

Sir Gilbert Scott's Restoration of Christ Church Cathedral

E.G.W. Bill

Edited by PETER HOWELL

SUMMARY

In the archives of Christ Church there are two typescripts by E.G.W. Bill, which were obviously intended for publication. Why this never happened is not known, but they deserve to be put into the public realm, and they are here edited by Peter Howell and Michael Hall. Geoffrey Bill (1924–2001), a Balliol man, became archivist of Christ Church in 1950. From 1954 until 1958 he was assistant keeper in the Department of Western Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library, and in the latter year he became librarian at Lambeth Palace. He remained Christ Church archivist until he retired from all his positions in 1991. His many publications show a keen interest in architecture.¹ His sense of humour comes out in his anecdotes. The typescripts are reproduced complete, but have been edited to comply with Oxoniensia house style, and there has been some minor tidying up of punctuation. The editors' notes are enclosed in square brackets.

E.G.W. Bill's first Christ Church typescript provides a detailed account of Sir Gilbert Scott's restoration of the cathedral, carried out in 1870–7. It describes the background to the work, the personalities involved, and the vigorous debates which it inspired. It reveals Scott's scholarly and intelligent approach to his task. The typescript is dated September 1956. This was before even the Victorian Society had been founded, which explains his apologetic attitude towards Scott, an attitude which would now be regarded as unnecessary.

After over half a century of uncritical denigration, the architects of the Gothic Revival of the last century have, in the last few years, had several discriminating apologists. It is right that this should be so, for the best of their achievements have a vitality and intellectual consistency rare enough at any time. But their ecclesiastical restorations are not to be judged by the same standards as their original buildings, and it would, I think, be mistaken of us to allow the healing passage of time to reconcile us to their work without a close examination of their theories and practice. Scott's restoration of Christ Church Cathedral is well suited for this purpose, because, although not discussed during the great storm which burst over his head in 1877, it is characteristic of his methods, and although not mentioned by Scott in his

[Editor's note: In the task of editing assistance was kindly given by Judith Curthoys, archivist of Christ Church; Dr Geoffrey Tyack; and the cathedral verger, Jim Godfrey. *Oxoniensia*, 53 (1988) contains 'St Fridewide's Monastery at Oxford: Archaeological and Architectural Studies', edited by John Blair, at pp. 1–275. The various articles contain many references to Scott's work.]

[¹ The memorial address of 19 February 2002 by J.F.A. Mason was published in *Christ Church* (2001). See also the obituary in *The Times*, 14 December 2001.]

Recollections, it is particularly well documented.² There are several descriptions of the cathedral as it was before 1870, including Scott's own account in his *Report* privately printed in 1869, where his recommendations are also set forth. By the kind permission of Mrs Oldrid Scott, I have been allowed to examine Scott's sketchbook, which by a fortunate chance has survived.³ In addition there are a number of plans of the interior and exterior of the cathedral drawn up by him and now deposited by Christ Church in the Bodleian Library.⁴ The extent and influence of the governing body's participation is illustrated by a quantity of material now in the Treasury. The progress of the work itself may be followed in local newspapers, and particularly in the *Oxford Journal*, which, from about 1860, printed annually in Michaelmas term an account of new buildings and repairs in the university for the preceding twelve months.

Many years before Scott was called in, Christ Church Cathedral had attracted the critical attention of ecclesiologists. In 1847 an article appeared in *The Ecclesiologist* stating roundly that,

the church has sunk to a college-chapel, from whose festival worship the laity are excluded, and which is probably the only cathedral in Christendom where there is never a sermon preached, or a communion offered, for the benefit of the people of the diocese.

The writer went on to denounce the episcopal throne as 'meanness itself', and the account of the service left him almost inarticulate: 'Of the services performed within this degraded choir', he said, 'we can only trust ourselves to say, that it is the most slovenly and irreverent that we have ever witnessed in any English cathedral'. The seated figure of Cyril Jackson, which was then in the north transept, with its back to the altar, dressed in academic instead of priestly robes, seemed to him symbolic of a place 'where learning has triumphed over religion, and the Bishop is overshadowed by the scholars'.⁵

Ecclesiologists were readily moved to wrath, and at Christ Church in the reign of Gaisford there was plenty to move them.⁶ Although it was intended to serve the needs of a college chapel, a university church and the cathedral of the diocese, its size, shape and the circumstances of the foundation of the college made it practically a college chapel only.⁷ Internally it bore ample testimony to the peculiar constitution of the college, where all power was then vested in the dean and chapter, and to the nature of the academic studies pursued within its walls. In the reign of Charles I Brian Duppa had built two facing rows of high pews in the choir for the canons and their families.⁸ These were unkindly described by a contributor to *Building News*

[² The 'great storm' was the outcry which followed the announcement that Scott was to restore Tewkesbury Abbey, and which led to the formation of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings. See G.G. Scott, *Personal and Professional Recollections* (1879), pp. 358–71. Recent writers make a fairer assessment of Scott's cathedral restorations: see especially C. Marx, 'The Restoration of Cathedrals and Major Churches in England during the Nineteenth Century and after', University of Cambridge D.Phil. thesis (2009); V. Jansen, 'George Gilbert Scott and Restoration at Chester Cathedral, 1819–76', in A.T. Thacker (ed.), *Medieval Archaeology, Art and Architecture at Chester Cathedral*, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 22 (2000), pp. 81–97; R. Hellon, *The Saving of St Davids Cathedral* (2012).]

[³ The sketchbook is now CCA, DP vii.a.8.]

[⁴ These drawings have now been returned to CCA. They were catalogued by the Bodleian as MS Dep. a. 17; they are now Ch Ch 119. They include five contract drawings of 2 October 1870, signed by the builder J.R. Symm, two plans of seating, and a drawing for the bishop's throne (not as executed). They were sent to the college bursar in 1948 by C.M. Oldrid Scott.]

[⁵ The statue of Cyril Jackson (dean 1783–1809), by Sir Francis Chantrey (1820), is now in the anteroom of the hall. The article appeared in *The Ecclesiologist*, 7 (1847), pp. 47–59.]

[⁶ Thomas Gaisford was dean 1831–55.]

[⁷ In 1847 *The Ecclesiologist* argued that the only solution was either to build a new cathedral, or to move the see back to Dorchester (p. 59). Even in 1879 H.P. Liddon, a Christ Church man, then a canon of St Paul's, considered the situation so insoluble that he suggested that both cathedral and chapter should be separated from the college, and that the Church of St Mary the Virgin should become the cathedral (in a letter to William Bright of 4 December, Bodl. MS Eng. Lett. 301–2).]

[⁸ Brian Duppa was dean 1629–38.]

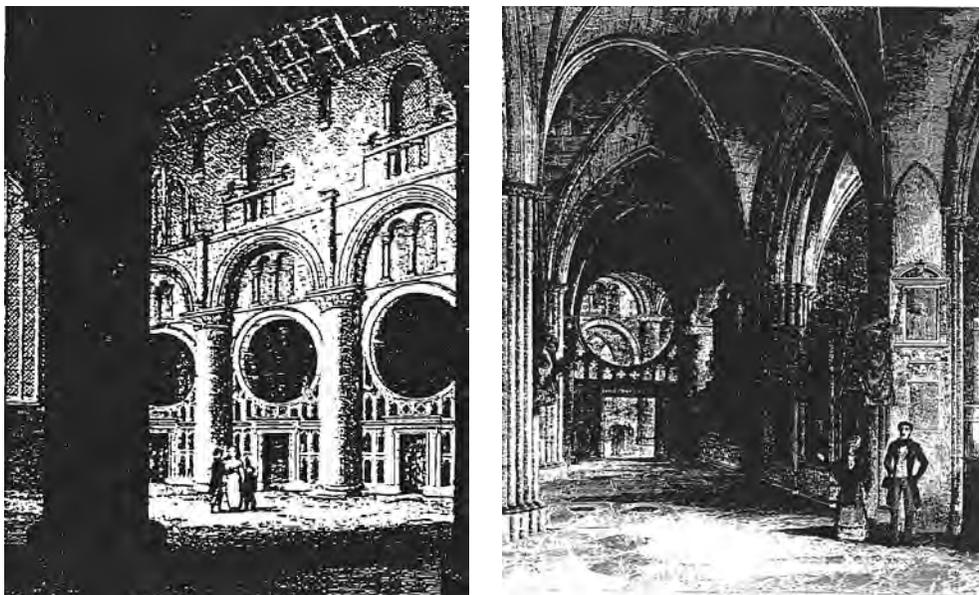


Fig.1. Screens inserted by dean Duppa in the north transept.

in 1857 in these words: ‘They very much resembled third-class railway carriages, and, as they succeeded one another in a long connected line, a stranger might almost have supposed that he was in a more than usually elaborate station.’⁹ Between them were benches for the students and other members of the college. In the Bodleian Library is a plan of these in 1842, showing two clusters of benches at right angles to the pews with a passage between. There were twelve rows on one side, and eleven on the other, and each bench seated four persons.¹⁰ By this date the seating had become very inadequate, and there was much crowding towards the altar rails. A solid Jacobean screen, surmounted by the organ, stood across the west end of the choir, completely cutting off the view of the altar from the nave. Above the altar itself, which was plain and dignified, was a Decorated window filled in 1847 with glass by Alfred Gérente, which shed a light certainly not dim and barely religious.¹¹ The college services, which *The*

⁹ *Building News*, 3 (1857), p. 4. If he were a Gothic Revivalist, he would at least have had the satisfaction of finding himself in a Gothic station.

¹⁰ Bodl. MS Eng. Misc. b. 21, f. 15.

[¹¹ The ‘Decorated’ window was converted from five lights to three in the seventeenth century, and filled with glass whose design by dean Henry Aldrich, based on an engraving which he thought to be after Raphael, was improved by Sir James Thornhill, and executed by William Price in 1696 (‘one of the worst pieces of glass we ever saw’ – *The Ecclesiologist*, 7 (1847), p. 57). Some of it survives in the east clerestory of the north transept, and some in the college library (I am grateful to Dr Jacqueline Thalmann for information on this subject). Gérente was an excellent stained glass artist: M. Harrison, *Victorian Stained Glass* (1980), p. 25; M. Kerney, ‘All Saints, Margaret Street: A Glazing History’, *Journal of Stained Glass*, 25 (2002), pp. 29–35. *The Ecclesiologist*, 14 (1853), reported that ‘a new east window’ had been inserted, ‘and has been filled with stained glass by M. Alfred Gérente’ (pp. 303–4). The design of the window itself was described as ‘not happy’, though the glass was praised. See also *Building News*, 3 (1857), p. 5. However, Taunt’s photograph of the east end dated 1870, before Scott’s restoration, shows the same stonework as earlier pictures (Fig. 7). Bill dates the glass to 1847: according to H.L. Thompson (*Christ Church* (1900), p. 211), it had been intended ‘as a memorial to the tercentenary of the foundation’ (1546). He describes it as ‘gaudy’, and says that it ‘was distributed among the clerestory lights of the transepts’. Warner described it as ‘lurid and garish’ – *Oxford Cathedral* (1924), p. 95. In 1961 the glass was removed from the clerestory, smashed into small pieces and arranged into ‘mosaic’ effects in the tower windows.]

Ecclesiologist found so offensive, were conducted in the plain manner of the eighteenth century. When Sir Frederick Ouseley died, a writer to *The Globe* recalled that,

[Henry] Havergal was the first Christ Church chaplain to attempt to revive intoning the prayers, &c., which had quite dropped out of use; and, in fact, there was not one of them, beginning with dear old [Alfred] Hackman (the precentor), who could do it. It was Hackman who could give anyone else a start in the Creed up to Pontius Pilate, and then beat them hollow.¹²

Little attention was paid to the music, and the choir was carelessly recruited. In 1869 H.F. Thurlow wrote, 'I think in no cathedral was the music so badly conducted as at Ch. Ch. Cathedral.'¹³

The lightness of the interior, which was due to the Dutch glass in the windows and the removal of much of the tracery, made it suitable for the performance of college exercises, and until the nineteenth century divinity exercises normally took place there. The stone screens which shut off the chapels were a very necessary part of such an arrangement. Throughout the building the walls and pillars were, in the words of *The Ecclesiologist*, 'ruthlessly cut away to receive the hideous tablets and fulsome epitaphs of Bishops, Canons and Students'. But there was worse even than this, for from sometime during the eighteenth century, the verger had lived in a house in the south transept, and was said to keep his beer cool by placing it in a pew on the north side of the choir where the deanery ladies sat.¹⁴

The nave was used when the university sermon was preached at Christ Church, and was empty except for the seats of the vice-chancellor and doctors, which were placed longitudinally on the north side of the pulpit. Other seats were set out when required, though as early as 1674 the heads of houses had complained to Fell of 'the ill Accommodation of Seats (especially for Doctours & all under the degree of Masters)'.¹⁵ In 1853, Hudson, the college surveyor, 'perpetrated some expensive oak seats in imaginary Romanesque, for use when the university sermon is preached at Christ Church'.¹⁶ But if the university was ill provided for, the bishop was a prelate without honour in his own cathedral. Even in Liddell's early years, he 'would slink into his seat...as though he were almost an interloper'.¹⁷ There was no provision for a congregation, and the structure of the choir was a real obstacle in the way of confirmations and other diocesan functions. In 1854, the dean and chapter informed the commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of cathedral and collegiate churches that:

the church of St Frideswide, enclosed within the college gates, is, in fact, nothing more than a college chapel ... The dean and chapter, therefore, cannot but maintain that, though their church is in the *legal* acceptance of the term a cathedral church, in so far as the Episcopal cathedral is there, yet the fundamental, because the original and unaltered, character of their society is that of an academical college.¹⁸

¹² *Memorials of Sir Frederick A.G. Ouseley* (1889), p. 38. Havergal was subsequently vicar of Cople (Beds.) and his attempts to restore the church, and in particular to remove the pews from the chancel, were not well received by all his parishioners. The Duke of Bedford's agent wrote, 'It is a most grievous misfortune to Cople, or to any parish, to have such a man set over it. It is quite evident that the bent of his genius lies in other directions, and he made a great mistake in adopting his sacred profession. He excels in Music, is a tolerably good Mechanic, but a most indifferent parish Priest.' Henry Rose, the rural dean, however, thought highly of his services to 'Sacred Music': Cople Estate Papers in Christ Church Treasury. [Nevertheless, Havergal stayed at Cople until 1875, and restored the chancel and resealed the nave: C. Pickford (ed.), *Bedfordshire Churches in the Nineteenth Century – Part I*, Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, 73 (1994), p. 210.]

¹³ CCA, DP vii.c.1.

¹⁴ H.L. Thompson, *Memoir of H.G. Liddell* (1899), p. 149. [This must have been one of the 'darksome dens occupied by women' referred to by *The Ecclesiologist*, 7 (1847), p. 56.]

¹⁵ Christ Church Treasury, MS xx.c.5, p. 511. [John Fell was dean 1660–86.]

¹⁶ *The Ecclesiologist* (1853), p. 304. [John Hudson (1803–69) was 'a successful Oxford builder' (Colvin).]

¹⁷ Thompson, *Liddell*, p. 156.

¹⁸ *Parliamentary Papers 1854*, vol. 25, p. 770.

They went on to say that whereas in other sees bishops stood to their several chapters in the relation of Visitor, at Christ Church the Sovereign was Visitor, and that while capitular functions elsewhere were diocesan, at Christ Church they were academical. In ecclesiastical matters as in academical, Gaisford wanted to preserve unchanged the golden time of Cyril Jackson.

His successor, however, was a reformer, and had barely occupied the deanery for a year when the first steps were taken to restore Christ Church Cathedral.¹⁹ On 11 July 1856, an agreement was drawn up with John Billing, a London architect, to effect alterations costing £998 9s. 3d.²⁰ The organ was moved into the south transept, and an open screen evolved out of the old choir screen and placed between the first pillars westward of the nave, leaving a small ante chapel of one bay. The old stalls of the chapter were removed to a position westward of the third bay of the nave, and the choristers from the choir to a position under the central tower. The remaining seats were rearranged, all the old wood being used without the addition of new, and the panels at the side of the choir were taken down. About 150 seats for the public were placed in the north transept, and for the first time choral services were well attended.²¹ At the same time heating was introduced. By these measures the area of the choir was increased, and made more suitable for collegiate and diocesan functions, and some provision was made for the attendance of the public. Contemporary accounts of this first restoration, however, reveal that it was regarded as the first step only, and the question which arises is not why so much more was done fourteen years later, for this is to be attributed to the ecclesiological spirit of the time, but rather why such a long interval elapsed.²² For this there were several reasons, in particular the breakdown in Liddell's health, the erection of the Meadow Building and the constitutional turmoil in which the college was involved until 1867.

The first step in resuming the restoration was taken by the chapter alone in 1866, that is before the formation of the governing body, which took place in the following year. The chapter book for 2 June 1866 contains the entry, 'Mr. Scott laid before the chapter a ground plan of the Cathedral, and a long discussion was held as to the arrangements proposed by him. The discussion was postponed.'²³ It is likely that Scott made a complete examination of the building at this time, for his *Report* in 1869 refers to the help he received from Dr Shirley, who, he says, first perceived the error of attributing the choir vault to Wolsey (p. xiii), but his proposals seem

[¹⁹ In 1855 *The Ecclesiologist* (16, pp. 306–7) severely criticised the recent whitewashing of 'the remains of the cloister and the entrances into the cathedral and chapter house.' It pointed out that 'it is not so many months since a new – and reforming – dean was appointed. Did he know of – did he sanction – this proceeding?' *The Building News* (3 (1857), p. 5) imagined 'some zealous antiquarian...snatching the wet brush out of the furbisher's hand, and rushing off in a burst of righteous indignation, fully intending to wash every member of the chapter from head to toe.' The whitewash and plaster were removed in 1869 (Scott to Liddell, 26 May 1869).]

²⁰ CCA, DP vii.c.1.

²¹ *Building News*, 3 (1857), p. 4. [For Billing's work, see also *The Builder*, 14 (1856), p. 586; Thompson, *Christ Church*, p. 209. Billing also did work at the deanery, with sculpture by Theodore Phyllers (*The Builder*, 14 (1856), p. 176.)]

[²² During this 'long interval' some work was done. In 1859 Benjamin Woodward was commissioned to design a new east window for the Latin Chapel, to replace one described by *The Ecclesiologist* (7 (1847), p. 54) as a 'great disfigurement'. This was funded by a legacy from John Bull, late treasurer of Christ Church. The carved foliage on it was the work of James O'Shea, who also worked at the University Museum. The window was filled with glass designed by Edward Burne-Jones and made by James Powell and Sons (Frederick O'Dwyer, *The Architecture of Deane and Woodward* (1997), pp. 516–18). In 1861 the local architect E.G. Bruton opened the triforium arches (he removed the eighteenth-century balustrades), cleaned the stone roof, moved the monument to Bishop Fell to the west end, and removed a stained glass window for restoration (*The Builder*, 20 (1861), p. 753). In 1864 stained glass was put into a Norman window in the south nave aisle: the makers were again Powells, and the designer was James Rogers (P. Howell, 'Who was "Rogers, a Pupil of Woodward"?' *Irish Arts Review* (1997), pp. 105–11).]

²³ Chapter Book, 1852–68, f. 250v. [The choice of Scott is not surprising, not just because of his national reputation, but because of his earlier work in Oxford, starting with the Martyrs' Memorial and north aisle of the Church of St Mary Magdalen, and continuing with, among other works, the much admired chapel of Exeter College.]



Fig. 2. Interior of the cathedral looking east in 1870: OHC, HT 861.

to have been limited to refurnishing. On 12 June, he sent to the dean two rough estimates 'for the proposed fittings at the Cathedral, one a comparative plain design and the other a richer one'.²⁴ These provided for new seats in the nave and choir, under the tower and in the transepts, new seats for the dean and chapter, bishop, vice-chancellor and proctors, low side screens in the nave and choir, and a new choir screen, altar and reredos. The floor of the choir was to be renewed, and other floors partially relaid. The cost of the plain design was estimated at £5,680, and of the richer one at £8,680 – both considerably higher than the estimate ultimately accepted for this work. Indeed it seems likely that further action was postponed at this time because of the cost. In a letter to Scott dated 15 April 1869, Liddell refers to 'the fear of the very large expenditure which you contemplated in your Report to the Dean and Chapter'.²⁵

At the first meeting of the newly formed governing body on 16 October 1867, a treasury committee was appointed consisting of Thomas Prout, Robert Faussett, C.W. Sandford, A.G.V. Harcourt and Charles Martin to recommend a surveyor 'who shall make the estimate required by Clause vii' of the statutes.²⁶ Clause vii required a decennial survey to be made of the average annual repairs likely to be incurred in the ensuing ten years 'for the repair and proper sustentation of the Cathedral and its appurtenances, including the Chapter House'. The responsibility of the governing body thus defined extended beyond mere repairs necessary to the fabric of the cathedral, but, of course, it did not include restorations of the kind contemplated by Scott. The intention of the statute is made clear in a note on the draft statutes by Sir John Coleridge, who was the referee representing the interests of the canons in the negotiations leading up to the grant of statutes. The draft originally mentioned repairs to the fabric only, but against this Coleridge has written the additional phrase which was subsequently incorporated and the following gloss: 'I wish to provide for the case of something being fit to be done other than mere repairs. I am not sure that sustentation is the proper word for this, but I think that it should be provided for. Would mere cleaning or new seating be repairs?'²⁷ On 8 November, the committee recommended J.W. Hugall, a local surveyor and builder, to make the survey, and on 16 December it was presented to the governing body.²⁸ This report does not appear to have survived. On 25 February 1868, the Revd Thomas Chamberlain put forward a motion that the governing body should confer with the chapter about the restoration of the cathedral, and this motion marks the combination of the scheme to repair the cathedral with the wider plans of restoration which had been revived by the chapter in 1866. In view of his strong views on ecclesiology, the part taken by Chamberlain in these proceedings is worthy of note. He was the bridge between the repairers and restorers.²⁹

A new committee was at once appointed, consisting of Chamberlain himself, Faussett, Sandford, Vere Bayne and H.L. Thompson, and after discussion the chapter resolved on 10 December 1868 that 'it would be expedient to undertake the restoration of the church to a condition worthy of the place'.³⁰ To this committee, which represented the governing body, were added on 10 March 1869 the dean, archdeacon Clerke, who was sub-dean, Pusey and R.W. Jelf, representing the chapter. Since the dean, as chairman, had a casting vote, the

²⁴ CCA, DP vii.c.1.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Minutes, 1867–85, p. 2. [For the new governing body, which gave the students (fellows) a role in the running of the college, see E.G.W. Bill and J.F.A. Mason, *Christ Church and Reform, 1850–1867* (1970); J. Curthoys, *Christ Church* (2012), chapter 8.]

²⁷ Bodl. MS G.A. Oxon. c. 258.

²⁸ Hugall was a competent architect, whose work includes new churches at Bourton and Easthampstead in Berkshire, as well as a good deal of church restoration.]

²⁹ Chamberlain, a Christ Church man, and Westminster student, was vicar of St Thomas the Martyr, Oxford, and founded the Sisterhood of St Thomas (P. Anson, *The Call of the Cloister* (1964), pp. 285–8), as well as St Edward's School. His patronage of the architect Clapton Crabb Rolfe is noteworthy (A. Saint, 'Three Oxford Architects', *Oxoniensia*, 35 (1975), p. 101). See also J. Whitehead, *The Church of St Thomas the Martyr, Oxford: A Short History and Guide* (2003).]

³⁰ Chapter Minutes, 1868–1916, f. 2r.

representation of the two parties was equal. At a later date William Bright was added to the committee, and at a still later date Fremantle and Sampson.

On more than one occasion, Scott complained of interference by enthusiastic clergymen with his plans of restoration, and there is no doubt that his work at Christ Church was affected to a considerable degree by the opinions of the restoration committee on ecclesiology. The Oxford Movement, which largely coloured their opinions, strove towards a reassertion of the continuity of the church, and in particular it placed renewed emphasis on the importance of the sacraments. It sought for the re-establishment of medieval forms and usages, and the ideal church arrangements for these purposes were believed to be those of the fourteenth century, most subsequent additions being condemned, particularly those which had occurred after the Reformation.³¹ The antiquarian aspect of the movement had results which can only be described as disastrous. It frequently led to the wholesale sweeping away of post-Reformation church fittings, and to the pulling about of ancient buildings in order to discover their original design, which was then restored by means of an indiscriminate confusion of new work and ancient fragments. Scott was severely criticised for doing precisely this.³² Ecclesiologists sometimes claimed that in altering churches, they were only doing what medieval architects had done in altering them to meet the changing needs of the day. But medieval architects altered churches to meet new requirements, and not from a conscious desire to put back the clock of history 400 years, ignoring what had taken place in the interval. However much ecclesiologists regretted the passing of the Middle Ages, they could not bring back time past by building in nineteenth-century Gothic. 'We have no style of our own', wrote Sir Sidney Colvin, 'but have become lovers, grammarians, and imitators of former styles...We are fettered, with the fetters at once of antiquarian knowledge and native sterility'.³³

The important part played by the university architectural societies at Oxford and Cambridge in disseminating architectural and ecclesiological knowledge has often been noticed, and of the members of the restoration committee at Christ Church in 1870, Liddell, Chamberlain, Clerke, Jelf, Pusey, Sandford and Bright belonged to the Oxford Architectural Society. The attitude of this society to church restoration was defined by Eastlake in these words:

If not quite so fervent as the Camden in its zeal for the revival of Gothic, the Oxford Society showed from the first a wise and discriminating judgment on the question of 'restorations', which had the effect of tempering a policy which elsewhere might have sacrificed to considerations of style many a relic of past times deficient indeed in the highest qualities of architectural grace, but deserving on other grounds the interest and protection of posterity.³⁴

Eastlake illustrates this passage with a lengthy quotation from an address given to the Society in 1841 by no less a person than Liddell himself. Its relevance to the present discussion is sufficient justification for its repetition:

Societies, no less than individuals, when much interested in one object, are apt to become either microscopic or one-sided in their views; both these tendencies are a

³¹ For the whole subject, see the excellent discussion in G.W.O. Addleshaw and F. Etchells, *The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship* (1948).

³² Sir Sidney Colvin described his methods in these words: '...a scientific or "conservative" church restoration is one in which, fittings unsuitable to the desired ritual having been removed and replaced by others, ... all further clearances or demolitions are effected strictly with a view to bring to light from among the more recent portions of the building fragments of the earlier portions, and all reconstructions strictly with a view to reproduce the design to which the earlier portions belonged – the fragments themselves to be incorporated, intact, in the reproduction', *Nineteenth Century*, 1877, pt. ii, p. 455. [This is unfair to Scott, who mentions the periodical article of Colvin's in which this quotation appears in his *Recollections*, pp. 364–5.]

³³ *Nineteenth Century*, 1877, pt. ii, p. 459.

³⁴ C.L. Eastlake, *History of the Gothic Revival* (1872), p. 203.

kind of pedantry, a fault to which all persons are liable who confine their views too much to one object, and against which it may be useful to warn this and other similar Societies. We must remember how liable every man's mind is to be biased and warped by systems of exclusive study, and that antiquarians are peculiarly open to this failing. Let us therefore take warning, and not set our affections on one style only, or on absolute uniformity in each style. This is the pedantry of architecture; this is the one-sidedness we must guard against. Many people, who, to avoid offence, may be called not pedants but purists, seeing a fine old church disfigured, as they would say, by alterations, would begin by sweeping all such disfigurements clean away, and restoring the church just as it stood when built. But the alterations of old buildings are in great part their history, and however much you may restore, you cannot recover the original work; and so you may be removing what is of the highest possible interest, to make room for work, correct indeed as a copy, but in itself of little or no value.

The principles described here were closely followed in the restoration of Christ Church, as we shall see, but they do not represent the whole of Liddell's views as they were delivered on this occasion, though they are all that Eastlake quotes, for he goes on to say that his plea for the retention of certain alterations does not extend to such things as Italian altars, and 'square sleeping-boxes, or the numerous other incongruities with which our Churches have been disfigured since the period called the "Renaissance", when all true taste seems to have departed from us'.³⁵

Liddell took considerable interest in artistic questions, and was well informed on such matters. He was greatly influenced by the publication of *Modern Painters* (though it is perhaps a matter of regret that he was not equally influenced by *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* and particularly by the chapter on the 'Lamp of Memory'),³⁶ and he had some skill as an artist, which, as is well known, he occasionally pursued on the unsympathetic medium of blotting paper. The designs for the glass in the east window of Iffley church were made by him,³⁷ and it is a matter of satisfaction to admirers of the University Museum and the Meadow Building at Christ Church that he was connected with both.³⁸ He followed with interest the repairs done to churches where the college had patronage or property, and in 1863 is found advising the vicar of Pitchcott about the repair of his church.³⁹ In the first restoration of the cathedral in 1856, he took an enthusiastic part which was described by a writer in *Building News* in these words:

The present dean takes, as might be expected from him, the utmost interest in the works which, through his instrumentality, are now being carried out; and he gives the best illustration of it by personally overlooking them, spending hour after hour in watching their progress, encouraging those who are employed upon them, and in the most affable and painstaking manner pointing out to strangers and others who visit the cathedral, as we ourselves can testify, the nature of the alterations, and the purposes for which they have been undertaken.⁴⁰

[³⁵ Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture, *Report*, 9 June 1841, pp. 18–19. Liddell was a member of the Society's committee (P. Howell, 'The Founders of the Oxford Architectural Society', *Oxonienisia*, 75 (2010), p. 62).]

³⁶ H.L. Thompson, *Liddell*, p. 215.

³⁷ 'The drawing for the glass window at E. End was made by H.G. Liddell sixty-four years ago; so we were told by Major Ind who heard it from the late Dean himself.' *Diary of Vere Bayne*, 15 June 1895. [The glass now in this window is by Geoffrey Webb and dates from 1932.]

³⁸ It is sometimes forgotten that the much maligned Meadow Building was erected at a time when flood water frequently rose almost to the walls. When this happened the full effect of Venetian Gothic was visible.

³⁹ Pitchcott estate papers in Christ Church Treasury. [St Giles, Pitchcott (Bucks.) was restored in 1863–4 by A.D. Gough. It is now a private house.]

⁴⁰ *Building News*, 2 (1856), p. 569.

He showed the same interest in Scott's restoration, corresponding with him over the preparation of his *Report*, and supplying him with information. He presided over the restoration committee, and the details of the negotiations with Scott were left in his hands. Little was done without his knowledge or advice. 'Those who were privileged to serve on the 'Restoration Committee', wrote H.L. Thompson, himself a member, 'under the presidency of the Dean will gratefully acknowledge the debt due to his untiring attention to every detail of the work, and to his exquisite artistic taste and well-balanced judgement.'⁴¹

With the exception of Bright, the canons on the committee do not appear to have taken much part in its proceedings. Pusey had never shown much interest in ecclesiology, and as he grew older desired increasingly to preserve as unchanged as possible the Christ Church he had known for so long. In 1872, ill health obliged him to resign from the committee. Jelf, too, was elderly and in fact died in 1871. Clerke had, as archdeacon, some experience of the practical problems of church restoration, but, except in one instance, seems to have followed Liddell's lead. Bright, who joined the committee on 10 June 1869, was, however, a ritualist and had strong views on ecclesiological matters. While the restoration was in progress, he became involved in the disturbances at St Barnabas, and W.E. Jelf, brother of R.W. and a hostile critic, wrote:

His ritualistic proclivities were indeed notorious; but men who knew him said that he was not prepared to go to any extreme lengths; that he would rather be a drag than a spur. For myself I confess that I had hoped that his having to teach ecclesiastical history had impressed upon him a sufficiently accurate appreciation of the principles and features of the primitive Church to prevent his mistaking Mediaevalism for Catholicity.⁴²

Bright gave the altar in the cathedral, and, with Liddon, the reredos, but, as will be seen, both gifts were criticised in the chapter.

The dean apart, the students on the committee probably played a more active part in the restoration than the members of the chapter, but here also there were several shades of opinion. One of the most active was Vere Bayne. A modest and retiring man, who wrote nothing and engaged in few of the great university battles, he is now almost forgotten, but in the history of Christ Church in the second half of the nineteenth century he was a figure of some importance. From his appointment to a studentship in 1849 until his death in 1908, he was in constant residence, never marrying or accepting further ecclesiastical preferment, and in that time he occupied all the important offices in the college. Besides being an active tutor for many years, he was censor from 1863 to 1877, and in that capacity took a prominent part in the negotiations leading up to the statutes of 1867, which provided for the creation of the governing body, of which he was the first secretary.

Vere Bayne's interests were mainly of a historical nature, and he did excellent work as keeper of the university archives. His knowledge of the history of Christ Church, particularly for the first century of its existence, was immense. With some experience of dealing with historical evidence, he was very meticulous about keeping records of college activities with which he was connected. His method of keeping the minutes of the governing body, for example, is a model for all his successors. His presence on the restoration committee, therefore, should serve to increase our confidence that the papers which survive in Christ Church relating to the restoration are the complete written record. Vere Bayne's activities in the university were many, and his courteous and reticent manner enabled him to perform them without publicity and without incurring the rancour of his opponents. He was Senior Proctor in 1867-8, and sat on the Hebdomadal Council from 1872 to 1878. He was Secretary to the University Commission

⁴¹ Thompson, *Liddell*, p. 156.

⁴² *Considerations on Ritualism* (1873), p. 7. [William Bright got to know M.H. Noel, later vicar of St Barnabas, when they were undergraduates at Christ Church. He was 'a familiar figure at St Barnabas until his death'. In 1872 he preached at the funeral of Thomas Combe, whose elaborate ritual provoked much hostility, not least a pamphlet entitled *Quousque*, by Jelf: A.T. Bassett, *S. Barnabas' Oxford: A Record of Fifty Years* (1919), pp. 35, 59, 70-2.

appointed under the act of 1875, and was highly esteemed by Lord Selborne. In 1888, he was recommended to Lord Salisbury for the vacant deanery of Chichester, and after describing his political services, Sir John Mowbray added of him that he was 'a learned man and universally popular, with considerable knowledge of Church Music. His weak point is in his preaching capacity.'⁴³ He was deeply interested in ecclesiastical architecture, and his diary shows that a large part of his vacations was spent travelling round Europe, mainly France, looking at cathedrals and churches.⁴⁴ He was also a very religious man deeply imbued with the ideas of the Oxford Movement, and threw himself with enthusiasm into the restoration of Christ Church. Indeed, one old member, George Gaisford, a son of dean Gaisford, thought he was behind the whole business. 'Is not this a maddish scheme', he wrote, 'of which Bayne is the more immediate basis?'⁴⁵ Large numbers of monuments were moved under his direct supervision, and many years later he paid for some of the work in the cloister.

A famous figure in the Oxford Movement was Thomas Chamberlain, vicar of St Thomas. When he introduced vestments into his parish in 1854, there appears to have been only one other parish church in England where a similar use prevailed. In *Oxford Yesterday*, W.E. Sherwood wrote that the parish was 'terribly in advance of the times, and had vestments, and altar lights, and Sisters of Mercy, and all sorts of strange horrors'.⁴⁶ In 1846, despite opposition from the patrons, the dean and chapter, he restored the church, moving the choir into the chancel, demolishing the old gallery and square pews, and building a new altar and chancel arch.⁴⁷ It is worthy of note that the chapter which opposed this programme of restoration included Pusey, Clerke and Jelf, all of whom were later on the cathedral restoration committee. Jelf was, of course, not in residence at this period. Chamberlain's ideas on church restoration were expounded in detail in a pamphlet written in 1856, and entitled *The Chancel: An Appeal for its Proper Use*, in which he asserts the symbolic value of 'the long-drawn nave, the darkened chancel, the solid massive tower, or heaven-pointing spire', and emphasises the importance of the sacraments. Churches, he says, are consecrated 'for the purpose of celebrating Sacraments and sacramental acts. And of all such acts, it is superfluous to say that the Holy Eucharist is the highest and most perfect. Of that the altar is the seat and symbol. Therefore, by consequence, the altar in every church should be made to arrest and fix the eye of the beholder; and to this everything should point.'

A very different figure was Robert Godfrey Faussett, who, like Vere Bayne, is in some danger of being forgotten. He was the tenth child of Godfrey Faussett, Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, and was born in Nackington in Kent in 1827. He received his early education at Slatter's, a small school at Iffley, and then at Bridgnorth School, Shropshire, and came up to Christ Church in 1845, where he took a first in Mathematics in 1849 and was appointed lecturer in Mathematics in the following year. In 1855, he resigned his lecturership in order to go out to the Crimea with a temporary commission in the Commissariat Department, but on his return he was ordained deacon in 1858 and went as curate to Halfway Street, Bexley. He was ordained priest in 1859, and was curate of Fretherne in Gloucestershire from 1862 to 1864. He maintained his connection with Oxford, however, and in 1865 was appointed steward and in 1868 treasurer of Christ Church. The latter appointment he held until his resignation in 1886. Faussett married his first cousin Ellen Anne Wethered at Great Marlow in 1869, and had two children, a boy named Fermor who became a lieutenant in the Buffs and died in peculiar circumstances in South Africa, and a daughter named Mary, who died in 1944. In 1875 he became vicar of Cassington where he died in 1908.⁴⁸

⁴³ Salisbury papers, information from J.H.A. Mason.

⁴⁴ Now in Christ Church library.

[⁴⁵ CCA, DP vii.c.1.]

⁴⁶ W.E. Sherwood, *Oxford Yesterday* (1927), p. 19.

[⁴⁷ The restoration (1846–7) was by James Park Harrison, who built the new church at Hursley for John Keble. In 1889–91 he reconstructed the Shrine of St Frideswide.]

⁴⁸ I am indebted for this information about his great uncle to Peter Godfrey Faussett.

Faussett managed the finances of Christ Church at a time of great difficulty with firmness and skill, and most of the change from beneficial leasing to rack renting was achieved during his period of office. By nature he was an autocrat. In his family circle he was remembered as the legendary stern Victorian parent, and at Cassington he is still remembered by some as a rather forceful cleric impatient of opposition. In politics he was a staunch Conservative, and, like his friend Vere Bayne, took an active part in the election of 1865. Indeed, when an attempt was made in 1886 to procure a canonry for him on his retirement, T.G. Wethered wrote to Lord Cranbrook that 'it is not too much to say that to his own exertions and the extraordinary influence he exercised amongst old members of the University the success of the Conservative party was mainly due'.⁴⁹ But he had also artistic and antiquarian tastes, the latter perhaps inherited from Bryan Faussett.⁵⁰

He was no mean artist and several charming sketches made by him in the Crimea still exist. Unlike many of his contemporaries, he liked Jacobean work, and saved a number of interesting pieces of local work which would otherwise have been destroyed. When he went to live in the old Almshouse, now the Master of Pembroke's lodgings, he went to great pains to improve it with fittings from ancient buildings in course of demolition. From the farm house on the college estate at Chalgrove, which was sold in 1876, he brought panelling; the beautiful carved chimney piece came from a house in Brewer Street once occupied by Oliver Smith, mayor of Oxford in 1619 and 1624; the staircase came from another old house in Brewer Street, and the panelling in the great attic from an ancient house on the site of the present Post Office.⁵¹ In 1876, he was allowed to remove six of Brian Duppa's stalls from the cathedral to Cassington church.⁵²

The member of the restoration committee who perhaps came nearest to sharing Liddell's views was his biographer, H.L. Thompson, later in turn warden of Radley and vicar of St Mary's. His own biographers declare that when he was on the committee himself, he showed a profound reverence for the fabric of Christ Church, a good knowledge of architecture and a conservative temperament.⁵³ Elsewhere they say of him, 'In church matters he was very tolerant. He cared little personally for elaborate ritual, but would always have allowed it to those who did care'.⁵⁴ His life of Liddell is one of the main sources for Scott's restoration, and it is worthy of note that he goes out of his way to condemn Ruskin's famous description as idealised. In quoting this passage, he omits the important opening lines which are a serious criticism in effect of the assumptions of Liddell and Scott. For Thompson too the 'Lamp of Memory' burnt dim.⁵⁵

Those were the members of the restoration committee who fashioned the ultimate shape of Scott's plans. C.W. Sandford, a friend of William Morris who designed the dining room of his living of Bishopsbourne,⁵⁶ took little part in the work of the committee perhaps because his own labours as chaplain to Archbishop Tait had increased with the archbishop's illness between 1869 and 1871. Fremantle and Sampson did not come onto the committee until 15 June 1871,

⁴⁹ Salisbury papers, information from J.F.A. Mason.

⁵⁰ Bryan Faussett (1720–76) was a distinguished Kent antiquary (*ODNB*).]

⁵¹ Almshouse papers in Christ Church Treasury.

⁵² Minutes of restoration committee, Treasury MS xlix a.1, p. 30.

⁵³ H.L. Thompson, *Four Biographical Sermons, with a Memoir by Catherine Thompson and S. Paget* (1905), p. 9.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* p. 27.

⁵⁵ The omitted passage runs as follows: 'On the whole, of important places and services for the Christian souls of England, the choir of Christ Church was at that epoch of English history virtually the navel, and seat of life. There remained in it the traditions of Saxon, Norman, Elizabethan religion unbroken, – the memory of loyalty, the reality of learning, and, in nominal obedience at least, and in the heart of them with true docility, stood every morning, to be animated for the highest duties owed to their country, the noblest of English youth: 'Praeterita'; in E.T. Cook and A. Wedderburn (eds.), *The Works of John Ruskin*, vol. 35 (1908), p. 190.

⁵⁶ A. Vallance, *William Morris* (1909), p. 83. [In 1875 Sandford had a window by Morris & Co. put into the tower of Bishopsbourne church (Kent). The Faith, Hope and Charity are from the same Burne-Jones cartoons as had been used in 1871 at Christ Church Cathedral: A.C. Sewter, *The Stained Glass of William Morris and his Circle: A Catalogue* (1975), pp. 20–1.]

by which time the main decisions had been taken. In the governing body as a whole, there is little trace to be found at first of opposition to the scheme of restoration, though some disagreement developed in its later stages. There was, however, some neutrality, and an occasional vestige of the old animosity between canons and students. For example, in 1874 Barclay Thompson informed Faussett that 'I need not say that Restoration of the Cathedral per se is not a purpose to which I should care to subscribe anything. But if anything could be done for the comfort, convenience or dignity of Senior Students in their chapel, I should be glad in this small way to assist.'⁵⁷

On 16 March 1869, an important meeting of the restoration committee took place, the dean, Clerke, Jelf, Chamberlain, Bayne and Thompson being present, and it was decided to obtain separate estimates for the following works:

- (1) The woodwork of the choir, nave and transepts, and the removal of the organ.
- (2) The repair of the east end.
- (3) The great window in the north transept, and the 13 windows in the aisles.
- (4) The south transept with or without an additional aisle, the Muniment Room and south porch.
- (5) The re-extension of the nave with west window into Tom Quad.

At the same time, it was also considered whether the work should be entrusted to a named architect, or whether there should be a competition between Scott, Deane – the architect of Meadow Building – and Hugall. This question was soon settled by Scott himself, who declined to compete, 'as I am,' he said, 'most strongly of opinion that the restoration of a sacred building, and especially one of such extreme interest and importance, is not a matter to be thus dealt with.'⁵⁸ But the fact that this question was asked is some indication that Scott had not been called on up to this time for more than general advice, and it lends some substance to the view that the deliberations of the restoration committee were not an empty formality.

On 15 April 1869, Liddell wrote to Scott on the instructions of the governing body asking him to draw up estimates for specific works. These differ slightly from the recommendation of the committee, and are as follows:

- (1) The arrangement of seats with new woodwork in the choir, nave and transepts. The removal of the organ to the west end. The floor.
- (2) The east end and choir.
- (3) The great window of the north transept.
- (4) The windows of the aisles.
- (5) The removal of the verger's house in the south transept, and the construction of a west aisle or cloisters.
- (6) The 're-extension of [the] Nave to the Westward, according to the original construction of the Church'.
- (7) The restoration of pitched roofs.

Comparing these requirements with the committee's recommendations, it will be noticed that although they are substantially the same, the result of discussion in the governing body was to add to them the possibility of rebuilding the cloisters, and the restoration of pitched roofs. They are important also because they show clearly that Scott must have been consulted at some time before Liddell wrote to him, though there appears to be no written record of this, for only on this assumption would the dean's letter be fully intelligible to him. When Scott submitted his *Report* in June, he added to the required estimates others for the restoration of stone vaulting in the nave and transepts and the opening of the lantern, besides the cost of repairs to the

⁵⁷ CCA, DP vii.c.1.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* letter to the dean dated 12 April 1869.

stonework. This again suggests that consultations were going on although we have no written record of them. The question whether the main features of the restoration were initiated by the restoration committee or by Scott is one for which the evidence is largely speculative, and the whole matter is bedevilled by lack of detailed information about Scott's earlier work in 1866. We cannot be certain, in short, that Scott had not given currency in 1866 to the proposals which first appear on paper in the minutes of the restoration committee in 1869. On the other hand, the certain evidence which we possess about the scope of the earlier survey, suggests that it was limited to the internal refitting of the cathedral. Moreover, there was no lack of keen and experienced ecclesiologists on the restoration committee, and the whole question of completing the restoration had been maturing for many years. Many of the features of the restoration were almost common form in church restorations at this period, and the most radical of the proposals now put forward – the rebuilding of the nave – was certainly not invented by Scott. As early as 1847, *The Ecclesiologist*, which, incidentally, had also noticed the existence of an earlier round window, suggested that:

A more noble work, one more glorious for the Bishop, the Chapter, and the University, cannot be conceived than the undesecrating of the church, rebuilding the destroyed portion of the nave, and breaking in upon the dull uniformity of the great quadrangle by a rich and soaring western front, worthy of the cathedral and of Oxford.

This was not an isolated opinion. J. Rich, who came up to Christ Church in 1844, wrote to Faussett on 14 March 1872,

I hope you do not mean that the idea of rebuilding all three bays is quite given up: that they might some day be added again to the Cathedral has been a sort of “pet” idea of mine for years. When I was Librarian I remember drawing in the Library a plan of the Cathedral as I thought it ought to be. My idea was that it would not quite reach the present front door of the Regius Professor's House and that here should be a sort of false front to face Tom Quad.⁵⁹

Two years earlier, the dean of Peterborough, A.P. Saunders, had also written, ‘I can remember, 50 years ago, to have advocated the extension of your nave to the extinction of the Regius Professor of Divinity's garden.’⁶⁰

Whatever the origins of the proposals, Scott began his survey on 20 May 1869 and it was ready on 3 June. On the 10th the governing body ordered it to be printed. The *Report* runs to 15 pages octavo, and is divided into three main sections. In the first, Scott gives a good historical account of the architecture of the cathedral, century by century, based partly on accounts in Browne Willis, the *Monasticon*, Britton and Ingram, but perhaps most of all on his own observation.⁶¹ This is followed by an account of the repairs needed to the fabric, and then by recommendations for the restoration itself. The latter section contains some discussion of the general heads of restoration proposed by the governing body. The *Report* concludes with the estimates themselves, and in drawing them up he was no doubt guided by Liddell's comment on the attitude of the governing body: ‘they think,’ Liddell wrote, ‘so far as I can collect their opinions, that as little as possible should be expended in ornamentation. They would prefer grave, solid work, and would be glad if you considered this in your plans. For the floor and wood-work, for instance, they [do] not wish to see elaborately ornamental plans.’⁶² The estimates are as follows:

⁵⁹ CCA, DP vii.c.1.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ Browne Willis, *A Survey of the Cathedrals of York...Oxford...* (1742), vol. 3; W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1846), vols. 2 and 6; J. Britton, *History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Oxford* (1821); J. Ingram, *Memorials of Oxford* (1837), vol. 1, pp. 1–32.]

⁶² CCA, DP vii.c.1.]

The repairs and restoration of the fabric, including external repairs of stonework throughout; the cleaning and reparation of internal stonework, walls and vaulting; the addition of lost parts of south transept; the restoration of mutilated windows; and the reparation of existing roofs	£12,000
The internal re-fittings, including the floors and pavement	£7,000
The addition of stone vaulting to the nave and transepts	£2,700
The addition of high-pitched roofs, covered with lead	£2,500
The opening out of the lantern	£300
The restoration of the cloister	£800
The restoration of the nave to its original length	£12,000
Painted decorations and stained glass not allowed for.	

The total cost of these works was £37,000. Large as this sum was, it was hardly comparable with the cost of some other of Scott's restorations,⁶³ and the small scale of the work may account for its omission from his *Recollections*. Even so, it was much more than the actual cost of the work done, which, according to information supplied to the Home Office by Vere Bayne in October 1891, amounted to £18,451 11s. 10d. between the years 1870 and 1877. Bayne's figures do not include the cost of restoring the chapter house, which took place after 1877.

Since the responsibility of the governing body extended to little more than the upkeep of the fabric, the greater part of Scott's recommendations could only be executed, if at all, by funds raised from other sources. An appeal to old members of the college, but not to the diocese generally, had been in the minds of the students from the start, though there seems to have been some opposition to the idea from the chapter. These appeals are of considerable interest because they show the gradual modification of the original proposals for restoration to meet the available finances, and because they yielded some interesting comments from old members. The financial position meant that the restoration had to be undertaken in stages, and before any appeal could be issued, it was necessary to decide on the order in which the advice contained in Scott's *Report* was to be implemented. There exists a minute of a meeting of the restoration committee at which this was considered. Although undated, it appears to precede the first issue of an appeal in November 1869 and cannot be later than 16 February 1870, when the governing body sanctioned its recommendations. As it is a document of importance, it is worth quoting in full:

1. Cleaning and reparations of internal stonework yes
2. South transept yes
3. Windows yes
4. East end
5. Internal refitting yes
6. Cloister yes

Organ – at West End or in prolonged Transept?

Choir – at West End or in first bay of Choir?

Mr. Scott to furnish designs for stall work, as soon as possible.

Windows – the windows in the N. Aisle of the Nave certainly to be restored perpendicular, also the great window at the end of N. Transept.

The two windows of the S. Aisle of the Choir to be Norman, like Bp. King's.

The East window of the Canon's Chapel and the Dormitory to be decorated.

⁶³ Some figures of cost were printed in *The Quarterly Review*, 137 (1874), p. 272. They include the following: Worcester, £100,000; Exeter, £50,000; Ely £70,000; Salisbury, £50,000; Chester, £60,000; Llandaff, £30,000; Chichester, £50,000. [Llandaff was not in fact Scott's work, and Chichester only in part.]

The windows of the S. Aisle of the Nave perpendicular
 The windows of the aisle of the N. Transept perpendicular
 The W. windows of the aisles of the Nave perpendicular
 The Great East Window – Norman Restoration (Laon) preferred, unless there is
 some insuperable objection.⁶⁴
 Decorated window.⁶⁵

An appeal was drawn up by Liddell in November 1869 incorporating these decisions. In the preamble, the governing body declared that ‘the building is substantially in good condition’, and that ‘the long experience and well known caution’ of Scott will ensure that the restoration ‘is consistent with sound principles of Ecclesiastical Architecture’. They appeal for the sum of £20,000 to undertake the repair and cleaning of the fabric, the addition of the lost part of the south transept, the reparation of windows, internal re-fitting and cloister. No special mention was made, for reasons which will become apparent later, of the intentions of the college with regard to the east end. Copies of Scott’s report could be had on application, but were not circulated with the appeal, and the details of the proposals were thus not known to the majority of the subscribers. In September 1870, the appeal was reissued in its original form, but with the additional note that funds fell short of the estimates by many thousands of pounds. On 20 May 1871, a long account of the progress of the work was sent to *The Times* by Liddell, who states that subscriptions then totalled £10,203. In January 1872, an appeal was made for the first time to the diocese. It was for the elongation of the nave ‘by at least one bay’, a western entrance from Tom Quad, the restoration of high-pitched roofs throughout and the clearing away of external encumbrances from the south side of the choir. The printer’s bill shows that between 1870 and 1872, 2,950 copies of appeal circulars were printed. Finally, in August 1877, a last appeal was made for funds to raise the roof to its original pitch, vault the nave and transepts, open out the lantern of the tower, complete the choir and nave screens and the organ loft, relay the floor and carve bosses in the cloister. These works were estimated to cost £7,000, but by this time little more money was forthcoming, and only the smaller of these items were in fact executed by the restoration committee. A total of £17,131 1s. 8d. was paid into the Restoration Fund between 1869 and 1876, and it covered all Scott’s estimates except those for the restoration of the nave to its original length, the addition of stone vaulting to the nave and transepts and the erection of high-pitched roofs.⁶⁶

Amongst the letters which the appeals elicited from old members of Christ Church were several containing outspoken criticism of the restoration. One of the main criticisms was of the employment of Scott. H.W. Phillott wrote ‘I suppose that in any plan of Cathedral restoration Scott is an inevitable ingredient, but I must confess myself to have no predilection in his favour.’ Other letters were more frank. L. Majendie wrote ‘My only regret is that you employ Scott who has already more on his hands than he can properly manage, and who has had more than a fair share of Cathedral work. It is not well that one mind only should be so occupied on the restoration of almost all our cathedrals.’ Spencer Stanhope wrote ‘I rather dread such a restoration as would make it [the cathedral] internally appear a new building, which is often the case with Scott’s restorations though conscientiously executed.’ This point was also made by G. Gumbleton: ‘I should much prefer it left as it was,’ he wrote, ‘as I don’t like Scott’s restorations, and a new piece on an old garment is not to my taste.’ These and similar views are harbingers of that storm of disapproval of Scott’s work which broke over his head in 1877. They were not, however, the only criticisms.

‘Are those who subscribe,’ wrote George Gaisford, ‘really asked to put implicit faith in Scott, i.e. in an architect? Are we to suppose that sound oaken roofs will really require to be turned

[⁶⁴ The cathedral of Laon has at the east end a great rose window above three lancets.]

[⁶⁵ CCA, DP vii.c.1.]

[⁶⁶ Copies of the appeals exist in CCA, DP vii.c.1.]

into stone vaulting? Are the floors and pavement which I used to tread come utterly to grief?...the Cathedral of Ch. Ch., interesting as it must be in its details and even noble in some few, can never be made a grand thing. I own I am all against the plan as set forth.' Granville Leveson Gower objected to another aspect of the restoration, the lengthening of the nave:

I say nothing about the propriety of having originally curtailed its proportions but what we know of Ch. Ch. is Wolsey, and to destroy part of his Quad in order to extend the Cathedral into it thereby marring his design would in my opinion be a great mistake, and I fervently hope you will run short of money for that part of the work.

After a visit to the cathedral in 1871, Herbert West, the author of a good little book on architecture, wrote:

A round window has been inserted in the East end for which there was no authority and which is most un-English in character. The bastard screens of the Latin chapel had been removed and all the old Dutch glass. The idea seems to be to put back the building as far as possible to what we suppose may possibly have been the original design at its commencement. Is not this taking the History out of a building, much of whose beauty resides in its associations, a mistake? The alteration of the East end at all seems a mistake (except the reopening of the side windows). For Wolsey's work⁶⁷ has completely changed the character of the choir and rendered it impossible for anything but a pointed window properly to fill in the East end...I see it is proposed to substitute vaulting for the open roof over the nave. Was the Nave ever really meant to be vaulted?...Even supposing this one was meant to have had a vault, the present roof, in its general form is quite in keeping with the Architecture and though its details are late they are by no means bad, and if well decorated would look very handsome. Why not merely thoroughly repair the building, and while keeping any alterations or additions which may be made in harmony with its general style render them unmistakably 19th century by their detail...instead of trying to make the new work look exactly like the old?'

Although there are some factual errors in this letter, they do not seriously affect the argument.⁶⁸ To one person in particular, however, the restoration must have been a grievous blow. On 31 August 1870, Ruskin wrote to Faussett, 'I beg to acknowledge your note of the 30th, but can only assure you in reply of the extreme regret with which – as an old Ch. Ch. man – I shall see our old cathedral "restored" unless it be to precisely the same state in which I first knew it, which I fear is neither proposed nor feasible.'⁶⁹

After the receipt of Scott's *Report*, little was done until the results of the appeal began to appear, and then on 16 February 1870 the governing body ordered that the dean should confer with Scott and instruct him to prepare plans and specifications for the items agreed on. Symm was the contractor for the stonework, and Thomas Leigh the clerk of works.⁷⁰ According to Symm's day sheet, the work began on 25 June with the demolition of the stone screens in the north transept,⁷¹ and an army of labourers and masons descended on the cathedral. In the words of the *Oxford University Herald*, 'The men employed seemed swarming like bees about

⁶⁷ He means the choir roof.

⁶⁸ George Herbert West, DD, FRIBA, vicar of Selsley (Glos.) published *Gothic Architecture in England and France* in 1911, 2nd edn 1927. The book is dedicated 'to my teachers in art', who include Viollet le Duc, not known as a gentle restorer. There are a few references to Christ Church Cathedral.]

⁶⁹ These letters are in the cathedral restoration bundle in Christ Church Treasury.

⁷⁰ B.R. Law, *Building Oxford's Heritage: Symm & Company from 1815* (1998), pp. 15–16, 49–50.]

⁷¹ In his report, Scott seems to have favoured retaining the screens because they added interest to the building, but in his own copy of this document, Liddell has written that 'He [Scott] was persuaded to remove them.' [See Fig. 1.]

the windows and columns when we visited the Church. From eighty to one hundred men have been daily employed in the work of restoration.⁷²

The outlines of Scott's restoration have been described before, and it may therefore be more profitable to examine the extent to which the actual alterations followed the recommendations made in the *Report*, and to isolate where possible Scott's theories and motives and some of the other forces which influenced the course of events. One of the most frequently heard justifications for the work of nineteenth-century church restorers is that long periods of neglect had made their work necessary. However true this may be in some cases, and there is no doubt that it is true in many, there is ample evidence to show that it is quite inapplicable at Christ Church. When Scott came to consider the question of fabric repairs, he found that although there was 'very extensive' decay of the external stonework, 'the main walls of the building do not show any symptoms of failure or weakness.'⁷³ This statement was reaffirmed by the governing body in the preamble to the appeal, where they declare that, 'Considerable sums were from time to time expended by the Dean and Chapter for this purpose, and it is a satisfaction to be able to state that in all respects, except where decay has injured the external stonework, the building is substantially in a good condition.'

In 1817–18, for example, the sum of £1,500 was spent on repairs, which perhaps included the renewal of the timber ceiling of the nave mentioned by Britton.⁷⁴ It is perhaps not surprising that the restoration was described by a student of Christ Church, Thomas Prout, as 'confessedly a matter of sentiment rather than of necessity'.⁷⁵ The external stonework, however, required a lot of attention, and Scott's notebook shows that the battlements on the south, the buttresses of the northern chapels and the stonework of the north transept were severely decayed, though he particularly noted that the east end was in better condition. The tower was badly decayed – though the spire less so – and caused him a great deal of anxiety. On 18 March 1871, he wrote to the dean, 'Its structural condition is very unsatisfactory and its external decay progresses with such rapidity as not only to threaten the loss of much of the design but to increase the weakness of the structure.'⁷⁶ And on the following 9 June he wrote,

The condition of your central Tower is clearly such as to demand immediate action. Its stonework is hopelessly decayed and every winter considerable portions come down upon the adjoining roofs – so much so that the architectural design is in danger of being irrecoverably lost. There seems to be a constant movement going on and new cracks forming. The stair-turret is in a dangerous condition having three fissures from bottom to top besides smaller ones, while its walls are so weatherworn as in many places not to exceed five inches in thickness.⁷⁷

It is unlikely that Scott exaggerated the condition of the tower because he wanted to remove the bells which then hung there. Although he wished to open the lantern, which, owing to the removal of the ringing chamber, would have meant that the bells could only have been chimed and not rung if they had remained in the tower, the decision to remove the bells had been taken by the governing body on 3 May 1871, that is before the second letter was written.⁷⁸ For this part of the work, Scott used Taynton stone.⁷⁹

⁷² 22 October 1870.

⁷³ *Report*, pp. 10–11.

⁷⁴ Treasury MS xxxiii.b.4 sub anno, and J. Britton, *History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Oxford* (1836), p. 18. [Britton's book was first published in 1821. On the roof, see J. Ashdown and I. Fisher, 'The Roof Carpentry of Oxford Cathedral', *Oxoniensia*, 53 (1988), pp 202–3.]

⁷⁵ CCA, DP vii.c.1.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

[⁷⁸ For the subsequent history of the bells, see E.G.W. Bill, 'The Belfry at Christ Church', below.]

[⁷⁹ According to W.J. Arkell, *Oxford Stone* (1947), p. 61, 'the top of the tower and spire of Oxford Cathedral, built in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, are almost certainly of Taynton stone.']

After the completion of these necessary works of repair, Scott turned his attention to what he regarded as the real business of restoration. In a revealing passage in the *Report* he states his principles in these words:

To the architectural and ecclesiastical antiquary, every stage in the history of a sacred edifice has its value, and possesses an interest of its own, so that the obliteration of the work of any one period is like tearing out a leaf in the visible history of the structure. Where this historical interest ceases it is difficult to judge. One would hardly say that it applies to mere mutilations or ill-judged alterations of late periods, though some of the works of such times may be worthy of respect.

I have sometimes attempted to lay down a rule that all is to be respected which is antecedent to the extinction of our national architecture in the 16th century, and this, if not taken exclusively, may be in the main right.⁸⁰

As a statement of principle, this is almost identical with Liddell's own position as laid down in his lecture to the Oxford Architectural Society. He goes on to declare that he does not favour an attempt to restore the original design of the whole building, and advocates the retention of features, even those of dubious merit, which were erected 'during the continuance of our national styles of architecture.' This is an important distinction which Scott frequently made, and which caused him to describe his methods as conservative.⁸¹ One of the consequences of fixing this arbitrary date for the extinction of English architecture is apparent when Scott comes to deal with the windows. 'I am', he says, 'by no means in favour of reproducing the 12th century features which have been replaced by works of the next three or four centuries. I would, however, restore the windows of those centuries which were spoiled by Dr Duppa and others, using every endeavour to recover their designs.'⁸² Nearly all the windows in the aisle were restored by Scott on this principle, new tracery being inserted in almost all of them. As these restorations also sometimes involved an increase in the number of lights, they frequently led of necessity to the removal of the seventeenth-century glass.⁸³

Scott's work at Christ Church, however, is commonly remembered for the controversial restoration of the east end. This striking feature, which, it may be noted, has changed the dominant style of the building from Perpendicular to Norman, or rather nineteenth-century Norman, has given a satisfying impression of perspective, very desirable in a building of such small proportions. It comes then as something of a surprise to find that in his *Report*, Scott recommends the restoration of the Decorated window. The jambs and arch of this window he found in excellent condition, but it had been deprived of its tracery and reduced to three lights. 'The design of the earlier window', he says, 'was unique, but is so completely lost, excepting only the fact of a great circle having existed, as to be quite beyond recovery.'⁸⁴ Since it was easier to restore the Decorated tracery than to reconstruct the original design, he

⁸⁰ *Report*, p. 11.

[⁸¹ Scott had set out his generally conservative principles in 1850 in *A Plea for the Faithful Restoration of our Ancient Churches*. In the introduction which he contributed to Scott's *Recollections*, J.W. Burgon recalled that, when he became vicar of St Mary the Virgin, Oxford, in 1863, he was 'commended' by Scott for ensuring the reprieve of 'Laud's porch', and that Scott then persuaded him to retain the eighteenth-century gate piers which stand in front of it (p. xviii).]

⁸² *Report*, p. 13.

[⁸³ In his report (p. 10) Scott states that 'Dean Duppa ... with munificent intention presented to the church a large quantity of stained glass by Van Linge, and (p. 12) that 'the greater part' of it 'has since perished'. The treatment of this glass is regretted today, but in 1847 *The Ecclesiologist* (p. 57) called it 'excessively poor work', excepting only the window representing Bishop King in the north choir aisle (which survives), and even Warner in 1924 (*Oxford Cathedral*, p. 92) described it as 'but a perverted form of true glass-craft'. The window at the west end of the north aisle, representing Jonah under the gourd, was allowed to remain, with its rudimentary tracery.]

⁸⁴ *Report*, p. 13.

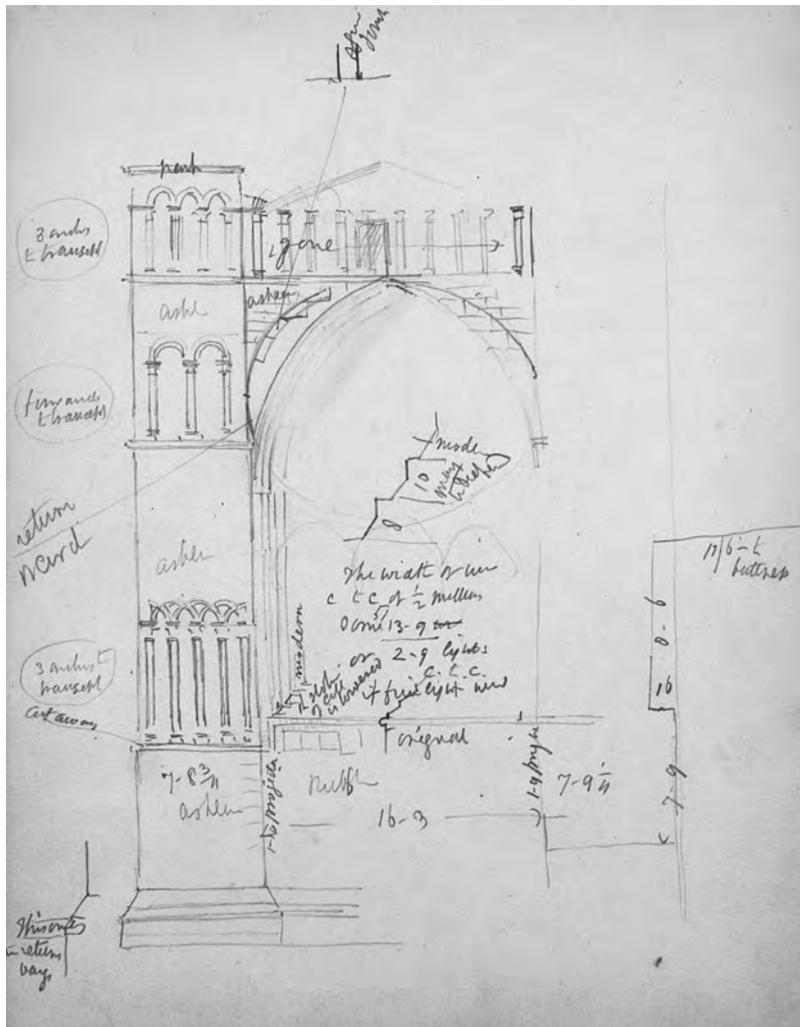


Fig. 3. Sketch of the east end of the cathedral, dated 20 May 1869, from Scott's sketchbook: CCA, DP vii.a.8.

decided in favour of the former course. How then do we come to have this famous east end? What made Scott change his mind? The answer is perhaps partly contained in his sketchbook, which shows that when he visited the cathedral on 20 May 1869 he made a careful drawing of the east end on which he superimposed not only the outline of the circular window, but also the heads of the three windows below it [Fig. 3]. But although a fragment of the circular window was clearly discernible, the Decorated window and altar panelling had obliterated or concealed all traces of the rest of the original work, and for Scott, who was perhaps as much of an archaeologist manqué as an architect and greatly prided himself on the accuracy of his reconstructions, there was insufficient evidence for him to make a Norman reconstruction of the whole of the east end. In the *Report*, therefore, as we have seen, he recommended the restoration of the Decorated window, but it seems probable that he drew attention to the possibility of a Norman reconstruction on the lines indicated in his sketchbook, for when the restoration committee met to discuss the *Report*, the undated minute of its proceedings, which has already been mentioned, shows that a Norman reconstruction in imitation of Laon

Cathedral was considered. The east end of Laon Cathedral is in fact clearly the model for Scott's first reconstruction.

No decision was reached by the committee, however, and when the governing body met on 16 February and approved the recommendations of the committee, no mention was made of the east end, which appears to be included under the head of mutilated windows. It is possible that the ultimate shape of the east end was left open until Scott had made a further examination of the site on the removal of the Decorated window and altar panelling. This he proceeded to do, as his sketchbook shows, on 5 July 1870, when, in his own words, he found that, 'the shafts and jambs of [the] Decorated east window, though they have Decorated caps, have Norman bases, and that they stand on the cill of a recess a few feet from the floor ... The shafts of side windows run down to the same level.' Further examination, or rather excavation, showed the existence of part of the clerestory passage which was found to have run right across the east end in the thickness of the wall.⁸⁵ The evidence thus shows that the design of the east end became clear only when the Decorated window had been removed and the altar below it, and this is confirmed by Liddell's note on his own copy of the *Report*, where, against the proposed restoration of the Decorated window, he has written, 'Happily he [Scott] was induced to change his mind. The plan of the old structure became very apparent in removing the window of the time of George II.'⁸⁶

The dates of Scott's visits to the cathedral show that the final shape of the east end cannot have become apparent until some time during the long vacation, and Symm's day sheet shows that the circular window was being put in position in the middle of September. As the governing body did not meet during this period, it is reasonable to assume that the matter had been left in the hands of the restoration committee with full power, and in particular to the dean himself, who had been authorised to confer with Scott. The east end is not a work of architectural imagination. Had it been so, it would have been one of the best things Scott ever did. It is instead a piece of pious archaeology, and it is indeed characteristic of Scott that he added a sort of footnote in the form of a small archaeological museum in the gallery of the south transept, and in the list of fragments it contains, drawn up by the clerk of works, part of the original circular window is to be found.⁸⁷ The last step in this part of the work was the lowering of Dr Heurtley's garden wall to improve the view of the east end.⁸⁸

On 19 October 1870, the governing body approved the general design for the south transept, which involved the removal of the verger's house and the construction of the vestry. Here again the hand of Liddell is to be found, for there was at least one member of the restoration committee who thought the vestry should be elsewhere. On 21 December 1871, archdeacon Clerke withdrew his donation of £100 to the fund as the condition on which it had been made was not fulfilled. 'The condition,' he wrote to Faussett, 'being that the Choir and canons should have a convenient room appointed for them to meet in previous to the service... The Dean knows my opinion about all this, but disregards it. He thinks the vaulted Chamber, which is a hobby of his, and the South Aisle of the Cathedral quite good enough for the Canons and Choir.'⁸⁹ Clerke wanted to convert part of the vacant canonical lodging at the west end into a vestry, but other uses for this building were being contemplated.

At this time the cloister was also restored. Scott argued that a choice must be made between completing the cloister as far as possible, and rebuilding what he called the 'lost western aisle'

⁸⁵ S.A. Warner, *Oxford Cathedral* (1924), p. 45.

[⁸⁶ Why Liddell should have thought that the window dated from 'the time of George II' is a mystery.]

⁸⁷ In his article on Restoration, printed in *The Builder* on 1 February 1862, Scott wrote of the proper disposal of fragments, 'The right course...is to have a kind of museum in the precincts of every cathedral (possibly in the triforium), where all authentic fragments of carving, and specimens, at least, of all replaced mouldings, &c., should be carefully conserved'. Among the exhibits is the curiously carved stone removed from the foot of the angular buttress on the south of the east end of the Lucy Chapel, where it was discovered in 1833.

[⁸⁸ C.A. Heurtley was Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity and a canon of Christ Church.]

⁸⁹ CCA, DP vii.c.1.

of the south transept.⁹⁰ The evidence for the existence of this western aisle is vague, and when Scott revisited the cathedral in June 1870, he noted in his sketchbook that ‘the western aisle, though contemplated, [was] never erected.’ Before this evidence was available to him, however, Scott had already recommended the completion of the cloister as the better scheme, and this may perhaps be a further instance of his preference for a restoration where the details were fairly certain, as was the case with the continuation of the cloister, to one where there was no architectural or archaeological evidence remaining, as was the case with the western aisle. Thus in place of the aisle, Scott restored the northern walk of the cloister continuing it round to the chapter house doorway, demolishing the old muniment room on the way, replacing the windows, and closing the entrance from the quadrangle facing the chapter house doorway.⁹¹ Owing to the height of the chapter house doorway, the vaulting stopped on both sides of it and Scott bridged the gap with a wooden ceiling. The shields in the restored vault were carved in 1897 and two years later the bosses, which represent Queen Victoria, Lord Salisbury, Bishop Stubbs and Francis Paget. They were paid for by Vere Bayne.⁹² Some of the monuments which, under the supervision of Vere Bayne, were rearranged throughout the cathedral, were moved into the cloisters. A detailed account, now in Christ Church Library, was kept by Vere Bayne of all the monuments moved at this time, showing their original and eventual locations.

By the time these works had been completed, it was clear that the £12,000 estimated by Scott to be the cost of extending the nave to its original length was not forthcoming, and a less ambitious scheme was undertaken. Scott had never been enthusiastic about the extension of the nave, and in the *Report* he wrote that it was a question, ‘on which I find it nearly impossible to offer an opinion. Viewing the Cathedral alone, there can be no doubt as to the desirableness; but, viewed with ref-erence to the College, the case is reversed.’⁹³ In fact he found it quite impossible to give an opinion, at least he certainly did not give one. But although he may have wished to save Tom Quad, it is only too possible, judging by his methods generally, that he would have overcome this desire providing he could have been satisfied about the accuracy of his reconstruction. Unfortunately for Scott not only had a large part of the nave been demolished, but, worse still, he was beset by doubts about its original length. Liddell appears to have drawn his attention to the dimensions of the cathedral given by William of Worcester, and Scott found that he could not reconcile them either with the parts of the cathedral still standing or with his authorities for Wolsey’s destruction. On 4 June 1869, he wrote to the dean, ‘It has occurred to me that as Browne Willis describes it [the nave] as shortened by four bays and William of Worcester’s dimension would demand between 5 and 6 bays extra, the two may possibly have been correct owing to there having been western towers.’⁹⁴ In this letter he made a rough sketch of the extended nave with twin towers at the west end, and this, it may be presumed, would have been incorporated in any design of restoration he might have made [Fig. 4]. In another letter to

⁹⁰ *Report*, p. 13. [On the ‘lost western aisle’, see R. Halsey, ‘The 12th-Century Church of St Frideswide’s Priory’, *Oxoniensia*, 53 (1988), pp. 149–52.]

⁹¹ The north walk of the cloister was ‘fitted up and used for a century as a muniment room’ (Warner, *Oxford Cathedral*, p. 38). It is shown on Britton’s plan.]

⁹² Diary.

⁹³ *Report*, p. 14.

⁹⁴ CCA, DP vii.c.1. The passage in William of Worcester runs, ‘Longitudo ejus continet 100 gressus. Latitudo ejus continet 30 gressus.’ *Itineraria Symonis Simeonis et Willelmi de Worcestre* (1778), p. 281. There is some corroborative evidence for the existence of towers in a payment to James Fleming and others ‘for making Scaffolds for the taking down of the old stepull.’ J. Gutch (ed.), *Collectanea Curiosa* (1781), vol. 1, p. 205). [In his edition of the *Itineraries* of William Worcester (1969, pp. 274–5), J.H. Harvey gives the length as ‘106 gressus’, and comments (n. 5): ‘The dimension reduced to feet in proportion to that of width amounts to 187 ft 3 and a half inches, and suggests that the nave originally consisted of six bays west of the crossing. This agrees with the alternation of pier designs, giving an equal number. On the other hand, foundations of walls discovered to the south have suggested a west range in line with the west front of a nave of seven bays, which would be possible if Worcester’s paces ran from the east end of the south aisle, not from that of the Sanctuary.’ On this matter, see Halsey, ‘St Frideswide’s Priory’, pp. 136–9.]

Liddell on 9 June, Scott was as undecided as ever and wrote of the measurements in the *Itinerary*, 'I cannot make out the meaning of them. If the gressus is 2 ft. 6 in. it would seem, even taking external dimensions, to want 5 rather than four bays to complete the nave. But what does 30 gressus in width mean? The transept is far more and the nave far less. The only dimension I can find to fit it is the external width of the choir and its aisles – one on the south and two on the north excluding the Divinity Chapel as a separate building. This, however, is very arbitrary.⁹⁵ In the *Report* itself, which is dated six days earlier than this letter, Scott, who could hardly avoid referring to the size of the cathedral in his historical account of the architecture, states briefly that there was 'a nave of eight bays',⁹⁶ but in a footnote he draws attention to the discrepancy caused by William of Worcester's figures. In these circumstances, Scott may have felt that the element of conjecture was too large for him to make a convincing restoration of the whole of the nave. But although he was tepid in his support of the proposal, there was considerable support for it not only in Christ Church but amongst the old members, many of whom specifically devoted their subscriptions to the work, and it was lack of money rather than lack of enthusiasm which restrained the governing body from urging Scott on to burst into Tom Quad with a western facade of nineteenth-century Gothic. Eventually the nave was lengthened by the addition of one bay at a cost of £1,492, of which £100 was provided by a legacy from Dr E.C. Dowdeswell, who died in 1849 [Fig. 5].⁹⁷

This addition to the nave communicated with Tom Quad by a new western entrance, which

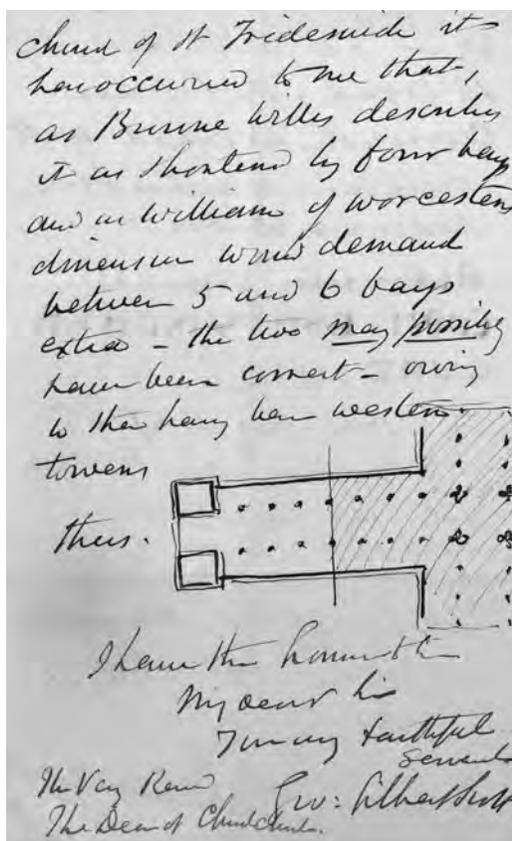


Fig. 4. Sketch of the extended nave, from a letter from Scott to Liddell dated 4 June 1869: CCA, DP vii.c.1.

⁹⁵ Cathedral restoration bundle in Christ Church Treasury ['Divinity Chapel' is another name for the Latin, St Catherine's, or St Frideswide's Chapel.]

⁹⁶ *Report*, p. 6. The extent of Wolsey's demolition is a little more complicated than Scott seems to have appreciated. Where Scott followed Willis in giving the number of bays destroyed as four, the Historical Monuments Commission cautiously put the number at three [*Report on Oxford* (1939), p. 35], and this number is also given by Britton (*History and Antiquities* (1836), p. 18), Thompson (*Christ Church* (1900), p. 5), Warner (*Oxford Cathedral*, p. 222) and others. The father of ambiguity is Leonard Hutten, who states that Wolsey pulled down '3 Pillars, or Arches, of the West end of the old Church' (C. Plummer (ed.), *Elizabethan Oxford*, OHS, 8 (1886), p. 58). Unfortunately he does not tell us whether the westernmost pillar stood independently or was built into the wall. Ingram seems to have noticed this difficulty, and states that 'three pillars and four arches of the nave' were destroyed [*Memorials* (1837), vol. 1, p. 40.]

⁹⁷ In his unpublished reminiscences in the possession of Mrs St Clair, granddaughter of Alice Liddell, Liddell notes, 'Dr Dowdeswell's house adjoined the Deanery...He never resided and (as the story went) was obliged to ask the way to his own house some years after the time when he ought to have been occupying it.'

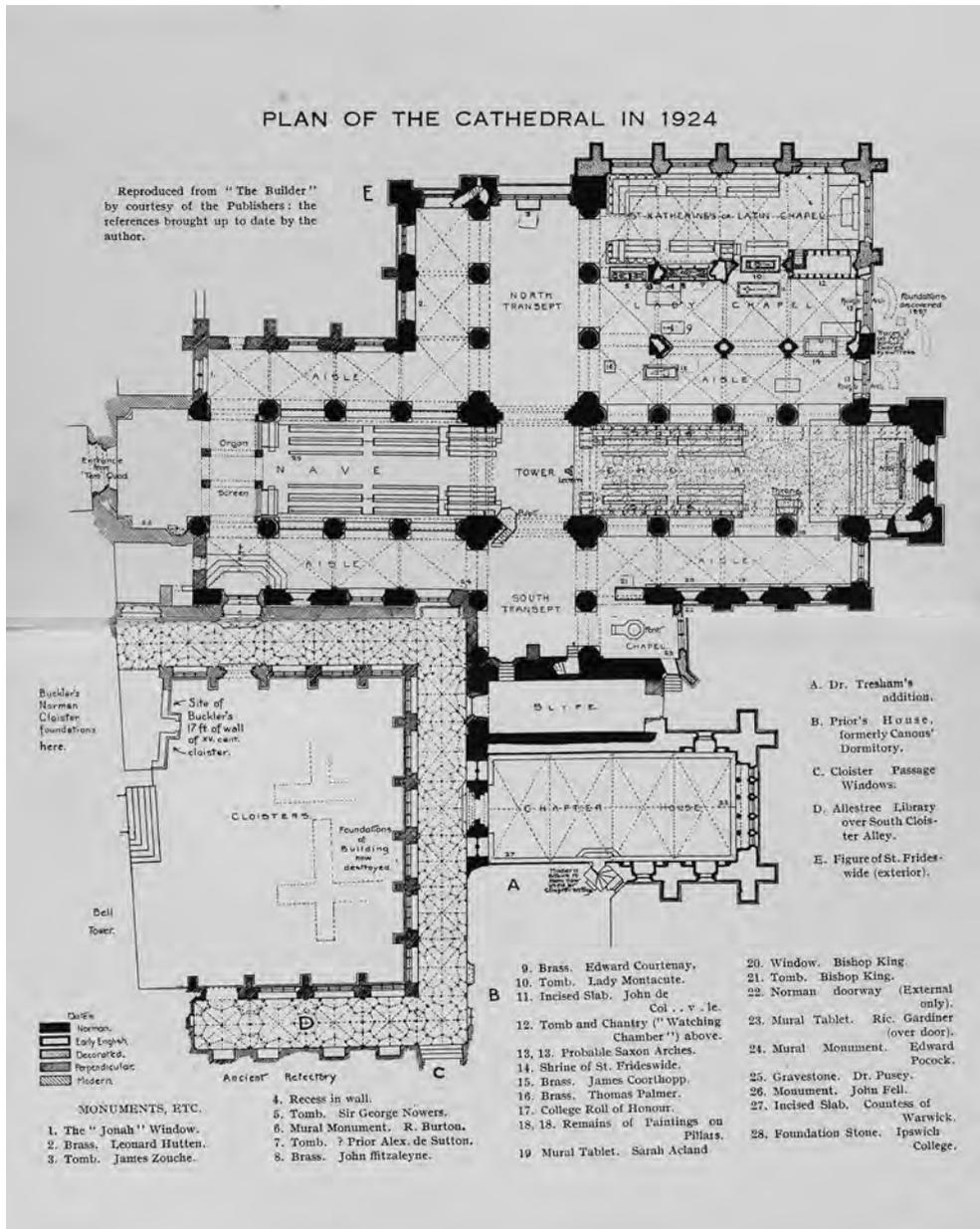


Fig. 5. Plan of the cathedral in 1924: S.A. Warner, Oxford Cathedral.

passed through the lodgings recently occupied by Mozley [Fig. 6].⁹⁸ Its construction, which shows how seriously the proposal to extend the nave to its original length was intended, raised a storm of protest not found in connection with any other aspect of the restoration. It was vigorously attacked by Dodgson in *The Vision of the Three T's*, where it is likened to a railway

[⁹⁸ In 1871 Dr James Bowling Mozley became Regius Professor of Divinity.]



Fig. 6. South-east corner of Tom Quad, before the creation of the 'tunnel' and the erection of the belfry: CCA, P.TOPTQ 3.

tunnel and ascribed to a lunatic.⁹⁹ The *Oxford Journal* declared that it destroyed the façade of Tom Quad, and echoing Dodgson, that, 'Looked at from the opposite side of the quadrangle, it appears like the entrance to a railway tunnel, and we cannot help expressing our regret that it was ever made.'¹⁰⁰ The *Oxford Chronicle* also disapproved, though in milder terms, asserting that a single arch would have produced a better effect, and pointing out that the centre pier was apparently retained as support for a possible cloister.¹⁰¹ The late Charles Drage used to say that S.G. Owen had once told him of an ancient don, nameless alas, who, 'when entering the Cathedral, refused to remove his hat until he had passed a certain point, on the grounds that "I am still in Dr Mozley's dining-room"'. In view of the strong feeling aroused on this occasion, it is not surprising that on 18 May 1875, the governing body decided that they 'desire neither a large Gable nor a Tower over the Entrance to the Cathedral'.¹⁰² Lack of money not only saved Tom Quad, however, it also prevented other proposals of dubious merit from maturing. The principal of these were the extension of stone vaulting throughout and the construction of high-pitched roofs [Fig. 7, and also below, 'The Belfry at Christ Church', Fig. 2]. These were seriously considered as late as 1877, as the appeal circulars show.

The practical argument for extending the nave was most apparent when the internal arrangements of the cathedral were settled. Here the difficulty was to provide not only accommodation for the members of the college, but also for the diocesan clergy and general public. The original choir was not large enough to contain either the college or the diocesan

^[99] Charles Lutwidge Dodgson (better known as Lewis Carroll), a student of Christ Church, wrote *The Vision of the Three T's*, published in 1873, and republished in E. Wakeling (ed.), *The Oxford Pamphlets, Leaflets and Circulars of Charles Lutwidge Dodgson* (1993), pp. 80–100.

¹⁰⁰ 11 October 1873.

¹⁰¹ 11 October 1873.

¹⁰² Minutes, 1867–85, p. 172.

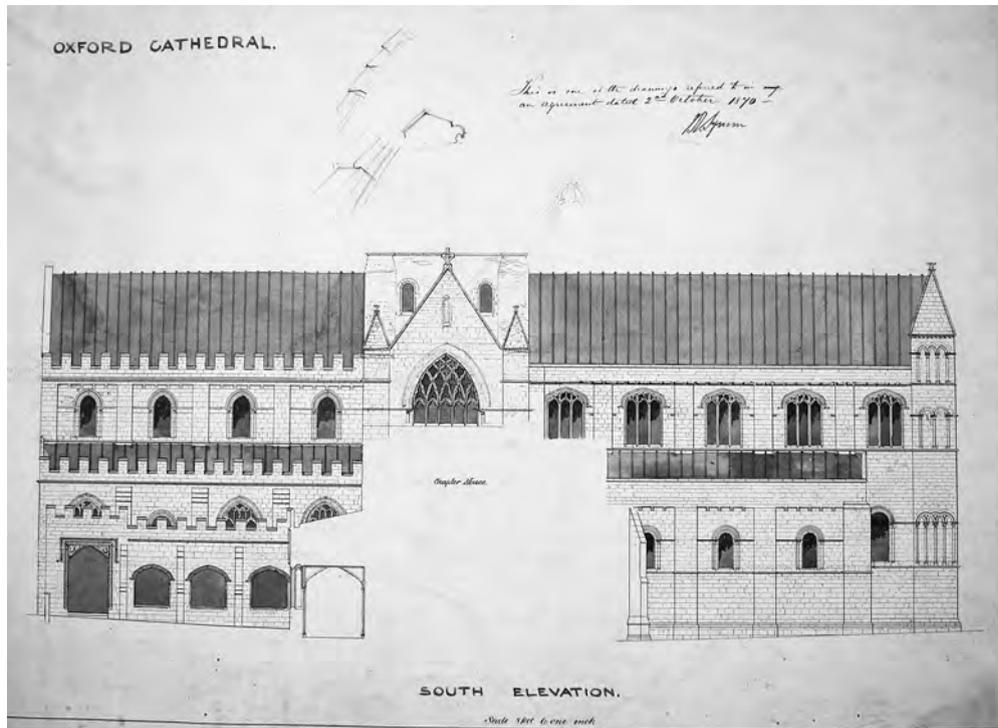


Fig. 7. Proposed construction of high-pitched roofs: south elevation: CCA, 119/32.

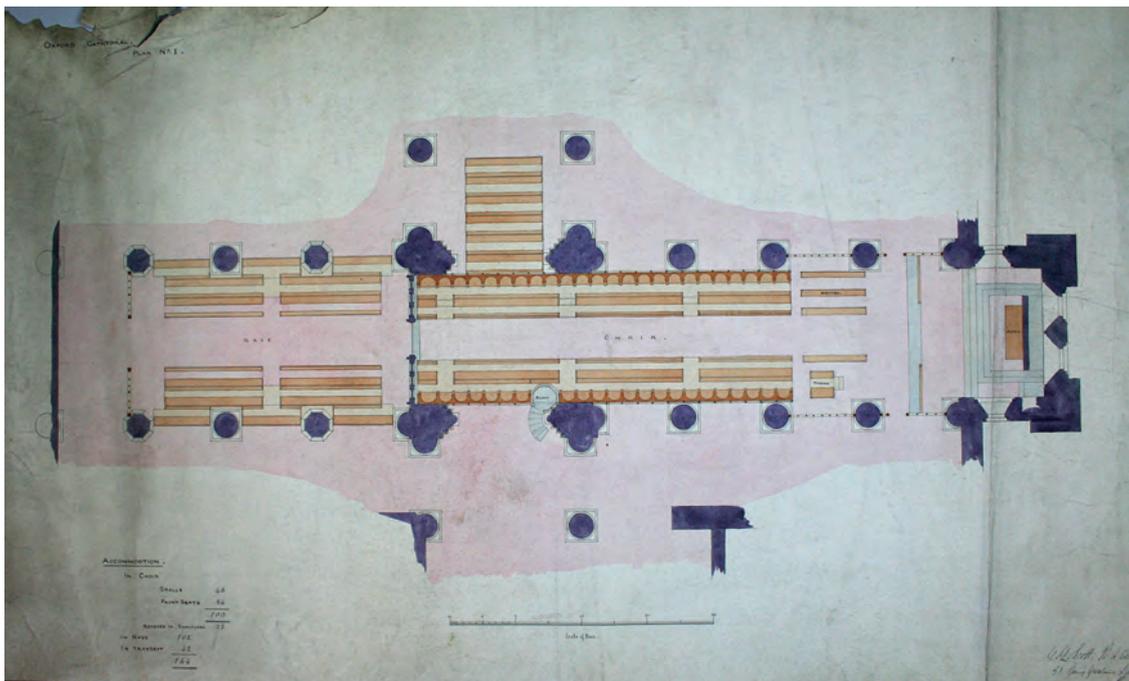


Fig. 8. Seating plan: CCA, 119/1.

clergy, and it was necessary to allow for an overflow into the nave or transepts while at the same time preventing it from merging into the ordinary congregation. In this way the essential feature of a college chapel would be retained. Scott recommended that the extended choir should be separated from the rest of the cathedral by screens, and that the overflow might be into the transepts.¹⁰³ Before the final arrangement was agreed, several alternative proposals were considered and plans drawn up. In one of these, seats are shown in both transepts and in the first two bays of the nave; in another the number of seats in the transepts is reduced, but there are seats in the first three bays of the nave, and in yet another plan the choir proper is shown extended over the crossing with a screen at the east end of the nave, three bays of seats in the nave itself and more seating in the north transept [Fig. 8]. When agreement had been reached, the old stalls were removed. Of these Scott wrote, 'I do not think that they should be lost; but, not being very congruous, and having been perhaps somewhat disintegrated by the last re-arrangement, they do not seem quite worthy of the best places. Possibly some less conspicuous positions can be found for such of them as remain in good condition.'¹⁰⁴

A minute of the restoration committee on 14 June 1876 records that Faussett was to have six stalls for Cassington church, and a further minute on 30 October 1878 notes that 'Gurner thinks the old woodwork put up in Duppa's time would fetch £60', and that the treasurer is to try and sell it. At the same time some panelling was given to Osborne Gordon for his church at Easthampstead.¹⁰⁵ The question of selling the large brass chandeliers was also considered, but their fate does not seem to be known.¹⁰⁶ After the floors had been lowered to what *The Builder* called 'their original levels',¹⁰⁷ and the choir and nave had been relaid with marble at a cost of £500, new seats were provided throughout by Messrs Farmer and Brindley. They were of Italian walnut carved by Mr Chapman of St Clements with Biblical scenes apparently suggested by Bright.¹⁰⁸ The metal screens were made by F.A. Skidmore, and are based on Queen Eleanor's tomb in Westminster Abbey.¹⁰⁹ The pulpit was moved from the south-east to the north-west pillar of the tower, and a new bishop's throne, dedicated to Wilberforce, was built at a cost of £1000.¹¹⁰ The organ was moved out of the south transept to its present position at the west end of the nave.¹¹¹

¹⁰³ *Report*, pp. 14–15.

¹⁰⁴ *Report*, p. 15.

[¹⁰⁵ *The Buildings of England: Berkshire* (2010), p. 191, refers to 'stall backs from the set of c.1633 at Christ Church Cathedral. Eared and lugged compartments with split pediments, characteristic of the best Oxford work of the Laudian era'.]

[¹⁰⁶ According to Thompson (*Christ Church*, p. 64) two of the chandeliers went to Cassington (see also *The Buildings of England: Oxfordshire* (1974), p. 523).]

¹⁰⁷ 21 October 1871.

¹⁰⁸ Cathedral restoration bundle in Christ Church Treasury. [On these carvings see J. Holborow, 'The Chancel Stalls Carvings', in the 1993–4 *Report of the Friends of Christ Church Cathedral*; also a letter from Bright to Liddell of 9 June 1872.]

[¹⁰⁹ On Skidmore, see P. Howell, 'Francis Skidmore and the Metalwork', in C. Brooks (ed.), *The Albert Memorial* (2000), pp. 252–85. He also supplied hinges, locks, bible-clasps and gas standards (as well as lamps for the hall staircase): DP VII.c.1, pp. 223, 246, 261, 263, 277, 280–2, 285–6.]

[¹¹⁰ In fact the pulpit was moved from the south-east crossing pier to the south-west one, where it still is. The bishop's throne, executed in 1876–7 by Farmer and Brindley, was destroyed when the new one of c.1955 was installed. Only the portrait relief of Wilberforce survives, above the door at the west end of the south aisle. For the throne see *The Builder*, 34 (1876), p. 1029; 35 (1877), pp. 808, 810; *Building News*, 31 (1876), p. 407. There is a drawing for the throne in the MS Dep.a.17 collection (not as executed), and another in the RIBA Drawings Collection (fig. 15 in G. Fisher et al., *Catalogue of the Drawings Collection of the RIBA: The Scott Family* (1981), and see also p. 63).]

¹¹¹ Scott wrote to Liddell on 10 August 1870, 'In a matter so vital to the working of the Cathedral I would defer to the opinion of Musical authorities, unless found to clash seriously with architectural or other important considerations. Now, Dr. Corfe and Sir Frederick Ouseley are decidedly in favour of the west end in preference to the transept, and as this leaves both transepts free for use, while an organ at the west end cannot be considered to involve any great dissight or impropriety, I should at once yield to their opinion.' Cathedral restoration bundle in Christ Church Treasury. [The main organ case dates from c.1680, but it and the gallery have been much

The design of the new altar provoked a dispute between Liddell and Bright which throws some light on their different views about ecclesiological matters. On 11 June 1872, Bright wrote to Faussett as follows.

In several points the Dean's suggestions (which he made after having learned from a private note from me that I was the person concerned in the proposal) went in the direction of cutting down Scott's plan, until, at last, it was left such as Scott, I think, would hardly recognise.

1. Of course it is natural for any of us to apply the term "sentimental" to feelings into which we ourselves do not happen to enter. But the great architects of English cathedrals did go on the principle of ornamenting, even elaborately, parts of their work which were to be seldom or indistinctly seen. Our own Church bears tokens of this. And, as to the proposed altar, or Table, granting that very minute and detailed decoration would be out of place in the front of a table which is to be always covered, – yet I do not at all like the notion of a perfectly plain and common place table underneath a rich frontal. It seems to me shabby and unworthy, just where shabbiness and unworthiness are least tolerable. I cannot conceive why such objection should be taken to some degree of ornament, of careful execution, in the pillars of the table when Scott himself had proposed it and when it will not cost the House a farthing. And I hope that this will not be pressed: i.e. that mere bareness and plainness in the execution of the Table will not be made a condition of acceptance of the proposal laid before the committee.
2. Then as to the marble slab let into the top of the Table. It is certainly not necessary: but it gives dignity and character to the Table; it is now, I believe, a very common feature; it is perfectly safe as far as legal objections go (for it does not in the least interfere with the requirement that the Table be a wooden structure ... capable of being moved); it was recommended a year ago, as now, by Scott himself; and, as I said before, it is offered. If its adoption were a matter of annoyance or offence to others, that is another matter.
3. And as to the third point, the marble super altar. This was a feature which I had particularly counted on, so to speak; for I thought and still think that it would be a beautiful one, far beyond the effect of any wooden super altar, however 'inlaid'. I did not rightly apprehend, yesterday, the point of the Dean's objection, but I believe it referred to the desirableness of securing more space.

This disagreement was more than a matter of artistic taste. It reflected the difference in churchmanship between Liddell and Bright.¹¹² The dispute broke out again in 1879 when Bright joined with Liddon to offer the reredos, which was designed by G.F. Bodley. This design was opposed in the chapter apparently on the grounds that it was too ornate, and Liddon wrote to Bright on 31 March 1879, 'I should not be able to concur in any mural or mosaic substitute for relief figures, or in any subject other than the Crucifixion.'¹¹³ And on 27 February 1880, he

altered, by H.W. Moore (*Oxford Chronicle*, 13 October 1888); by W.D. Carøe in 1922; and when the organ was rebuilt by Rieger in 1979 (R. Pacey and M. Popham, *Organs of Oxford* (1997), pp. 26–30). However, the choir organ case, made to Scott's design in 1871 by Gray and Davison (DP VII.c.1, 161), survives. It shows how sympathetically Scott could design in a late seventeenth-century style.]

[¹¹² The former high altar is now at the east end of the north choir aisle. It has richly carved supports, but there is no marble slab – merely an inlaid cross.]

¹¹³ J.O. Johnston, *Life and Letters of Henry Parry Liddon* (1904), p. 248. [Liddon's letters to Bright are in Bodl. MS Eng. Lett. 301–2.]

again wrote to him, 'I prize the Angels and Chalice. They connect the Passion with the Holy Eucharist very vividly. For this reason they will be disliked by Puritans, etc., but if they can be had, they will preach wholesome doctrine for many a year to come.'¹¹⁴

This brings us almost to the end of the restoration, as I do not propose to repeat what has already been written about the glass.¹¹⁵ It remains only to mention the lectern, designed by Skidmore, and given by the censors, Vere Bayne and H.L. Thompson, and the bible given by Liddell's three daughters.¹¹⁶ The chapter house was not restored until 1879. On 19 June 1879, the chapter accepted Bodley's estimate of £989,¹¹⁷ and the dividing partition was removed and the floor relaid. In the chapter parlour, the panelling was cleaned of paint and a new door provided.

It is now a century since the first steps were taken in the restoration of Christ Church cathedral, and little less since Scott's alterations left it almost as we see it today. But for the care with which the dean and chapter had looked after the fabric, and but for the exhaustion of available funds, it cannot be doubted that his restorations would have been far more radical. Even so, much of what he did was not strictly necessary, and was largely a matter of sentiment. The considerable differences between his proposals and his achievements have already been noticed, and it is clear that they were not due to any deliberate hypocrisy on Scott's part. They have two main causes. In the first place, the governing body, and particularly Liddell, took an active part in the restoration, and may even have initiated its main features. At several points, such as the extension of the nave, the distribution of the seating and the demolition of the chapel screens, Scott's recommendations were altered or ignored by the restoration committee. Secondly, the antiquarian and archaeological basis of his approach to Gothic meant, as in the restoration of the east end, that his intentions might need emendation in the light of further evidence. Where the evidence was slight or absent, Scott showed great caution. His views on architecture and ecclesiology were very similar to Liddell's, and their collaboration was close and cordial. Greatly as we may regret some of his work, Scott was a proper person to carry out the ecclesiological and antiquarian developments of his time.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁴ Johnston, *Life*, p. 249. In *Personal Studies* (1905), p. 158, Henry Scott Holland wrote of Liddon, 'His friend, Vere Bayne, who so often took him round French towns, would turn him into a church, and then buy a bag of cherries to eat until Liddon came out. If when he had finished the cherries no Liddon had emerged he knew that the worst had happened: Liddon was in the sacristy, and out of this nothing but physical force could remove him. Bayne had to dig him out like a lost ferret. Dodgson had a legend that Liddon, on his Russian tour, had started gaily in one sacristy to work through seventy-three copes and vestments.'

¹¹⁵ Bill must be referring to the descriptions of the stained glass in P. Dearmer, *The Cathedral Church of Oxford* (1897), and in Warner, *Oxford Cathedral*, pp. 79–100.

¹¹⁶ The lectern will soon be returned to the cathedral from storage.]

¹¹⁷ Chapter minute book, 1868–1916. [Scott had died in 1878.]

¹¹⁸ A few words may be added on recent works in the cathedral. Besides the destruction of the Gérente glass (n. 11 above), and of the bishop's throne (n. 110 above), much other work was done under dean Simpson (1959–69), including the rearrangement of Scott's seating, much of it cut down, and the lowering of the sanctuary steps from five to three. More recently the Scott benches, which had been placed under the tower, have been ejected from the cathedral, along with the Bodley font and its cover, the Kempe reredos from the Latin Chapel, and all of the work of Stephen Dykes Bower. As the cathedral is a peculiar, works do not have to be approved by the Cathedrals Fabric Commission (established in 1990), and the dean and chapter have a free hand.]

