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VOL. I March MDCCCCII No. 6

"The lyf so short
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THE GOTHIC REVIVAL

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THE CRAFTSMAN

MARCH MDCCCCII

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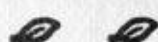

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FOREWORD

THE unvarying aim of "The Craftsman" is to place before its readers great examples of art allied to labor. It therefore offers in the current number some considerations upon those building principles of the Middle Ages which reached their highest development in the French Gothic cathedral, and which, disseminated throughout Northern Europe, produced the beautiful pointed architecture: a style long misapprehended and stigmatized as barbaric, but which, during the nineteenth century, received a measure of the admiration merited by it. To have given an account of this revulsion of feeling, which is known as "The Gothic Revival," without indicating the principles for which it stood, would have been to present a number of isolated facts more or less interesting in themselves. Instead, an attempt has been made to show that the impulse toward mediaeval art which began in Horace Walpole and Walter Scott, and culminated in Ruskin and Morris, was much more than an aesthetic movement; that it was based on a desire for a simpler, truer and more organic social life.

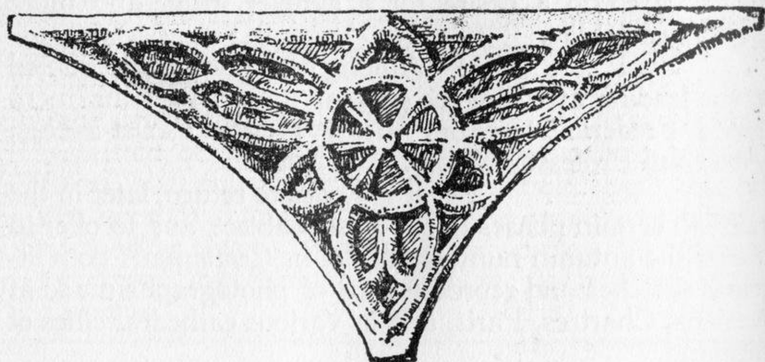
Among the authorities quoted in the leading article of the present month may be mentioned Frederic Harrison, Victor Hugo, Viollet-le-Duc, Vitet, and Professor Moore.

It is hoped to return, later in the year, to certain phases of the same subject, and to offer in one of the autumn numbers of "The Craftsman" both literary sketches and reproductions of photographs made at Amiens, Chartres, Paris, and in various cathedral cities of England.

The April number of the magazine will be devoted to the art of making and binding beautiful books. The principal article will treat of the produc-

tions of the Kelmscott Press, as well as of the work of a number of historic bookbinders. The contents will also include an account of "The Life and Work of Mr. Cobden-Sanderson," by Emily Preston, and a technical paper "On the Binding of Books," by Florence Foote of the Evelyn Nordkoff Bindery.

The publishers of "The Craftsman" gratefully acknowledge the receipt of a photograph taken from a bronze portrait medallion of Robert Owen. The medallion was found in 1899 beneath the floor of one of the houses of the community established by Mr. Owen, at New Harmony, Indiana. It is owned by Mrs. Nina Dale Parke, of Avondale, Cincinnati, who offered the photograph for publication, and, at the same time, expressed her appreciation of the sketch of the English philanthropist, her relative, which appeared in "The Craftsman" for February. At the time of issue, it was regretted that no portrait of the subject of the sketch could be found, and it is now gratifying to announce that the want has been supplied through the interest of a reader.



Amiens Cathedral
Facade

THE GOTHIC REVIVAL

TO appreciate the scope and the significance of this English movement which had its weak, tentative beginnings in the Georgian period, and which culminated in the work of Ruskin and Morris, we must thoroughly acquaint ourselves with the old artistic cause and principles of which it was the modern representative. To do this we must turn back the hands of time until we reach one of the most organic periods of the world's history; when society was characterized by a crystalline structure which it had never before attained, and which it has never since equaled. This study can best be confined to the thirteenth century: the mother-period of those great cathedrals which make a single artistic country of the northern portion, or "royal domain" of France, the southern countries of England, and the districts of Germany threaded by the Rhine. The thirteenth century, although the last in the history of Europe when a high civilization was devoted to a uniform creed, was not distinctively religious. It was equally poetic, political, industrial, artistic, practical, intellectual and devotional. And out of this consolidated, unified society, the Gothic cathedral rose, not merely as the highest expression of spiritual aspiration and aesthetic impulse, but also as that of a corporate, civic life.

During the time under consideration strongly centralized governments came into being; the people developed rapidly, acquiring wealth, intelligence, and citizen-pride, and becoming a social power at once beneficent and formidable. Then also, for the first time, the voice of the people was heard in parliaments, and political power was controlled by representative assemblies; while, as a consequence of the friendly alliance of monarchs and people, arose the desire of the period to-

ward civilization, internal peace and good government. Then, as the next following result, there ensued production, both material and intellectual, on a colossal scale, at rapid rate, and from rich, virgin sources.

The epoch being so strongly organic, its art, or spiritual expression, was necessarily structural. The uniform creed, single social scheme, common system of education, and one accepted type of beauty, demanded a realization of the ideal which should epitomize and incarnate the poetic, artistic, and devotional spirit of the age. This realization was attained in the Gothic cathedral which embodies more perfectly and defines more clearly than any other medium "the sentiment of the infinite," which, in the judgment of Michelet, was the greatest gift of the Middle Ages to humanity.

To appreciate the imposing character of the cathedral, as it rose the principal monument, the spiritual, civic, and aesthetic center of the community in which it was placed, we must first gain an idea of the mediaeval city itself. Every such town in Central Europe was primarily a fortress, and secondarily a place of residence. Owing to the violence of the times, protection was first considered, and afterwards convenience and comfort. The city was surrounded with high walls, reaching, in the case of Florence at least, to the height of forty feet. Beyond the walls, were a broad moat and a complicated series of drawbridges, barbicans and outworks: which great apparatus of defence cramped the space and excluded light, air and vista. Within the enclosure, this prison-like character was further accentuated. There were few open spaces, and the streets were narrow paths adapted to the maintenance of warfare: such streets as we still find in the towns of Germany, and in Italian cities like Genoa and Florence, where, in case of civic broils, chains suspended from great iron rings fixed into the masonry of the lower stories of opposite houses, proved an effectual barricade against invading enemies.

The area within the walls was largely occupied by castles, monasteries and other fortified enclosures, but, as a general rule, there was no citadel corresponding to that of the ancient city, like the Acropolis at Athens, or the Capitol at Rome. Instead, there rose a great cathedral or abbey, which, with its chapter houses and schools, often covered a tenth of the entire area, as in the cities of York and Amiens.

Within these ecclesiastical structures, everything rich and beautiful found its home; whether the thing was valuable in substance, or whether it had been rendered precious by the application of art and craftsmanship. To fashion such objects the artisans of the Middle Ages passed their lives in darkened dwellings, and having infused their very spirit into the works of their hands, they deposited their finished productions at the shrine of some saint, and within the precincts of the cathedral sanctified by the presence of the sacrament. So in the material edifice centered the life and work of the period. And when, at its high altar, mystic rites and splendid ceremonies were in progress, the Gates of Heaven seemed to open, showing glorious visions of the Beyond. The cathedral so became the anti-type of the Golden Jerusalem.

It is thus that God and the People are felt to be the joint architects of these wonderful structures, which evoke awe and admiration alike from the believer and the infidel; causing the one and the other to know that something divine leaps up in the vaults and buttresses, and cries out from the soaring spire and the symbolism of the great portal.

But the giant fabrics of stone have their human as well as their divine meaning. And, in common with all other supreme works of art, they unite the grotesque with the sublime. Their dual character has never, perhaps, received such adequate treatment as at the hands of Victor Hugo, in his "Notre Dame de Paris," a

book which is greatly misapprehended by English readers, who regard it simply as a fantastic tale heightened in effect by an elaborate mediaeval background. Such is only the envelope of the thought; for the genius of the romance-writer was joined in the great Frenchman with the soul of an artist and the learning of an archaeologist. He conceived the Gothic cathedral such as later we shall show it to be in a structural sense: that is, a vivified organism, or being, made up of two intimately connected, yet sharply hostile forces. One of these forces, or elements, he personifies in the archdeacon of Notre Dame: the representative of the churchly spirit, the learning, the mysticism, in short, of the strength of the Middle Ages. To the other element he gives the form of a demon: dwarfish, with curved spine, projecting sternum and bow legs; half-blind, but lusty and aggressive; in short, a gargoyle of the old cathedral, changed from stone into flesh and blood, cleverly named Quasimodo, the *almost*, or *as if* man, and symbolizing the untamed animal passions.

One who reads the romance in the spirit in which it was written, cannot fail to appreciate the artistic instinct which apprehended so closely all that is implied, as well as clearly denoted in the supreme architectural expression of the Middle Ages. And apart from the unique characterization of that dualism peculiar to the times, which is recognized by all critics, there is yet in the romance an accuracy of description which places before the reader a Gothic city and a Gothic cathedral with a vividness and force representing period and people, as if they belonged to us who are now fretting away a short hour upon the stage of life.

Further, in his judgment of the art of the Middle Ages, with special reference to its dualism, Victor Hugo coincides with other superior minds. Our own Longfellow, in the introductory sonnet to his translation of Dante's "Divina Commedia," compares the

poem, with detailed accentuation of both sublime and grotesque elements, to a great open cathedral, and then proceeds to name it: the "mediaeval miracle of song." Again, Robert Browning, in his "Old Pictures in Florence," makes one of the most brilliant contrasts ever yet instituted between classic and Christian art; indicating the great beauty and the limitations of the first; and pointing to the psychological power, as many sided as life itself, which irradiates the homely, often rude, figures of the early Italian masters. Another opinion of the same trend may be found underlying the English critic Symonds' appreciation of Michelangelo, in such passages in his life of that master as define the artistic terms, "classic," and "romantic." Finally, any student of the drama can recognize the value of dualism in art—of the union of the sublime with the grotesque—by comparing Sophocles with Shakespeare, and he will be ready to leave the polished, somewhat monotonous perfection of the first, for scenes in which the fool's bells mingle with the voice of the hero, and for lessons taught by living examples of men and women, imperfect and frail, attractive because of their personal faults, which render them at once conceivable and companionable. And as the Greek drama, unified, complete, perfect as to its adaptation of parts to whole—is outweighed in the balance of art by the romantic drama, in which form is secondary, and the laws of construction are subject to the impetuosity of the playwright; so the Greek temple—with its perfect proportions, its mathematically calculated optical illusions, and its plan comprehensible at a glance—is less powerful, less sublime than the Gothic cathedral whose giant structure teems with mystery, pulses with passion, and, in all things, seems a type of life itself.

Indeed, the farther it is pursued, the more fitting and comprehensive does this comparison between the two great divisions of architecture and the two great types of the drama show itself to be. And as

at the mention of each name of Shakspeare's heroes, a mighty personality leaps before our mental vision, so does the individuality of each cathedral impress our thought, as we recall Amiens, Chartres, and Beauvais, or yet again York, Lincoln, or Peterborough.

Although differing in what, in this connection, we may well call the *countenance,* all cathedrals of the Gothic type plainly show their sisterhood, since they were generated by the same thought and the same spiritual impulse. Structurally, they expressed the unity of the age. And their ornament, so rich in symbolism, so imitative of life, could only have been the work of men and artists just awakening to a sense of the power and marvels of the natural world, and wholly differing from the Greeks, the Romans, and even from the Italians later than they, who looked upon nature only as a background for man's action and as a mere foil for man's beauty.

It is not to speak rashly to say that the structure of the cathedral expresses the unity of the age in which it attained its perfection; for architecture, as the outward result of the uncontrollable impulse to externalize any dominant, constant thought, is one of the surest indications of the spirit of any given age. The thirteenth century was a period of unity in diversity, since great minds and geniuses wholly different from one another accepted one common order of ideas, and felt that they were together working out the same task. One and the same impulse toward the good, the true and the beautiful animated Langton, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the principal author of Magna Charta; St. Francis the Mendicant; Thomas Aquinas, the greatest of church philosophers; Roger Bacon the scientist; Dante and Giotto; St. Louis, king, statesman and churchman; and Edward the First of England, jurist, general and monarch. This century was the golden age of kings and commons: the two interdependent elements of the new

society. It was an age when all conditions forced out the manhood and the genius of the hereditary ruler; and when those born to be ruled were by habit, religion and necessity eager to welcome a great king and to aid him in his task. And since it is recognized that the building art is the best exponent of the character of a period, it will be interesting to observe how closely the constructive principles of the Gothic cathedral coincide with the unity and the interdependence which were the distinguishing features of the social system in force toward the end of the Middle Ages.

Every part of the typical Gothic structure performs a useful and necessary function, and the fundamental principle of building is the concentration of weights and thrusts upon certain strong structural points—principally the buttresses. These, together with their later auxiliaries, the flying buttresses, were made to resist the vault thrusts, and, in this way, the nave was carried high enough to allow the introduction beneath the vaults of windows that admitted light over the roofs of the aisles. To accomplish this result was the architectural problem of the Middle Ages, and the Gothic style was evolved in the effort to solve it. The fully developed Gothic cathedral has been characterized as a building with a roof of stone and walls of glass, and, indeed the description is not inaccurate, as the walls between the buttresses have no structural significance and play the part of mere curtains. This style of building was no invention of a certain school of artists, but rather a gradual evolution from the Roman through the Romanesque. It is a peculiar structural system in which the whole scheme, as explained by Viollet-le-Duc, perhaps the greatest authority upon the subject—is determined by, and its whole strength is made to reside in a finely organized and clearly confessed framework, rather than in walls. This framework —as defined by the same French architect—composed of piers, arches, and buttresses, is freed from every unneces-

sary encumbrance of wall, and is rendered as light in all its parts as is compatible with strength; "the stability of the fabric depending not upon inert massiveness (except in the outermost abutments), but upon a logical adjustment of *active parts whose opposing forces neutralize one another and produce a perfect equilibrium.*"

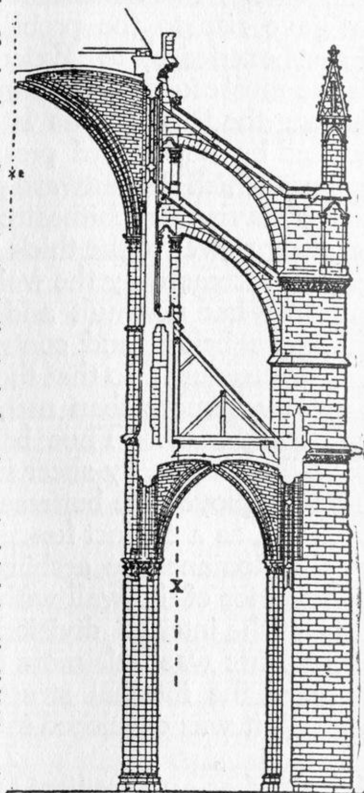
It is a system of balanced thrusts in distinction from the ancient system of inert stability. And so fundamental and far-reaching in this peculiar mode of construction as the distinctive principle of Gothic, that it may be taken as a rule that wherever we find it developed there we have a Gothic building, even though the ornamental elements connected with it may retain many of the Romanesque characteristics; while, on the other hand, wherever a framework maintained on the principle of thrust and counterthrust is wanting, there we have not Gothic, however freely the ornamental elements may differ from those of the Romanesque.

In the foregoing definition we have the thought of Viollet-le-Duc, commented upon and amplified by Professor Charles Moore of Harvard University, author of one of the most valuable works in English upon the development and character of Gothic architecture. The same writer, who insists that the Gothic was not an independent, although it was a *distinct* style, shows its very gradual evolution from the arched constructions of the Romans up to the point when it reached its highly organic state, in which every part of the structure performed some useful and necessary function. According to the two authorities quoted, a correct preliminary idea of the Gothic can be gained only by tracing the steps of the process by which the system was evolved. These authorities cite the Roman builders as the first who effectively used the arch; but it may be said in passing that the credit of the invention is, without doubt, due to the Assyrians, from whom architecture, engineering, and

other arts and sciences derive many of their most useful principles. The admission of the arch into the building art gave rise to the problem of counteracting the side thrusts exerted by it. External abutments were employed as the most economical means of attaining the desired end. Among the Romans, as later, the thrust was also neutralized by downward pressure upon the walls or piers against which the outward pressure operated. In the case of the Flavian Amphitheatre (Colosseum), the abutting or resisting power of the thick walls of the lower stories was greatly increased by the weight of the walls above. The top story had no vault and its enclosing wall weighted the walls below and contributed to the stability of the whole structure; so that the thrust or outward pressure was much more than met, and *the entire system was practically inert.* Thus balancing the thrust by means of walls: that is, by sheer inertia of masses, the Romans never employed the buttress as we now know it. This principle, as a distinct functional member, was first used by the Romanesque architects, who began by breaking the exterior of the wall with shallow pilaster strips placed against the internal divisions of the building. At first, this feature was little more than decorative, but, it served to mark the internal structural lines, and, as time advanced, it was developed into *the true buttress.*

The flying buttress was next developed as an expedient to increase the resistance of the clere-story (the highest of the divisions of the nave). It is first found, in a disguised form, in the two great conventual churches of Caen, Normandy: the Abbaye-aux-Hommes and the Abbaye-aux-Femmes. In those, the vaulting, which dates from the twelfth century, was of such nature as to exert very strong side thrusts, to balance which half-barrel vaults were made to spring from the aisle walls, and to abut against the walls of the nave beneath the roof. From their function, these half-barrel vaults were, in reality, continuous flying-buttresses, but

they imperfectly performed their task; the excessively strong walls aiding them by resisting both the side thrusts of the nave vaults and the inward thrusts of the half-barrel vaults themselves.



Another step of development toward the Gothic style was due to the Lombard builders; who applied to the vault a system of stone ribs, which projecting below the vault surfaces in a measure sustained them, and, also, prevented any rupture occurring in one compartment from spreading to the others.

The application of the ribbed system of vaulting, together with the functional grouping of supports, by slowly doing away with the massive walls, and by perfecting the skeleton composed of "the roof of stone and the wall of glass," ultimately led to the Gothic system.

Herein, contrary to the popular impression, the pointed arch was not originally employed for aesthetic effect, but rather as a structural device, since it exerts a less powerful thrust or outward pressure than the round arch, and since its crown can be made to reach any level. Its introduction diminished the thrusts, did away with the necessity of doming to the extent demanded by the round arch, and, by the structural possibilities which it presented, gave a powerful impetus to invention. Then, the skeleton was perfected, the walls diminished

in thickness, until they became, as we have before said, mere curtains between the abutments, and internally the clere-story and aisle openings entirely filled the spaces between the piers.

Such are, most briefly stated, the structural principles of the developed Gothic cathedral. As to its plan, that also may be summarized in a few words, and the French cathedral may be taken as the type.

First, there is a central nave, the eastern division of which forms the choir. Next, there are aisles; sometimes one, and sometimes two on either side. The nave and the aisles are cut by a transverse section, also, usually provided with aisles, and the division of the nave called the choir terminates to the eastward in a semi-circular, or polygonal apse or sanctuary, around which the aisles, now called ambulatories, are continued. From these aisles usually open a series of small chapels, the central one being larger and more honored than the others. The transept has commonly rectangular ends, and the west front of the nave is always rectangular. The nave is divided from the aisles by piers which support the superstructure, this last being divided into two stories: the triforium and the clere-story. The vaults, by their forms and proportions, determine the number and arrangement of the piers and buttresses, and they are constructed upon a complete set of projecting ribs: transverse, diagonal and longitudinal. These ribs are independent arches; the transverse and longitudinal ones (the latter named in England the wall ribs) being pointed, while the diagonal ones may remain round. The ribs are sustained by slender shafts, closely grouped, and united by their bases and capitals with the massive piers which rise from the pavement through the successive stories of the building to the nave cornice. To the pier is added a rectangular buttress, which rises through the triforium, and becomes an external feature in the clere-story. Each pier is therefore a compound member con-

sisting of a great central column to which are joined several smaller shafts and a buttress, and by these piers the vaults are supported; the thrust being neutralized by the external buttress system. The clere-story buttresses are reinforced by flying buttresses, which are segments of arches rising from the outer abutments and springing over the aisle roofs.

The flying buttresses are the most distinctive feature of the Gothic exterior, and structurally they tell the story of the high nave and lower side aisles within. They introduced into the building art the *active principle* to which we have so often before alluded, and in connection with the pointed arch and the ribbed system of vaulting, they produced a concentration of supports and a resistance of thrusts, which made of the structure into which they entered an organic body, composed of mutually helpful members, wholly different from the inert Roman pile, and truly expressive of the constructive, unified and aspiring century which witnessed its development.

The cathedral so constituted, permitted the exercise of the two arts subsidiary to architecture: sculpture and painting. In the opinion of the critics, sculpture assumed in the Gothic cathedral a vitality unequaled in the same art of any other school or epoch; while the ornament, pure and simple, offers the fullest and most varied suggestion of nature ever attained, at the same time that it remains entirely subservient to architectural demands. This opinion of students can not fail to convince the casual observer who wanders, even for a day, within the walls of any of the great churches of North France or of the Rhineland; for portal, tower, capital and moulding. in their decoration, all tell the same story of vital force or vital beauty, and of perfectly adapted monumental treatment.

In the cathedral the art of painting was limited to expression by means of one medium.

The great openings for the admission of light, which warranted the name of "walls of glass," afforded opportunity for the display of a peculiar craftsmanship in which the French workmen of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries have never been equaled. But these beautiful and brilliantly colored designs being subject to the demands made by both material, and architectural fitness, were necessarily deprived of pictorial qualities, restricted to decorative value, and reduced almost to the condition of heraldic designs. But once their limitations confessed, it is difficult to over-estimate the exquisite beauty of the old glass paintings. The great *rosace* of Notre Dame, illuminated by the rays of the setting sun, is believed to have inspired in Dante's mind the idea of "the rose of Paradise," with its "lake of light," and no less splendid are the glasses of Amiens and Chartres and Rheims.

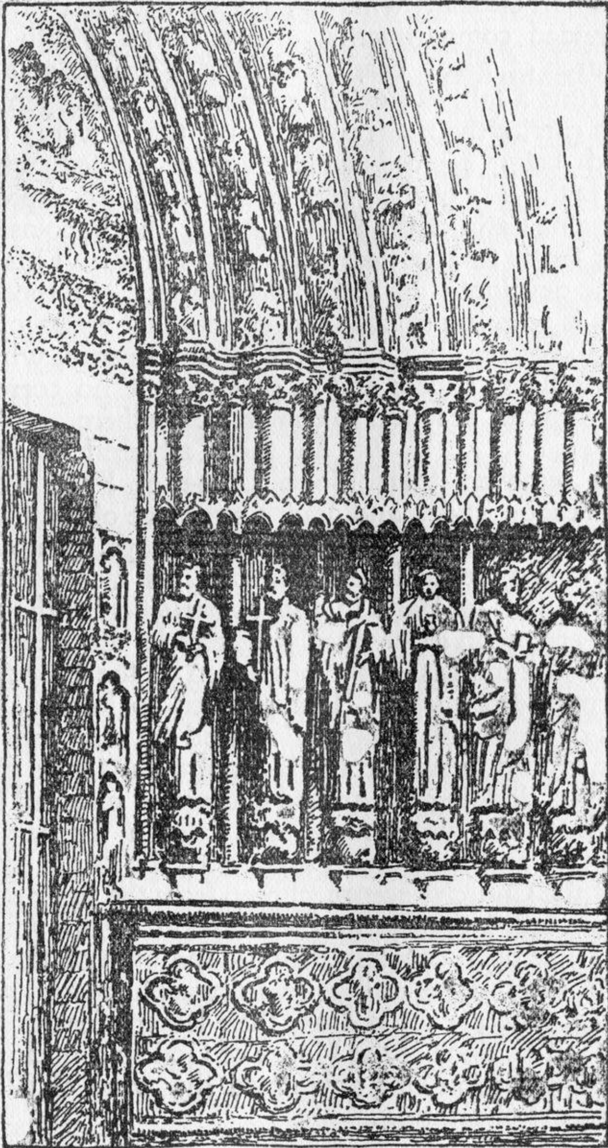
To-day, half-shorn of their glories through the violence of revolutions, like the Terror of 1793 in France, or the Puritan excesses of the seventeenth century in England, or yet again through the operation of that vandalism which is called "restoration," the Gothic cathedrals are still eloquent with an unapproachable, majestic and awful beauty. They have lost their proper setting through the destruction of the mediaeval towns and the citizen-bodies of which they were the pride and crown. We can form but a poor conception of the effect made by one of these structures against the profile of the Gothic city, which shot up on all sides far into heaven its spires, towns and gables; which was darkened by high enclosing walls; and which was subject to a fantastic play of lights and shadows cast over its carven walls, and along its narrow and tortuous streets. But enough remains to shadow forth dimly the old beauty and the old interests, popular, municipal and ecclesiastic, which once radiated from the great creations of the nameless builders of the late Middle Ages. And as the Gothic system of architecture is, without doubt, native to France,

it is the French cathedral which should receive our attention in our effort to gain an idea of both the system itself and of the significance of its revival after centuries of neglect and scorn.

As understood by the French architects, the nature of the Gothic style is exclusively pyramidal, from the base to the summit of the edifice, and even in its least important parts: from which judgment arise the criticisms of Vitet and other French technical writers directed against the English cathedrals, such as Lincoln, whose facades are marked by strongly accentuated horizontal effects. The great French churches, whether complete, like those of Amiens and Rheims, or unfinished, as to their towers, as are several other great examples, all show this pyramidal tendency; while even the most disinterested critics of all nations allow that the facade, or west front, in England, is generally devoid of Gothic character; that it is an erection whose parts have little relation to the real structural scheme; and that however interesting it may sometimes be, from the historical point of view, as in the case of Lincoln cathedral, it cannot, as a rule, command admiration as an architectural combination. On the contrary, the facades of Paris and Amiens are pronounced by authorities as almost unequaled in structural grandeur. The first named is a noble creation of the early thirteenth century, less rich than the west front of Amiens, but grandly proportioned and beautifully subdivided; so treated as to reveal the Gothic spirit in every point of detail. Its scheme has only to be recalled in order to make manifest that unity in diversity which is characteristic of everything produced in the period which saw its rise: three great recessed portals on the ground story; above them, and reaching across the entire front, an arcade, between the columns of which stand twenty-eight giant statues; still above this second division, the great central rose, or wheel, flanked by pointed windows; these latter being double, surmounted

by a small circular window, placed between and above the divided compartments, and enclosed within an outlined arch of great beauty of form. Then, still above, there runs a tall, exquisitely proportioned and open arcade, which carries the main cornice and the towers; the last named being pierced with coupled pointed windows. Such is the face of the great pile which, as expressed in the quaint Latin of the Middle Ages, "by its colossal size, struck terror to the hearts of spectators." This facade scheme developed as to certain features, and modified in details is seen in principle throughout that series of cathedrals and lesser churches of Northern France, which are structurally so superb and so perfect that no corresponding group can be found to compete with them.

In the Cathedral of Amiens, farther removed than Notre Dame of Paris from the Romanesque style, and less a structure of the transition period, Gothic architecture attained, perhaps, its most beautiful and symmetrical development. Its facade most differs from that of Paris in the construction of the portals, which are much more deeply recessed; the depth being obtained by increasing the projection of the buttresses on the ground-story level. The porches so formed, became places of instruction, meditation, and prayer. For everywhere within them—on the faces of the massive piers, on the pillars dividing the arched doorways midway in their breadth, on the tympanums—are carven the personages of the Old and the New Testament; the saints and martyrs of the Church; scenes chosen from the story of man's creation, fall, judgment and redemption. Here was a pictorial Bible open constantly before the eyes of the people, with its inspirations and its awful warnings, and wherein the most illiterate could draw their lessons for the conduct of life. The door of the House of God as a means of religious instruction long ante-dated the work of Wickliffe, and the art of printing.



Students and scholars necessarily were these artists of the thirteenth century; laymen also and quite distinct from the cowled builders of the Romanesque period who preceded them and who, struggling with difficulties and disadvantages, yet laid the foundations for the greater glories of Gothic art. The traditions of this learning descended far into the time of the Renascence, and Michelangelo did but continue on the walls of the Sistine Chapel the study of sacred history which had been so effectively explained in the stones of the northern cathedrals. The open pages of the great pictorial Bible still attract the people, and it is not infrequent to see grouped about the west front of Notre Dame of Paris companies of workmen or peasants who listen to the explanations of some black-robed priest. A meaning secondary to the doctrines of the Christian faith is claimed to have been wrought into the facade sculptures, and indeed into the entire figure ornament of the Gothic cathedral by the fraternities of builders—the free masons—who carried their arts, crafts, and secrets, from town to town, and from country to country, as the people voted the erection of these giant houses of worship. Allusions to this occult symbolism are made by Victor Hugo in his great romance, wherein he pictures the archdeacon Claude Frollo, as an adept in the mysteries displayed to the initiate in the apparently simple stories in stone of prophet, saint, and martyr. And much literature of varying value and interest has been written regarding the "hermetic philosophers," the "Rosicrucians," and other mystics who are believed to have been involved in the far-reaching building fraternity.

In taking leave of the subject of facade sculptures, as treated in the French cathedral it is most fitting to recall the fervent admiration cherished for them by two powerful movers in the English Gothic Revival: Ruskin and William Morris. The former devotes his matchless eloquence to the praise of the "Bible of

Amiens," with special reference to that head of Our Lord, which is known as "le beau Dieu," and which for majesty and superhuman beauty, almost alone among mediaeval sculptures, has been compared with the Greek type of Zeus. The second enthusiast, Morris, in the opinion of competent judges, has written upon the same cathedral with a white heat of enthusiasm and a wealth of detailed insight never before lavished upon the subject. This is perhaps a partial and exaggerated statement, since the article so praised was composed in the author's early youth, and is wanting in that thorough and minute knowledge which is characteristic of his later work. But the essential qualities of good criticism can not be denied to this piece of writing, which is unfortunately too little known. Every word came directly from the young student's heart, and he said simply and modestly:

"I thought that even if I could say nothing else about these grand churches, I could at least tell men how I loved them. For I will say here that I think these same churches of North France the grandest, the most beautiful, the kindest and most loving of all the buildings that the earth has ever borne."

Near the beginning of the paper he writes with happy and quaint expression:

"And those same builders, still surely living, still real men, and capable of receiving love, I love no less than the great men, poets and painters and such like, who are on earth now; no less than my breathing friends whom I can see looking kindly on me now. Ah! do I not love them with just cause, who certainly loved me, thinking of me sometimes between the strokes of their chisels; and for this love of all men that they had, and moreover for the great love of God, which they certainly had too; for this, and for this work of theirs, the upraising of the great cathedral front with its beating heart of the thoughts of men, wrought into the leaves and flowers of the fair earth; wrought into the faces of good men

and true, fighters against the wrong, of angels who upheld them, of God who rules all things, wrought through the lapse of years, and years, and years, by the dint of chisel, and stroke of hammer, into stories of life and death, stories of God's dealing in love and wrath with the nations of the earth, stories of the faith and love of man that dies not: for their love, and the deeds through which it worked, I think they will not lose their reward."

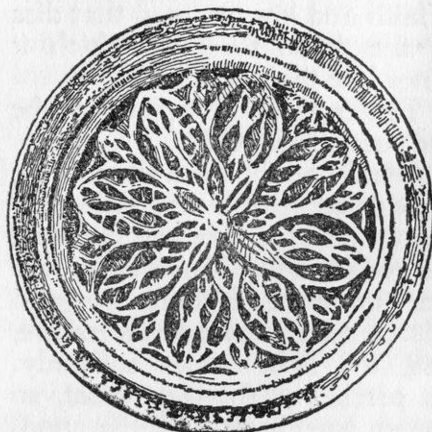
The end, also, is worthy to be quoted, as here Morris, the poet, speaks:

"And now farewell to the church that I love, to the carved temple-mountain that rises so high above the water-meadows of the Somme, above the gray roofs of the good town. Farewell to the sweep of the arches, from the bronze bishops lying at the west end, up to the belt of solemn windows, where, through the painted glass, the light comes solemnly. Farewell to the cavernous porches of the west front, so grey under the fading August sun, grey with the wind-storms, grey with the rain-storms, grey with the heat of many days' sun, from sunrise to sunset; showing white sometimes, too, when the sun strikes it strongly; snowy-white, sometimes, when the moon is on it, and the shadow growing blacker; but grey now, fretted into deeper grey, fretted into black by the mitres of the bishops, by the solemn covered heads of the prophets, by the company of the risen, and the long robes of the judgment angels, by hell-mouth and its flames gasping there, and the devils that feed it; by the saved souls and the crowning angels; by the presence of the Judge, and by the roses growing above them all forever.

"Farewell to the spire, gilt all over with gold once, and shining out there, very gloriously; dull and grey now, alas; but still it catches, through its interlacement of arches, the intensest blue of the blue summer sky; and sometimes at night you may see the stars shining through it.

"It is fair still, though the gold is gone, the spire that seems to rock, when across it, in the wild February nights, the clouds go westward."

Poetic and uplifting, indeed; valuable by what it connotes, rather than by what it describes; rendering the impression made by the cathedral, rather than judging it calmly and severely, this criticism maintains for itself a place apart. It serves a useful end equally with that work which weighs, compares, probes and decides. Its winged and fiery words pass where the key of pure intellectual effort fails to unlock. It is a worthy tribute to the "temple-mountain" of Amiens.



From this digression towara the effect of the French cathedral as a whole, we must return once more to remark certain of its prominent and most beautiful characteristics. These include, as we have already seen, the upright or pyramidal tendency of the lines of the facade and the recessed portal; which last feature joins to its valuable aesthetic functions its service as an open book of religious and moral instruction. A third characteristic is the great rose, or wheel window, placed above the central portal; in the case of Notre Dame de Paris opening directly above the arcade or gallery of the kings, and flanked by two lateral, highly decorated windows: a position which gave rise to Victor Hugo's fanciful comparison of the priest at the altar, served by his deacon and his sub-deacon. In the cathedral of Amiens, the great rose pierces the wall at a much higher point

than is the case with Notre Dame of Paris. It here again opens above an arcade of splendid statues, but this, in turn, runs above an elaborate open gallery of exquisite effect, so that the rose occupies the fourth of the five divisions of the facade counting from the ground level. Of the rose it must be said that it has lost its original tracery, and that, together with the upper story of the towers, it marks a late period of the Gothic, which does not harmonize with the restrained, noble outlines of the earlier general design of the facade. The existing tracery of the window and the forms of the towers are examples of the Flamboyant period in which ornament, like a parasitic plant, over-ran the French Gothic edifice, disguising its admirable constructive principles, and finally by its excessive demands for space and material in which to display itself, sapping the life of the entire construction, as we shall find at a later point of our study.

The Flamboyant period, marked by the predominence of the flamed-shaped, wavy stone-defying line, is the third of the three great divisions of French Gothic. It is also known to architects and critics simply as the Tertiary, just as the period just preceding it is named the Rayonnant, or radiating (a name equally derived from the character of the outline employed), or yet again the Secondary; while the first division is called, without characterization, the Gothic Primary. The Flamboyant corresponds quite closely in point of time to the Perpendicular in England, which was an age devoted to the vagaries of geometrical design, and which ended in complete degeneration under the Tudor sovereigns.

From the foregoing statement regarding the substitutions and restorations which occurred, centuries ago, in the facade of the cathedral of Amiens, it is clear that we can form no idea of its first beauty, as it rose from the great square of the picturesque town in the thirteenth century. But whatever it has lost, it is still perfect enough to serve as a type of the French

Gothic western facade, and in that capacity, perhaps, as an example of the culmination of all Gothic architecture. In view of its importance, therefore, it will be interesting to note the judgment of Professor Moore, more especially as his is a mature and technical criticism, altogether removed from the rhapsody of the youthful William Morris.

This architectural authority writes: "The typical form of the French facade, as exhibited in the cathedral of Amiens, is a marvel of structural beauty. With the given conditions it is hard to see how a more successful result could have been reached. The arch, the shaft, the buttress, and the string are employed with the finest artistic judgment. The main masses are disposed and proportioned with subtle feeling, and the myriads of ornamental details are distributed with a sense of largeness and breadth of total effect, no less than of delicacy in minute elaboration. The men who designed and executed these facades were great artists; and their work bespeaks an aesthetic culture comparable with that manifest in the finest art of Greece. If this is still largely unrecognized, it is due, in great measure, to the fact that our modern ideas have been formed under the influence of aesthetic guides, who, in over-zealous and unenlightened regard for classic, and neo-classic art, have failed to appreciate the real character of the arts of the Middle Ages."

From this carefully prepared analysis it would appear that in the great mediaeval work under consideration, the structural system has been carried out with the strictest logic and with a controlling sense of beauty; that it is an accomplishment of the highest art, in which sound mechanical principles serve as the secure foundation for the exercise of the poetic imagination.

If now we turn momentarily to those English churches which were least influenced by the

builders of Amiens and Paris, Chartres, Reims, or Bourges, we shall find their facades—as in case already noted of Lincoln cathedral—to be mere screens of great width of front, wanting organic connection with the main body of the building, and failing to indicate by their contours the structural scheme of the interiors. Beside, in the absence of French influence, Gothic or pointed churches, wherever found, do not display the rose window above the central portal. This feature is one productive of great beauty in the exterior, since it offers forms and lines found in no other element of the facade, which, with its presence, shows a structural and significant union of curved, upright and horizontal lines in a combination most grateful to the eye. Within the dark and lofty interior, the great rose or wheel recalls and justifies the already-quoted expression of Dante: " a lake of light," as it is set a-flame with the glow of noonday, or the fires of sunset. And it is safe to say that the pointed opening can afford no adequate substitute for its loveliness.

A last comparison made between the French and the English cathedral, considered as to the effect of the facade, will convince the student that each structure suits the site, surroundings, and special purpose of the people who developed it. The French cathedral was built in the heart of a town, to serve the religious needs of the people. It was therefore fitting that its principal place of entrance should be strongly accentuated, and beautiful in design, in order that worshippers might be attracted to enter its open portals. The English cathedral, on the contrary, is most often found within an enclosure of its own, quite removed from the thoroughfares of the city, and it was built primarily for the chapter of the clergy who served it.

Whereas, as we have seen, the Gothic body, compressed for want of space, grew tall in France, and in other continental districts subject to French influence, so, in England it lengthened laterally; the tran-

sept arms spreading out far beyond the nave and choir. At the junction of these two divisions, a heavy tower rose, to which all lines and parts led up, as to a common center. The nave, comparatively low, and terminating usually in a square sanctuary, gave no opportunity for the magnificent circular sweep of the apse of the French cathedral, and did away with the light but sinewy lines of the flying-buttresses which charm the eye, at the same time that they are structurally so important in their contribution to that highly organized—nay, vitalized—framework which is the essential of true Gothic.

The flying-buttress is the last feature of the French cathedral which our limits of space permit us to consider. Upon this hard-working member of the living Gothic body, the stability of the structure is absolutely dependent. To effect a perfect resistance or counter-thrust to the lateral pressure of the vaults of the high sanctuary was a serious and intricate problem, but one which was again and again solved by the mathematical ability always characteristic of the French people. The flying-buttress in its perfect development, consists of two superimposed arches which act together in resistance: springing from the sanctuary wall and running to a pier-buttress terminating in a pinnacle. This termination, admirably combining constructive and ornamental functions, is a device for weighting the top of the buttress, and of so increasing the resistance against the vault thrusts. The flying-buttress system, instituted in France in the twelfth century, attained its perfection in the thirteenth, in the cathedrals of Amiens and Reims, and from the former splendid monument was carried to the cathedral of Cologne, which is, in reality, a French church standing upon German soil. The perfected system which was, as we have seen, the solution of an intricate problem in mathematics, served also the artistic purpose sought after by all great builders: that of expressing by an external feature the design of the interior. And therefore, wherever

we find the flying-buttress, we shall not be disappointed in our expectation of a soaring nave, with many-celled vaults, arcaded stories, aisles circling the sanctuary, and radiating chapels; the whole constituting the highest interior beauty of the French cathedral.

And now enough has been said to show how the strongly organic thirteenth century expressed itself in the art which is the exponent of civilization. In France, architecture degenerated with the growth of the monarchy, the increase of despotism and the decline of communal freedom. In England, the beautiful pointed forms (which gave their name to the Lancet, or Early English period) were, in the course of time, overrun and obscured by floriated decoration, until William of Wykeham, in the Cathedral of Winchester, amended the luxuriant tracery by introducing vigorous, straight, vertical lines, by enclosing doorways and arches in squares, and by dividing walls by panelling into rectangular compartments. But once again, tempered reason yielded to fancy, and geometric design, in combinations as changeful as those of the kaleidoscope, cut the vaulting-cell, the spandrel and the window-head into infinitesimal sections. This was the Perpendicular Age of which, perhaps, the best known example is the Lady Chapel of Westminster Abbey, which was erected in the latter part of the fifteenth century, by the first Tudor sovereign.

It is therefore everywhere apparent in England, as well as in France, that the accent given to the structural elements marks the age as well as the value of a Gothic monument; that ornament unless it be combined with function has no reason for existence, and that when it forced itself, as an intruder, into the mathematical problems of the builder, it brought with it the germ of decadence.

Gothic architecture, as the expression of one of the most organic ages of the world's history, was an art necessarily despised during the period

of the Renascence; since this was a time of negation, when religious belief, social life, education and art suffered the most radical of changes. The great edifices could not be ignored, but they were threatened by the same fate which has overtaken the Colosseum at Rome; a structure which Browning, in his Sordello, calls the outworn shell of a world. For many these cathedrals and churches came to represent a stage in social progress which had passed, yielding up to higher, or at least to freer conditions of thought. Italian influence became dominant in art, through the medium of the Revival of Letters; since Italy by reason of her genius, her state of culture and her geographical position, was the first to receive and the first to propagate the "New Learning," derived from the classic Greeks. Italy thus stigmatized the great art of the Middle Ages as barbaric, and in scorn gave it the name of one of the peoples who had overrun the peninsula and contributed to the downfall of the ancient civilization. The word Gothic came to imply all that was fantastic and grotesque in art. The active, organic building-principles were abandoned, and a return made to the structure composed of inert masses. In church architecture, one great model claimed acceptance. This model named the Petrine, from St. Peter's at Rome, was, in reality, based upon Pantheon of Agrippa, which, after having served as an inspiration to the architects of the sixth century, who built Santa Sophia, at Constantinople, was copied on a magnificent scale in the great papal basilica, and afterward in smaller proportions throughout the two hemispheres.

In England, the country to which we must now turn our attention, the Italian influence, has, at different periods, been dominant; inspiring the arts and literature, sometimes to the point of causing them to produce works of great genius, sometimes only dwarfing or retarding the development of fine strong national characteristics.

In the latter half of the seven-

teenth century, Sir Christopher Wren, an acknowledged genius, designed St. Paul's London, while subject to the fascination of the domed edifice. But gifted as he was mathematically, he could not do otherwise than to understand, even in the unfavorable times of the Restoration, the artistic claims of the Gothic. As is evident in his London work in the pointed style,—St. Michael's, Cornhill, and St. Dunstan's in the East, or yet again at All Souls', Oxford,—he seized both the mechanical principles and the picturesque forms of the Gothic, although he showed a disregard of its details which can not be pardoned by the modern connoisseur and purist. After the Great Fire of London, he unsuccessfully restored Westminster Abbey, with the unfortunate results which still mar the beauty of its facade. But the work was accepted by the people whose ignorance of the beauty and meaning of the style was mingled with open contempt.

By the middle of the following century—the eighteenth—there were scattered throughout England a number of historical scholars who interested themselves in the Gothic purely from the antiquarian point of view, since the philosophy of history was not yet solved. Among these gentlemen was Horace Walpole, whose high place in politics and society lent importance to his acts. And it was he who, perhaps the first in England, conceived the idea of the Gothic Revival. In his famous residence at Strawberry Hill, built in 1753, he embodied his ideas of the pointed style as he believed it to be. But to-day, critics are at a loss to understand how such indifferent specimens as were furnished by this and other structures could have aroused enthusiasm, more especially as they could be easily compared with beautiful originals. Still the careless reproductive work resulted in good, in that it carried attention from the modern to the ancient buildings, and changed the fashion of a passing hour into a real impetus toward sincere and elevated art. The charm of contrast, without doubt, drew many into sympathy with

the Gothic Revival, for throughout the century the classic influence was strong: in architecture, where the Georgian style produced much that was attractive and harmonious; in painting, where to rival Sir Joshua was the height of ambition opening before every young artist of promise.

With the early years of the nineteenth century, when the commons of England were slowly gaining their citizen-rights, when political disabilities were being removed from Roman Catholics and Jews—in short, when a national sense long held in abeyance, was asserting itself throughout the Kingdom, then, as a natural consequence, the love of the Gothic—as the expression of a whole people—grew stronger and stronger. It was thought fitting that a gentleman's residence should reproduce or suggest some famous abbey, church, civic building, or even castle. Among the most remarkable of the works in architecture produced at this time is Fonthill Park, which in spite of many technical errors still remains beautiful and grand. When thrown open to the inspection of the public, as it was in 1822, it caused a degree of enthusiasm difficult to describe. Its facade and towers, its interior gallery of excessive length, its painted glass and tapestries were regarded almost as magic creations. But the most important and best architectural work of the period was the reconstruction of Windsor Castle by Sir Jeffrey Wyattville, which dates from 1826, and is a wise adaptation of old conditions to modern requirements. It is a feudal dwelling of the period of the Edwards and Henrys fitted to be a royal residence of the present day, and the admiration which it first excited, has never been lessened by subsequent judgments.

With the year 1830 began that revival of zeal in the Anglican Church known as the Oxford Movement, which, in claiming an independent origin for the Established Church of England, entailed a new interest in church building and church service. The old ecclesiastical buildings of the country—churches, abbeys

and colleges—became the objects of a tender solicitude which resulted in a systematic and classified study of their artistic qualities. Writings relative to the pointed architecture of the Kingdom had indeed begun to appear in the latest years of the eighteenth century, notably John Carter's "Architecture of England," which bears the imprint of 1795. This was followed by the extensive and very well-known works of John Britton and of Pugin the elder, the publication of which extended through the years 1805-1838. These writings had done much to diffuse a wide-spread though indiscriminating admiration of the Gothic, but with the inception of the Oxford Movement, a spiritual interest was added to antiquarian curiosity in all that related to the subject. The exponent of these new views was Pugin the younger, in whom an intense nature unbalanced judgment, and whose long devoted study of religious themes carried him into the Church of Rome. In an outburst of the spirit which so thoroughly possessed him he wrote: "Let us choose the glorious epoch before the Reformation as our type, and let us reproduce the gorgeous effects of the Middle Ages before the accursed light of reason had deluged the world."

Pugin demanded that art should make an uncompromising return to mediaevalism, and to strengthen his position he appealed to the immutability of his new Church, the mother of all Christian art. But he forgot that in so far as architecture was concerned, there had been a continuous, unresting change since the age of Constantine. He clamored for "truth of materials, truth of construction, truth of ornament." But in making these excessive demands, he lost the sense and proportion of the things to which he abandoned himself with so much devotion and ardor. He failed to understand that if he could have succeeded in reproducing a Gothic building, perfect to the point of deceiving the critic, he would have been guilty of artistic forgery. In realizing the weakness of the attempts until then made in the field of the New

Gothic, he lost sight of all beside his desire to ensure perfection of style. He practically demanded that art should ignore all changes, social and economic, which had occurred during the passage of four or five centuries. In his admiration for mediaeval Gothic architecture, which was unqualified and discriminating, he recognized that no style has ever had an equal value as bearing the impress of original genius and of the peculiar character of an age. But he ignored the process of evolution which works as incessantly in the immaterial as in the material world. He could not, or did not wish to understand that phases of art are not to be revived, exhibited, obscured or changed at pleasure, and that it is impossible to recall what is past. His error lay in the fact that he sought to imitate, rather than to accept the lessons of mediaevalism. He did not lend his genius to promote conditions such as to foster the development of an art organic and expressive like that of the Middle Ages. He never penetrated to the full meaning of the great subject. His inspirations were never comparable and parallel with those of the builders whose art and epoch he so fervently desired to recall and renew.

In Pugin's time, the Gothic Revival progressed in both the religious and the secular world. Another writer, Rickman, as early as the year 1817, in an essay entitled: "An Attempt to discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England," had done much to classify the hitherto misunderstood Gothic principles. And although somewhat inadequate and imperfect as the beginnings of criticism necessarily are, it served as a substantial basis for all subsequent study of pointed architecture of England; so that later experts, like Sharp in his "Seven Periods of English Church Architecture," published in 1851, wrote nothing to invalidate the general correctness of the earlier work.

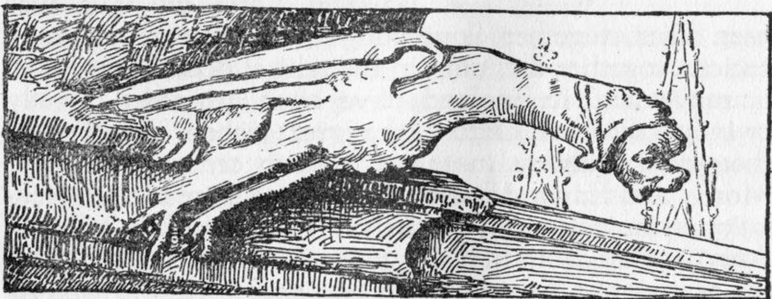
But it was not only in popularizing the knowledge of artistic principles that the Gothic Revival made progress. A very important work

was added to the New Gothic structures of England.

In 1836, the architect, Sir Charles Barry, produced the plan for the Houses of Parliament sometimes otherwise called the Palace of Westminster; a great structure whose impressiveness never leaves the mind of even the most careless observer. It is known that the first drafts of this architect were the most interesting and meritorious portions of his work, and that he changed to its detriment at least one important feature of the building which constitutes his great claim to remembrance. But in spite of the height of the towers which dwarf the long stretches of wall, not only detracting from their proportions, but also destroying the effect of their beautiful ornamentation; in spite of the unfortunate action of the Thames and of London fog and smoke upon the structural material, the Houses of Parliament occupy a high position among modern architectural works, and, furthermore, well represent the dignity of the bodies of which they are the seat and home. Less praise is given by critics to a third important Gothic monument erected in England during the nineteenth century; that is, the museum at Oxford. Nevertheless, this building served an important aesthetic purpose, quite independent from its artistic merits or demerits; since the discussion of its features and defects awakened interest and promoted knowledge and research among large bodies of young men who were to become arbiters of taste in England.

As religion and art have ever been allies, together flourishing in the organic ages of society, together declining in the critical periods—so artistic movements in England have often proceeded directly or indirectly from Oxford, the great school of religious thought. Midway in the nineteenth century, William Morris and Edward Burne-Jones sat together at a matriculation examination on the benches of one of its colleges. And the friendship that day formed, wrought miracles for the revival of a true mediaevalism and for the artistic re-

generation of England. These two men neither advocated nor practiced imitation, if we may except their youthful efforts, when the spell of their new studies was strong upon them and their own individuality had not yet reached maturity. And the more virile of the two geniuses, Morris, had carried with him since early boyhood a love of the old churches of England, which he had studied in his characteristic way: not after the manner of an antiquarian, but as one who would understand the intention and spirit of a great system of art. Therefore, after being enlightened as to the nature of true Gothic, by his journey during his undergraduate days among the cathedrals and churches of Northern France, he devoted himself to the cause of developing an art for the people, which should become a necessity, and not an ornament of life. He, like Ruskin, saw in the beautiful cathedral at Amiens, the symbol of a time when art was a religion, and when labor was allied to art in a fruitful union productive of ci honor and honesty in a development never since reache And through the influence of Morris and Ruskin, th teachings of the Bible of Amiens has reached out to land beyond the sea. The final lesson of the Gothic Reviva has not not yet been taught, for the influence of the movement is still felt wherever there is an impetus toward an art which shall be maintained by the encouragement, the wise criticism and the love of the whole body social.



THE ECONOMIC FOUNDATION OF ART

EVERY organism, whether it be social or biological, if it is to survive, must seek pleasure and avoid pain. Without accepting any particular theory of ethics, it is safe at least to say that the things which give pleasure are better than those which give pain. The best social relations are those securing the greatest amount of happiness to those who maintain them.

Pleasure consists in the satisfaction of impulses and desires. Hitherto the struggle for existence has been so hard that the great majority of mankind have found all their energies exhausted in the effort simply to avoid hunger and cold, and the idea of a society that would secure even these primal necessities to all its members has been looked upon as Utopian.

Our analysis of man's wants, instincts and impulses has usually been very imperfect; excluding some of the motive forces, which from the point of view of the social student are fundamental. Prof. Jacques Loeb of the University of Chicago, in his work on the comparative physiology of the brain, has expressed this fact as follows:

"Human happiness is based upon the possibility of a natural and harmonious satisfaction of the instincts. One of the most important instincts is usually not even recognized as such, namely: the instinct of workmanship. Lawyers, criminologists, and philosophers frequently imagine that only want makes man work. This is an erroneous view. We are forced to be active in the same way as ants or bees. The instinct of workmanship would be the greatest source of happiness, if it were not for the fact that our present social and eco-

nomic organization allows only a few to gratify this instinct."

The present social organization has divided the functions of the social body, and then failed to correlate them in such a manner as to obtain that unity and completeness which is essential to either human happiness or artistic beauty. Turn in whatever direction we will, only disfigured fragments appear. Every human function fails of any adequate healthful, natural gratification. None of them succeeds in giving any large, full measure of pleasure, while nearly all give rise to great pain and suffering.

The importance of this fact cannot be overestimated. The words artist and artistic have come to be so much the playthings of certain coteries that it is only when a Ruskin or a Morris uses them, and in some way correlates them with the whole of life that they interest any save the dilettanti. But if it be true that that thing is artistic which gives the greatest pleasure to the minds most fitted to understand it, and if the chief end of life is to seek pleasure, the conclusion follows that the [illegible]f aim of social workers should be to make society art[illegible]. Viewed in this way, the word artistic obtains a m[illegible]n deeper meaning than when spoken at an afternoon [illegible] concerning some elaborate piece of bric-a-brac.

Artistic, in the sense in whic[illegible] I wish to use it, (and I believe that it will be generally a[illegible]mitted that this is the true and best sense of the word[illegible]) means possessing such a unity, and correlation of parts [illegible] the whole, as to give the greatest amount of pleasure possible. Incidentally this implies a similar artistic wholeness and power of appreciation on the part of the persons who come in contact with the object. It implies, that, if the greatest possible pleasure is to be derived, both man and environment should possess this quality of symmetrical completion and correlation.

Using the word artistic in this

broad and true sense, let us glance for a moment to see wherein our present society fails of being artistic. In the first place, the word art has been stolen from this very sense and applied to something which is perhaps more isolated and detached from the essential portions of life than almost any other one feature. The word is to-day ordinarily used only in speaking of painted canvases or highly specialized tone combinations, which are not only utterly unrelated to the remainder of society, but which demand that both those who produce this "art," and those who enjoy it, shall be isolated from all connection with the vital essential social processes. What the result has been upon both "art" and the "artistic public" has been told often enough by those much more fitted than I to tell the story, and need not detain us here. Very few of these "artists" have ever dreamed that they should seek to make all of life artistic, rather than to produce something whose beauty is appreciable only because of contrast with the hideous ugliness of the life by which it is surrounded. Isolated art is never truly pleasurable.

Other phases of society present this same inartistic isolation with its painful accompaniments. It is a fact of frequent observation by social students that the modern person does not know how to "play." Play, if it is to have any essential meaning, should signify the pleasurable exercise of human faculties. But it is true that the majority of mankind at the present time, even if they had the opportunity, would not know how to obtain any intense pleasure from such an exercise.

The classical example of this ignorance is the London cabman, whose idea of a holiday is to rent a friend's cab and ride on the inside over the same route that he follows, seated on the box, every other day in the year. But how much wiser are the remainder of the population? Great buildings with expensive apparatus are constructed simply for the purpose of giving

an opportunity to move different muscles of the body in a healthful manner. Even then, the gymnasium soon becomes a "bore," and the daily "exercise" a "task." So, various games are invented, and the more completely these can be isolated from all vital social relations, the more highly they are valued, until golf, polo, steam-yachting, and automobile racing become the ideal of social recreation. But in every one of these fields, it soon becomes evident that the main element of enjoyment is the utterly unsocial one of snobbishness. These games are principally enjoyed because their practice conveys a certain badge of respectability. This is proven by the fact that those who can do these things best: the "professionals," the pugilists, wrestlers, jockeys, chauffeurs, etc., not only do not find any enjoyment in their "work," but are despised by those who claim to be aiming at the very goal which the others have attained.

But it is when we come to study the "amusements" of the great mass of the pe that the painfulness of their pleasures becomes fully app ent. Their idea of enjoyment is generally based upon so form of eating or drinking: a most significant comme tary in itself on the nature of the daily life of the gre toiling masses of mankind. The principal pleasurab thought connected with Thanksgiving and Christmas, i the minds of millions of people, is the possibility of eating and drinking to a condition of stupid satiety. The very idea of marking off one day from the remainder of the year to indicate the time when the sense of hunger and taste is fully satisfied, is enough to answer those who would call the critics of our present society "pig philosophers." Incidentally it might be worth while to notice another sign that commercialism has influenced nearly all so-called amusements by the introduction of a financial consideration in the form of gambling. This shows once more the absolute impossibility of completely isolating any phase of life from the industrial basis of society.

Let us examine another social function and observe how near it comes to meeting the test which we have set up as artistic. Education, as well as "play" and "art," has been isolated from all social relations. The result has been painful to the child, as well as ineffectual in reaching the end of instruction. The "cramming" process, especially when it deals with dry facts isolated from all relation to the social whole, is now recognized to be a painful, and hence an injurious process to those who are subjected to it.

We have thus seen that owing to their isolation from vital social relations, neither art, education, nor even amusement, as now understood, gives pleasure, and this just because all these interests are defective in those relations toward society as a whole, which would make them truly artistic.

If we turn now to the actual social basis, the productive process, the creation of "goods," what do we see? Is there any pleasure for the great producing masses in their work? To ask the question is to answer it. On every hand, performance of the essential labor of society is looked upon as an evil to be avoided, and few indeed who are actually concerned with it, ever think of looking there for something pleasurable, artistic, enjoyable. The production of "goods" has become an evil. Here we find the fundamental cause of the whole "inartistic," and hence painful, character of our present society. This is one more witness to the truth of the philosophy of economic determinism. Unless the production of the necessities of life can be made beautiful, pleasurable and instructive, our whole society must remain disorganized, disintegrated, productive of pain, and inartistic. A school, a factory, a studio, or a gymnasium, as a thing by itself, is an anomaly and must fail of its purpose. What is needed at the present time is a process of synthesis and correlation. Tolstoi has seen a portion of this truth, but he becomes ridiculous in proposing his remedy.

He can only rail at division of labor and specialization of function. He demands that we go back to the period of cumbersome individualistic labor, with its imperfect production, but better correlation, rather than that we push on to the possibilities of a higher, grander and more artistic correlation of the marvelously more perfect processes of to-day.

This truth has been partially seen by workers in many fields and, in consequence, many partial attempts at correlation have been made. One of the most interesting of these attempts is found in the field of education. In the kindergarten movement an effort is made to unite play and instruction, and in the manual training work to unite creative processes with instruction. But perhaps the most significant of the attempts as yet made is the new handicrafts movement. There are two reasons why this movement is more significant than the others. In the first place, it aims at a somewhat wider correlation than any of the other movements, since it includes in its synthesis three factors, instead of two. It aims at the correlation of productive work, beautiful forms, and to some extent, pleasurable exertion. Its representatives would unite workshop, studio and playroom. More important still, they have realized in an indefinite and as yet often very imperfect way, that the basis of any social movement must be the fundamental productive process. Therefore they have begun their work in connection with that process. Nevertheless, this movement, also, in many ways, is fundamentally defective. One of its defects is that among the social factors which we have enumerated, (and our classification makes no pretense of being exhaustive), the handicrafts movement neglects the educational factor. Save through occasional lectures, publications, exhibitions, and a few apprentices, it does little educational work. It bears little effective relation to the great formative forces that are really determining the minds of future generations.

The problem before him who would make modern society "artistic," is so to synthesize its activities as to make the work of those who perform the great productive processes at once pleasant and educative. This sounds simple, but when once the people of any society shall find their highest pleasure and fullest education in creating the necessities of that society, we shall have come as close to a perfect system as the mind of man has yet been able to conceive.

At the same time, any adequate examination of our present social organization should convince anyone that such an ideal is utterly impossible of even approximate realization, without a complete revolution. All attempts to realize any portion of this ideal within that society must be recognized as largely Utopian. Moreover unless these facts are fully comprehended, such attempts are liable to become ludicrous. It is necessary only to study the movements already mentioned to show how they deteriorate in present society. A kindergarten established as an "institution" apart from the home becomes a place where tired, over-worked mothers "get rid" of their children, and where maiden ladies deprived of normal family relationship, play at motherhood. The very philosophy itself degenerates into a dilettante, parrot-like repetition of phrases, and the whole thing becomes to a great degree farcical. Manual training and "domestic science," kept apart from the productive sources of society and directed by a parasitic class, become either "fads," and burlesques upon the thing originally conceived, or, worse, they reverse the philosophy upon which they rest, and become training schools for servants and subordinates. Industrial handicraft shops cut off from all connection with the actual creative productive social processes, become the playthings of dilettanti, and the generators of "aesthetic crazes."

All such efforts are imperfect, unsymmetrical and "inartistic," because they lack that

wholeness and unity which artistic goodness and beauty demand. They only deal with a small portion of society, and, most important of all, not with the *essential portion.* The only real, vital portion of present society, as indeed of every other society, is the portion which supplies wants, produces goods, and maintains life. All the movements enumerated leave this portion of society untouched.

Finding themselves shut out from the actual productive processes, too many of these would-be craftsmen play at production in private workshops. Seeing no way to correlate the gigantic industrial forces of to-day, and to use them for their purposes, they look backward to a simpler and inferior social stage, and become reactionary. Even Morris was not wholly free from this defect. But one thing William Morris never did, (and in this he was unlike too many of his imitators), and that was to cut himself off from all the forces that were working to make his ideals possible. He was able to see that the difficulties confronting him were inherent in the society within which he was working, and that the only hope of realizing his ideals lay in overthrowing that society, or rather in hastening its growth through the capitalist stage into the co-operative stage, the next step in social evolution. Let me emphasize this point, since it is the most vital one in this whole discussion. From a hundred points, Capitalism presents a hostile attitude toward all efforts to restore the conditions of healthful, pleasurable, beautiful workmanship. Competition denies the product entrance to the actual social market, and compels it to circulate within a limited, unnatural, subsidized market. Wage-slavery deprives the producer of all desire to improve his product, or of the possibility of individual initiative did he desire it. Exploitation deprives the overwhelming majority of the hope of ever possessing anything of actual beauty or artistic merit. An environment of greed develops the coarseness of the parvenu among the bourgeoisie and the coarseness of a debased animality

among the proletariat. Under these conditions any movement toward the revival of the beautiful, the pleasant, and the good,—in short of the artistic,—which does not connect itself with the great revolutionary movement of the proletariat, has cut itself off from the only hope of realizing its own ideal. It has condemned itself to a narrow, incomplete, and unsymmetrical synthesis, to a most inartistic and uncraftsmanlike attitude, to a stultification in in fact of everything for which it claims to stand. Its followers can have no vital connection with society, no broad outlook, unless they can connect themselves with the actual productive forces of society. But they cannot do this in the privately-owned competitive factories of to-day. The only place in which they can come in contact with the real producers of goods is in the political socialist movement. Here they can join hands with those who constitute the essential productive factor of the present society, and who must be the dominant factor in the coming society, and can work with them for a common end. In this way, they can really make their force felt upon the coming generation and strengthen their influence with the present.

The founders of the movement recognized this, and William Morris is known fully as well for his activity in the political socialist movement, as for his efforts in the revival of artistic work. But his followers to-day have very generally forgotten the most essential portion of his teachings, and know absolutely nothing of the actual laborers and the labor movement. It would be an easy but ungracious task to point out specific instances of the degradation of the movement brought about by this isolation from what should be its foundation. Suffice to say that separated from all fundamental connection with social life, it has lapsed into vagaries, and has often strayed so far from its original paths as to be well-nigh lost in dilettantism and eccentricity. I am glad to see that there are, at present, signs of a true revival of craftsmanship

which, by virtue of the fact that it will embrace a wider, fuller synthesis than any previous movement, shall be fully entitled to call itself "artistic."

THE MODERN CRAFTSMAN:

The Question of His Livelihood

IT remains to be seen whether the Arts and Crafts movement, which is spreading so rapidly throughout our country, will prove a passing fancy, or whether it means a revival of the true art spirit.

The first society of Arts and Crafts is not more than five years old, and immediately following its early exhibition there came announcements from many cities, and then from the larger towns of similar exhibitions by societies which had just sprung into existence. From this fact, one is led to question whether this activity is an expression of genuine interest in handicrafts, or whether it is prompted by a spirit of imitation and rivalry.

For my own part, I am not inclined to take these societies too seriously; as I believe that much of both these motives underlies their patronage, and that it rests with the craftsmen themselves whether handicrafts shall have a permanent place in American life, or whether the societies and the work shall ultimately fail through want of support.

The fact that it is a reawakening of an old spirit brings with it peculiar difficulties that cannot be ignored. Both men and conditions have

changed; yet I find a tendency in many quarters to restrict and fetter the work of the present generation by the traditions and conditions of craftsmanship several centuries ago. This is a sentimental movement, and it cannot succeed.

To make my point clear, let me illustrate! There are those who insist that handwork, if it is to have integrity, must be done entirely by hand; that the artist should create his raw materials, as well as decorate them; that he should avoid all machine-made products as the basis of his work, no matter how much they might facilitate his efforts. When carried to extremes, this is utterly senseless. One might with as much reason say that no table, or chair can have integrity, or beauty of workmanship, unless the maker of it cut down the tree and hew out by hand the materials from which it is made; or, that no potter can make a beautiful vase, if he does not dig with his own hands the kaolin from the earth.

This antagonism to machinery thwarts artistic progress in two ways. It forces the artist to waste unnecessary time in his raw materials, and thus restricts his output; it also refuses to encourage the manufacturer of these commodities to produce an artistic material that can be wrought into its final shape by the artist. Manufacturers ever stand ready to furnish what is demanded, and will carry out any suggestions which artists may give them; so that if there is a demand for a special texture, or finish, it is furnished at once. The value of machinery thus working under the direction of art, can not be overestimated, as it places at the command of the general public products of superior quality.

I have a special interest in this matter; since in my own industry,—the making of Abnakee rugs,—I have been criticised for my use of a machine-woven, all-wool material made to my special order. In the judgment of my critics, I should induce my neighbors to return to sheep raising and hand weaving of

woolen yarns, both of which employments have been long abandoned in this region, because they were too unprofitable (owing to the soil and peculiar local conditions), to provide even the simple living which these people require. Apart from the great responsibility of fostering these industries, in order to pay a living wage, I should be forced to give a double, or even greater, price for what would not serve my uses nearly so well as the machine-made material, which can be obtained, in any quantity, and without a moment's concern. This division of labor with a manufacturer leaves me, as the promoter of the industry, quite unhampered by outside problems, and free to devote myself to the direct question of making artistic use of the raw material.

From sheer necessity the craftsman must avail himself of every aid that he can derive from science and machinery. All is changed since the time of the early gilds, when work was executed under almost ideal conditions; when living was simple and cheap, and when workmen strove to be recognized as artists; when the master and the apprentice worked together with a common aim; when there were no tyrannical foremen, or walking delegates of labor unions to sow seeds of indifference and distrust. It is not from the ranks of workmen who live humbly, that modern craftsmen are drawn; for workmen are no longer inspired with artistic feeling. This was killed, long since, by machinery, which reduces a man to its own level. The modern craftsman is not one who can exist on a few cents a day, and make up the deficit with the purple light which is supposed to irradiate his work. On the contrary, he is an *artist who works.* He is a man with cultivated tastes and many requirements. He has exceptional gifts, and represents long years of artistic training. He cannot use the laborious methods of mediaeval craftsmen, and—live. If he is to prosper in his work, he must avail himself of aids undreamed of by former workmen.

If he persists in old ways too rigidly, his zeal will have ample opportunity to cool, for his craft will not support him; and, forced to abandon his noble enthusiasm to combat machine-made things, he must seek some employment that will pay his board. If, after a few years of struggling, he fails, his efforts are almost worse than lost, as he stands for an ineffectual fight with necessity. Instead of having helped to build up a great cause, he has cut away just as much ground as he stood upon, and he is a warning monument of defeat in his particular craft, as far as his influence extends. This problem of a livelihood for the craftsman was the chief topic discussed by the president of the Boston Arts and Crafts Society, at a recent meeting, and it is one which deserves the most thorough and practical attention.

I regard such failures as I have described as an unnecessary waste of human energy, which can and must be avoided by an intelligent acceptance of modern conditions, and I feel that the fate of the Arts and Crafts movement depends largely upon the good sense of its promoters.

A serious responsibility is placed upon the pioneer workers in America; for they are establishing a precedent. They must not only reach an exceptionally high standard of workmanship, in order to make their work commensurate with the price which they must demand for hand-work, but they must have executive ability as well, and they must place their work on a sound financial basis through the use of common business judgment. But let me not be misunderstood to commend a commercial spirit in these industries! That is far from my mind. Still, one cannot ignore the fact that a handicraft means more than the expression of an artistic temperament through some material object. It must mean a livelihood for all who engage in it.

Another responsibility resting upon a craftsman is his duty to bring his work before the

public by means of exhibitions. Much as this may mean for his personal benefit by the extension of the knowledge and sale of his work, it means far more; since his success inspires others to take up the same work. This country affords a limitless market, and one must not try to control it for his own use. Each new competitor who enters the field, does but add to the value of the particular form of art-work, and he increases, rather than divides, the market.

One great hindrance to frequent exhibiting is the burden of express charges, which usually falls upon the exhibitor. In my own experience, I was obliged to find a solution of the matter, or otherwise to refuse many invitations; as I could not afford to send exhibits of Abnakee rugs to distant places. So, at length, I adopted a rule to accept no invitation, unless the carriage were paid for me. This is but just; for, if one sends a a new kind of hand-work to an exhibition held for the sole end of instructing and encouraging the public to engage in handicrafts, it is right that the cost of placing the work before the public should be defrayed by the societies formed for that purpose. In my own case, the cost to each society was but a trifle, while it was an impossible burden for me, since these exhibitions numbered more than thirty-five in two years. In almost every instance, a society has been willing to assume the expense of carriage, and has, further, expressed itself well pleased with the results of the exhibition, which prompted members to consider rug-making as a possible work for themselves.

Still another responsibility rests upon craftsmen, and that is the need of free-masonry among themselves. If one has found success in any branch, let him share it frankly with others. If he has found an easier way to a certain result, or has solved some difficulty, or has increased his knowledge by hard study, let him be generous! The way, at best, is hard enough for the individual, and there should be no jealous guarding of secrets, no hiding of methods. "There is a

withholding that impoverisheth, and there is a giving that maketh rich."

In conclusion, I offer a bit of personal experience:

As a consequence of my success in changing the supposably worthless hooked rug into an artistic product, I was overwhelmed with hundreds of letters asking for detailed information, which, through lack of time, I found impossible to give. At length, I determined to publish my methods, without reserve, in a small manual, and I have been fully rewarded for the effort. A new pleasure has been added to my life by the many letters which have come to me, expressing fellowship and sympathy, or appealing for counsel and instruction. And now, instead of a single village industry devoted to hand-made rugs, there are twenty similar enterprises founded in as many different villages; each of them gratefully acknowledging the aid which I have sought to give.

Can any craftsman ask a better reward than that of serving others?

THE ART OF BUILDING A HOME

THIS is the title of a collection of illustrations and lectures by Barry Parker and Raymond Unwin, two English Architects of distinction. The book bears the imprint of Longmans, Green & Company, and is a very recent publication. An idea may be gained of its purpose and scope by a quotation from its table of contents, which includes considerations upon "Co-operation in Building;" "The Dignity of all True Art;" "Art

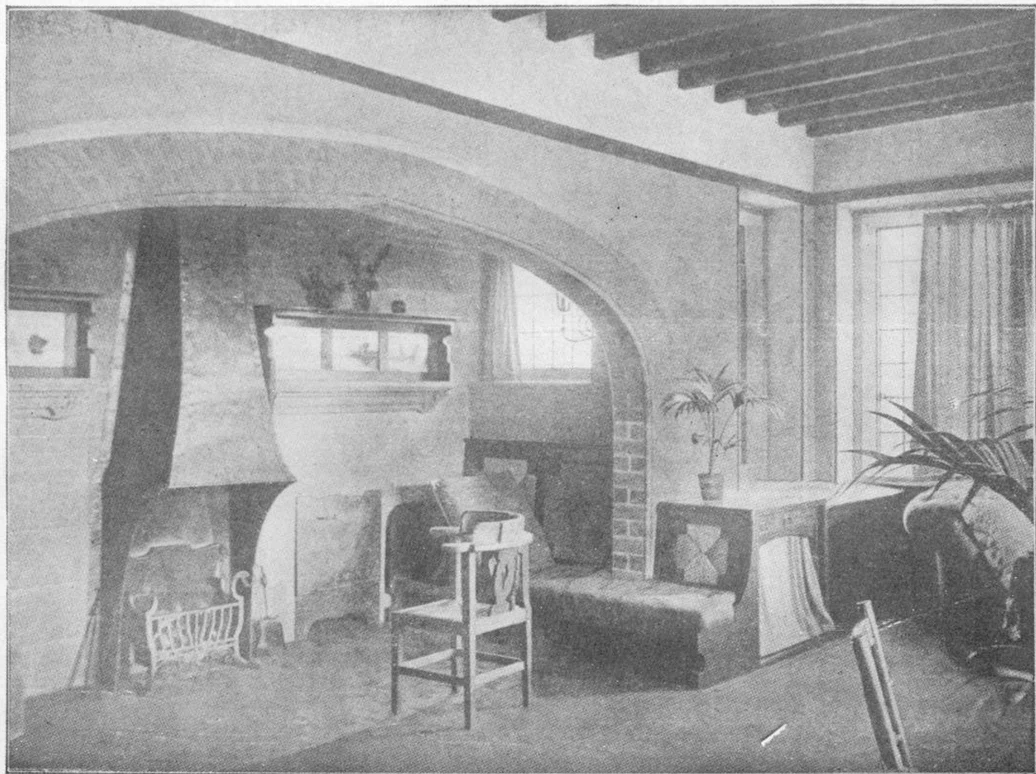
and Simplicity;" and "The Smaller Middle-Class House." The first named lecture, or essay, is one which should exert a strong influence in communities, wherever situated, in which the building spirit is active. The principles which it sets forth clearly and with much emphasis, are such as might be applied with happy effect to those many suburban towns and small cities, which rise in our own country, through the sudden development of some natural resource, scientific invention, or commercial enterprise.

According to the essay, the first principle of successful co-operation in architecture is the picturesque grouping of buildings. And this grouping is simply the expression of a corporate life. An illustration is drawn from the old English village, "in which all the different units were personally in touch with one another, conscious of and frankly accepting their relations, and on the whole, content with them."

The picturesqueness recommended is suggested in the writing itself, and the reader returns again and again to the passage describing the view of a typical village:

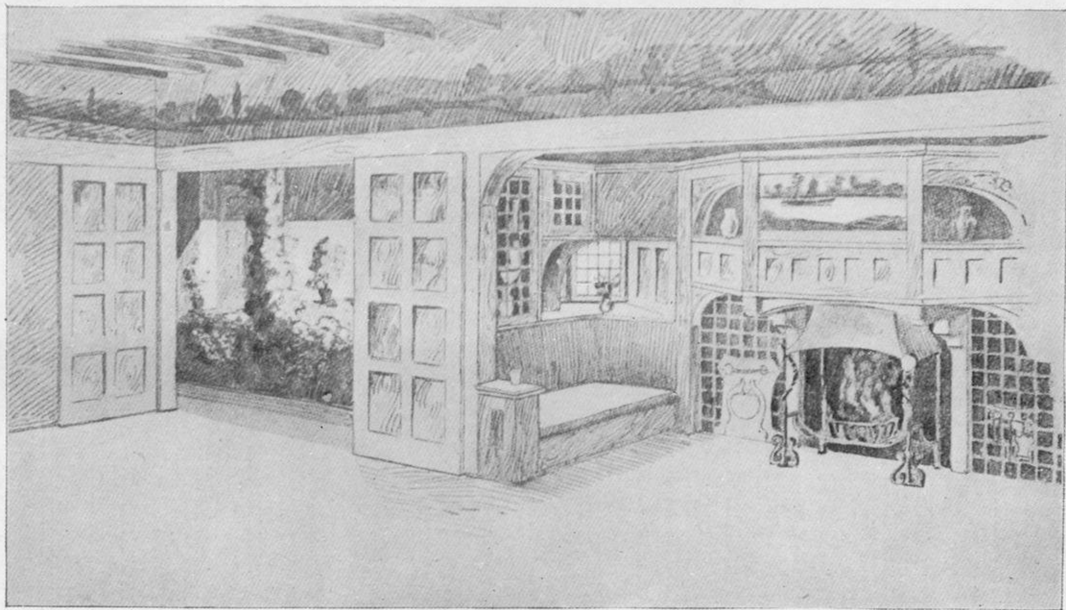
"The hut in which the old road-mender lives by himself, the inn with the ancient sign, the prosperous yeoman's homestead, the blacksmith's house and forge, the squire's hall, the vicarage, and the doctor's house, are all seemingly jumbled together; and mingled with them are barns and village shops, wood-yards and wheelwrights' sheds."

The point made by this passage is apparent to the reader: it is that each building of such a village frankly confess its purpose and falls into its place. The small cottage appears to be content with its condition, and does not try to look like a village. And so result an interdependence, completeness, harmony and unity, which are not to be attained by the building methods most often employed in enlarging or creating the modern English towns and villages.



Sketch for Living Room

Parker and Unwin
Architects



Living Room

These modern methods are described and condemned at length; and, as they are identical with those prevailing in America, the criticism is so just that it deserves to be heard in full:

"In the modern building estate the elements of beauty are entirely wanting. The land is cut into little plots, all nearly the same size; these are sold to a chance collection of people who erect on them houses of any conceivable style; or lack of style; each deals with his own plot quite regardless of the others; and every house seems to be wishing to dissociate itself as much as possible from its neighbors; to look as distinct and imposing as it can. Ground enough not being allowed for each house to stand comfortably within its plot, such separation as exists only makes it possible for every house to block the view from some other, and for the occupants to overlook their neighbors and realize their near presence all round to a maximum extent. No grouping of buildings is thought of, nor any organized arrangement, beyond occasionally some feeble attempt at laying out streets; and it is rarely indeed that we seem to be able to erect a public building of any sort at all in scale with the extent of the surrounding houses."

In passing these severe judgments, the architects disclaim any wish to set back the hands of time, and to imitate externals in cases in which the spirit is lost beyond recall. Thus, while appreciating the beauty of a town grouped around a church, priory, castle, or manor-house, they are not without the hope that democratic life may evolve a building-art as picturesque as are the old forms. Toward this end, they develop a co-operative plan much too long to be included in a cursory notice, but which is most attractive and clearly practical. In the interest of pure beauty, they advocate associations for mutual aid in various ways; since from such sources will spring the unity which is the outward sign of organic growth. Then, as interest and thought

become more and more centered in the collective affairs of the community, the people will refrain from the aggressive elaboration of private dwellings and show themselves eager to beautify the town and the communal buildings which constitute the undivided property of all.

From this point, the architects pass on to economic and social considerations, which they treat ably within narrow limits of space, and without once going beyond the province of their art. And, at the close of this suggestive lecture, abounding in originality and instruction, they offer a thoughtful generality which strikes a note of mingled warning and hope. The words are these:

"Architecture has always reflected the condition of the society in which it flourished, being great in times of organisation, and degenerate in times of disintegration. Recently, it has very clearly represented the inordinate desire for individual independence. However, society is now fast realizing that this independence is no end in itself, and is good in that it sets free the individuals to form new relationships based on mutual association."

Is not this a thought that would have heartened Ruskin and Morris in their generous, self-imposed labors for the furtherance of an art created by the people and for the people, as the natural expression of a simple, forceful, and beautiful life?

In the lecture entitled: "The Dignity of all True Art," the teaching is no less practical, while, at the same time, it offers a lesson of the highest aesthetic and moral value. Having argued with much force that the meanest things in life are those which are most easily expressed, and, further, that art is the only true educator between man and man, the author (this time Mr. Parker) makes a direct appeal to those devoted to what William Morris named "the lesser arts of life." This eloquent passage reads in part:

"We all know that the mere form of a chair, the contour of a mould, a scheme of color, have power to affect us, in a degree, in just the same way as music, the highest of the arts does; even as nature herself does. *And I would have every craftsman as deeply impressed with the dignity this places upon him, and the responsibilities it brings with it, as he possibly can be.* I would have him feel this truth, that in his degree he is instrumental in either forwarding or retarding his fellow-men in their highest and truest education; that in just so far as his art is true or false, real and vital, or feeble and insecure, he is advancing or hindering this great work. . . . . We can none of us know, and certainly none of us are in danger of over-estimating, the good influence of a beautiful building upon all those who pass and re-pass it daily; and the smallest and most insignificant article in our daily use has, in its own degree, like power to help or to hinder our development."

A message such as this penetrating the walls of a workshop, should transform it from a place of hard, daily toil into one of pleasure and inspiration, eagerly sought and reluctantly quitted. It should bring home to every craftsman that by the smallest work which issues from his hands he increases the beauty of the world, or subtracts from it: therefore, that he is building for eternity, either for good or for ill.

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THE value of a device is universally recognized. All strongly bonded associations jealously guard some visible sign which may keep the principles for which they stand ever before them; while, at the same time, the sign, by its mystery, serves to awaken the interest of those outside the body.

Obedient to this time-honored principle, the workmen of the United Crafts are constantly stimulated by the Flemish motto first used by Jan van Eyck, and later, in French translation, adopted by William Morris.

The "If I can" is an incentive to the craftsman who seeks to advance the cause of art allied to labor.