

GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.



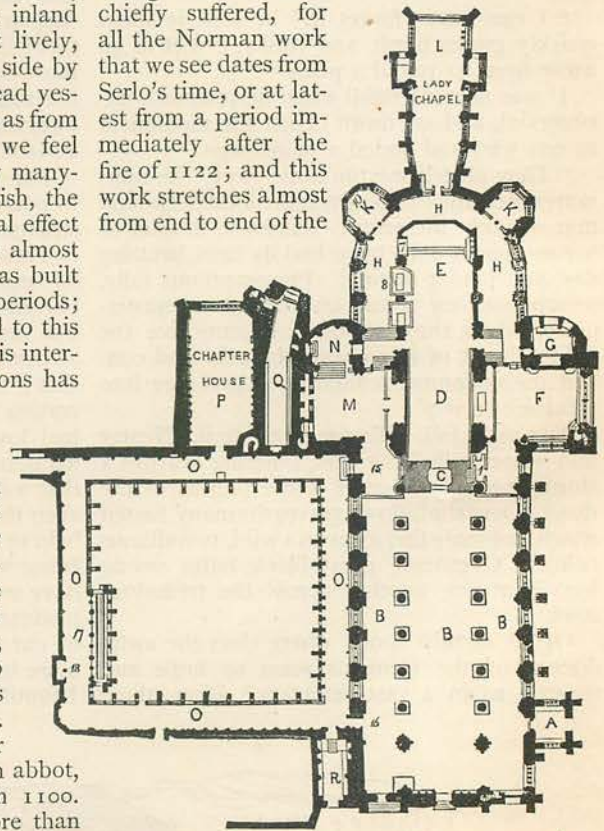
T Gloucester, for the first time on our cathedral journey, we see masts and sails; and did we pursue our course through every ancient episcopal town in England we should nowhere feel closer to her "watery wall." Chichester stands very near the sea, and Norwich not far away from it; but both are out of sight of its waves, while great vessels come up the estuary of the Severn to Gloucester and lie in its capacious pools almost beneath the shadow of the cathedral tower. Here one may find sailors in the streets, smell tar, and fancy one smells salt; yet a pastoral country lies all around, backed by the Cotswold Hills—a tree-clad, meadowy, flowery country of genuine inland aspect. The town itself is quaint but lively, the antique and the modern living on side by side in a union as different from the dead yesterday-mood of many continental cities as from the crude to-day of America. Here we feel what England really means in a very many-sided way; and, just as we should wish, the cathedral is typically English in general effect yet distinctly individual and local in almost all its parts. Nearly the whole of it was built in the Norman and the Perpendicular periods; but just such Norman work is confined to this southwestern district, while the way it is interwoven with the Perpendicular additions has no parallel at all.

I.

THE first ecclesiastical foundation at Gloucester of which we can be sure was a nunnery established in the year 681. In 767 it perished in the confusion of internecine strife. In 823 a house for secular priests succeeded it. In 1022 Benedictine monks replaced the priests, and in 1058 the abbey was removed to another site and its new church was built where the cathedral stands to-day. In 1089 the foundations of still another church were laid by the first Norman abbot, Serlo, and a consecration followed in 1100. Such a ceremony often implied no more than that the choir was ready for occupation; but in this case we are asked to believe that the whole church had been finished. If so, a "Saxon" church, which had stood for thirty-one years and was probably as fine as any of its class,—for Gloucester and its abbey were

already great and famous,—must have been deliberately pulled down, and a building of the size we now behold must have been completed, all within the space of eleven years. The fact seems hardly credible, yet historians as careful as Freeman do not doubt it, and we know from what went on in many other spots how great was the ambition of the Normans to build much larger churches than they found in England, and how splendid was their energy when once they got to work.

Only two years after its consecration Serlo's church was injured by fire, in 1122 again and more severely, and very often in later years. But the roofs and clerestories and the interior fittings must have chiefly suffered, for all the Norman work that we see dates from Serlo's time, or at latest from a period immediately after the fire of 1122; and this work stretches almost from end to end of the



PLAN OF GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL. (FROM MURRAY'S
"HANDBOOK TO THE CATHEDRALS OF ENGLAND.")

A, South Porch; B, Nave; C, Choir-screen; D, Choir; E, Presbytery; F, South arm of Transept; G, Chapel; H, Choir-aisle; K, Ap-sidal Chapels; L, Lady-Chapel; M, North arm of Transept; N, St. Paul's Chapel; O, Cloisters; P, Chapter-house; Q, Abbot's cloister; R, Slype, or passage to cloisters; 1, Abbot Seabroke's Chantry; 7, Osric's Monument; 8, Monument of Edward II.; 10, Duke Robert's Monument; 15, Abbot's door to cloisters; 16, Monks' door to cloisters; 17, Lavatory; 18, Recess for towels.



GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL FROM THE NORTH.

vast main fabric. The Lady-Chapel is a Perpendicular addition; the east wall has been remodeled; the western front and the two adjacent compartments of the nave have been rebuilt; in certain places new exterior walls and windows have been inserted; and the choir is covered with a decorative overlay of the most singular and interesting kind. But the great body of the structure below the clerestory is still Norman in all its constructional parts.

II.

GLOUCESTER, as well as Winchester, Lincoln, and York, was a fortified Roman station. Its Latin name was Glevum and its British name had been *Caer Glou*. Osric was the local viceroy under Ethelred of Mercia when the nunnery was founded in 681. Archbishop Theodore journeyed from Canterbury to its dedication, and its first abbess was of royal blood. After the time of Canute, when the Benedictines were introduced, both the abbey and the town grew and flourished greatly. During the reign of Edward the Confessor and of William the Conqueror, it was the custom for the king to "wear his crown" at each Easter festival at Winchester, at each Pentecost at Westminster, but at each Christmas-tide at Gloucester, and this ceremony implied the holding of a great "gemôt" for counsel and

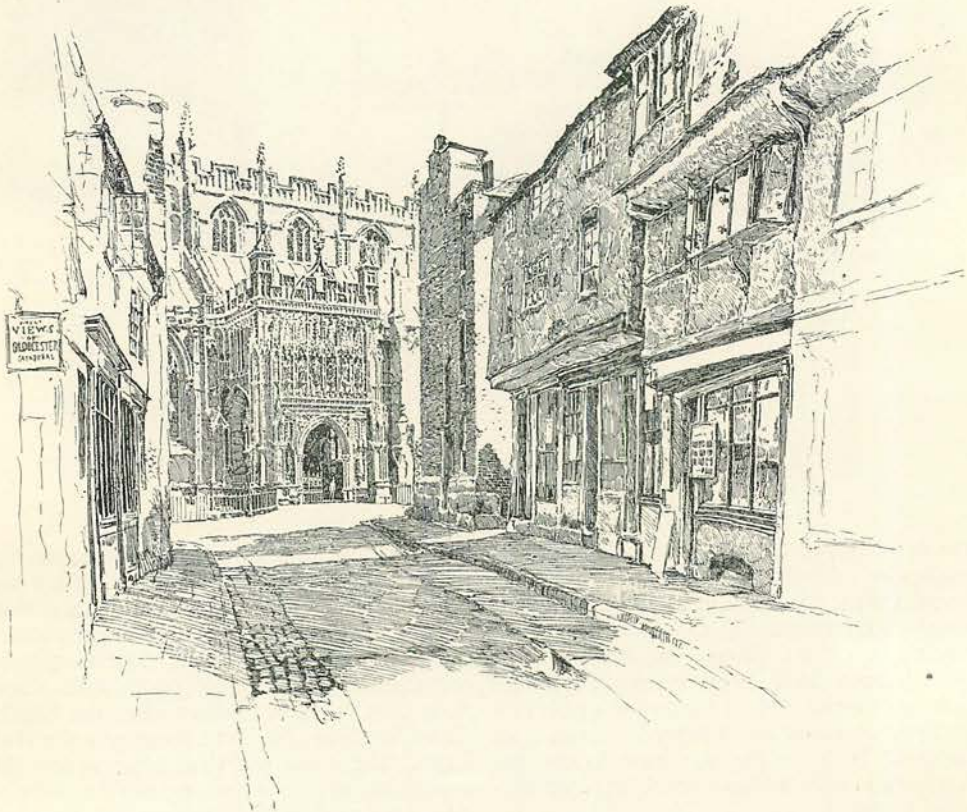
judgment. The reason why Gloucester was thus honored is not hard to read—it lay near the confines of the two great earldoms of Wessex and Mercia, and also near the borders of the ever-troublesome Welsh. The Conqueror protected it with a great castle, and placed Serlo over St. Peter's Abbey when the English abbot, Wulfstan, died on a journey to the Holy Land. The house had then fallen so low that two monks and eight young novices were all who greeted their new ruler; and Serlo was busy collecting men and money long before he began to rebuild his church.

It was at one of the Gloucester "gemôts" that the taking of the famous survey called "Domesday Book" was ordered by William I. In 1093 William Rufus lay sick at Gloucester, and here Malcolm of Scotland was called to his bedside, and Anselm was reluctantly appointed archbishop of Canterbury and at once received his consecration in the abbey-church.¹ Here Duke Robert of Normandy, the eldest son of the Conqueror, was buried, and his tomb may still be seen. Here, in 1216, the boy-king Henry III., Henry of Winchester, was crowned while Westminster and his birthplace

¹ In the reign of William Rufus, says Freeman, "almost everything that happened at all somehow contrived to happen at Gloucester." ["Gloucester, its Abbey and Cathedral," in the "Records of Gloucester Cathedral," Vol. I.]

were both in the hands of foreign soldiers. Here Edward II. was buried in his turn, and the revenues of the monastery were enormously swelled by the fact. All through the Middle Ages, in short, St. Peter's Abbey flourished with a mighty growth while the town about it developed as commercial enterprise increased, and was constantly the stage where important

VI. A year after his appointment the parent see and the newer one were joined for a time and his title was Bishop of Gloucester and Worcester. But when Mary came to the throne he exchanged his palaces for a London prison. The rest of his story is well enough known. Here at Gloucester, almost within the precincts of his own cathedral, the great Prot-



THE SOUTH PORCH.

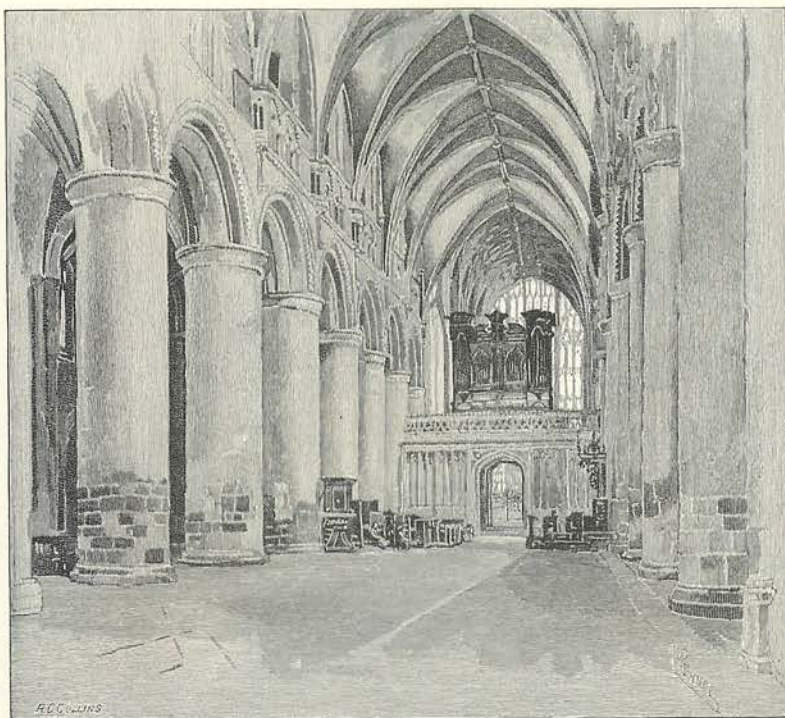
political scenes were played. Yet like the other abbey of St. Peter's, the "Golden Borough," Peterborough in its far eastern shire, this great establishment was not the seat of a bishop until the sixteenth century. Its church was one of the largest and finest in the land, and its income might have made many a prelate envious; but the cathedral title was not given until King Henry VIII. suppressed innumerable monasteries and made a few new bishoprics in their stead. Then the diocese of Gloucester was cut out of the great ancient diocese of Worcester.

After there were prelates in Gloucester only a single name, a single incident, attracts attention. The second bishop was John Hooper, once a monk, afterwards so stern a Protestant that he scrupled long to wear the episcopal robes when they were offered him by Edward

estant bishop was burned at the stake in 1555. With the exception of this name there is none, I think, on the list of Gloucester's prelates which would sound familiar in American ears, unless it be the name of William Warburton, who ruled from 1760 to 1779 and whose praises Dr. Johnson wrote.

III.

GLOUCESTER Cathedral stands a little aside from one of the main thoroughfares of the town. Its vast body is hidden by house-fronts, and we approach it through a short old street which shows us no great façade or tower or transept-end, only a part of the nave and a two-storied porch. This porch stands towards the western end of the south aisle and forms the main entrance to the church, and like the



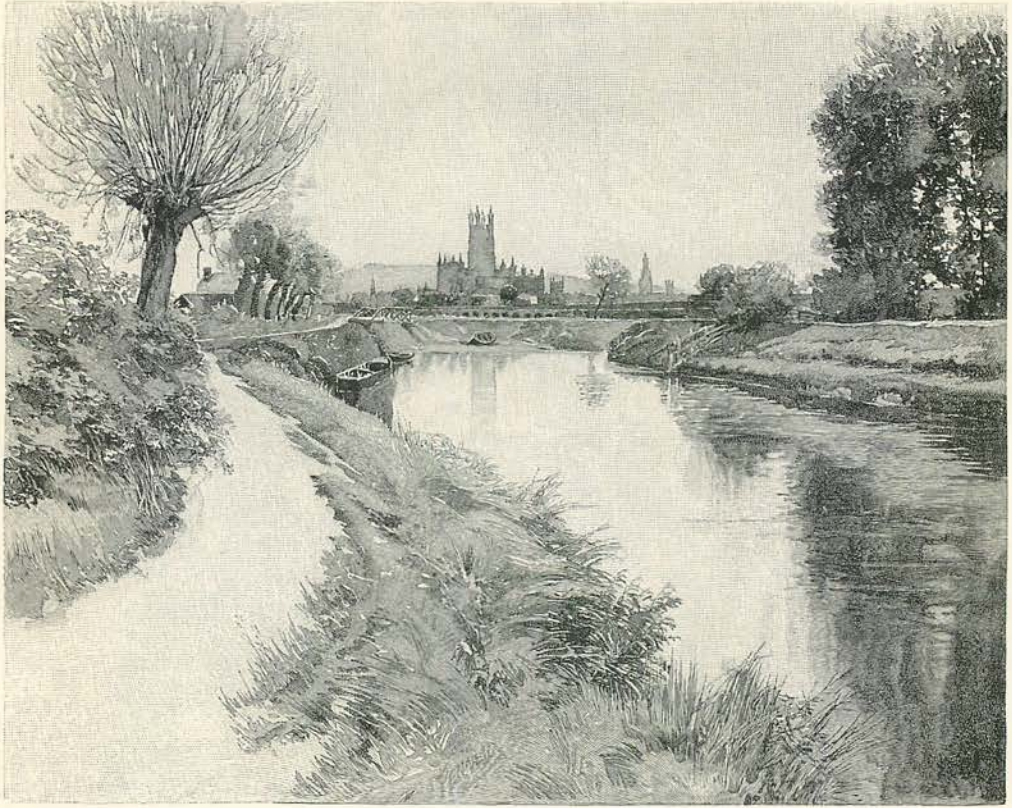
THE NAVE, LOOKING EAST.

porch of Canterbury Cathedral is doubtless a survival of that great "Suth dure" which had been a characteristic feature of "Saxon" churches. The little street debouches on a narrow paved court with bits of lawn about it and the windows of cozy homes looking out upon the great pale-gray, carven church. To right and left the close extends, not very spacious in any direction, yet wide enough and shady and green enough to give the truly English cathedral atmosphere. Peace and beauty reign—we can hardly believe that the busiest street of a modern town lies but a few feet off. Glory to God and good-will to man seem chanted aloud by the voices of nature and of art. Memories of devotion, repose, and brotherly love, we fancy, must be the only ones that people such a spot. Yet not far away, just beyond the college-green, upon which looks the west-front of the church, Bishop Hooper was sent to Paradise through a door of flame.

The south porch is a rich little Perpendicular structure, almost wholly renewed in modern times, with a windowed vestibule below and a chamber above. The part of the church to which it belongs was rebuilt in the second half of the fifteenth century. Morwent, who was then the abbot, seems to have meant to build the whole of the nave afresh; and, as a beginning, he pulled down the western front, with its two flanking towers or turrets, and the two

adjacent bays of the nave. The whole of his front is filled, in the central alley and above a low stretch of wall in which is a small west-door, by a single window rising close up to the very ceiling. Its traceries show that final stage of Perpendicular designing when curved forms were almost altogether lost. It is divided by straight uprights and cross-bars into successive series of tall but very narrow lights, the tiny arched heads of which scarcely relieve the general effect of stiff rectangularity. Even in the upper part of the window-head, where further subdivision was necessary, smaller rectangles are used, and only two of the main mullions make an awkward attempt at curvature. It is not a beautiful window so far as design is concerned, but its size makes it impressive; and it must have been splendid indeed when filled with ancient glass instead of its present discords of impure and glaring tones.

The two compartments of the nave which Abbot Morwent built do not show that he had a very good ideal, or even a very clear ideal, of a great Perpendicular church in mind. The height is divided into three stages, although the time when such division was generally practiced had long gone by. Yet there is no triforium-gallery—nothing but a wide, plain strip of wall between the pier-arcade and the clerestory, defined but scarcely ornamented by a string-course above and below. Moreover,



GLOUCESTER FROM THE SEVERN.

the two bays are not alike. The westerly one is much wider than the other, and its pier-arch is a good deal taller; and thus the continuity of the string-courses is broken, and the clerestory windows are of different sizes. The aisles which flank these two bays are likewise Perpendicular reconstructions; but when we stand in this part of the church and turn our backs upon the window, we have a most imposing perspective of Norman work before us.

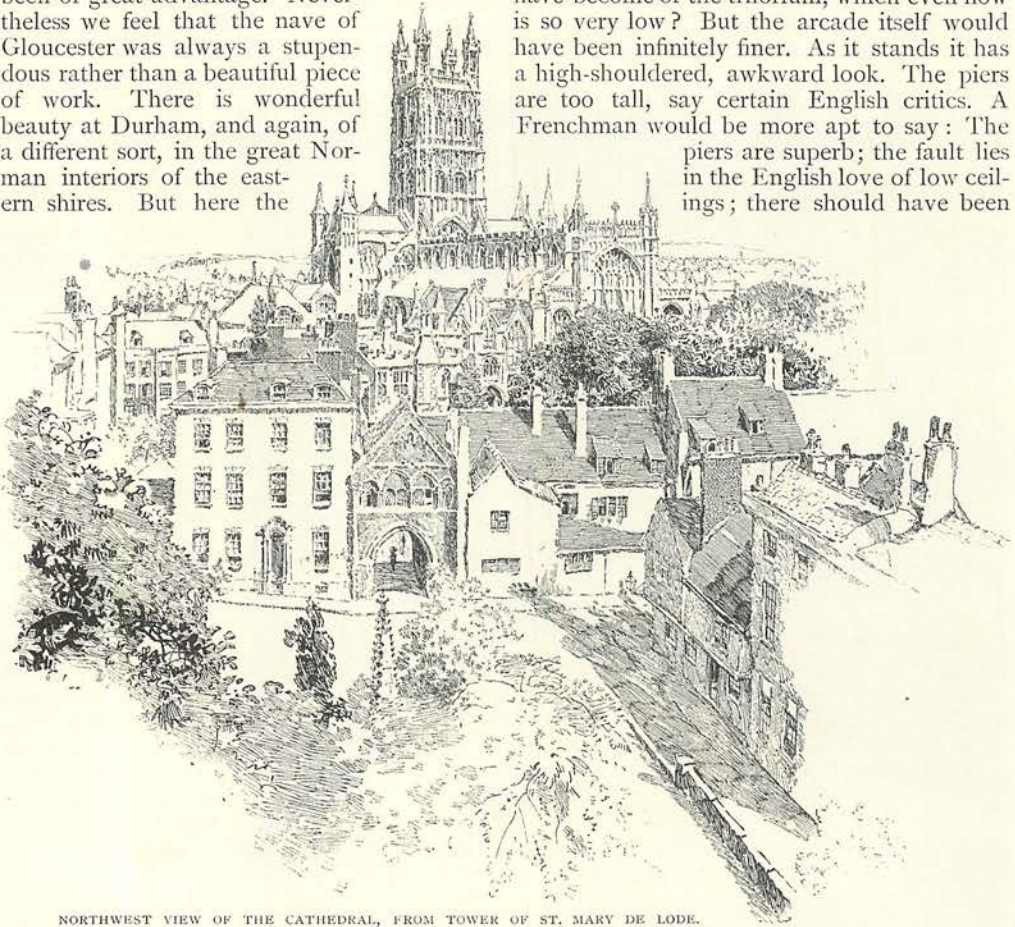
On each side are seven vast circular piers, thirty feet in height, bearing semicircular arches; above these is a very low triforium with four small arches in each bay, grouped in twos under wider semicircles; and above these again is a clerestory which was once considerably taller than it is to-day. The arrangement is entirely different from anything we have seen elsewhere. Norman builders, I have often said, usually made pier-arcade, triforium, and clerestory of almost equal height. At Norwich, for example, the piers measure but 15 feet and the whole height to the base of the triforium is 25 feet, while the triforium itself absorbs 24 feet and the clerestory 25. At Gloucester, with piers of 30 feet, the base of the triforium is 40 feet above the floor, while the triforium measures only 10 feet and

the clerestory originally measured 24. Circular piers, we know, are found in certain other parts of England and are most magnificently used at Durham. But Durham's design is almost as unlike Gloucester's as is the design of Norwich. There the circular-pier form alternates with the rectangular; the triforium, though not as high as at Norwich, Ely, and Peterborough, yet maintains its typical Norman importance; and the design gains unity and constructional logic through the presence of massive vaulting-shafts, rising against the alternate square piers from the pavement to the roof. But what we see at Gloucester is simply a great colonnade, so all-important in the general effect that the upper stories almost look like afterthoughts. Only in this southwestern part of England do designs like this occur. Tewkesbury Abbey church, which stands not many miles away, is very like the nave of Gloucester Cathedral.

Of course the expression of the nave was far finer when the Norman clerestory was intact. It probably had a group of three windows in each compartment, under an including-arch of which the jambs have been suffered to remain; and the ceiling was doubtless flat and constructed of wood like those

which still exist at Peterborough and Ely. We may not greatly admire the effect of such a ceiling, yet it was better suited to a Norman nave than the very low-pitched vaulting at Gloucester, to accommodate which the clerestory has been cut away. Then, too, the floor once lay a foot below its present level, and this addition to the bases of the piers must have been of great advantage. Nevertheless we feel that the nave of Gloucester was always a stupendous rather than a beautiful piece of work. There is wonderful beauty at Durham, and again, of a different sort, in the great Norman interiors of the eastern shires. But here the

it is plain that at Gloucester, where the height of the piers is doubled, the arches seem too small. A wider spacing of the piers would have permitted arches of a span sufficient to harmonize with their size; but the height of the arches would, of course, have been proportionately increased; and, given the inconsiderable altitude of an English interior, what would then have become of the triforium, which even now is so very low? But the arcade itself would have been infinitely finer. As it stands it has a high-shouldered, awkward look. The piers are too tall, say certain English critics. A Frenchman would be more apt to say: The piers are superb; the fault lies in the English love of low ceilings; there should have been



NORTHWEST VIEW OF THE CATHEDRAL, FROM TOWER OF ST. MARY DE LODE.

proportioning is such that the word beauty hardly seems appropriate. The piers themselves are magnificent if we look at them alone; but the real excellence of any architectural feature lies in its harmony with connected features, and these piers are so closely set that their arches seem far less noble than themselves. It will be seen from the figures I have given that at Gloucester, as at Norwich, the capitals of the piers come within ten feet of the base of the triforium. This means that the arches in the one case are no taller than in the other, and that they are no wider, as the width of a semi-circular arch is strictly dependent upon its height. There is no fault to find with the proportions of the Norwich arcade, and therefore

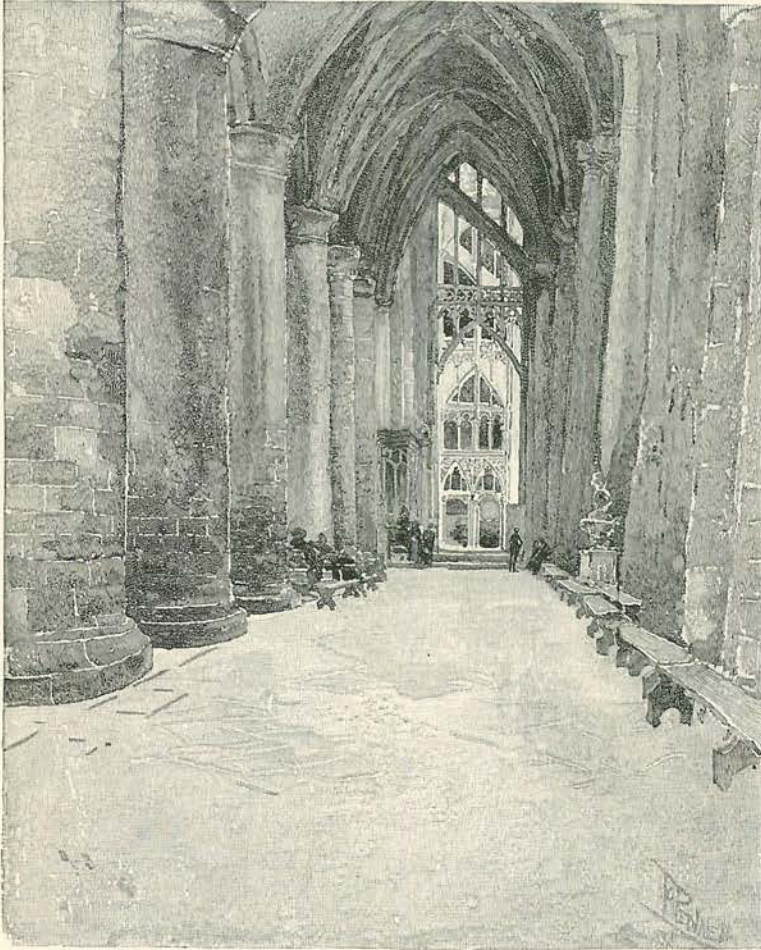
finer arches, and then taller upper stories to justify the huge arcade.

All the paint which once covered these massive stones has perished, and here and there we can see ruddy spots and streakings which bear witness to the fires of long ago. The capitals of the piers are very plainly molded, but the string-courses and the arch-moldings in all the stories are worked with characteristic Norman patterns. The vaulting-shafts which now descend above each pier give the most conspicuous touch of decoration, but these are later additions to the original scheme. They are Early-English features, built, with the ceiling itself, in the first half of the thirteenth century. Each is formed as two super-

imposed clusters of little marble columns with dainty capitals, and the design is as sensible as charming: a single cluster of columns resting on the triforium string-course would have had too stumpy a look, yet a single series of longer columns would have ignored the presence of the string-course. It is interesting, too, to note that, in some places at least, there is proof of a rather exceptional desire to harmonize the new details with the old. The string-courses are adorned with that Norman zigzag or "chev-

the round-headed ancient windows. But in the south aisle we find more radical alterations.

Gloucester Cathedral was not exempt from the disasters which came to so many great Norman works through the want of care or want of knowledge of their builders. One of the towers or turrets which flanked the western front fell about seventy years after it had been built, and was reconstructed, together with its mate, in the Early-English period, only to be swept away again when Abbot Morwent built



SOUTH AISLE OF THE NAVE, LOOKING EAST INTO THE TRANSEPT.

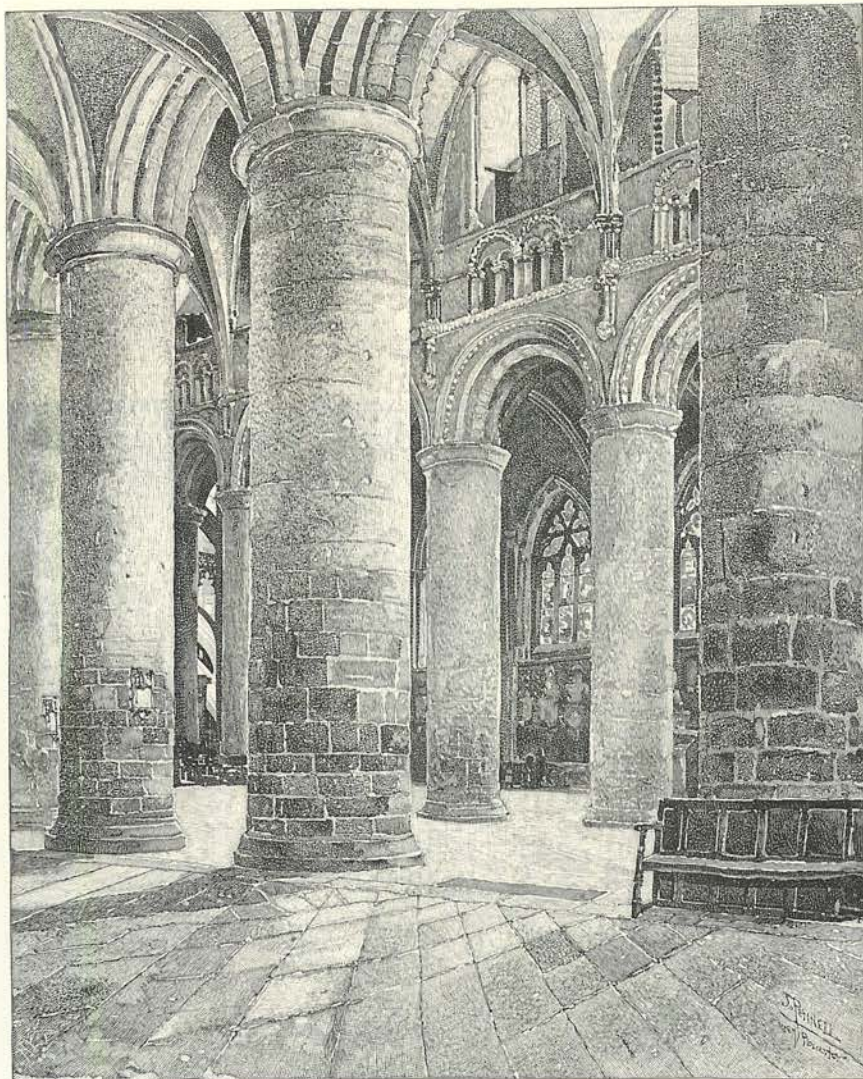
ron" pattern which had long gone out of use when these additions were made; yet on the bases of many of the upper groups of little columns the same pattern is carefully carried along.

IV.

THE north aisle of the nave is still in its original condition except as regards the Perpendicular traceries which have been inserted in

his Perpendicular façade. In the Decorated period, near the beginning of the fourteenth century, the outer wall of the south aisle of the nave was partly renewed by Abbot Thokey; and although I cannot find the fact expressly stated, a threatened collapse must have been his motive. The inner facing of the walls, and the half-piers which support the aisle-vaults, are Norman still; but the outer facing and the vaults themselves are Abbot Thokey's work, and likewise the windows with their Decorated traceries. Now, as seen from the inside, the enormous half-piers and the walls are eleven inches out of the perpendicular—a deflection the effect of which is scarcely exaggerated in the picture on this page.

On the outside, however, the inclination is but four inches. Of course Abbot Thokey built his part of the wall erect; and thus four inches of movement may be laid to the five centuries and a half which have elapsed since his time, and seven inches to the two centuries which had stretched between Serlo's labors and his own. Seven inches of movement may well have torn the aisle-vaults asunder and seemed reason enough for strengthening the outer walls. Had



THE NAVE FROM THE NORTH AISLE.

Thokey been inspired by a mere wish to rebuild without actual necessity he would hardly have left so much of the original work as he did. Nor can we lay the damage he found to the account of fire, even had it not continued after his death — it must have been caused by bad foundations.¹

The plain ribbed Norman vaulting still remains in the north aisle, and by comparison we see that Thokey chose a considerably lower level for his. The adornment of his exterior

walls and his windows (one of which is seen in the distance in the picture on this page) is very charming, and the "ball-flower" ornament which was characteristic of the Decorated period was seldom so lavishly or beautifully applied. It is a pity that all these lights should now be filled with modern glass, some of it tolerable but much of it atrocious. In the north aisle are many sepulchral monuments, but none of great age or interest. But at the eastern end of the south aisle, with its head against one of

¹ In a report of a lecture on Gloucester Cathedral which had been delivered by Professor Willis, the "Gentleman's Magazine" for September, 1860, says: "He admired the ingenuity of the Middle Ages; but whatever may be said of their science as shown in their masonry, he believed they had none. They were perfectly practical and ingenious men; they worked ex-

perimentally; if their buildings were strong enough, they stood; if they were too strong, they also stood; but if they were too weak, they gave way, and they put props and built the next stronger. That was their science, and very good practical science it was; but in many cases they imperiled their work and gave trouble to future restorers."

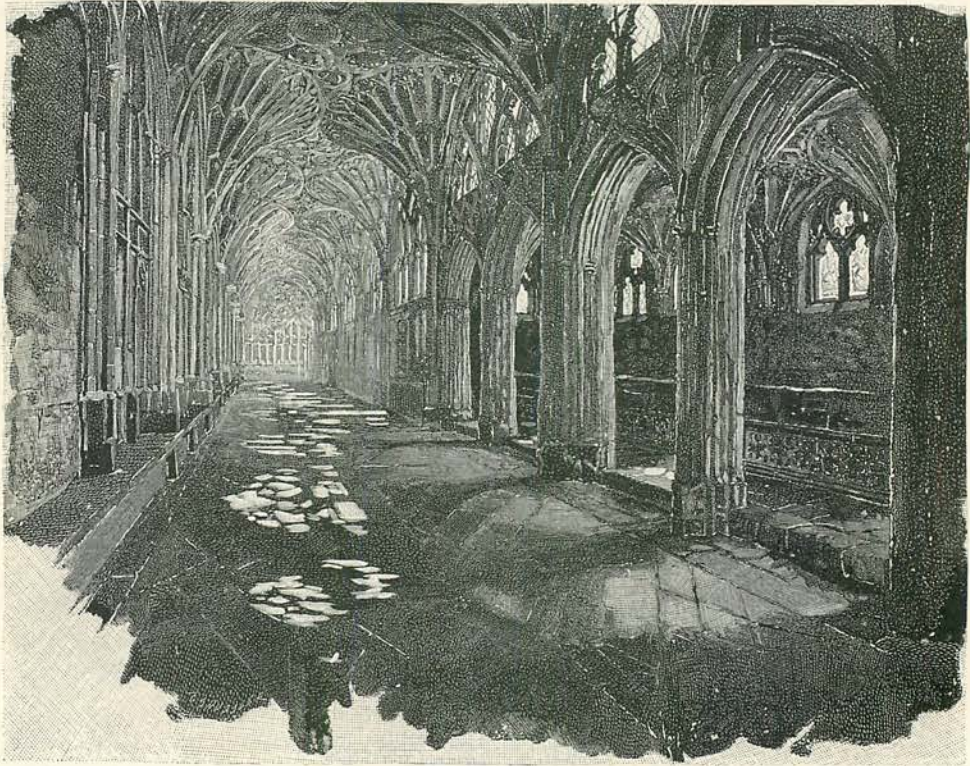
the piers of the great central tower he built, is the shattered chantry-tomb of Abbot Seabroke, who died in 1457.

The "ritual choir" projects, in the old Norman fashion, across the intersection of nave and transept, and its screen fills up one bay of the nave itself. This screen is an ugly piece of modern work bearing an uglier organ in the place once given to the Holy Rood.

v.

A GLANCE at the ground-plan of Gloucester shows how little alteration it has undergone

to the choir-aisles beyond; they are shut off from the "ritual choir" by a high solid wall; and thus isolated, with the apse-like little chapels in their eastern faces and their many tombs and sepulchral slabs, they look more like a pair of larger chapels than a transept of the usual Norman kind. Moreover, not only all five of the little chapels but the end of the church itself was polygonal in shape, and this was uncommon in Norman buildings. Semi-circular end-walls were the rule; only with the advent of the Pointed styles did the polygonal termination develop in France while the simpler rectangle became the English type.



NORTH WALK OF CLOISTERS WITH THE LAVATORY.

since Norman days. The transept still has a polygonal chapel opening from the eastern face of each of its arms, and the sweep of the aisle of the choir is still intact with two of the three small chapels which opened out of it.

But, as I have said, many things at Gloucester are peculiar, and among them is the ground-plan of the eastern limb. Two steps lead up to the aisles on either side of the choir-screen which fills the last bay of the nave; and the rectangular spaces thus set apart seem like vestibules to the transept-arms. These are exceptionally short, only one bay on each side of the crossing; steps again lead up from them

East of the crossing, however, the constructional design is much more normal than in the nave. The piers still display the circular form, but are so much lower that the proportioning is about the same as in the great churches of eastern England, the pier-arcade and the triforium being of equal height; and the triforium openings are huge single arches such as we have seen at Ely.

Of course a discrepancy of this kind between nave and choir would not be remarkable did they belong to different periods. But here a single period includes them, even if we believe that either the western or the eastern limb may

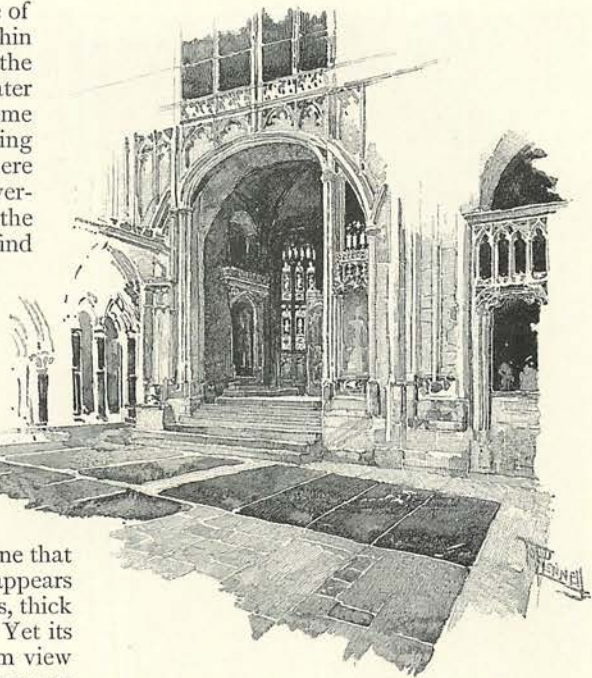
have been reconstructed after the fire of 1122. Even so, everything falls well within the purely Norman period. This being the case, we might expect to see in the later work a desire to carry on the original scheme at least in its chief features—something more like what we saw at Durham, where Ralph Flambard's nave is but a richer version of William of Carilef's work in the choir. I think it would be difficult to find in any other Norman building a parallel to that striking variation in the essentials of the design which exists at Gloucester.

VI.

BUT if I say that the eastern limb of Gloucester was built, broadly speaking, like the eastern limb of Peterborough, and that below the clerestory it still exists, do not imagine that its effect is still the same. It no longer appears as a solemn perspective of round arches, thick plain piers, and naked fields of wall. Yet its original substance is not concealed from view and its Norman origin denied in the same way as at Winchester. The whole effect (I hardly know what words to use, it is so singular)—the whole effect is Perpendicular; yet when we look a moment we see that the whole body of the work is Norman still. The Perpendicular features are not constructional but decorative; yet they are so applied as to simulate a structural design. The entire surface of the vast Norman interior is covered with a rich overlay of moldings and traceries through the interstices of which the original design may still be followed, the original stones may still be seen.

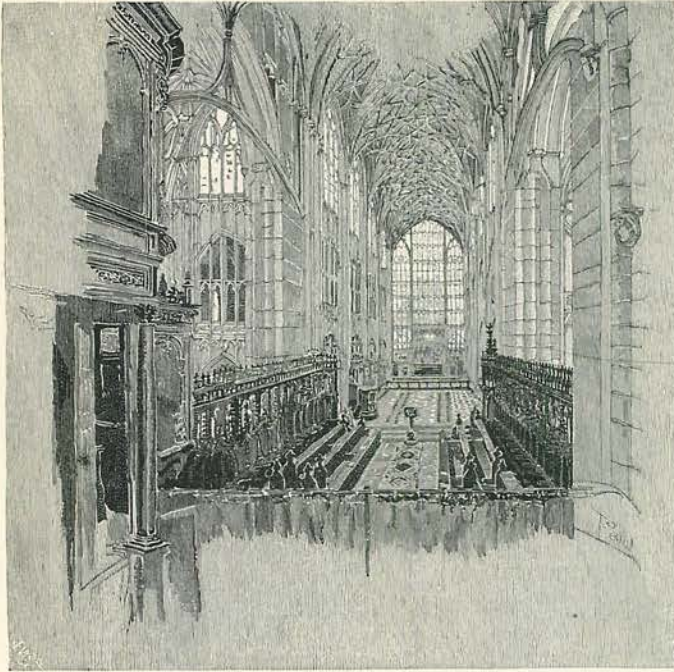
The clerestory is wholly Perpendicular, built in the middle years of the fourteenth century. The great windows, each filling its compartment from side to side, were divided in the usual Perpendicular manner into elongated rectangular lights with tiny arched and trefoiled heads; and the same design was continued downwards to the very floor, not only over the wall-spaces but over the openings too. The wide triforium openings, and even those of the pier-arcade between the central alley and the aisles, were treated like unglazed windows and screened with this network paneling, while the piers were faced with slender grouped shafts and small capitals which support the elaborate ceiling.

Of course this ceiling, like the clerestory, is of Perpendicular origin; and, as I have told, the east-end of the presbytery was more radically remodeled than its sides. The wall between the central space and the encircling aisle was torn down; length was increased by adding a narrow compartment on each side, and breadth



ST. PAUL'S CHAPEL, NORTH ARM OF TRANSEPT.

by slanting the addition outwards; and then a wall was built across the end, but no higher than the base of the triforium stage. This wall, pierced with one semicircular and two pointed arches, is again not straight, but forms one longer and two shorter sides of a polygon. Across it stands the tall reredos; over its surface and its three large openings runs the ubiquitous paneling; and this continues upwards, without a conspicuous break in the design, to form the vast window which fills all the rest of the space. One could hardly imagine a more magnificent effect than is thus created. A critic who believes that architectural factors should not only be strong enough but look strong enough, who insists that some visible sturdiness should appear in a wall which is crowned by a visibly ponderous roof, may find much excuse for disapproval. But if we merely seek a wondering pleasure for the eye, then indeed we stand in the right place. Close up under the vaulting and close to the piers on each hand comes the stupendous wall of glass,—a single window to the eye although bent to a three-sided shape,—held together by stone-work patterns so open and slight that we feel as though a strong wind could make an end of it. Seventy-two feet in height and thirty-eight in breadth, it is the largest single opening in the world, and we fancy it the most fragile. Yet it has stood, stone and glass together, through five centuries of sun and storm, and through more than one of total neglect. It was thoroughly repaired in



CHOIR AND PRESBYTERY, LOOKING EAST.

1862 and all its panes were re-leaded. But we can hardly call a work unstable which demands such helping after half a thousand years.

It is difficult even to suggest the sumptuous effect of this transfigured choir, or the ingenious ways in which the traceries have been adapted to their very various situations. Mr. Pennell's pictures will serve much better than words, but nothing in architecture so vast and elaborate as this can ever have its veritable look explained on paper.

The view of choir and presbytery from the entrance of the "ritual choir" in the nave, which is given on this page, reveals the east window far off in the distance and the richness of the ceiling; gives a glimpse at the left into the north arm of the transept; and shows the flying arch which springs across the whole width of this arm beneath the great arch that supports the tower. On page 691 we stand in the north aisle of the nave, look into the transept, and beyond it dimly discern the choir-aisle; to the left is the abbot's door into the cloisters and one of the Norman windows—which were placed so high to clear the cloister roofs—filled with Perpendicular traceries; and on the right is a portion of the wall which shuts in the "ritual choir." On page 693 we are placed in the south transept and can appreciate its chapel-like effect; and looking westward along the aisle of the nave, under the lofty constructional arch below which extends the open tracery, we see one of Abbot Morwent's Perpen-

dicular windows in the west façade. And on page 686 the view is reversed: we are in the south aisle of the nave with its leaning half-piers and Decorated vaulting, and see the screen-work in the south arm of the transept.

Interesting indeed are the perspectives, varied with every step we make, which show the Perpendicular adornment set now in lines of black against some brightly lighted space, and now in lines of light against a dark stretch of aisle or deep triforium opening. Nothing could be more radical than its contrast with the massive simple forms amid and over which its graceful arches and slender rectangles are woven. Yet the general effect is never inharmonious; or if it is, we forget the fact in our delight in the imaginative

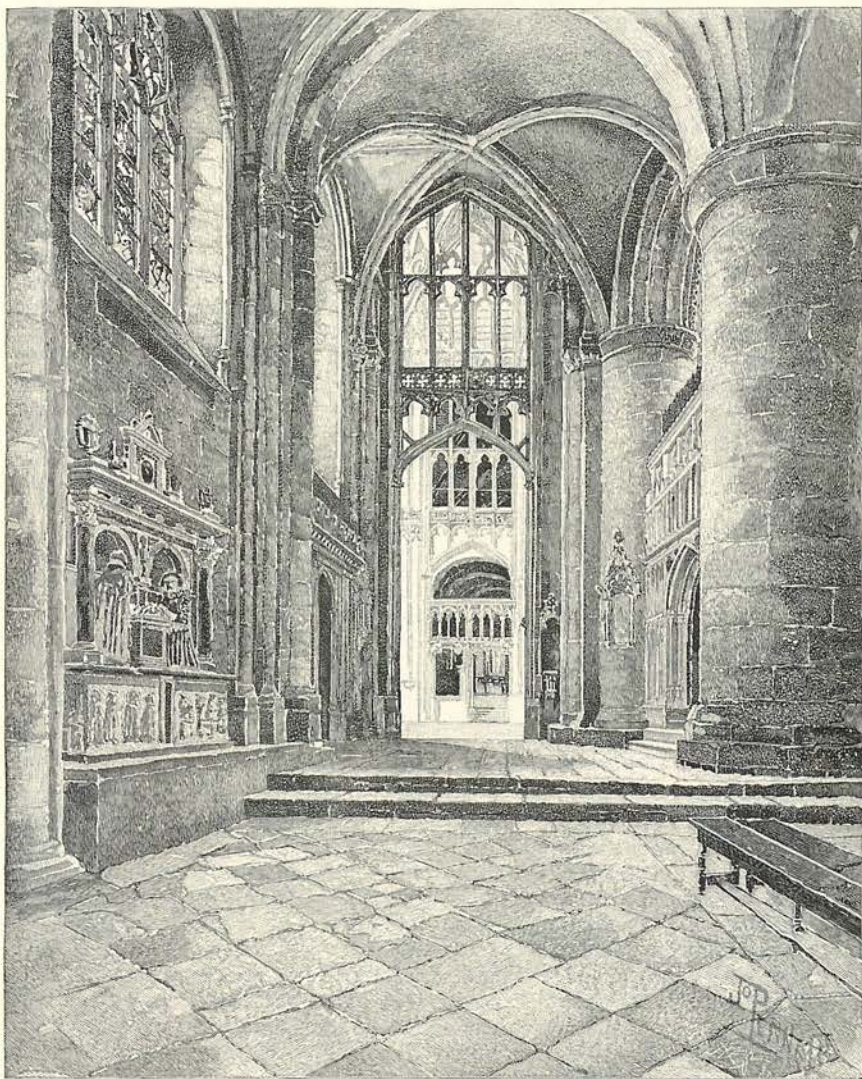
power and technical skill which could thus change sternness into lightness, solemnity into grace, a ponderous into a delicate vigor, a majestic uniformity into an almost playful elaboration. Other interiors are more logical, more truly beautiful than this; but there is none more stately, more rich, or more imposing; and there is none which so clearly reveals that almost passionate love for the style and manner of their own time which ruled the people of the fourteenth century. Simply a desire for what was thought a far superior kind of beauty led to the alteration of this Norman work. Yet how naïve was the desire, how different from the attitude of modern men towards the things of art! Sometimes we piously "restore" an ancient work and bring it back to its original estate as nearly as our poor wits know how. Sometimes we pull it down entirely and build a new work of our own. And we can imagine, perhaps, doing what Wykeham did at Winchester—using our forefathers' fabric as though it were our own, but carefully concealing the fact that we had borrowed it. But so imperious a wish to alter for the mere sake of altering, combined with so entire a frankness in confessing alike the change and our reason for making it, this we cannot fancy by any possible effort.

VII.

A TRUSTWORTHY local chronicle recites that the choir of Gloucester was cased and vaulted

by Abbots Staunton and Horton, who ruled the house of St. Peter between 1337 and 1377. The work was begun in the south transept, and all the other portions, including the lower stage of the tower, were finished before the east wall was turned into a gigantic window. The spring-

part of the tower harmonious with the rest of the design, it was necessary to divide the paneling on each face of the lantern-wall into two main arches; hence the need for ribs descending to a capital which had no pier to bear it; and hence the device of the flying arch to sup-



FROM THE NORTH AISLE OF THE NAVE, LOOKING EAST INTO THE TRANSEPT.

ing of the flying arch that is pictured on page 690 marks the level above which the whole fabric was new—the level of the top of the triforium. High above this flying arch soars the one which supports the side of the tower; this one merely supports a capital, corresponding to the capitals of the pier-shafts. To keep the vaulting of the lantern formed by the open

port this capital. It was a bold expedient from the artistic point of view, yet not too bold to be in keeping with the rest of the work; and from the structural point of view there was little audacity. The light, flying spans (there is another opposite the one our picture shows) seem to support the tower vault; but in reality this is carried by more solid stones above.¹

¹ I can find no record with regard to the condition of the tower and the upper parts of the transept and eastern limb when Abbot Staunton began his work;

but from the witness of the nave and the history of the cloisters we must believe that they had already been once rebuilt in the Early-English style.

Only as high as the top of the lantern did Abbots Staunton and Horton carry the tower. The magnificent upper body which appears outside the church was begun by Abbot Seabroke, whose chantry rests against one of the supporting piers, and was finished soon after his death, about the middle of the fifteenth century. Morwent had ruled in Gloucester just before Seabroke's time. The splendor of the new-wrought choir seems to have inspired him with a wish to rebuild the nave. The parts that he completed make us glad that he went no further; and Seabroke was wise to finish the tower instead of carrying out Morwent's scheme.

Early-English stalls once furnished the choir, and a rare fragment or two remain to show their character. But the work of redecoration was thoroughly done in the fourteenth century, and the present stalls, with tall overhanging canopies, are delightful examples of Perpendicular art. They are much restored, however, and the great reredos under the east window is modern. Behind this is a narrow space which was doubtless the feretory, or chamber for lesser relics, a receptacle likewise used in times of trouble to conceal the treasures of the church.

Three monuments deserve attention — a memorial to Osric, the old English viceroy, set up centuries after his death; the tomb of Robert of Normandy, with a curious wooden figure; and the sepulcher of Edward II., which stands between two of the plain, low Norman piers of the choir. In 1327 the body of the king, who had been murdered in Berkeley Castle, was brought by Abbot Thokey to Gloucester, and a fitting tomb was built for it by Edward III. At once it became the object-point of pilgrimages; and the wealth that flowed for its sake into the coffers of the abbey was for its sake expended on the transfiguration of the building which it honored. Yet no king could have asked for a finer monument than the tomb itself — a lofty base bearing the usual recumbent figure, and a soaring canopy, all covered with slender pinnacles and arched niches, wrought in the rich and graceful late-Decorated style. Here Edward III. hung up a great golden vessel after he was saved from shipwreck; hither the Black Prince brought a golden crucifix with a bit of the True Cross; among countless minor offerings hung a ruby necklace sent by the Queen of Scotland, and a jeweled heart of Queen Philippa's; and here miracles were wrought for all who wanted them.

The Perpendicular screening conceals this monument from the choir, but we see it fully in the encircling aisle, to which the apsidal chapels give unwonted interest. Once there

were three such chapels and all three stood for nearly a century after the new window was built. But about 1450 the central one was removed and the place it had filled became a low-walled vestibule for a splendid Lady-Chapel.

The picture on page 695 will explain the station of this chapel better than any words. It is another of the individual features of Gloucester. It is an independent building, not a continuation of the church; within the choir no sign of it appears except its shadow on the great glass wall. Only when we get behind this wall in the aisle do we realize that there is still a farther space. An astonishing space it is — the fabric seeming almost all of glass and complicated with open screens wherever screens could go. It has not a very ecclesiastical look, perhaps. It is long and narrow, without aisles; and on the right hand and the left are little side chapels, two-storied each, which in their elaborate enframing — be it said beneath my breath — are not dissimilar to gorgeous Gothic opera-boxes. But the many sepulchral slabs in the pavement excite a soberer feeling; and whatever the spiritual mood it fosters, there can be no question with regard to the beauty of the room.

The ingenuity with which it was united to the church on the old Norman foundations best appears in the triforium which encircles the whole east-limb. As wide as the aisles below, extending above the apsidal chapels and lighted by large windows, this triforium can hardly be called a gallery; it is more truly an upper story for oratories and altars. Its space, however, was so greatly encroached upon at the extreme end, when a bay was added to the presbytery and the huge window was built, that here it is indeed a passage merely — seventy-five feet in length but only three in breadth and eight in height, running like a sort of bridge over the vestibule below, between the east window of the church and the west window of the Lady-Chapel, close to both but touching neither. Although the terminal Norman chapel was destroyed below, it was preserved in this second story, and we now enter it like a bay-window from the narrow gallery and look into the Lady-Chapel. Here, too, we see that three great flying-buttresses spring from the outer wall of the aisle, meet in a point behind the new inner wall, and sustain the slender buttress which professes to support the gigantic window. The whole arrangement is extremely curious, extremely skillful — easy enough to appreciate on the spot but difficult to describe. To the average tourist, however, the chief interest of this bridge-like gallery lies in its accidental acoustic properties. It is famous as the "whispering gallery of Gloucester," for the lowest utterance voiced at one end, or the slightest



SOUTH AISLE OF THE NAVE, LOOKING WEST FROM THE TRANSEPT.

pin-scratch made on the wall, is heard distinctly at the other end, seventy-five feet away.

The crypt perfectly reproduces the plan of the old Norman east-limb, and it likewise extends beneath the apsidal chapels of the transept, although not beneath the transept itself. The eastern end seems to have been built on a quicksand with insufficient foundations. The remaining features in this part of the upper church show signs of dislocation, and there are visible works of reënforcement in the crypt. But these are Norman, like the original

stones; and in the rest of the choir and presbytery the early builders built their best. Here their fabric stands straight and sturdy still, although the east wall has been turned into glass, a heavy Perpendicular decoration has been cemented on all the surfaces, and a tremendous tower rests on the four old supports.

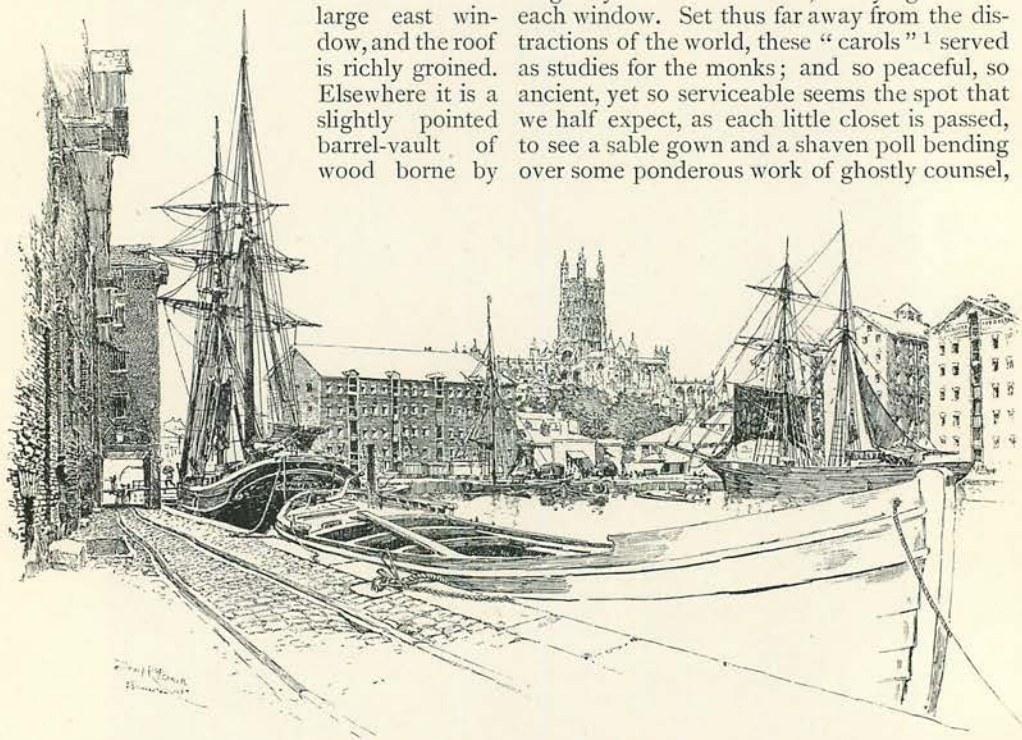
VIII.

INTERMINGLED Norman and Perpendicular work still meets us as we pass to the chapter-

house and cloisters. The entrance to the chapter-house is through a great semicircular doorway, and within we see a rectangular room, seventy-two feet long and thirty-four feet wide, flanked for three-quarters of its length by a plainly wrought round-arched arcade. The eastern end, however, looking with its cut-off corners like an apse, is a Perpendicular addition.

Here is a large east window, and the roof is richly groined. Elsewhere it is a slightly pointed barrel-vault of wood borne by

preserved. The open arcade, characteristic of earlier times, here gave way to rows of great glazed windows that insured complete protection from the weather. In the north walk the wall projects a little to give room for the lavatory, a hollowed stone bench of considerable length, while opposite is a closet for towels; and the south walk is lined to nearly half its height by a row of little cells, one lying beneath each window. Set thus far away from the distractions of the world, these "carols"¹ served as studies for the monks; and so peaceful, so ancient, yet so serviceable seems the spot that we half expect, as each little closet is passed, to see a sable gown and a shaven poll bending over some ponderous work of ghostly counsel,



GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL FROM THE DOCKS.

three transverse arches. Above the chapter-house is a library of Perpendicular design, likewise with a great east window; and between it and the church lies a narrow walk, called the "Abbot's cloister," which, again, is partly Norman, partly Perpendicular.

The chapter-house itself opens on the main quadrangle. Abbot Horton, who completed the casing of the choir, began his rule in 1351, and Abbot Frocester, who wrote the chronicle which tells us all we know of the mighty fabric of St. Peter's, died in 1412. Between these dates the cloisters were built, taking the place of an Early-English quadrangle which itself must have supplanted a Norman one. At Gloucester, as we know, cloisters were really needed, not for mere architectural display, but for the daily exercise and labor of a large houseful of monastic brethren. And the fact is clearly apparent to the eye. These, I think, are the most magnificent cloisters in England, and in no others are signs of utility so well

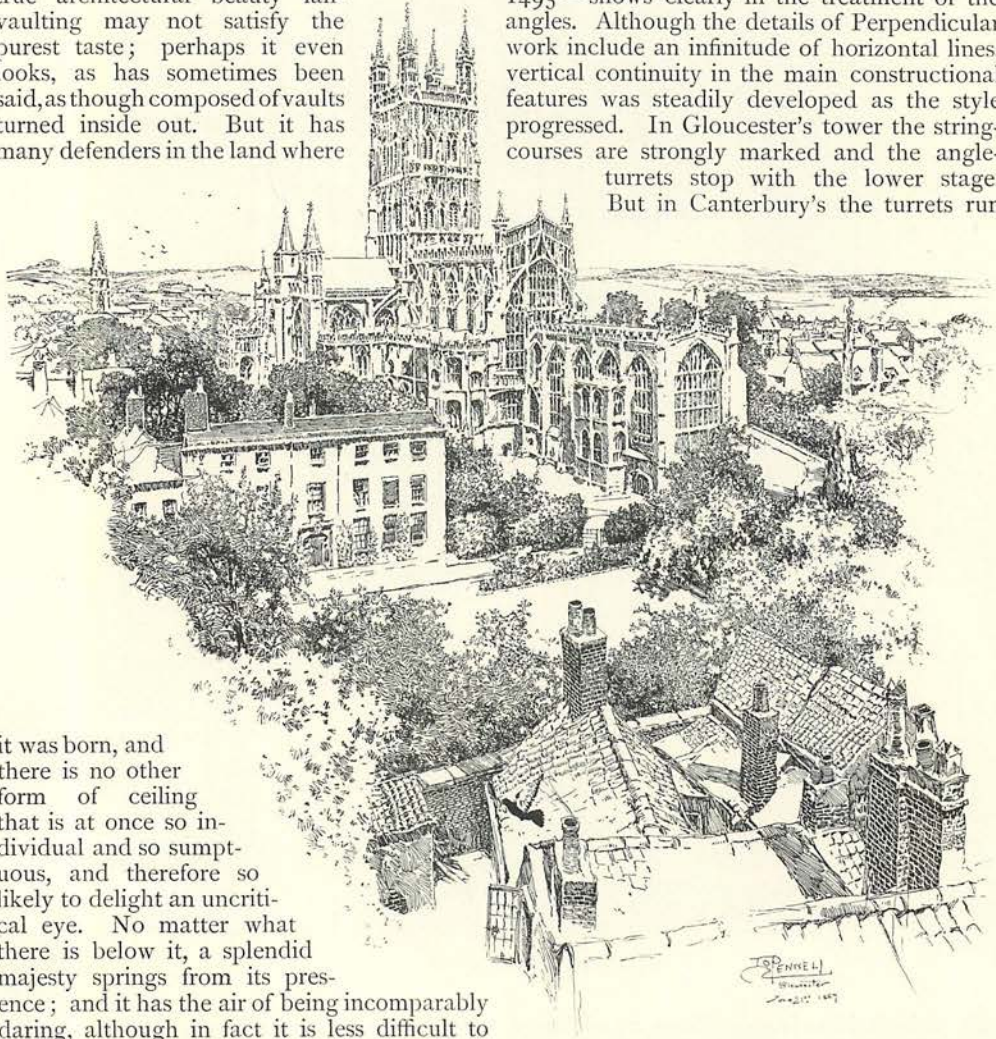
or tenderly bringing into life the brilliant initial letters of a Book of Hours.

But the great feature of these cloisters, for historic interest as for beauty, is the roof, which spreads its enormous fans of stone above all four walks. It would be impossible here to detail the reasons, half constructional, half esthetic, which led to the adoption of this form of vaulting. It must suffice to say that it was peculiar to England. In many other localities we find it on a much more magnificent scale — as in the "New Building" eastward of the choir at Peterborough. But very often he who did a thing first interests us more than he who did it best. Although there were causes and reasons why the fan-vault came to be adopted, no gentle successive experimental steps led up to its completed form. Whatever may have been the fact with other medieval

¹ This word comes from the medieval Latin "carola," a lattice, railing, inclosure; literally, a circle.—*The Century Dictionary*.

features, in this case some one man in some one place must first have used these great inverted cones, covered them with the favorite paneled patterns, and filled the intervening spaces with ornamental circles. And this man's work, it is generally thought, we see in the Gloucester cloisters. Judged for true architectural beauty fan-vaulting may not satisfy the purest taste; perhaps it even looks, as has sometimes been said, as though composed of vaults turned inside out. But it has many defenders in the land where

the central tower of Canterbury. There is the same division into two stories with four canopied windows in each face, and almost the same height—235 feet at Canterbury, 225 at Gloucester. But the fact that the Gloucester tower was the earlier by almost half a century—it was begun in 1150 and the Canterbury tower not till 1195—shows clearly in the treatment of the angles. Although the details of Perpendicular work include an infinitude of horizontal lines, vertical continuity in the main constructional features was steadily developed as the style progressed. In Gloucester's tower the string-courses are strongly marked and the angle-turrets stop with the lower stage. But in Canterbury's the turrets run



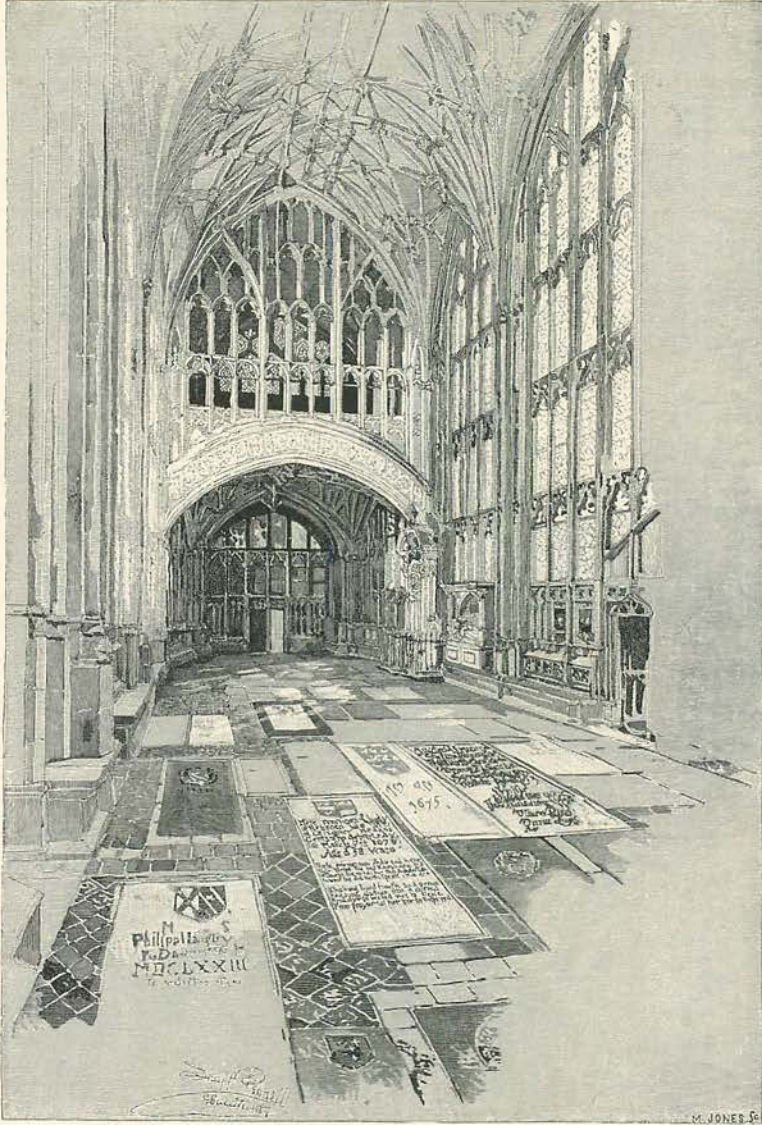
it was born, and there is no other form of ceiling that is at once so individual and so sumptuous, and therefore so likely to delight an uncritical eye. No matter what there is below it, a splendid majesty springs from its presence; and it has the air of being incomparably daring, although in fact it is less difficult to build than are vaulted ceilings of many other types.

The great tower shows admirably from the cloister-garth, but I shall not attempt to say from what point it shows best. For many miles away on every side we see its rich, pale-gray form, relieved against the pale-blue of an English sunny sky, or blending tone for tone with the soft colors of English clouds, or standing out, dark for the nonce, against the splendors of a sunset—a "pharos to the neighboring hills," as Leland called it in his "Itinerary" centuries ago. In general scheme it is very like

up straight and slender to the cornice and beyond it, forming without a break the pinnacles above the roof.

There are many other points of interest in the exterior of the church, but my space runs short. I can only say that while the general composition as we approach the south porch is by no means so grandiose as that which a similar position reveals at Canterbury or at Lincoln, it would be hard to find anything more typi-

SOUTHEAST VIEW OF THE CATHEDRAL, FROM TOWER OF ST. JOHN'S CHURCH.



THE LADY-CHAPEL, LOOKING TOWARDS THE CHURCH.

cally cathedral-like in magnificence and power than the view from the eastward, showing the Lady-Chapel grouped with the traceried east-end, and the gorgeous tower soaring behind.

IX.

THE beginning of the Perpendicular style may be placed, as we have seen, near the middle of the fourteenth century, and its end was not until the death of Gothic art in general—until the triumph of the re-born classic spirit. During two centuries and more of great national activity, wealth, and ambition, when

architecture was the most vital and progressive of all the arts, we might expect to find that a multitude of changes came about; and, in truth, the earlier Perpendicular work differs in very important ways from that of the later period.

At first the new idea—which can broadly be described as a reaction from the sweetness, grace, and variety of the Decorated style towards a greater formality and severity—expressed itself in the design of the window-traceries and in the continuation of their panels over the walls. Then the arch was altered from a “two-centered” to a “four-centered”

shape.¹ The four-centered shape proved extremely useful because it could easily be adapted to openings of any relative dimensions; and nothing could be better than its effect in doorways, like the one in Winchester's west-front, or in purely decorative work, like the overlays at Gloucester. But in important constructional features—in pier-arcades, for instance, and large wall-like windows—it has a look of weakness and of insufficient strength and dignity. Meanwhile the groined vault was becoming more and more complicated in its starry or twig-like or spider-web intersections; and at last it was replaced by the fan-vault, the final and most striking development of which we shall see in the Chapel of Henry VII. at Westminster.

In the earlier periods of the style a vast amount of work was done in the cathedrals. But by the time the style had reached its very latest development there was little left to alter or rebuild in them; and to make a complete study of Perpendicular art we must turn to parish churches, and especially to the great collegiate buildings at Cambridge and Oxford. Yet a very adequate idea of its course may be gained at Gloucester. Here in the south arm of the transept we are bidden by many to see the first piece of work in England which can truly be called Perpendicular; the rest of the transept and the east-limb reveal the successive steps which brought the style to its middle development; the tower and the Lady-Chapel are later still; and in the cloisters, as has been told, we probably find the first fan-vaults that were ever built.

A word more about the window-traceries. I tried to show in a former chapter how such traceries developed from two or three plain windows simply grouped together with pierced openings in the wall above; and how their character radically changed, at first the form of the openings—light in a dark space of wall—being the thing which the architect bore in

mind, and afterwards the pattern made by the stone bars, dark against a background of light.² In the height of the Decorated style, when English architecture was most nearly akin to French, this type of window-design reached its most perfect estate; and in France it was never given up. It was pushed more and more to an extreme, the stone bars flowing and curving in the richest patterns, and the shape of the lights being ever less and less regarded.

But in England the change from the Decorated to the Perpendicular style meant a going back, in theory, to first principles. In a typical Perpendicular window the eye is again supposed to rest, not upon the tracery-patterns, but upon the shape of the lights themselves. These are fine in outline and harmoniously grouped, while if we follow the stone lines we find them always uninteresting and often ugly. English writers sometimes protest that the change was a good one, or that it was at least logical and satisfactory in view of the development of the glazier's art.³ In theory we may perhaps agree with them; and, abstractly considered, the forms of the stone-work in Perpendicular traceries are perhaps not more ungraceful than those of the plate-traceries of early times. But face to face with his work we are not content with the Perpendicular architect's conception. The mind may grasp and even approve his idea; the eye cannot accept it. No one notices the shape of the stone-work in a plate-traceried window; no one can help noticing it in a Perpendicular window. The proportion of the solids to the voids has radically changed, and with it the strength of the impression that they relatively make. Coerce our eyes as we will in front of a Perpendicular window, we cannot help seeing, instead of the nicely proportioned little lights, an embroidery of dark lines, almost always meager and often very thin and ugly, disposed upon a luminous surface.

M. G. van Rensselaer.

¹ A two-centered arch is formed by segments of two intersecting circles; when it is designed these circles must be imagined in their entirety, and their centers marked. But in a four-centered arch each side assumes two different curves, and four centers must be established when it is drawn. All the pointed arches of earlier times are two-centered, no matter what their proportions. But in the late-Decorated period the "ogee arch" with a reversed curve towards the apex was introduced. This form persisted in France but was little used in England. Here it is rarely found on a large scale, although an example is seen in the main exterior molding above the east window at Gloucester. In the true Perpendicular arch the change in curvature comes not near the apex, but near the springing-point; and the individuality of the form grows more and more pronounced with the lapse of time as

it assumes proportions which are more and more "depressed." Compare in this respect the earlier Perpendicular arch in the screening of Gloucester's south transept-arm with the later one in the north transept-arm.

² See "Lichfield Cathedral," *THE CENTURY MAGAZINE*, July, 1888.

³ This development meant a growing skill in the drawing of the figure, and it has been held by some writers that it was the wish to display this skill which led to the abandonment of the curved irregular lights of the window-head. It seems to me, however, as though the figure-painter lost more than he gained by the introduction of Perpendicular designs: he gained in the window-head, but lost by that subdivision of the lower field which gave him indeed a chance for many figures, but prescribed a small size for them all.