point on the route to the major tourist site of Killarney. These improvements are described in Samuel Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, Volume 1, (London, 1837), 8 – 10

[28] Detmar Jellings Blow (1867 – 1939), carried out works at Adare Manor for the fourth Earl of Dunraven, and designed two terraces of dormered and gabled cottages in the town. *Dictionary of Irish Architects 1720 – 1940*, http://dia.ie/architects/view/2711/BLOW-DETMARJELLINGS%23 (accessed 06/10/10)

[29] For a brief account of the Dunravens at Adare, see John Cornforth, "Adare Manor, Co. Limerick – I", *Country Life*, May 15, 22, (1969)
The members of the Dunraven family referred to in this chapter are Valentine Richard Quin (1725 – 1824), who was the first Earl of Dunraven, his son, Windham Henry Quin, the second Earl of Dunraven (1782 – 1850) and his wife, Caroline, Countess of Dunraven (d. May, 1870), and their son, the antiquarian, Edwin Richard Windham Wyndham-Quin, the third Earl of Dunraven (1812 – 71).

[30] *Memorials of Adare Manor* by Caroline, Countess of Dunraven, with historical notices of Adare, by her son, the Earl of Dunraven (Oxford, printed for private circulation by Messrs. Parker, 1865)

changes to the town – in particular, they played active and important roles in the restoration and preservation of three important ecclesiastical buildings.

Adare Franciscan friary

The Franciscan friary at Adare featured prominently in many of the travel and antiquarian accounts produced throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Adare being an important point on the well-worn route to Killarney. According to the *Memorials*, the ruins 'are in an excellent state of preservation, owing to the late Lord Dunraven's care, who most skilfully repaired those portions in danger of further dilapidation, and placed them beyond the reach, it is hoped for many years, of destruction by ordinary causes.'[31]

An early description of the foundation was given by Fr. Donatus Mooney, the text of which was translated and published in the *Franciscan Tertiary* in 1894.[32] According to this translation of his account, 'the friars were driven from Adare during the war between the Earl of Desmond and Queen Elizabeth. The convent, which up to that time, had been kept in excellent repair, was allowed to go to ruin. At present, the roof has fallen in, but the walls stand, and the glass even is uninjured in some of the church windows.'[33] Richard Twiss mentioned the ruins in his 1777 account of his tour through Adare: 'From Limerick I went to Adare, which is a little village pleasantly situated, and embellished with ruins of several churches and convents, rendered elegant by ivy, which almost covers them'.[34] A later account, by Arthur Young in 1780, noted that 'there is a fine river runs under the house, and within view there are no less than three ruins of Franciscan friaries, two of them remarkably beautiful, one has most parts perfect, except the roof.'[35] Richard Rolt Brash noted in an article of 1856, that 'the Franciscan Friary at Adare

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[31] Dunraven, *Memorials*, 80

[32] "Adare", *The Franciscan Tertiary: a monthly journal of the Third Order*, 5, no. 12 (1894) 356

[33] "Adare", *The Franciscan Tertiary: a monthly journal of the Third Order*, 5, no. 12 (1894) 356

[34] Richard Twiss, *A Tour in Ireland in 1775, with a View of the Salmon-Leap at Ballyshannon*, (Dublin, 1777) 129

[35] Young refers to all three foundations as 'Franciscan', which is an error, but one which appears in several travel accounts, as noted by B. H. Blacker in *Sketches of Irish Churches 1- 12* (Dublin, 1871 – 73). Arthur Young, *A Tour in Ireland; with general observations on the present state of that kingdom made in the years 1776, 1777 and 1778, and brought down to the end of 1779*, (London, 1780) 311 – 312 The building which he noted as 'having most parts perfect' is likely to be the Augustinian friary.

[...] is romantically situated in the magnificent demesne of the Earl of Dunraven, to whose antiquarian zeal and care is owing its present state of preservation. The hand of educated taste is visible in the judicious reparations which it has undergone.'[36] There is a reference in the 'Historical Notes' in the *Memorials* to excavations and repairs which were carried on about the year 1829.[37]

It is clear from the surviving fabric of the building, and from the images of the friary included in the *Memorials* that the work carried out by the Dunravens at Adare did not significantly alter the fabric of the building, as in the cases of the two earlier foundations, which were completely restored for worship. It is, therefore, more difficult to trace exactly what type of restoration work did take place. A letter from Brash, regarding the antiquities of Ardmore, in Co. Waterford, gives an insight into the 'ruin restoration' techniques used of nineteenth century architects. In a letter to his friend, and fellow antiquarian, John Windele, Brash noted that 'I have lately visited that interesting locality Ardmore and have been much concerned to find the dilapidated and dangerous condition of several portions of their venerable ruins'.[38] He recommended the removal of the work carried out by the 'county masons', who, according to Brash, 'destroy anything they put their hands to'.[39] The works which he suggested included the identification of stones which had fallen from important architectural features, and replacing them in order to rebuild arches which had been broken, the 'pinning' of unstable masonry, and filling joints with dark mortar, rather than the light mortar used by the county masons which resulted in what Brash termed 'nasty white patches'.[40] Brash recommended that the masonry which had been added to the tops of the walls by the county masons be removed, and that 'the tops of the walls covered with clay and grass or something of the kind sown on them.'[41] In contrast, the images of Adare friary in the *Memorials* depict the walls being covered with ivy, while the grass is mown within the nave, and heavy and potentially damaging greenery has been cleared

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[36] Richard Rolt Brash, "The Franciscan Friary at Adare" *The Journal of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society*, New Series, 1, no. 1 (1856): 62
[37] Dunraven, Memorials, 78 - 79
[38] Letter from Richard Rolt Brash to John Windele, RIA MSS Windele collection, 4/B/11/108-112
[39] Letter from Richard Rolt Brash to John Windele, RIA MSS Windele collection, 4/B/11/108-112
[40] Letter from Richard Rolt Brash to John Windele, RIA MSS Windele collection, 4/B/11/108-112
[41] Letter from Richard Rolt Brash to John Windele, RIA MSS Windele collection, 4/B/11/108-112

from fine carved stone of the cloister arcade (Fig. 7.13). The plan of the friary, given in the *Memorials*, uses a heavy black line to denote walls in 'perfect condition' and a lighter grey to show those which were dilapidated, perhaps indicating the sections which had received treatment (Fig. 7. 14). This delicate balance, between preserving the 'romantic' character of the ruin, and yet keeping it from becoming overgrown and damaged, was carefully managed at Adare.[42]

Augustinian Foundation, Adare

The Augustinian foundation is situated to the east of Adare, on the banks of the river Maigue, on the main road approaching the centre of the town (Fig. 7.15). A watercolour which has been attributed to Gabriel Beranger, after a painting by William Ashford, depicts the Augustinian foundation, without its roof, and covered with ivy, with the one traceried window, and the tall, slim tower visible (Fig. 7.16).[43] A drawing by Austin Cooper of the abbey also depicts the building as being smothered in ivy, with the tower intact (Fig. 7.17).[44] These images provide an important record of the building prior to restoration, and therefore, a sense of the level of works undertaken to the building. Sir Richard Colt Hoare's description of the building, given in Chapter 3, also provides some detail on the architectural elements as they were prior to restoration, and what was retained: the niches and confessional stalls, and the cloisters. In Hoare's account, he noted that the windows were so covered in ivy that the tracery could not be seen.

According to the *Memorials*, the old parish church of St. Nicholas, mentioned above, was used for the services of the Established Church until 1806, and that 'in the year 1807, the church of the Augustinian Abbey was given to the

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[42] An example of the discussion on the treatment of ivy and other vegetation on ruins, and the maintenance of the balance between a 'picturesque' character and preservation is found in the account of Annaghdown Castle, Co. Galway, in "Proceedings", *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, Fifth Series, 31, no. 3, (1901) 316

[43] Gabriel Beranger (ca. 1729 – 1817), *The Church, being part of the Ruins of Adare, County of Limerick, after William Ashford*, (1746 – 1824), reproduced in Peter Harbison, *A Collection of Drawings of the Principal Antique Buildings of Ireland, designed on the spot and collected by Gabriel Beranger*, (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1991) 210 - 211

[44] Austin Cooper (1759 – 1830), *A View of the Black-Abbey at Adair, Co.y. Limerick*, reproduced in Peter Harbison, *Cooper's Ireland: Drawings and Notes from an Eighteenth-Century Gentleman*, (Dublin: O'Brien Press in association with the National Library of Ireland, 2000) 37

Protestants as their parish church, the old one being out of repair and too small.'[45] The restoration was comprehensive, creating a usable space from a roofless ruin. However, while the description given in the *Memorials* makes reference to some major changes, such as the closing up of the western doorway and the creation of a main entrance at the western angle of the south aisle (Fig. 7.18), and the blocking by the organ of the original entrance to the cloisters, there seems to have been a concerted effort to leave undisturbed as much of the medieval material as possible, such as the corbel table (Fig. 7.19) and switchline tracery of the windows (Fig. 7.20).[46] This is also evident in the condemnation of the works carried out in the 1860s by the Ecclesiastical Commission, which were unsympathetic to the original structure. There are several references to the continued maintenance of the church in receipts and reports within the Dunraven Papers; the pointing of the church with 'gomass' cement, the repair of pews and plumbing works. James Connolly (also the name of one of the main builders in charge of the transformations at Adare Manor from the 1850s) was noted as working on the building in 1816, and eight men from Limerick, headed by Michael Maloney, worked on the building for a week in 1828, all ordered by the Earl of Dunraven.[47]

While the Dunravens were clearly involved in both the restoration and maintenance of the church, the published records of the Board of First Fruits and the Irish Ecclesiastical Commission reveal the administrative arm of the Established Church of Ireland was also responsible. In 1807, a return of the churches in the diocese of Munster noted 'a church at Adare in very bad repair, but a new church about to be built'.[48] This could refer to a plan to build an entirely new building, or to the restoration works. A report of 1812 noted that a loan of £1000 had been given by the Board of First Fruits in Ireland for the building of a church at Adare, with £666 of the loan having been repaid by that time; the fact that this involved

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[45] Dunraven, *Memorials*, 3

[46] Dunraven, *Memorials*, 72

[47] Letters relating to Adare Church 1813 - 1829, Dunraven Papers, Glucksman Library Special Collections, University of Limerick, D/3196/B5

[48] 1807 Papers relating to the Established Church in Ireland, 19th Century Sessional Papers, Paper Number 78, Volume 57, House of Commons Parliamentary Papers Online (Accessed 29/09/10): 243

the rebuilding of an existing structure was not mentioned in the report.[49] Receipts for the repayment of this loan are in the Dunraven papers.[50] A return of churches from 1820 noted 'one church in good repair' at Adare.[51] An appendix to this report, which listed the churches to which the Board of First Fruits had given financial aid for the repair or enlarging of churches gave 1811 as the date in which Adare church had been completed.[52] An additional £50 was given for repairs in 1851 – 1852.[53] The 1867 report on building, repair and enlargement of churches by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for the years 1823 and 1866 includes a return for Adare: that the church was enlarged, costing £1704, 8s 5d. As this report relates only to 'returns of all churches repaired, or licensed houses of worship rebuilt or repaired; specifying the total amount expended on each from 1834 to the 1st day of August 1865'. The amount spent on Adare is almost double the amount spent on the repair of the fabric of any other church in the diocese of Limerick in this period, the next highest amount being spent at Nantinean, in the post town of Askeaton, with £927, 2s, 5d. being the average amount spent on the repair of churches in this period[54]

The conventual buildings of the Augustinian foundation were also rebuilt; according to the *Memorials*, 'in 1814, the refectory was roofed, and converted into

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[49] 1812 Accounts from the Trustees of the First Fruits in Ireland, 19th Century Sessional Papers, Paper Number 140, Volume V.605, House of Commons Parliamentary Papers Online (Accessed 06/10/10): 2

[50] Letters relating to Adare Church 1813 - 1829, Dunraven Papers, Glucksman Library Special Collections, University of Limerick, D/3196/B5

[51] 1820 Papers relating to the state of the Established Church in Ireland, 19th Century Sessional Papers, Paper Number 93, Volume IX.1, House of Commons Parliamentary Papers Online (Accessed 29/09/10): 201

[52] 1820 Papers relating to the state of the Established Church in Ireland, 19th Century Sessional Papers, Paper Number 93, Volume IX.1, House of Commons Parliamentary Papers Online (Accessed 29/09/10): 301

[53] 1852-3, Ecclesiastical Commissioners (Ireland) A return, stating in detail the disbursements of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for Ireland, and specifying the salaries paid to each commissioner, secretary and clerks, with the number of days and hours of attendance at the board for one year, ending the 1st day of August 1852, Paper Number 213, Volume XCIV.425, House of Commons Parliamentary Papers Online (Accessed 29/09/10): 6

[54] A note in an 1867 – 68 report of her majesty's commissioners on the revenues and condition of the Established church (Ireland) noted on Adare that 'this is a parish of much importance, involving an amount of duty for which the income (£230 gross, without glebe house or land) is miserably inadequate. Practically the district called Newboro', situate in the parish of Croom, forms part of the parish of Adare, the Protestant parishioners of that district having been always in the habit of attending the Church of Adare, and of regarding it as their parish church. This district should be united to the parish of Adare, and the rentcharge payable on this portion of Croom parish added to the stipend of the Vicar of Adare: 77

a school house' (Fig. 7.21).[55] The English architect, Philip Charles Hardwick, undertook a series of works to the building in 1854, toward which Caroline, Countess of Dunraven, gave £500.[56] Other additions to this foundation included the erection of the Dunraven mausoleum in 1826 – 27 designed by James Pain (Fig. 7.22). According to the *Memorials*, the cloisters were also preserved. A stone tablet set within the walls of the cloister is carved with the words 'This cloister was repaired and the south and east sides arched by Windham, Earl of Dunraven AD 1831' (Fig. 7.23 and Fig. 7.24).[57]

Trinitarian Foundation, Adare

Westropp's entry on the Trinitarian foundation in his *Survey* contained the following information: 'it was restored by the Earl of Dunraven as the RC Church in 1811. The massive battlemented tower, the chancel and parts of the nave and domicile, with the pigeon-house remained; the east gable of the church was subsequently removed'.[58] Prior to the restoration, the church was apparently used as a ball-court.[59] An image of the building, from an album of watercolours by a Mr. Cuthboart in the National Library of Ireland gives a view of the building looking from the west, depicting various architectural elements scattered in the vicinity of the ruin (Fig. 7.25).[60] As in the case of the Church of St. Nicholas, this building underwent a number of restorations. The building was completely restored for reuse in the period 1809 – 1811, a second series of works was carried out by Philip Charles Hardwick in the 1850s, the majority of the £1,000 cost being donated by the second Earl for this purpose.[61] Plans for a further restoration were drawn up under the aegis of the third Earl of Dunraven, but were not completed before his death. The contemporary appearance of the church is the result of these nineteenth-century restorations, as well as several programmes of maintenance

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[55] Dunraven, *Memorials*, 3
[56] *The Builder*, July 30, XI, no. 547, (1853): 484
[57] David Lee and Debbie Jacobs, *James Pain Architect* (Limerick: Limerick Civic Trust in association with FÁS, 2006) 206
[58] Westropp, 'A Survey of the Ancient Churches in the County of Limerick', 378
[59] Dunraven, *Memorials*, 65
[60] Collection of watercolour drawings by Mr. Cuthboart, National Library of Ireland, PD 4313 TX
[61] "Scraps from Ireland", *The Builder*, May 6, XII, no. 587 (1854): 237

and preservation works throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. (Fig. 7.26 a&b)

The Dunraven family played an important role in the restoration process at the Roman Catholic church. An editorial comment in the *General Advertiser and Limerick Gazette* of December 1, 1809 hailed the 'unprecedented generosity of the 'free gift made by its noble and truly patriotic possessor, the Hon. Wyndham Quin, to his catholic brethren, of a superb chapel, in this monastic retreat, roofed in at his own expense, with a considerable plot of ground annexed, and one hundred guineas towards its interior completion and decoration'.[62]

A letter from Wyndham Quin, later the first Earl of Dunraven, to Rev. Mr. Lee, parish priest of Adare, was published on 29 December of the same year. In this letter, Quin stated that 'my son informs me that the Roman Catholic parishioners expressed a wish to have the Abbey in the village granted to them in order to convert it into a chapel for divine worship, which request he has complied with'.[63] A list of subscribers to the fund for the 'repairing and decorating' of the church which appeared in the same newspaper on September 28, 1810, noted that the church had been roofed by Quin, at his own expense.[64] However, this list reveals that many other parishioners had also been involved in fundraising. Anthony Harpur has suggested, following his research on the restorations of this building that the date which of the first restoration of the abbey is 1809, rather than 1811.[65] The 1809 date could refer to the commencement of the works. Contradicting this, however, a letter from the second Earl to his wife, dated 17 March 1811, refers to the fact that 'the Catholics today took possession of their new chapel, which is a very fine-looking building, but not yet finished'.[66] It is possible that the parishioners celebrated Mass in the building while works were

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[62] *General Advertiser and Limerick Gazette*, December 1, 1809. I am grateful to Anthony Harpur for the references relating to this publication

[63] *General Advertiser and Limerick Gazette*, December 29, 1809

[64] *General Advertiser and Limerick Gazette*, September 28, 1810.

[65] Anthony Harpur, 'The Architectural Development of Holy Trinity Abbey, Adare, in the nineteenth century', unpublished MA essay, University of Limerick, 2010.

[66] Letter from Windham Quin to the Hon. Mrs. Quin, Spring Gardens, 17 March 1811, D/3196/E/3/23

not completed. Therefore, it is difficult to pin down an exact date for the reoccupation of the building for worship.[67]

Harpur's research has highlighted the importance of the role of the parishioners at Adare in prompting the restoration of the Trinitarian foundation. However, the role of the parish priest, Fr. Lee and of the parishioners themselves is largely absent from the narrative of the development of the village as it exists within the *Memorials*. While the Dunravens, and in particular, the third Earl through his patronage of Philip Charles Hardwick, contributed in very influential ways to the development of the building, the initial restoration appears to be more complicated than the possibly apocryphal tale contained within the *Memorials*:

> 'One day the late Earl went into the old ruin, and as he stood looking up at the ceiling of the tower, he was heard to say 'I never will allow it to be a den of thieves', and he immediately sent for the Rev. Mr. Lee, the venerable parish priest'.[68]

In the light of Harpur's research into the extensive programme of fundraising carried out by the Roman Catholic parishioners, through both charity sermons and subscriptions, this story clearly exaggerates the role of the Earl as opposed to the agency of the parishioners themselves.[69] The evidence of the *Memorials*, therefore, must be considered critically, taking into account other sources of evidence about the restoration of these two medieval buildings.

Adare and the aesthetics of improvement.

At Adare, the restoration of medieval buildings can be considered in the contexts of improvement and changing landlord-tenant relations, the ideology of the picturesque, and ideas of memorialisation and engagement with the narratives of history as they are inscribed in the landscape.

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[67] This seems to have been a common practice – for example, during the building of the Cathedral of St. John in Limerick city, services were held throughout the period of construction.

[68] Dunraven, *Memorials*, 65

[69] Proudfoot has emphasised the need to 'determine, with greater clarity, the role of different socio-economic groups – landlords and tenants – in the urban modernisation process'. Lindsay Proudfoot, *Property Ownership and Urban and Village Improvement in Provincial Ireland ca. 1700 – 1845*, (Edinburgh: Institute of British Geographers, 1997) 8

While the role between the parishioners of both the Roman Catholic Church and Established Church of Ireland in the restoration of the buildings may be underplayed within the *Memorials*, it is evident that the Dunravens were influential in the shaping of the village of Adare. The restoration projects outlined above were part of a more general programme of improvements in the town, forming part of a series of 'improved townscapes' from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. These improvements were both aesthetic, and utilitarian, two strands of improvement which were inextricably linked. Toby Barnard, in his exploration of the background to the vogue for improvements in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Ireland, has written that many of Ireland's new proprietors had been criticised for accepting and enjoying their new acquisitions with no thought for their accompanying responsibilities.[70] Accusations levelled at landowners included self-indulgence, excessive luxury, absenteeism and negligence. In response, civic and social responsibilities were stressed within the discourses of landlordism.[71] This paternalistic dynamic of land-ownership was central to that of improvement, and was evident in the discourses and transactions of societies such as the Physico-Historical Society, which were concerned with matters of improving the land and infrastructure of the country.[72] Recent studies of individual towns and villages, such as Slane in Co. Meath, have highlighted the architectural framework of the improved townscape.[73]

The aesthetic of the improved townscape can be linked to that of the picturesque; a concept which has been described by Stephen Daniels and Charles Watkins as being defined by the concept of 'connection', the central axiom of the

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[70] Toby Barnard, *Improving Ireland? Projectors, Prophets and Profiteers 1641 – 1786*, (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008)

[71] Barnard, 15.
Terence Dooley, *The Big Houses and Landed Estates of Ireland: A Research Guide* (Dublin, 2007), has cited Cormac Ó Gráda's analysis of the investment behaviour of landlords in later nineteenth-century Ireland, which demonstrated that Irish landlords spent no more, on average, than three to five percent of their retail income on improvements between 1850 – 1875.

[72] For a discussion of the work of the Physico-Historical Society, see Eoin Magennis, "A Land of Milk and Honey: the Physico-Historical Society, Improvement and the Surveys of Mid-Eighteenth-Century Ireland", in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature*, 102C, no. 6 (2002) 199 - 217

[73] Livia Hurley, "Public and private improvements in eighteenth-century Ireland: the case of the Conyinghams of Slane (1703 – 1821)", M.Litt thesis, Department of History of Art and Architecture, Trinity College Dublin, 2009

improving landlord. It is significant that both the discourse of picturesque landscape planning and that of the improving landlord developed in Ireland simultaneously, and a joint examination reveals much about engagement with land, power and ownership at the time. The picturesque is a 'notoriously difficult category to define', but one striking characteristic is 'the rejection of Picturesque theorists of self-conscious design and system and their recommendation instead of irregularity, variation, decay and wildness in 'natural' appearances'.[74] The picturesque manifested itself in landscape management in a shift from the Classical landscapes of Capability Brown to a less grand, but more 'natural' or transparent style of landscaping. This idea of 'transparency' was key; while the Brownian model created an Arcadian vista, and obscured any object that would intrude on the constructed idyll through clever planting, the new theory of landscape management was characterised by the importance of making everything visible, so that the whole estate, in its entirety, could be viewed, and could be seen therefore to be healthy, functional and peaceful, with satisfaction at every level. The picturesque village and townland denoted a condition of social interdependence, both a common interest and a coherent context for thought and action.

The style of Capability Brown has been described as being 'in every way one of disconnection'.[75] According to Daniels and Watkins, the picturesque reflected a natural order, with landlord, tenant and labourer linked together in a 'natural' way.[76] In considering the picturesque as the aesthetic of improvement, the well-connected and functioning society is mirrored in the appearance of the landscape. Tom Dunne, in his essay on Edgesworthtown in fact and fiction, has also examined the important connection between representation and social reality in the context of the landlord- tenant relationship in Ireland.[77] The experience of a picturesque

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[74] Stephen Copley and Peter Garside, *The Politics of the Picturesque: Literature, Landscape and Aesthetics since 1770*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) 2.
[75] Stephen Daniels and Charles Watkins, 'Picturesque Landscaping and Estate Management', in Copley and Garside, *The Politics of the Picturesque*, 15.
[76] Stephen Daniels and Charles Watkins, 'Picturesque Landscaping and Estate Management', in Copley and Garside, *The Politics of the Picturesque*, 15.
[77] Tom Dunne, 'A gentleman's estate should be a moral school: Edgesworthtown in fact and fiction 1760 – 1840', in *Longford: Essays in County History*, eds. Raymond Gillespie and Gerard Moran (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 1991), 366 - 347

landscape, despite its avowed 'natural' state, was mediated as carefully as the formal programmes which had preceded it. While earlier formal gardens required a conscious 'literary' engagement, where the visitor was offered a series of emblems in the form of buildings, statues and inscriptions, which were to be absorbed in a particular sequence.[78] Although the picturesque eschewed these formal programmes of meaning, and created the impression of the visitor being free to move, look and think whatever they wished, rhetorical authority was not ceded in any way. As discussed above, the specific meaning to be taken away by the visitor to the picturesque landscape, was an understanding of the good rule of the landowner: an understanding which was underlined by the position of the ruins.

Michael Charlesworth has elucidated the cultural dynamics at work when Gothic architecture is the subject of the picturesque way of seeing, through the example of Duncombe Park in North Yorkshire.[79] Here, particular walks in the park give views towards Helmsley Castle, which had been ruined in the Civil War. The aspect of the castle from the controlled viewing point put it into perspective, and distanced it, as well as distancing the history which it symbolised. There is a further contrast implied between its ancient Gothic architecture, and the modern classical architecture of the garden buildings. The interrelationship between these different elements of the landscape programme 'sets up a rhetoric of viewing that discriminates between alternative ways of seeing ruins in favour of one particular way', that is, distanced, and controlled.[80] David Stewart has also highlighted historical engagement with antiquities, and with the past expressed in the landscape, using the example of engagements with Gothic ruins after the unsuccessful Jacobite rebellion in 1745. After this rebellion, Gothic ruins and sham ruins were seen as 'self-congratulatory monuments that cheered the ruin of England's Catholic and feudal past'.[81] Stewart quoted Horace Walpole's well-

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[78] David Solkin, *Richard Wilson: the landscape of reaction*, (London: Tate Gallery, 1982) 122

[79] Michael Charlesworth, 'The Ruined Abbey: Picturesque and Gothic Values', in Copley and Garside, *The Politics of the Picturesque*, 65.

[80] Charlesworth, 'The Ruined Abbey: Picturesque and Gothic Values' in Copley and Garside, *The Politics of the Picturesque*, 65.

[81] David Stewart, 'Political Ruins: Gothic Sham Ruins and the '45', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 55, no. 4 (1996), 400.

known comment on the Gothic Revival, "Old castles, old pictures, old histories and the babble of old people [...] cannot disappoint one [...] the dead have lost their power of deceiving". This comment by Walpole, such an influential figure of the Gothic Revival in England, highlights the paradoxical relationship between English eighteenth-century nationalism, enlightenment ideology and the past; while it created the Gothic Revival and used the idea of Gothic 'freedom', it also put great distance between itself and that Catholic and feudal past.[82] Within an Irish context, Finola O'Kane has argued that Gothic ruins were used in eighteenth-century landscaping programmes as an opportunity to meditate on 'the present and past condition of Ireland...the past, for a member of the mid-eighteenth century Anglo-Irish Ascendancy, was never preferable to the present'; a dynamic which suggests, on one hand, a certain celebration of victory, but on the other, a keen awareness of the unsettling meaning of the ruins, and of the instability of their position in the country at the time.[83] Oona Frawley's conceptualisation of the position of the past, and of the dynamic of nostalgia in nineteenth-century Irish literature is also illuminating in this context; Frawley has examined the representation of cultural objects and forms as placed firmly in the 'past', whether in a narrative structure or a museum display, preserved yet ordered.[84]

The process of distancing, both physical and symbolic, visually expressed the desire to place the violent occurrences of history firmly in the past. However, due to the fact that the vast majority of the population of the country remained Roman Catholic and retained a strong sense of identification with the medieval ecclesiastical buildings, this process of distancing could never be fully complete or secure. Therefore, by the nineteenth century, while the literature on ruined buildings within the picturesque landscape appears to dwell only on the aesthetic nature of the object, rendering the historical detail irrelevant, an awareness of the potentially unstable meanings of the ruined buildings remained central to the picturesque dynamic.[85] As demonstrated elsewhere in this thesis, the buildings

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[82] Stewart, 400.
[83] O'Kane, 70 - 71
[84] Frawley, 36
[85] The scholarly literature on 'ruin' poetry of the nineteenth century examines the cultural position of ruined buildings, and reveals similar dynamics in the presentation of history to those regarding

were used as political symbols in nationalist contexts. As Joep Leerssen has argued, the lack of control over public space and over the way in which history is memorialised, is a definition of the subaltern and oppressed situation, and he has noted that 'the emergence of a nationally-oriented Catholic middle class in Ireland can be faithfully registered in its slow but steadily increasing grasp on monumental space'.[86] While the physical fabric of the buildings, in the case of the vast majority of Irish medieval ecclesiastical buildings, remained out of the control of the Roman Catholic community, their use as nationalist symbols in literature, ballads and imagery, reflects another type of ownership. This instability of meaning was the fulcrum of the sermon given by the Rev. T.E. Bridgett to the Roman Catholic parishioners at Adare at the end of the century: Bridgett asked the congregation not to view the buildings as 'merely a picturesque village, where strangers come to gaze on old ruins', and to visualise the pre-Reformation Catholic life of the town, which, he hoped, would remain 'a living home of Catholic faith'.[87]

The example of Adare is illuminating in this context. Both the text and the imagery of the *Memorials* focus on the good relationship maintained between the Dunravens and those living in the town. Indeed, this nineteenth-century narrative of 'connection' is inscribed on the townscape itself: a water fountain stands at the centre of the town, erected by Countess of Dunraven, in gratitude for the assistance those in the town had given in controlling a fire which had been maliciously started at the Manor by an 'incendiary vampire' (Fig. 7.27 a & b).[88] Within both churches, many of the stained glass windows are dedicated to the Dunravens, including one by Hardman of Birmingham in the Roman Catholic church, which is 'in honour of God and to commemorate the pious munificence of Edwin, third Earl of Dunraven, who restored this church and built schools for the Christian instruction of 600 children, this east window is erected as a memorial by the parishioners of Adare, 1854'. This point is made explicit in the text of the

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landscape and engagements with the physical landscape, see Seán Ryder, "Ireland in Ruins", in *Landscape and Empire*, ed. Glenn Hooper, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 79 - 91

[86] Joep Leerssen, 'Monument and Trauma: Varieties of Remembrance', in *History and Memory in Modern Ireland*, ed. Ian McBride, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 204 - 222

[87] T.E. Bridgett, 'The Religious Vicissitudes of Adare', *The Irish Monthly*, XIX, March (1891) 132

[88] Letter from John O'Shea and Michael O'Donoghue, on behalf of the people of Adare, to the Earl of Dunraven, consoling him on the event of the fire, Dunraven Papers, Glucksman Library, University of Limerick, D3196/J13/15

Memorials: 'the attention which Lord and Lady Dunraven pay to the comfort of those around them is clearly manifested in the appearance of the village'.[89]

The images included in the Memorials also reinforce this concept of connection; Plates 3 and 4 depict, respectively, the village with the ruined church and dilapidated housing, and the improved townscape, with the restored church at its centre (Fig. 7.28, Fig. 7.29).

One of the outstanding medieval monuments of Adare, the Franciscan friary, is situated within the demesne of the manor. Letters between the first Earl and his son reveal a preoccupation with the ruined friary as a central part of how the landscape was manipulated, with approaches to the town and to the manor being planned around views of the ruins.[90] The description of this proposed vista reads almost as a description of a typical 'picturesque' landscape painting.

> I am glad to hear that you have opened a new approach...My intention was to conduct this drive to meet the new approach where it breaks away from the abbey garden, to enter on it there, past the Abbey, and mid-way between it and the entrance, turn to the left, enter the castle through the arch on the north next to the church, cross the river on an irregular and broken bridge, fall into the Village approach after passing by White Abbey [...] [91]

Within the programme of planting at Adare, a gap was created to facilitate a clear view of the friary from the great hall, reflecting the vogue in the late eighteenth and nineteenth century, for the 'picturesque' appreciation of ruins in the landscape (Fig. 7.30). The ruin also forms an important view from the great hall, one of the most important spaces in the house (Fig. 7.31). Furthermore, the Franciscan friary appears in many of the engraved views of the Manor which accompany the *Memorials*, as part of the landscape and often beside the new building projects of the Dunravens. These engravings, which are after sketches and

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[89] Dunraven, *Memorials*, 5

[90] A letter from the first Earl to his son discusses the opening of new approaches to the Manor which would fully exploit the presence of the ruin in the demesne. Letter from Lord Adare, Cheltenham, to Windham Quin, Adare, 1813. Dunraven Papers, Glucksman Library, University of Limerick, D/3196/C/1 - 13

[91] Letter from the Lord Adare, Cheltenham to Windham Quin, Adare, 20 September, 1813, discussing roads through the Adare demesne, Dunraven Papers, Glucksman Library, University of Limerick, D/3196/.

watercolours by a Miss Gallwey and by George Victor du Noyer, reflect a very particular relationship with the landscape, rather than an imposing presence, defined against the rest of the land, the perceptible differences between the landlord's property and its surroundings are played down, reasserting the 'natural' position of the landlord in the area. Instead of a centrally placed, 'forced' imposition, the house is depicted as being integrated into the picturesque landscape. This is in contrast to earlier Irish landscape paintings, such as *A View of Stradbally House and Garden* (Anon), c. late 1740s[92], in which the classical house and formally planned gardens are clearly distinct from the wilderness outside the boundary walls (Fig. 7.32).[93] It is clear from the library and the correspondence of the second Earl that he was very aware of the importance of the visual presence of the house in the landscape; books such as *Views of Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland*, (1818) were in the Manor library, and there are many reports in his letters on the 'situation' of the houses which he visited.[94]

The relationship between the Gothic Revival style of the manor house and the ecclesiastical ruins in the landscape is also revealing. Adare Manor, the seat of the Dunravens, was remodelled by the second and third earl of Dunraven in various phases of building between 1832 and 1860, replacing an earlier Georgian building.[95] According to the account of the remodelled house given in the *Memorials*, 'the style of the building is Tudor, and the details are carefully taken from the best examples of the period, in England and the Continent'.[96] As John Cornforth pointed out in his 1969 article on Adare Manor, there is evidence that

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[92] Anon. *View of Stradbally House and Gardens*, oil on canvas, private collection, in Anne Crookshank and the Knight of Glin, *Ireland's Painters 1600 – 1940*, New Haven and London: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 2002)

[93] While Adare Manor does have a formally planned garden to the south of the house, it is not emphasised within the visual imagery of the *Memorials*, and most of the views depict the 'picturesque' demesne with the Manor in the distance.

[94] A list of books in the library at Adare Manor is given in the Christie's Sale Catalogue, Adare Manor, Ireland, The Properties of the Earl and Countess of Dunraven. The Dunraven Limerick Estate Company, The Dunraven Heirlooms Trustees, Volume II.

[95] John Cornforth, "Adare Manor". Plate Six of the Memorials is an engraving after a painting of the manor, and depicts the earlier Georgian house as a seven bay building, with three central bays projecting, carrying a pediment and cornice. The ruins of the Augustinian and Franciscan foundations are represented on either side of the house.

[96] Dunraven, *Memorials*, 8

both James Pain and Philip Charles Hardwick worked on the building over the period of its construction, as well as the Lewis Nockalls Cottingham.[97] Despite this, the second Earl maintained, in a letter to Pain from 1842, that 'building is my amusement, and I am a dabbler in architecture, and I have now for some years been carrying on the new works here entirely from my own design, and without professional assistance whatsoever'.[98] The design of the house reflected the travels of the Earl and Countess; according to the Memorials, certain features were suggested by a 'curious old castle on the banks of the Necker, in Germany'[99] John Cornforth suggested that the bell tower is a copy of that at Haddon Hall, Derbyshire, and that the entrance door is similar to that at Eton College.[100] Letters between the Earl and his wife also recount some of his house visits in England, where he looked for inspiration for the works at Adare.[101]

As recent studies of Irish historic landscapes have demonstrated, there is much to be gained from a consideration of a monument or building within its landscape, rather than being considered alone. In his Gothic Revival survey, Chris Brooks argued that the Gothic revival houses and castles that were being built throughout the late eighteenth and nineteenth century were essentially rhetorical in function – the statement that they made in the landscape was preeminent. The shift in style from the classical to the Gothic was linked to the reawakening of interest in the medieval antiquities of the country, but another factor in this move was the fact that 'as acknowledged symbols of power, long-established features of the British countryside, castles [and medieval styles] were particularly suited to the ideological task of naturalising land ownership and its attendant political authority'.[102]

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[97] Colvin, 234

[98] Letter from the second Earl of Dunraven to James Pain, Lee and Jacobs, 214

[99] Dunraven, *Memorials*, 15

[100] John Cornforth, "Adare Manor", 1233

[101] Letters between the second Earl and his wife, the Countess of Dunraven, refer to visits to Windsor Castle, Haddon Hall, houses at Warwick and Alton Towers, which the Earl referred to as being 'in the worst style of modern Gothic'. Dunraven Papers, Glucksman Library, University of Limerick, D3196/E/3 - 25

[102] Chris Brooks, *The Gothic Revival*, (London: Phaidon, 2001) 164

At Adare, the built landscape could be considered within a similar paradigm; the newly built Gothic Revival manor and the ruined friary setting up a visual rhetoric which links the two, but creates a narrative of authority and power which can clearly be read.

There are many examples of restoration and conservation projects, led by both landowners and parishioners, throughout the nineteenth century. At Adare, the restorations took place within a very mutually supportive environment, with good relationships maintained between both parties. Rather than attempting to define one 'landlord-led' approach to the restoration and conservation of medieval buildings, and relate that to issues of social status or political ideology, it is more useful to insist on a close study of the contribution of each party involved, within their specific circumstances, informed by relevant theoretical approaches.

Jerpoint and the RSAI

An examination of the restoration and conservation projects which took place throughout the nineteenth century reveals many different combinations of agents, from learned societies to interested local groups. The services of professional architects were, for the most part, engaged by these committees, in order to ensure that the works would be carried out in line with the professional ethics and standards being developed within the profession in this period. The RSAI were heavily involved in the promotion of protective measures towards architectural heritage, and also organised preservation projects themselves. The Society carried out works at Clonmacnoise in 1864, and also instigated a series of works at Jerpoint Abbey in Co. Kilkenny in the late 1840s and early 1850s, in response to a request for help from a local clergyman, the Rev. J. L. Irwin of Thomastown.[103] An architect member of the Society, James George Robertson visited the ruin to give his assessment and draw up a plan for preservation works. Having visited the abbey, Robertson made a number of drawings of the building, and read a report to the Society, which detailed the recommended plan. The recommendations made by Robertson included the removal of masonry and timber which had been used to

[103] 'Proceedings of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society, 1849', *Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society*, 2, no. 2 (1853): 200

block up the east window, and to secure the remaining window mullions with iron cramps and dowels. The repair of the sedilia, the re-ordering of the tombs, and the pinning of the masonry of the walls were also recommended. A dividing wall which had been erected 'long after the suppression [...] to render that part of the church fit for domestic purposes' was to be removed, along with a modern wall, which closed up the eastern arch of the north aisle. The bases of the piers of the nave arcade were to be pinned, and a wall, twelve feet high, was to be built at the south side of the nave, to deter vandalism. The clerestory windows were to be repaired, and Robertson stated that this would be the most expensive part of the works, as scaffolding would be required. Breaches in the transept walls were to be repaired, and rubbish to be cleared from the transepts. Iron bars and gates were to be introduced, again in order to bar 'mischievous intruders'.[104] The total cost of the works was roughly estimated to be £90. Robertson presented a number of drawings of the abbey as part of his preservation, some completed thirty years hence, in order to demonstrate the extent of the ruin in the recent past. The appointment of a caretaker was also recommended in order to protect it from intruders, and the abbey of Holy Cross, in Co. Tipperary was given as an example, where Dr. Wall, a Senior Fellow at Trinity College Dublin, had put this arrangement in place.[105]

A central point in the discussion was that the ruins were situated at a very visible point on tourist routes throughout the country, due to the development of the Waterford and Kilkenny Railway. The need to present Irish antiquities in a positive light to the tourist market was a motivating factor in progressing with the restorations.[106] A caretaker was appointed by the end of 1849, and a special fund

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[104] "Proceedings of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society, 1849", *Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society*, 2, no. 2 (1853): 205

[105] "Proceedings of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society, 1849", *Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society*, 2, no. 2 (1853): 205

[106] "Proceedings of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society, 1849", *Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society*, 2, no. 2 (1853): 205

for the preservation of the abbey was instituted by the Society.[107] By 1855, it was noted that the repairs had been brought to a satisfying conclusion.[108]

St. Doulough's Church Preservation Committee

Interested groups of individuals often came together to preserve a local ruin. One example is the committee founded in the late 1850s for the protection of St. Doulough's Church in Balgriffin (Fig. 7.33).[109] The works carried out to this building were financed through the fund-raising efforts of this committee, as well as a sum from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. A report of the Commission on condition and revenues of the Established Church from 1867 – 8 noted that St. Doulough's Church had been 'rebuilt' by the Commission, with £150 raised by private subscription. This rebuilding referred to the erection of a church by Belfast firm Lynn, Lanyon and Lynn adjacent to the ancient building, replacing an earlier Georgian structure, depicted in a late eighteenth-century watercolour of the building (Fig. 7.34).[110] A summary of a vestry meeting of the parish, reported in *The Irish Times*, recorded that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners had offered to re-build the church on the site next to the medieval church if £150 could be contributed from local donations. This article also noted that the 'the stone-roofed building lately restored [...] now affords the means of a good schoolroom and vestry room'.[111] The vestry hoped to reduce the sum of this local contribution, but were evidently unsuccessful.

A letter relating to the fund-raising effort revealed that much of the preservation works were carried out to the medieval building immediately before the new church building was erected. A letter from Captain Darley to *The Irish Times*, noting his donation of £50, praised the energetic efforts of the fundraising

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[107] "Proceedings of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society, 1849", *Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society*, 2, no. 2 (1853): 210

[108] "Proceedings, January", *Proceedings and Transactions of the Kilkenny and South-East Ireland Archaeological Society*, 2, no. 2, (1855): 209 - 223

[109] The medieval church of St. Doulough is discussed in Peter Harbison, "St. Doulough's Church", *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 71, no. 281 (1982): 27 – 42 and Rachel Moss, "St. Doulough's Church', *Irish Arts Review*, 20, no. 2 (2003) 122 – 125
Doulough is spelled 'Doulough', 'Doulagh' and 'Duileach' by different scholars.

[110] *Dublin Builder*, 6, 1 Sep 1863, 149

[111] "St. Doulagh's Parish", *The Irish Times and Daily Advertiser*, April 24, 1862, 4

committee, and stated that 'the worst to be feared is, not that the Commissioners may rescind their grant on account of the non-fulfilment of its condition, but that either a Church may be built out of keeping of the present site and its venerable associations, or that a church may be built on some other site, and that the ancient abbey, now so well repaired, may be left without permanent provision for its preservation, to become very soon a ruinous heap, in an unused and unfenced churchyard'.[112] Further evidence of this series of works relates to court proceedings, which dealt with the lowering of the graveyard ground level to burial-level, the gold-coloured plating of the coffins showing through the earth: in a notice on this case, *The Irish Times* records that 'three years since, the Rev. Mr. Kennedy, and the leading parishioners, determined to restore the Abbey Church of St. Doulough, as far as it could be restored, and to construct a church attached to it in a style in keeping with the ancient work'.[113]

This preservation committee engaged the services of John Swan Sloane, who outlined his proposed plan in a fundraising pamphlet. His plan included a number of measures also found in Robertson's plan for Jerpoint, including the removal of masonry blocking original openings, replacing this with metal sashes and glazing, and the restoration of mouldings on a tomb, of which a portion of the original remained. Other works included hacking off modern ceiling plaster, the repair of vaults with Portland cement, and the tiling of floors with 'fire-clay' tiles, laid in cement. Several elements of the building, such as stairs, window seats and the piscina were to be repaired, and the parapet wall was to be rebuilt to the height of two feet and nine inches. On the exterior, all the old joints were to be raked out and repointed with cement, and the western corner, which was in a ruinous state, was to be restored, with each stone being removed and reset exactly (Fig. 7.35). The battlements were to be repaired, the stone roofs repointed in cement, and all vegetation removed. The works proposed to the committee were estimated at being under £150. A letter, by Sloane to the editor of *The Gentleman's Magazine* of 1860, reveals an earlier proposed approach – he had originally planned to 'support the arches internally with arched bands of fire-brick

[112] "St. Doulough's Church Building Fund", *The Irish Times and Daily Advertiser*, August 5, 1862
[113] Untitled Article, *The Irish Times*, June 15, 1864

in cement, which, without at all interfering with the ancient character of the building, would preserve it without attempting to restore it, and could never be take for any portion of the original building'.[114] He elected not to follow this course of action, however, due to the poor condition of the ancient mortar, and the fact that the arches were too insufficiently bonded to allow the proposed supports to be of any use.

On his proposed plan, the architect noted that the he had 'avoided any attempt at *restoration*, excepting, as in the parapet of the tower, I could do so without any doubt of its propriety.' This statement from the architect placed his works within contemporary practices and discourses on the treatment of medieval buildings in the period, and demonstrated his professional approach to the project. Several notices on the preservation works facilitate an insight into the nature of the works as they proceeded: one notice from 1860 stated that £70 of the proposed £150 had been raised, which would go towards the first series of works on the exterior of the building.[115]

The case of St. Doulough's Church reveals the different motivations for conservation works proposed for medieval buildings: the wish to retain for use within a community an ancient and venerable structure, the need to create a suitable space for worship, and the desire to protect a building of value. It also reveals the mechanics by which these works were made possible, the different sources of funding, and the groups of people which were formed to carry out these works in a way that was deemed to be both ethical and responsible. The position of the professional architect within this type of project is central to the latter point. The extensive reports and specifications for proposed works produced and published were an essential part of a transparent and approved process of conservation, which both architect and committee could stand over.

Richard Rolt Brash and Buttevant Franciscan Friary, Co. Cork

[114] John S. Sloane, "The Church of St. Duileach", *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 208, June (1860) 610
[115] "St. Doulagh's Church Preservation Committee", *The Irish Times*, January 30, 1860

The restoration of the Franciscan friary at Buttevant, in north Co. Cork, was the work of a less formal committee structure, which was led by two of the most prominent antiquarians in the region: Richard Rolt Brash and John Windele.

Brash was actively involved in both the practice and the theory of preserving medieval buildings. He persuasively argued for their importance to society in various different publications. One of the buildings with which Brash was closely associated was the Franciscan friary at Buttevant, situated in north county Cork, on the river Awbeg (Fig. 7.36, Fig. 7.37). The town was shaped to an important extent by de Barry investment in the thirteenth century, when a fair and a market were granted to Buttevant, and two monastic foundations were established, an Augustinian abbey to the south at Ballybeg, founded in 1229, and a Franciscan friary, founded within the town c. 1251.[116] The Franciscan friary was dedicated to Thomas á Becket. The church building remains, but none of the domestic buildings are extant. After the dissolution, the friary passed into the hands of the Barrys, who had agreed not to allow the friars to return. However, the friars did return, and are recorded there in 1609, and remained intermittently until 1783.[117]Brash worked on the conservation of the friary itself and on the new Roman Catholic church of St. Mary, which incorporated an earlier tower building on the site into its structure. He was also the author of an important article on the architectural heritage of the area (Fig. 7.38).[118]

In his detailed account of the antiquities of Buttevant, Brash outlined the works to be carried out to the building, which he said were in 'a very dangerous and ruinous state.'[119] A large portion of the north wall had fallen, and there was a serious breach in the north wall of the chancel, which 'hourly threatened a fall',

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[116] Eamonn Cotter, *Archaeological and Environmental Heritage at Buttevant, County Cork* (Prepared for the Buttevant Heritage Group and supported by the Department of Community, Equality and Gaeltacht Affairs, 2010), i - ii

[117] Harbison, *Guide to National and Historic Monuments of Ireland*, 73

[118] Brash was the architect and contractor for new works between 1855 and 58 which included the chancel, sacristy, works to the interior, traceried windows in the transepts and chancel and the moving of the bell to the medieval tower. The original architect of the church, which was erected in 1831 – 35, was Charles Cottrell. *Dictionary of Irish Architects 1720 – 1940*, http://dia.ie/works/view/49708/building/CO.+CORK%2C+BUTTEVANT%2C+CHURCH+OF+ST+MARY+%28RC%29, accessed 22/06/11.
Richard Rolt Brash, "The Local Antiquities of Buttevant", *Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society*, 2, no. 1 (1852), 83 - 96

[119] Richard Rolt Brash, "The Local Antiquities of Buttevant", 95

breaking through the arching of the crypt, and which would have left the east gable in a precarious position.

These walls had been breached in several places, the tombs and windows were in a state of disrepair, and the interior of the friary was filled with several feet of masonry from the fallen tower and broken walls. Brash noted that the broken walls meant that 'the whole place was open to every sort of outrage and desecration', suggesting that it had been the target of vandalism. The works included clearing out several hundred tons of loose stone and rubbish and levelling the interior; the rebuilding of the fallen portion of the nave to a sufficient height to prevent trespassers; the building up of breaches in the walls (Fig. 7.39); the pinning and securing several of the window arches (Fig. 7.40); the securing of the arching of a portion of the crypt, and the placing of doors on the crypt and nave to prevent intrusion.

A great number of fragments of broken columns, sculpted stones, capitals, bases and pieces of mouldings were collected during the repairs, and Brash wrote that 'for their future preservation and for the convenience of examination, I had them built into portions of the new work, where they form a sort of medieval museum for the curious.' (Fig. 7.41) It is evident that Brash's work made no attempt at restoration, and the placing of the carved stones into the north wall clearly demonstrated that they were the work of contemporary preservation, rather than an attempt to recreate the cloister.

This is very much in line with his philosophy as outlined in his letter on the Kildare Cathedral restoration, quoted in his obituary in *The Builder*. He objected to the proposed 'pseudo-restoration' of the cathedral, which he said would be a 'standing jest' if restored according to George Edmund Street's proposals.[120] Outlining what he felt to be 'the true principles of restoration', he wrote that the building to be restored 'should possess merits of design or construction, that 'the principal portion of the fabric should be in existence and in fairly sound condition', that 'no new feature should be introduced, the original plan being strictly followed', and that 'the class of masonry visible be strictly followed in the new'.[121]

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[120] 'The Late Richard Rolt Brash, Architect', *The Builder*, February 5, 1876, 131
[121] 'The Late Richard Rolt Brash, Architect', 131

This, written in 1876, is a very different approach to that published by the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings a year later, in 1877 – the most forceful line from their manifesto being 'we have no right whatever to touch them'. Brash's philosophy is also in strong contrast with John Ruskin's *Lamp of Memory*, published twenty-seven years previously, which declared that restoration was 'a lie from beginning to end'.[122] Brash's approach, which does reveal his understanding of the ruin as important historical evidence, nonetheless reflects the priorities of the practising, professional architect, rather than the theorist.

The papers of another important Cork antiquarian, John Windele, facilitate valuable insights into the context of the type of restoration which Brash carried out at Buttevant, revealing much about the different groups, attitudes and individuals which were brought to bear on a project like this.[123] The Windele papers include letters from Thomas Crofton Croker, then in London, who, between rich dispatches on his social activities, noted that Brash was unlikely to be able to obtain any financial support from English antiquarians for the Buttevant project: 'the English archaeologists – at least those who have the means, feel but little sympathy with Irish affairs, and really tax themselves so heavily to restore and keep up the buildings with which they are acquainted that an appeal to them would have been attended with little produce'[124]. Richard Hitchcock, another of the Munster antiquarians, expressed his concerns about the project and the restoration approach taken by Brash, urging the utmost caution. He wrote that 'I hope that whatever is to be done at Buttevant abbey will be done *judiciously*, taking care not to injure any of the *old* work by way of 'improving' it. This would be barbarous. I have somewhere read of a gentleman, who, when asked how he liked some ruin,

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[122] John Ruskin, *Seven Lamps of Architecture*, 2nd Edition, 1856. A letter from the Irish Times commended the donation of John Ruskin towards the restoration of Clonfert Cathedral in, suggesting that his dogmatic stance as outlined in the Seven Lamps was more nuanced in practice. 'Mr. Ruskin and Clonfert Cathedral', *The Irish Times*, December 12, 1898: "I have received a contribution of three guineas from Mr. John Ruskin towards the preservation of Clonfert Cathedral. Mr. Ruskin says that, as a rule, he objects to 'restoration' but he was much struck with the beauty of the cathedral, and always intended to send me a little help."

[123] The Royal Irish Academy's Windele Collection comprises the papers of John Windele (1801 – 1865), of Blair's Hill, Cork, an important antiquarian who corresponded with many important contemporary scholars, such as Petrie, O'Donovan, Graves and Wilde. http://ria.ie/Library/Special-Collections/Manuscripts/Modern-Manuscripts/Windele-Collection.aspx

[124] Letter from Thomas Crofton Croker to John Windele, Windele Papers, Royal Irish Academy, 4/B/19/12

replied that he thought they were too much *out of repair*!'[125] The papers also reveal the names of local people who contributed to the Buttevant restoration fund. Support ranged from the donation of stamps for the administration of the project, to the (presumably preferred) giving of hard cash. The work of preservation, therefore, was carried out in full view of the antiquarian community, who commented and advised through the close networks which were maintained through frequent letter-writing and publications in journals and newspapers.

Brash's approach at Buttevant can be compared with the works carried out by the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland at the Nun's Church at Clonmacnoise in 1864. At Clonmacnoise, the site was cleared to the uppermost floor level, chancel arch and doorway stones were recovered, and replaced, with plain voussoirs taking the place of missing stones. In the reconstruction of walls, the style of the old masonry was adhered to as closely as possible. A small plaque was inserted above the doorway on the interior, explaining that the appearance of the church was due to publically-funded reconstruction.[126] There are many similarities here between Brash's desire to create an aesthetically pleasing finished result, without interfering to too great an extent with the integrity of the remains and 'over-restoring'.

The examples of Dunbrody Abbey, Jerpoint Abbey, St. Doulough's Parish Church and Buttevant Franciscan Friary are important case studies which reveal both the local and international context for the restoration and conservation of medieval buildings in this period: the local being the fundraising efforts and the reaction of the community to different aspects of the works; the international being the impact of the debates on restoration and conservation ethics within professional architectural publications on individual projects. The works of Richard Langrishe at St. Canice's Cathedral[127], of Edward Fitzgerald at the parish church of

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[125] Letter to John Windele from Richard Hitchcock, Windele Papers, Royal Irish Academy, 4/B/10/84

[126] Keith Emerick, 'Whitby and Clonmacnoise' *Clonmacnoise Studies: Volume 2 Seminar Papers 1998*, ed. Heather King, (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1998)

[127] Richard Langrishe (1834 – 1922) was one of the many architects who worked on the medieval cathedral of St. Canice at Kilkenny. He worked on the cathedral from the 1870s onwards. Langrishe himself wrote a detailed account of his works to the building in 1917; this account is reproduced in the typescript biography, written by his grandson, Hugh Langrishe, which is held in the Irish Architectural Archive.

St. Mary in Youghal[128], of James Franklin Fuller throughout the country, of English-born architects William Slater at Limerick[129], George Edmund Street at Kildare Cathedral as well as at Christ Church in Dublin, and Lewis Nockalls Cottingham at Armagh[130] can be considered within the same paradigm. The case studies of St. Doulough's parish church and the friary at Buttevant, as well as the works of individuals such as Langrishe and Franklin Fuller, reveal that restoration and conservation works were an important part of busy architectural practices in the nineteenth century, requiring specific skills and a detailed knowledge of both architectural history and contemporary restoration and conservation methods. They are, furthermore, evidence of sustained engagement with later medieval architecture, and the counterpoint to the scholarship carried out by figures such as Close, Phillips, Langrishe and others.

[128] The different restorations of the fabric of the Collegiate Church of St. Mary, Youghal, including the works by Edward Fitzgerald (1820 – 1893) are described by Samuel Hayman, "The Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Youghal, No. 1, St. Mary's Collegiate Church", in *Proceedings and Transactions of the Kilkenny and South-East Archaeological Society*, 3, no. 1, (1854): 96 - 119

[129] Slater's works at the Cathedral of St. Mary, Limerick, have been examined by Mulvin, 170 - 219

[130] Lewis Nockalls Cottingham restored the Cathedral of St. Patrick (CI), Armagh, between 1834 – 41. http://dia.ie/architects/view/1246/COTTINGHAM-LEWISNOCKALLS%23, accessed 10/09/11

Chapter 7: The Irish Ecclesiastical Commission and medieval buildings

sun-heat of centuries vibrant in
the grey-gold silent stone – more musical
than any bell – [1]

Some of the most significant restorations of the nineteenth century were carried out by the official bodies of the Church of Ireland. The Established Church inherited the majority of the medieval parish churches and cathedrals, and many of these were still in use in this period. Others had been abandoned due to practical concerns about the suitability of the buildings or demographic change. The works carried out to medieval buildings discussed in Chapter 7 were largely informed by domestic and international debate on the treatment of the remains of the past, and of a developing concept of 'built heritage'. In contrast, the works carried out by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners were often motivated by more practical concerns, with the medieval churches viewed as places of worship to be maintained as well and as inexpensively as possible, rather than important historical documents. Indeed, the annual reports of the Commission nowhere indicate an awareness of the historical or antiquarian value of the buildings in their care, but rather, refer to them as those edifices which were 'very ancient and badly constructed'.[2] As will be demonstrated below, this approach often resulted in the destruction of medieval fabric during maintenance or reordering works.

The administrative structures of the Church of Ireland in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are examined in detail in Alan Acheson's *A History of the Church of Ireland 1691 – 2001* and in Donald H. Akenson's *The Church of Ireland 1800 – 1885*. Both works examine the role of the Board of First Fruits and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, but include only a brief outline of the architectural role of these institutions.[3]

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[1] Pearse Hutchinson, 'Belfry-Hunting', *Collected Poems*, (Loughcrew: The Gallery Press, 2002), 113
[2] *Ecclesiastical Commission, Ireland, Annual report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for Ireland to the Lord Lieutenant, for the year ending 1838*
[3] Alan Acheson, *A History of the Church of Ireland, 1691 – 2001*, (Blackrock, Dublin: Columba Press, 2002), Donald Harman Akenson, *The Church of Ireland: ecclesiastical reform and revolution 1800 – 1885*, (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1971)

The architectural role of both bodies was very significant; however, it has not been the subject of a focused academic study. Several book chapters, which survey the architectural production of the Church of Ireland in this period, give an outline of the work of the Commissioners, but none examine their actions in any detail. Jeanne Sheehy's important essay 'Irish church-building, popery, Puginism and the protestant ascendancy' has outlined some aspects of the work of the Board of First Fruits and the later Irish Ecclesiastical Commission in shaping the architectural landscape of nineteenth century Ireland.[4] Nigel Yates included an examination of some aspects of the work of the Commission in a chapter on church building and restoration in his work *The Religious Condition of Ireland 1770 – 1850*, but this is largely focused on new-building projects. [5] Studies of particular architects involved in the Commission, such as that of James Pain by David Lee and Debbie Jacobs, and focused studies of particular areas, such as David J. Butler's work on South Tipperary have examined some aspects of its work in relation to specific parishes.[6] The architectural works of the Commission are often included in general surveys of the architecture of a diocese or a parish. However, no in-depth study of the work of the Commission has been carried out.[7]

While many of the records of the Board of First Fruits, and of the Irish Ecclesiastical Commission were, in large part, destroyed by the fire in the Public Records Office in 1922, a number of sources remain within archives in Ireland, including the Irish Architectural Archive and the Library of the Representative Church Body.[8] Sources for the study of the works carried out to the medieval ecclesiastical buildings in the nineteenth century also include the published reports

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[4] Sheehy, 'Irish Church-Building: popery, Puginism and the protestant ascendancy', 133 - 150

[5] 'Church Building and Restoration in Ireland, 1770 – 1850', Nigel Yates, *The Religious Condition of Ireland 1750 – 1850*, (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 214 - 249

[6] David J. Butler, *South Tipperary 1570 – 1841: Religion, Land and Rivalry*, Dublin: Four Courts Press: 2007

[7] The work of the Ecclesiastical Commission has been examined in an English context in the following works: Michael H. Port, *600 New Churches: the church building commission 1818 – 1856*, (Reading: Spire Books, 2006) Christopher Webster, John Elliott, *A Church as it Should Be: The Cambridge Camden Society and its Influence*, (Lincolnshire: Shaun Tyas, 2000), Geoffrey Best, *Temporal Pillars: Queen Anne's Bounty, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and the Church of England*,(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964)
A comprehensive study of the architectural works of the Irish Ecclesiastical Commission will form part of a future research project.

[8] Raymond Refausse, *Church of Ireland Records, Maynooth Research Guides for the Study of Local History*, Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006, 43

of the Commission, the published legislation relating to the Commission, contemporary accounts of the buildings being built or restored, accounts of the history of individual buildings, antiquarian reports and publications such as the *Irish Builder*, the *Builder* and ecclesiastical publications, and manuscript collections relating to Irish Ecclesiastical Commission.

As evidenced by the lengthy and detailed reports of the Church of Ireland, the Board of First Fruits and the Irish Ecclesiastical Commission carried out a huge number of works to buildings throughout the nineteenth century, which ranged from complete rebuilding to the rearrangement of interiors. The working practices of the Commission can best be understood by focusing on a two specific examples: the destruction and rebuilding of the church of St. Mary, at Askeaton, Co. Limerick and the restoration of the church of St. Multose, at Kinsale, Co. Cork. Also important is the reaction of different groups in society to the architectural works of the official Church of Ireland bodies.

Irish Ecclesiastical Commission: Organisational Structure

Within the Church of Ireland, works were carried out by the official bodies which had responsibility for the property of the Church. These were – in chronological order – the Board of First Fruits, the Irish Ecclesiastical Commission and the Representative Church Body. The changes in the structure of the organisations with responsibility for church building and repair reflected the sweeping changes within the Church of Ireland itself in this period, from the Church Temporalities Bill in 1833, and, most dramatically, the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland in 1869, which came into effect in on 1 January 1871.

The Board of First Fruits was an important agent in the architecture of the Church of Ireland, as from 1711, the 'first fruits', or 'annates' of the first year's revenue of any benefice, dignity or bishopric, was transferred to Dublin rather than to the crown, and a fund was created for the building and repair of churches and glebe houses.[9] The controversial Church Temporalities Bill of 1833 replaced the

[9] Refaussé, 39

Board of First Fruits with the Irish Ecclesiastical Commission.[10] The Commission had responsibility for the maintenance of church fabric until the Irish Church Act of 1869 which disestablished the Church of Ireland.

Under the terms of the 1869 Act, the Church of Ireland retained all cathedrals, churches and schools then in use. All other church lands and properties were vested in the Church Temporalities Commission, which realized those assets, and distributed the money to different charitable and educational bodies, including Maynooth College and the Presbyterian Church.[11] Following Disestablishment, the administration of the temporalities of the Church was passed on to the Representative Church Body, which had been created by the Irish Church Act as a perpetual trustee to take over all the property left with the Church of Ireland. Further to this, the responsibility for the maintenance of the churches now rested with the dioceses and the parishes, and by select vestries within both often formed to deal specifically with these matters. [12]

The Ecclesiastical Commission consisted of a board of members. The first members of the commission were the most Reverend Richard Archbishop of Cashel[13], Right Reverend Richard, Bishop of Derry[14], Edmond, Bishop of Killaloe[15] and Charles, Bishop of Kildare.[16] The executive members of the Commission were Francis Sadlier[17], John Caillard Erck and William C. Quin, with J Wilson acting as Secretary.[18]

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[10] Some aspects of the controversy surrounding the 1833 Bill have been examined by Peter Nockles, 'Church or Protestant Sect? The Church of Ireland, High Churchmanship, and the Oxford Movement, 1822 – 1869', *The Historical Journal*, 41, no. 2 (1998): 457 - 493

[11] Refaussé, 43

[12] Refaussé, 44

[13] Richard Laurence, 1760 – 1838 Full biography in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16128?docPos=1

[14] Richard Ponsonby, 1772 – 1853 G. C. Boase, 'Ponsonby, John, Viscount Ponsonby (*c.*1770–1855)', rev. H. C. G. Matthew, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004); online ed., ed. Lawrence Goldman, January 2008, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22499

[15] Edmund Knox, bishop of Killaloe and Kilfenora, 1773 - 1849

[16] Charles Lindsay, Bishop of Kildare

[17] Franc (formerly Francis) Sadleir, 1775 – 1857. In 1833 he was appointed, with the primate, the lord chancellor and other dignitaries, a commissioner to alter and amend the laws relating to the temporalities of the church of Ireland, but resigned the trust in 1837. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24454?docPos=2

[18] The first report outlines these figures as being the elected members of the Commission, however the first report is signed by Rd. Dublin, R. Cashel, Franc Sadleir, John C. Erck and Wm. C. Quin.

The duties of the Commissioners are outlined in its first report, which was addressed to His Excellency Richard Marquess Wellesley, Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland. The Commissioners were directed to report to the Lord Lieutenant every year before the 14th August. These reports were to contain an account of their proceedings, full financial accounts, including specific information about the use of the Commission funds.

According to Acheson's account of the role of the Commission, 'its *ex officio* members left business to the salaried nominees [...] from their six-figure income they were responsible for the expenses of divine service and for church repairs.'[19] The report clearly stated that the entire financial resources which were in the possession or at the disposal of the late Trustees and Commissioners of First Fruits, or of any of their Officers, at the passing of the Church Temporalities Act 1833, were transferred to and vested in the Ecclesiastical Commissioners; the latter being subject to all grants and contracts previously made by the Board of First Fruits.

In addition to the funded property of the late trustees and commissioners of First Fruits, further monies which were outstanding and due to the trustees were to be transferred and vested in the Commissioners, and would be available for the completion of the duties of the Commission:

> These consisted, in the first place, of Monies due and payable by Spiritual Persons, under the Name and Denomination of First Fruits and Arrears thereof; secondly of Monies theretofore lent for the Building or Improvement of Glebe Houses and Offices, repayable by annual instalments; and thirdly, of Monies theretofore lent for the Purpose of building, enlarging or repairing the Church or Chapel of any parish, which had been levied and collected previously to the passing of the Act.[20]

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[19] Acheson, *A History of the Church of Ireland, 1691 – 2001*

[20] First Report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners under the act 3 & 4 W. IV relating to the temporalities of the church in Ireland, dated 9th August 1834, House of Commons Papers; Reports of Commissioners, Paper Number 113, Volume XXII. 1061, 19th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers, 2

The management of the Board of First Fruits was seriously dysfunctional, and it failed in the correct use of funds for the building, repair and maintenance of churches, church property and glebe houses.[21] The newly-established Commission took on all of the projects which were in progress, and had responsibility for the financial management of the Church in relation to its building programmes, and was to do so within a more streamlined framework than the Board of First Fruits had achieved.

The structure of the architectural department of the Commission was altered at a number of points throughout the its history. Again, the official reports published by the Irish Ecclesiastical Commission provide information which allows these changes to be traced through time, although, as will be shown, these are far from comprehensive. An official document published in 1837–8 detailed the architectural staff working for the Commission at that period.[22] The architects listed as being in the employment of the Commission are William Farrell[23], Frederick Darley[24], James Pain, Joseph Welland[25], Patrick Leahy[26] and Alexander Deane.[27]

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[21] Yates, *The Religious Condition of Ireland 1750 – 1850*, (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2006)

[22] 1837 – 38 (142) Ecclesiastical Commission (Ireland) Return of salary, fees and emoluments paid to commissioners, secretary, treasurers, and others employed under the Ecclesiastical Commissioners of Ireland, and amount of money received on account of the perpetuity purchase fund.

[23] William Farrell (d. 1851), was first recorded as a clerk to the architects of the Board of Works from 1801 – 1810. By 1814, he is recorded as being the architect to the Incorporated Society for Promoting English Protestant Schools in Ireland, and in 1823, he was employed by the Board of First Fruits, with responsibility for the ecclesiastical province of Armagh. He joined the staff of the Irish Ecclesiastical Commission in 1839, until the Commission replaced this system with a single architect in 1843. *Dictionary of Irish Architects, 1720 – 1940*, http://dia.ie/architects/search/WILLIAM%20FARRELL, accessed 14/06/11

[24] Frederick Darley (1798 – 1872), prolific Dublin architect, who was employed by the Commission in the Diocese of Dublin from 1833 to 1843. *Dictionary of Irish Architects, 1720 – 1940*, http://dia.ie/architects/view/1382/DARLEY-FREDERICK%5B2%5D, accessed 15/09/11

[25] Joseph Welland, (1879 – 1860), Architect to the Board of First Fruits and subsequently the Irish Ecclesiastical Commission. *Dictionary of Irish Architects, 1720 – 1940*, http://dia.ie/architects/view/4436/welland-joseph Accessed 22/09/10

[26] Patrick Leahy, native of Co. Tipperary, architect and surveyor. Among the positions held by Leahy during his career, he worked with the Hibernian Rail Company, and as a county and city surveyor in Cork. He was the provincial architect in Munster during the late 1830s. *Dictionary of Irish Architects, 1720 – 1940*, http://dia.ie/architects/view/3122/LEAHY-PATRICK Accessed 22/09/10

[27] Alexander Deane, 1796 – 1847. Architect of Cork, apprenticed to Alan Nicholson. Biographical information from *Dictionary of Irish Architects, 1720 – 1940*, http://dia.ie/architects/view/1431/DEANE-ALEXANDERSHARP Accessed 22/09/10

A report of 1852 also listed the salaries and the names of the architects employed: by this time, the structure had changed to include one figure listed as 'Architect', Joseph Welland, and five figures listed as 'Inspector of Church Works', and one drawing clerk, Julian de Balmont. The figures listed as Inspector of Works include James McAllister, William Fullerton, William Gillespie, Robert B. Phillips and William Kingsmill.[28]

A similar report from 1860 provides further detail of the architects' department. Again, instead of a team of architects working within each province, the practice of Joseph Welland and Son is noted as being 'Architects to the Board', with a team of drawing clerks and local inspectors.[29] The three drawing clerks noted are J. de Balmont[30], H. Davenport and Wm. Martin[31], and the local inspectors noted are James McAllister, William Fullerton, R.B. Phillips, William Gillespie, Edward Martin, Alexander Hardy.[32]

The duties of the architects, and of the inspectors are alluded to in the reports, with travelling expenses and postage and stationery being noted in 1852; indicating that members of the architectural department were expected to travel to the site at which work was being carried out. While Welland was paid a salary of £500 in 1852, the travelling expenses allocated to him amounted to £22 2s 6d, while the church inspectors were paid an average of £121. The average travelling expenses allocated to each was £104, reflecting, perhaps the different roles of the

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[28] Ecclesiastical Commission (Ireland). A return, stating in detail, the disbursements of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for Ireland, and specifying the salaries paid to each commissioner, secretary and clerks, with the number of days and hours of attendance at the board, for one year, ending the 1st day of August 1852, 1852 – 53, 19th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers, 57.689

[29] 1860 (143), Ecclesiastical Commission (Ireland). Return of all annual salaries paid under the Irish Ecclesiastical Commission, with the names of the recipients, the situations they hold, and the number of years' service; and, detailed amount of the income and expenditure of the commission. 6

[30] Julian de Balmont, active 1841 – 68, according to the *Dictionary of Irish Architects 1720 - 1940.* http://dia.ie/architects/view/1449/DEBALMONT-JULIAN, Accessed 22/03/12

[31] William Martin (1843 – 1915), was born in Cork, and worked for the Ecclesiastical Commission in the 1860s, before moving to England, working there and on the Continent, on the restoration and preservation of medieval Cathedrals in Paris, Rheims and Vienna. Dictionary of Irish Architects 1720 – 1940

[32] 860 (143), Ecclesiastical Commission (Ireland). Return of all annual salaries paid under the Irish Ecclesiastical Commission, with the names of the recipients, the situations they hold, and the number of years' service; and, detailed amount of the income and expenditure of the commission. 6

departmental staff, with the inspectors spending more time on site, carrying out the instructions of the architect to the Commission.[33] While these lists do give some insight into the working practices of the architectural department, the information they provide is far from comprehensive, and does not include several architects who are known to have worked for the Commissioners; James Franklin Fuller among them.

In his autobiography, Fuller gives an account of part of the working life of the Commissioner architect. He successfully obtained a post with the Commission in 1862, beating ninety-seven candidates, and had responsibility for the supervision of church works in nine counties, 'from the sea at Carlingford to the sea at Belmullet, with residence in a central position, at Killeshandra.'[34] According to Franklin Fuller:

> 'everything in the way of repairs to the fabric was done by those Commissioners, and this included the provision of vessels for church services, the laundry bills for towels, the postage, the rebinding of books. When a church needed to be repaired, the clergyman contacted the head office in Merrion Street, and the Architect visited the site.'[35]

Franklin Fuller gives an account of visiting a church in Belmullet, to inspect some slates which had come off the roof of the church during a gale, commenting that 'this was no trifling journey, though the repairs were trifling enough', indicating the rather pedestrian nature of the everyday role of the Commissioners' architect.

The architectural works carried out by the architectural department involved the building of glebe houses, the erection of new churches and the repair and enlargement of existing churches. The *Irish Builder* frequently included notices on church works carried out by the Commission, and published an account of its annual report each year. Lee and Jacobs, in their study of the career of James Pain, surveyed his time in the employ of the Commission as the architect for the

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[33] The Representative Church Body library holds a large collection of Welland's drawings for new churches and alterations to existing churches – however, it is outside the scope of this thesis to fully consider Welland's contribution to the Commission, and they have not been included here.
[34] James Franklin Fuller, *Omniana: the autobiography of an Irish octogenarian*, (New York: E.P. Dutton and Company, 1916), 180
[35] Franklin Fuller, 180

ecclesiastical province of Cashel.[36] As well as the many new building projects designed by Pain and his brother, they also carried works to medieval structures, such as the erection of a new tower and spire, and other repairs, to the cathedral of St. Carthage, at Lismore.[37]

The papers of John Cailliard Erck, which are part of the Beresford Papers in TCD MSS department, give a further insight into the working practices of the Irish Ecclesiastical Commission in relation to church restorations and rebuilding.[38] The papers in this collection support the claims made throughout the reports that the responsibilities of the Commission in repairing churches frequently outweighed the funds available to them. This problem was exacerbated by the non-payment of vestry cess and of the instalments on loans which had been made to individual benefices by the Board of First Fruits. The building and repair of churches was one of the prime concerns of the Commission, along with the building of glebe houses and the purchase of houses and glebes for augmented benefices. According to Erck, in 1834, the annual cost of repair per church was £20, but he argued in his reports for increased expenditure on comprehensive church repairs, which would substantially lower the annual financial outlay on upkeep.[39] Erck's papers include a number of case studies, explaining how the Commission should respond to individual applications, such as those made by parishes for advances of money for church building where the inhabitants were willing to contribute sums in excess of the standard fifth of the entire expense. According to Erck's accounts, the Commission could not approve such applications. One such request is given in full in his report: the parishioners of Newtownmountkennedy had raised £600 in order to build a new church in their parish.[40] The parishioners, 'not less than twenty in number', made an application for the furnishing of the church to the Commission

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[36] Lee and Jacobs, 131 - 171

[37] Lee and Jacobs, 167

[38] There are two collections with papers relating to Erck in the manuscript collections held at Trinity College Dublin: the Papers of Archbishop JG Beresford and JC Erck (IE TCD MSS 2770-4) and the Beresford-Erck Papers (TCD MS 2490-2491). Erck was born c. 1795 in Dublin, and was involved in the Ecclesiastical Commission and the Record Commission. He died in 1851. http://marloc.library.tcd.ie/CalmView/Record.aspx?src=CalmView.Catalog&id=IE+TCD+MSS+2770-4&pos=2 Accessed 27/06/11

[39] Papers of Archbishop JG Beresford and JC Erck (IE TCD MSS 2770-4/941/55

[40] Papers of Archbishop JG Beresford and JC Erck (IE TCD MSS 2770-4/904/13

on 30th October, 1834. They conceded that 'the Ecclesiastical Commissioners may employ an architect chosen by themselves to erect the building subject to such regulations as they may think fit'. The application, although considered very worthy by Erck, was turned down.[41]

Franklin Fuller, in his contribution to the 1909 Jubilee Issue of the *Irish Builder* recalled the practicalities of altering or dismantling churches while in the service of the Commissioners, in particular to the act of deconsecration:

> It would be impossible for me to say how many old churches I have had to deal with in the adding of chancels, transepts, side aisles etc etc, the removal of plaster ceilings, loose boxes, and three-decker pulpits. I remember a case in which these loose boxes were removed. All old fittings were the property of the contractor, who arranged a sale on market day, and put up some of the old panelling to auction, which, when sold, had to be disinfected with holy water...[42]

These sources offer valuable insights into the working practices of one of the most influential, and yet critically unexplored, architectural agents in the nineteenth century. The full range of works carried out by the Commission lies outside the scope of this thesis, but their work on individual medieval buildings is highly relevant.

As the Established Church of Ireland inherited the territorial structures of the pre-Reformation Irish church, it was in possession of the vast majority of surviving medieval parish churches and cathedrals still in use. While some medieval buildings remained in continuous use, others had fallen into ruin during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as a result of political instability, demographic change and the decreasing size of Church of Ireland congregations in certain areas, many had been abandoned, others destroyed or completely rebuilt. The Commission carried out major works to medieval buildings, and its contribution is fundamental to any understanding of the changes wrought to the fabric of medieval structures in the nineteenth century. The Ecclesiastical

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[41] Papers of Archbishop JG Beresford and JC Erck (IE TCD MSS 2770-4/904/13

[42] James Franklin Fuller, 'Reminiscences of fifty years', *Irish Builder Jubilee Number*, 1909, 24 – 26

Commissioners were responsible for a number of large-scale restoration projects, as well as more minor interventions.

In order to assess the type of work carried out on medieval buildings, the official reports of the Commissioners have been examined, as well as antiquarian and topographical records on the buildings, along with the fabric of the buildings themselves.

The official reports issued by the Commissioners contain information on all churches, showing which medieval structures were still in use, and how they were treated by the architects. The reports include returns to the House of Commons on the amount of money expended on new church building, church repairs and enlargements, as well as reports on each parish within the Established Church dioceses, stating the name and number of the clergy, the lands, the nature of the accommodation for the church, valuations, and a brief entry on the type of church within the parish.

A report of 1844 entitled 'Churches and Chapels (Ireland)' included a 'return of the number of churches and chapels built in each diocese of Ireland since the 1st day of January 1823, stating as nearly as possible, the cost in each case, and the sources, whether public or private, from which the money was derived', as well as a similar return for churches and chapels rebuilt and enlarged, and the number of school-houses in which divine service was performed.[43] While this report gives some information relating to the work of the Board of First Fruits, it contains a caveat that the Commissioners were unable to provide official information about the churches prior to 1833, as it was not in existence prior to this date.

According to this report, 83 churches were built between these years, 108 churches had been rebuilt, 65 churches had been enlarged and of the 82 places licensed for the celebration of Divine service, the Commissioners reported that eight of these were school houses. It lies beyond the scope of this thesis to examine each of these projects in detail, and therefore, two well-documented

[43] Churches and chapels (Ireland). A return of the number of churches and chapels built, rebuilt and enlarged, in each diocese of Ireland, since September 1833; and of the number of school-houses in which divine service is performed, 1844, House of Commons Accounts and Papers, Paper Number 190, XLIII.27

examples from Limerick and Cork, which illustrate the working practices of the Commission with relation to medieval buildings, have been analysed in detail.

The Parish Church of St. Mary's, Askeaton

According to this 1844 report, no church was built by the Commission in Limerick between the years 1823 to 1844. However, the churches at Askeaton, Corcomohide, Killaliathan and St. Michael's were rebuilt, and the churches at Croom, Kilkeedy and Kilpeacon were enlarged. Rebuilding and enlargement involve intervention to existing fabric, and therefore are most relevant to this study.[44]

St. Mary's Church in Askeaton is an instructive example, as it represents a drastic response of the Commissioners to the medieval architecture in the possession of the Church of Ireland, which was to largely destroy the original structure, and to completely rebuild a new church. The remaining fragments of this medieval parish church are situated in the south-east of the town, on a gentle elevation (Fig. 8.1). A nineteenth-century Gothic revival church occupies the position of the former medieval parish church (Fig. 8.2).

According to Westropp, the parish church of St. Mary was built, at the same period as Askeaton castle, between 1198 and 1199.[45] Westropp based his interpretation of the original plan of the building on the view given in *Pacata Hibernia*, which depicts a roofed building with a nave and an aisle, which he stated was usually understood to be depicting the church before 1586 (Fig. 8.3). He noted that the *Pacata* view errs in depicting the belfry as abutting the church, as it is situated to the north of the chancel. An entry in the Regal Visitation of 1615 is noted, which described the church and chancel as being in 'good repair'.[46]

Much of the fabric of this church was still in use for worship when Samuel Lewis wrote his 1834 *Topographical Directory*, in which he noted that

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[44] The 1844 report does not give any information about the age or condition of the churches, and therefore this report must be read in conjunction with the annual report for that year issued by the Commission on church building, as well as antiquarian views and accounts, and other sources.

[45] Thomas Johnson Westropp, "Notes on Askeaton, County Limerick. Part IV. The Church and the Castle (With Appendices) (Continued)", in *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* Fifth Series, 34, no. 2, [Fifth Series, Vol. 14] (1904): 111-132
In this article, Westropp disagrees with Lewis' earlier dating of the church to 1291. Westropp conjectured that the late thirteenth-century date may refer to a restoration of the church under the de Clares.

[46] Westropp, "Notes on Askeaton", 114

> (T)he present parochial church was that of the commandery of Knights Templars, founded in 1298; on the south side is a transept, now in ruins, and separated from the church by two lofty arches which have been rudely closed up; and near the east end are the remains of an ancient tower, square at the base and octangular above.[47]

All that now remains of the church depicted in *Pacata Hibernia* is the chancel, which is ruined, and the belfry, which has been considerably rebuilt from that view, where it is shown with the top storey in ruins.

Maurice Lenihan, in his 1866 *Limerick: its histories and antiquities*, described the church thus:

> The parish church was a commandery of the Knights Templars. The ruins of the south transept (date thirteenth century), separated from the nave by two early pointed arches (now blocked up), remain. At the east end rose two towers, square at the base and octangular above. There is an excellent Catholic parochial church close by the town."[48]

This distinctive belfry, with its octagonal second storey sitting on awkward squinches, is depicted in *Pacata Hibernia* with its upper storey in ruins. The contemporary appearance of the belfry, with its square-headed windows, is due to later rebuilding (Fig. 8.4). It serves as the belfry for the adjoining church, with the bell situated in the western window of the tower. The west end of the nineteenth-century church has an empty bell cote, indicating that the reuse of the belfry was a later development, perhaps a local effort to reintegrate the medieval building into community worship (Fig. 8.5).

The building clearly underwent a number of changes prior to the nineteenth century, when the Commissioners had responsibility for the building. Westropp gave a detailed outline of the medieval church and the changes to its fabric from the time of its foundation. From an examination of the medieval fabric, he stated that 'from the ruins, it is evident that some repairs took place in the

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[47] Lewis gives a slightly later date to that given by Westropp, who corrects the *Topographical Directory* on a number of counts – Westropp gives an explanation for the popular association with the Knights Templars as being due to the potential presence of Knights of the Temple staying at Askeaton Castle, and worshipping in the church there.
Samuel Lewis, *A Topographical Directory of Ireland (&c.)*, (London, S. Lewis, 1837)

[48] Lenihan, 722

church late in the following century; but the skilled hands that left their mark on the castle and abbey were not employed'.[49] Following the fall of the Desmonds, surveys from 1583 and 1586 record that in the parish of Askeaton, 'there is no temple except an old chapel, of which the walls alone are left, and which belongs to the parish of Ballingarrie.'[50]

Westropp stated that the advowson for Askeaton parish was granted by James I to Richard Boyle, and the church appeared in the regal visitation of 1615 as being in the deanery of Rochdell, with a statement that the church and chancel noted are in good repair.[51] The church is in *Pacata Hibernia*, from 1634, which, as Westropp noted, shows its belfry with its upper storey in ruins, a nave and one aisle, both roofed. However, Westropp stated that this view of the church 'we incline to date before 1586', prior to the returns of the surveys referred to above. While there is no evidence for the medieval appearance of the building, from the view given in *Pacata Hibernia*, it consisted of a large nave, at least one aisle. The transition from nave to chancel does not appear to be externally articulated in this view. However, as Westropp noted, it is unreliable in that it depicts the octagonal belfry tower as adjoining the church.

The information given in the official reports of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners makes it possible to trace the changes to the building throughout the nineteenth century. The 1807 report of the First Fruits noted 'a church in Askeaton, in good repair', and the 1820 report also noted the same; "one church in Askeaton, in good repair". The church mentioned in this report must be that reported to have been in bad repair by Lewis, only fourteen years later.[52] An 1828 report on funds disposed of by vestries records £5 on repairs to the church building.[53]

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[49] Westropp, 'Notes on Askeaton', 113
Westropp is here referring to thirteenth-century repairs.
[50] Westropp, 'Notes on Askeaton", 113
[51] Westropp, 'Notes on Askeaton", 113
[52] As Yates has pointed out, early nineteenth century restorations often were sub-standard, and therefore repairs did not last.
[53] 1828 (370) Parochial rates (Ireland.) Returns to an order of the Honourable House of Commons, dated 12th February 1828;--for an account of all sums applotted during the year 1827, by the several vestries of Ireland, under the head of parochial rates; specifying the articles for which such rates were imposed; and particularly distinguishing whether the sums allotted to rebuilding or repair of churches, and for salaries of church officers, were voted in vestries distinct and separate

The 1844 report stated that the church was rebuilt by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners between 1823 and 1844. This rebuilt church is, presumably, that which is currently on the site. The report distinguishes between the churches which were built, rebuilt and enlarged: Askeaton is noted as having been 'rebuilt', indicating the continued use of the building on site previous to this development.[54] The report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in 1844 stated that the rebuilt church would accommodate 320 people, and that £938 9s 10d was provided from its funds, with £120 coming from private sources.[55]

As mentioned above, Lewis recorded that most of the church was in use in 1834. However, he also stated that 'the church, situated in the town, is in a very dilapidated condition, and has been condemned by the ecclesiastical provincial architect', and was therefore rebuilt at some point after 1834, and before 1844.

The 6 inch OS map (1837 – 1842) and the 25 inch OS map (1888 – 1913) show the newly built church, and a church in ruins on the same site, suggesting that the medieval church which had still been in use was cleared before the map was made (Fig. 8.6, Fig. 8.7).

The 1837 report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners recorded that a glebe-house had been built in Askeaton in 1823, and mentioned that 'one church, situate in Askeaton parish, capable of accommodating 250 persons; but so ancient a structure that no record exists of the date and cost of its erection.'[56] The church noted in the 1844 records therefore was built in 1837, most probably by the Provincial Architect for the Diocese of Limerick.

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from those held for other parochial objects. Paper Series: HOUSE OF COMMONS PAPERS; ACCOUNTS AND PAPERS Paper Number:(370) Volume/page:XXII.285

[54] Churches and chapels (Ireland). A return of the number of churches and chapels built, rebuilt, and enlarged, in each diocese of Ireland, since September 1833; and of the number of school-houses in which divine service is performed. Cockton Title:Return of Number of Churches and Chapels built in Ireland since September 1833 Session:1844 Paper Series:HOUSE OF COMMONS PAPERS; ACCOUNTS AND PAPERS Paper Number:(190) Volume/page:XLIII.27 Collection:19th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers

[55] Ecclesiastical Commission, Ireland. Report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for Ireland to the Lord Lieutenant, for the year ending the 1st day of August 1843. Cockton Title:Ecclesiastical Coms. of Ireland, Report, 1842-43 Session:1844 Paper Series:HOUSE OF COMMONS PAPERS; REPORTS OF COMMISSIONERS Paper Number:(253) Volume/page:XXX.15 Collection:19th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers

[56] Ecclesiastical Commission, Ireland.

The Ordnance Survey letters for Co. Limerick from 1840 contain the following note about Askeaton: 'the original parish church of Askeaton, which seems to have been a large one, only the tower and one gable remain; the other part of it is occupied by a neat, modern church.'[57] On the state of the church in 1840, Westropp wrote 'six years later, O'Donovan and O'Curry visited the place, and found the south wing demolished and the new church in existence.'[58]

A further report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners from 1868 gives information on all churches built, rebuilt or enlarged between 1834 – 1837 – Askeaton is included in this report.[59] This contradicts the date of 1827 for the erection of the church given by Adrian Hewson, which is also cited by the *Dictionary of Irish Architects 1720 - 1940*.[60]

Conor O'Brien, in his history of the parish, also suggested a date of 1840 for the destruction of the medieval parish church, and the erection of the new building.[61] James Pain was the Provincial Architect in Munster, from 1823 to 1844, and was the architect of the glebe house at Askeaton, constructed between 1826 – 7, and it is therefore probable that he designed the church which replaced the old St. Mary's.

In 1904, Westropp noted that 'the belfry and the chancel are still standing, their eastern faces being in line, but not bonded. The curious tower adjoins the chancel on the north.'[62] Post-medieval building work on the medieval fabric of the belfry is mentioned by Westropp: writing about the upper storey of the tower, he wrote that 'the top storey is octagonal, resting partly on the middle of each wall,

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[57] Ordnance Survey Letters, Limerick, Royal Irish Academy, 14/D/18/26(i)

[58] Westropp, 'Notes on Askeaton", 114

[59] Churches, &c. (Ireland). Return showing the names of all new churches built by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners from 1834 to 1st August 1865, in the several dioceses in Ireland, specifying the cost of each such church, and the post town thereof; similar return of all churches or licensed houses of worship rebuilt or repaired, specifying the total amount expended on each church within the above period; &c. Cockton Title:Return of Names of Churches built and repaired by Ecclesiastical Coms. in Ireland, 1834-65 Session:1867 Paper Series: HOUSE OF COMMONS PAPERS; ACCOUNTS AND PAPERS Paper Number:(476) Volume/page:LIV.889 Collection:19th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers

[60] Adrian Hewson, *Inspiring Stones: a history of the Church of Ireland Dioceses of Limerick, Ardfert, Aghadoe, Killaloe, Kilfenora, Clonfert, Kilmacduagh & Emly* (Diocesan Council of Limerick, Killaloe and Ardfert, 1995), 152-3

[61] Conor O'Brien, 'Parish of Askeaton', *The Architectural and Topographical Record*, (Westminster: Architectural and Topographical Society, 1908), 249

[62] Westropp, 'Notes on Askeaton", 114

and partly on rude skew arches at each corner. The upper part has been too much repaired or modified to show its age or design (for one cannot attach too much weight to its non-appearance in *Pacata*): it may originally have had tall, pointed opes in the principal faces (or even on each side), with stepped battlements and low spire, but it is impossible to assert this with assurance'.[63] On the remaining portion of the fabric of the chancel, Westropp also noted that 'the present church is in line with the old chancel'.[64]

Looking at these written sources for the history of the building, therefore, it is possible to suggest that what remained of medieval St. Mary's was largely cleared away by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and that the new church was built in the three-year period between 1837 and 1840. The decision to keep the chancel could perhaps be explained by the presence there of the Westropp family vault; a prominent Limerick family.

The parish church of St. Multose, Kinsale

The medieval parish church of St. Mary at Askeaton was almost completely cleared, and a new church built on its site, reflecting one way in which the Ecclesiastical Commissioners dealt with the medieval remains in the possession of the Church of Ireland at the time.

The church of St. Multose in Kinsale, reveals a different approach, where the medieval fabric was substantially repaired and altered, rather than completely removed. This, perhaps, was due to the better condition of the building. While a proposal did exist in the mid-century to replace the church completely, asevidenced by the drawings of Joseph Welland for a new building, but these plans were never carried out.

The church of St. Multose is situated in the centre of the town of Kinsale, in Co. Cork (Fig. 8.8). It is in use by the Church of Ireland congregation in Kinsale. The church is usually given a foundation date of the late twelfth century, while an article examining earlier stone work by Jenifer Ní Ghrádaigh in 2003 proposed a

[63] Westropp, 'Notes on Askeaton", 114
[64] Westropp, 'Notes on Askeaton", 114

potentially earlier date for an ecclesiastical foundation on the site.[65] The church building was the subject of three major programmes of restoration in the period under discussion here: the first two by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and a programme of works by William Henry Hill, a scheme which was prepared in 1894, but not carried out until the early twentieth century.

While this chapter focuses on the nineteenth-century changes to the building, alterations to the fabric had been carried out in previous centuries: the now-ruined Galwey Chapel was added in the sixteenth century (Fig. 8.9), and there were substantial alterations throughout the eighteenth century. These included the erection of galleries on each side of the church except the east end, the construction of a lath and plaster ceiling 'with a common cornice', an extra storey and spire added to the originally lower tower and the removal of the chancel arch in the 1730s. A plate included in Richard Caulfield's account of the church illustrates several of these changes, including a section of the common cornice, and a representation of the galleries which had been included (Fig. 8.10).[66] At this time, a round-headed window with big sashes had replaced the earlier east window. This round-headed window was replaced with an east window of five lancets, but the scar in the exterior wall from this since reversed alteration is still visible (Fig. 8.11).[67] Works were also carried out throughout the twentieth century: the weathervane which finishes the slated spire was added in 1930, the chancel was re-ceiled in 1951, in accordance with designs by Henry Houghton Hill and improved chancel lighting was added in 1964.[68]

The first two programmes of nineteenth-century restorations are largely known from written sources, which include Richard Caulfield's accounts of the works, John Hopkins' testimony which defends the works against the accusations made by Caulfield, and the account given in an illustrated pamphlet produced on the church by the Reverend John Lindsay Darling, vicar of Kinsale from 1881 –

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[65] Jenifer Ní Ghrádaigh, 'Fragments of a Twelfth-Century Doorway at the Church of St. Multose, Kinsale?', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 133, (2003), 68 - 77

[66] These eighteenth-century classicising alterations were described by Richard Caulfield, *The Council Book for the Corporation of Kinsale*, from 1652 – 1880

[67] John Lindsay Darling, *St Multose Church Kinsale: as it was, as it is, and as it ought to be. Being an Account, Historical and Descriptive, of an ancient Anglo-Norman Church in the county of Cork*, (Cork: Guy & Co. Limited, 1895)

[68] *Guide to St. Multose, Kinsale*, (s.n., 1980s), (pamphlet on St. Multose), 5 - 6

1895, who spear-headed the Hill restoration.[69] The accounts by Caulfield[70] and Hopkins[71] deal largely with a series of works carried out in the 1850s, with Caulfield also giving some account of the works carried out during the 1830s, whereas Darling's book contains detailed information on the first programme of works from the 1830s. Darling's book also outlines the plans to bring the church back to a pre-Commissioners' state by William Henry Hill.

The first series of works carried out by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners from the 1830s, according to an 1893 account, 'drew tears from some of the old parishioners when in progress.'[72] Samuel Lewis, in his 1837 *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland* noted that the church was a 'spacious and venerable cruciform structure", and that "for the repair and enlargement of which, now in progress, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners have granted £1361.'[73]

Darling's book draws upon a contemporary diary in order to detail this first major programme of works: 'Saturday, August 8, 1835 – Browne, William Meade (Ballymartle) and S. Newman called. Went to see the poor church dismantled. Mr. D. got some of the oak.' 'Sunday, July 19, 1835 – Service held in the two Methodist chapels, the Commissioners having begun repairs and alterations of the church.' 'Easter Sunday, March 26, 1837 – Church opened for service, though not quite finished. We have been out of it for one year and seven months.' Letters from a Rev. William Newman, formerly of Kinsale, give some sense of these works as they were in progress: '1835 it was [...] that witnessed the destruction of the original, high-pitched roof and the northern arcade of seven arches. The latter were

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[69] The Cork Historical and Archaeological Society also published a letter by Darling, correcting some of the points made about the church of St. Multose by Hopkins, in particular in terms of the date of the original erection of the parish church, the carved slabs within and the disturbance of human remains.

[70] Richard Caulfield (1823 – 87), was born in Cork, and educated at Bandon Endowed School and Trinity College Dublin. He was the author of a number of important antiquarian works, on ecclesiastical seals and on the histories of Cork. Caulfield was affiliated with many scholarly societies throughout Europe, and was the secretary of the RSAI from 1877 until his death. Frances Clarke, Linde Lunney. "Caulfield, Richard". *Dictionary of Irish Biography.* (ed.) James McGuire, James Quinn. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2009. (http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a1568), accessed 17/06/11

[71] John Wright Hopkins, vicar of Kinsale from 1856 - 1865

[72] John W. Hopkins, 'St. Multose Church, Kinsale', *The Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, Vol. II, 1983, 36

[73] Samuel Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland (etc.)*, (London: Samuel Lewis, 1837)

pointed, pillars square, very massive, no capitals and devoid of architectural ornament. The square faces were probably frescoed, for on breaking away sundry coats of whitewash and plaster from one of them whose demolition I witnessed, I remember a life-sized figure of a bishop being disclosed, in full Episcopal habit and richly coloured.'[74]

Richard Caulfield also mentions the removal of masonry on which painting was revealed during the process of destruction. In his notes on the history of St. Multose, he quoted a letter from a Mr. John W. Spread, who had been on site at the time, desperately sketching the paintings as the masons took down the piers, unable to halt the process of destruction:

> (M)y recollection of the frescoes is too imperfect for me to attempt anything like a sketch. I can only bring to mind a principal figure standing upright, habited in a cope with zig-zagging pattern, and bearing a long staff, which rested on the ground and was surmounted by a cross, but in colour and general character it resembled the fresco in the wall of Hadleigh Church, Essex [...] I have no doubt these paintings were continuous on both sides. I only regret their necessity for to sweep away so ruthlessly all vestiges of a most beautiful and interesting interior.[75]

The northern arcade which had been removed was replaced by 'five thin, lofty wooden pillars, twenty feet long, as little in keeping with the architecture of the church as the plaster ceilings'. According to Darling, one arch was retained, because it was integral to the substructure of the tower. This series of arches is illustrated in Hill's conjectural drawing of the St. Multose prior to the nineteenth century. (Fig. 8.12).[76]

In the letters quoted by Darling, Newman also referred to the removal of the eighteenth-century plaster ceiling, and in 1835, to the raising of the outer walls of the aisles, in order to give the roof a flatter pitch and to save the cost of separate aisle roofs.[77] In 1895, this low-pitched roof remained: Darling described it as being 'hidden by flat plaster ceilings, utterly out of keeping with the style of the

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[74] John Lindsay Darling, *St Multose Church Kinsale*, (Cork: Guy, 1895), 18
[75] Richard Caulfield, *The Council Book for the Corporation of Kinsale, from 1652 – 1880*, xciii - xciv
[76] John Lindsay Darling, *St Multose Church Kinsale*, (Cork: Guy, 1895), 19
[77] Darling, 19

church and disfiguring it by obscuring the tops of the east and west windows of the nave.'[78]

The second series of works by the Commissioners at St. Multose were carried out in the late 1860s, during the tenure of John Wright Hopkins. Richard Caulfield gave a detailed account of the works, recalling 'the spring of 1868 witnessed the final demolition of all that escaped from the first restoration.'[79]

According to Caulfield, the timber flooring of the nave was taken up in May 1868, when it was found that the ground beneath was largely composed of stone-lined coffins, containing skeletons, which he assumed were the remains of ecclesiastics. According to Caulfield, the bones were taken from the church and thrown into a heap.[80] It is interesting to note that Caulfield does not distinguish between the removal of medieval and eighteenth-century works. For example, he referred to the lath and plaster ceiling as 'a beautiful ceiling, running from east to west, making an arch transversely of exquisite form, with a projecting moulding heading the cornice'. He also regretted the removal of the Sovereign's gallery on the northern range of the church, which was also an eighteenth-century addition (Fig. 8.10).[81]

Hopkins' report gives a very different view: he avowed that the alterations were a 'very great improvement on the works executed by their order during the incumbency of a former vicar'.[82] He would have had the Commissioners carry out even more extensive works: according to his account, the works were 'not as great as they might have been, had I obtained support from some of the leading parishioners, who were opposed to any alterations.'[83]

Hopkins denounced the works carried out in the 1830s, during the incumbency of James Thomas Brown – he referred to the low-pitched roof as

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[78] Darling, 19
[79] Caulfield, xciii
[80] Richard Caulfield, xciii
Hopkins strenuously denied that any human remains had been dealt with improperly in the course of the works, and stated that he personally supervised the repairs, due to allegations of a similar nature following work which had been carried out at the church at nearby Youghal.
[81] Richard Caulfield, xciii
[82] John W. Hopkins, 'St. Multose Church, Kinsale', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Antiquarian Society*, Vol. II, No. 14, Feb. 1893, 36
[83] Ibid., 36

'unsightly', and was of the opinion that the slender wooden pillars which replaced the row of pointed arches looked unequal to the weight which they were to support. He detailed the works carried out by the Commissioners in 1868 as including the removal of 'ugly timberwork with which the church was crowded internally', the replacement of the timber flooring with a new floor of paving, cement and Bath stone in the chancel and passages, the replacement of former woodwork in a 'suitable manner', and the construction of a robing room near the south transept. This 'ugly timberwork' was perhaps that which Caulfield referred to in his notes on the events: he recalled 'being in Kinsale church many years before, when it was one of the most interesting churches in Ireland. It had then a high pitch roof and a curious arcade, with stalls of old black oak, but the barbarous spirit of the age swept every trace away.'[84]

Darling's account of the works also mentioned (again using the evidence of Newman's letter) that the remains of the chancel arch which had been removed during the eighteenth century were uncovered during the re-flooring, a 'three-decker' pulpit was removed, and the round-headed east window was replaced with an 'indifferent' copy of the five light window at the west end (Fig. 8.13).[85]

In 1892, Darling began his campaign to reverse the repairs and works carried out by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners with a letter to the *Cork Constitutional*.[86] In this letter, he stated that the church roof was in very bad repair, and needed a 'thorough overhaul', and that the select Vestry had determined to remove it and to build a new roof entirely. He emphasised that:

> as most of your readers are aware, the existing roof was erected in 1835 when the old oak was taken away. It is quite out of keeping with the rest of the building and is closed in with a flat plaster ceiling which cuts off the view of the discharging arches of the eastern and western windows. This roof is supported on the north side by a number of tall, slight, wooden pillars, which were substituted for a fine row of Gothic arches, and which cannot last much longer.

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[84] Richard Caulfield, *The Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, Vol. 1, 1892, 230
[85] John Lindsay Darling, *St Multose Church Kinsale*, (Cork: Guy, 1895), 19
[86] Darling, 3

According to Darling:

> (T)he vestry feel that it would be a pity to perpetuate these mistakes by spending a large sum of money on the existing roof. They consider that the time has come for putting into execution the long-cherished wishes of many – that a new and more suitable roof should be erected and the wooden pillars replaced by a row of arches, if funds can be raised to carry out such improvements.[87]

Darling was not the only figure who considered the work of the Commissioners at St. Multose, to be controversial. In the *JRSAI*, John Windele commented that a 'few years since it preserved internally much of its ancient condition, in pointed arcades &c. but the fell spirit of church-wardenism came upon it, and it now presents a melancholy spectacle of modern *renovation*.'[88]

Darling outlined the proposed alterations in his publication on the church, which was illustrated by Hill. These illustrations included conjectural drawings of the appearance of the church prior to the nineteenth-century restorations (Fig. 8.14), photographs of the church as it existed in the 1890s, and a further set of drawings by Hill, of his plans for the restoration of the building (Fig. 8.14., Fig. 8.15). The restoration proposed by Hill included the rebuilding of a high-pitched open roof, and the re-erection of the northern pointed arcade. The architect proposed rebuilding the chancel arch which had been removed in the eighteenth century, but moving it one bay closer to the east end than its original position. Separate roofs over the aisles were proposed, but with the addition of clerestory windows in place of the original 'blind storey', for better light and ventilation. The architect and vestry had thought it best not to include the rebuilding of parapets and battlements, due to increased costs, the need to keep the walls free from damp, and the need to maintain the parapets. It was also proposed that the western gallery not be removed. Other alterations included the addition of a robing room, which would allow the south aisle to be pewed up, and to be

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[87] Darling, 3

[88] Note by J.W. (John Windele), 'Extracts from the Journal of Thomas Dineley, Esquire, Giving Some Account of His Visit to Ireland in the Reign of Charles II (Continued), Evelyn Philip Shirley, Thomas Dineley, James Graves, George V du Noyer, John Davis White, John Windele, Herbert F. Hore, William R. Le Fanu, *The Journal of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society*, New Series, Vol. 5, No. 2 (1865), 270

increased in length towards the east to increase accommodation, and the rebuilding of the floors in the tower, restoring access to that section of the church.[89]

Not all of these proposed works were carried out – the chancel arch was not rebuilt, for example, no clerestory windows were added, and only the chancel area received an open timber ceiling. These works were not begun until 1904, and were undertaken by the Hill architectural practice and J. Sisk of Cork.[90]

The reception of Darling's plans for St. Multose reveals much about medieval buildings which were still in use, and how their position as cultural, political and religious symbols was negotiated by antiquarian and architectural communities at the time. A review of Darling's book in the English journal, *The Antiquary*, strongly criticised the proposed restoration by Hill, stating that the alterations would destroy 'nearly all its past architectural history', and would change the 'picturesque appearance of the church' into one of 'stiff and staring ugliness.'[91] *The Antiquary* reviewer also suggested that the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings become involved in the case. In contrast, the Journal of the RSAI does not include any comment on the proposed alterations, while the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* published a review which wished Darling every success with the proposed works.[92]

The disparity between the response in the Irish antiquarian press and that of the *Antiquary* is striking, and could perhaps be due to the controversial position of medieval churches in Ireland in this period. While antiquarian societies generally aimed to created a secular, non-controversial, discourse around the churches, as the century progressed, the uneasy political and religious meanings which they possessed for different social groups became increasingly obvious and more visible. Rachel MacRory, in 1994, examined the delicate balance which had to be maintained between religious and political symbolism, and the idea of a 'national'

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[89] Ibid., 49

[90] *Irish Builder*, 26 March, 1904 and 4 June 1904

[91] 'Book Review', *Antiquary*, 31, (1895, Oct.), p. 318

[92] 'Reviewed Works: S. Multose Church, Kinsale: As It Was, as It Is, and as It Ought to Be by J. L. Darling', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, Second Series, Vol. 1, No. 3, (April 1895), 227 - 228

heritage, which was to be protected by appropriate legislation.[93] A major issue in the debates surrounding this legislation was the distinction between the building 'in ruin' and that which was still in use, and whether ruined buildings, once designated as national monuments and placed firmly within the realm of history and antiquarianism, could ever be restored and used as places of worship. The Act of 1869 specified that a building which was to be preserved as a national monument could 'not to be used as a place of worship.'[94] This clear distinction remained *in situ* until 1969, when an amendment to this Act had to be passed, to facilitate the restoration of Holy Cross Abbey, in Co. Tipperary, as a Roman Catholic church.[95]

It is clear that the architectural works carried out by the Commission met with an ambivalent audience. While this may have been due to the fact that non-Commission architects were unable to access the lucrative contracts arising from the church building programme of the Established church, criticism was levied at the Commission from a variety of sources.[96] A review of Rev. J. L. Darling's *St Multose Church, Kinsale: As it was, as it is, and as it ought to be*, published in 1895, referred to the 'vandalism of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who modernised the building in 1835, whereby much of the beauty of the original structure was destroyed.'[97]

A letter to the editors of the Builder, in 1850, titled 'Debased state of architecture in Ireland' criticised the architectural policy of the Commission. The author, who called himself 'The Celt', stated that 'the designing and erecting of new churches, the altering and remodelling of the old, should be an interesting,

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[93] Rachel MacRory, 'The evolution of policy for the conservation of historic monuments in Ireland', M.U.B.C. thesis (q2421384), (Dublin: University College Dublin, 1994)

[94] Henry Wheeler, 'State's Participation', *Architectural Conservation: An Irish Viewpoint*, ed. Brian O'Connell, (Dublin: Architectural Association of Ireland, 1975), 80

[95] 'Section 25 (1) of the Irish Church Act, 1869, shall not operate to prevent the Commissioners restoring the church...in so far as it requires the church not to be used as a place of public worship...' Holycross Abbey (County Tipperary) Act, 1969 http://www.irishstatutebook.ie/1969/en/act/pub/0007/index.html Accessed 28/06/11

[96] It is interesting to note that the 'official' restorations carried out in England fared no better, and also received bad publicity, as __ has shown in his essay in 'A Church as it should be'.

[97] Reviews of Books, *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, Second Series, Vol. 1, No. 3, April 1895, 227 - 228

ennobling and fruitful field of practice to an Irish architect', but that this was not the case, due to the fact that

> (A)n enlightened, liberal and art-encouraging government has handed over into the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners the designing, erecting and entire management of all the churches of the Protestant establishment in Ireland, so that the said members of the Establishment cannot have a single church erected, except planned to suit the taste and views of the Commissioners' architect, whose taste may or may not be of a very high standard.

Following this, the author stated that:

> (F)rom such procedures, you cannot expect much excellence in Irish Church Architecture, and you are not disappointed; there is no variety of design, little evidence of deep thought, profound study and patient elaboration of form and effect. Travel the country from Dan to Beersheba, all the churches erected under the Commission for the last ten years, and a more disgraceful, unchurch-like and ill-conceived class of edifices you will not match in Christendom; you will see the one idea run through the whole of them, the same detail repeated *ad nauseum*, the same depressed roof, the same lancet window, the same Patrick's cross stuck over the entrance-door in the West-gable, the same nondescript looking bell-cot.[98]

Writing on St. Audoen's Church in Dublin, Parker, in his series on Irish medieval architecture in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, noted that 'the north aisle, which is used for divine service, has been 'restored' by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and the east window filled with tawdry kaleidoscope glass'.[99] In his address to the Irish Architectural Association in 1876, William Fogerty noted the demise of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners as 'no great loss architecturally', with 'its mechanical system of building and repairing churches.'[100]

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[98] 'Debased State of Architecture in Ireland', *The Builder*, July 6, 1850, Vol. VIII, No. 387, 316
[99] 'Notes on the Architecture of Ireland, 1', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Jan, (1864), 3
[100] *The British Architect and Northern Engineer*, December 29, 1876

Throughout the nineteenth century, and indeed into the twentieth century, Irish antiquarians and professional architects commented unfavourably on the work of the Commissioners, particularly with regard to medieval buildings. For example, Thomas Johnson Westropp, writing about the cathedral at Killaloe, stated that the transepts 'call for little notice' due to fact that the side windows had been 'entirely remodelled in true Ecclesiastical Commissioners' Gothic.'[101]

Writing about the restored Augustinian friary at Adare, the third Earl of Dunraven reacted angrily to the work carried out by the Commission. He wrote that the:

> The aisle was separated from the nave by four pointed arches without chamfers or mouldings, and resting on the rectangular piers without caps or bases. Only one of these piers now remains, as three of these arches have been recently thrown into two, which are supported by a circular column, with a capital of the Norman style. Nothing could be contrived more out of character with the ancient building than this alteration, carried out apparently to enable a few of the congregation to see the clergyman, who were previously debarred from doing so by the more massive square piers. This is not the only instance of barbarism in architecture perpetrated under the sanction of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners[102]

To a large extent, it is clear that the functional aspects of the church buildings, and the practical care of the fabric, were the main priorities of the Commission, and any concern for the medieval built heritage of the Church of Ireland was exerted from external sources, from parishioners to members of the antiquarian community.

The works of the Commissioners at both Askeaton and Kinsale reveals a lack of official concern with the symbolic function of the buildings for their communities, and a lack of consideration of the cultural importance of the structures in their care. The case of St. Multose, however, reveals that, in certain

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[101] Thomas Johnson Westropp, 'Killaloe: its ancient palaces and cathedral. Part II', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, Fifth Series, Vol. 3, No. 2 (June 1893), 187 – 201, 187

[102] Caroline, Countess of Dunraven and the third Earl of Dunraven, *Memorials of Adare Manor*, 70 The post-Disestablishment works of the Representative Church Body and individual vestry committees will form part of further research, with a focus on the works of James Franklin Fuller.

circumstances, parishioners were able to exert considerable influence on the works to the buildings in their community. However, this must be balanced by the knowledge that they were not able to arrest the destruction of much of the important medieval fabric and decoration, which were swept away before they could even be fully recorded.

Conclusion: Architecture and value in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries

This thesis has examined both the creation of narratives of architectural history and of cultural value, and the treatment of medieval ecclesiastical buildings from the late eighteenth century to the early twentieth century. This was carried out through the analysis of scholarly monographs, antiquarian and architectural journals, popular histories, landscapes, townscapes and individual buildings. The same sources could be used for a continued analysis of the symbolic function of forms of architecture in Ireland in the twentieth century, and how this has impacted the treatment of the heritage to the present day. The history of architectural conservation and heritage management over the past century would certainly include such events as the destruction of Dublin's Wood Quay, the restoration of Graiguenamanagh and Holy Cross Abbeys, the debate around the proposed reroofing of Cashel cathedral, and the controversies surrounding the building of a motorway through the hinterland of the Hill of Tara. As they had been in the nineteenth century, these debates and actions were both the product of a concern for the built heritage of the island and what it represents, but also, crucially, were part of larger debates surrounding power, territorial control and the ownership of the remains of the past, often between official power and local feeling. During the completion of this thesis, the *Irish Times* reported on the proposed de-listing of all post-1700 archaeological monuments from the Record of Monuments and Places. As Professor Audrey Horning of the School of Geography, Archaeology and Palaeoecology at Queen's University Belfast wrote in a letter to the editor of the *Irish Times*, this act would remove any chance of protection for a class of monuments that have already been recognised under law as worthy of record:

> The built heritage of the last 300 years makes an incalculable contribution to cultural life on the island, as well as a quantifiable contribution to the tourist economy. Sites of the last 300 years speak directly to today's population and to the historical memories of the global Irish diaspora.[1]

[1] Prof. Audrey Horning, 'Delisting historical structures', *The Irish Times*, September 20, 2011

As Horning's letter and the controversy surrounding the delisting of historical structures reveal, canons of architectural history continue to inform, in a very real way, the survival of the built heritage. The government's proposed delisting strategy clearly reveals a lack of value in the more recent built heritage of the country, to the extent that its future could be seriously imperilled.

Horning's letter also refers to another crucial context for both the interpretation and conservation of architectural heritage, and that is their importance in making a 'quantifiable contribution to the tourist economy'. Certain sites, such as the Rock of Cashel, welcome huge visitor numbers each year, and this number was increased by the 2011 historic visit of Queen Elizabeth II to the site. Resources are employed in the provision of tourist facilities such as car parks, visitor centres, access routes, health and safety interventions in the building, and also interpretative material in different forms, from guided tours, to DVDs, books and pamphlets. The extent to which the need to maintain these sites as usable, informative, enjoyable and safe visitor sites is important for many reasons, not least for the development of the economy, but these imperatives must be balanced with the proper care for both the historical relevance of the building, and its nuanced history, and its physical fabric. The extent to which this balance can be achieved is one of the many challenges to the proper care of Irish built heritage. Parallel to this is the need to continue to research the complex and invaluable histories surrounding architectural heritage, and to communicate this in all its complexity and value from the sphere of professional history to the sphere of both primary and secondary education, life-long learning, and different types of public history.

Having completed this study of the scholarly and professional contexts for the restoration and conservation of medieval buildings in Ireland, it is clear this thesis examines certain key areas of a subject which deserves much detailed further study. In this thesis, important texts on Irish medieval architecture have been identified and examined in detail. The creation of a more comprehensive survey of texts on Irish architecture produced in this time period will form the subject of further research on the subject. As has been indicated throughout this thesis, an expanded study on this subject would include many more texts, from the

works of Grose, Ledwich and Cooper to William Reeves' study of Ulster ecclesiastical structures. However, the aim of this thesis was to provide close readings of texts, examining the narratives of Irish architectural history, and to position these texts within a canon of scholarship.

As stated in Chapter 1, historigraphical practices relating to Irish Gothic are characterised by complexity and contradiction, rather than a smooth progression towards an ever-clearer objectivity in the work being produced. In many cases, the opposite can be seen to be true. A claim for the increasing nationalism in scholarship can equally not be maintained. The multiplicity of authors and their positions in relation to the subject of Irish Gothic subverts both of these ideas. In surveying monographs produced on the subject between 1789 and 1877, and articles in professional and scholarly magazines throughout the nineteenth and into the early twentieth century, key figures and works emerge as defining the discipline: for example, the works of George Wilkinson, Thomas Johnson Westropp and George Petrie. As indicated throughout the main body of the thesis, certain patterns do emerge in the historiography of Irish medieval architecture throughout the period, but there are as many points of divergence as there are of convergence. The work of early scholars such as Young is characterised by a commitment to inductive reasoning, while as late as 1874, the author of editorials in the *Irish Builder* debated the origins of the Round Tower in terms of myths and suppositions, and Richard Rolt Brash included a lengthy chapter on the mythical Gobán Saor, the legendary builder of the towers, in a book he expected to be taken seriously by scientific archaeologists and historians. To suggest a defined pattern of development in terms of the structure of the discipline, or 'schools' of scholarship, would be to risk the censure applied to Ledwich: 'having formed a favourite theory, he twisted everything to assume the shape he needed it to take.'[2] While the survey and analysis of the texts produced on Irish architectural history has not produced one clear pattern of development followed by the scholars of Irish Gothic, this reflects the nature of the discourse as it developed at the time. Complexity, confusion and disagreement are an essential part of the

[2] 'The Literature of the Gothic Revival in Ireland', March 15 1875, 74

historiography of the subject. However, it is clear that the schematic view posited by Hourihane, with scholarly approaches clearly defined along political or ethic lines, does not stand up to scrutiny, when a comprehensive view of the authors and their contributions is taken into account.

Themes which do emerge clearly from the study include the uncertainty surrounding nomenclature and architectural taxonomies. The strident discourse on nomenclature surrounding English Gothic, which was very much a part of the scholarly discourse on Irish Gothic, coupled with the pattern in scholarship to compare and contrast English and Irish buildings, contributed to a lack of consensus on whether Irish work was, in fact, 'Gothic', in a true sense of the word. Essays such as that by Butler, defend and define the existence of a distinctive Irish Gothic architecture.

Indeed, this double-edged facet to the discourse – the comparison with English Gothic, using the forms and achievements of English Gothic as the standard, contributed to the work of figures like Stokes, who responded by focusing on the culturally 'unique' Hiberno-Romanesque monuments, and could even be said to inform the discourse into the twentieth century. As evidenced in many of the texts from Petrie's 1845 monograph onwards, there has a tendency in Irish scholarship to compensate for the perceived short-comings of the Irish structures when examined through a framework in which English and French Gothic represents the zenith by emphasising the simplicity of the buildings as a refinement in itself. While Bell derided his Irish subject matter as dry and barren, the historians of Irish Gothic from mid-1830s onwards tended to emphasise the simplicity of design as a virtue, creating comparisons with the elegant proportions of ancient Greek buildings, and in Petrie's case, contrasting this simplicity as evidence of a purity of religious feeling and practice in contrast to the magnificence and implied decadence, elsewhere. This dynamic also manifests itself in an emphasis on the materials used, and the beauty of the stone – exploited to great effect in Dunraven's magnificent photographs. This emphasis on stone-work and materials is evident in lectures and narratives of Irish architecture and identity, from Leask's 1930 lecture to the TCD Gaelic Society, to Alistair Rowan's 1997 essay,

titled 'The Irishness of Irish Architecture'.[3] Indeed, many of the same dynamics regarding comparison and defence are at work in Peter Kidson's 2004 review of Hourihane's *Gothic Art in Ireland*. Rudolf Maximilian Butler would presumably have been irked by his opening statement:

> Regrettable though it may be, it has to be admitted that unregenerate medievalists such as myself have been able to get through their careers without so much as a formal acknowledgement that there might have been art in Ireland which deserves to be taken seriously by anyone interested in Gothic.[4]

The questions raised by Kidson directly address the discourse as it has developed since the nineteenth century, asking how or whether Irish medieval buildings function as 'Gothic' architecture at all. As Kidson noted, Hourihane's book is part of that 'defence' of Gothic art in Ireland without actually taking on those key methodological and historiographical questions:

> How does it rate on the wider scale of Gothic art across Europe? And to what extent does it serve any useful purpose to call much of it Gothic at all? One cannot escape the impression that all his geese are swans because they are Irish.[5]

The aim of this thesis was to address several of the questions posed by Kidson, through a close analysis of the terms of the discourse through the formative period of the nineteenth century. Kidson's review is an important example of the necessity for an international culture of criticism to inform historiographical practices. Indeed, the channels of communication so central to the formation of historiographical discourses which have been fore-grounded in this thesis in the emphasis on international communities of scholars and cultural transfer in scholarship will form the subject of further work in this area. Receptions, uses, reading patterns within educational and professional contexts

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[3] Harold G Leask address to the TCD Gaelic Society, annotated typescript held in the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland Archives, Alistair Rowan, 'The Irishness of Irish Architecture', *Architectural History*, 40, (1997), 220 - 240

[4] Peter Kidson,'Review', *The Burlington Magazine*, 146, no. 1218, (2004), 623

[5] Kidson, 623

and channels of dissemination are all factors which will provide further insight into the historiography of Irish medieval architecture.

The examination of individual restoration and preservation case studies foregrounds the importance of paying close attention to the individual circumstances of each architect, their involvement in scholarly or antiquarian practices, and their own religious and political situation. The case studies examined in this thesis also highlight the different groups involved in changes to the structures of medieval building – as Miele pointed out, the architect was but one 'player' in the restoration drama, and the role of the clergy must also be emphasised. This thesis also follows studies such as that by Jeanne Sheehy in highlighting the importance of works at a parish level, rather than focusing on cathedral projects.

The focus on what have traditionally been thought of as landlord-led restorations within this thesis highlights the many different factors and agents at play in this type of project – from the exploitation of tourist revenue potential to the improvement of streetscapes, the motivations for such work must not be considered as only representing a vogue for the medieval and the 'picturesque'. Furthermore, the agency of groups beyond the landlord must be considered in order to gain a more complete picture of engagements with the remains of medieval ecclesiastical buildings throughout the nineteenth century. In order to survey some of the perceptions of and receptions of medieval ecclesiastical buildings, non-professional and non-scholarly sources must be surveyed. In overlooking these types of sources, there is a risk of creating an unbalanced picture of both the use and meaning of the buildings to different social groups. This close study of the restoration and uses of medieval buildings, and of the representation of medieval buildings in both the close study of the restorations at Adare, and in the examination of the representations of medieval buildings in non-scholarly and non-professional locations, reveals the complex nature of the process of restoration projects at community level.

It is uncertain whether it is possible to create this type of comprehensive history which examines texts of different forms, and which is alive to both

professional and non-professional histories. The extent to which it is possible to recreate a sense of a meaning which existed in a specific place and time, whether of a building or a sermon, within any past context, is unclear. However, these approaches, flawed and limited as they are, represent an approach which attempts to move away from a purely formal analysis of the buildings, and towards the recording of the lived experience of people, and of the monuments which have survived through the centuries, and which remain, for many different tangible and intangible reasons, valuable.

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3.35 Dunluce Castle drawn by Samuel Patrick Close, (W. H. Lynn, 'Notes on the Ruins of Dunluce Castle, County of Antrim, with Explanation of a Reconstructed Plan of the Earlier Fortress', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 1905)

3.36 Title page of J.J. Phillips' volume on Grey Abbey, Co. Down, John James Phillips, *St. Mary's of Grey-Abbey, Co. Down, as existing in the year AD 1874*, (Belfast: published by the author, 6 Castleton Street, Belfast, 1874)

3.37 Mason's Marks at Grey Abbey, Co. Down, John James Phillips, *St. Mary's of Grey-Abbey, Co. Down, as existing in the year AD 1874*, (Belfast: published by the author, 6 Castleton Street, Belfast, 1874)

3.38 Episcopal seal found at Grey Abbey, J.J. Phillips, *St. Mary's of Grey-Abbey, Co. Down, as existing in the year AD 1874*, (Belfast: published by the author, 6 Castleton Street, Belfast, 1874)

3.39 Plans of major Cistercian foundations in England and France, J.J. Phillips, *St. Mary's of Grey-Abbey, Co. Down, as existing in the year AD 1874*, (Belfast: published by the author, 6 Castleton Street, Belfast, 1874)

3.40 Illustrations of architectural details, J.J. Phillips, *St. Mary's of Grey-Abbey, Co. Down, as existing in the year AD 1874*, (Belfast: published by the author, 6 Castleton Street, Belfast, 1874)

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4.9 Plan of Kells Priory, Conor O'Brien, Architectural and Topographical Record (London: Architectural and Topographical Society, 1908)
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5.4 Illustration of bronze figures from Westmeath Shrine, Fine Arts. No. 2: Historic Sketch of the Past and Present State of the Fine Arts in Ireland", *Dublin Penny Journal*, 1, no. 13, September 22, (1832)

5.5 Illustration of the Romanesque doorway at Dysert O'Dea, and the Gothic doorway of Mellifont Abbey, "Fine Arts No. 3: Historic Sketch of the Past and Present State of the Fine Arts in Ireland (Continued)", DPJ, 1, no. 19, November 3, (1832)

5.6 Illustration of the gateway at Mellifont Abbey, 'Mellifont Abbey', *Dublin Penny Journal*, 1, no. 22, November 24 (1832)

5.7 Illustration of the Chapel of St. Bernard, Mellifont Abbey, 'Mellifont Abbey', *Dublin Penny Journal*, 1, no. 22, November 24 (1832)

5.8 Illustration of the ruins of Mellifont by Robert Armstrong, 'Mellifont Abbey', *Dublin Penny Journal*, 1, no. 32 February 2, (1833)

5.9 Illustration of the Cathedral at Armagh, 'The Cathedral Church of Armagh', *Dublin Penny Journal*, 1, no. 24, December 8, (1832)

5.10 Illustration of Lord Portlester's Chapel, St. Audoen's Church, Dublin, 'Lord Portlester's Chapel', *Dublin Penny Journal*, 1, no. 26, December 22, (1832)

5.11 View of the nave at Holy-Cross Abbey, 'The Abbey of Holy-Cross, County of Tipperary', *Dublin Penny Journal*, 1, no. 47, May 18, (1833)

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5.13 Illustration of Muckross Abbey, Killarney, 'Mucruss Abbey, Killarney', *Dublin Penny Journal*, 1, no. 52, June 22 (1833)

5.14 Illustration of the Abbey at Dungiven, P., 'Abbey of Dungiven', *Dublin Penny Journal*, 1, no. 51, June 15 (1833)

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6.14 Plan of the Franciscan friary, Adare, Plate 18 from *Memorials of Adare Manor by Caroline, Countess of Dunraven, with historical notices of Adare, by her son, the Earl of Dunraven* (Oxford, printed for private circulation by Messrs. Parker, 1865)

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6.16 'The Church, being part of the Ruins of Adare, County of Limerick', View of the Augustinian or Black Abbey, Adare, attributed to Gabriel Beranger (ca. 1729 – 1817), after an original drawing by William Ashford (1746 – 1824),(ET 1958 TX 96, National Library of Ireland, Dublin.)

6.17 'A.W. View of the Black-Abbey at Adair, Co.y Limerick, A.C. delint. 26th May 1781; Pinxt 11th July', Austin Cooper, From *Antiquities of Abbeys, Castles &c, in Ireland, Vol. 1*, (Coo 2122 TX (1) 12, National Library of Ireland, Dublin)

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6.24 Cloister, looking towards the western range, Church of St. Nicholas, (former Augustinian abbey), Adare, own photograph.

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6.28 Image of the village of Adare with church in ruins, Adare, Plate 3, from *Memorials of Adare Manor by Caroline, Countess of Dunraven, with historical notices of Adare, by her son, the Earl of Dunraven* (Oxford, printed for private circulation by Messrs. Parker, 1865)

6.29 Improved village of Adare, with restored church, Plate 4, Adare, from *Memorials of Adare Manor by Caroline, Countess of Dunraven, with historical notices of Adare, by her son, the Earl of Dunraven* (Oxford, printed for private circulation by Messrs. Parker, 1865)

6.30 Franciscan friary with the manor House in the distance, Plate 20, Adare, from *Memorials of Adare Manor by Caroline, Countess of Dunraven, with historical notices of Adare, by her son, the Earl of Dunraven* (Oxford, printed for private circulation by Messrs. Parker, 1865)

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(Photograph from Tenison album, purchased from Kilronan Album, Co. Roscommon, TEN64, National Library of Ireland, Dublin)

6.36 View of Buttevant Franciscan friary, Co. Cork, from Charles Smith, *The antient and present state of the county and city of Cork, in four books*, (1750)

6.37 View (looking towards the east) of Buttevant Franciscan friary, Co. Cork, own photograph.

6.38 St. Mary's Church, Buttevant (RC) with earlier tower, own photograph.

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6.40 Eastern windows, Buttevant Franciscan friary, own photograph.

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7.3 Parish Church of Askeaton, (Sir Thomas Stafford, *Pacata Hibernia*)

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7.6 The church of St. Mary, Askeaton, 6 inch Ordnance Survey of Ireland map image (1837 – 1842), www.osi.ie

7.7 The church of St. Mary, Askeaton, 25 inch Ordnance Survey of Ireland map image, (1888 – 1913) www.osi.ie

7.8 Church of St. Multose, Kinsale, Co. Cork, own photograph

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7.10 Plate V, from Richard Caulfield's account of the church of St. Multose, depicting details of eighteenth-century renovations, (Richard Caulfield, *The Council Book for the Corporation of Kinsale, from 1652 – 1880.*)

7.11 East window showing nineteenth-century lancet windows and scar from eighteenth-century alteration, own photograph

7.12 Conjectural plan of St. Multose prior to the 1830s restoration, (John Lindsay Darling, St Multose Church Kinsale: An Account Historical and Descriptive, Cork: Guy, 1895)

7.13 East window, St. Multose (interior), own photograph.

7.14 Conjectural elevation of St. Multose prior to the 1830s restoration, (John Lindsay Darling, St Multose Church Kinsale: An Account Historical and Descriptive, Cork: Guy, 1895)

7.15 Ground plan of proposed alterations by William Henry Hill. (From a set of 5 drawings, dated 1894, in the Irish Architectural Archive, Acc. 98/88)

Fig. 7.16 Sections of proposed alterations by William Henry Hill, from a set of 5 drawings, dated 1894, in the Irish Architectural Archive, Acc. 98/88

Images Chapter 1



Fig. 1.1: Joseph Peacock, *The Pattern at Glendalough, Co. Wicklow*, 1813, oil on canvas, Ulster Museum.



Fig. 1.2: George Petrie, *The Last Circuit of the Pilgrims at Clonmacnoise*, c. 1838, watercolour, National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin.

Images Chapter 3



Fig 3.1 Seal of Emly Cathedral, from David Butler, *South Tipperary 1570 – 1841: religion, land, rivalry*, (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007), 192

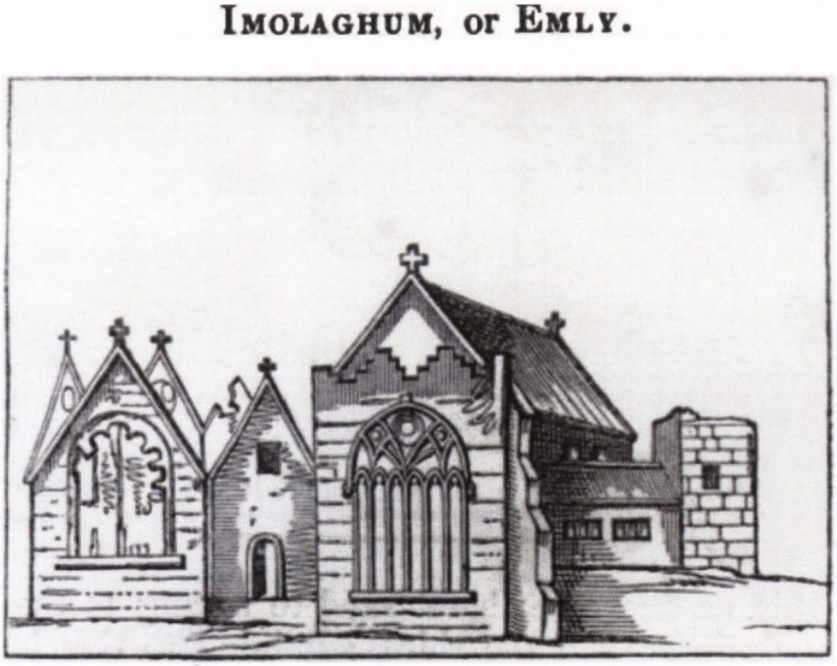


Fig. 3.2: Image of Emly Cathedral, from the Journal of Thomas Dineley,
"Extracts form the Journal of Thomas Dineley, Esquire, Giving Some Account of His Visit to Ireland in the Reign of Charles II (Continued), Evelyn Philip Shirley, Thomas Dineley and others, *The Journal of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society*, New Series, 5, No. 2 (1865), 285



Fig 3.3 Austin Cooper, 'A W: View of the Black-Abbey at Adair, Co.y Limerick: A:C: delint. 26th May 1781 ; Pinxt 11th July'
National Library of Ireland, Prints and Drawings, Coo 2122 TX (1) 12



Fig. 3.4: Church of St. Nicholas, Adare (former Augustinian abbey), own photograph.

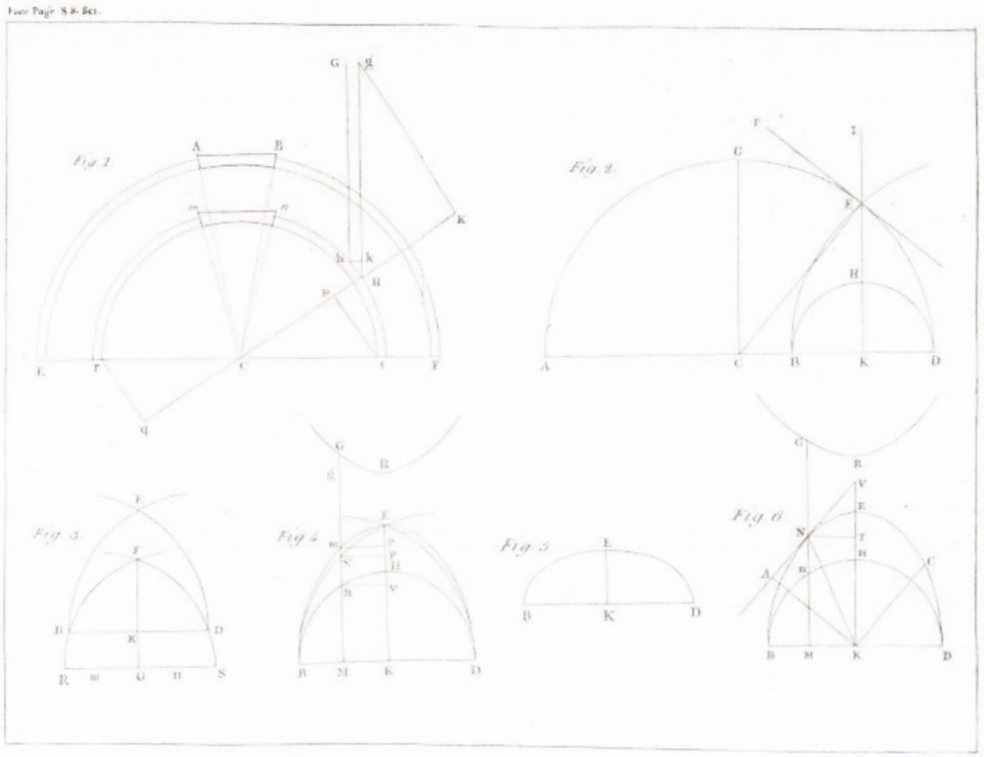


Fig. 3.5 Illustration from Matthew Young 'Origin and Theory of the Gothic Arch',
M. Young, 'The Origin and Theory of the Gothic Arch', *The Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, 3 (1789), 87

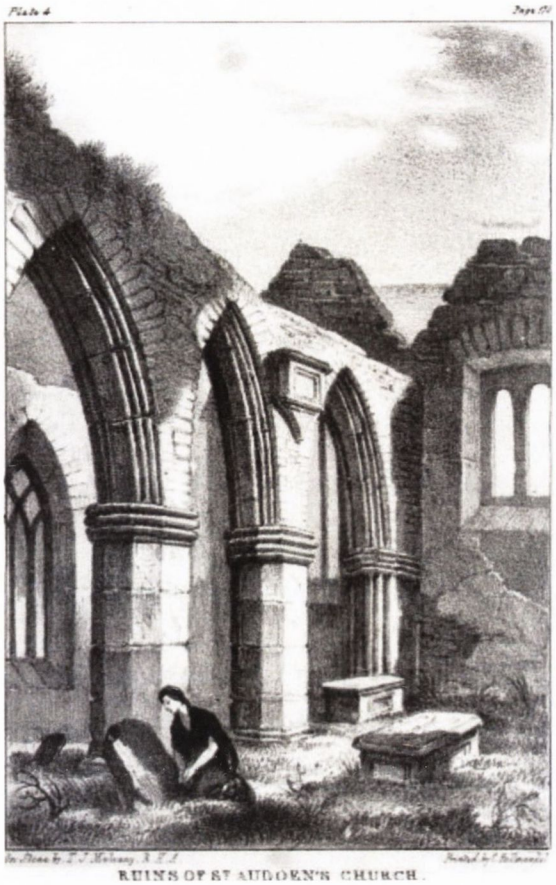


Fig. 3.6: St. Audoen's Church (original by Mulvaney), Plate 4
Thomas Bell, *An Essay on the Origin and Progress of Gothic Architecture with reference to the ancient history and present state of the remains of such architecture in Ireland*



Fig. 3.7: Chapter House, St. Mary' Abbey, Plate 3
Thomas Bell, *An Essay on the Origin and Progress of Gothic Architecture with reference to the ancient history and present state of the remains of such architecture in Ireland*

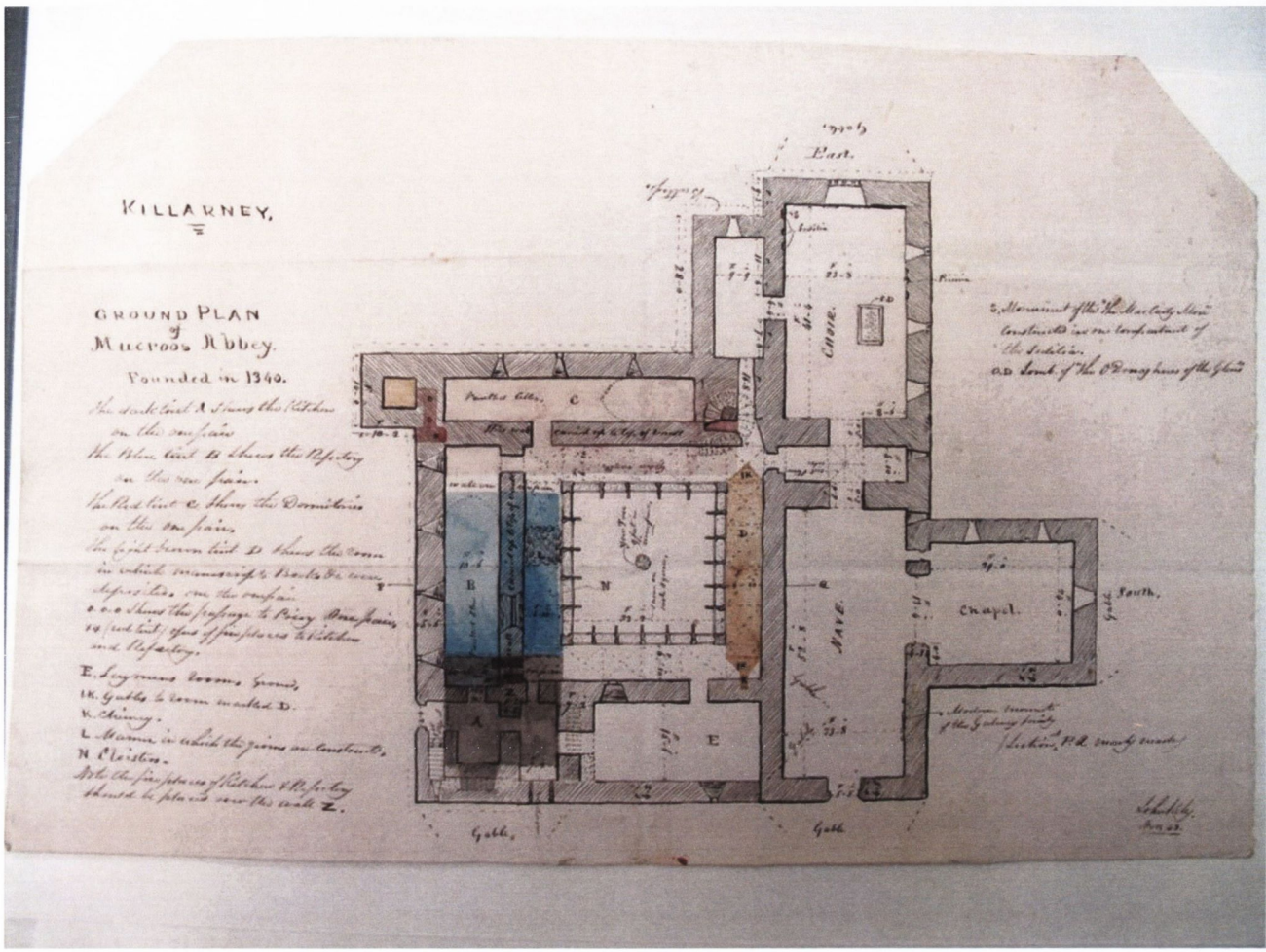


Fig. 3.8: Ground Plan of 'Mucroos' Abbey, George Wilkinson Collection 1842 – 1849, National Library of Ireland, Prints and Drawings, AD 3588

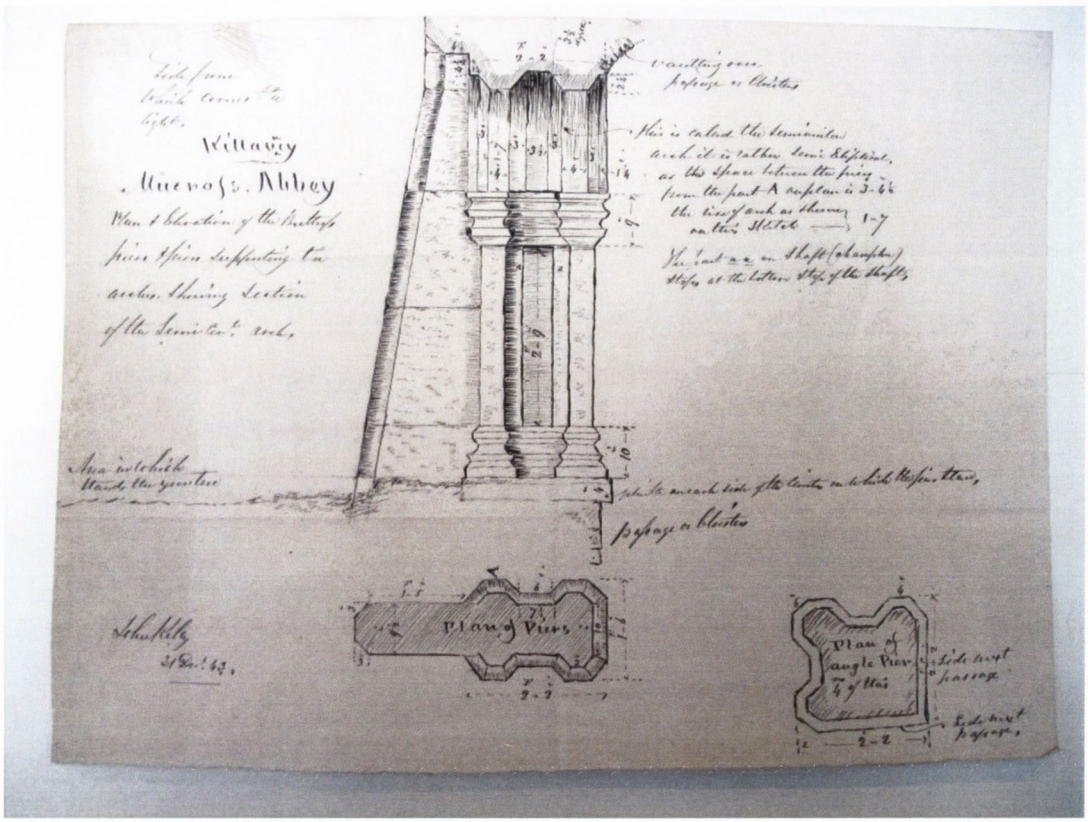


Fig. 3.9 Detail, 'Mucroos' Abbey, George Wilkinson Collection 1842 – 1849,
National Library of Ireland, Prints and Drawings, AD 3588

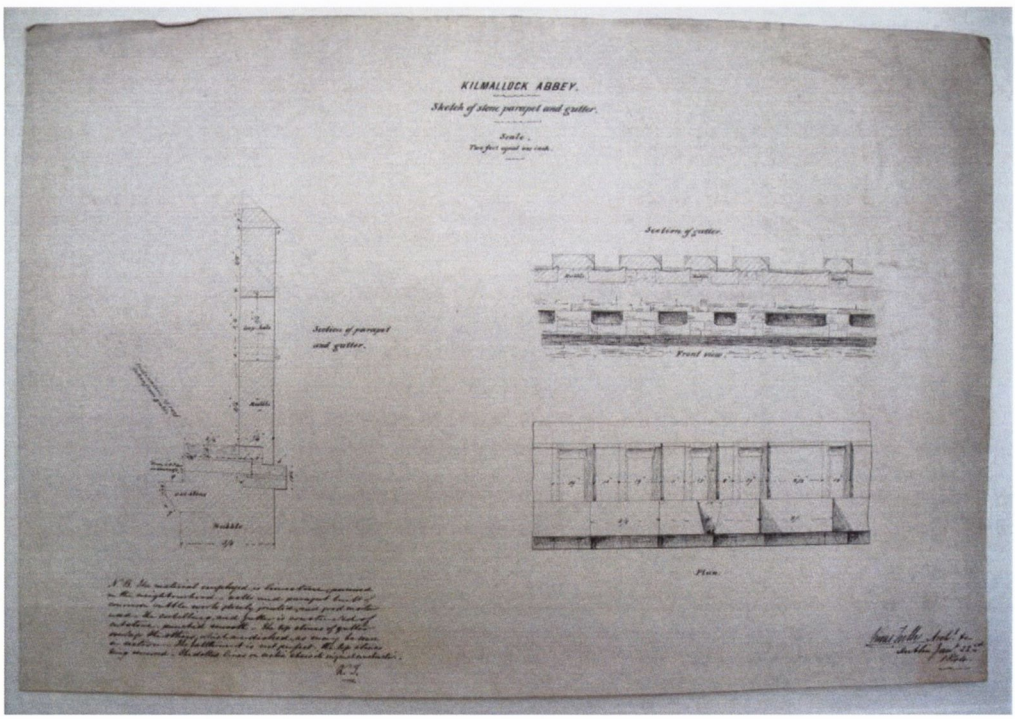


Fig. 3.10 Details, Kilmallock Abbey, George Wilkinson Collection 1842 – 1849,
National Library of Ireland, Prints and Drawings, AD 3588

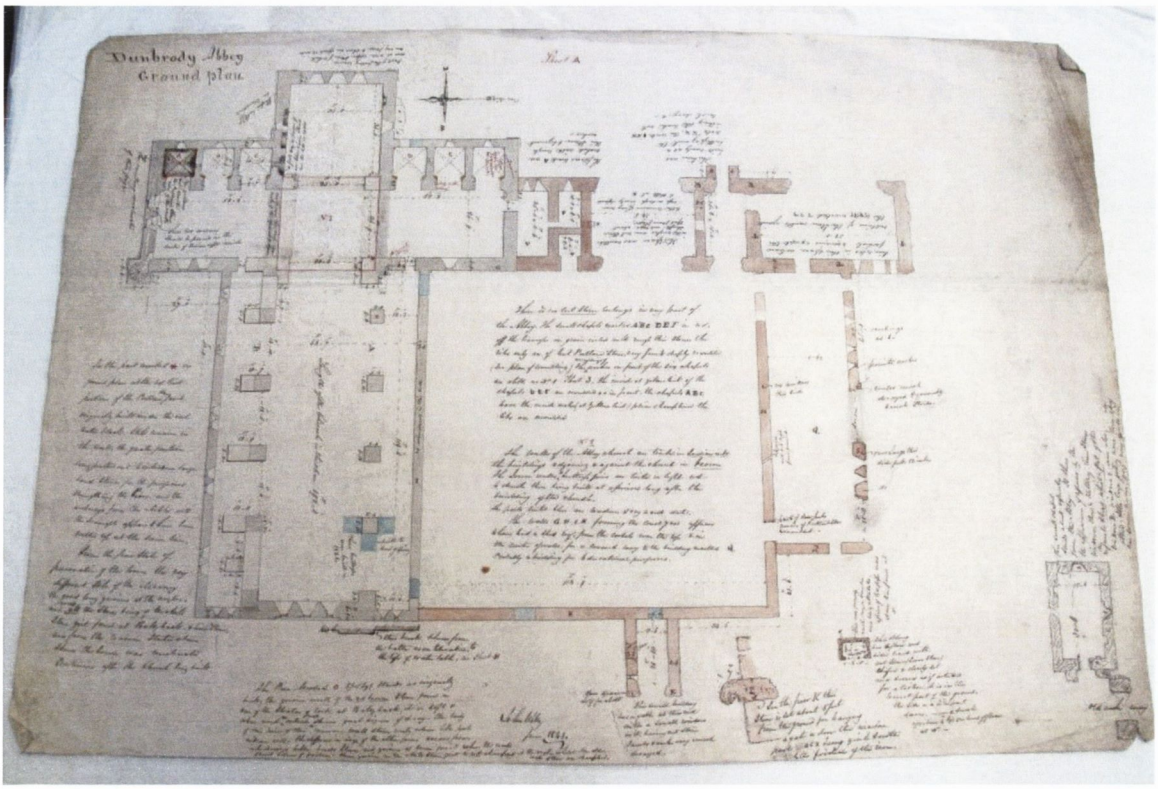


Fig. 3.11 Plan of Dunbrody Abbey, George Wilkinson Collection 1842 – 1849, National Library of Ireland, Prints and Drawings, AD 3588

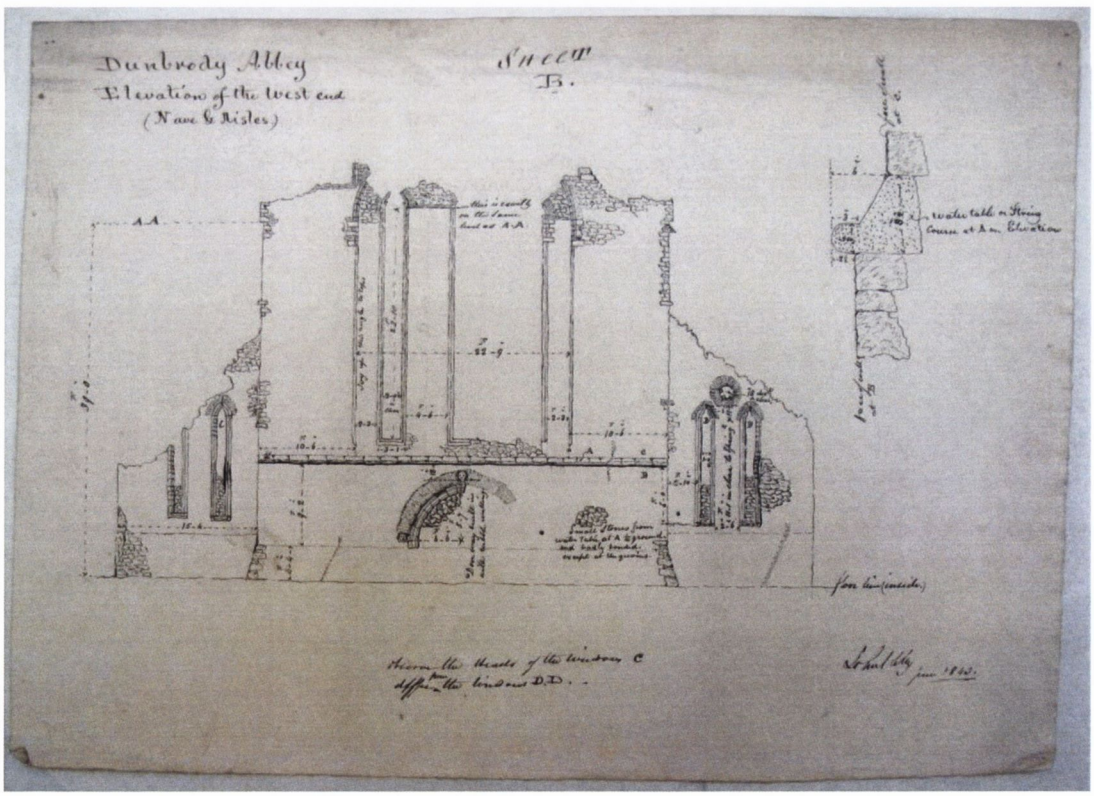


Fig. 3.12 Section of Dunbrody Abbey, George Wilkinson Collection 1842 – 1849, National Library of Ireland, Prints and Drawings, AD 3588

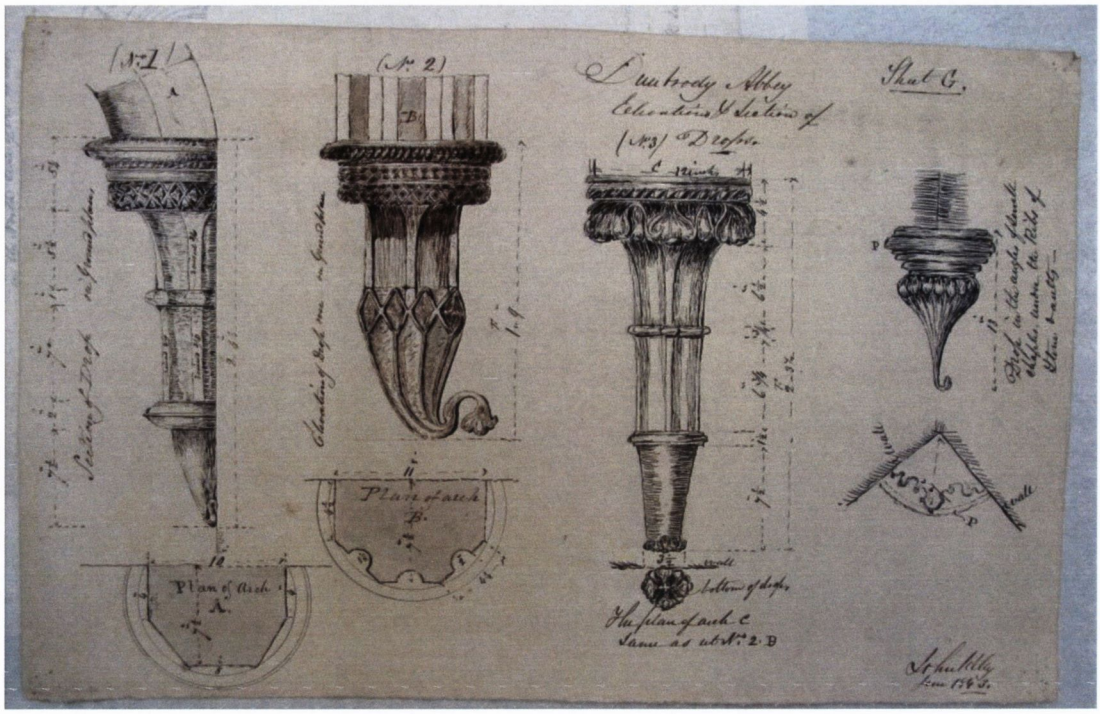


Fig. 3.13 Details, Dunbrody Abbey, George Wilkinson Collection 1842 – 1849, National Library of Ireland, Prints and Drawings, AD 3588

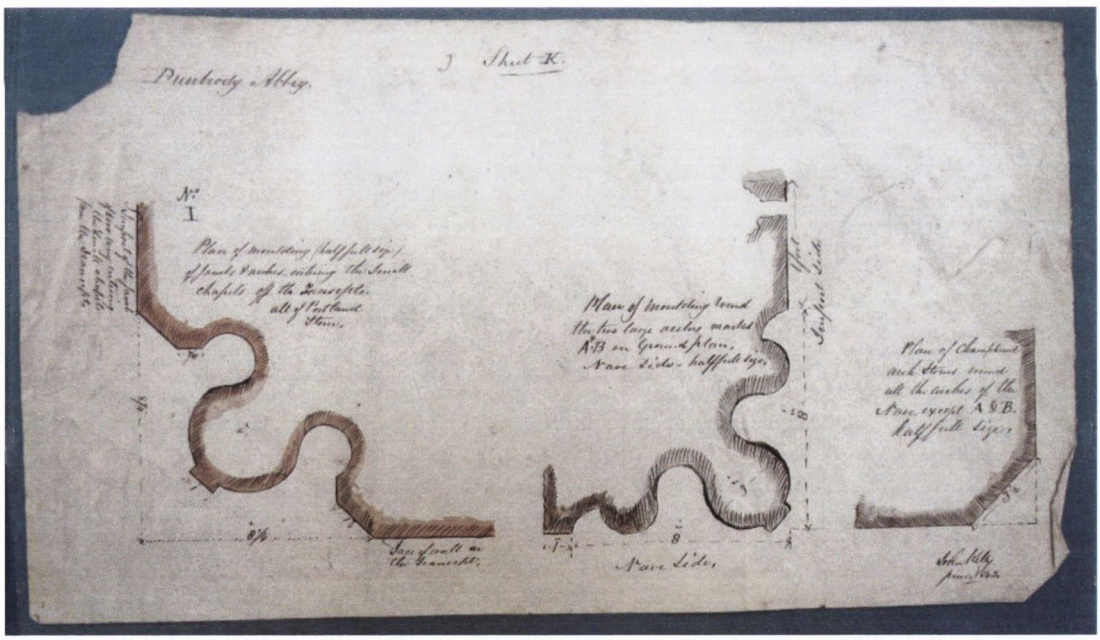


Fig. 3.14 Moulding profiles, Dunbrody Abbey, George Wilkinson Collection 1842 – 1849, National Library of Ireland, Prints and Drawings, AD 3588

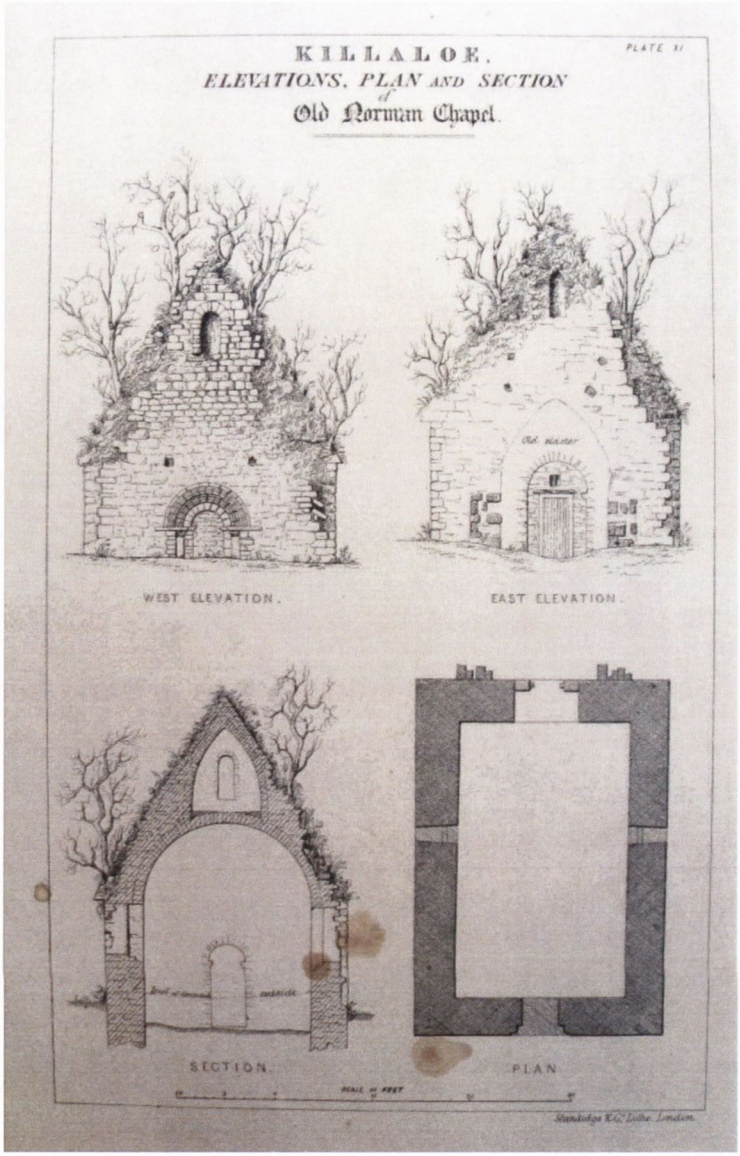
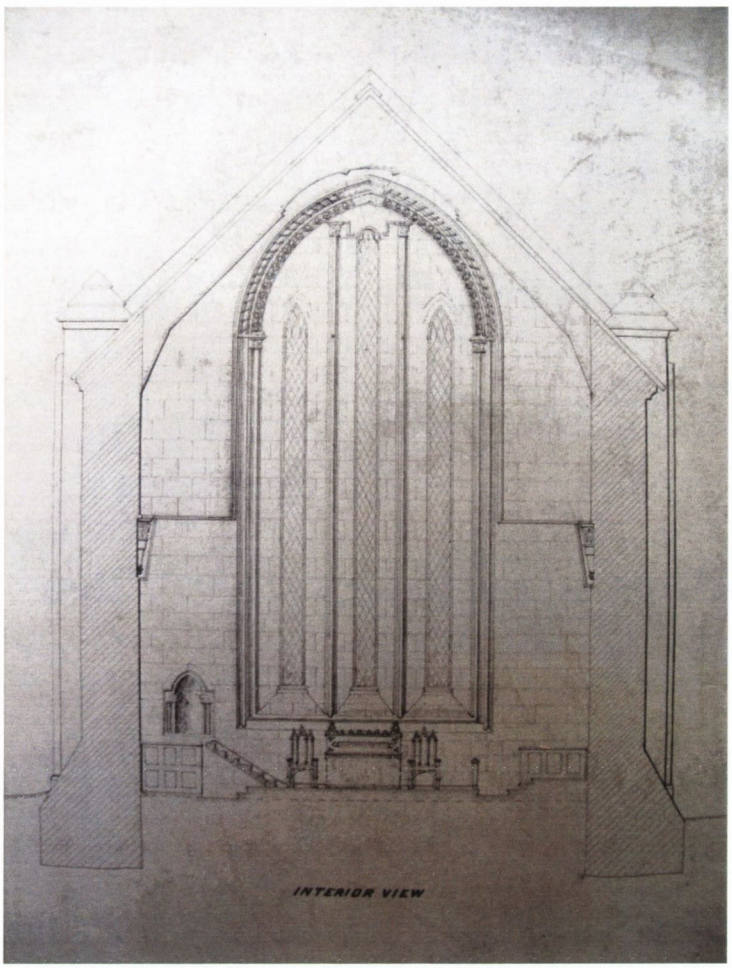


Fig. 3.15 Elevations, Section and Plan of St. Flannan's Oratory, Killaloe, George Wilkinson Collection 1842 – 1849,
National Library of Ireland, Prints and Drawings, AD 3588



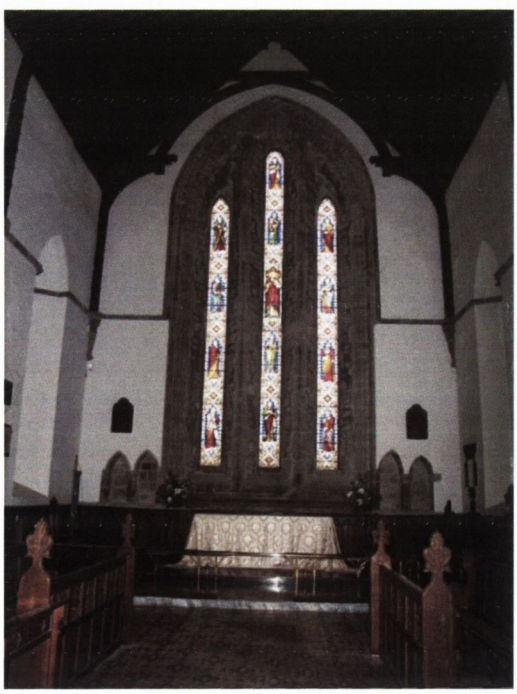


Fig. 3.16 (a & b): a) East window, St. Flannan's Cathedral, Killaloe, George Wilkinson Collection 1842 – 1849, National Library of Ireland, Prints and Drawings, AD 3588
b) East window, St. Flannan's Cathedral, Killaloe, own photograph

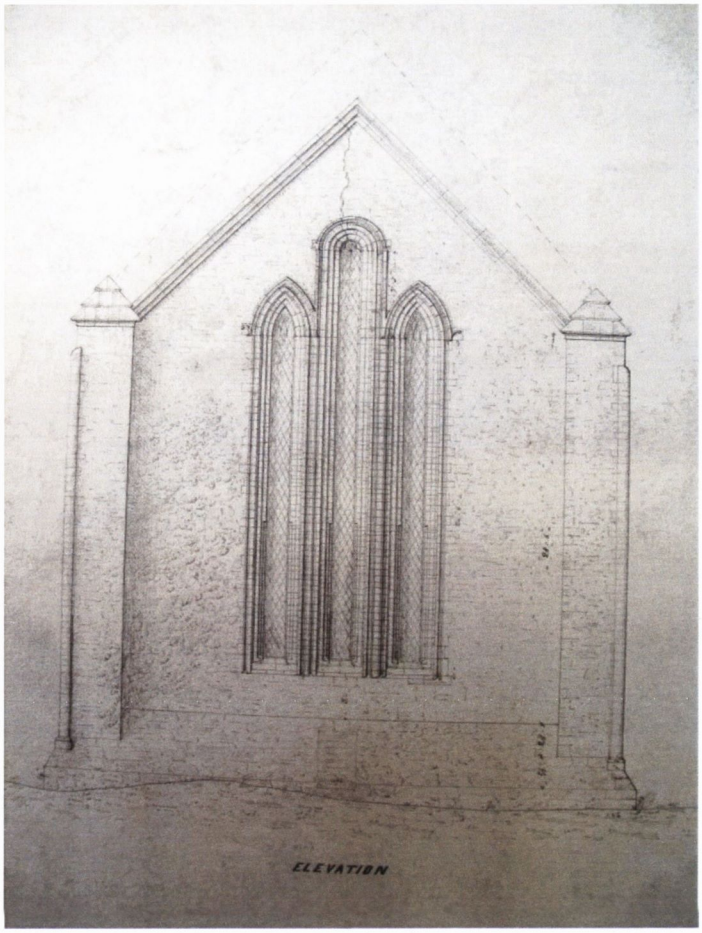
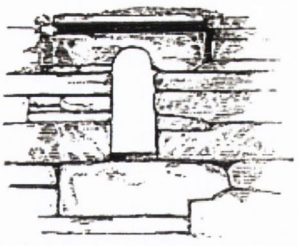


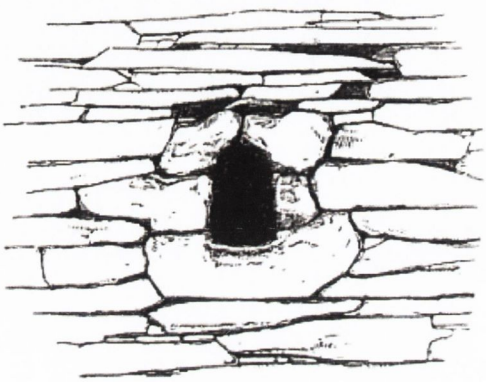


Fig. 3.17 (a&b) a) Eastern elevation, St. Flannan's Cathedral, Killaloe, George Wilkinson Collection 1842 – 1849, National Library of Ireland, Prints and Drawings, AD 3588
b) Eastern elevation, St. Flannan's Cathedral, Killaloe, own photograph

the windows; while, on the other hand, the pointed head formed by the meeting of two right lines, which is so rare, if not unknown, in the most ancient doorways, is of very frequent occurrence. I may observe also, that the horizontal-headed window and the triangular-headed one, are usually found in the south wall of the chancel, and very rarely in the east wall, which usually contains a semicircular-headed window, the arch of which is often cut out of a single stone,



as in the annexed example in the church of the Trinity, at Glendalough. In many instances the head is also formed of two stones, as in the following example in the east window of the oratory at Gallerus, built without cement:



In some of the most ancient churches examples may also be found of windows in which the arch is formed externally, as in the doorways, of

Fig. 3.18, Eastern window of Gallarus Oratory, illustrated in George Petrie, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland anterior to the Anglo-Norman Invasion*, 182



Fig. 3.19 'S. Doulough', John Louis Petit, *On the Abbeys of Ireland: Read at the Ordinary General Meeting of the Royal Institute of British Architects, March 23, 1863* (n.p., n.d.)

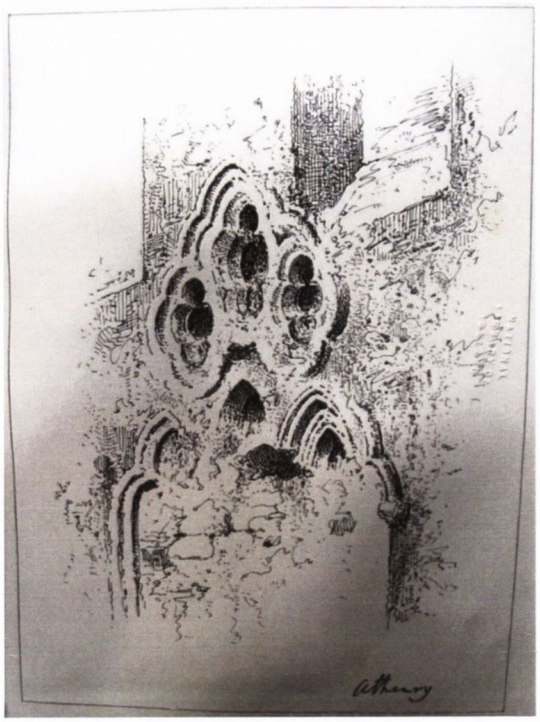
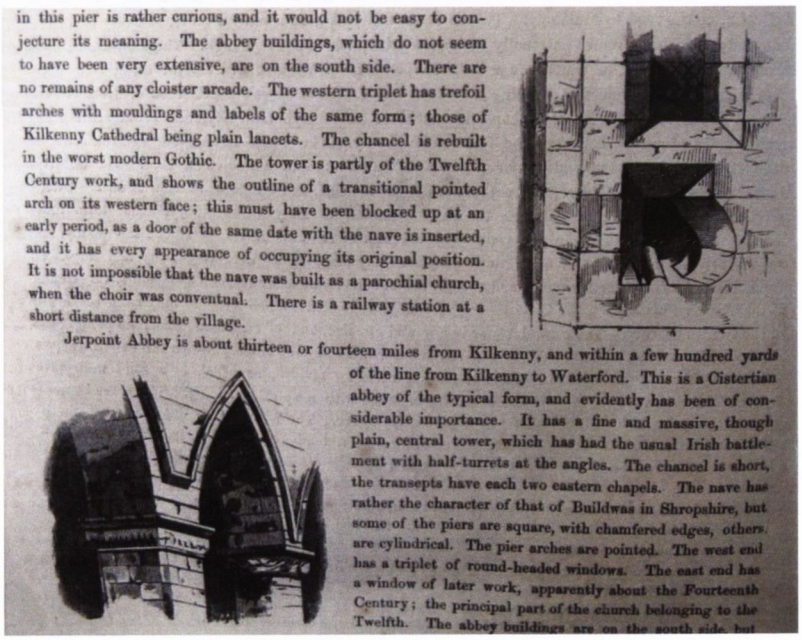


Fig. 3.20 Detail of Athenry Abbey, John Louis Petit, *On the Abbeys of Ireland: Read at the Ordinary General Meeting of the Royal Institute of British Architects, March 23, 1863* (n.p., n.d.)



in this pier is rather curious, and it would not be easy to conjecture its meaning. The abbey buildings, which do not seem to have been very extensive, are on the south side. There are no remains of any cloister arcade. The western triplet has trefoil arches with mouldings and labels of the same form; those of Kilkenny Cathedral being plain lancets. The chancel is rebuilt in the worst modern Gothic. The tower is partly of the Twelfth Century work, and shows the outline of a transitional pointed arch on its western face; this must have been blocked up at an early period, as a door of the same date with the nave is inserted, and it has every appearance of occupying its original position. It is not impossible that the nave was built as a parochial church, when the choir was conventual. There is a railway station at a short distance from the village.

Jerpoint Abbey is about thirteen or fourteen miles from Kilkenny, and within a few hundred yards of the line from Kilkenny to Waterford. This is a Cistertian abbey of the typical form, and evidently has been of considerable importance. It has a fine and massive, though plain, central tower, which has had the usual Irish battlement with half-turrets at the angles. The chancel is short, the transepts have each two eastern chapels. The nave has rather the character of that of Buildwas in Shropshire, but some of the piers are square, with chamfered edges, others are cylindrical. The pier arches are pointed. The west end has a triplet of round-headed windows. The east end has a window of later work, apparently about the Fourteenth Century; the principal part of the church belonging to the Twelfth. The abbey buildings are on the south side, but

Fig. 3.21 Detail from text, John Louis Petit, *On the Abbeys of Ireland: Read at the Ordinary General Meeting of the Royal Institute of British Architects, March 23, 1863* (n.p., n.d.)



Fig. 3.22 Jerpoint Abbey, John Louis Petit, *On the Abbeys of Ireland: Read at the Ordinary General Meeting of the Royal Institute of British Architects, March 23, 1863* (n.p., n.d.)



Fig. 3.23 Clonmines, John Louis Petit, *On the Abbeys of Ireland: Read at the Ordinary General Meeting of the Royal Institute of British Architects, March 23, 1863* (n.p., n.d.)



Fig. 3.24 Boyle Abbey, John Louis Petit, *On the Abbeys of Ireland: Read at the Ordinary General Meeting of the Royal Institute of British Architects, March 23, 1863* (n.p., n.d.)

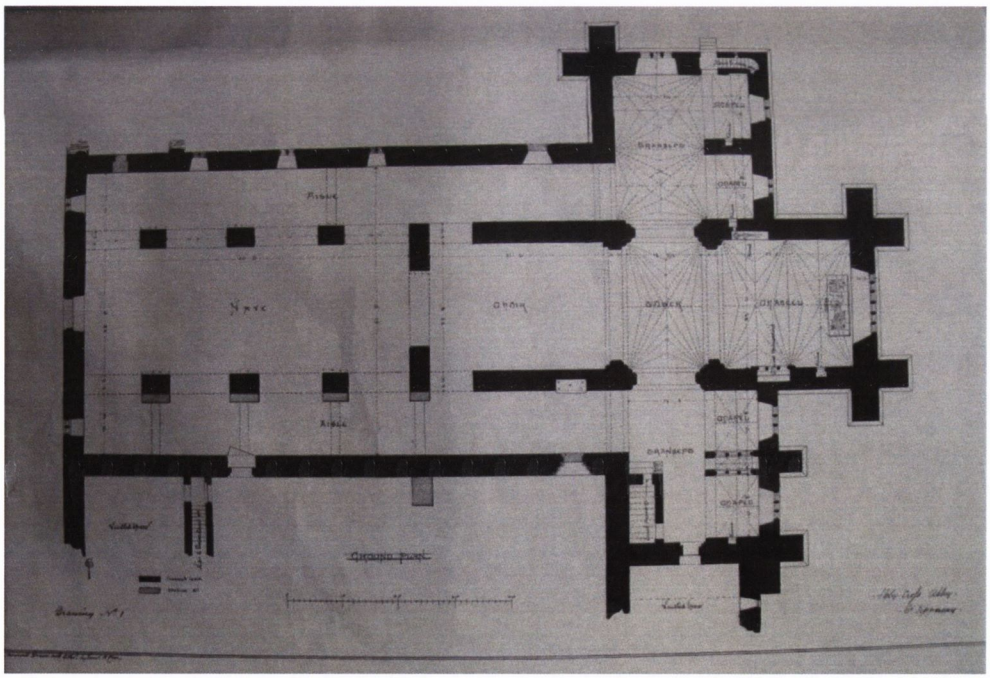


Fig. 3.25 Ground Plan, Holy Cross Abbey, Samuel Patrick Close, *Holy Cross Abbey, Co. Tipperary: A Series of Measured Drawings of the Church; with descriptive letterpress*, (Belfast: Marcus Ward & Co., 1868)

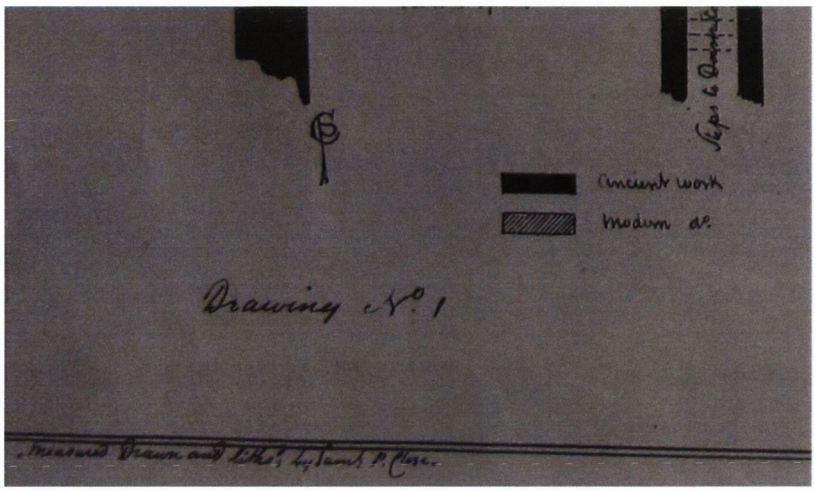


Fig. 3.26 Code indicating different stages of intervention in the abbey, Samuel Patrick Close, *Holy Cross Abbey, Co. Tipperary: A Series of Measured Drawings of the Church; with descriptive letterpress*, (Belfast: Marcus Ward & Co., 1868)

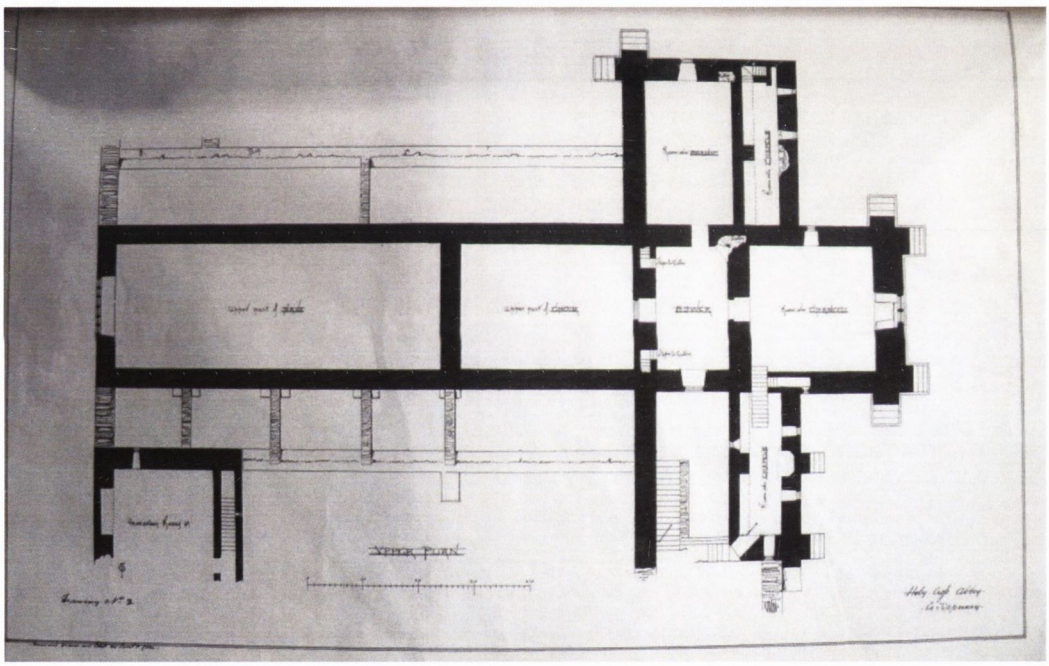


Fig. 3.27 'Upper Plan', Samuel Patrick Close, *Holy Cross Abbey, Co. Tipperary: A Series of Measured Drawings of the Church; with descriptive letterpress*, (Belfast: Marcus Ward & Co., 1868)

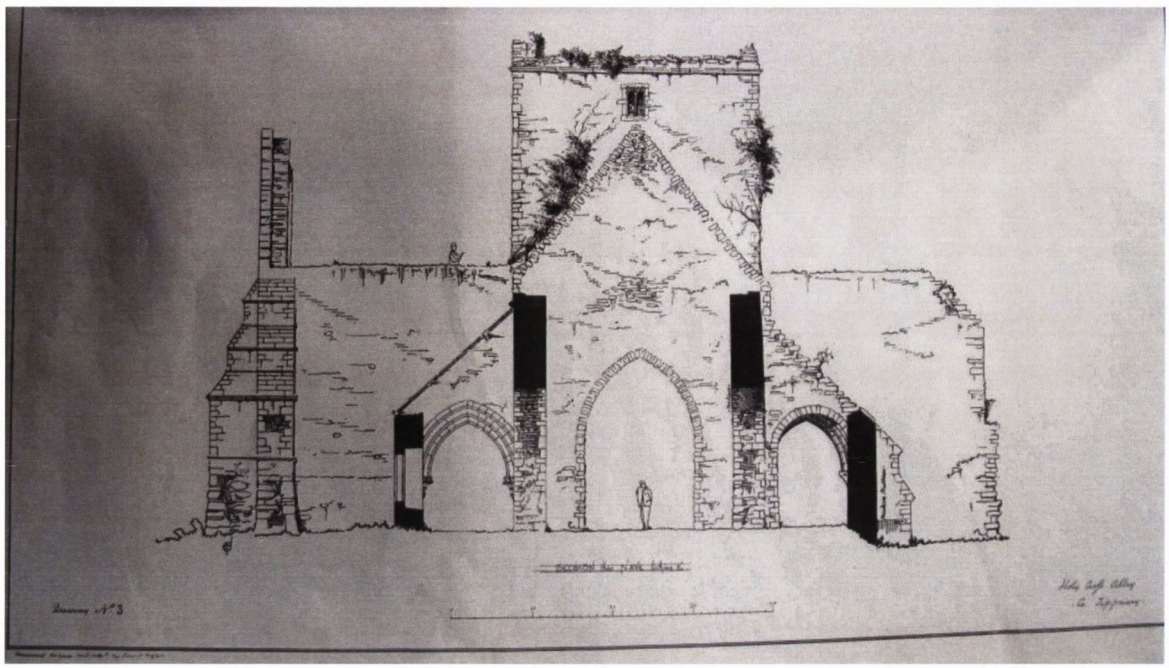


Fig. 3.28 Section of nave, Samuel Patrick Close, *Holy Cross Abbey, Co. Tipperary: A Series of Measured Drawings of the Church; with descriptive letterpress*, (Belfast: Marcus Ward & Co., 1868)

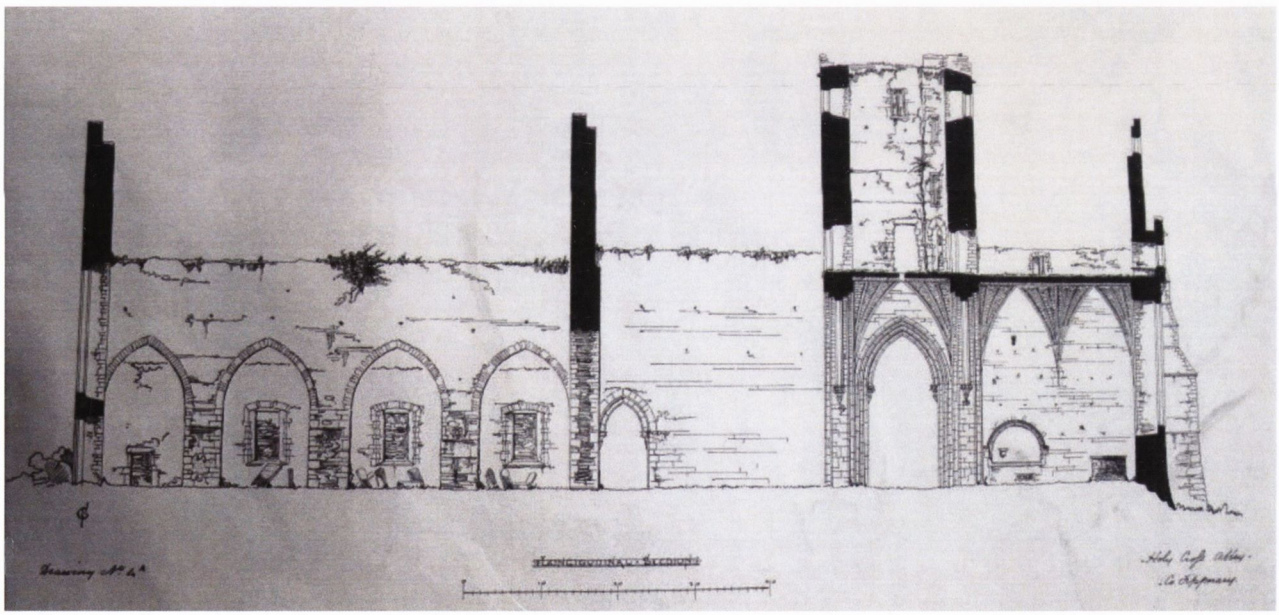


Fig. 3.29 N-S section, Samuel Patrick Close, *Holy Cross Abbey, Co. Tipperary: A Series of Measured Drawings of the Church; with descriptive letterpress*, (Belfast: Marcus Ward & Co., 1868)

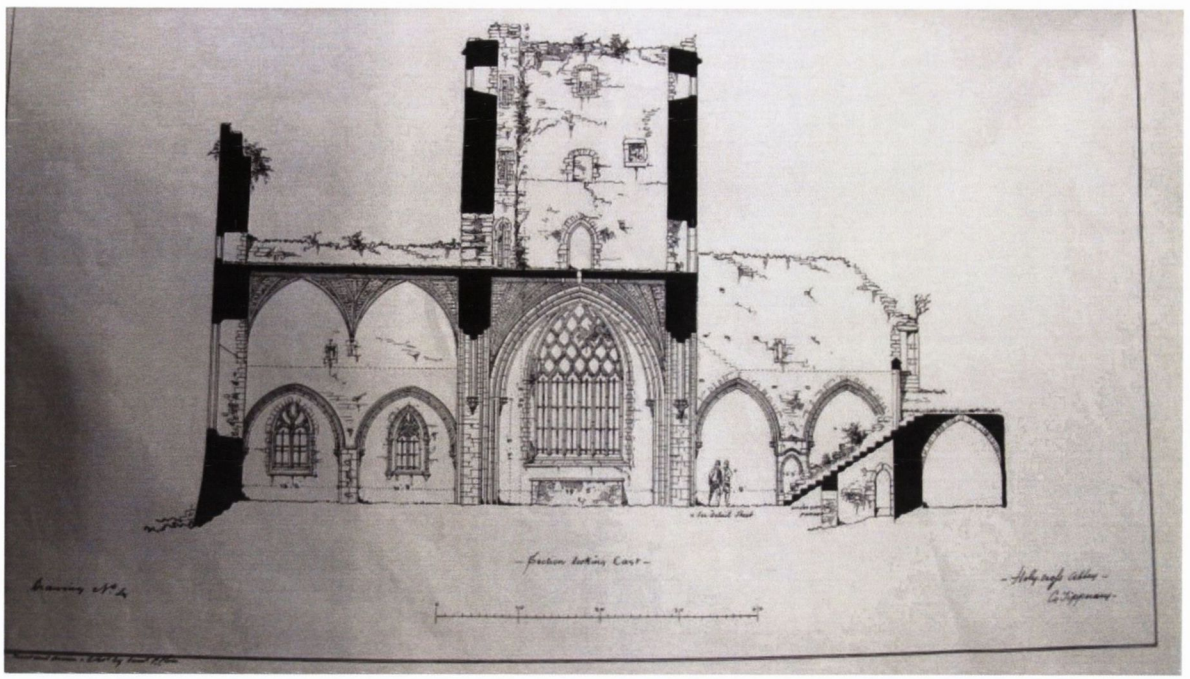


Fig. 3.30 Section of the nave looking east, Samuel Patrick Close, *Holy Cross Abbey, Co. Tipperary: A Series of Measured Drawings of the Church; with descriptive letterpress*, (Belfast: Marcus Ward & Co., 1868)

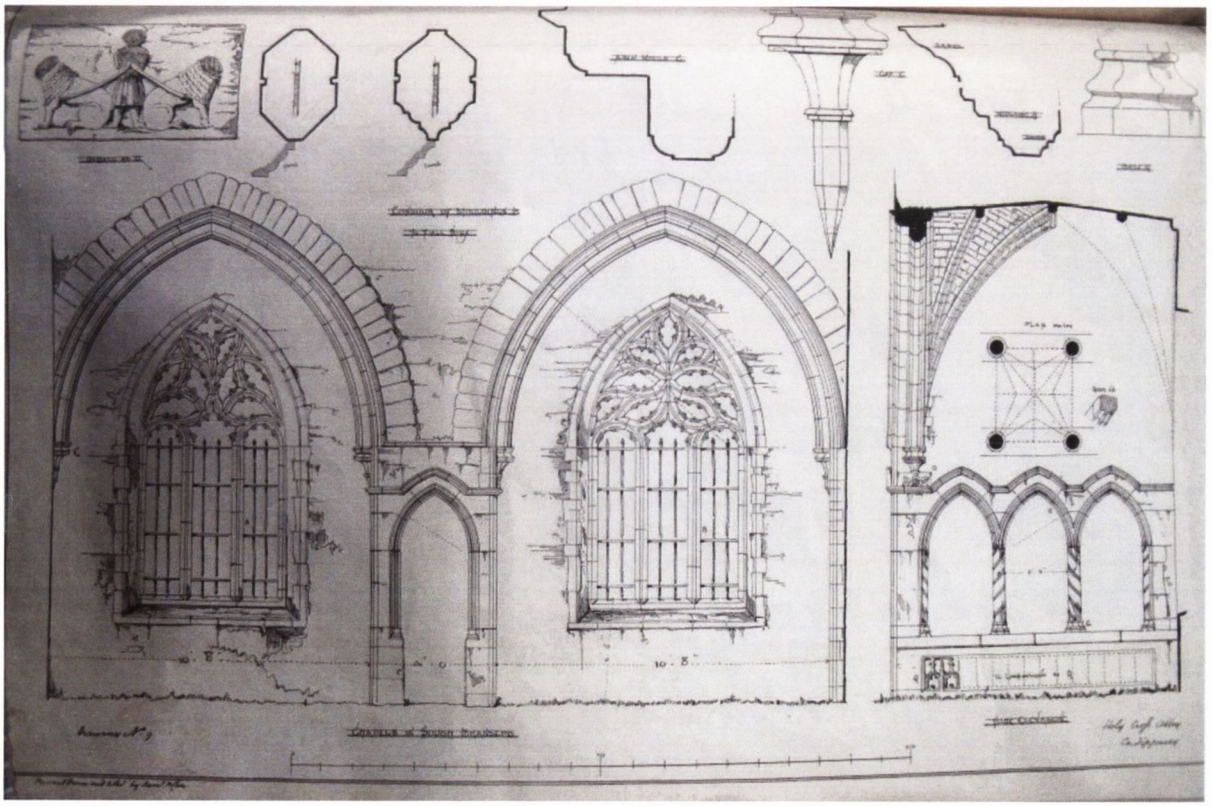


Fig. 3.31 Details of Abbey, Samuel Patrick Close, *Holy Cross Abbey, Co. Tipperary: A Series of Measured Drawings of the Church; with descriptive letterpress*, (Belfast: Marcus Ward & Co., 1868)



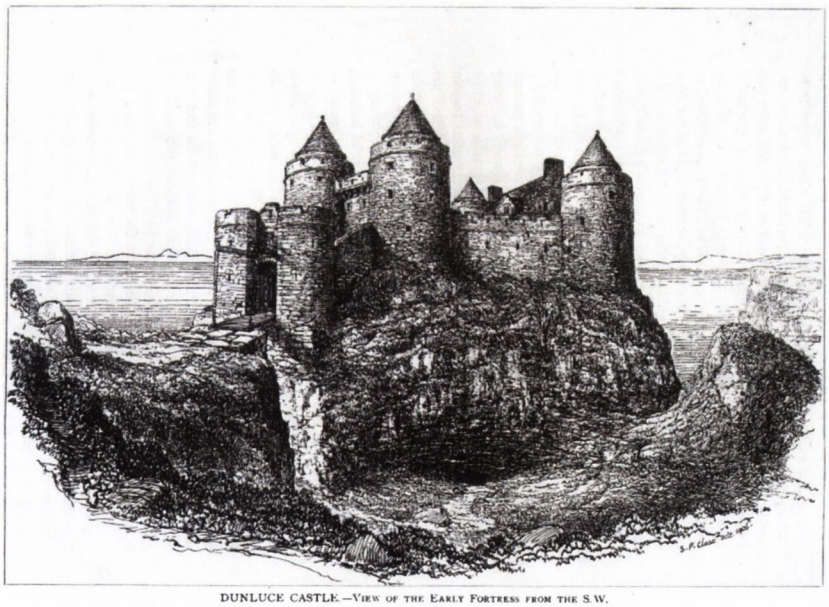
Fig. 3.32 SW View, showing former position of cloister, Samuel Patrick Close, *Holy Cross Abbey, Co. Tipperary: A Series of Measured Drawings of the Church; with descriptive letterpress*, (Belfast: Marcus Ward & Co., 1868)



Fig. 3.33 'Waking Chapel', Samuel Patrick Close, *Holy Cross Abbey, Co. Tipperary: A Series of Measured Drawings of the Church; with descriptive letterpress*, (Belfast: Marcus Ward & Co., 1868)



Fig. 3.34 SE View of Abbey, Samuel Patrick Close, *Holy Cross Abbey, Co. Tipperary: A Series of Measured Drawings of the Church; with descriptive letterpress*, (Belfast: Marcus Ward & Co., 1868)



DUNLUCE CASTLE.—VIEW OF THE EARLY FORTRESS FROM THE S.W.

Fig. 3.35 Dunluce Castle drawn by Samuel Patrick Close, W. H. Lynn, 'Notes on the Ruins of Dunluce Castle, County of Antrim, with Explanation of a Reconstructed Plan of the Earlier Fortress', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, Second Series, 11, no. 3 (1905)

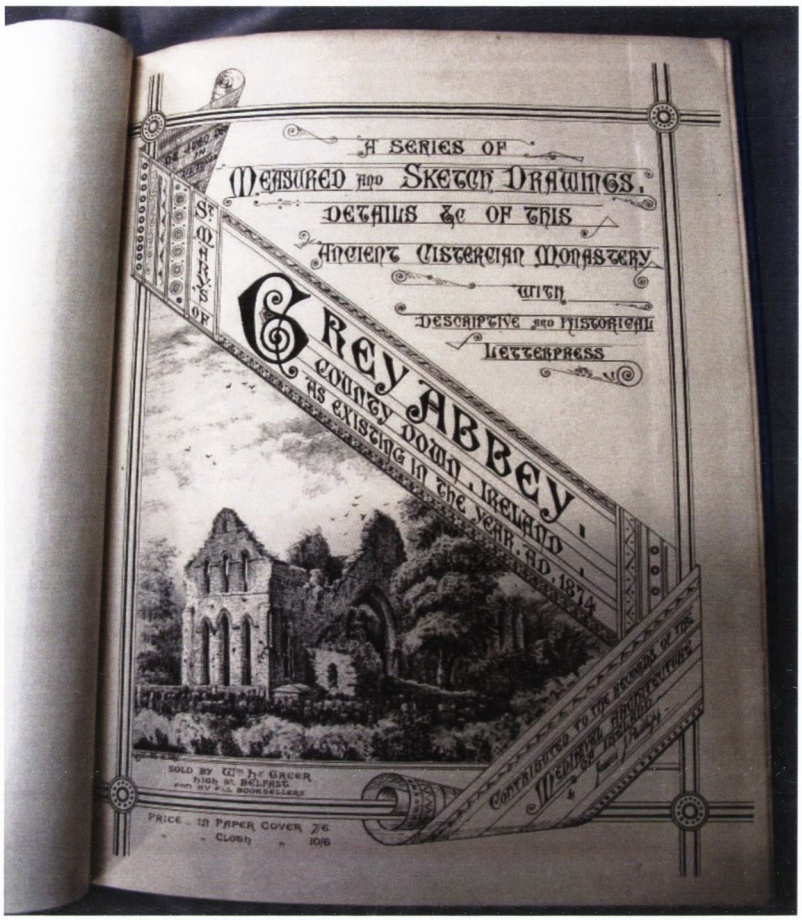


Fig. 3.36 Title page of J.J. Phillips' volume on Grey Abbey, Co. Down, J.J. Phillips, *St. Mary's of Grey-Abbey, Co. Down, as existing in the year AD 1874*, (Belfast: published by the author, 6 Castleton Street, Belfast, 1874)

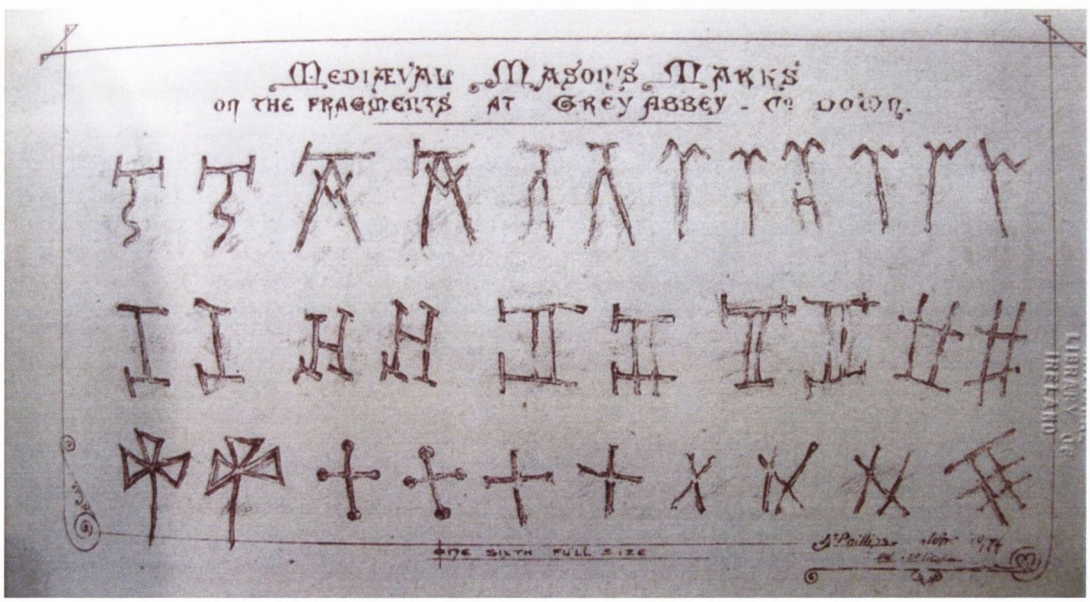


Fig. 3.37 Mason's Marks at Grey Abbey, Co. Down, J.J. Phillips, *St. Mary's of Grey-Abbey, Co. Down, as existing in the year AD 1874*, (Belfast: published by the author, 6 Castleton Street, Belfast, 1874)



Fig. 3.38 Episcopal seal found at Grey Abbey, J.J. Phillips, *St. Mary's of Grey-Abbey, Co. Down, as existing in the year AD 1874*, (Belfast: published by the author, 6 Castleton Street, Belfast, 1874)

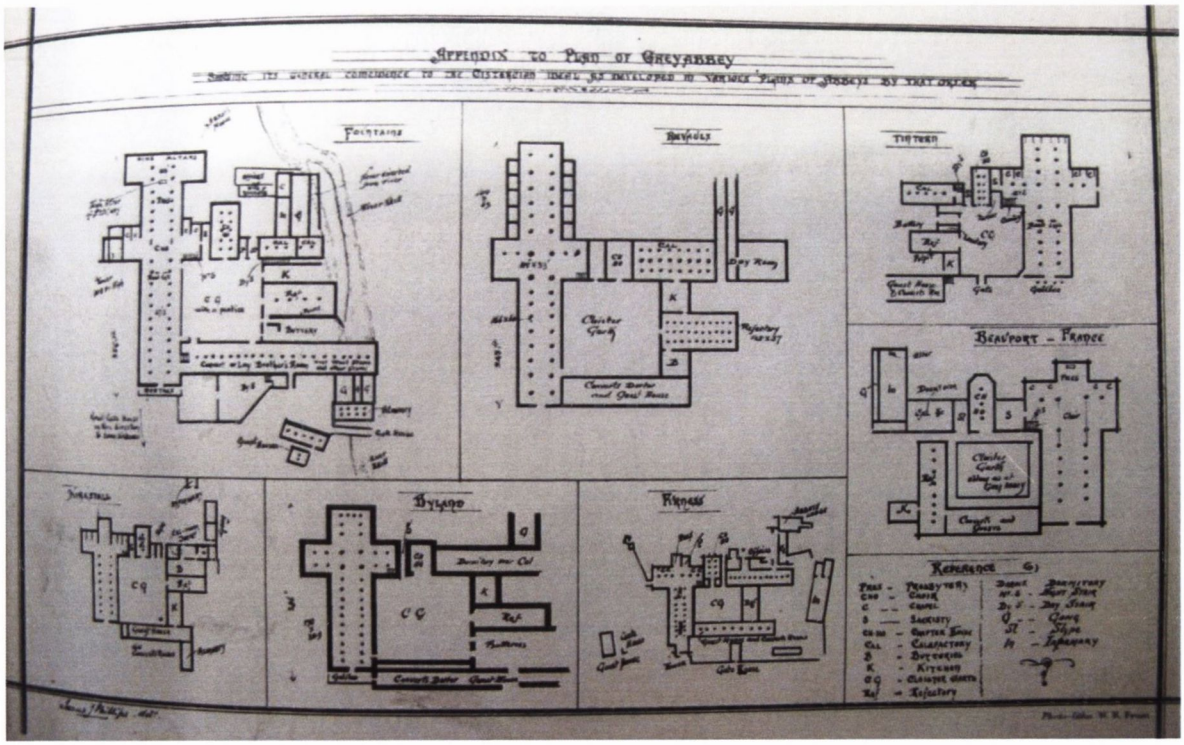


Fig. 3.39 Plans of major Cistercian foundations in England and France, J.J. Phillips, *St. Mary's of Grey-Abbey, Co. Down, as existing in the year AD 1874*, (Belfast: published by the author, 6 Castleton Street, Belfast, 1874)

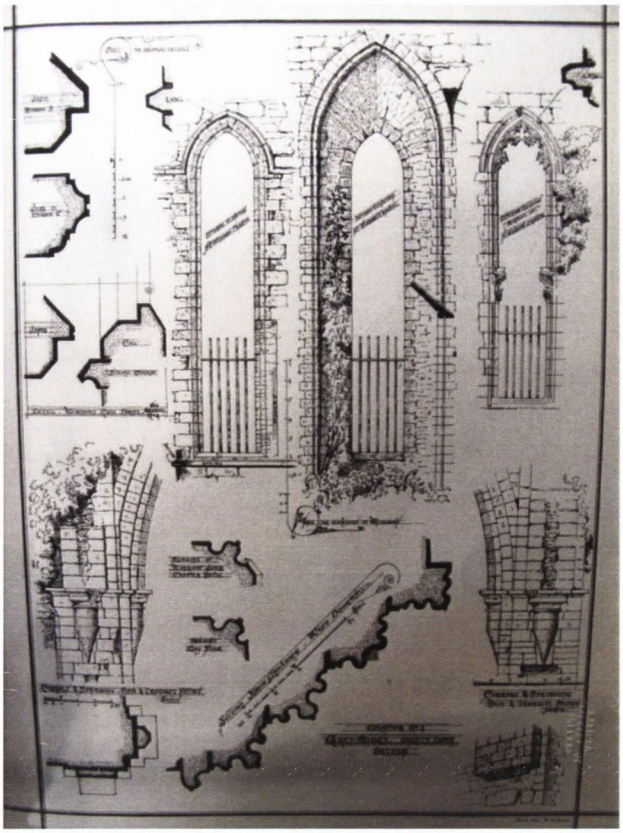


Fig. 3.40 Illustrations of architectural details, J.J. Phillips, *St. Mary's of Grey-Abbey, Co. Down, as existing in the year AD 1874*, (Belfast: published by the author, 6 Castleton Street, Belfast, 1874)

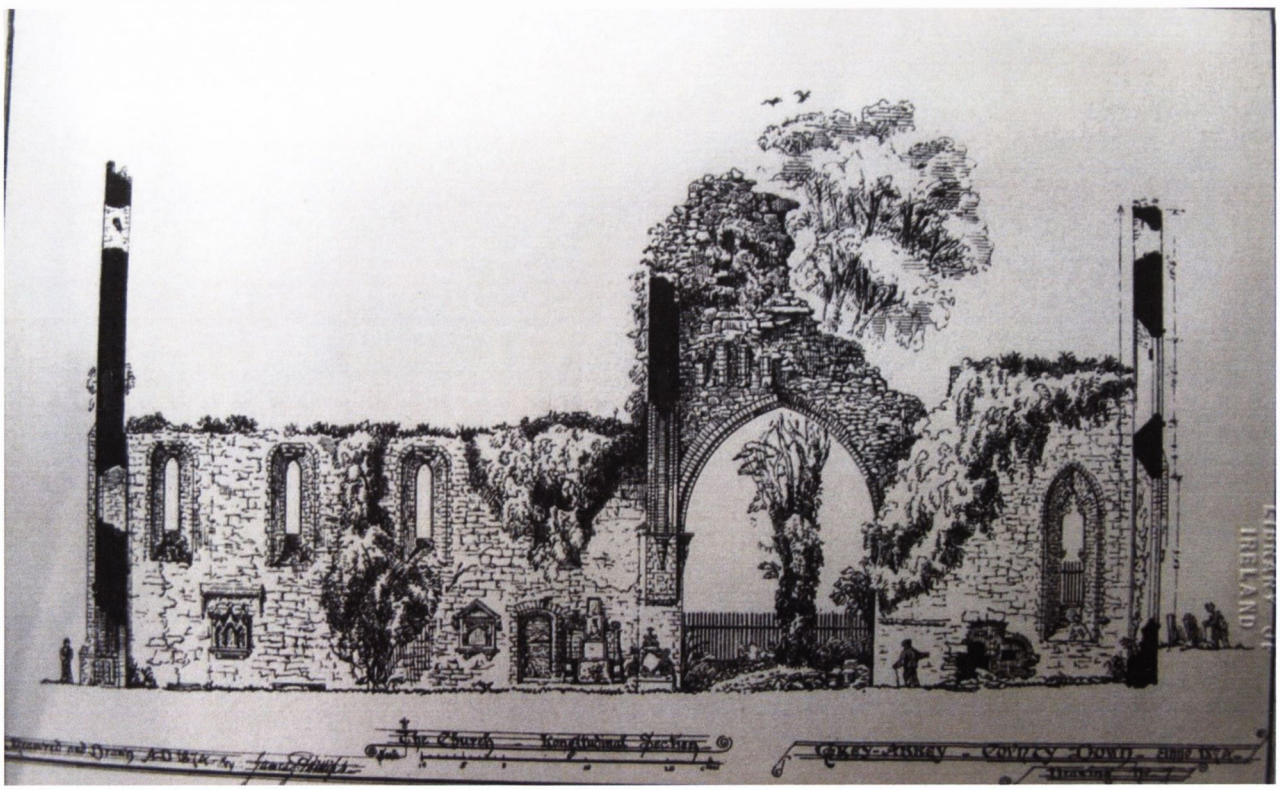


Fig. 3.41 Section, J.J. Phillips, *St. Mary's of Grey-Abbey, Co. Down, as existing in the year AD 1874*, (Belfast: published by the author, 6 Castleton Street, Belfast, 1874)



Fig. 3.42 View of Abbey, J.J. Phillips, *St. Mary's of Grey-Abbey, Co. Down, as existing in the year AD 1874*, (Belfast: published by the author, 6 Castleton Street, Belfast, 1874)

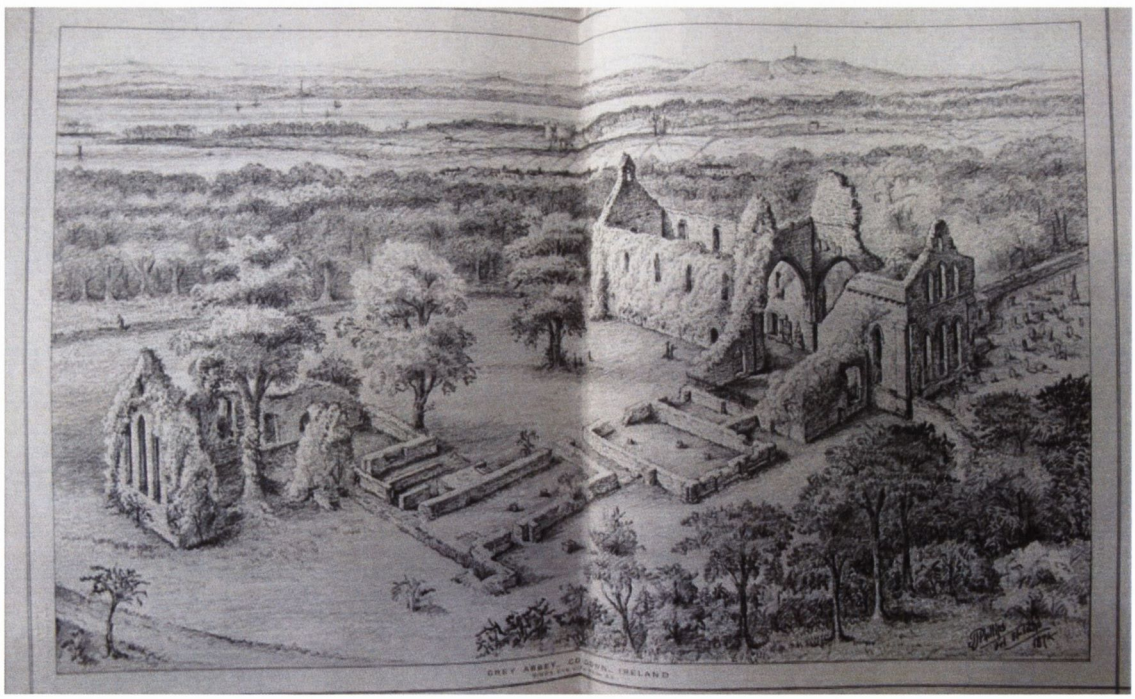


Fig. 3.43 Birds-eye view of Abbey, J.J. Phillips, *St. Mary's of Grey-Abbey, Co. Down, as existing in the year AD 1874*, (Belfast: published by the author, 6 Castleton Street, Belfast, 1874)

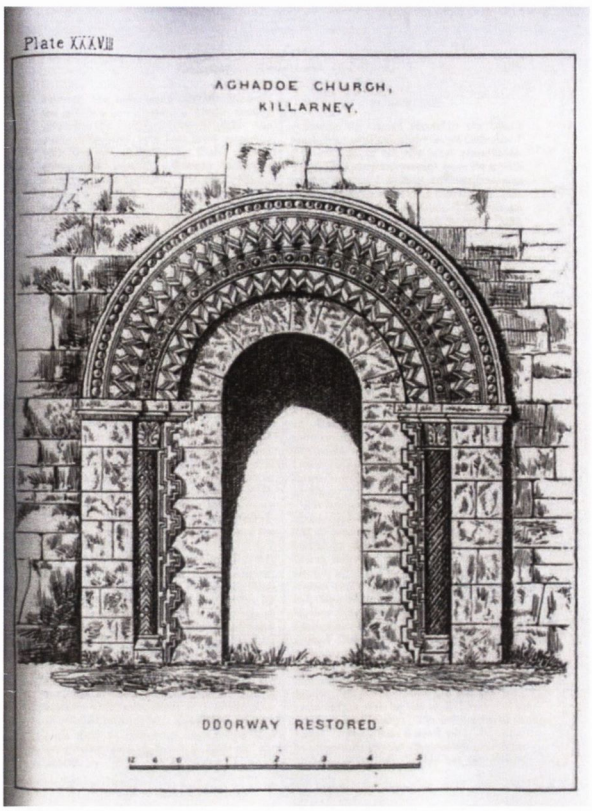


Fig. 3.44 Illustration of Aghadoe Church, Killarney, Co. Kerry from Brash, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland, To the Close of the Twelfth Century*, Plate XXXVIII

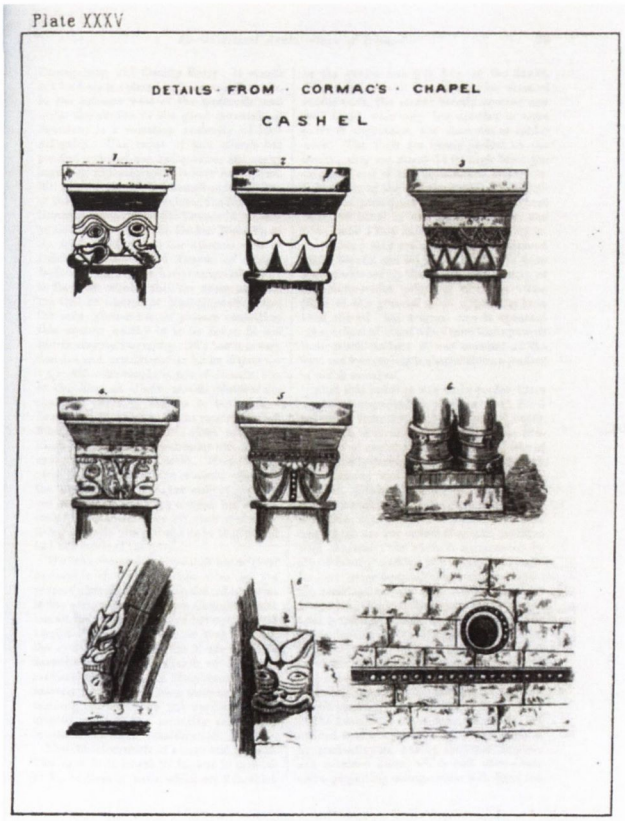


Fig. 3.45 Details from Cormac's Chapel, Cashel, from Brash, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland,* Plate XXXV



Fig. 3.46 Western façade of Monasternenagh, Limerick, own photograph.



Fig. 3.47 Northern nave arcade, Monasternenagh, Limerick, own photograph.

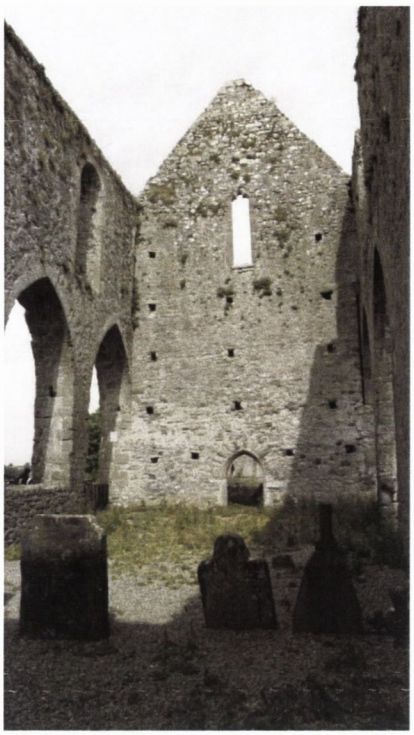


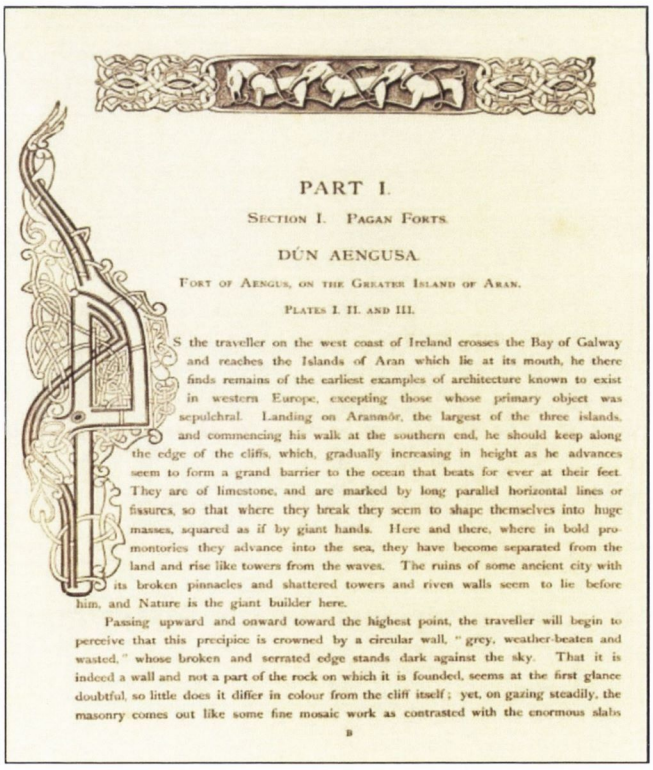
Fig. 3.48 Dividing wall with small pointed doorway and narrow window, Monasternenagh, own photograph.



Fig. 3.49 Stonework at northern side of crossing, Monasternenagh, Limerick, own photograph.



Fig. 3.50 Lavabo, Mellifont Abbey, Co. Louth, own photograph.



PART I.

SECTION I. PAGAN FORTS.

DÚN AENGUSA.

FORT OF AENGUS, ON THE GREATER ISLAND OF ARAN.

PLATES I. II. AND III.

S the traveller on the west coast of Ireland crosses the Bay of Galway and reaches the Islands of Aran which lie at its mouth, he there finds remains of the earliest examples of architecture known to exist in western Europe, excepting those whose primary object was sepulchral. Landing on Aranmôr, the largest of the three islands, and commencing his walk at the southern end, he should keep along the edge of the cliffs, which, gradually increasing in height as he advances seem to form a grand barrier to the ocean that beats for ever at their feet. They are of limestone, and are marked by long parallel horizontal lines or fissures, so that where they break they seem to shape themselves into huge masses, squared as if by giant hands. Here and there, where in bold promontories they advance into the sea, they have become separated from the land and rise like towers from the waves. The ruins of some ancient city with its broken pinnacles and shattered towers and riven walls seem to lie before him, and Nature is the giant builder here.

Passing upward and onward toward the highest point, the traveller will begin to perceive that this precipice is crowned by a circular wall, "grey, weather-beaten and wasted," whose broken and serrated edge stands dark against the sky. That it is indeed a wall and not a part of the rock on which it is founded, seems at the first glance doubtful, so little does it differ in colour from the cliff itself; yet, on gazing steadily, the masonry comes out like some fine mosaic work as contrasted with the enormous slabs

B

Fig. 3.51 Image of a page from Dunraven, Stokes, *Notes on Irish Architecture*, Published 1875

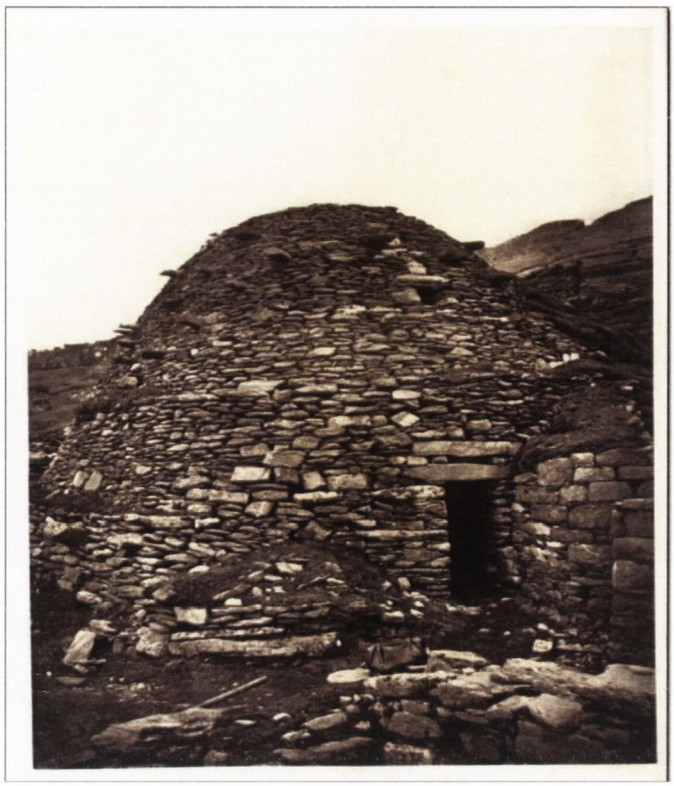


Fig. 3.52 Image of St. Michael's Rock (the greater Skellig), Co. Kerry, Dunraven, Stokes, *Notes on Irish Architecture*, Published 1875



Fig. 3.53 Image of Temple Church, Glendalough, Chancel Arch, Co. Kerry, Dunraven, Stokes, *Notes on Irish Architecture*, Published 1875

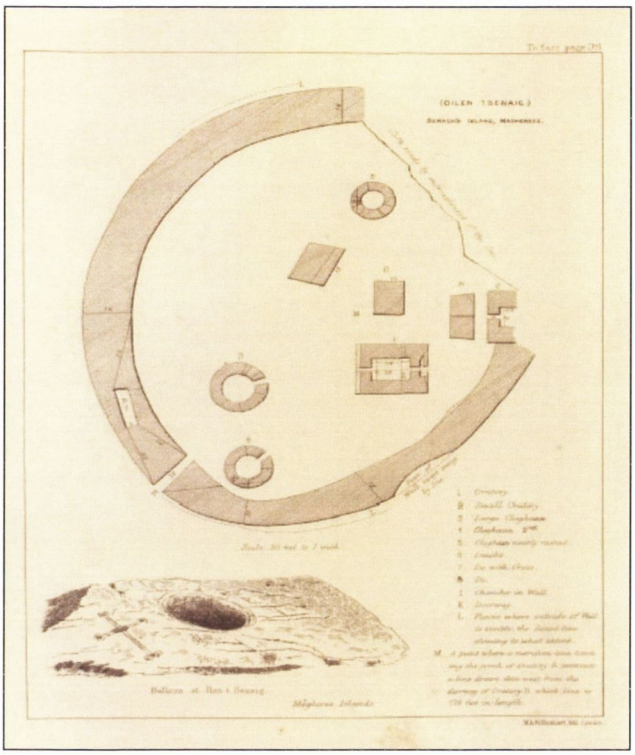
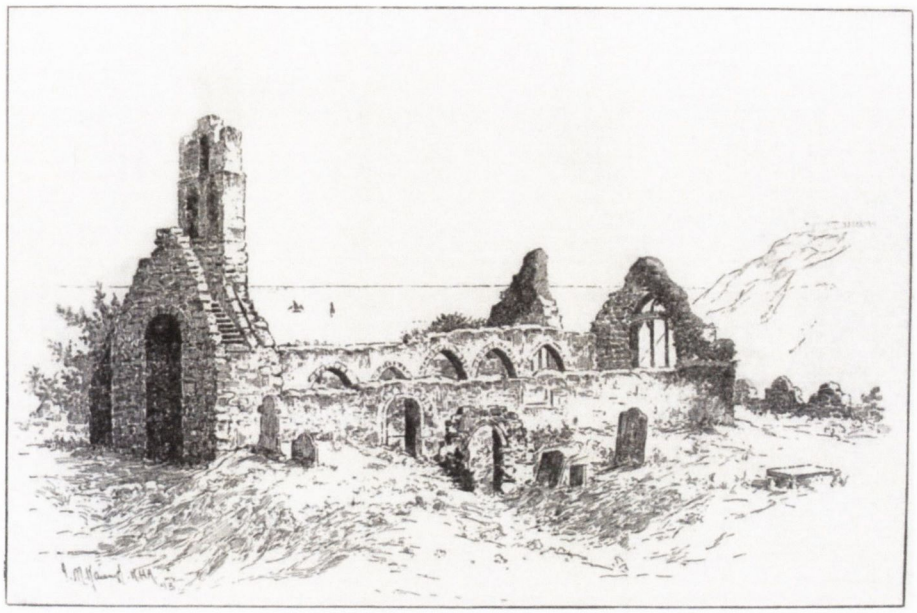


Fig. 3.54 Ground Plan of Monastery on Senach's Island (the Magherees), Dunraven, Stokes, *Notes on Irish Architecture*, Published 1875

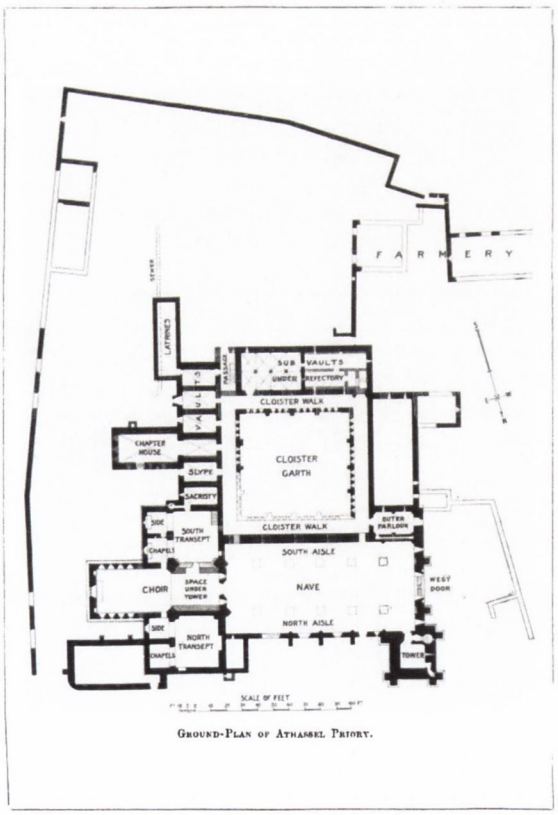
Images Chapter 4



South-west View of St. Mary's Church, Howth.
(From a drawing by J. M. Kavanagh, R.H.A.)

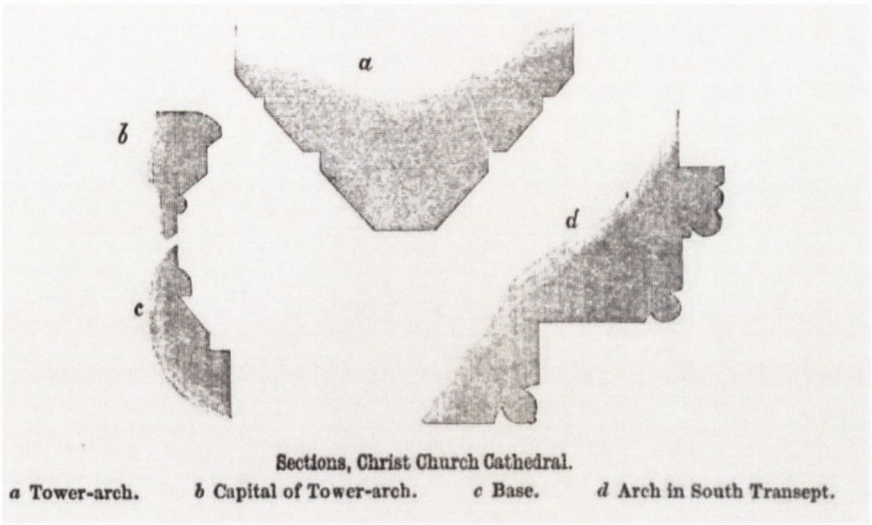
J.A.I., VOL. VI., 5TH SER. [p. 1.]

4.1 South-West View of St. Mary's Church, Howth, illustration from Robert Cochrane, 'Notes on the Ecclesiastical Antiquities in the Parish of Howth, County of Dublin', *JRSAI*, Fifth Series, 3, no. 4 (Dec. 1893)



Ground-Plan of Athassel Priory.

4.2 Plan of Athassel Priory, illustrating Robert Cochrane, 'Notes on the Augustinian Priory of Athassel, County Tipperary', *JRSAI*, Fifth Series, 39, no. 3, September 30, 1909

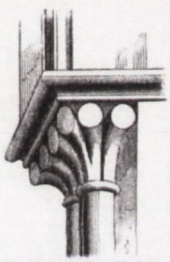


Sections, Christ Church Cathedral.

a Tower-arch. *b* Capital of Tower-arch. *c* Base. *d* Arch in South Transept.

4.3 Sections, Christ Church Cathedral, from Parker, 'Notes on the Architecture of Ireland', The Gentleman's Magazine, 1 (1864, Jan.)

with round and pointed arches used indiscriminately. The triforium and clerestory are perfect, but walled up. The section of the mouldings approaches a good deal to Early English, and there are some rather singular capitals.



Transition Norman Capital, South Transept, Christ Church Cathedral.

The tower-arches are pointed, very plain, and massive, the section being merely a chamfer twice recessed. The piers are of the same section, of great thickness and strength, and the capitals and bases remarkably plain and clumsy. These are most probably the arches of the bell-tower for which a licence was granted by Edward III. 1325. This plain clumsy work

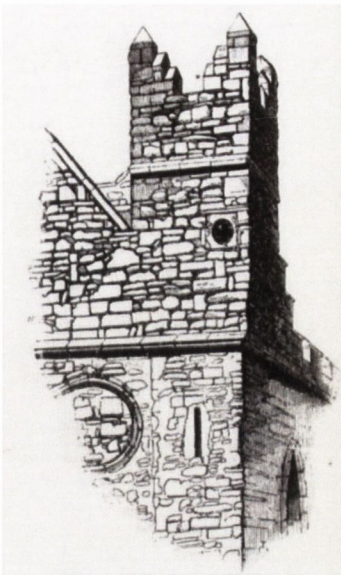
4.4 Detail of capital, Christ Church Cathedral, from Parker, 'Notes on the Architecture of Ireland', The Gentleman's Magazine, 1 (1864, Jan.)



Capital of Pier, Nave, Christ Church Cathedral.

tiful. It is pure and good Early English, though not early in the style. The piers are clustered, but the shafts are not detached, and are triply filleted. The arch-moulds have the bold rounds and deep hollows which are characteristic of Early English, but not of Irish work, and they are throughout filleted. This, with a peculiarity in the neck-moulds and bands, would give a date rather late in the thirteenth century, and it was probably rebuilt after the fire in 1283, as large subscriptions were made for that purpose. The capitals are particularly elegant and graceful. They are composed of

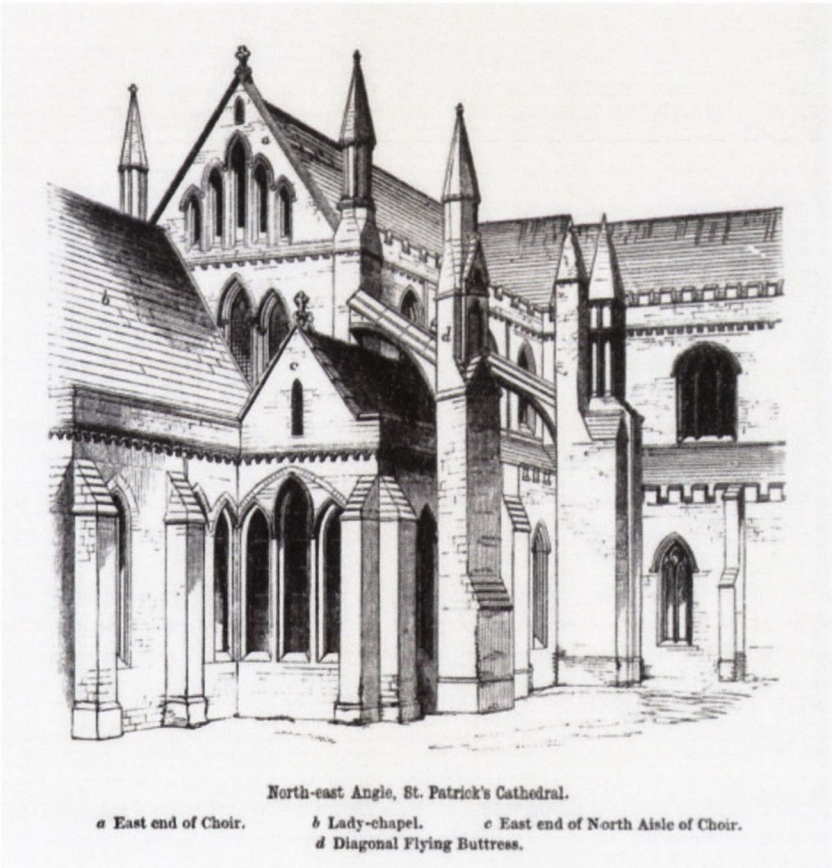
4.5 Detail of pier, Christ Church Cathedral, from Parker, 'Notes on the Architecture of Ireland', The Gentleman's Magazine, 1 (1864, Jan.)



Turret on South Transept, St. Patrick's.

ment which seems peculiar to Ireland. All the turrets are crowned with it, and nothing tends so much to give a national character to the building. Instead of being, like the English battlement, formed of a single crest, it is here composed of two, three, or more steps, and ending in an acute point, formed by chamfering off the outsides, so that it has frequently the effect of sloping inwards. The annexed example, taken from the south transept, will explain this. It is one of the original turrets, which with the three lancets and the circles above formed a fine composition as a front to the

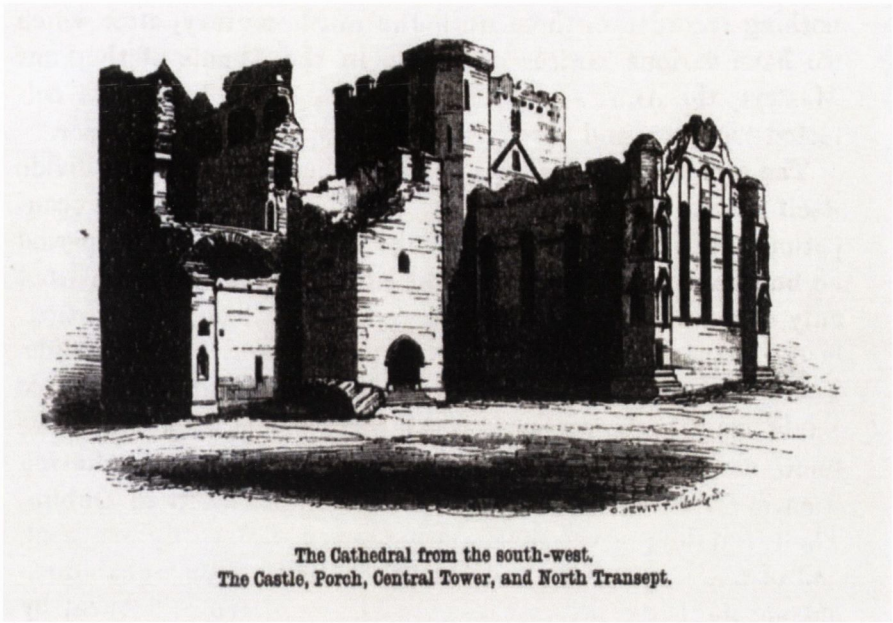
4.6 External detail, south transept, St. Patrick's Cathedral, from Parker, 'Notes on the Architecture of Ireland', The Gentleman's Magazine, 1 (1864, Jan.)



North-east Angle, St. Patrick's Cathedral.

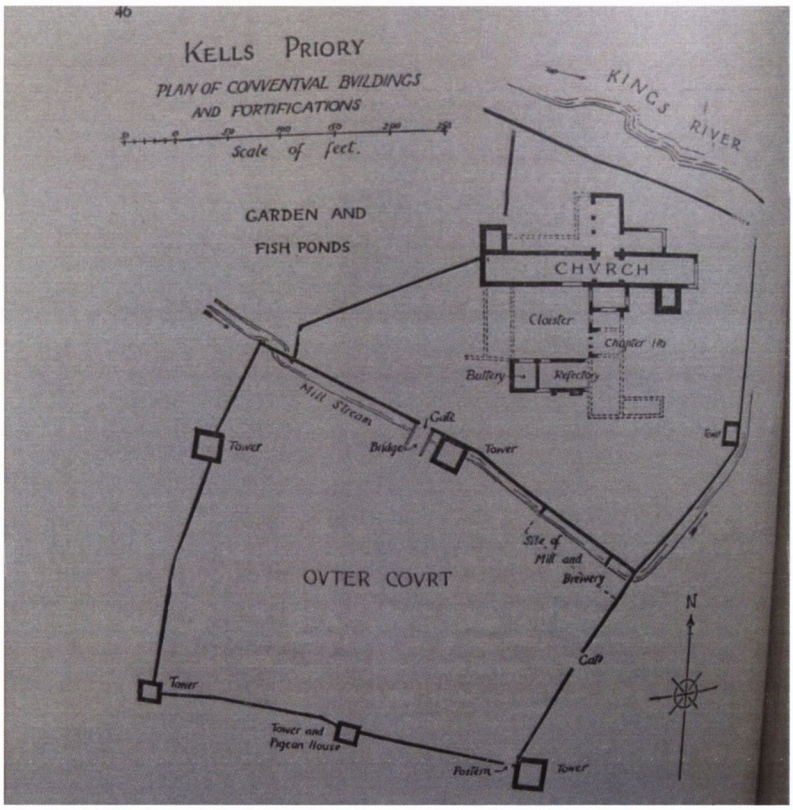
a East end of Choir. *b* Lady-chapel. *c* East end of North Aisle of Choir.
d Diagonal Flying Buttress.

4.7 View of cathedral from north-east angle, St. Patrick's Cathedral, from Parker, 'Notes on the Architecture of Ireland', The Gentleman's Magazine, 1 (1864, Jan.)

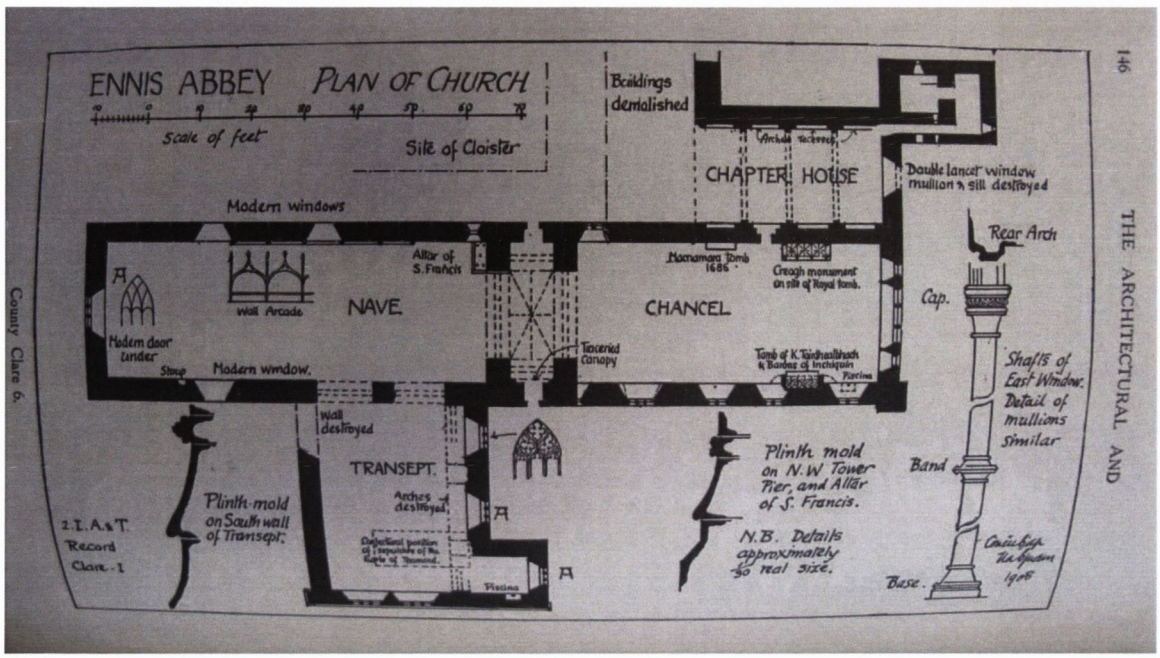


The Cathedral from the south-west.
The Castle, Porch, Central Tower, and North Transept.

4.8 View of Cashel cathedral from south-west, from Parker, 'Notes on the Architecture of Ireland', The Gentleman's Magazine, VIII (1864, October)



4.9 Plan of Kells Priory, Conor O'Brien, Architectural and Topographical Record (London: Architectural and Topographical Society, 1908)



4.10 Plan of Ennis Abbey, Conor O'Brien, Architectural and Topographical Record (London: Architectural and Topographical Society, 1908)

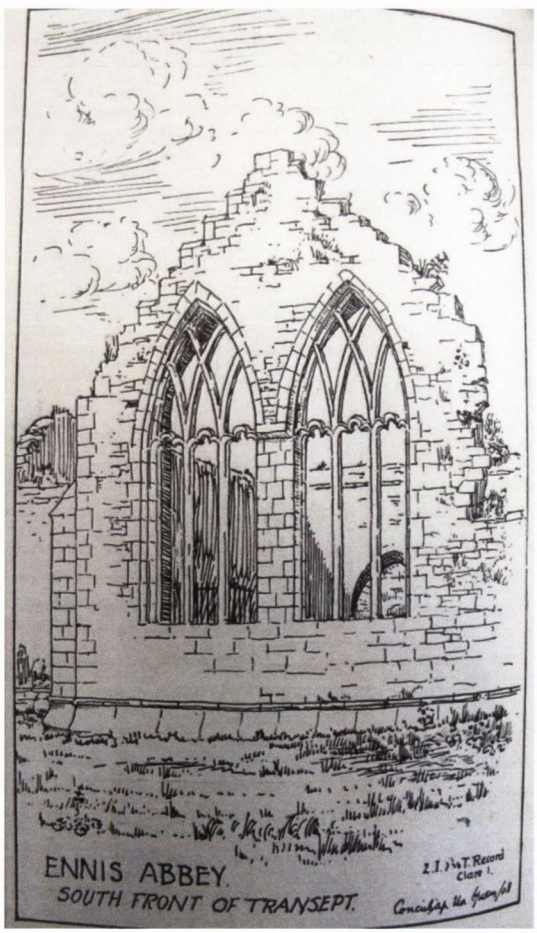


Fig. 4.11 Window tracery of transept, Ennis Abbey, Conor O'Brien, Architectural and Topographical Record (London: Architectural and Topographical Society, 1908)

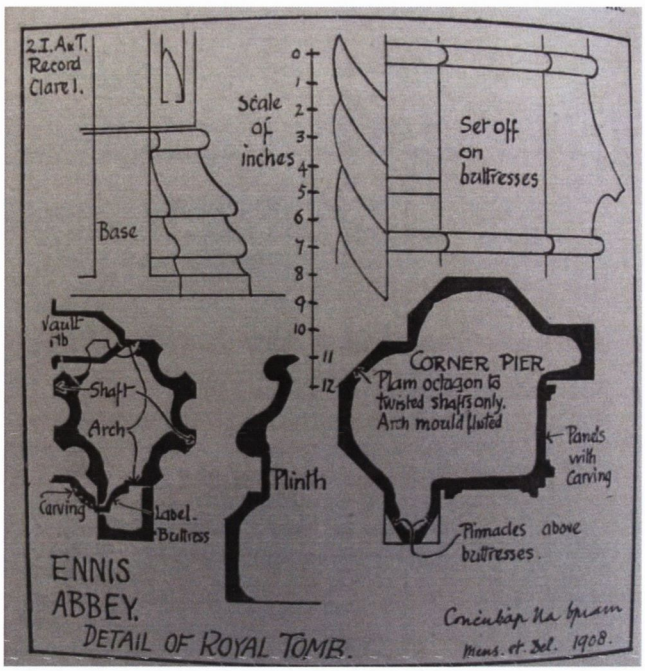


Fig.4.12 Details of Royal Tomb, Ennis Abbey, Conor O'Brien, Architectural and Topographical Record (London: Architectural and Topographical Society, 1908)

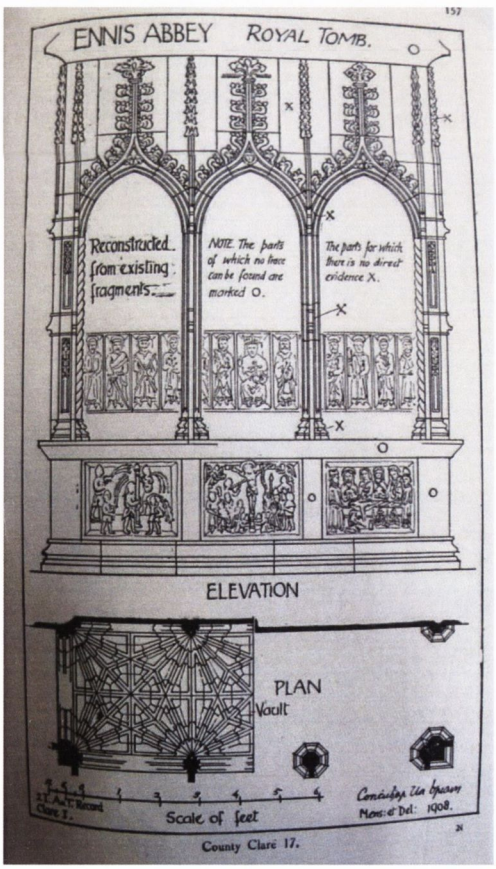


Fig. 4.13 Elevation and Plan of Royal Tomb, Ennis Abbey, Conor O'Brien, Architectural and Topographical Record (London: Architectural and Topographical Society, 1908)

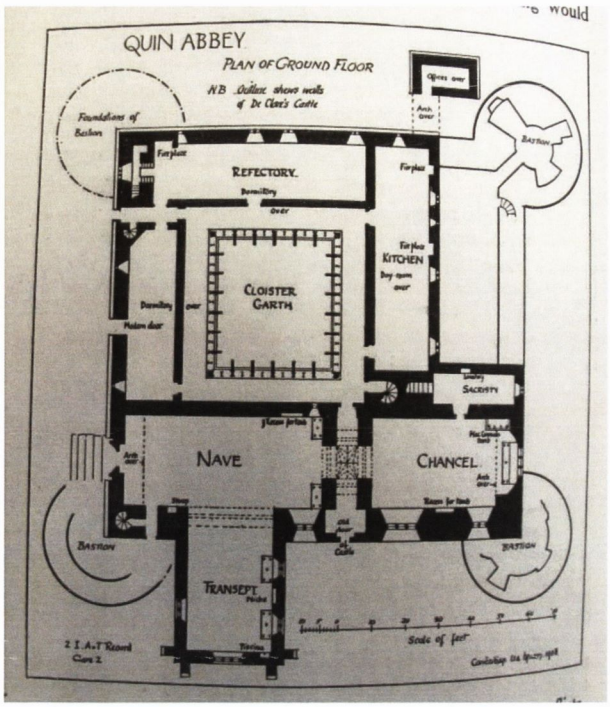
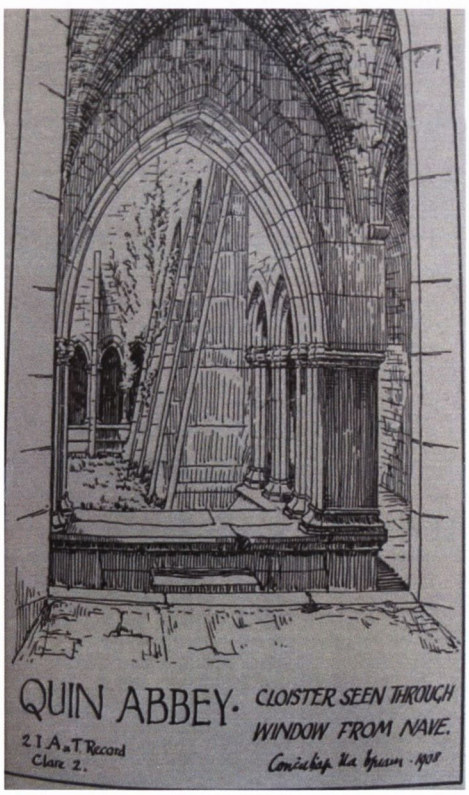


Fig. 4.14 Plan, Quin Abbey, Conor O'Brien, Architectural and Topographical Record (London: Architectural and Topographical Society, 1908)



4.15 Cloister seen through window from nave, Quin Abbey, Conor O'Brien, Architectural and Topographical Record (London: Architectural and Topographical Society, 1908)



4.16 Quin Abbey from the west, Conor O'Brien, Architectural and Topographical Record (London: Architectural and Topographical Society, 1908)

Images Chapter 5



Fig. 5.1 Erin, by Pat McAuliffe, on the façade of the Central Hotel, Listowel, Co. Kerry, from Jeanne Sheehy, *The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past – The Celtic Revival 1830 – 1930*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980)



Fig. 5.2 Celtic crosses in the college graveyard at Maynooth, Co. Kildare, from Jeanne Sheehy, *The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past – The Celtic Revival 1830 – 1930*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980)



[THIRD EDITION.]

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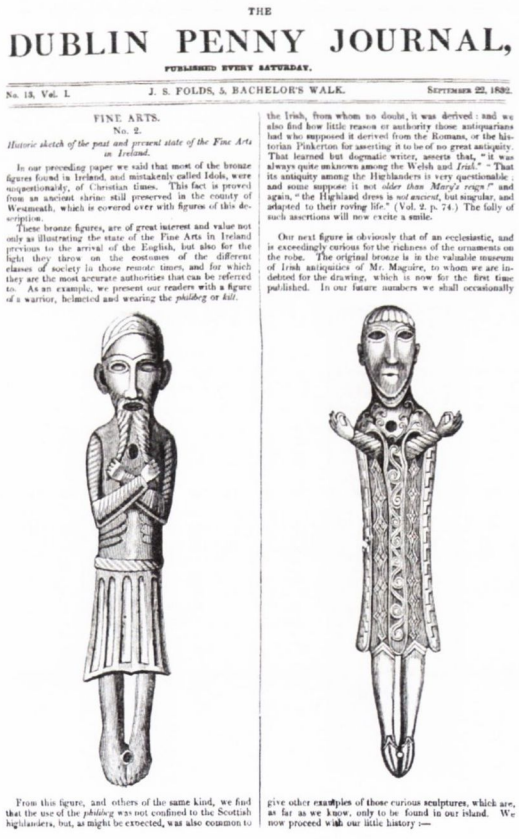
DUBLIN PENNY JOURNAL,

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

No. 2. Vol. I. J. S. FOLDS, 56, GREAT STRAND-STREET. July 7, 1832.

NATIONAL EMBLEMS. pillar worshippers—Christian belfries—military towers of the

Fig. 5.3 Detail, Image of oak tree, wolfhound, round tower, Milesian crown and shamrock, 'National Emblems', *Dublin Penny Journal*, July 7 1832



THE

DUBLIN PENNY JOURNAL,

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

No. 13, Vol. I. J. S. FOLDS, 5, BACHELOR'S WALK. September 22, 1832.

FINE ARTS.

No. 2.

Historic sketch of the past and present state of the Fine Arts in Ireland.

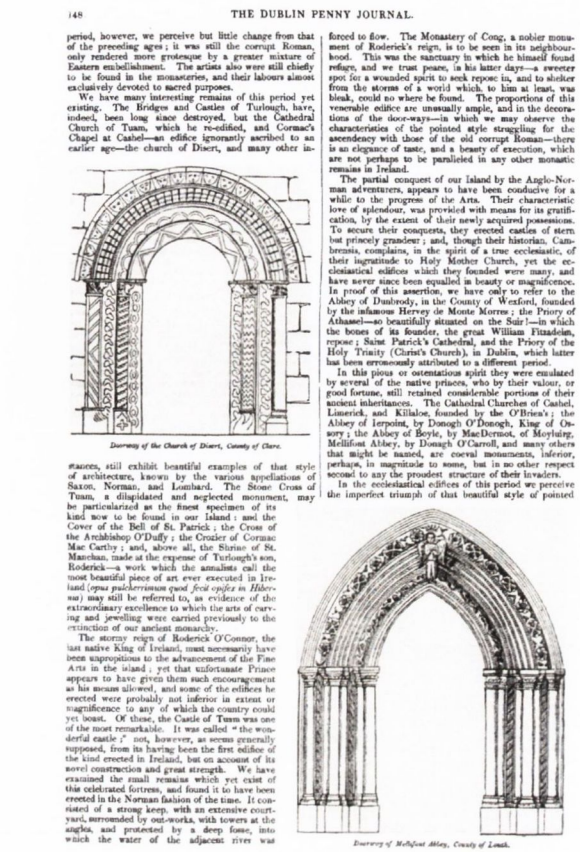
In our preceding paper we said that most of the bronze figures found in Ireland, and mistakenly called Idols, were unquestionably, of Christian times. This fact is proved from an ancient shrine still preserved in the county of Westmeath, which is covered over with figures of this description.

These bronze figures, are of great interest and value not only as illustrating the state of the Fine Arts in Ireland previous to the arrival of the English, but also for the light they throw on the costumes of the different classes of society in those remote times, and for which they are the most accurate authorities that can be referred to. As an example, we present our readers with a figure of a warrior, helmeted and wearing the *philibeg* or *kilt*.

From this figure, and others of the same kind, we find that the use of the *philibeg* was not confined to the Scottish highlanders, but, as might be expected, was also common to the Irish, from whom no doubt, it was derived: and we also find how little reason or authority those antiquarians had who supposed it derived from the Romans, or the historian Pinkerton for asserting it to be of no great antiquity. That learned but dogmatic writer, asserts that, "it was always quite unknown among the Welsh and *Irish*." "That its antiquity among the Highlanders is very questionable, and some suppose it not *older than Mary's reign*!" and again, "the Highland dress is *not ancient*, but singular, and adapted to their roving life." (Vol. 2. p. 74.) The folly of such assertions will now excite a smile.

Our next figure is obviously that of an ecclesiastic, and is exceedingly curious for the richness of the ornaments on the robe. The original bronze is in the valuable museum of Irish antiquities of Mr. Maguire, to whom we are indebted for the drawing, which is now for the first time published. In our future numbers we shall occasionally give other examples of those curious sculptures, which are, as far as we know, only to be found in our island. We now proceed with our little history :—

Fig. 5.4 Illustration of bronze figures from Westmeath Shrine, Fine Arts. No. 2: Historic Sketch of the Past and Present State of the Fine Arts in Ireland", *Dublin Penny Journal*, 1, no. 13, September 22, (1832)



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period, however, we perceive but little change from that of the preceding ages; it was still the corrupt Roman, only rendered more grotesque by a greater mixture of Eastern embellishment. The artists also were still chiefly to be found in the monasteries, and their labours almost exclusively devoted to sacred purposes.

We have many interesting remains of this period yet existing. The Bridges and Castles of Turlough, have, indeed, been long since destroyed, but the Cathedral Church of Tuam, which he re-edified, and Cormac's Chapel at Cashel—an edifice ignorantly ascribed to an earlier age—the church of Disert, and many other in-

Doorway of the Church of Disert, County of Clare.

stances, still exhibit beautiful examples of that style of architecture, known by the various appellations of Saxon, Norman, and Lombard. The Stone Cross of Tuam, a dilapidated and neglected monument, may be particularized as the finest specimen of its kind now to be found in our Island: and the Cover of the Bell of St. Patrick; the Cross of the Archbishop O'Duffy; the Crozier of Cormac Mac Carthy; and, above all, the Shrine of St. Manchan, made at the expense of Turlough's son, Roderick—a work which the annalists call the most beautiful piece of art ever executed in Ireland (*opus pulcherrimum quod fecit opifex in Hibernia*) may still be referred to, as evidence of the extraordinary excellence to which the arts of carving and jewelling were carried previously to the extinction of our ancient monarchy.

The stormy reign of Roderick O'Connor, the last native King of Ireland, must necessarily have been unpropitious to the advancement of the Fine Arts in the island; yet that unfortunate Prince appears to have given them such encouragement as his means allowed, and some of the edifices he erected were probably not inferior in extent or magnificence to any of which the country could yet boast. Of these, the Castle of Tuam was one of the most remarkable. It was called "the wonderful castle;" not, however, as seems generally supposed, from its having been the first edifice of the kind erected in Ireland, but on account of its novel construction and great strength. We have examined the small remains which yet exist of this celebrated fortress, and found it to have been erected in the Norman fashion of the time. It consisted of a strong keep, with an extensive court-yard, surrounded by out-works, with towers at the angles, and protected by a deep fosse, into which the water of the adjacent rives was forced to flow. The Monastery of Cong, a nobler monument of Roderick's reign, is to be seen in its neighbourhood. This was the sanctuary in which he himself found refuge, and we trust peace, in his latter days—a sweeter spot for a wounded spirit to seek repose in, and to shelter from the storms of a world which, to him at least, was bleak, could no where be found. The proportions of this venerable edifice are unusually ample, and in the decorations of the door-ways—in which we may observe the characteristics of the pointed style struggling for the ascendency with those of the old corrupt Roman—there is an elegance of taste, and a beauty of execution, which are not perhaps to be paralleled in any other monastic remains in Ireland.

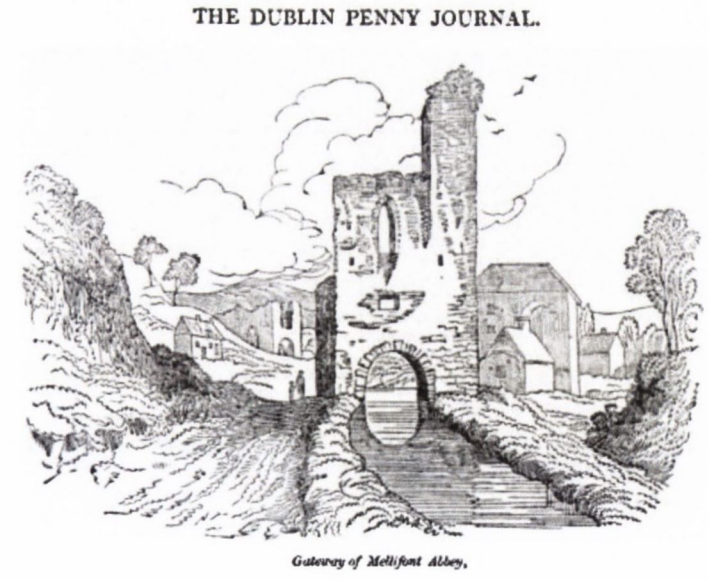
The partial conquest of our Island by the Anglo-Norman adventurers, appears to have been conducive for a while to the progress of the Arts. Their characteristic love of splendour, was provided with means for its gratification, by the extent of their newly acquired possessions. To secure their conquests, they erected castles of stern but princely grandeur; and, though their historian, Cambrensis, complains, in the spirit of a true ecclesiastic, of their ingratitude to Holy Mother Church, yet the ecclesiastical edifices which they founded were many, and have never since been equalled in beauty or magnificence. In proof of this assertion, we have only to refer to the Abbey of Dunbrody, in the County of Wexford, founded by the infamous Hervey de Monte Morres; the Priory of Athassel—so beautifully situated on the Suir!—in which the bones of its founder, the great William Fitzadelm, repose; Saint Patrick's Cathedral, and the Priory of the Holy Trinity (Christ's Church), in Dublin, which latter has been erroneously attributed to a different period.

In this pious or ostentatious spirit they were emulated by several of the native princes, who by their valour, or good fortune, still retained considerable portions of their ancient inheritances. The Cathedral Churches of Cashel, Limerick, and Killaloe, founded by the O'Brien's; the Abbey of Iorpoint, by Donogh O'Donogh, King of Ossory; the Abbey of Boyle, by MacDermot, of Moylurg, Mellifont Abbey, by Donagh O'Carroll, and many others that might be named, are coeval monuments, inferior, perhaps, in magnitude to some, but in no other respect second to any the proudest structure of their invaders.

In the ecclesiastical edifices of this period we perceive the imperfect triumph of that beautiful style of pointed

Doorway of Mellifont Abbey, County of Louth.

Fig. 5.5 Illustration of the Romanesque doorway at Dysert O'Dea, and the Gothic doorway of Mellifont Abbey, "Fine Arts No. 3: Historic Sketch of the Past and Present State of the Fine Arts in Ireland (Continued)", DPJ, 1, no. 19, November 3, (1832)



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Gateway of Mellifont Abbey.

Fig. 5.6 Illustration of the gateway at Mellifont Abbey, 'Mellifont Abbey', *Dublin Penny Journal*, 1, no. 22, November 24 (1832)

xquisite specimen of the Gothic, or pointed architecture of the thirteenth century.



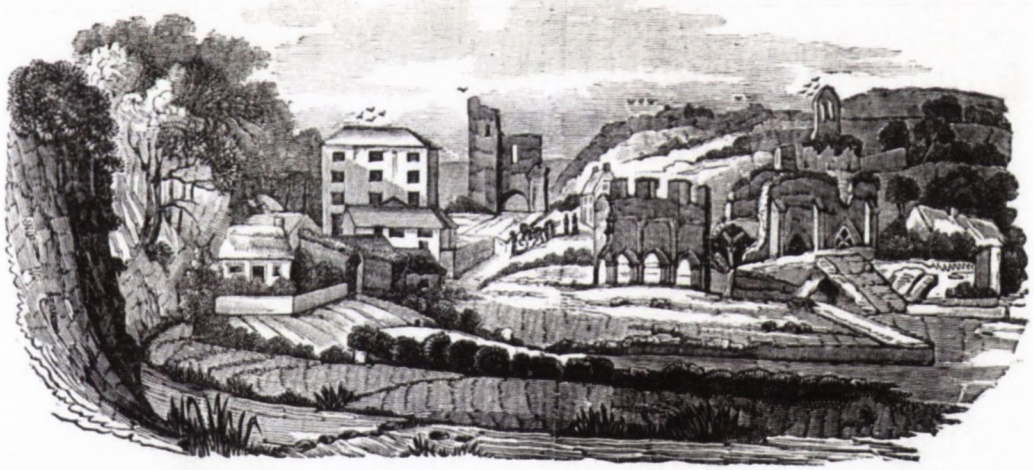
Chapel of St. Bernard.

Fig. 5.7 Illustration of the Chapel of St. Bernard, Mellifont Abbey, 'Mellifont Abbey', *Dublin Penny Journal*, 1, no. 22, November 24 (1832)

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No. 32. Vol. I. J. S. FOLDS 5, BACHELOR'S WALK. FEBRUARY 2, 1833.

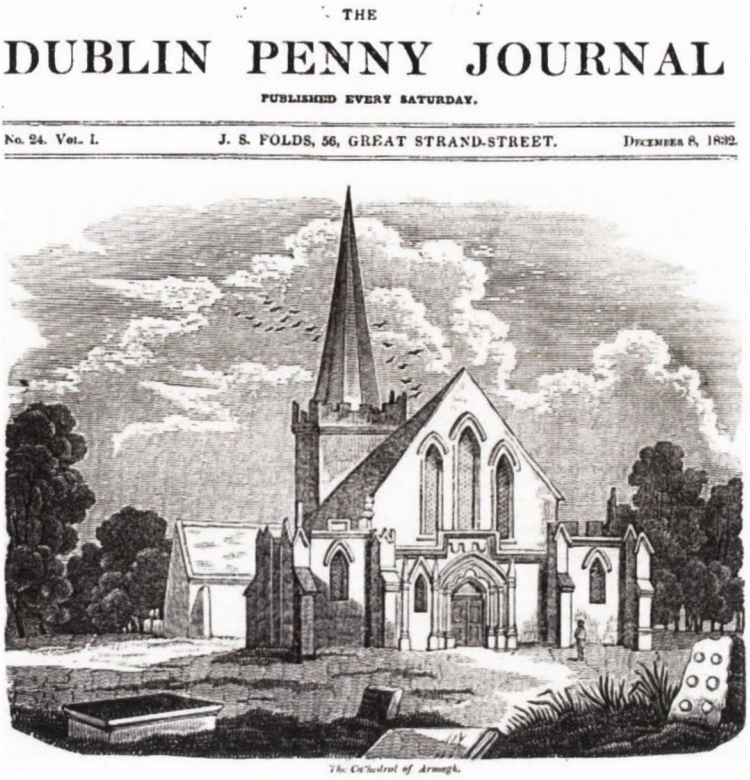
RUINS OF MELLIFONT, COUNTY OF LOUTH.

Engraved by Ben. Clayton, after an original drawing by Robert Armstrong.



In this general view of the ruins of Mellifont, it is necessary to explain to the reader, that the large building to the left, with its adjoining offices, represents a modern Mill; the tower to the right, immediately over the figures, is the ancient Abbey gateway; the ruined buildings in front are the Baptistery and Chapel of St. Bernard; and on the eminence, immediately above the latter, is seen the old parish church with its belfrey.

Fig. 5.8 Illustration of the ruins of Mellifont by Robert Armstrong, 'Mellifont Abbey', *Dublin Penny Journal*, 1, no. 32 February 2, (1833)



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DUBLIN PENNY JOURNAL

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No. 24. Vol. I. J. S. FOLDS, 56, GREAT STRAND-STREET. DECEMBER 8, 1832.

The Cathedral of Armagh.

Fig. 5.9 Illustration of the Cathedral at Armagh, 'The Cathedral Church of Armagh', *Dublin Penny Journal*, 1, no. 24, December 8, (1832)



THE

DUBLIN PENNY JOURNAL,

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

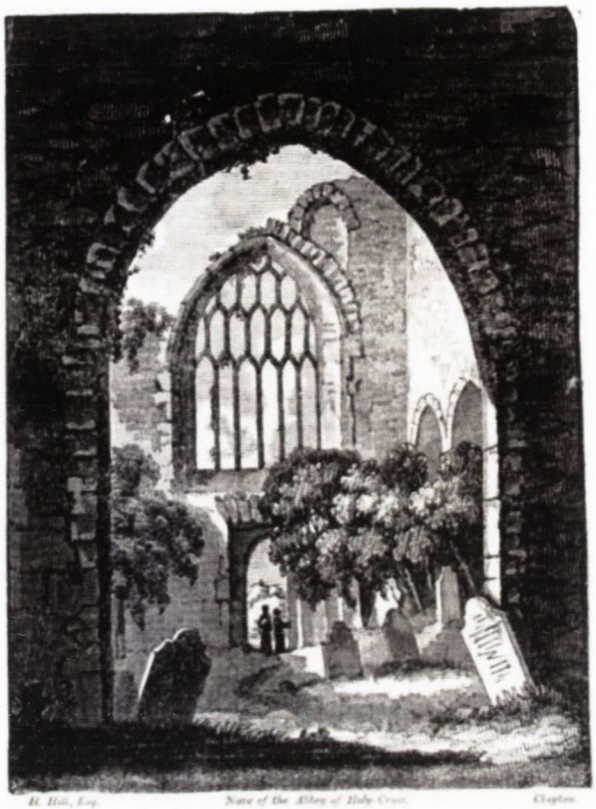
No. 26. Vol. I. J. S. FOLDS 56, GREAT STRAND-STREET. DECEMBER 22, 1832

Lord Portlester's Chapel.

Fig. 5.10 Illustration of Lord Portlester's Chapel, St. Audoen's Church, Dublin, 'Lord Portlester's Chapel', *Dublin Penny Journal*, 1, no. 26, December 22, (1832)

THE ABBEY OF HOLY-CROSS, COUNTY OF TIPPERARY.

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H. Hill, Esq. Nave of the Abbey of Holy Cross. Clayton.

Fig. 5.11 View of the nave at Holy-Cross Abbey, 'The Abbey of Holy-Cross, County of Tipperary', *Dublin Penny Journal*, 1, no. 47, May 18, (1833)



A. Nicholl, Esq. *The Abbey of Inch, County of Down.* *Branston and Wrigh*

Fig. 5.12 Illustration of Inch Abbey, 'The Abbey of Inch: County of Down', *Dublin Penny Journal*, 1, no. 50, June 8, 1833



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No. 52. Vol. I. J. S. FOLDS, 5, BACHELOR'S WALK. June 22, 1833.

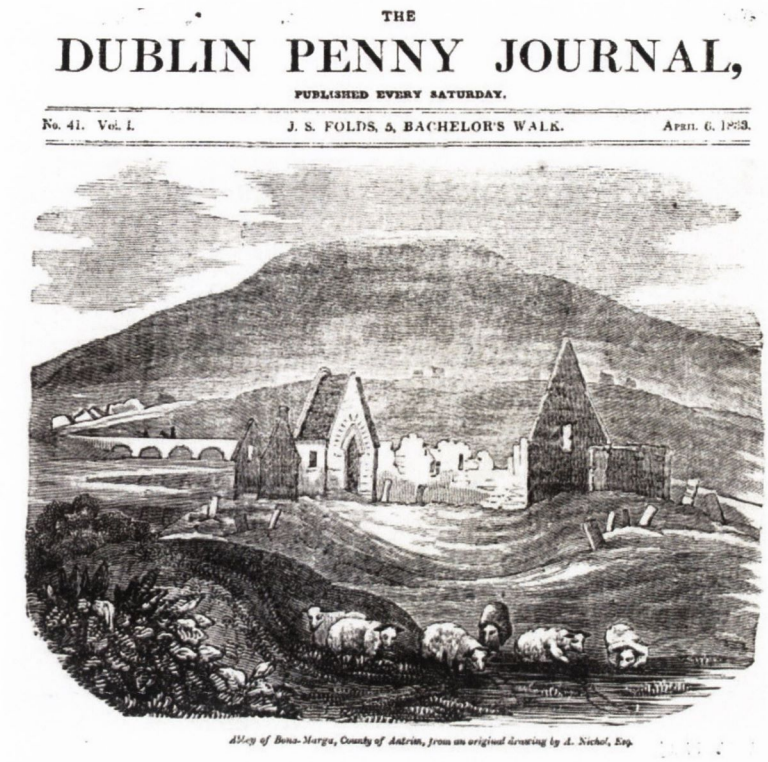
A Nicholl, Esq Interior of Mucruss Abbey, as seen through the entrance doorway Brandon and Wright

Fig. 5.13 Illustration of Muckross Abbey, Killarney, 'Mucruss Abbey, Killarney', *Dublin Penny Journal*, 1, no. 52, June 22 (1833)



A Nicholl, Esq Chancel of the Abbey of Dungiven, County of Londonderry. Brandon and Wright

Fig. 5.14 Illustration of the Abbey at Dungiven, P., 'Abbey of Dungiven', *Dublin Penny Journal*, 1, no. 51, June 15 (1833)



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DUBLIN PENNY JOURNAL,

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

No. 41. Vol. I. J. S. FOLDS, 5, BACHELOR'S WALK. April 6, 1833.

Abbey of Bona-Marga, County of Antrim, from an original drawing by A. Nichol, Esq.

Fig. 5.15 Illustration of the Abbey of Bona-Marga, Samuel M'Skimin, 'Abbey of Bona-Marga', *Dublin Penny Journal*, 1, no. 41, April 6, (1833)

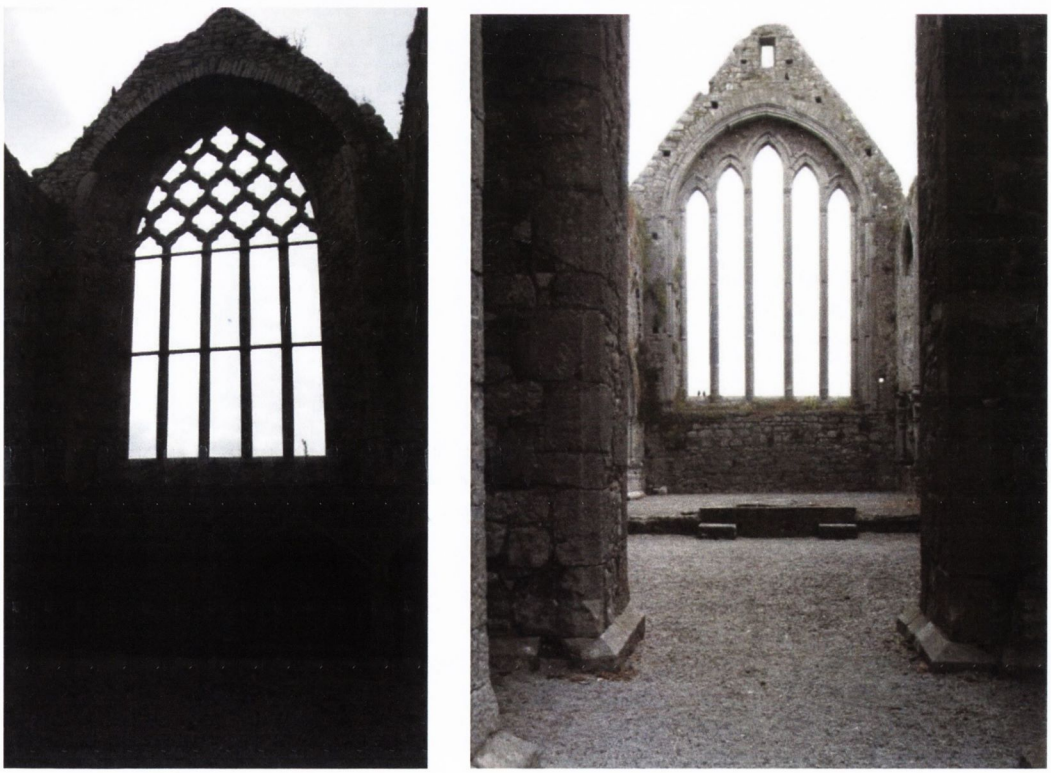


Fig. 5.16 (a & b) a) Reticulated tracery window, southern transept and b) five-light east window, Dominican Abbey of St. Saviour, Kilmallock, own photographs.



Fig. 5.17 Drawing of SS. Peter and Paul, Kilmallock, J.J. McCarthy, 1878 – 79
http://archiseek.com/2011/1889-ss-peter-paul-church-kilmallock-co-limerick/ (accessed 20/10/11)



Fig. 5.18 Interior of Church, Kilmallock, Co. Limerick, (1900 – 1940) 1 photographic negative glass, (EAS_2773), Photographic Collection, National Library of Ireland.



Fig. 5.19 Church of SS. Peter and Paul, with Dominican abbey of S. Saviour in the foreground, Kilmallock, own photograph.



Fig. 5.20 W.H. Lynn, St. Patrick's, Jordanstown, Co. Antrim 1865 – 68, from Jeanne Sheehy, *The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past – The Celtic Revival 1830 – 1930*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980)



Fig. 5.21 Ruined parish church, Ardagh, Co. Limerick, own photograph.

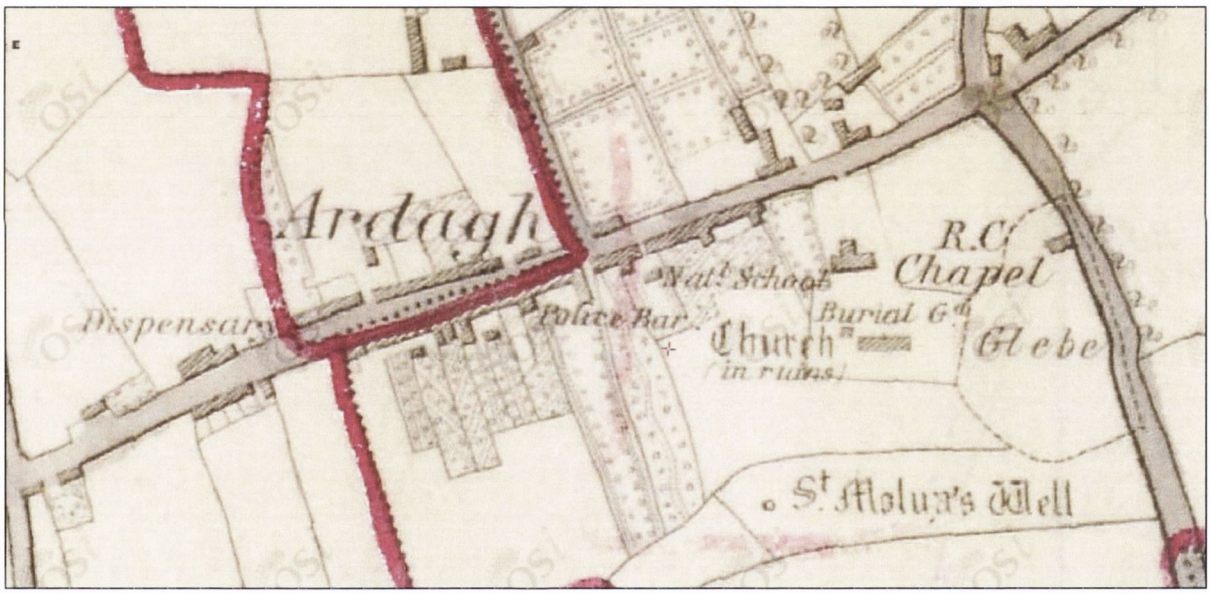


Fig. 5.22 Ardagh, showing T-shaped chapel and medieval parish church in ruins, and early village development, 6 inch Ordnance Survey of Ireland map image (1837 – 1842), www.osi.ie

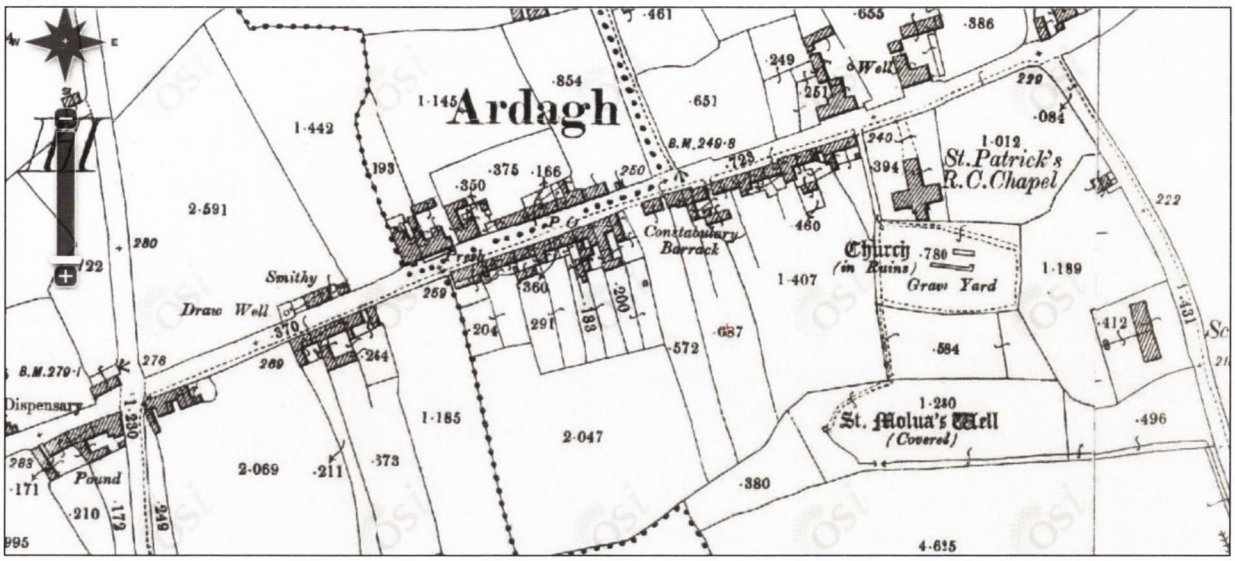


Fig. 5.23 Ardagh, showing the rebuilt St. Patrick's RC parish church, and medieval parish church in ruins, and increased village development, 25 inch Ordnance Survey of Ireland map image, (1888 – 1913) www.osi.ie



Fig. 5.24 Late twentieth-century RC parish church, Ardagh, own photograph.

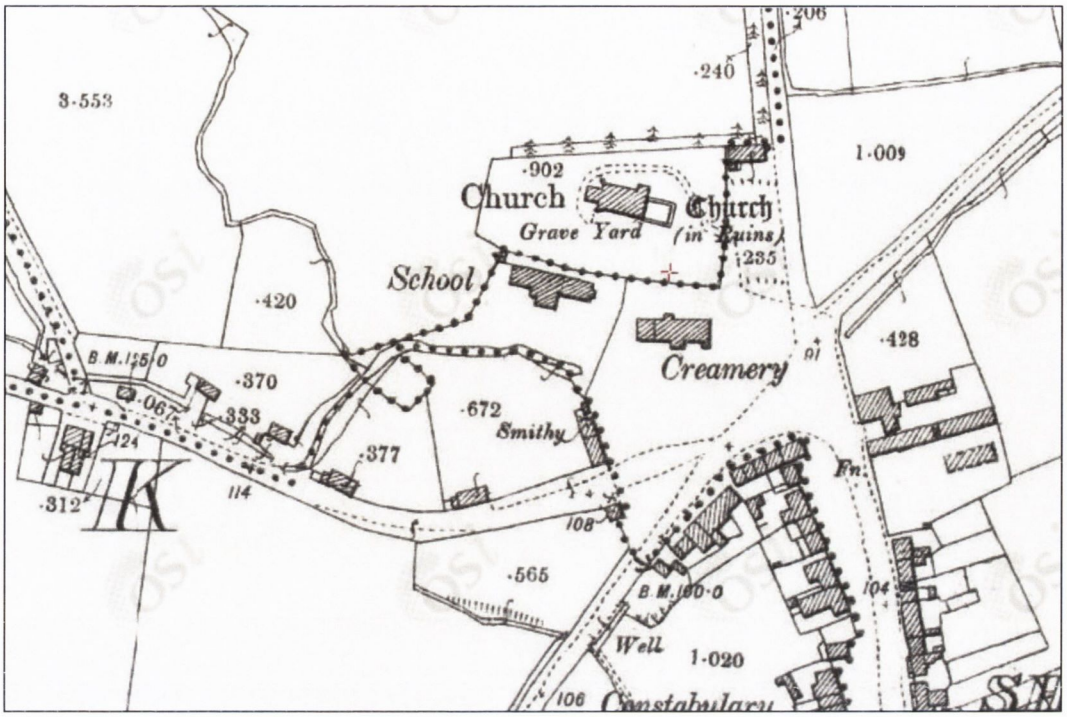


Fig. 5.25 Shanagolden, Co. Limerick, showing medieval parish church site and nineteenth-century parish church on the same site, 25 inch Ordnance Survey of Ireland map image, (1888 – 1913) www.osi.ie



Fig. 5.26 Streetscape, Shanagolden, Co. Limerick, own photograph.

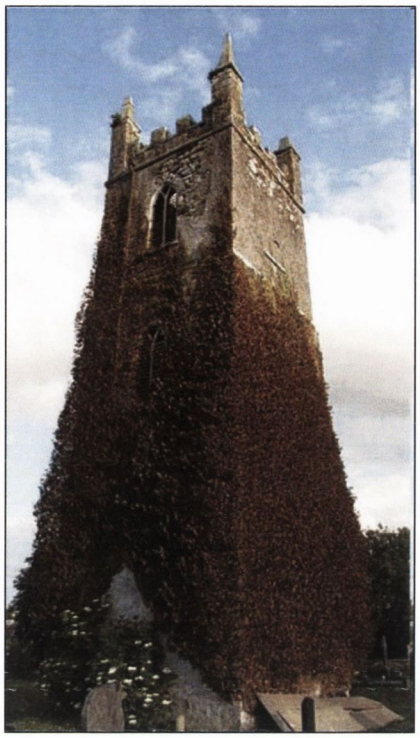


Fig. 5.27 Remaining tower of Shanagolden Church of Ireland parish church, own photograph.



Fig. 5.28 Remains of Shanagolden Church of Ireland parish church, and graveyard on the site of the medieval parish church, Shanagolden, own photograph.



Fig. 5.29 Shanagolden, showing Roman Catholic church at a cross-roads a short distance from the centre of the town, 6 inch Ordnance Survey of Ireland map image (1837 – 1842), www.osi.ie



Fig. 5.30 Shanagolden, showing RC Church and development of services such as the National School (highlighted) around the church site. Shanagolden, ortho. view, 2005 (Church of Ireland site circled) www.osi.ie



Fig. 31 Nineteenth-century 'coffin-rest' in graveyard wall, Uregare, Co. Limerick, own photograph.

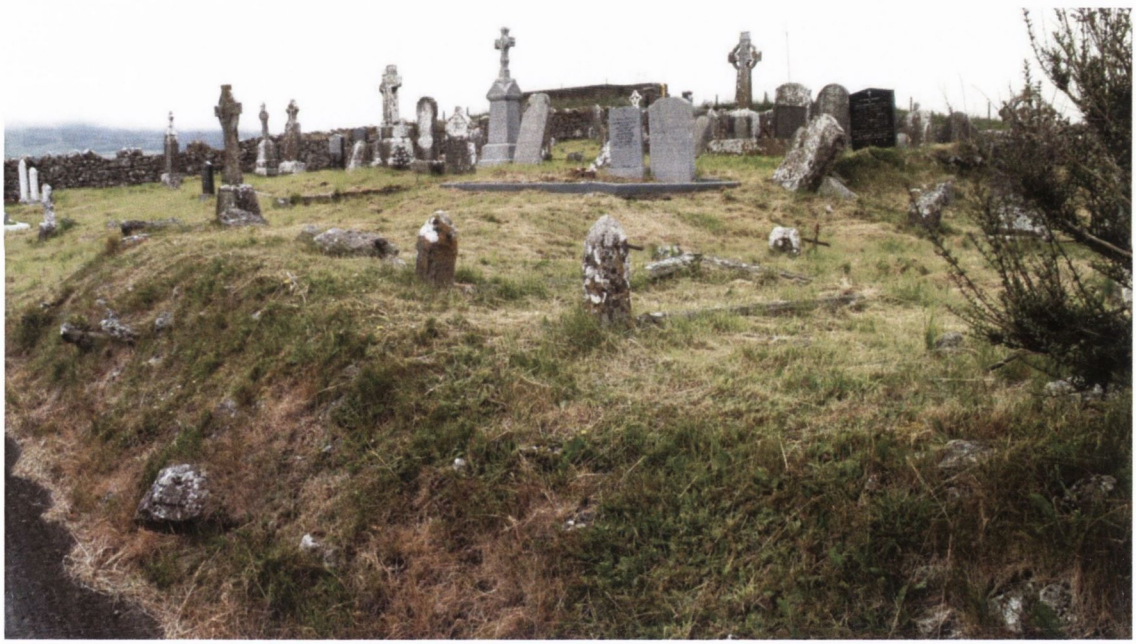


Fig. 5.32 Knocklong graveyard on site of medieval parish church, own photograph.



Fig. 5.33 Knocklong, showing site of ruined church, 6 inch Ordnance Survey of Ireland map image (1837 – 1842), www.osi.ie



Fig. 5.34 St. John's Cathedral (RC), Limerick, own photograph.



Fig. 3.35 St. Mary's Cathedral, Limerick, (1880 – 1914), 1 photographic negative glass, Photographic collection, National Library of Ireland, (L_CAB_06957)

Chapter 6



Fig. 6.1 Tintern Abbey, Wexford,
Photographic negative glass, L_CAB_03128, National Library of Ireland, Dublin

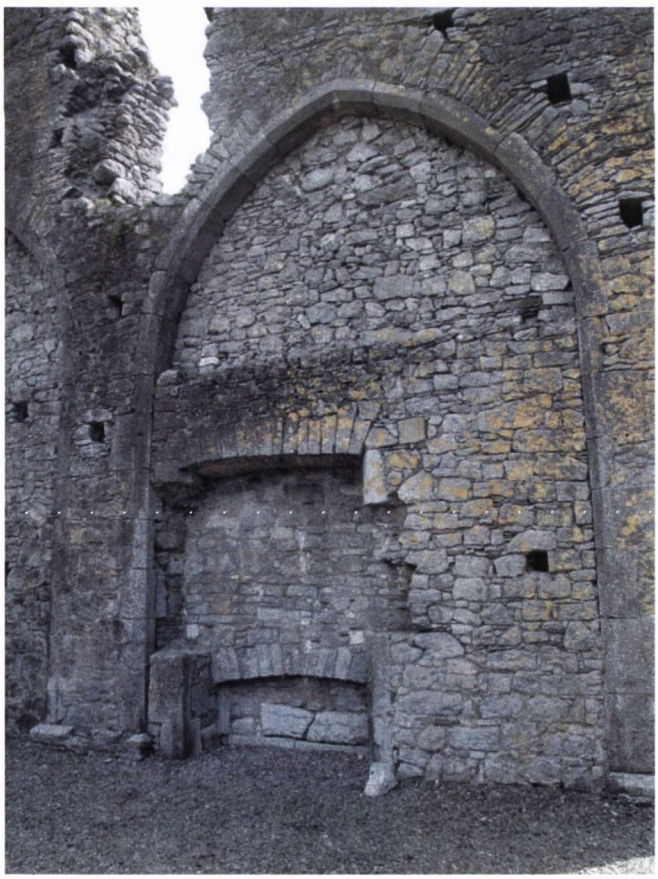


Fig. 6.2 Hore Abbey, Co. Tipperary, South-western bay of nave arcade, showing the altered filled-in nave arcade and fireplace addition, own photograph.



Fig. 6.3 Hore Abbey, Co. Tipperary, Western wall of nave, with post-medieval alterations indicatied by different window insertions, suggesting domestic use and the insertion of floors at different levels, own photograph.



Fig. 6.4 Dunbrody Abbey, Co. of Wexford, drawn and engraved by Brocas for the Dublin Monthly Museum, 1814
Plate in the Dublin Monthly Museum, 1814, 1776 TA National Library of Ireland, Dublin

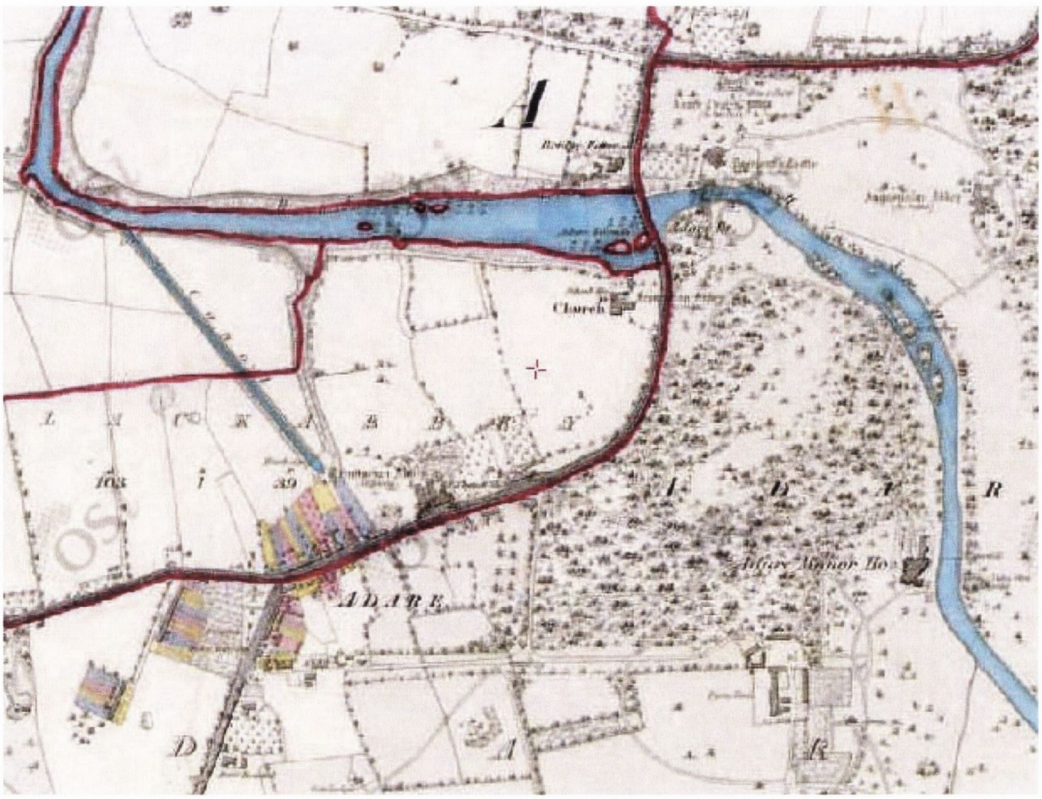


Fig. 6.5 Village of Adare, Co. Limerick, 6 inch Ordnance Survey of Ireland map image (1837 – 1842), www.osi.ie



Fig. 6.6 South-facing façade, Adare Manor, Adare, Co. Limerick, begun 1830s, own photograph

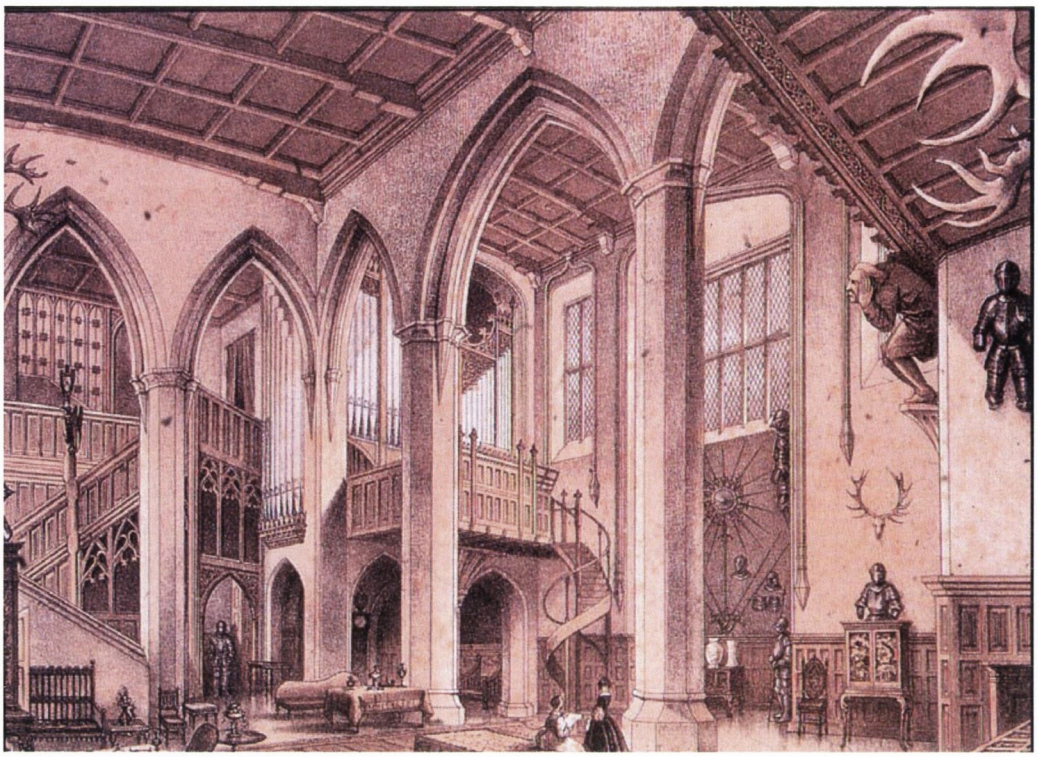


Fig. 6.7 Ground floor, Adare Manor, Plate 11 from *Memorials of Adare Manor by Caroline, Countess of Dunraven, with historical notices of Adare, by her son, the Earl of Dunraven* (Oxford, printed for private circulation by Messrs. Parker, 1865)



Fig. 6.8 School to the north of the Church of the Holy Trinity, (former Trinitarian Abbey), Adare, Co. Limerick, own photograph.



Fig. 6.9 Church of St. Nicholas of Myra, Adare, own photograph



Fig. 6.10 'The White Abbey of the Trinitarians R.C. Chapel', A. H. Poole Studio
Photographic negative glass, P_WP_0466, National Library of Ireland, Dublin



Fig. 6.11 'The Black Abbey of the Augustinians, Protestant Church', A.H. Poole Studio, Photographic negative glass, P_WP_0467, National Library of Ireland, Dublin.

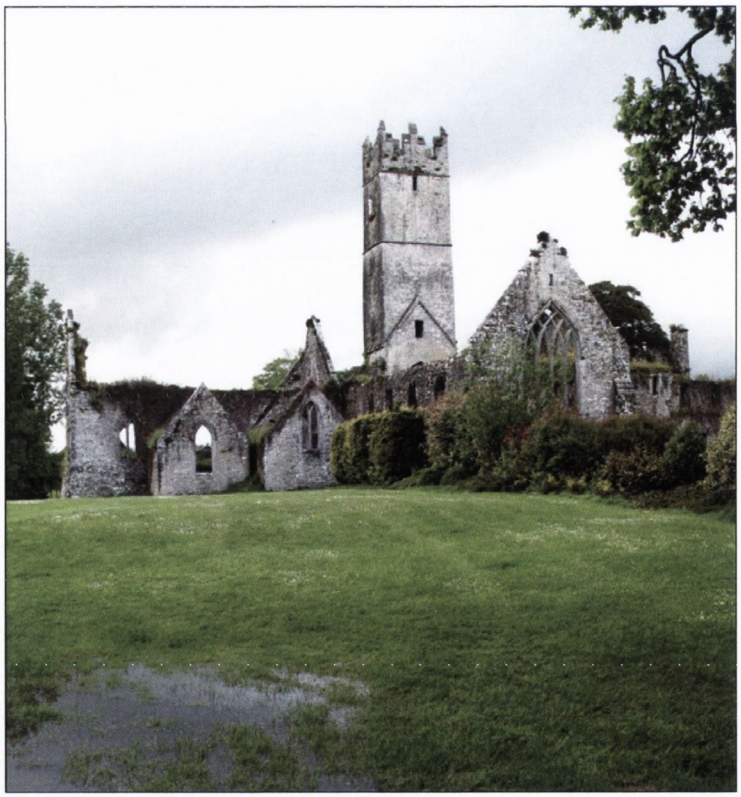


Fig. 6.12 Franciscan Friary, Adare, (looking forward the east), own photograph.



Fig. 6.13 View through the nave towards the eastern window, Franciscan friary, Adare, Plate 21 from *Memorials of Adare Manor by Caroline, Countess of Dunraven, with historical notices of Adare, by her son, the Earl of Dunraven* (Oxford, printed for private circulation by Messrs. Parker, 1865)

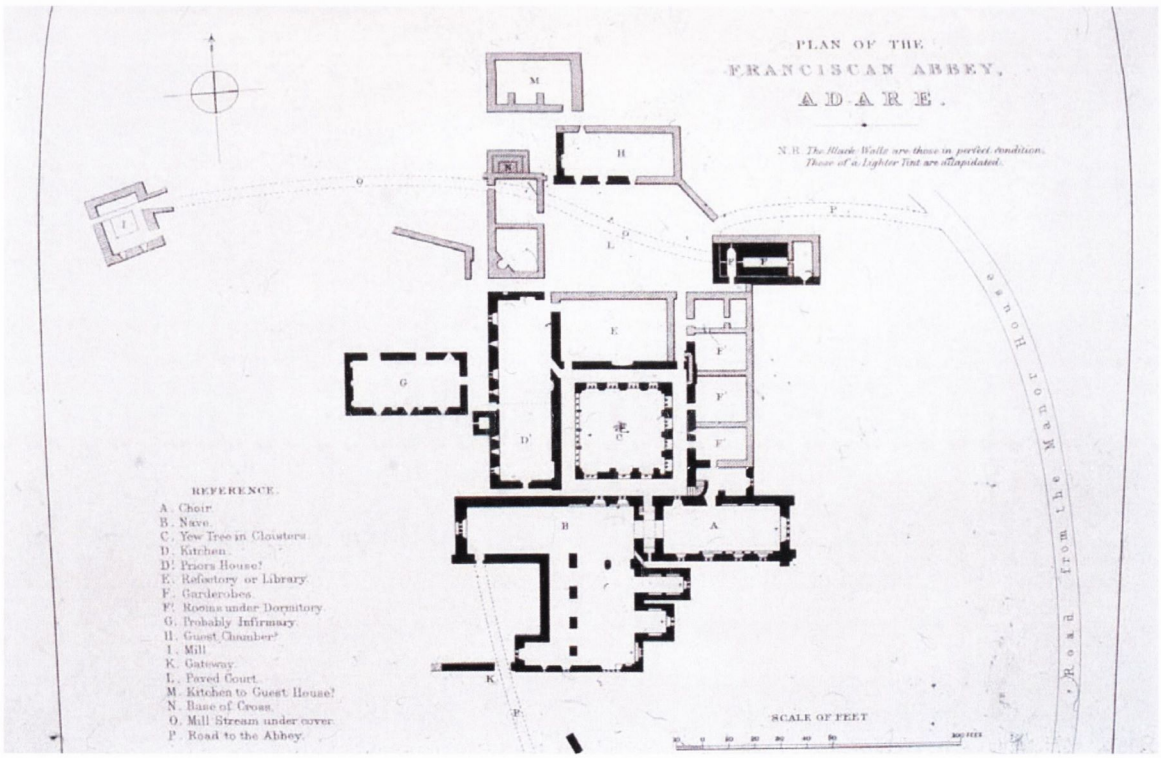


Fig. 6.14 Plan of Franciscan Friary, Adare, Plate 18 from *Memorials of Adare Manor by Caroline, Countess of Dunraven, with historical notices of Adare, by her son, the Earl of Dunraven* (Oxford, printed for private circulation by Messrs. Parker, 1865)Memorials



Fig. 6.15 Church of St. Nicholas, Adare, Co. Limerick (former Augustinian Abbey), own photograph.

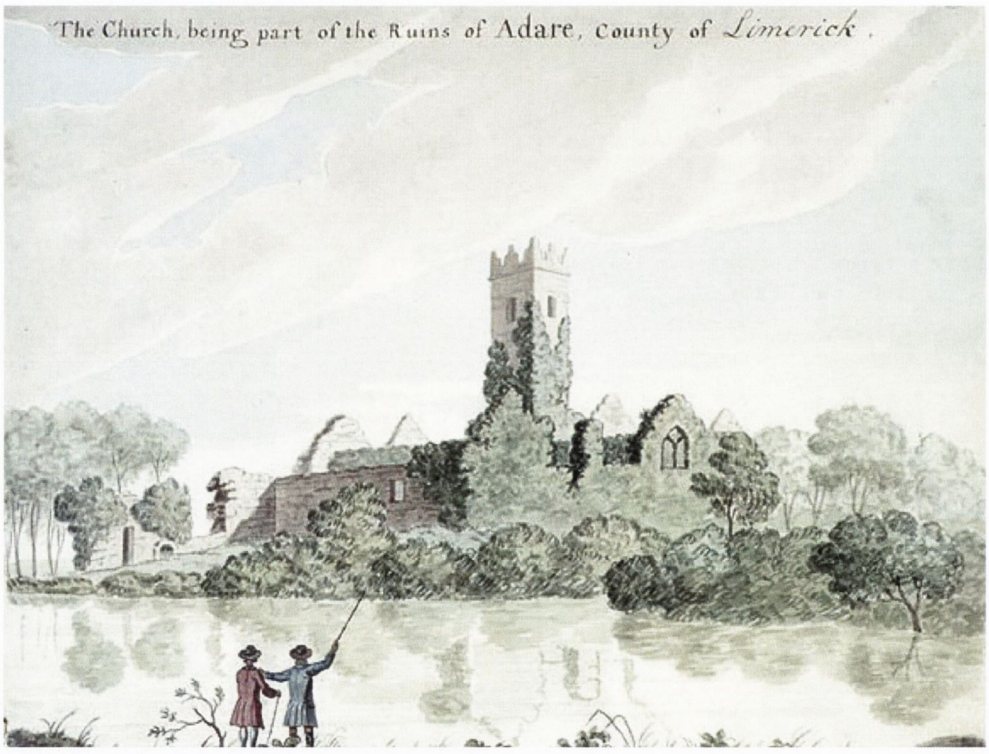


Fig. 6.16 The Church, being part of the Ruins of Adare, County of Limerick
View of the Augustinian or Black Abbey, Adare, attributed to Gabriel Beranger (ca. 1729 – 1817), after an original drawing by William Ashford (1746 – 1824), ET 1958 TX 96, National Library of Ireland, Dublin.



Fig. 6.17 A.W. View of the Black-Abbey at Adair, Co.y Limerick, A.C. delint. 26th May 1781; Pinxt 11th July, Austin Cooper, From *Antiquities of Abbeys, Castles &c, in Ireland, Vol. 1*, Coo 2122 TX (1) 12, National Library of Ireland, Dublin

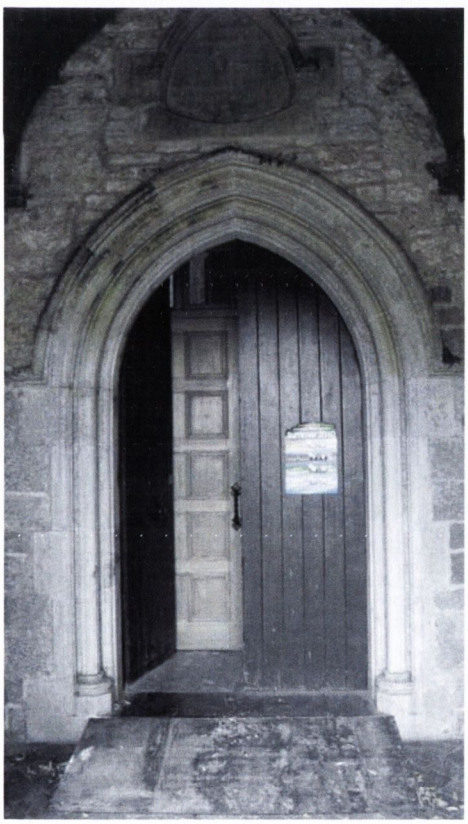


Fig. 6.18 Entrance within porch, south-west corner of nave, Church of St. Nicholas (former Augustinian Abbey, Adare), own photograph.



Fig. 6.19 Corbel Table, Church of St. Nicholas, (former Augustinian abbey, Adare), south-east corner of nave, own photograph.



Fig. 6.20 Eastern window, Church of St. Nicholas, (former Augustinian abbey), Adare, own photograph.



Fig. 6.21 Images of the reroofed and restored conventual buildings of the Church of St. Nicholas, (former Augustinian abbey), Adare, Plate 16, from *Memorials of Adare Manor by Caroline, Countess of Dunraven, with historical notices of Adare, by her son, the Earl of Dunraven* (Oxford, printed for private circulation by Messrs. Parker, 1865)



Fig. 6.22 James Pain-designed Dunraven mausoleum inserted in the western range of the cloister, Church of St. Nicholas (former Augustinian Abbey), Adare, own photographs



Fig. 6.23 Carved plaque inserted in cloister, noting restoration, Church of St. Nicholas (former Augustinian abbey), Adare, own photograph.



Fig. 6.24 Cloister, looking towards the western range, Church of St. Nicholas, (former Augustinian abbey), Adare, own photograph.



Fig. 6.25 Black Abbey, Adare, Mr. Cuthboart
From a collection of watercolour drawings in large album, PD 4313 TX, National Library of Ireland, Dublin.



Fig. 6.26 (a & b) a) Chancel, and (b) view of nave towards chancel, Church of the Holy Trinity (former Trinitarian Abbey, Adare), own photographs.



Fig. 6.27 (a & b) a)View and b) detail of the memorial fountain erected in honour of Caroline, Countess of Dunraven, Adare, Co. Limerick, own photographs.



Fig. 6.28 Image of the village of Adare with church in ruins, Adare, Plate 3, from *Memorials of Adare Manor by Caroline, Countess of Dunraven, with historical notices of Adare, by her son, the Earl of Dunraven* (Oxford, printed for private circulation by Messrs. Parker, 1865)



Fig. 6.29 Improved village of Adare, with restored church, Plate 4, Adare, from *Memorials of Adare Manor by Caroline, Countess of Dunraven, with historical notices of Adare, by her son, the Earl of Dunraven* (Oxford, printed for private circulation by Messrs. Parker, 1865)



Fig. 6.30 Franciscan friary with the manor House in the distance, Plate 20, Adare, from *Memorials of Adare Manor by Caroline, Countess of Dunraven, with historical notices of Adare, by her son, the Earl of Dunraven* (Oxford, printed for private circulation by Messrs. Parker, 1865)



Fig. 6.31 View of the Franciscan friary from the window of the Great Hall, first floor level, at Adare Manor, own photograph.

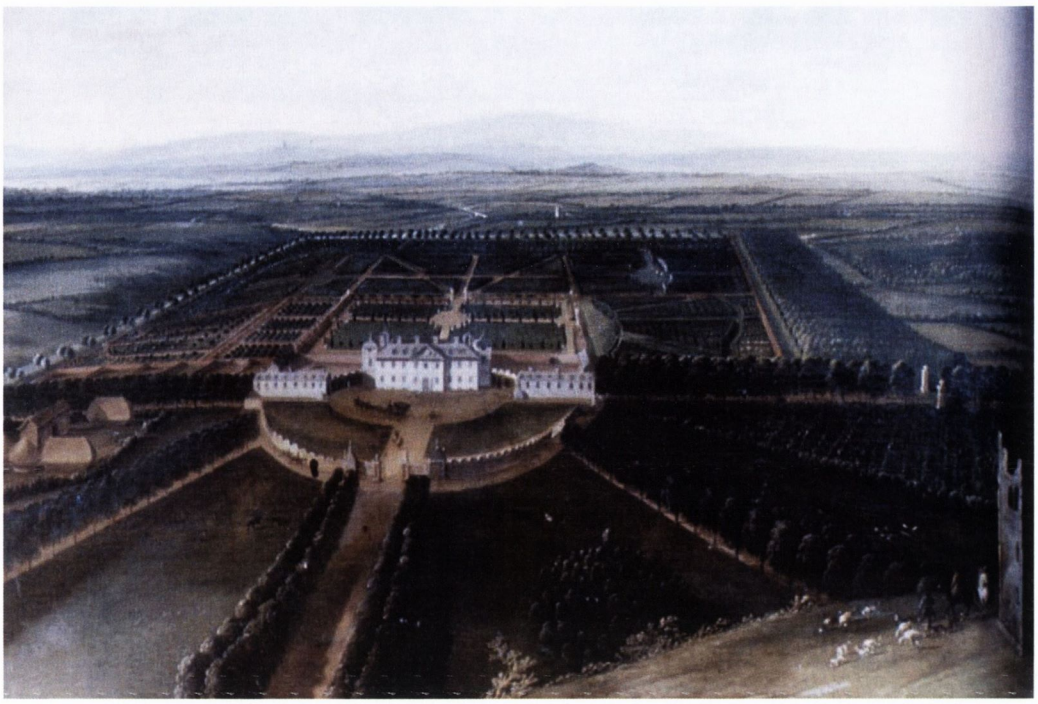


Fig. 6.32 *View of Carton House*.



Fig. 6.33 St. Doulough's Church, Co. Dublin.



Fig. 6.34 St. Doulough's County of Dublin
Ink drawing, ca. 1790 – 1900, PD 1976 TX 45, National Library of Ireland, Dublin

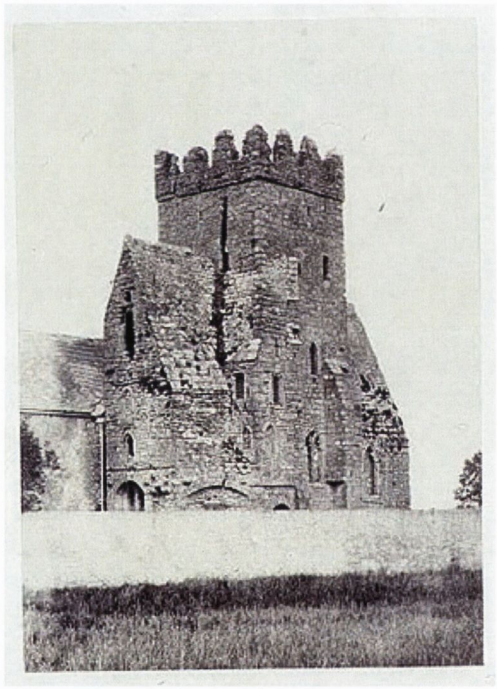


Fig. 6.35 Saint Doulach's Church, Edward King Tenison, 1858
Photograph from Tenison album, purchased from Kilronan Album, Co. Roscommon, TEN64, National Library of Ireland, Dublin



Fig. 6.36 View of Buttevant Franciscan friary, Co. Cork, from Charles Smith, *The antient and present state of the county and city of Cork, in four books*, (1750)



Fig. 6.37 View (looking towards the east) of Buttevant Franciscan friary, Co. Cork, own photograph.



Fig. 6.38 St. Mary's Church, Buttevant (RC) with earlier tower, own photograph.





Fig. 6.39 (a & b) a) External view of northern wall of nave, Buttevant Franciscan friary, and b) view of rebuilt section, own photographs.

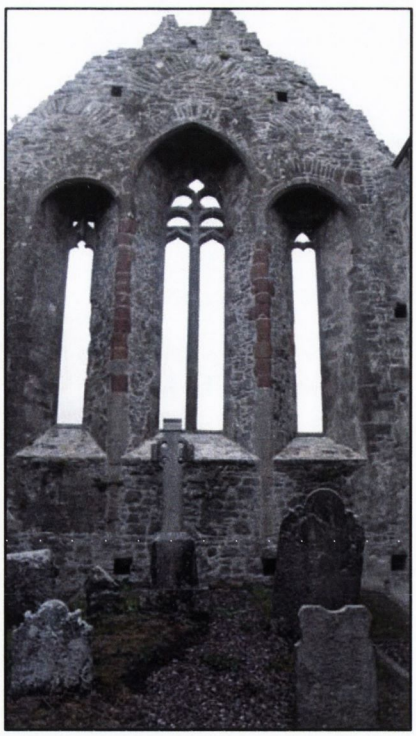


Fig. 6.40 Eastern windows, Buttevant Franciscan friary, own photograph.



Fig. 6.41 'Museum for the Curious', sections of carving and of the ruined cloister inserted into the north wall of the nave by Brash, own photograph.

Chapter 7

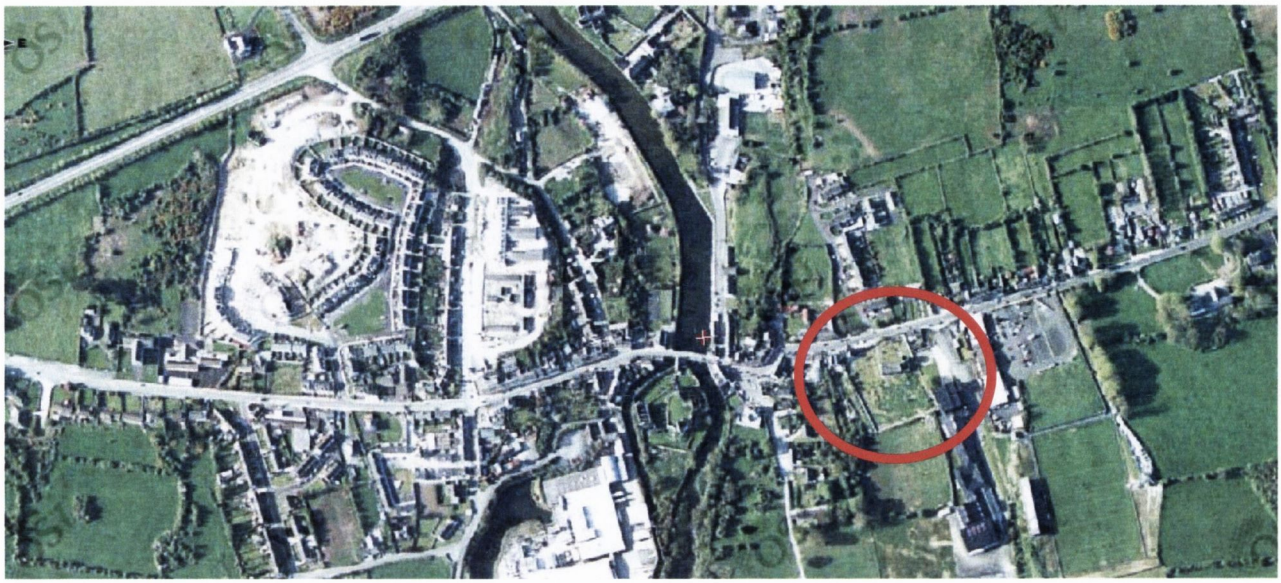


Fig. 7.1 Askeaton, ortho. view, 2005 (Church of Ireland site circled) www.osi.ie



Fig. 7.2 Church of Ireland parish church, Askeaton, with medieval belfry, own photograph.

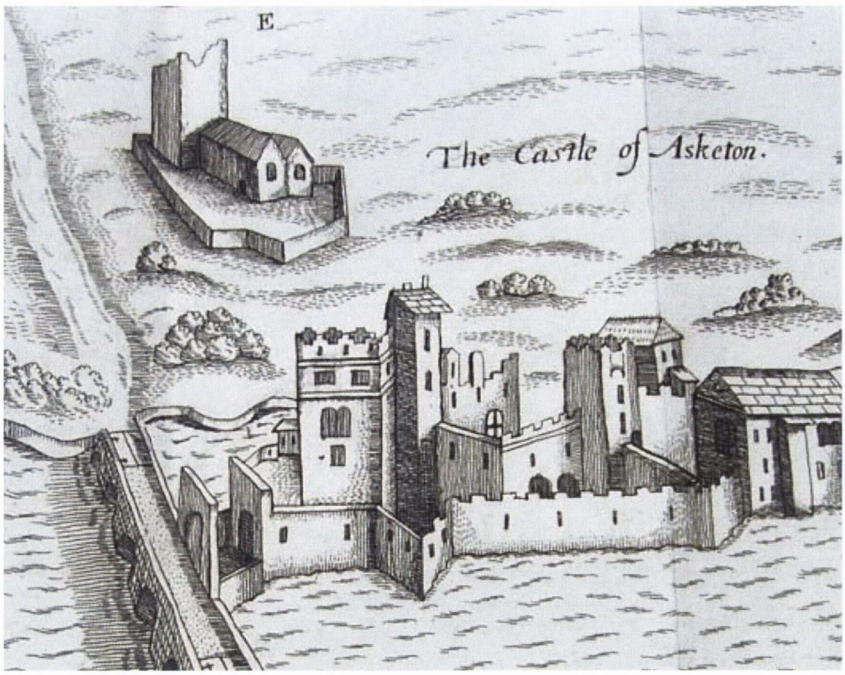


Fig. 7.3 Parish Church of Askeaton, from Sir Thomas Stafford, *Pacata Hibernia*, (London : Printed for R.M. And part of the Impression made over, to be vented for the Benefit of the Children of Iohn Mynshevv, deceased, 1634.)

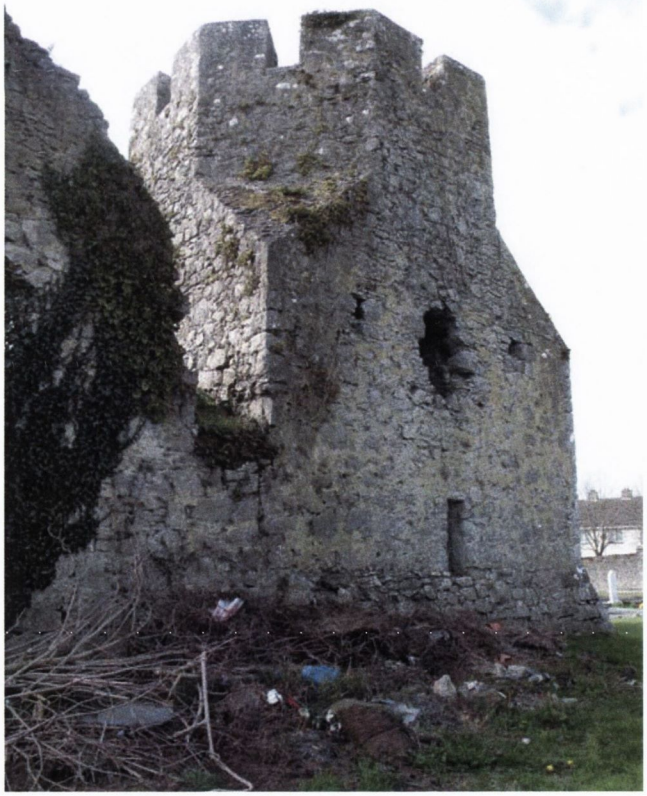


Fig. 7.4 Belfry, Askeaton, own photograph.



Fig. 7.5 Western façade of the parish church, Askeaton, showing empty bellcote, and bell in medieval belfry, own photograph.

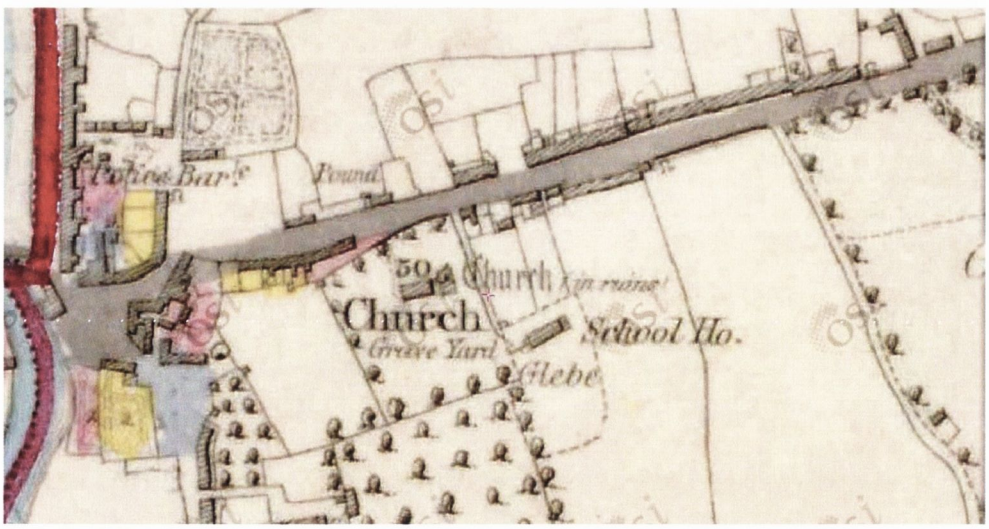


Fig. 7.6 The Church of St. Mary, Askeaton, 6 inch Ordnance Survey of Ireland map image (1837 – 1842), www.osi.ie

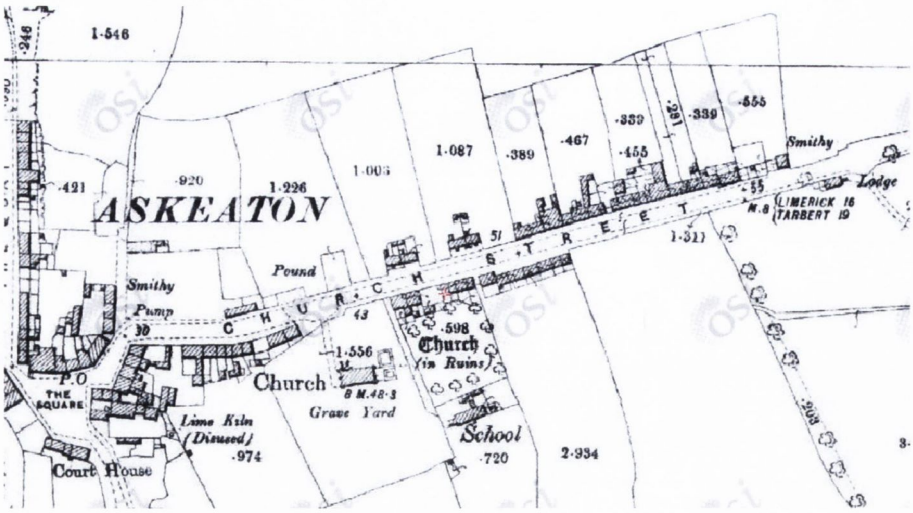


Fig. 7.7 The Church of St. Mary, Askeaton, 25 inch Ordnance Survey of Ireland map image (1888 – 1913), www.osi.ie



Fig. 7.8 Church of St. Multose, Kinsale, Co. Cork, own photograph



Fig. 7.9 Galwey Chapel (in ruins), St. Multose, Kinsale, Co. Cork, own photograph

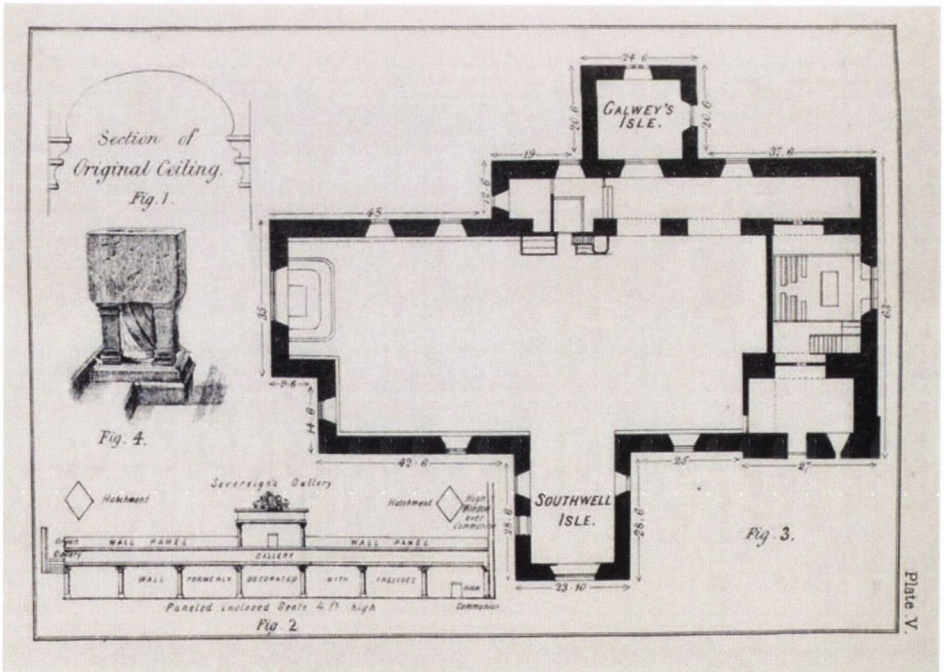


Fig. 7.10 Plate V, from Richard Caulfield's account of the church of St. Multose, depicting details of eighteenth-century renovations, Richard Caulfield, The Council Book for the Corporation of Kinsale, from 1652 – 1880, Gilbert Collection, Dublin City Library and Archive, Pearse Street.



Fig. 7.11 East window showing nineteenth-century lancet windows and scar from eighteenth-century alteration, own photograph

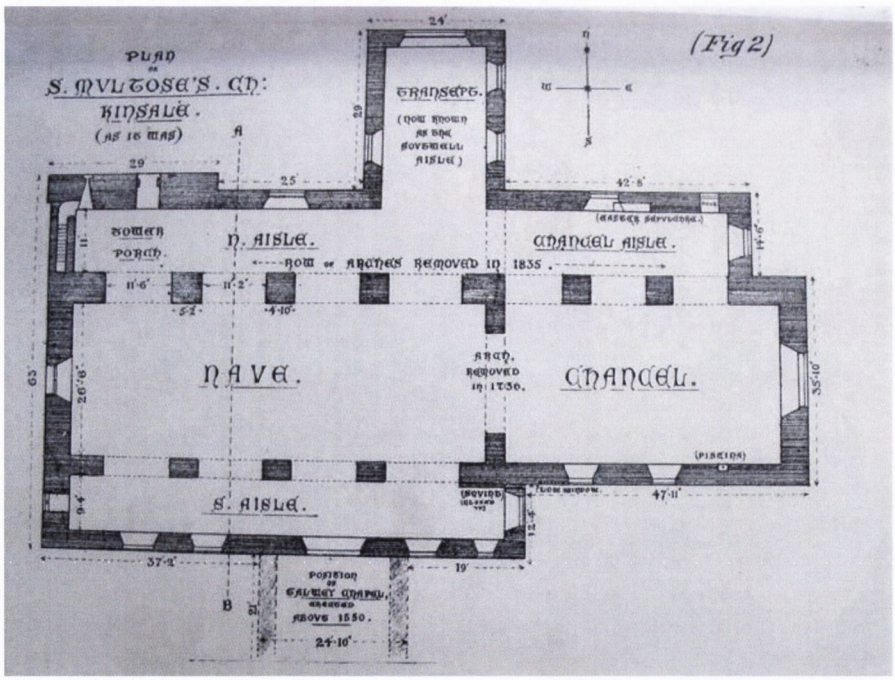


Fig. 7.12 Conjectural plan of St. Multose prior to the 1830s restoration, (John Lindsay Darling, St Multose Church Kinsale: An Account Historical and Descriptive, Cork: Guy, 1895)



Fig. 7.13 East window, St. Multose (interior), own photograph

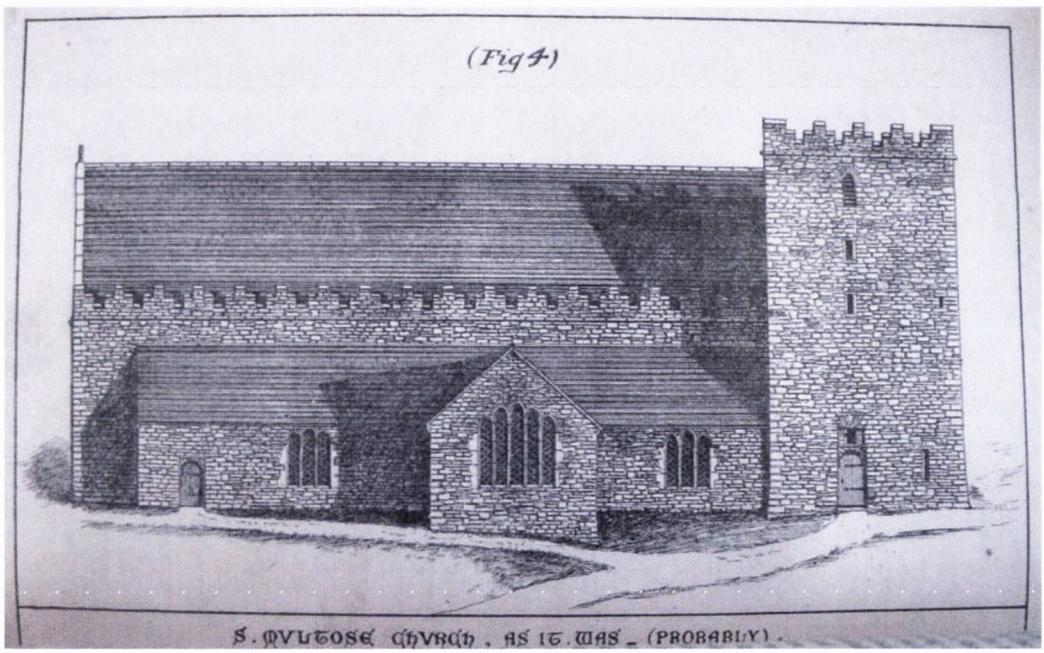


Fig.7.14 Conjectural elevation of St. Multose prior to the 1830s restoration, (John Lindsay Darling, St Multose Church Kinsale: An Account Historical and Descriptive, Cork: Guy, 1895)

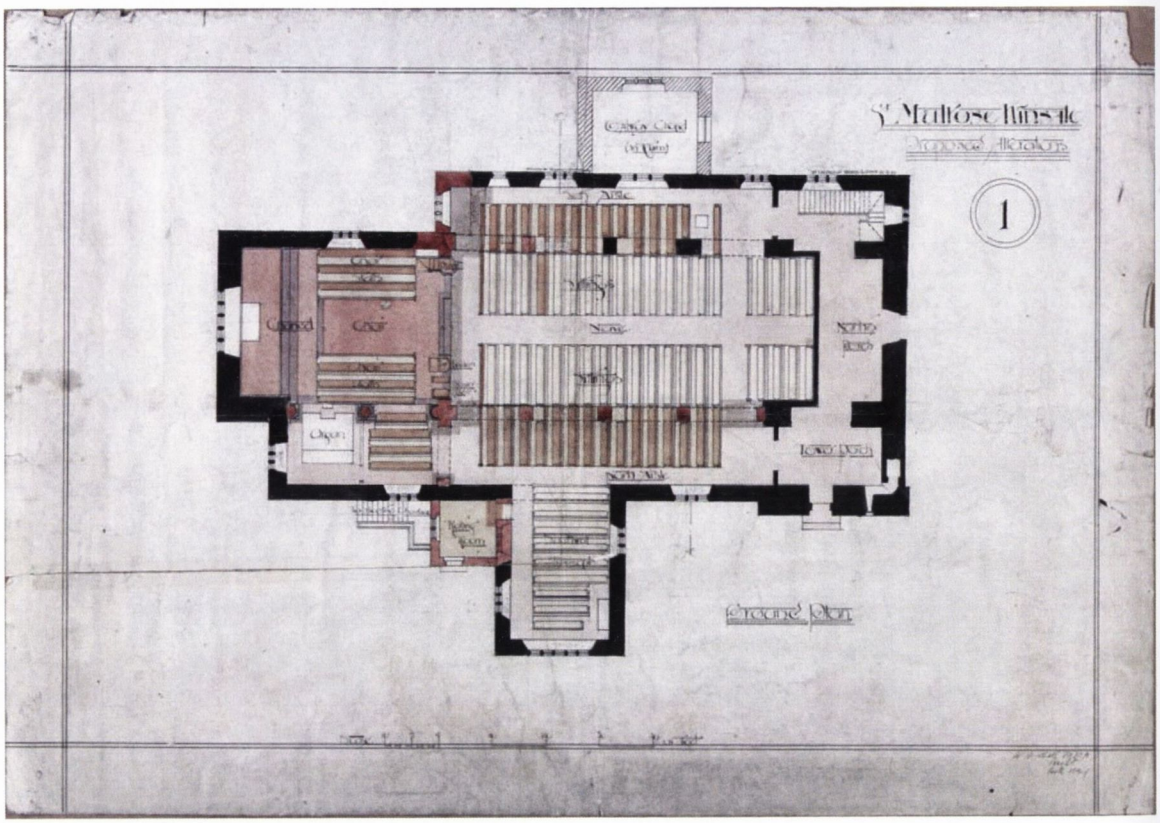


Fig. 7.15 Ground plan of proposed alterations by William Henry Hill, from a set of 5 drawings, dated 1894, in the Irish Architectural Archive, Acc. 98/88

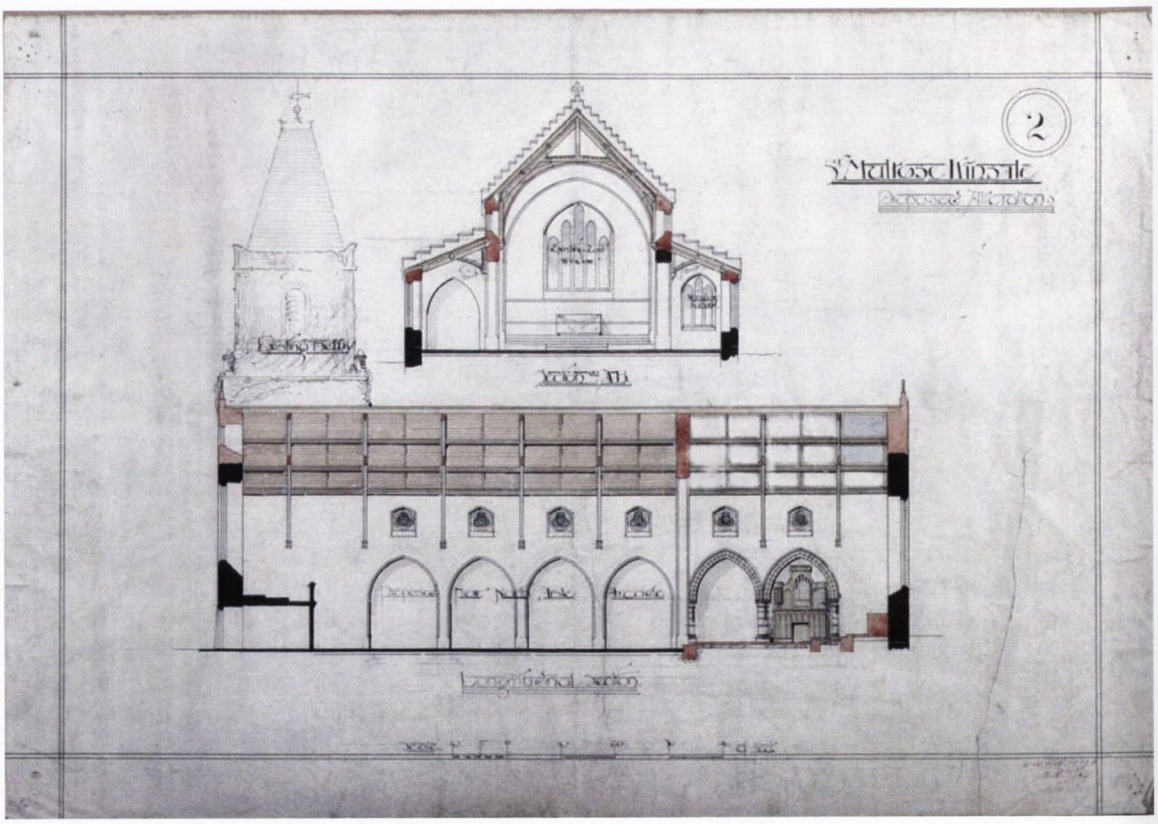


Fig. 7.16 Sections of proposed alterations by William Henry Hill, from a set of 5 drawings, dated 1894, in the Irish Architectural Archive, Acc. 98/88