

On Sunday morning, the 16th of February, when the troops composing the Federal line of investment were preparing for a final assault, a note came from Buckner to Grant, proposing an armistice to arrange terms of capitulation. The language of Grant's reply served to crown the fame of his achievement :

Yours of this date, proposing armistice and appointment of commissioners to settle terms of capitulation, is just received. No terms except unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works.

His resolute phrase gained him a prouder title than was ever bestowed by knightly accolade. Thereafter, the army and the country, with a fanciful play upon the initials of his name, spoke of him as "Unconditional Surrender Grant." Buckner had no other balm for the sting of his defeat than to say that Grant's terms were ungenerous and unchivalric, but the necessity compelled him to accept them. That day Grant was enabled to telegraph to Halleck :

We have taken Fort Donelson and from 12,000 to 15,000 prisoners, including Generals Buckner and Bushrod R. Johnson; also about 20,000 stand of

arms, 48 pieces of artillery, 17 heavy guns, from 2000 to 4000 horses, and large quantities of commissary stores.

By this brilliant and important victory Grant's fame sprang suddenly into full and universal recognition. Congress was in session at Washington; his personal friend and representative, Hon. Elihu B. Washburne, member from the Galena district of Illinois, lost no time in proposing a resolution of thanks to Grant and his army, which was voted without delay and with generous gratitude. With even more heartiness, President Lincoln nominated him major-general of volunteers, and the Senate at once confirmed the appointment. The whole military service felt the inspiring event. Many of the colonels in Grant's army were made brigadier-generals; and promotion ran, like a quickening leaven, through the whole organization. Halleck also reminded the Government of his desire for larger power. "Make Buell, Grant, and Pope major-generals of volunteers," he telegraphed the day after the surrender, "and give me command in the West. I ask this in return for Forts Henry and Donelson."



LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.



SEAL OF THE SEE OF LINCOLN.

NO man by taking thought can add a cubit to his stature, but dignity of carriage and a masterful air may accomplish many inches; — the yard-stick bears false witness to a Louis Quatorze, a Napoleon, or a Nelson. And as it is with men, so it is with cities. Canterbury counts

twenty thousand souls and looks small, weak, and rural. Lincoln counts only a few thousand more, but, domineering on its hill-top, makes so brave a show of municipal pride, has so truculent an air and attitude, that no tourist thinks to patronize it as a mere provincial town. It is a city to his eye; and the greatness of its church simply accentuates the fact. Canterbury's cathedral almost crushes Canterbury, asleep in its broad vale. Durham's rock-borne minster projects so boldly from the town behind it that it still seems what it really was in early years —

at once the master of Durham and its bulwark against aggression. But Lincoln's church, though quite as big and as imperial as the others, seems but the crown and finish of the city which bears it aloft in a close, sturdy grasp. Like Durham cathedral, it stands on a promontory beneath which runs a river. But the hill is very much higher, and the town, instead of spreading away behind the church, tumbles steeply down the hill and far out beyond the stream. Here for the first time in England we feel as we almost always do in continental countries — not that the cathedral church has gathered a city about it, but that the city has built a cathedral church for its own glory and profit.

I.

IN truth, the importance of Lincoln as a town long antedates its importance as an ecclesiastical center. We cannot read far enough back in its history to find a record of its birth. When the Romans came — calling it *Lindum*

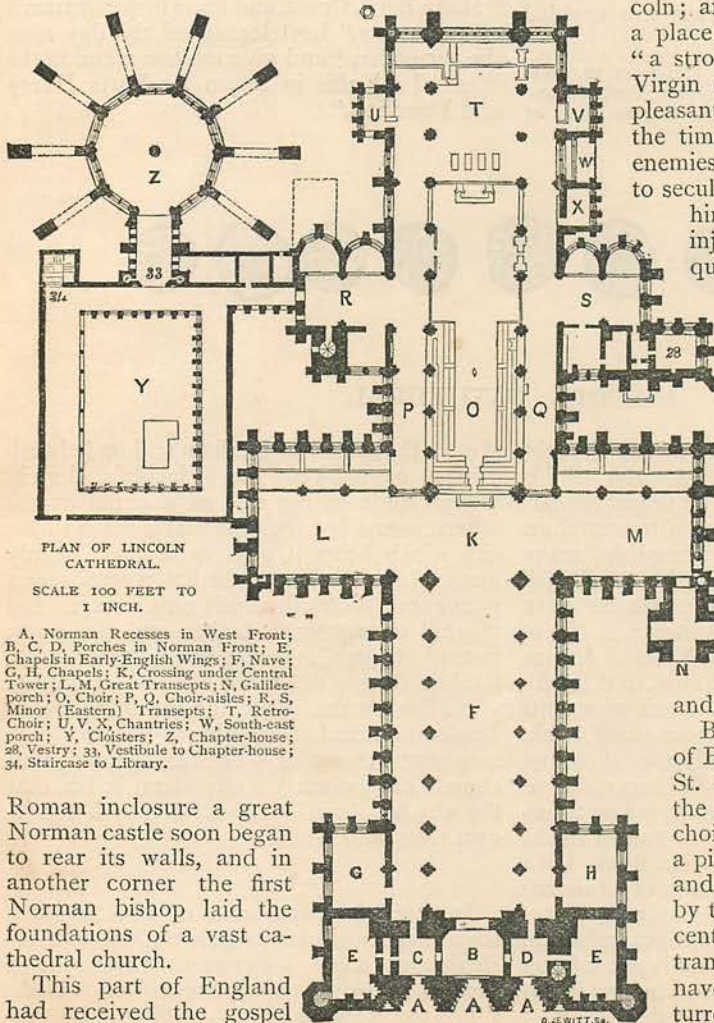
*Colonia*, making it mark the meeting-place of two of their great roads, and fortifying it as one of their chief stations—a British town was already lying a little to the northward of the spot they chose. After their departure and the coming of the English, Lindum flourished again, and still more conspicuously when the Danes took and kept it. At the advent of William the Norman it was one of the four chief towns in England, ruled in almost entire independence by a Danish oligarchy of twelve hereditary “lawmen,” and containing 1150 inhabited houses, many of them mansions according to the standard of the age. William came from the north after his conquest of York and probably entered by that Roman gate-way which still stands not far from the cathedral; and with his coming began a new and yet more prosperous era for the town. In one corner of the

from Paulinus, the famous archbishop of the north, and was at first included in the wide diocese of Lichfield. In 678 a new see was formed which was called of Lindsey after the province, or of Sidnacester after the episcopal town—probably the modern town of Stow. Two years later it was divided, another chair being set up at Leicester. About the year 870 this chair was removed to Dorchester, and hither about 950 the chair of Sidnacester was likewise brought. When the Normans took control the chief place of the united sees was changed again, Lincoln being chosen because of that dominant station and that civic importance which to continental eyes seemed characteristic of the episcopal name.

## II.

REMIGIUS was the first Norman bishop of Dorchester, the first bishop of Lincoln; and about the year 1075, “in a place strong and fair,” he began “a strong and fair church to the Virgin of virgins, which was both pleasant to God’s servants and, as the time required, invincible to his enemies”; and he gave it in charge to secular canons, although he was himself a Benedictine. It was injured by a great fire in 1141, quickly repaired by Bishop Alexander in the later Norman style, and then almost utterly destroyed in 1185 by an earthquake which “split it in two from top to bottom.” Nothing remains of the first cathedral of Lincoln to-day except a portion of Remigius’s west-front (built into the vast Early-English façade), and the lower stages of the western towers, which, like the doorways in the front itself, were parts of Alexander’s reconstructions.

Bishop Hugh of Avalon or of Burgundy—in the calendar, St. Hugh of Lincoln—began the present church, building the choir, the minor transepts, and a piece of the great transepts; and his immediate successors, by the middle of the thirteenth century, had completed these transepts, together with the nave, the west façade and its turrets and chapels, the great



Roman inclosure a great Norman castle soon began to rear its walls, and in another corner the first Norman bishop laid the foundations of a vast cathedral church.

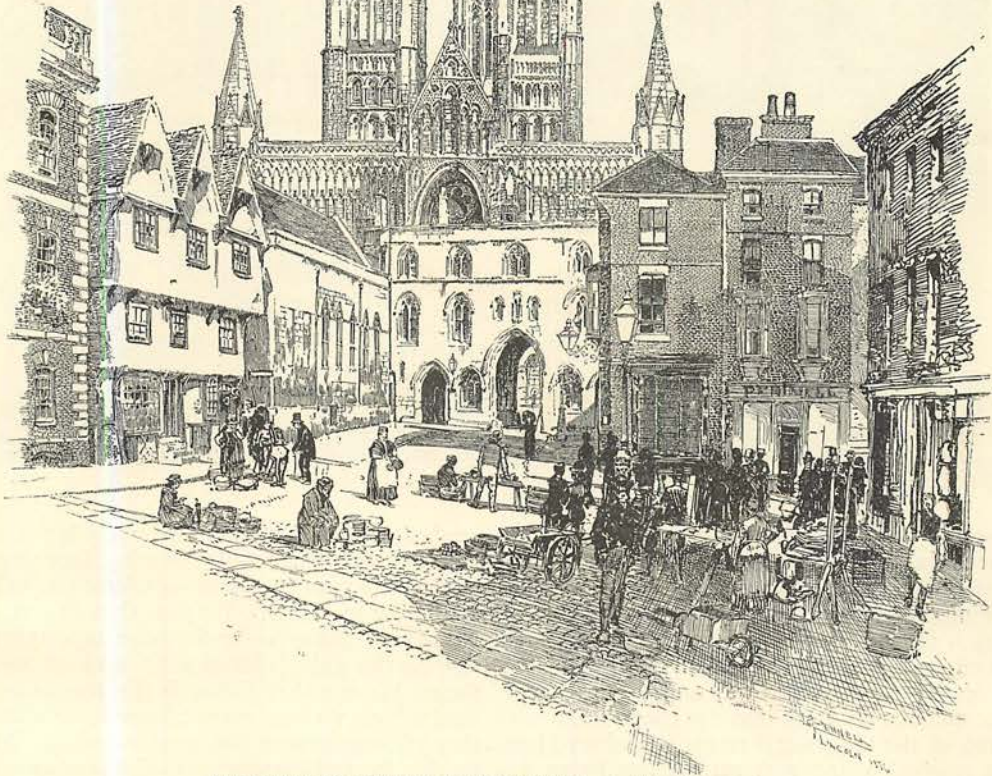
This part of England had received the gospel

Galilee-porch on the southern side, the vestry, the chapter-house, and the two lower stories of the central tower. These parts are all still the same and are all in the Lancet-Pointed (Early-English) style. The presbytery beyond the minor transepts—the famous “Angel Choir”—was built between 1255 and 1280, the cloisters before 1300, and the upper stages of the central tower immediately after, all in the Decorated style. The

and Perpendicular art brings its accent into the majestic whole.

## III.

IF the traveler is wise he will not choose a hostelry in the lower part of the town, for it is a long walk thence to the cathedral, and a walk that means a climb up the steepest streets I saw in England. Fortunately there is a very good inn just beyond the cathedral precincts, within the precincts of the old Roman



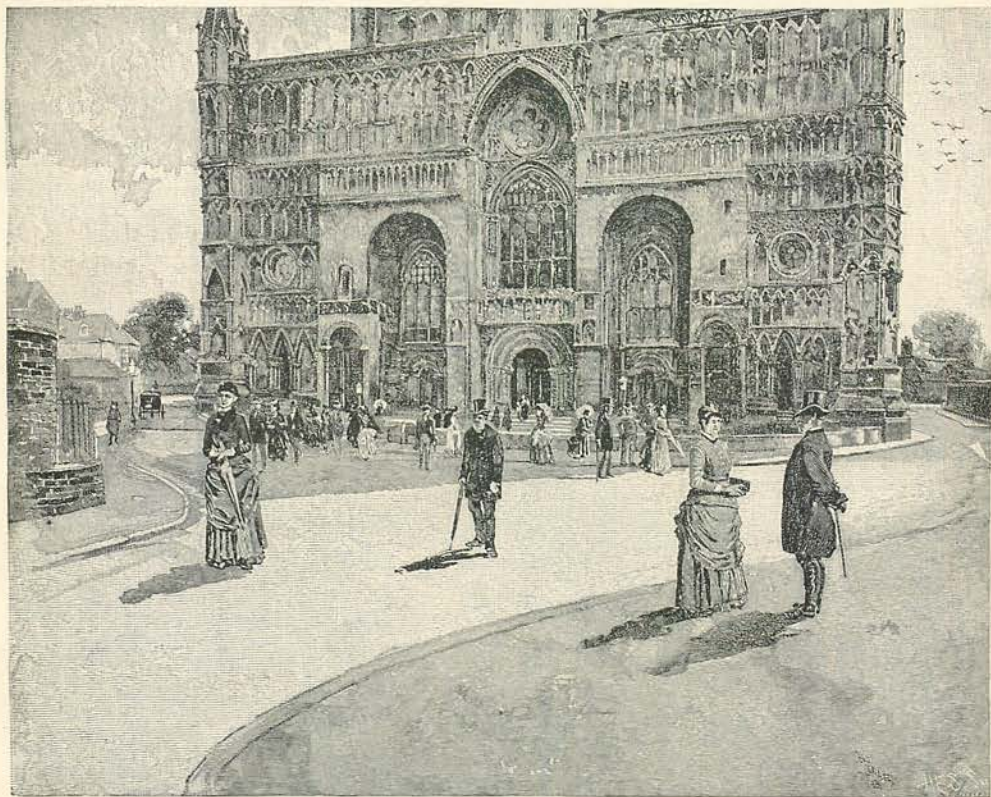
THE EXCHEQUER GATE AND THE WEST-FRONT OF THE CATHEDRAL.

earliest Perpendicular manner—close akin to the latest Decorated—is revealed in the upper stories of the western towers; and in many of the older portions of the church both Decorated and Perpendicular windows were inserted.

The church of Lincoln is thus a most interesting one to study after we have been at Salisbury and Lichfield. At Salisbury we found a church wholly in the Early-English manner with a Decorated spire. At Lichfield we found one almost wholly in the Decorated manner with Early-English transepts. At Lincoln Lancet-Pointed work is again preponderant, but Decorated work is very conspicuous and singularly fine, Norman features still remain.

station. As we leave its door we turn a corner, where a curious half-timbered house overhangs the street, and see to the westward the Roman gate and the Norman castle, and to the eastward the “Exchequer Gate,” a tall three-storied structure of the Decorated period. This admits us into a small paved square—the Minster Yard—surrounded on three sides by low ecclesiastical dwellings. Filling the whole of the fourth side, just in front of us, rises the enormous façade of the church, peculiarly English in conception, and individual in its naïve incorporation of inharmonious Norman features.

The front which remained after the earthquake—with five great, round-arched re-



THE FAÇADE FROM THE MINSTER YARD.

cesses of graduated height, three of them inclosing low, round-arched portals — was made the nucleus of the new façade. Wide wings finished by turrets were thrown out on each side of it and a high reach of wall was built up above, all covered with Lancet-Pointed arcades in close-set rows; and to bring some semblance of unity into the effect, the round top of the tall central recess was altered into a pointed shape and surmounted by an arcaded gable.

What are we to say of such a front as this? It is not a design in any true sense of the word, and we may believe that it would not have been even had the architect been unhampered by the Norman wall. Like the contemporary façade at Salisbury, which was built under no constraint, the newer part is simply a huge screen, misrepresenting the breadth, and still more grossly the height, of the church behind it; and even as a screen it is ungraceful in outline and weak in composition — elaborately decorated, but almost devoid of architectural sinew and bone. When we study it on paper there is only one verdict to give — a very big piece of work but a very bad one. Yet when we stand in its mighty shadow our indictment

weakens. Then we see how hugely big it is and how its bigness — its towering, frowning, massive, and imperious air — redeems its lack of dignity in design. We see that its great Norman arches preserve their due importance despite the wide fields of alien work around them. We see that although the towers behind it have no true connection with its mass, they yet supplement that mass superbly. We see that the endless repetition of similar niches is at least a successful decorative device, greatly to be preferred to such a counterfeit of architectural designing as the blank windows of the Salisbury façade; — although on paper they may seem but to reveal a want of inventive power, in actuality they give a wonderful effect of repose combined with richness. In short, we see, when face to face with Lincoln, that there may be such a thing in architecture as successful sin — that if a bad piece of work is only big and bold enough it may appear wholly grand and almost beautiful. The front of Lincoln is not a good church-front. It is not an organic composition. It is not even a very clever attempt to unite alien elements in an harmonious whole. But all the same it is a splendid stretch of wall, and one which

gives the observer an emotion such as stirs him very seldom when he views an English cathedral from the west.

## IV.

BENEATH the central arch we enter a square porch out of which opens on each hand another of smaller size. Lying under the Norman towers these porches are Norman in body themselves, but are covered with Perpendicular vaults, lined with Perpendicular carvings, and encumbered by eighteenth-century constructions which the tottering state of the

arches between them are so widely spread, that the effect of the long perspective is a little too open and empty, and the triforium seems a little too heavy by contrast. The vaulting, moreover, is far from satisfactory. Diverging ribs in fan-like groups start from each vaulting-shaft and end at equal intervals along a longitudinal mid-rib. The effect of such a design (a common one in large English churches) is never so pleasing as that of a design which shows transverse ribs spanning the nave from shaft to shaft with diagonal ribs crossing between them; for it accords less logically with walls that are conspicuously



THE SOUTH SIDE OF THE CATHEDRAL.

towers prescribed. Beyond them lie large chapels, forming the Early-English wings of the façade; and behind these but unconnected with them, and divided from the nave-aisles by a low wall only, are again two chapels of a somewhat later date.

The nave itself is more richly adorned than the contemporary Early-English nave at Salisbury, and is more majestic than the still richer Decorated nave at Lichfield. But its piers are so widely spaced and, in consequence, the

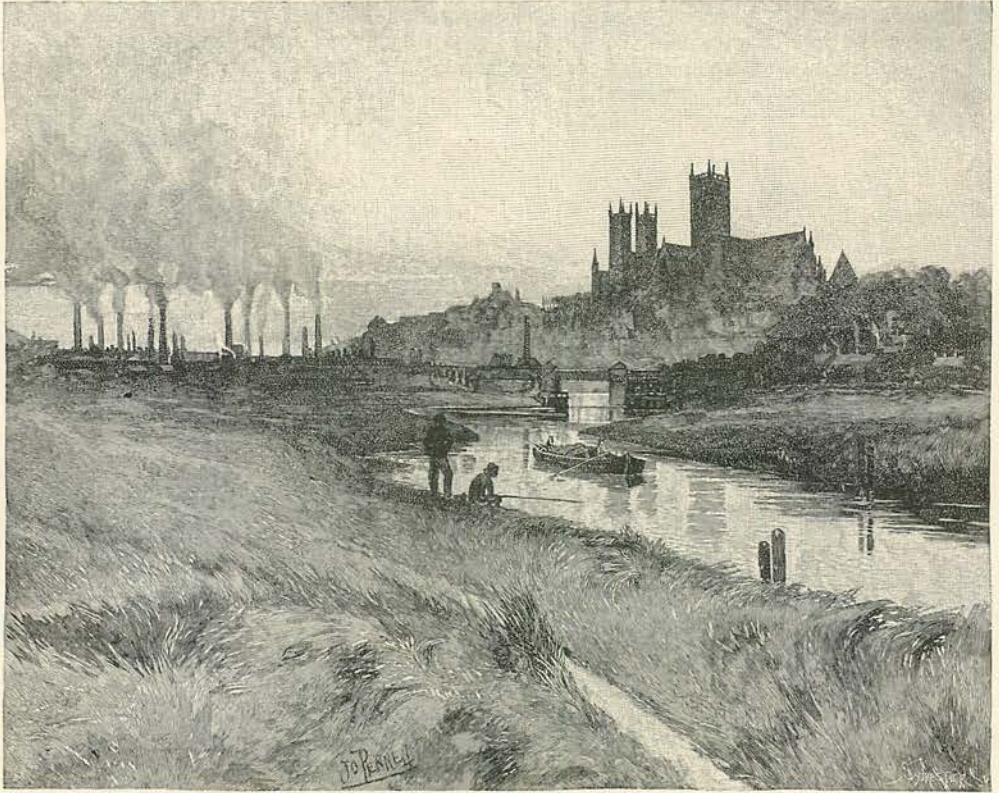
divided into compartments, it accentuates length too evidently, and its great conical masses have a heavy and crushing look. The lower the church, the more these faults offend; and Lincoln is very low indeed. Its nave is but eighty feet in height and its choir is eight feet lower still.

The central tower opens above the crossing as a lofty lantern. Its lower stages were built early in the thirteenth century, but almost immediately fell, to be at once rebuilt,

before the year 1250, in exact repetition of the first design.

The most noteworthy features in the great transept are the two rose-windows which, close beneath the vaulting, face each other across its length — the "Bishop's Eye" shining at the southern end and overlooking "the quar-

ter that surrounds them. The "Bishop's Eye" dates from about 1330, when the Decorated style was no longer young and had passed from its "geometrical" into its "flowing" stage. In design it does not deserve unstinted praise, for its shape is not strongly enough accentuated by the main lines of the traceries.



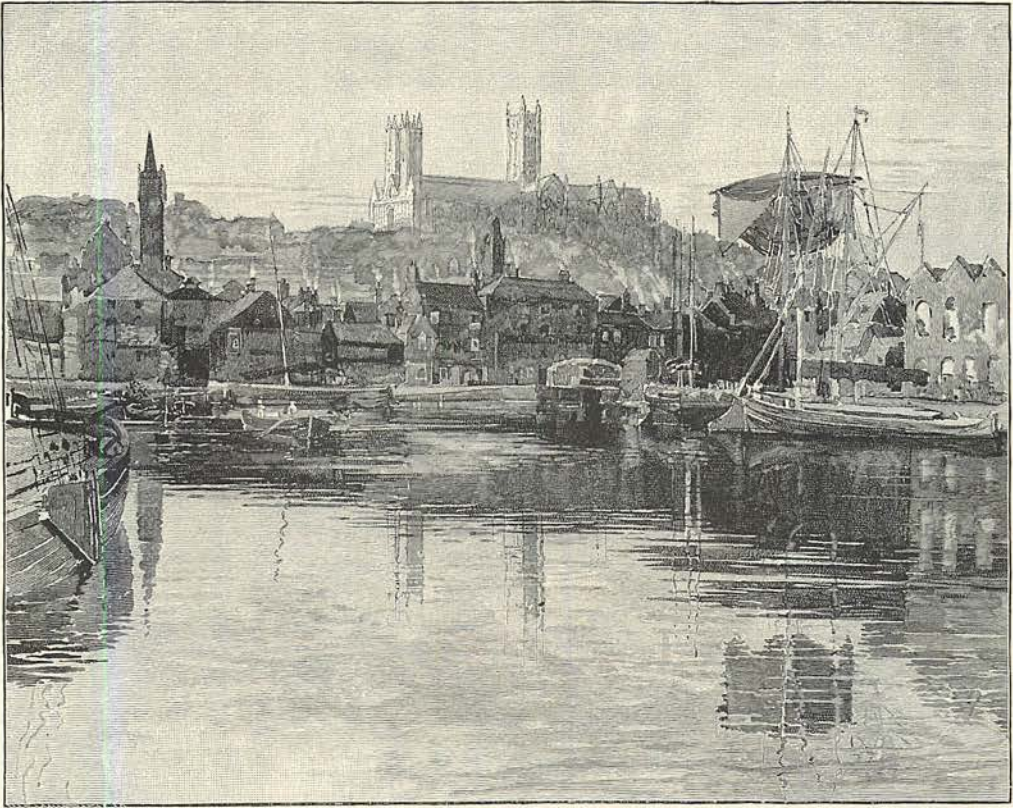
ON THE BANKS OF THE WITHAM.

ter of the Holy Spirit" to invite its influence, the "Dean's Eye" shining at the northern end and watching "the region of Lucifer" to guard against his advances. Circular windows of later than a Norman date are not very common in England, and when we see how beautiful are these and how interesting in their contrast, we do not wonder that their fame is wide.

The "Dean's Eye" is an Early-English window of about 1220,—a wheel-window rather than a rose, a perfect example of plate-tracery applied to a round opening. The stone-work is light and graceful, but it is a flat plate pierced, not an assemblage of curved and molded bars; and the design which impresses itself upon the eye — the pattern which makes the window's beauty — is formed by the openings themselves, not by the stone-work

But apart from this want of perfect adaptation, the traceries are very beautiful; and no one can mistake the share they play in the effect of the window. The pattern which makes the beauty of this window is not encircled by the delicate bars of stone, but is composed by these bars. The plate-traceried window (if I may repeat a phrase already used in a similar connection\*) appears as a beautiful design done in large spots of light upon an opaque ground. The true traceried window appears as a beautiful design etched in black upon a luminous ground. Fortunately, both the luminous pattern in the Dean's window and the luminous background in the Bishop's are still formed by ancient glass, royally magnificent in color.

\* See "Lichfield Cathedral," THE CENTURY MAGAZINE, July, 1888.



THE CATHEDRAL FROM THE POOL.

## V.

THE original choir-screen — or, at least, a rich and massive choir-screen of the Decorated period, a veritable bit of wall — still stands at Lincoln between the angle-piers to the eastward of the crossing. Only when we enter beneath its doorway is the full glory of the vast east-limb revealed. Two distinct designs unite in harmony in this east-limb — St. Hugh's Early-English design of the choir proper and the later Decorated design of the so-called Angel Choir beyond the minor transepts.\*

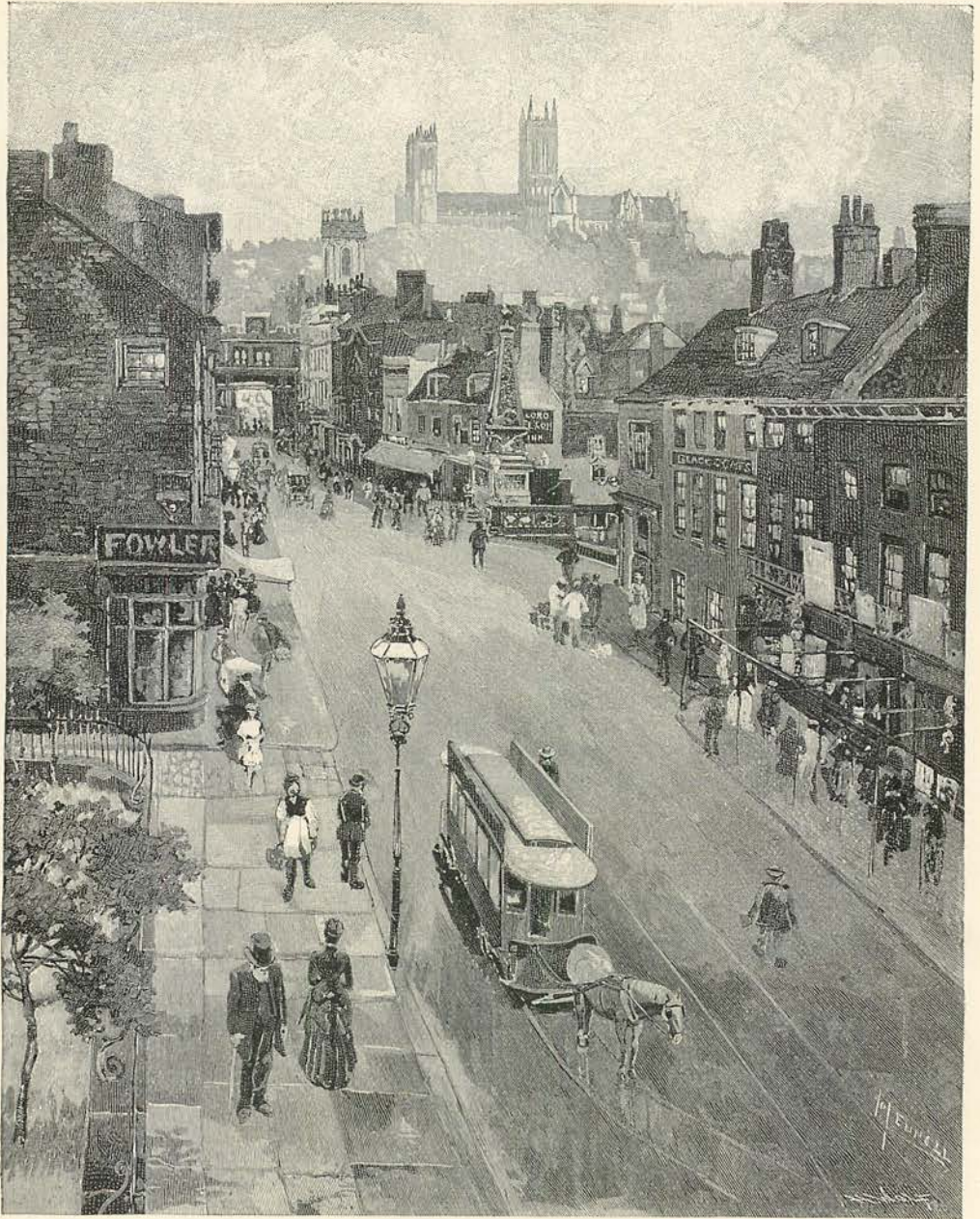
No fiercer architectural battle has ever been fought than the one for which the choir of St. Hugh has supplied the field. The question at issue is one which appeals to something more than cold antiquarian curiosity. When it is asked whether the choir of Lincoln may rightly be called "the earliest piece of pure Gothic work in the world," how shall national pride, international prejudice and jealousy, fail of

their effect upon the answer? In truth, they have variously tinged so many different answers that in reading about this choir we almost feel as though no point in the history of medieval art had been accurately established nor the relative value of any of its characteristics definitely appraised. But it is just this fact which gives the subject its interest for the transatlantic traveler. He might care little about the claims set up for Lincoln if they were merely claims between English church and church. But it is worth his while to try to understand them for the sake of better understanding how the course of architectural development varied between land and land.

It is impossible to formulate a definition of "pure Gothic" work which would satisfy both sides of the Channel. If we were to say both *pure* and *complete*, and speak in a very abstract way, we might, no doubt, succeed. But it is difficult to give even an abstract definition of purity alone, leaving completeness out of sight — for a mere lack of some one char-

\* As will be seen from the plan, the "ritual choir" with the high-altar at its eastern end is carried beyond these transepts; but, architecturally speaking, the space beyond them forms, first the presbytery and then the

retro-choir. Architecturally speaking the Angel Choir is not the choir of Lincoln, but a vast accessory space constructed, as so often, to meet the needs of relic-worship.



THE CATHEDRAL FROM THE HIGH STREET.

acteristic is, in the eyes of many, as great a blot, as conspicuous a mark of the Transitional stage, as the presence of an alien characteristic. And in any case it is hard to make theories — theories in which taste must come to the aid of logic in many decisions — fit so complicated a development as that of Pointed architecture. Whether a feature or detail is perfectly pure, perfectly harmonious with the Gothic ideal, or only approximately pure, only Transitional;

which features and details are of prime and which of secondary importance; how many, if any at all, that are not perfectly pure may consist with a general effect which is entitled to the perfect name — all these are questions that arise in ever-changing application as we pass from church to church, and that men must answer differently in accordance with those æsthetic leanings which, among Europeans, are often merely ingrained prepos-



sions for familiar local types. The best thing an American can do is to notice just how Frenchmen worked in the year 1200 and just how Englishmen worked; and then, if he cares for cut-and-dried beliefs, to decide for himself which of them it was whose work was purest.

To the mind of a French architect in the year 1200 the chief essential, I should say, was the general impression which his building would produce; and this, he felt, depended more upon its proportions and the shape and disposition of its main constructional elements than upon details of form and decoration. It seemed to him much more important that his church should be very lofty and that all its stories should form inseparable parts of a single architectural conception, than that no round arch should appear even in those minor situations where its shape could not affect the structural design. He did not feel, as English critics say he should have felt, that his result would be inharmonious if the square abacus, instead of the round or polygonal abacus, were used in the capitals of his piers; or if some of these piers were simply columnar—were devoid of attached shafts or moldings. But he did feel that his vaulting-shafts should be integrally united in some way with the piers, while even above the most richly molded pier an Englishman could contentedly let his vaulting-shafts be borne by independent corbels. He was not so quick as the Englishman to see that the more complicated new system of construction required more complicated sections for jamb and arch-line, and that the effect would be more harmonious were these sections gently rounded instead of being square and sharp. But he more quickly saw that the greater importance which the new system of vaulting gave to the chief points of support decreased the importance of the walls between them; that this fact ought to be explained, and that wide windows filled with traceries explained it more fully than mere groups of lancets. And a church in the Pointed style unvaulted, covered by a level ceiling, would have seemed to him the negation of all good sense and taste. Occidental builders had first used the Pointed arch in their vaults, in answer to the constructional necessity for making curves of different lengths meet at a common height. From the vault it had descended to the other portions of the fabric, in answer to the æsthetic need for harmony and the growing wish for altitude and

vertical accentuation. From there it had worked with creative touch to guide the new development and dictate its every feature. How, then, could it be omitted there, in a work in the new style, except by committing a patent sin against constructional logic on the one hand, purity of æsthetic effect on the other?

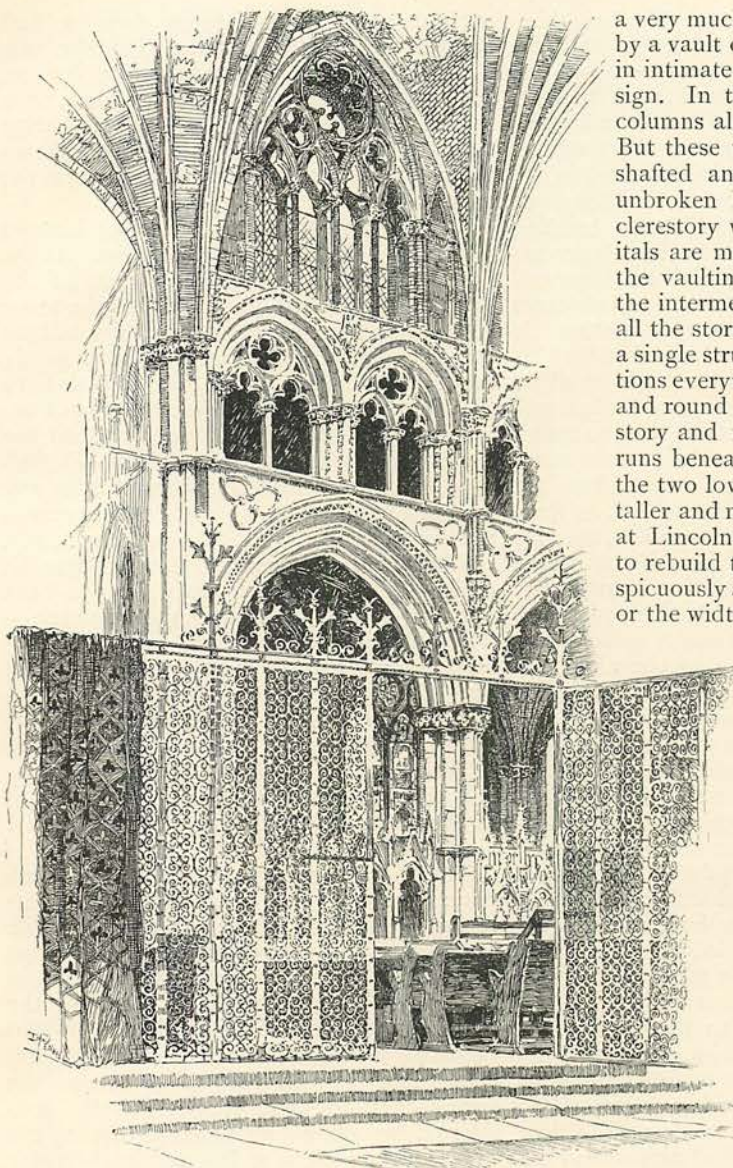
Let us look now at the choir of Lincoln and see in what its purity consists. All its arches are pointed. The great piers of the main arcade are richly shafted, and the lesser piers of the triforium still more richly. All the sections are defined by complex and gently rounded moldings. All the main capitals have the round abacus, and where it does not occur a polygonal form is used; and all the sculptured foliage is of that true Early-English type which is so markedly distinct from any type of Romanesque—upright stalks encircle the capital and bear coronals of curling leaves.

If this choir was really built when English critics (apparently with clear facts to back them) say it was—just before the year 1200—it is certainly both purer and richer in detail than any contemporary work in France.\* But does this mean that it is purer in general effect, more truly and distinctively Gothic in feeling, farther on the path towards that stage in development which means perfect purity and completeness both—the entire as well as the impeccable realization of the highest Gothic ideal?

There are many reasons why a French critic may well answer, No. Although all its arches are pointed, those of the main arcade are so very slightly pointed that their effect differs to a scarcely perceptible degree from the effect of semicircles, and those of the triforium are but a trifle more acute, so that these two stories might be rebuilt with round arches and yet their proportions remain the same—their design, constructionally considered, be almost unchanged. Again, the sweep of the vault is so low and its diverging ribs bear so little relation to the design of the wall-compartments, that it seems rather to crush the choir than to soar above it, and actually conflicts with that expression of verticality which should be the animating spirit of every line in a work of Pointed architecture. Moreover, we are told by some authorities that even this vault was not built until after the fall of the tower—that a ceiling of flat boards was the covering St. Hugh bestowed

\* It would be hopeless in the space here at command to report the various opinions which have been advanced with regard to the exact age of this work or the degree to which it was affected by foreign example. Even among English critics there are one or two who doubt whether the whole choir was built by St. Hugh, although all agree that it was purely English in its

origin. Among foreign critics many have asserted some continental influence imported by St. Hugh or by his architect, while Viollet-le-Duc declares that everything is purely English, but decides, therefore, that the year 1200 must have seen the beginning rather than the completing of the work.



ONE BAY OF THE ANGEL CHOIR.

upon his choir. If this be true then a contemporary Frenchman might well have called it incomplete in style, inharmonious in effect, and thought its purity and perfection of detail matters of secondary moment. And even if it be not true, he might still have been willing to point to churches of his own and ask impartiality to decide whether they were not further on the road to complete purity than St. Hugh's.

If we look at the nave of Noyon Cathedral, for instance,—which I choose because it was built some thirty years before the earliest date claimed for the choir of Lincoln,—we see

a very much taller structure covered by a vault of soaring effect designed in intimate accord with the wall-design. In the main arcade we find columns alternating with true piers. But these true piers are beautifully shafted and molded; they rise in unbroken lines to the base of the clerestory windows; here their capitals are matched by the capitals of the vaulting-shafts which stand on the intermediate columns, and thus all the stories are united as parts of a single structural idea. Square sections everywhere appear in the arches, and round arches appear in the clerestory and in a little arcade which runs beneath it. But the arches of the two lower stories are very much taller and more sharply pointed than at Lincoln. It would be impossible to rebuild these stories without conspicuously altering either their height or the width of their bays, or leaving

in each a broad, plain field of wall—without tearing the whole design apart and producing a new design of utterly different aspect. In short, the constructional skeleton of Noyon's nave may be called much more purely or, at the very least, much more emphatically Gothic than the skeleton of Lincoln's choir, although the decorative integument at Lincoln is both more richly and more harmoniously developed.

However, the chief thing to remember in connection with this famous quarrel is that even if Lincoln be counted

“the earliest piece of pure Gothic work in the world,” the fact cannot sustain the claim that English architects “invented” or “introduced” the Pointed style. This claim has often been made in the past and even now is sometimes made; but it is untenable to a point beyond the need for serious discussion. No facts in all architectural history are more certain than that in twelfth-century France—in the central districts of what we now call France, in the *domaine royal*, the province of the Ile-de-France—pointed arches were first used as the basis of a consistent architectural scheme, and that thence their use

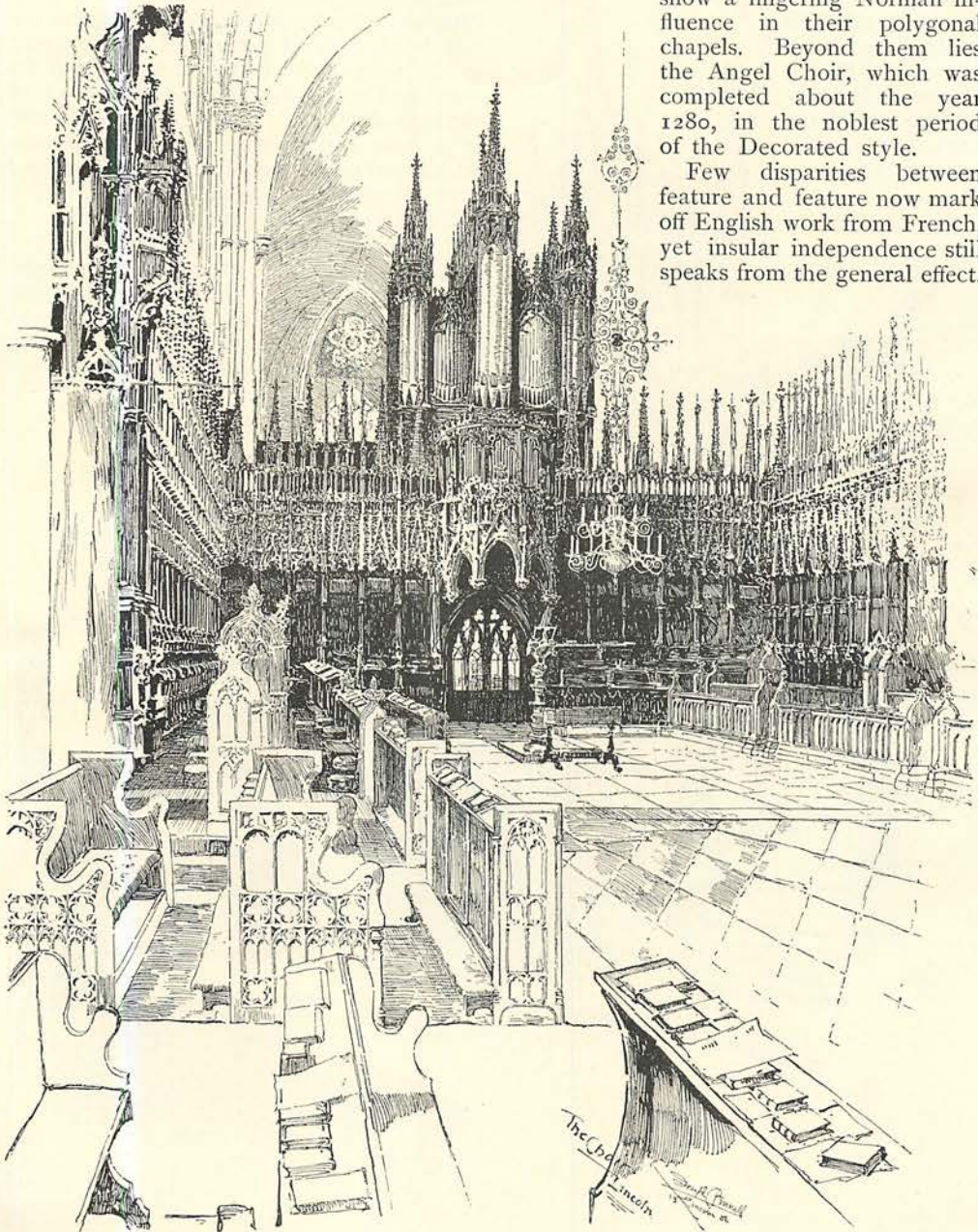
was spread abroad, northward to England, eastward to Germany, southward to Italy and Spain. We need not go for dates in confirmation to the soil of France itself. We have seen the character of the late-Transitional choir at Canterbury and know how nearly it approaches to true Gothic in feature and effect; and we know that it was built by Frenchmen while Englishmen were building the Norman naves of Peterborough and Ely.

The most that can be claimed for English architects is that, after borrowing the new idea, they developed it in an independent way and, as regards certain forms and details, more rapidly than their Gallic rivals.

VI.

THE minor or eastern transepts of Lincoln belong also to the time of St. Hugh and show a lingering Norman influence in their polygonal chapels. Beyond them lies the Angel Choir, which was completed about the year 1280, in the noblest period of the Decorated style.

Few disparities between feature and feature now mark off English work from French, yet insular independence still speaks from the general effect.



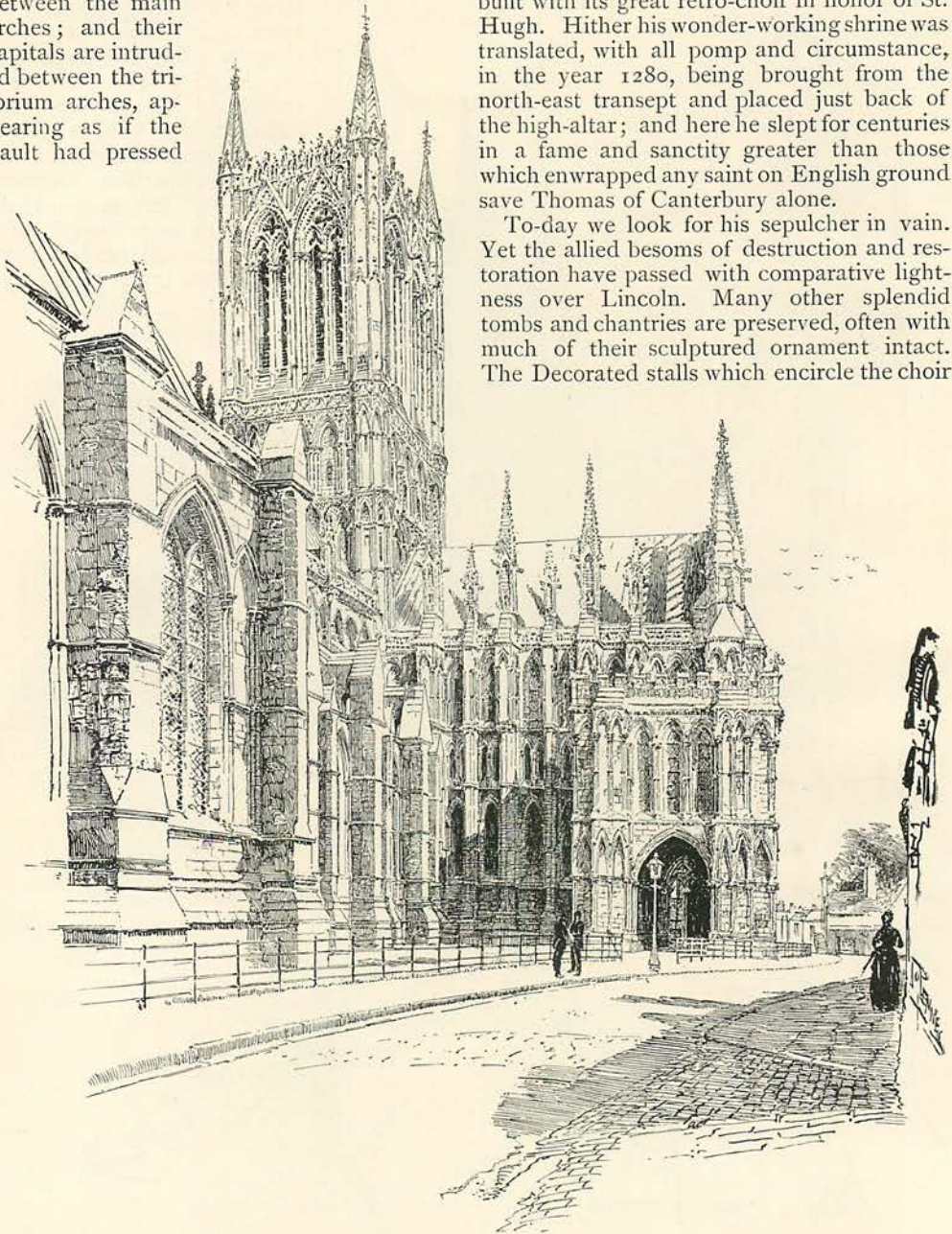
THE CHOIR STALLS, LOOKING WEST.

The low proportions of the Angel Choir suffice to make it almost as unlike any contemporary foreign work as the choir of St. Hugh is unlike the nave of Noyon. Its beauty best appears when we study one of its bays in isolation, forgetting that it is a part of so immensely long a church. Then the design seems to have but a single fault—the vaulting-shafts are not integral, vital parts of it. Their supporting corbels are simply intruded between the main arches; and their capitals are intruded between the triforium arches, appearing as if the vault had pressed

them from their proper station on the clerestory string-course. So in truth it did, not in the actual stone, of course, but in the designer's thought. A vault of this form and height could not have started from a loftier point.

There is no Lady-Chapel at Lincoln; the whole cathedral was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, as had been the church of an English congregation which occupied the site before the Normans came. The presbytery was built with its great retro-choir in honor of St. Hugh. Hither his wonder-working shrine was translated, with all pomp and circumstance, in the year 1280, being brought from the north-east transept and placed just back of the high-altar; and here he slept for centuries in a fame and sanctity greater than those which enwrapped any saint on English ground save Thomas of Canterbury alone.

To-day we look for his sepulcher in vain. Yet the allied besoms of destruction and restoration have passed with comparative lightness over Lincoln. Many other splendid tombs and chantries are preserved, often with much of their sculptured ornament intact. The Decorated stalls which encircle the choir

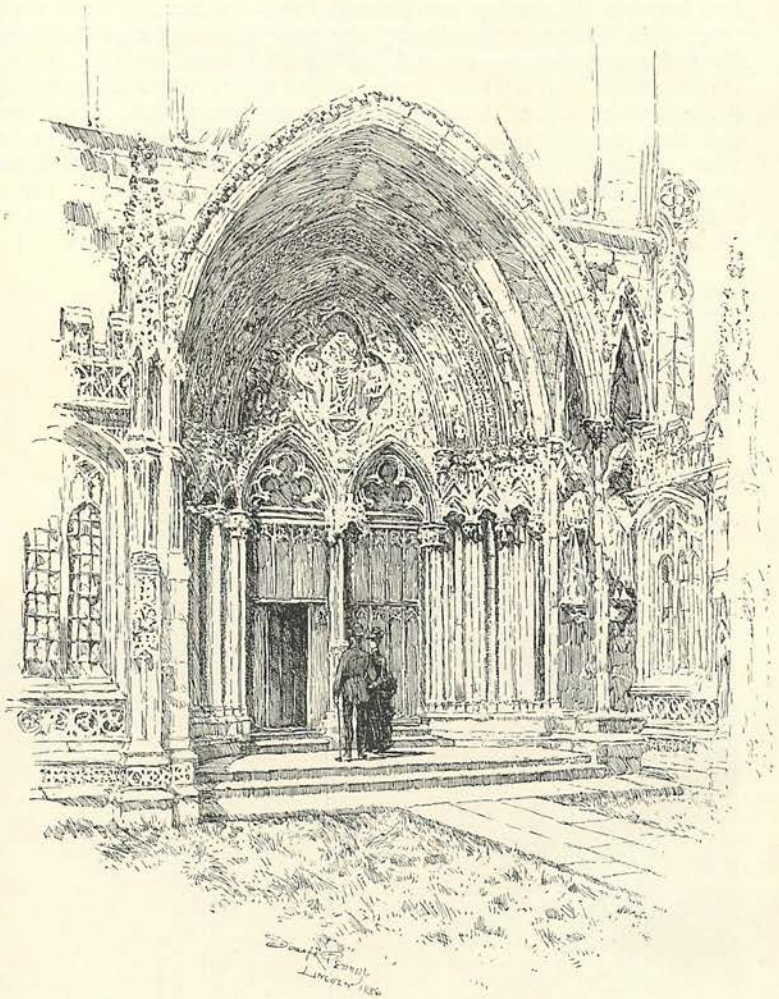


THE CENTRAL TOWER AND THE GALILEE-PORCH.

proper are of admirable workmanship and striking effect. The altar-screen is likewise of the Decorated period, although painfully restored. The blank arcades in the aisles seem surprisingly rich, even after one has seen those in the "Nine Altars" at Durham. The minor transepts are shut off from the choir by tall screens of iron tracery, lovely and yet vigorous as only hammered iron-work can be. Architectural carving is everywhere profuse and usually of the greatest beauty, and the figures in the triforium spandrels, which have given the Angel Choir its popular name, are of unique importance in English interior decoration. The effect of all this lavish adornment is greatly increased by the diversified plan of the structure, which at every step gives varying lights and shadows, new combinations of form, fresh perspectives with fresh accords and contrasts; and altogether the east-limb of Lincoln dwells in my mind as more richly pictorial in aspect than any part of any other English cathedral. Of course the mood of the moment has much to do with imprinting such impressions; yet I venture to record this one with the claim that it cannot be very far away from the truth.

## VII.

BUT it is only when we pass outside the church again and make its mighty circuit that the full value of its complex plan and its rich adornment is made clear. I would not say that Lincoln is the most beautiful of English cathedrals inside. I am not quite sure that it is the most impressive outside when seen from a distance. But I am certain that it is the most beautiful and the most interesting outside when studied foot by foot under the shadow of its walls. It is more varied in outline and



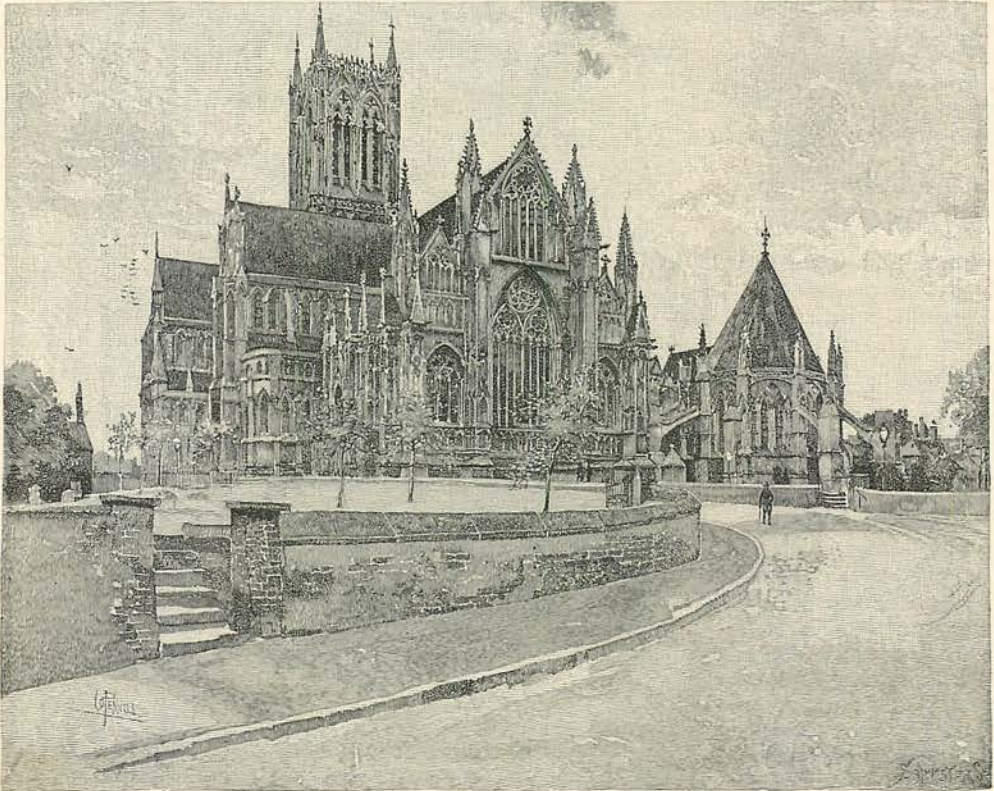
THE SOUTH-EAST PORCH.

feature than Canterbury itself, and it is vastly more ornate.

Even the west-front is extraordinarily interesting in detail, especially in its Norman portions; and when we turn its southern shoulder, beauty and charm increase at every step. First we see the flanks of the Norman towers and on a line with them the low Early-English chapels; and then, set considerably back, the long stretch of the nave with lancet-windows and graceful flying-buttresses, a delicate arcade above the clerestory, and over this an open parapet bearing great canopied niches of the Decorated period. Then comes the side of the transept with the Galilee-porch in bold projection—richly shafted, exquisitely vaulted, and peculiar by reason of its cruciform plan; then the transept-end where the Bishop's Eye looks out beneath a lofty gable; then a deep and shadowy re-

cess between this greater and the minor transept; then the projecting vestry, the gabled front of the minor transept with its beautiful lancet-groups, and another recess varied by the polygonal faces of the little lowly chapels; and then the buttresses and the traceried windows of the Angel Choir rising over a great pinnacled porch and two Perpendicular chantries. Carven ornament has been growing more and more profuse as we have passed

construction of some other chapter-house, confessing that the buttresses of this one show too clearly that they are later additions which merely rest against its walls. But the group as a whole is magnificent; and when we stand a little way off to the south-east so that we can encompass it in a single gaze with the perspective of the whole south-side — then indeed we may learn what architectural composition means.



THE EAST-END AND THE CHAPTER-HOUSE.

thus eastward from the earlier to the later work; and here in this south-eastern porch the climax is reached. There is no other large porch in a similar situation in England, and, I think, no porch at all which is so ornate in design.

Nor is there any falling off in beauty of general effect when we turn to the northward and view the east-end of the church and the polygonal chapter-house beyond. We may prefer the treatment of some other east-end, granting that here the upper window (which lights the space between the vaulting and the high-pitched outer roof) is so large that it injures the effect of the principal window, and that the aisle-gables are shams, representing nothing behind them; and we may prefer the

Low as are the vaulted ceilings of Lincoln, its outer roofs, in the six great arms formed by nave and choir and doubled transepts, are unusually high and steep; and, beautifully supported by the lesser roofs — lower in varying degree — of the many chapels, aisles, and porches, they as beautifully support the three tall towers. Far off to the westward rise the sturdy Norman pair with their delicate early-Perpendicular tops, harmonizing well with their greater brother — that central tower which is the crown in beauty as in construction importance of the whole splendid pile. This late-Decorated central tower of Lincoln has but one real rival — the Perpendicular central tower of Canterbury. Built to bear a lofty wooden spire, while the Canterbury tower

was meant to be spireless from the first, it is nevertheless almost as fine in form, almost as superbly complete in its present spireless state, while in loveliness of feature and enrichment it is beyond compare.

## VIII.

THERE is no such wide-spreading Close around Lincoln as around most English cathedrals, yet even here a green environment does not lack. Along the south side of the church runs a border of grass with a street beyond it, and the low walls of the Vicar's Court, flanked by ecclesiastical houses. To the eastward the grass stretches out into a wide lawn, again with a street as its boundary; and to the northward chapter-house and cloisters look on a still broader reach of turf.

The cloisters were from the first almost as purely ornamental, as little required by actual needs, as they are to-day; for there was never a monastic chapter at Lincoln. But whatever the chapter, a house for its councils was required; and a singularly beautiful one was built by the canons of Lincoln. It is decagonal in shape and about sixty feet in diameter, with a complex vault supported by a central pillar, from which the ribs diverge like palm-branches from a palm. There are other chapter-houses which resemble it in general design — as at Salisbury, Wells, and Westminster; but to my mind there is no other so perfect. Its proportions are faultless and the sweep of its ceiling is graceful beyond words. The central pier, with its circle of ten isolated marble shafts; the sharply pointed blank arcade, which surrounds its walls above the stone benches; the lancet windows, which in groups of two fill every face except the one that opens by its whole width into the stately vestibule; the rich vaulting-shafts, which rise between smaller blank lancets in every angle — all are perfect in themselves and in perfect harmony, in close architectural union, with each other. Whatever may be the case in their larger constructions, no one ever surpassed the English in constructions such as this. There is nothing lovelier in the world than this little interior, and there is nothing better as a work of Gothic art.

From the mere position of chapter-house and cloisters we might almost feel sure that they were not built as parts of a great monastic establishment, for in such an establishment their proper place would have been on the south side of the nave. Three sides of the cloisters still stand in their original Decorated form; but the north side, with the library above, was burned in the seventeenth century and was reconstructed by Sir Christopher Wren. Of course this piece of Renaissance work is out

of keeping with all else, yet it is not wholly unwelcome, for it adds to the historic interest of a richly historic spot. Where these cloisters stand once ran the wall of the Roman station, and within them are preserved fragments of a tessellated Roman floor. Beginning, therefore, with these fragments, running the eye over the huge, near body of the church, and then coming back to Sir Christopher's walls, we find signs and symbols of almost all the generations which make England's glory when she counts her treasures of art. There is but one great gap — no sign or token appears of that sturdy race of English builders who had their Church of Mary on this same spot between the going of the Roman and the coming of the Norman. "Saxons" or "Anglo-Saxons" these builders are popularly called, but they were the first Englishmen, the men of true, undiluted English blood. And if names were always applied in accordance with facts, the name of "Early-English architecture" would be given to their primitive round-arched work, and not to the Lancet-Pointed work of those thirteenth-century Englishmen whose blood was tinged with a Norman strain.

## IX.

BUT if no relics of the first phase of English art remain in or about Lincoln Cathedral, down in the town of Lincoln we may find them. Here stand two tall church-towers, built in that primitive round-arched style which had once been used by all western Europe, which before the Conquest the Norman had already altered into another round-arched style of quite different aspect, but which the German was still employing. In Germany it was never abandoned — only developed — until it was exchanged for the Pointed style of France. But in England it was at once suppressed by the conquerors' style, and not out of it but out of the Norman style grew the Early-English Pointed. Here at Lincoln we may be almost sure that we see its last gasp for life; for these towers were built by an English colony from the upper town after the architects from over-sea had there begun the great cathedral-church.

Nor are these the only relics of remote antiquity in the low valley and steep, climbing streets of Lincoln. The trace of the Roman is everywhere; not merely in excavated bits of pavement and carving, but in the great "Newport Gate" near castle and church, in the line of the far-stretching highways, in the twelve miles of "Foss Dyke" which, connecting the Witham with the Trent, still serve the purposes of commerce. And the trace of the Norman is still more plainly seen; not only in his hill-top church and castle, but in

several dwellings on the hill-side streets. All of these are yet in use and one of them still keeps, in its name of the "Jew's house," a record of the fact that few but Jews were able in the twelfth century to dwell in habitations of hewn and carven stone. Timbers sheltered the Christian citizen; only God and his priests and the Hebrew pariah could afford the costlier material.

The Jews, in truth, played as conspicuous and at times as martyr-like a rôle in medieval Lincoln as in medieval York. It would be interesting to tell of their dramatic persecution in the fourteenth century were there not in Lincoln's history so many chapters of still greater significance, and had not the architectural chapter been so long in the telling. The diocese was an immense one, even after the Normans set off Cambridgeshire to form the diocese of Ely, for besides its present territory it included, until Reformation times, what are now the sees of Peterborough and Oxford; and the size and strength of the episcopal city, and its situation in the center of England on the high road to the north, helped to insure the permanence of its early renown. Whether we look at its burghers' record or its bishops', there is never an age when great names and deeds are wanting.

Here, for example, King Stephen was defeated and imprisoned in 1141; here was a focus of conflict in the critical reign of King John, and again in the early tempestuous years of King Henry III.; here was a Royalist defense, a Parliamentary siege and triumph, in 1644; and always the burghers as a body were more influential actors than has often been the case on English soil.

Among the bishops who here held sway was first Remigius, the cathedral founder; then Robert Bloet, the chancellor of William Rufus, who was called akin in nature to his patron and thought to be rightly punished when "his sowle, with other walking spretes," was compelled to haunt the cathedral aisles; then Alexander, who repaired the church of Remigius, and, although "called a bishop, was a man of vast pomp and great boldness and audacity," and "gave himself up to military affairs" in the wars of Stephen. Then, after a long interregnum, came one who was never consecrated but enjoyed the temporalities of the see for seven years—Geoffrey Plantagenet, the illegitimate son of Henry II. From 1186 to 1200 ruled St. Hugh, the builder—perfect, we are told, in his daily life, and a model bishop before the world. Another Hugh, who came from Wells, soon followed him, and then in 1235, Robert Grosseteste, than whom no man of his time was more remarkable in himself or more conspicuously be-

fore the nation—a scholar, a builder, a stern disciplinarian in his diocese, and a bold-fronted upholder of the rights of the English Church against the king on the one hand and the pope on the other. Thus the list runs on, often a great name, never a quite inconspicuous one, until in the year 1395 we reach Henry Beaufort, afterwards Bishop of Winchester and Cardinal of Rome, immortalized in a rather unjust light by Shakspeare's hand. He was followed by Philip of Repington, at first an outspoken Wickliffite, then a truckling recanter, and, in consequence, a man whom princes delighted to honor; and he by Richard Fleming, who was the executive of the Roman Church in that act of the results of which the poet says:

The Avon to the Severn runs,  
The Severn to the sea;  
And Wickliffe's dust shall spread abroad,  
Wide as the waters be.

Here at Lincoln, coming from the chair of Rochester, sat John Russell, who played an important political part just before Henry VII. gained the throne; and here for a twelve-month ere he went to York and became a cardinal, Henry VIII.'s ill-used great servant, Wolsey. After the Reformation, bishops of political fame everywhere grew fewer, but Lincoln's succession kept well to the front in the more peaceful walks of intellectual life, and furnished many archbishops to the neighboring chair at York. An honored name occurs in our own day—the name of Christopher Wordsworth, who was first canon and archdeacon at Westminster, and died as Bishop of Lincoln in 1885.

#### x.

THE south side of Lincoln, wrote Fuller, in his "Worthies" many generations since, "meets the travelers thereunto twenty miles off, so that their eyes are there many hours before their feet." We count by minutes now where Fuller counted by hours; yet they must be dull eyes to which Lincoln does not speak with entrancing power as the railroad crosses the flat wolds towards the base of the roof-piled hill, as they see it ever nearer and nearer, tremendously crowned yet not crushed by its three-towered church, until the encircling river is in the immediate foreground, until at last the church shows paramount as the rail is left and the steep and twisting streets are climbed.

Upon second thoughts I am inclined to say in very positive fashion that when thus beheld, and not only when beheld quite near at hand, Lincoln shows the finest exterior in England. Certainly Durham, apart from its environment, is not its peer, and Durham is



its only rival in dignity of site. Durham, intrinsically, is grand, majestic, and imposing; but Lincoln is all this and very beautiful as well. No other cathedral has so strong yet graceful a skyline, and no other so fine a group of spireless towers. Individually each tower may be surpassed elsewhere, but all three together they are matchless. Not even the knowledge that they once bore spires which now are gone hurts their air of perfect fitness to the church they finish and the site they crown. And as to sites, while Durham is made more picturesque by the trees about it and the castle walls beside it, Lincoln's loftier perch and closer union with the town give it the nobler look. But comparisons are futile. Durham stands superbly in front of its city; Lincoln stands superbly above its city; each is unparalleled in its way, and it is hopeless to determine which way is really finer.

Of course with such a cathedral one need

not pick one's point of view; the difficulty would be to find a place above the horizon whence the church of Lincoln could not be well seen. But to my mind there is one point of view from which it is almost better worth seeing than from very near or from very far. This is from the Vicar's Court—a beautiful walled garden sloping down the hill to the southward of the choir. Seen from here in summer, a mass of trees conceals the greater part of the long body; but the tall transept-fronts show clearly, and the roof-lines, and above them the great tower at just the right distance for appreciating its majesty of form and its loveliness of decoration.

Almost all the old ecclesiastical dwellings have disappeared except for frequent fragments built into newer walls. But we scarcely regard their absence, Lincoln the church and Lincoln the secular town have so much else to show us in so many shapes and styles.

*M. G. van Rensselaer.*

## MEMORANDA ON THE CIVIL WAR.

### General Lee's Views on Enlisting the Negroes.

[THE subjoined letters, which contain their own explanation, are sent to us through the Hon. W. L. Wilson, M. C., by the Hon. Andrew Hunter, of Charleston, West Virginia, who assures us that they have not before appeared in print.—EDITOR.]

RICHMOND, January 7, 1865.

TO GENERAL R. E. LEE.

DEAR GENERAL: I regret that in the succession of stirring events since the commencement of the present war I have had so little opportunity to renew our former, to me at least, exceedingly agreeable acquaintance, and particularly that I have so rarely, if ever, met with a suitable occasion to interchange views with you upon the important public questions which have been and are still pressing on us with such intense interest.

It would have demanded, indeed, in view of the scarcely less than awful weight of care and responsibility Providence and your country have thrown upon you, and which you will pardon me for saying has been grandly met, no ordinarily favorable opportunity to have induced me to intrude upon your overburdened time and attention for such a purpose; and in approaching you now, in this form, upon a subject which I deem of vital importance, I offer no other apology than the momentous character of the issue fixed upon the hearts and minds of every Southern patriot.

I refer to the great question now stirring the public mind as to the expediency and propriety of bringing to bear against our relentless enemy the element of military strength supposed to be found in our negro population; in other words, and more precisely, the wisdom and sound policy, under existing circumstances, of converting such portions of this popula-

tion as may be required into soldiers, to aid in maintaining our great struggle for independence and national existence.

The subject is one which recent events have forced upon our attention with intense interest, and in my judgment we ought not longer to defer its solution; and although the President in his late annual message has brought it to the attention of Congress, it is manifestly a subject in which the several States of the Confederacy must and ought to act the most prominent part, both in giving the question its proper solution and in carrying out any plans that he may devise on the subject. As a member of the Virginia Senate, having to act upon the subject, I have given it much earnest and anxious reflection, and I do not hesitate to say here, in advance of the full discussion which it will doubtless undergo, that the general objections to the proposition itself, as well as the practical difficulties in the way of carrying it out, have been greatly lessened as I have more thoroughly examined them. But it is not to be disguised that public sentiment is greatly divided on the subject; and besides many real objections, a mountain of prejudice growing out of our ancient modes of regarding the institution of Southern slavery will have to be met and overcome, before we can attain to anything like that degree of unanimity so extremely desirable in this and all else connected with our great struggle. In our former contest for liberty and independence, he who was then at the head of our armies, and who became the Father of his Country, did not hesitate to give his advice on all great subjects involving the success of that contest and the safety and welfare of his country, and in so doing perhaps rendered more essential service than he did in the field; nor do I perceive why, upon such a subject and in such a crisis as the present, we should not have the benefit