A STUDY OF BRITISH GOVERNMENT INVOLVEMENT IN LINKS BETWEEN ART AND MANUFACTURE 1835 - 1864 THE GENESIS OF A SYSTEMATIC PROGRAMME OF ART EDUCATION IN ENGLAND

A Thesis

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Master of Arts in the Graduate School of The Ohio State University

By

Paul Anthony Sproll, B.A.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University

1988

Master's Examination Committee

K. Marantz

D. Duncan

Approved by

Adviser
Department of Art Education

THESIS ABSTRACT

THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL
(Please type all information requested.
The margin requirements are the same as
those for the text of your thesis.)

NAME: Paul Anthony Sproll QUARTER/YEAR: SP/88

DEPARTMENT: Art Education DEGREE: MA

ADVISER'S NAME: K. Marantz

TITLE OF THESIS: A STUDY OF BRITISH GOVERNMENT INVOLVEMENT IN LINKS BETWEEN ART AND MANUFACTURE 1835-1864 THE GENESIS OF A SYSTEMATIC PROGRAMME OF ART EDUCATION IN ENGLAND

Summarize in the space below the purpose
and principal conclusions of your thesis.
(Please single space and do not exceed 100 words.)

The involvement of the government in the realms of art, manufacture and art education during this period, is viewed not in isolation but in relation to the social, political and economic climate of "the age of reform". The study traces the development of the Schools of Design; discusses key personnel and identifies the various curriculum strategies adapted at the central school. The origins of the Victoria and Albert Museum and museum education are traced directly to the impact of the 1851 Great Exhibition. The thesis establishes an historical basis for the current commercialization of art education in Great Britain.

K. Marantz
Adviser's Signature

To My Son Toby

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I express sincere appreciation to my adviser Professor Kenneth Marantz for both his encouragement which was a major factor in my decision to begin an academic sojourn in the United States; and for his guidance during this study. Thanks also go to my reader, Professor Donald Duncan for his insights. I wish further, to acknowledge the unreserved support given to me by my mother, her faith in me has been constant, no matter what my endeavour.

VITA

May 20, 1945 ..... Bath, Somerset, England

EDUCATION

1988 ..... M.A., Art Education

1987 - 1988 ..... The Ohio State University
Department of Art Education,
Columbus, Ohio

1980 ..... B.A.,

1976 - 1980 ..... The Open University,
Milton Keynes, England

1966 ..... Certificate in Education

1963 - 1966 ..... Bath Academy of Art,
Corsham, Wiltshire, England

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

1987 - Present ..... Teaching Associate,
Department of Art Education,
The Ohio State University,
Columbus, Ohio

1971 - 1986 ..... Head of Art and Design Department,
The John F. Kennedy School,
Himel Hempstead, England

1984 - 1985 ..... Visiting Fulbright Art Teacher,
Orono High School, Orono, Maine

1971 - 1975 ..... Lecturer in Painting and Drawing
Dacorum College, Hemel Hempstead

1969 - 1971 ..... Lecturer in Painting and Drawing,
North Oxford Institute, Oxford

1968 - 1971 ..... Art Teacher, Oxford School, Oxford

1968 - 1969 ..... Visiting Art Teacher,
Slade Park Special School, Oxford

1966 - 1968 ..... Art Master/Assistant Housemaster
Lindisfarne College, Ruabon, Clwyd

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Art Education

Studies with Professors: Robert Arnold, Terry Barrett, Donald Duncan, Arthur Efland, Louis Lankford, Thomas Linehan, Nancy MacGregor, Kenneth Marantz.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION ii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS iii

VITA iv

CHAPTER

I. INTRODUCTION 1

Introduction 1
Historical Headlines: 1830-1850 5

II. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SELECT COMMITTEE TO INQUIRE INTO THE BEST MEANS OF EXTENDING A KNOWLEDGE OF THE FINE ARTS AND THE PRINCIPLES OF DESIGN 10

The Stature of British Artists 12
The Teaching of Art In France 13
Public Access to Works of Art 14
Agenda for the Select Committee 16
Lack of Government Support for Art 17
The Teaching of Art in Prussia 18
Call for the Development of Museums 19
Distinctions Between Higher and Useful ARts 21
1835-1836 Select Committee Recommendations 23

III. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SCHOOLS OF DESIGN 26

Papworth: First Director of the School of Design 27
Haydon's Criticism 28
Dyce's Directorship of the School of Design 29
Dyce's Visit to France and Prussia 30
Arguments Regarding the Drawing of the Human Figure ... 32
Provisional Council's Programme 33
1843 Council Report 34
Wilson's Appointment as Director of the School of Design 37
Programme of Copying 38
Conflict with J. R. Herbert 41
Student Rebellion: Herbert's Dismissal 42

Special Committee Established 45
Wilson's Resignation 50

IV. THE SCHOOLS OF DESIGN UNDER THE MANAGEMENT OF HENRY COLE. THE BEGINNING OF A NATIONAL ART EDUCATION PROGRAMME 52

British Manufacturers Attitudes to Design 54
Cole Presents Reports on the State of the Schools 55
Select Committee Established to Inquire Into the State of the Schools 56
Cole's/Redgrave's Evidence 58
First Report of the Department of Practical Art 60
A National Art Curriculum 61
The Department of Science and Art Established 64
The National Course of Instruction 65

V. ART AND INDUSTRY, THE GREAT EXHIBITION AND THE ORIGINS OF THE VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM 69

Developing the Public's Consiouness of the Aesthetics of the Everyday Object of Utility 71
H.R.H. Prince Albert's Plans for the Great Exhibition 72
The Commercialization of Art 74
Royal Commission Established 74
Ornament in Manufacture 75
The Museum and Its Antecedents 78
Museum Moves to Marlborough House 82
The Museum's Role in Art Education 83
The Educational Value of the Museum 87

VI. CONCLUSIONS: LINKS WITH PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE 88

Government Intervention 89
Art and Manufacture 90
Relationship Between Ornament and Product 91
The Bauhaus 92
The Concept of Art and Usefulness in the School Curriculum 94
Connections Between Design and Product 95

APPENDICES

A. School of Design Syllabus: Published 1843, School of Design Council Report 97

B. Duties assigned to the Director of the School of Design: Published 1844, School of Design Council Report 99

C. C. H. Wilson's Programme for the School of Design: Published 1844, School of Design Council Report 102

D. 1848 Punch Commentary: Art Styles 104

E. Collections of Examples: Published 1852-53, First Report Department of Practical Art 106

F. Course of Instruction: Published 1854, First Report Department of Science and Art 109

G. Examination Papers on the Science and Art Department 113

H. 1848 Punch Commentary: Design for Manufactures 117

I. Punch Commentaries: Design 119

BIBLIOGRAPHY 123

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

During the span of over two decades of teaching art in secondary schools in England, I have been witness to a number of shifts in curriculum focus, which have sent art teachers scurrying to revise their syllabi to be more in keeping with the current trend. I have often wondered from where such decisions spring, and indeed what has been the catalyst for such change. Though there is a national educational system in Great Britain, and Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools are charged to advise; there is at this point of time no National Curriculum, yet if current trends prevail, it does not appear to be too far off before such a policy is implemented in British schools.

The national examination systems has, and continues to have a very direct influence and control of what is taught in the schools. One only has to review past art examination papers to detect a marked move away from concerns of personal expression in arts and crafts to a current focus on matters of visual awareness, critical thinking, and problem solving. It becomes very obvious that there has been a quite definite shift from fine art to design. For example, my own career as a Head of Department, reveals chameleon-like title changes. The early seventies saw me as "Head of Art and Light Crafts," in the mid

seventies I became "Co-ordinator of the Design Faculty," and finally I completed the metamorphosis as "Head of Art and Design." I suggest that these changes were not mere expedient titular revisions, but external symbols of belief systems as to what should be taught in the name of art.

My interest centres very much on the increasing role played by Design in the curriculum of British schools. My interest is further sensitized by an intriguing realization that there appears to be a concerted promotion from various sectors--governmental, educational, and industrial--for Design Education at both the primary and secondary school level. Indeed this promotion is further highlighted because there has been for so long a dearth of recognition of the intrinsic value of art in the schools of Britain. As in the United States, British public opinion has tended to believe that art is an educational frill rather than a necessary component of a student's schooling. The emergence of Design, particularly at the secondary school level, has undoubtedly brought with it a level of support for art hitherto reserved only for those prestigious 'academic' subjects on the school curriculum. The support, however, is heavily qualified in so much as it can be proven that Art and Design can be shown to make a contribution to the nation's economy. Steers (1987) suggests that this support is more closely related to economics than enlightenment; he states, "at all levels there are demands for greater accountability; and for the curriculum to be more 'relevant'; relevant perhaps to the Government's perception of national economic health rather than the educational health of the nation" (p. 16). Sir Keith Joseph, the

former Secretary of State for Education and Science, is quoted by Steers in the same article as suggesting that "in so much as art and design and CDT are directly concerned with the process of design they clearly have a particularly significant role" (p. 24). The justification for Art's continued includion within the curriculum therefore, using this criterion, depends on the potential economic usefulness of the subject. It appears that it is vocational rather than aesthetic considerations that are to determine the value of art in schools.

As design has taken a more prominent role, and as art has moved towards technology, questions have been posed as to the nature of the relationship between art and design in a school setting. In some schools art all but disappeared as Design Faculties mushroomed throughout the country, and in Lecistershire particularly. In many schools now there exists an uneasy situation in which art and technology teachers vie for the responsibility to teach design. Teachers are more than cognizant that design brings with it the kind of kudos and levels of financial support that have seldom been injected into Art departments. The arguments rage, though, as to the independence or the interrelatedness of art and design. Yeoman (1984) however, cautions any moves to separate Art from Design or vice-versa, stating that "both equally, contribute to the quality of life, each is ignored at society's peril" (p. 366).

The purpose of this thesis is to make a historical inquiry of art education in England in order to see whether in reflecting on the subject's historical development as a school subject, the origins of

current issues and attitudes towards the relationship between Art and Design Education may be traced. There are certain threads which I believe have interwoven themselves throughout the subject's history, and it is these which I intend to examine. The following are the three most significant strands upon which I will focus:

1. Government intervention as a factor in the development of Art Education programmes for schools.

2. The independence or interrelatedness of Fine Art and Design.

3. The commercialization of Art Education.

For the purposes of this study, I will start with the July 14th of 1835 when Ridley Colborne M.P. registered his satisfaction with parliament's willingness to establish a Select Committee to inquire into the arts. This action was the first occasion that encouragement stemmed from Government rather than private sources. He states rather sarcastically, "it was a fact that in England alone not a shilling was given by Government for encouragement of art" (Hansard, 1835, p. 560). This is indeed then, the first interventionist action by Government in art education. The study will not, however, attempt to consider the whole gamut of 150 years of state supported art education. I will restrict myself only to those developments within nineteenth century England. I have striven to make use of both primary and secondary sources. The use of secondary sources Carline (1968), Bell (1963), Sutton (1967), Pevsner (1973), Thistlewood (1986) and Macdonald (1970), is essentially a literature review of material dealing with the historical development of art education in Britain. In primary sources I rely heavily on the use of British Parliamentary Sessional Papers.

These contain both reports and minutes of evidence given to the Select Committees established to inquire into the state of the arts in England and the Council of the Design School, the governing body of the Design Schools. In addition to the sessional papers, I have also sought to trace contemporaneous journalistic opinion of events and issues related to the developments of art education. I refer in particular to the Art Journal, The Journal of Education, and Punch.

It is important I believe, to view my focus of interest not in a vacuum but as being a series of events that are inextricably linked with prevailing social, political, and economic factors. For this reason, this chapter includes a presentation of "Historical Headlines," the purpose of these being to provide the reader with at least some of the flavour of the period under investigation in the particular chapter and against which one can view the matters relating to art education.

Historical Headlines: 1830 - 1850

The introduction of the first version of the Reform Bill to the House of Commons in 1831 and the ensuing Act of 1832 was a signal of commitment to long overdue parliamentary reform. The domination of politics by an elite cadre of landed gentry was no longer seen as tenable. Rampant corruption and abuses of the electoral system had essentially disenfranchised the middle classes who were to become the major beneficiaries of this new legislation. Universal suffrage was, however, too radical a development to contemplate at this time by the cautious Whig architects of reform; so the working class were as yet without a political voice. Thomson (1950) suggests that the

significance of that Act was that it "whetted the appetite for more; it left abuses enough to provoke sustained for another generation" (p. 67). The Reform Bill was one parliamentary Act in a sequence of legislative reforms affecting Britain's agricultural, commercial, industrial, and social spheres. The fast establishing middle class, whose interests were in urban manufacturing, began to flex their newly found political might by supporting a repeal of the Corn Laws which, because of duties levied on corn, created high food costs. It was a situation in which the landowners got wealthier and the poor got hungrier. The Hungry Forties is perhaps a most apposite epithet for this miserable time for the working class.

Sir Robert Peel had the unenviable task of guiding this reform through parliament without the fullest of support. The protectionists among his party believed that this reform was yet another challenge to the privileged status of the landed gentry. These critics even sniped rather sarcastically that the manufacturers were only supporting lower food prices as an opportunity for themselves to lower wages. By 1845, though, it became blatantly obvious to Peel that Britain was not a self-sufficient nation and what with several poor cereal crops and a potato famine in Ireland, it became a matter of some urgency that the Corn Laws be repealed. He further argued that tariffs on a variety of manufactured goods should be also reduced. Peel was castigated by a large majority of his party. He was convinced however that this action, far from jeopardizing the status of the aristocracy, would indeed preserve it; for it might otherwise have been overwhelmed by revolution amongst a most disenchanted working class. In the opening

years of the nineteenth century, considerable unrest was prevalent among the agrarian working class. They had suffered wage reductions, food was expensive, and often the seasonable nature of their employment, together with the introduction of the threshing machine, created forced unemployment. They were indeed the human casualties of the Industrial Revolution.

1834 saw further developments of the reform of the Poor Law initiated in 1796. Supplements to income had been granted to workers at times of high bread costs; but the 1834 Poor Law effectively curtailed the distribution of this "outdoor relief." Its place was taken by a centrally directed network of poor houses to which the needy would only be granted access if they had reached the most humiliating of circumstances. The workhouses were intentionally created to lack comfort and be dehumanizing so that they might not, as Denny (1963) states, be seen by the poor as "a bounty to indolence and vice." The ruling classes generally believed that poverty was not of society's making but was somehow self-inflicted through an individual's own lack of moral fibre or even his criminal tendencies. Indeed throughout much of Victorian Society there was a great lack of sensitivity and little support for poverty reform. By 1847, however, those more philanthropic legislators had recognised the state's responsibilities and Poor Law Schools were established with hospitals and dispensaries following on their heels.

1834 saw the abolition of slavery in the British Empire; and closer to home, Lord Shaftsbury fought the "child slavery" that was very much a part of English textile factory life. The appalling

conditions under which children were forced to work was something that even shocked the landowners who possessed a rather paternalistic attitude toward their own workers. Shaftsbury was not able to limit the hours worked to the extent that he had hoped; but the Act did succeed in forbidding all children under nine from being employed, and in limiting nine to thirteen-year-olds to a nine-hour day, forty-eight hour week. Thirteen to eighteen-year-olds were limited to a twelve-hour day, sixty-nine hour week. Furthermore, factory inspectors were appointed as a means to minimize violations.

In the field of education it was again privately sponsored bills which were also to cause the government to act. As early as 1820, Henry Brougham had campaigned unsuccessfully for a national education system. But his efforts were largely stifled by squabbling between the National Society and the British and Foreign Schools Society, charitable organisations which had established their own schools. State intervention in education effectively took place for the first time when in 1833 the government awarded 20,000 pounds to each charity for school building, on the understanding there was matching funding. An increase of funds in 1839 bought with it a greater degree of government control with the establishment of a schools inspectorate. Initially the school's population was low with parents preferring have their children as wage earners; but as the Factory Acts gradually became more effective, so the numbers of children enrolling in school grew.

1837 saw the accession of the young Victoria to the throne. England was in a period of rapid population growth. The Industrial

Revolution was responsible for considerable economic growth, but workers were not the immediate beneficiaries of this new technological age. Often displaced, they fought for recognition, and we see the development of trade unionism in England, a movement viewed with considerable alarm by the Government who saw these moves as a working-class challenge to the ruling elite. This collective voice had to be stifled, and one attempt was by outlawing trade unions.

CHAPTER II

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SELECT COMMITTEE TO INQUIRE INTO THE BEST MEANS OF EXTENDING A KNOWLEDGE OF THE FINE ARTS AND THE PRINCIPLES OF DESIGN

It is important not to view the creation of a select committee, charged with an inquiry into the state of the fine arts in England, as an isolated event. It ought to be considered against a background of other demands for change which were responsible for dubbing this period of the nineteenth century "the age of reform." Enlightened individuals were slowly but surely coaxing a somewhat reluctant parliament to extend governmental influence on a national scale. In the field of education, grants made to the two major charitable organisations for the building of schools, led to the beginning of a state education system. The establishment of the 1835 Select Committee is also the first documented account of government intervention in art education. The Committee was appointed by the House of Commons on a motion from William Ewart, M.P. for Liverpool, who was also to chair the Committee. Ewart brought the motion before the House that:

> A Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the best means of extending a knowledge of the Fine Arts, and the principles of Design among the people--especially among the manufacturing population of the country; and also to inquire into the constitution of the Royal Academy and the effects produced by it. (Hansard, 1835, p. 555).

The 1835 Select Committee was to be an important milestone in the development of art education in Britain. Here for the first time, key questions were being publicly debated. The issue of the value of art to the individual, its usefulness to manufacturing industry, the economy and society as a whole were for the first time given a platform in the context of education. What was to emanate from this dialogue would be commitments, not only for the establishment of a Design School, but a realization that drawing should be introduced into elementary schools, and further that the fine arts ought to be far more accessible to the population at large. The debate also attempted to clarify the question of the relationship between artist and designer, a debate which seems just as fresh now, some 150 years on.

It is quite obvious from William Ewart's opening remarks on the July 11th debate, that there was considerable concern that England lagged far behind France in encouraging the fine arts amongst its citizens. France, it was stated, had, since the reign of Louis XIV, created an environment conducive for the development of a respect for the arts. This encouragement, it was argued, helped create designers who had greater sensitivity to the needs of the manufacturing industry. They key to the successfulness of the creation of an informed public was, in Ewart's opinion, due to the establishment of teaching programmes and the popularity of exhibitions. The french had, it was argued, managed to produce, as a result of these initiatives, a more informed producer and consumer. This was not the case in England; Ewart believed that the Government need not only consider developing "among the people of this country a taste for the Arts" (Hansard,

p. 554), but also to enhance the status of artists within the community which, "he was sorry to say, stood in a lower degree than that of almost any country whatever" (Hansard, p. 554).

Not all present however agreed with Ewart's contention that England failed to recognize its artists. Lord Francis Egerton, "could not, however estimate the merits of our professors at a lower degree than those of foreign artists, nor could he admit that there was any want of encouragement of art in this country" (Hansard, p. 560). Lord Sandon took an equally patriotic stance, and was most defensive, even suggesting that British artists were indeed highly sought after by other countries, in spite of the absence of any national scheme for encouragement:

> Without a single encouragement being given to the arts by the establishment of a public school our artists exceed those of other countries who were petted and fostered in national academies. (Hansard, p. 560)

Sandon further displayed his prejudices, stating that he "preferred the landscapes of British artists to the stiff and academic figures of Rome and Milan" (p. 560). Ewart's admonition of the country was supported by a Mr. Wyse, M.P. for Waterford who seconded the motion and believed "that artists in this country were not sufficiently appreciated" (p. 557), and indeed went further, suggesting that whatever encouragement for the arts existed had little to do with the furtherance of art. He states:

> But it was not the love of art which prompted that encouragement; it was merely vanity in individuals or some other causes equally unconnected with a due appreciation of the arts. (Hansard, p. 557).

The debate must also be considered in the context of a society very much enshrined in rigid class structures. The aristocratic solidarity of certain M.P.s is further exemplified when Sir Robert Inglis stated that he "could point out many artists of eminence who, in addition to the applause of Europe, received in this country those more substantial rewards which their talents deserved" (Hansard, p. 558). The Chancellor of the Exchequer was equally emphatic in his denial of Ewart's proposition concerning the status of the artist stating, "generally, however, talents, in this country, obtain a certain and large reward."

The debate further focused on issues arising out of a lack of a coordinated approach to the teaching of art in England. Considerable time was spent in making comparisons with the procedures in France, where even by 1834 linear design was mandated to be taught in every school. In many towns, art schools had also been established with the specific purpose of establishing a relationship between art and manufacture. Mr. Wyse stated:

> It was observable that all these schools of art were carried on for practical purposes, and the designs were connected with the labour of silversmiths, upholsterers, sculptors, including every manufacture that came under the cognizance of taste. (Hansard, p. 556)

Mr. Wyse, in his remarks about the impact of the interrelationship between the elementary school and art schools in France with its central and regional schools, was to foreshadow the network in England which was to be South Kensington:

> The remarkable effect of this was, that in every canton, however remote they might be from the capital, a taste for the arts was perceptible in the pursuits and the general feeling of the inhabitants themselves. (Hansard, p. 556).

Clearly in Wyse's view, the French had established an effective programme that embued its people with a taste for the arts, a quality which would transfer with them from school to workplace. France's success and Britain's uncompetitiveness in manufacturing was highlighted in the production of silks and cottons. In silks particularly, the French were market leaders; and in Britain there had been many a call for heavier taxes to be placed on French imports. There was also a demand that more stringent efforts be made to curb the smuggling of French silks into the country.

The manufacturing industry in Britain had not seen the importance of employing designers, this compared to Lyons where there were "between 200 and 300 professional artists, acquiring an honourable subsistence by turning their knowledge to the sue of manufactures" (Hansard, p. 559). Even as early as 1832, Sir Robert Peel had spoken to the House of Commons and had blamed falling English exports on our "incompetent designs." His recommendation had been for the funding of a National Gallery of Art to "instill a sense of design in the manufacturer and to elevate public taste" (MacCarthy, 1979, p. 8). In 1835 the same proposition was being presented again; a Mr. Potter M.P. supported the motion before the House, expressing "a wish that the public might be able to see the specimens of the Fine Arts in Westminster Abbey on a Sunday" (Hansard, p. 560). Mr. O'Connell contrasted the magnificent exterior of St. Paul's with its depressing

interiors and compared this with the situation on the continent, where churches were filled with exquisite examples of fine art. O'Connell declared that in the case of St. Paul's:

> Would it not be better if fine paintings replaced those emblems of war, and an opportunity were afforded the people to admire within that splendid building some of the noblest specimens of art. (Hansard, p. 561)

Churches, of course, had the advantage that they were accessible to all, no matter what their social class; and it was obviously O'Connell's belief that contact with such beauty would result in material and spiritual benefits to the onlooker, as this contemplation had the power to "raise and soften the public mind, religious enthusiasm being mingled with an admiration of art" (p. 561). There was a general feeling, however, that the lower classes were unable to appreciate art and were likely to carry out vandalistic acts upon works they disapproved of. The Committee set out to investigate the feasibility of introducing free admission to collections of art. Mr. Borthwich M.P. suggested that the Motion could "rescue the character of the lower orders in this country from the charge of barbarism in disfiguring statues and works of art such as were respect in other countries" (Hansard, p. 561).

The debate in the House of Commons reveals three major concerns: the position of art, particularly in its relationship to manufacture; the need to develop an aesthetic awareness among the general public; and the hierarchical position of fine art. These concerns were to form the basis of the Select Committee's investigation and were expressed in the foreward to the Committee Minutes:

The Committee began its labours by dividing the subject into the following parts:

(i). The state of art in this country and in other countires as manifested in their different manufactures

(ii). The best means of extending among the people, especially the manufacturing classes, a knowledge and a taste for art.

(iii). The state of higher branches of art, and the best mode for advancing them.

Some twenty-eight witnesses were called before the Committee; their backgrounds were fairly diverse, manufacturers, retailers, wholesalers, artists, and architects were called to give evidence from which it was hoped a clearer picture would emerge as to the state of art and its relationship to industry in Britain. In reading the record of the House of Commons debate of July 14, 1835, it soon becomes apparent that in the minds of many Members of Parliament, the situation in Britain was pretty deplorable compared with her continental neighbours, particularly France and Prussia. The witnesses called before the Select Committee would, it was hoped, provide some clues as to how the situation could best be remedied. Their evidence did indeed confirm the Committee's worst suspicions; and one after another, the witnesses catalogued a succession of failings in a wide variety of areas related to English product design and the availability of art to a diverse population. A recurrent theme which interweaves the testimony of many of the witnesses was a general feeling that the situation had arisen out of a lack of positive government support for art. It was argued that interventionary action was desperately required if the country wished to reverse the present state of affairs. Charles Cockrell, architect to the Bank of England and Associate of the Royal Academy said:

> The indifference shown by the Government on the subject which materially concerns the honour and character of England as respects arts, and which is of paramount commercial and national importance in a manufacturing country, where the cultivation of taste only is wanting to give superiority over the world. (Sessional Papers, 1835, p. 102)

Cockrell was quick, however, to point out that blame should not only be put at the door of the Government, as manufacturers also had to take their share of the responsibility for a lack of encouragement of innovation in design:

> The manufacturers are not sufficiently impressed with the necessity of a higher culture of design; they generally dabble themselves and put things together from books; they purchase books of design with audacity. (Sessional Papers, 1835, p. 103)

Samuel Wiley, a representative of Jennings and Betteridge, Birmingham Japanners, adds a third group for criticism: the indifferent consumer. He stated that he could "frequently sell bad articles, bad in execution and design, for the same money I could sell the best" (p. 53). Witnesses agreed that Britain was not deficient in quality personnel; Cockrell declared, "there is an abundance of talent, but a want of opportunity of obtaining more correct knowledge of design" (p. 103).

There existed in England no comprehensive and integrated programme for the training of artists for industry as there were in Prussia. Dr. Gustave Friedrick Waagen, the Director of the Royal Gallery at Berlin, showed the committee (as he outlined the structure of art education in Berlin) just how far Britain lagged in art and design education. In Prussia, a network of art schools had existed since 1810. The Royal Academy, with its emphasis on the teaching of the fine arts, and the Gewerb Institut with its emphasis on the arts in

relationship to industry, complemented each other's mission. Students from the Institut were free to study anatomy at the Academy or life drawing, should they feel it necessary. What is more, students selected to attend the Institut were given a free education, paying only for the board and lodging.

Waagen's evidence does betray an implied hierarchical distinction between the branches of the fine arts and the applied arts. There is, however, at least a recognition of the value of unifying aesthetic and functional qualities. He states:

> The object of the institution is to unite beauty and taste with practicibility and durability, and so to form the imagination and taste of pupils as artists, by studying drawing after beautiful models, that each may be enabled with facility to make discoveries in the branch which he particularly knows. (Sessional Papers, 1835, p. 3).

It is important to note that in Prussia at this time, drawing was a compulsory part of the curriculum in the national schools. The "popular schools" were allocated small amounts of time, but in the "gymnasia" greater time allocations were awarded. In this system it became possible to detect potential talent on a regional scale, and talented students were channeled to the central Gewerb Institut. It is possible in Waagen's evidence, perhaps more than in any of that of any of the other witnesses' accounts, to catch a glimpse of the model on which British design schools were to be modeled. The Prussian infrastructure, with its central school with regional affiliates and programmes of drawing in the national schools, was to be the blueprint for the South Kensington School. George Rennie, the sculptor warned,

however, against too much centralization lest it produce a "house style":

> At the same time great caution is required that too much should not be done. The effect of what I allude to would be to establish a sort of central or general mannerism by too much legislative interference. (Sessional Papers, 1835, p. 68)

William Wyon, the chief engraver at the Royal Mint and an Associate of the Royal Academy, saw the necessity of introducing drawing into elementary education. He believed that drawing was a fundamental subject. His words, though spoken over a century and a half ago, ring true loudly for contemporary education; his comments would not be out of place in any present journal in the field of art education:

> Do you not think, as reading and writing are made a portion of education, and as music is made a portion of elementary education, you might also educate the eye--it has been a source of very great regret to me, that at our universities, the arts of design are not considered an essential part of education. (Sessional Papers, 1835, p. 130).

Many of the witnesses saw the development of museums and galleries as a means not only to bring designers into contact with exemplars of decorative art, but also as a means with which to encourage taste in the wider population. George Rennie foresaw a central museum in London with branch museums in the provinces and with objects being constantly transferred among them. John Martin, the eminent English painter, saw the museums playing a central role in the training of the designer; and he proposed a master/apprentice type programme with its focus very much on the museum as a resource.

The museums, hwoever, that did exist served only a small, elite section of the population; in some an entrance fee was charged, while

others were only open to subscribers. Dr. Waagen, indeed suggested that a charge ought to be made, as there would be greater respect shown by visitors if they had to make a financial contribution. Other witnesses sought the development of provincial museums which reflected in their collection the manufacturing base of a specific town. William Wyon advocated such museums for Sheffield, Manchester, and in his own town of Birmingham; he called for the Royal Society not only to advance the fine arts but to "direct the attention of that society to that species of decorative design required in the manufactures of the town" (p. 127). It was his contention that there was nothing in Birmingham which instructed the artisan in art and design as it related to their area of manufacture.

It is impossible in the minutes of the Select Committee as it was in the House of Commons debate to discount the impact that class had in the arguments which were being put forward. Many witnesses agreed that there was a problem that needed to be addressed, but it seemed that it would have to be solved without challenging the fabric of the English class system. James Skeine, Secretary of the Board of Trustees for the Encouragement of Manufactures in Scotland, alluded to refined taste as being classbound:

> I attribute very much the proficiency that exists in foreign countries in the knowledge of design, and the higher scale of taste that exists amid the middling classes of society abroad, compared to what it is in this country, for here it seems to be confined to the higher class alone almost. (Sessional Papers, 1835, p. 87)

Witnesses did generally concur with Skeine's belief and calls for greater accessibility to the fine arts by working people were tempered

with caution, lest the artisan lose sight of their "place" in society. A clear distinction was being made between the "higher" and the "useful" arts. Skeine was anxious that any programme directed at the artisan should be constructed in such a way as to narrow the student's focus primarily on the areas of design directly related to manufacture, the fear being, it was not altogether unfounded, that if the artisan was allowed to pursue the fine arts, he might jettison the useful arts in favour of becoming an artist. Charles Cockrell suggested that perhaps the artisan's knowledge of fine art should be intentionally limited:

> There is a wide distinction between art and fine art; in the latter the knowledge of artisans whose bread is earned in laborious work, must always be very limited, compared with those who have an original genius for it, and have been brought up in the highest schools, and with the best opportunities of instruction. (Sessional Papers, 1835, p. 104)

The 1835 Committee interviewed their last witness, William Wyon, on 4th September, after which proceedings were halted. It was not until 9th February 1836 that parliament ordered the Committee to reconvene; this time with only fourteen members, a reduction of some thirty-six from the earlier committee. The interruption of the inquiry had been brought about because of the number of Private Bills introduced into the previous session. This leaner group concentrated their attention almost exclusively on the state of affairs of the Royal Academy. Many of those called described the Academy as being somewhat akin to a private club, a place of privilege, with a jealously guarded membership. Macdonald (1970) suggests that the Academy was not a place where art education per se was considered of importance; indeed

teaching came a very poor second to the professional development and advancement of the Academy's members. The teaching positions were therefore either given as a perk to senior members or as an income supplement to elderly associates.

Benjamin Haydon, John Martin, and George Rennie all gave evidence which supported the notion of the Academy as being controlled by "a select aristocracy" (Macdonald, 1970, p. 66). All three artists considered they had been unfairly treated by this all powerful elite. Haydon in particular was still enranged over the Academy's handling of his work "Dentalus," which in the 1809 RA Exhibition had been removed to a dark spot in an ante room after initially being hung in the premier room. Haydon realised only too well that the Academicians had the power to make and break reputations and it understandably felt impugned. His continuing sense of outrage at the Academy's system is very evident in his reply to a question regarding to Academy practice. He states:

> The Academy is a House of Lords without King and Commons for appeal. The artists are at the mercy of a depotism whose unlimited power tends to destroy all feelings for right and justice ... It is extraordinary how man brought up as Englishmen, could set up such a system of Government. The holy inquisition was controlled by the Pope, but these men are an inquisition without a Pope. (Sessional Papers, 1836, p. 93)

The final Report of the 1835-1836 Select Committee published in August 1836, provided, as Bell (1963) states, "the first rude shock that persuaded the public about the business of creating art schools" (p. 60). The Report's recommendations had been to a certain extent pre-empted by the Government's allocation of 1,600 pounds to establish a Normal School of Design, a development which was certainly motivated

by the concerns expressed by Witnesses at the 1835 Select Committee. The final Report was, however, an extremely comprehensive compilation of a considerable weight of evidence which clamoured for initiatives to be taken that would draw art closer to manufacture. The irony of the separation between art and design in England was not all together lost on the Committee members; though their motivation for change was unashamedly clearly in the economic, rather than the esthetic, realm. The report states:

> Yet, to us a peculiarly manufacturing nation, the connection between art and manufactures is most important--and for this merely economical reason (were there no higher motive) it equally imports us to encourage art in its loftier attributes. (Sessional Papers, 1836, p. iii)

The Committee was clearly impressed by the more sophisticated levels of taste that were apparently the norm amongst foreign workers. It was reported that the French had the advantage of state encouragement and that the people had greater, freer access to museums. In addition to the Committee's criticism of a lack of government encouragement for the arts, they were also critical of a woeful lack of instruction. The Report paints a scenario of an eager working population, denied not only exposure to the higher arts but also to instruction in skills which it was thought would assist them in their employment. The Report suggests that "this scanty supply of instruction is the more to be lamented, because it appears that there exists among the enterprising and laborious classes of our country an earnest desire for information in the Arts (Sessional Papers, 1836, p. 888). Indeed, the Committee had been extremely impressed by the publications authored by M. Beuth, the Director of the Gwerb Institut,

and saw inexpensive publication as a means of reaching a large audience of artisans. The Committee did acknowledge the value of the unsponsored publications such as the Mechanics Magazine, The Penny, and Saturday magazines. Anderson (1987), sees The Penny Magazine as being, she states, "the first successful effort to popularize knowledge about art: an inexpensive, mass circulation pictorial miscellany" (p. 133). The Committee obviously saw these magazines as providing the working classes with education in art, at a time when schools of art did not exist. The Report states:

> Such instruments may be said to form the paper circulation of knowledge; and while friends of education lament that people are yet most insufficiently provided with places of instruction, they are somewhat consoled by the reflection that these works convey instruction to the very dwellings of the people. (Sessional Papers, 1836, p. vi)

The Report was clear in its demand for a comprehensive programme of art education for England. It saw that it was "most desirable with a view to extend a knowledge of art among the people, that the principles of design should form the portion of any permanent system of national education" (sessional Papers, 1836, p. vi). As to what should be taught, the Committee favoured the geometric precision of the Prussian design schools. They further wished to establish not only a central school but also regional schools, each one developing its own character based on the manufacturing emphasis of the particular area. In adopting such a policy, the Report anticipated that it was "probable that the Arts will eventually strike root and vegetate with vigor" (Sessional Papers, 1836, p. v).

The Government's intervention in art education in 1835 was undoubtedly the seminal development in the history of a national art education programme in England. It was responsible for the birth of the Royal College of Art and the network of art schools that to this day cover the country. To a certain degree I would contend that the nineteenth century development of a national curriculum in elementary drawing is the parent of our contemporary public examination system. One must also recognise that the report was further responsible for an awareness of the need for the collection and display of artifacts, a policy which was to later create the Victoria and Albert Museum. Indeed, the Committee in its closing remarks of the Report were clear with regard to their ultimate mission:

> It will give Your Committee the sincerest gratification if the result of their inquiry (in which they have been liberally assisted by the artists of this country) tend in any degree to raise the character of a profession which is said to stand much higher among foreign nations than, in our own; to infuse, even remotely, into an industrious and enterprising people, a love of art, and to teach them to respect and venerate the name "Artist." (Sessional Papers, 1836, p. xi)

CHAPTER III

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SCHOOLS OF DESIGN

It is certain that the evidence presented to the 1835 Select Committee provided such an indictment of British art education, especially as it related to manufacture, that a government earnest in its desire to make Britain not only competitive with her continental neighbours, but indeed superior, granted 1,500 pounds to establish the Normal School of Design. The awarding of these funds was ultimately to be responsible for the development of the national art education programme we see in contemporary Britain. The founding establishment, the Normal School of Design, though born as the result of a consensus, was to experience in its infancy, such internecine struggles amongst those charged with the mission to draw art closer to industry, that it is somewhat surprising that the School survived. Two major problems were to plague the Design School throughout this period and indeed were to continue until the helm was firmly taken by Henry Cole in 1851. The first problem was an absence of authoritative leadership; the second was a lack of decisiveness with regard to the implementation of an appropriate curriculum strategy necessary for the School to achieve its educational goal.

It is necessary to recognise that England did not have the advantage of a Ministry of Education at this time; the responsibility

for the Design School was given to the Board of Trade, where Charles Poulett Thomson was President. Bell (1963) quotes from Scrope's biography of Thomson stating, "the friends of art in our manufacturing industry will no doubt always be ready to acknowledge their obligation to the founder of the Schools of Design" (p. 64). In view of what was to unravel over the next thirteen years, Lord Melbourne, the then Prime Minister's statement that "God help the Minister who meddles with Art" (Bell, 1963, p. 64), has quite a prophetic clarity to it.

John Buonarotti Papworth was created the Design School's first director in 1837. Macdonald (1970), and Bell (1963) indicate that in these early days of the School's existence, the students were given much more freedom that at any other time in the School's history. There was, however, still an emphasis on "Drawing from the Flat." In the Elementary Course, students copied architectural ornament and outline vases all being copied from a range of primers and prints. Having successfully completed the Elementary stage, students then progressed to further outline drawing to which shading was applied, the visual references for these exercises being plaster casts from antique ornament. It was hoped that by constantly referring to historic motifs, students would eventually acquire a glossary of visual forms from which by synthesis "new forms" would emanate.

Macdonald (1970) indicates that the vocation of the largest number of the students enrolled in the Morning, and later the Evening school was, "that of interior decorator officially classed as Arabesque (or Ornamental) Painter and Decorator" (p. 74). This group were apparently receptive to a systematic mode of instruction which resulted in the

production of repeat patterns which could be applied to wallpaper and plaster. Others were not so happy; Benjamin Haydon, the omnipresent critic of both the Royal Academy and now the Design School, was scathing in his criticism of the syllabus of this fledgling institution. Haydon believed that the self-imposed limits that the School had placed on itself was a costly was "to keep the mechanic as ignorant as before" (Bell, 1963, p. 17). He was an ardent advocate of the concept that fine art training could transfer to the elementary instruction of the artisan, without modification. Haydon was quite emphatic that figure drawing was the fountain-head from which all design sprung; and in an encounter with Poulett Thomson, President of the Board of Trade, he declared , "depend on it ... if the figure be not the basis of instruction it will all end in smoke. The Government will be disgusted and it will all be given up" (Bell, 1963, p. 72).

Haydon's opinions ran counter to those of the Academicians and manufacturers who constituted the Design Schools' provisional governing body. The Academicians no doubt motivated by self-interest, wanted to prevent any possibility of the Royal Academy having to compete for students with the Design School. This was particularly important at a time when the 1835 Select Committee had severely admonished the Academy for its poor record of teaching. The manufacturers, likewise, wanted the School to be clearly a school of design, not a school of art. They were, however, not at all impressed by the emphasis placed on interior decoration, which was very much the hallmark of the Papworth era. Here again, one cannot altogether rule out a measure of self-interest as Charles Poulett Thomson and William Ewart, both Members of Parliament

representing Lancashire constituencies where the import of continental designs had severely affected the textile industry, needed to be politically shrewd in any support they might declare for a design programme. Bell (1963) suggests a further reason for a policy of training designers rather than artists: "a school which allowed a proportion of its students to become painters or sculptors might well be accused of wasting public money" (p. 68).

It was not only in Haydon's written or speech criticism that one could see his philosophy with regard to the relationship between art and industry; he translated theory into practice, when under the auspices of the Society for Promoting the Arts of Design. And together with Joseph Hume M.P., Philip Barnes, William Ewart M.P., and Sir Thomas Wyse M.P., he established a design school in Leiceister Square in which drawing from a live model was taught. This rival school was seen as serious competition for the Design School, and this together with unrest concerning the curriculum was instrumental in Papworth's removal as Director in 1838 and for the reversal of Council policy relating to figure drawing at the Design School.

Papworth was replaced as Director by the painter and teacher at the Trustees' Academy in Edinburgh, William Dyce. Dyce had been courted by the Council of the Design School ever since they had become aware of the report that he and charles Heath Wilson had prepared in 1837 for the Board of Trustees for Encouragement of Manufactures, in which the two young men outlined a means of improving the relationship between art and manufacture. The Board of Trade and the Council of the Design School were at this time in somewhat of a quandry as to how to

achieve their goal of harmony between art and industry. It appeared that Dyce might have some useful ideas, and that they might be able to learn something from their competitors, so Dyce was dispatched to study the methods of art teaching in Prussia, Bavaria and France. The opening paragraphs of the Report published in 1840, indicate that Dyce was very aware that the assignment would only have value if his observations of the art schools were made in the context of social and economic climates:

> It was necessary to view the subject of the inquiry commercially as well as artistically; to consider the manufacturing and commercial conditions of such countries where schools are located; as well as the schools themselves; which it may be supposed have been intended to meet certain exigencies of inudstry; and that this, not only to show the applicability of the means of instruction to the particular exigency of the case, but to examine what kind of influence is exerted by schools of art; or whether (and this is not an idle question) they, by themselves alone, confer the great and palpable benefits on manufactures which it has been so much in fashion in this country to ascribe to them. (Sessional Papers, 1840, p. 1)

Dyce's observations of the methods adopted in Prussia were to confirm the evidence given to the 1835 Select Committee by Dr. Freidrick Waagen. In Prussia there was not the schism between fine art and design that existed in England;and the programmes in the schools very much reflected the complementary nature of the fine art/design relationship. In the report Dyce states:

> Under the general term "Fine Art" every species of decorative design is supposed to be included; no difference in principle being recognised between the kind of art which is applicable to manufacture, and that which has for its object the poetical, the imaginative, or the historical. The immediate result of this opinion is that in the education, the difference between a school of design for manufacture and an academy of fine art, is made to consist not in the kind of instruction afforded but in the amount or degree to which it is carried. The latter, indeed, in the

> absence of schools of manufacturing design, are supposed to include all studies which ordinarily form the business of these. (Sessional Papers, 1840, p. 3)

The description of the Prussian methods of art teaching are not too philosophically different from those held by Haydon. Dyce, on the other hand, while warming to the systematic and scientific nature of the Gwerb Institut, seemed not to be able to avoid supporting an educational strategy that categorised individuals as being either artists or artisans. Bell (1963) suggests that there were indeed quite contradictory elements in Dyce's makeup; he was often accused of being both liberal and autocratic. Pointon (1979) extends this hypothesis further, arguing that Dyce believed in a social order which, while actively encouraging the artisans to improve themselves, only provided so much scope for the improvement. Pointon (1979) states that Dyce's plans were "assisting to the mechanic to rise but determining the direction in which he would, placing a master in control who had himself, received a different sort of training" (p. 45). The question of what should or should not be part of the training of the artisan was to be a thorny problem which was to cause intense conflict during these early days of the Design School's existence.

Arguably, the most contentious issue was whether the artisan would benefit from drawing from the figure. The academy approach to the teaching of art in France, which encouraged greater artistic freedom in the training of designers of ornament, did not appeal to Dyce, who Pointon (1979) describes as being "preoccupied with methods not with art" (p. 49). Macdonald (1970) suggests that Dyce's vision of the artisan was that of a medieval craftsman working for the glory of God,

and for whom the humanism of the Renaissance would be an unnecessary distraction. Dyce, describing the use of figure drawing in French art schools, questions its relevance to a potential fabric designer:

> The human form, as a means of study, and the human figure employed as ornament, are not identical; and though in proportion as an artist, has laid a foundation in a higher kind, he may with less application, become expert in the practice of the inferior; yet it must be remembered that a power of designing the figure as consummate as that of Michael Angelo, does not in the very smallest degree imply the capability of producing a useful pattern for fabrics of the loom. (Sessional Papers, 1840, p. 31)

Dyce's battle against the figure being used in the Design School was to be lost, partly as a result of the competition from Haydon's rival school; and in 1841 J. R. Herbert was engaged as Master of the Figure School. Dyce, though during the initial period of his superintendancy was considered to be more than capable of steering the School towards its ultimate goal, was to have to fight numerous battles with the overbearing administration. He was not altogether the easiest of people to get on with; Pointon (1979) quotes Sarah Spencer, Lady Lyttelton, as describing Dyce as "one of the most dry and half-sneering mannered men" (p. 44), that she had ever met. Pointon further suggests that "Dyce's intellectual arrogance probably irritated many but his good sense also drew him friends" (p. 44). The history of the Design School is liberally peppered with problems of conflict, both in the realm of dogma and inter-personal relationships; and Dyce's tenure was no exception. Pointon (1979) states:

> Disturbances punctuated Dyce's period in office. The causes ranged from the inefficiency and pedantry of the Council to the carping and backbiting that went on between students and among the staff themselves. The Superintendant was determined to adhere to his doctrines but was harassed by the critical attitude of the Council and of members of the public and by overwork. (p. 47)

It was Dyce's firm belief that the curriculum for the artisan should be as practically based as possible; and he absorbed elements of the Prussian Gwerb Institut into the Design Schools' programme. Dyce was fervent in his belief that the mysticism that surrounded fine art, particularly historical painting, was not an appropriate educational experience for the artisan. Bell (1963) states that it was Dyce's contention that "it was the business of the School to supply industry. It was not a school of art but a school of design" (p. 68). Indeed this was such a passion with Dyce that he insisted that potential design students declare that they had no intention of becoming artists. The Provisional Council floundered somewhat in establishing what they wished to be "a proper system of tuition, adapted to the precise purposes of the School" (Sessional Papers, 1841, p. 2). The teaching in 1841 was divided into two sections:

1. Elementary; embracing the usual branches of study; viz, outline drawing of ornament and the human figure, shadowing, drawing from plaster, modelling and colouring.

2. Instruction in design for special branches of industry; under the head is included-- 1st, The study of fabrics, and such processes of industry as admit only the application of design under certain conditions; and 2nd, The study of the history of taste in manufacture, the distinction of styles of ornament, and such theoretical knowledge as is calculated to improve the taste of the pupils and to add to their general acquaintance with art. (Sessional Papers, 1841, p. 2)

The programme under the direction of Dyce was very much that of an industrial school, a policy opposed by Haydon who traveled England generating support for a fine art orientation to the artisan's training in the mushrooming provincial art schools. Haydon's diaries reveal an almost religious fervor in his mission. He states "the people are more

alive to Art than ever. Everywhere I have been received with enthusiasm, and the importance of High Art is no longer a matter of debate with them" (Pope, 1963, p. 536). Dyce's enthusiasm for a more practically based mode of instruction was not supported by his pupils, and their indifference was largely the reason why the weaving class was finally withdrawn from the School's curriculum. This was the last vestige of practical training, and it was replaced by a series of lectures on the theoretical aspects of design, conducted by Mr. Cowper from Kings College, London.

The 1843 Council Report was optimistic about the achievements of the Design School during the Dyce regime, they congratulated themselves on the increase in enrollment; numbers in the Morning School had risen from 17 in August 1837 to 62 in December 1842. There had been no major philosophical changes in curriculum; but the Report states that it had been placed "on a more systematic footing--which the intended formation of Provincial Schools rendered particularly advisable" (Sessional Papers, 1843, p. 4). (See Appendix A for syllabus). The need for the Head School's curriculum to be more systematic was becoming increasingly vital as a centrally controlled programme of art education began to unfurl. The council of the Design School was effectively the agency through which government funds were to be distributed to the Provincial Schools. Manchester and Birmingham had already laid claim to funding, and the 1843 Report also discussed the merits of claims from York, Coventry, Norwich, and Sheffield. The Council was particularly responsive to Sheffield's request for aid:

> That there were probably few places in England where manufacturers were so likely to be benefited by such an institution and that the large sums of money were yearly paid to distract artists, many of them foreigners, for models of designs of articles which are made in that town. (Sessional Papers, 1843, p. 11)

The Government's intervention through the Council of the Design School followed the pattern of its approach to general education. As in the case when grants were made to the National Society and the British and Foreign Schools Society, the Government, because public support was being given to private organisations, sought to exercise control. So it was with the funding of the provincial art schools; the control was not only related to the actual building of the schools, but to the curriculum they adopted. Here then is the beginning of a government funded national art education programme overseen by a centralized inspectorate. Teacher training was seen as an extremely important means of dissemination of the authorised syllabus; and six exhibitions were established for talented pupils who, once trained, would take up appointments in regional schools.

A very vital part of this "system" of art education was the creation of drawing books, authored by Dyce, sponsored by the Government, and published by Chapman Hall. These workbooks reflected Dyce's theory that ornamental design was akin to science. Macdonald (1973) states that "Dyce preferred analysis of ornament because ornament demonstrated more rigid geometrical structures than nature" (p. 124). The workbooks, known as "Dyce's Outlines," became the core of the early nineteenth century scientific approach to drawing. The use of the books produced a house style of mechanical, flat, geometrical designs which did little to develop the individual pupil's

creativity. The emphasis on structure and geometry led Dyce to insist "that only geometrical patterns should be used on carpets as they would then appear suitable flat and solid" (Macdonald, 1970, p. 124). One wonders whether the novelist Charles Dickens was wryly commenting on this concept of design when in Hard Times, Mr. Gradgrind challenges his pupils regarding their taste in interior design:

> "You must discard the word Fancy altogether. You must have nothing to do with it. You are not to have, in any object of use or ornament, what would be a contradiction in fact. You don't walk upon flowers in fact; you cannot be allowed to walk upon flowers in carpets. You don't find that foreign birds and butterflies come to perch upon your crockery; you cannot be permitted to paint foreign birds and butterflies upon your crockery. You must never meet with quadrupeds going up and down walls; you must not have quadrupeds represented upon walls. You must see," said the gentleman, "for all these purposes, combinations and modifications (in primary colours) of mathematical figures which are susceptible of proof and demonstration. This is the new discovery. This is fact. This is taste." (pp. 16-17)

Dyce was constantly frustrated during his term of office by not being able to devote as much time to his painting as he would like. He experienced conflicts of purpose , in which he was torn between his ambitions as an educator and his aspirations as an artist. The 1841 Provisional Council Report on the School of Design did little to alleviate Dyce's workload; indeed the duties of Director, Professor, and Secretary were combined as a cost saving measure. The 1843 Report acknowledges the increased responsibilities and Dyce's annual salary was increased by 100 pounds to 500 pounds. John Herbert, the Master of the Evening School, saw an increase of 50 pounds, bringing his salary to 200 pounds. The Council were obviously well pleased with Herbert's contribution to the School, stating that "his labour is very

considerable, and greater than be fairly required from an artist of his attainment" (Sessional Papers, 1843, p. 48).

Dyce's resignation as Director of the School of Design, and his replacement on 9th May, 1843 by Charles Heath Wilson, formerly the Superintendant of the Department of Ornamental Art in the Academy of the Honourable Board of Trustees for Manufactures in Edinburgh, brought with it no respite for both men from the ever critical Benjamin Haydon. Quentin Bell in The Schools of Design quotes Haydon's letter to Dyce upon his appointment as Inspector of Provincial Schools. The letter reveals true British understatement, as Haydon with one hand questions Dyce's qualifications, yet on the other claims the criticism not to be personal:

> My Dear Sir,
>
> I tell you frankly I regret at such a critical period if British Art you are appointed Inspector of the Country Schools, if I could have prevented it I would--I know you to be an obliging, accomplished and amiable, kind man, and as such have always and will always speak of you, but I believe you to be too much of an experimentalist to do any good as Inspector. I anticipate, my dear Sir, without any feelings but regard for you personally the greatest mischief. May I be mistaken.
>
> Yours truly
> B. R. Haydon
>
> (Bell, 1963, p. 148).

If Dyce was perceived as an "experimentalist," and there is sufficient evidence that he indeed sought to develop and refine programmes which would better meet the needs of the artisan and manufacturer alike, one has to view Haydon's criticism as being laden with negative connotations. It seems somewhat reactionary of Haydon to decry experiment during this period in English history, which was benefiting from the Age of Reform. If one considers Dyce to be an

experimentalist, his successor was very much the opposite. Wilson was asked by the Council of the School soon after his appointment to review the existing programme and to present proposals for yet another "systematic programme" for both the Central and Provincial Schools. The Council had already decided to separate the Directorship from the Inspectorship of the Provincial Schools. The newly drafted job description for the post of the Director (see Appendix B) indicates that it was the Council's intention that the Director should be held accountable for the very close supervision of syllabus, students, and teaching staff. Wilson's plan for the programme of instruction differs very little from that implemented by Dyce. It is obvious though that both the Director and his Council had foresaken any idea of incorporating practical training as an integrated component of an artisan's course of instruction. Students were to be divided into Elementary and others and were to occupy designated places in the classroom according to level of attainment. As students progressed through the programme, so they moved about the classroom. The 1844 Report indicates that students would not be permitted to advance to the next stage until they had mastered the Elementary Drawing in Outline Class. Wilson suggests in the Report that it was important for the students not to develop any mannerisms in their work:

> The outline examples must, if properly copied, cause him to draw with accuracy, and by their graceful forms will improve his taste without giving him any bias in the foundation of a peculiar style. He will thus be taught to draw but will not be made a mannerist. (Sessional Papers, 1844, p. 9)

Wilson's adherence to a philosophy of the imitation of Classical styles was, according to Macdonald (1970) "the prevalent concept of art

education held by the diletante, the upper class, and the senior Royal Academicians of his day" (p. 26). Wilson was very much a classical revivalist and aligned himself completely with a fine art hierarchy. Macdonald (1970) suggests that Wilson's philosophy for art education can be linked with the painter Sir Joshua Reynolds' belief that "Genius was the child of invention." Copying underpins the entire Wilson programme (see Appendix C). Having successfully completed the Elementary Drawing Class, students progressed to Shading from the Flat, to Drawing from the Cast, the Study of Colour, and then to the Figure Class. In the Report, Wilson stresses the importance of making figure drawing relate to the practical needs of the ornamentalist. Once again, this statement on figure drawing indicates the Council's obsession in not exposing artisans to "High Art" lest they in some way become seduced by its mystique. The Report states:

> The practical application of all that is taught in these classes should be shown, as much as possible, by the examples on the walls which should not present the appearance of a classroom for the Figure attached to an academy of Fine Arts. The tendency to become artists so observable in classes where the Figure is taught, is partly to be attributed to example; for this reason, no persons studying to become artists, as distinguished from ornamentalists, will be admitted to the School of Design. (Sessional Papers, 1844, p. 13)

Following Figure Drawing, students completed studies in Perspective. The final class was the History, Principles, and Practice of Ornamental Design, in which considerable use was proposed of collections of objects which could provide students with a resource of motifs for application to their specific areas of manufacture.

During the period 1843-1845, it is possible to detect a subtle shift away from a vocational focus in the instructional programme at

the School of Design. The success of J. R. Herbert's Figure Class attracted criticism, it was suggested that "the London School ought to be and was not teaching industrial art" (Bell, 1963, p. 151). The criticism appeared not altogether short of the mark, and appointments such as that of Henry J. Townsend, a sculptor, as Head of the Form School, gave a degree of credibility to such concerns; particularly as Townsend had published a book on anatomy for artists, which was praised by Benjamin Haydon. Wilson had, Bell (1963) states, "brought order and prosperity to the establishment in the first two years of his reign" (p. 151). The Third Report of the Council in 1844 was pleased that the programme was evidently providing students with classes in keeping with the School's defined mission:

> The great body of students engaged in acquiring skill in Drawing and Ornamental Art, appear to appreciate highly the advantages which the School offers to them; and many are actuated by an earnest desire of improvement, with intention to apply their acquirements practically to Decorative Work, and Ornamental Manufactures, in accomplishment of the purposes for which this Institution was projected. (Sessional Papers, 1844, p. 2)

By 1845 the Council began to see the need for the production of some statistical evidence to support its belief that the School was indeed having an impact on manufacturing industry:

> sufficient instances are known to certify the fact that the course of instruction, and the collection of examples which are used in on carrying it on, have a beneficial influence and agency in accomplishing the objects for which the School is maintained by Government, namely the production of improvement in the ornamental manufactures and decorative art in this country. (Sessional Papers, 1845, p. 9)

While being somewhat self-congratulatory about the School's achievement in meeting the directives of the 1835 Select Committee, the Report is critical of the manufacturers' role in the educational

venture. The Report suggests that it was because manufacturers were not taking the opportunity to employ School of Design designers that many students had turned away from ornamental to fine art. The 1846 Report, however, states that:

> It may be observed generally that among the manufacturing communities throughout the Kingdom, a sense of the importance of improving skill in ornamental design, is constantly becoming more evident. (Sessional Papers, 1846, p. 3)

Considering the Council's vehement opposition to figure drawing, it is somewhat ironic that their statement in the 1846 Report is so emphatic in its support of the pivitol significance of drawing from the human figure:

> Every student in the School is required to draw the human figure, and to pass through at least the elementary classes of this study; as an important and indispensable part of the general course of instruction; it being found by practical experience, that the accurate delinieation of beautiful models of the human form is the most efficient means of educating the hand and eye, and promoting the refinement of taste. (Sessional Papers, 1846, p. 3)

This statement is even more intriguing when seen against a period in the School of Design's history when a near mutiny was to rock the foundations of this establishment--a rebellion caused by serious disagreements concerning the role of figure drawing in the School. The antics within the school were highlighted by the self-styled guardian critic of the Design School, Benjamin Haydon, who in letters to the editor of The Times questioned not only the School's progress, but advised the public of the means that the Director employed to discredit the popular Master of the Figure School, J. R. Herbert. Haydon further questioned Wilson's fitness to be Herbert's superior. Bell (1963) quotes from Haydon's letters, where he states Herbert was

"an eminent artist ... placed under instead of above, a man of no eminence and questionable talents" (p. 157). Wilson may well have been suspicious of Herbert's allegiance as he was a staff member from the Dyce regime. The hostility between the two men was quite overt, attacks and counter attacks were made, Wilson's action may well have been prompted by Herbert's popularity and also to a certain degree by his own sense of inferiority, as Herbert was both an artist of some stature and an Academician. Wilson resorted to attacks on Herbert's record of absences from the School, focusing particularly on times when Herbert allegedly absented himself to work on his fresco commission for the Houses of Parliament--a commission which brought, some years later, the criticism that Herbert was being overpaid. The Art Journal of 1859 states:

> Our contemporary, the "critic" who is usually most correct in his reports of Art-matters, states that Mr. Herbert is to receive 9,000 pounds for his frescos to be executed for the walls of the Royal Gallery of the houses of parliament; the subject chosen is "Justice on Earth, and its Development in Law and Judgement". Surely the above sum is a mistake; or if true, there seems little "justice" in paying Mr. Herbert more than nine times as much, we believe, as some other artists of equal worth have received for their works. (Art Journal, 1859, p. 290)

Herbert answered Wilson's criticisms of him by attempting to communicate directly to the Council, it was probable that his letter failed to reach them, being intercepted by Wilson because of the adverse criticisms of himself that it contained. Herbert, rather than retreating, sought extra teaching time, complained of the Director's ineptitude and his failure to conduct the required lectures on the application of Ornamental Design. Herbert further did nothing to endear himself to Wilson, by suggesting that even if a blackboard was

was provided, Wilson would not know what to do with it (Bell, 1963). The conflict came to a head when Wilson rather immaturely pinned a list of student digressions to the Figure School door. Herbert, supported by his students, confronted Wilson and as a result of the ensuing fracas, the Figure Class was suspended. The students presented a petition to the Board of Trade and on April 8, 1845, the Council interviewed the two protagonists. While Wilson and Herbert received a thorough hearing, the students received comparatively short shrift and were suspended until further notice. The Council rallied in support of the Director; Bell (1963), quoting from the proceedings of the meeting, states, "the Council are of the opinion that under all circumstances, the authority entrusted by the Council to the Director of the School must be strictly maintained" (p. 161). It was then only a matter of time before Herbert would be replaced. The problem for Wilson was how this would be carried out, for Herbert was an artist of some stature and also an Academician. Wilson managed to save face by reaffirming the School's position on Figure Drawing as being secondary to Ornament, in this way he was able to essentially make Herbert's programme redundant and with it the teacher. Herbert stated that the rebellion "ended in my being complimented out of the School. I cannot say I was dismissed but I was complimented out" (Bell, 1963, p. 167)

Herbert's dismissal was not to go unheralded, Dyce resigned from both the Inspectorship and the Council, and questions were asked in Parliament. William Ewart M.P. for Liverpool sought clarification with regard to the position of the rebellious students, they were, he was told, only to be readmitted to the School if they assured the Director

that they had no intention of becoming artists. Mr. Williams M.P. sought a Select Committee to investigate the troubles at the school, but his motion failed. He did, however, succeed in achieving a parliamentary debate on July 28th, 1845, the first debate ever on art education. Sir Robert Peel's reason for rejecting Williams' call for a Select Committee was, he stated, "that it would be most objectionable to do anything that might tend to encourage insubordination in the School" (Hansard, 1845, p. 1149). Williams complained that the Council was administratively unwieldly and that maladministration had resulted in Dyce, "a distinguished artist and talented man," being removed as Director of the School to be replaced by Wilson, who Williams stated was "neither artist nor workman." And finally, Herbert, who was "one of the rising men of the day" (Hansard, 1845, p. 1150) and one who had been praised by the Council, had himself been removed. The debate highlighted the extent to which there were misgivings about the successfulness of the School of Design, it also pinpointed the degree to which the level of interpersonal relationship had fallen to an all time low. Ewart attempted to draw the debate away from the personal dispute between Wilson and Herbert, and concentrated more on analysing the School's failure in some people's eyes to achieve its intended goal:

> that the object of the School was to make workmen, not artists. That was a fatal error, in that consisted the error of the whole system. A school of design ought to rest on two things--the study of the human figure and copying from nature. This was the course of study pursued by the most eminent artists like Raffaelle, or those who had wrought practically in the art of ornament, like Benvenuto Cellini. (Hansard, 1845, p. 1156)

The argument throughout the debate centered on Wilson's competency to direct the School. Mr. Wakely M.P. stated that "it was perfectly impossible that the School would ever be well governed ... while the favoured director continued in an office to which he was incompetent" (Hansard, 1845, p. 1158). On the other hand, Mr. Hawes M.P. praised the director, uttering "a high eulogium of the talents and fitness of Mr. Wilson for his situation as Director" (Hansard, 1845, p. 1159). Disquiet was also expressed by M.P.s such as Mr. Hume, that previous Reports from the Council had suppressed non-favourable information, Mr. Wakely M.P. was more blunt:

> There was not a word about the dismissal of Mr. Herbert the Report was an attempt to deceive and practise a delusion on the House. The facts most material to the utility of the establishment were entirely concealed. (Hansard, 1845, p. 1158).

The motion to establish a Select Committee failed, due partly to little time being available at the end of the parliamentary sesion, but more to the fact that other political problems loomed large in the minds of M.P.s, particularly the famine in Ireland. Wilson was to survive the storm, but his directorship was never to rekindle the stability of his intial years.

The parliamentary debate on art education which took place in July, 1845 was not sufficient in itself to remove C. H. Wilson from the directorship despite the attention drawn to very obvious problems with his management of the School of Design. Although increasingly the school had begun to lose its sense of direction, there was enough support within the Government and the Council for him to remain the head. 1845 saw a "rebellion" amongst the students, and in the next two

years the teachers too were to openly challenge Wilson's educational leadership. The teachers' criticism of his programme were so overt and sufficiently foreceful that a Special Committee was formed of Council members. A full report was published in 1847 which, unlike previous publications that had tended to promote only positive perspectives, is replete with detailed evidence which paints a far from glowing picture of the School of Design.

The School's most vociferous critic, Benjamin Haydon, was to take his life on June22, 1846; his suicide was very probably caused by a sense of utter rejection. Not only had he failed to have his cartoons for the Palace of Westminster accepted, but he also suffered the indignity of seeing the public preferring to visit the midget Tom Thumb rather than view his new work, "The Banishment of Aristides." A contributer in an 1846 edition of Punch, is particularly caustic of Haydon's letter to The Times, in which he casts aspersions on the public's ability to appreciate "High Art":

> Very well, Mr. Haydon. Let "High Art" in England obtain the same patronage--let it receive as cordial a welcome, as again and again has been vouchsafed to Tom Thumb--and crowds of snobs, for such only reason, will rush to contemplate it--or to think they contemplate it. Tom Thumb has 12,000 visitors--B. R. Haydon 133 1/2. That 1/2 is touching. What sort of 1/2 was it? Did it run alone or being brought to drink in High Art, was the baby at the breast? And if so, in longs or shorts? (Punch, 1846, vol. 10, p. 203).

Although Haydon was no longer the critic of the School of Design, Wilson would have no respite from adverse criticism. This would emanate from within the ranks of the School's teaching staff, in particular the teachers of the Evening School. John Callcott Horsley, who replaced Herbert, took charge of the Figure School, Henry Townsend

taught painting, drawing, ornament and modelling; C. J. Richardson, a bright young architect, took control of ornamental and geometric drawing. This group formed quite a tight clique; all were members of the Etching Club, whose members, like Dyce, had obtained commissions for the Houses of Parliament. Townsend and Horsley in particular favoured historical painting and were influenced by Northern Gothic Art. The members of the Club were also influential in securing positions in the School of Design for John Bell and Richard Redgrave. The Morning School was not such a cohesive group; it consisted of Henry LeJeune, who taught drawing, painting and the figure, and Alfred Stevens who Macdonald (1970) states was "the only teacher with the technical and practical ability for industrial art, in that the only competent designer, with the exception of Papworth and Richardson, that the School ever possessed" (p. 100). Stevens was to be responsible for the introduction of aspects of training taken from the Italian academy, and his recruitment by Wilson was a direct challenge to the Germanic preferences of Herbert and Dyce. Bell (1963) states:

> No choice could have been made more proper, for Stevens was the only British artist then alive who had really thorough understanding of the meaning of design, a perfectly coherent style, great abilities as a decorator and a complete knowledge, based upon first-hand experience, of the Continental system of art teaching. (p. 179)

Stevens' approach to the teaching of design was the absolute antithesis of the programme of copying but this was not to suggest he favoured undisciplined sketching. In castigating a student who had inadvertently mentioned that he had "sketched" an ornament, Stevens sternly replied, "Sir, we don't sketch here. We draw." Stevens

managed to trespass beyond the prescribed tracks of Wilson's programme, without experiencing the censure which ultimately resulted in Herbert's dismissal. His academy influence seemed indeed to be supported by Wilson and marked a significant reversal of policy for the School of Design. Bell (1963) believes that the U turn may have come about because "a 'High Art' school would be more acceptable to the powerful manufacturers in the provinces than would be a school dealing with technical processes" (p. 181). Wilson's motives for not challenging Stevens may well have been rooted in expedience. He had himself been educated in Italy and saw this new thrust as a final strike against the Germanic influences of Dyce (see Appendix D for Punch cartoon illustrating competition between styles).

Wilson's change in policy must have unsettled the teachers from the Evening School who themselves were more aligned with Dyce's teaching. The Morning School teachers were more supportive of Wilson, particularly of course Stevens who, while in agreement with the concept of training the designer through High Art, had little respect for the Director. He resigned on November 10, 1847 stating, "I have just given up my place at Somerset House--not before I was heartily sick of it" (Macdonald, 1970, p. 100). Stevens was not alone in his disenchantment; Townsend, Richardson, and Horsley to varying degrees had become entangled in skirmishes with Wilson. The Director had little finesse in human management, and perhaps because feelings of artistic inadequacy, attempted to set the teachers against each other. His efforts were counter-productive and Bell (1963) states, "these inept attempts to divide and rule consolidated, if they did not

actually create, a defensive and offensive alliance between Townsend and Richardson with which Horsley was more or less associated" (p. 185).

Townsend and Richardson wrote independently to the Council outlining a comprehensive set of grievances. Redgrave, a fellow supporter, wrote an open letter to the prime minister, Lord John Russell. Belleden Ker, the chairman of the Council, perhaps cognizant of the damage that yet another dispute would cause the School, established the Special Committee to hear the views of the protagonists. The complaints were numerous, so numerous in fact that they appear itemized in the appendix of the Report. The Director was the main target. He was viewed as an obstacle between the teachers and the Council and not open to the kind of evaluation process that would provide teachers with constructive feedback with regards to their teaching. The teachers perceived the Council itself as being administratively overly topweighted. The Director did receive some support, if somewhat reluctantly; the teachers agreed that he was overburdened with administrative tasks which could ahve been assigned elsewhere. Wilson received punishing criticism for steering the School of Design away from its primary mission, i.e. the education of the artisan for industry. There were complaints that the highest level course (The Principles of Ornament) was not being taught. Wilson, whose responsibility this class wasy, argued rather apologetically that there were no students of sufficient calibre to enroll for the class. The Council was not impressed; Wilson's destiny looked very much in the balance from this point. Townsend put it extremely bluntly and stated,

"what is the fact? We have the present moment, in the very head department of all the Schools, a School of Design without a bonafide Class of Design" (Sessional Papers, 1847, p. 6). Wilson's philosophy of learning by imitation and his reliance on a programme which did little more than produce accomplished copyists, but which failed to develop individual creativity, was seen as being extremely limiting. Townsend stated "at present, copying is the plan laid down, and thus with the exception of occasional explanations from the Director and Masters the pupil is led to no higher exertion of his faculties than a desire to imitate." Townsend took a final swing at castigated Wilson:

> You want a class of original design, which is not in the School at all. You teach the figure to a certain extent, but there is no application of the figure as made to ornament. There is at present no class of design. The School has been ten years in operation, but I do not think there is a single student who is taught design in the School. He is taught drawing, not Design. (Sessional Papers, 1847, p. 6)

Richard Redgrave, who was a close friend of Townsend, Richardson, and Horsley, was invited by them to visit and report on the School. He noted that three types of instruction ought to be taking place: technical instruction, pure taste in design, and knowledge of manufacturing processes. He reported to the Special Committee that only in the case of the first two was the School in any way successful and as far as knowledge of manufacture was concerned, nothing was being done at all. Richardson agreed, suggesting that the artisan should first be acquainted with the grammar of drawing, but should then advance rapidly to a practical course. Redgrave continued his evidence, and in doing so highlighted the central issue which had dogged the School over this twelve-year period:

> I think there seems to be a want of true appreciation as to what is the nature of the School of Design. Whether it is intended to merely be an elementary school that shall teach mechanics and others to draw, or whether it be a fountain of design, from which designers go forth, into the country to teach those who supply designs to manufacturers in different provincial towns. (Sessional Papers, 1847, p. 32)

Townsend, Horsley and Richardson advocated a total reaffirmation of the School's role. Richardson supported a return to the model of the Gwerb Institut. Horsley and Townsend suggested that the teachers should take control, doing away with a need for a Director. The Morning School teachers were generally less critical, siding with Wilson. But the Director increasingly did little to instill much confidence in his directorship. He was reduced to sniping at his critics on matters of little importance, such as time-keeping. And, for someone who had absented himself for four months from the School, his evidence became less and less credible. Further, he had the affrontary to suggest that student didn't meet entry requirements for his class, a claim that did not enamour him to what by now had become a highly critical Committee. The Committee took an opposing view:

> Your committee are of the opinion that although it is impracticable to teach the details of the manufacturing processes of the pupils in the School, yet it appears to your Committee to be essential that the Masters (those of them that teach Design) should possess a general knowledge of the peculiar conditions to be observed in producing designs for manufactures, and they should communicate this knowledge of the capabilities of manufacture to the students in the design section of each class. (Sessional Papers, 1847, p. 10)

It was obvious that Wilson would have to go; but as in the case of the removal of Herbert, the Council was left with a delicate political situation. They achieved this by developing an idea given to them by the masters of the Evening School who had proposed a structure of three

classes, i.e. Colour, Form, and Ornament, each with its own Head Teacher. This effectively made Wilson redundant. They further reduced the size of the Council, replacing it with a more compact Committee of Instruction which the Board of Trade was to, in 1848, rename the Committee of Management. Ironically, considering Wilson's pityful performance, he was offered the post as Head of Ornament, a post he refused, as he wanted to become Curator of the Museum, a post that the Council was not prepared to offer him. He was finally offered, and accepted, the post of Director of Provincial Schools, a position he held barely a month before taking a place as Master of The Glasgow School. Wilson's forced removal and the new policy for the School was to cause casualties amongst the Committee. Etty and Colborn resigned after the first Report was made public. One would have hoped that after such a period of introspection and reaffirmation, concluding with the dismissal of Wilson, the School of Design would settle into a modicum of normality. This was not to be, but a figure was to appear on the horizon who would cast the School in his own mould. The man was Henry Cole.

CHAPTER IV

THE SCHOOLS OF DESIGN UNDER THE MANAGEMENT OF HENRY COLE

THE BEGINNING OF A NATIONAL ART EDUCATION PROGRAMME

From 1847 the School of Design operated without a Director. The teachers had taken control of yet another ambitious educational experiment in the School's history. It appeared that Wilson's adversaries had cause for celebration, as Dyce, Herbert, and Burchett a former pupil and leader of the 1845 "Rebellion," were invited to return to the School as teachers. Considering the School's chequered history in the area of interpersonal relationships, it was not altogether surprising that squabbles were to occur even amongst men who essentially agreed on an educational policy for the School. Dyce apparently appeared to resent the popularity enjoyed by Townsend and Horsley, and complained about the quality of the students who were entering his class of ornament. Macdonald (1970) suggests that far from Townsend and Horsley being responsible for diverting students to their own classes, the students themselves avoided the class because "they could copy patterns and ornaments from books in their workshops" (p. 132). Dyce's ideas for the practical training of the artisan, like the Prussian Gwerb Institut, which sought to provide a programme which fused art and manufacture, found little encouragement from either the Committee for Instruction or the Board of Trade. Indeed, their

objections were to be reflected in statements a year later when the 1849 Select Committee expressed that in their view, "the Schools are educational institutions, and their main object is to produce not so much designs as designers, and persons better qualified to apply and execute design in all its branches" (Sessional Papers, 1849, p. iv). Dyce was not the only teacher that this Report took to task over the inappropriateness of their courses of instruction. Macdonald (1970) indicates that during an inspection of the School by members of the Board of Trade, members were critical of the quality of work of students from Dyce, Townsend and Horsley. Dyce and Horsley resigned, and yet another shuffle of teachers occurred. Herbert replaced Dyce as Head of Ornament, and Redgrave took over as Head of Colour. It is not surprising that the Board of Trade were anxious at the lack of leadership at the School. There was a groundswell of opinion that believed that the School had made little progress. A questionnaire that had been sent to manufacturers confirmed the Select Committee's susicions. In spite of some 15,000 to 16,000 students passing through the Schools, pitifully few manufacturers were actively employing designers. It is doubtful whether the industrialists actually were convinced at all that a marriage between art and industry would raise the levels of British Design to that of our continental competitors. There were, however, a few enlightened individuals. The 1849 Art Journal praised Joshuia Wedgewood for his foresight:

> Referring to a class of manufacture that admits as closer connection with Fine Arts than any other, we may allude to the glorious career of the great Wedgewood; he was an example of the results to be obtained from a manufacturer fitted for his position. No chance of whim directed him to secure the services

> of Flaxman; appreciating knowledge prompted the selection; and mark the triumphant finish that harvested their labours. (p. 372).

Wedgewood, thought, was not representative of the attitudes of the majority of British manufacturers and the 1849 Art Journal censures them for their almost indiscriminate eclectism when it cam to product design:

> How often has it occurred, when in the discharge of his duty he has selected portions of examples in various styles to form a compound suited to his peculiar reslish a dash of Gothic--relieved by a spice of Renaissance--sobered by an infusion of Grecian--and enlivened by a flow of Arabesque. (p. 372)

Henry Cole, a civil servant with the Public Records Office who was credited with the reform of the patent laws, the construction of the Grimsby Docks, and the introduction of the Penny Post (MacCarthy, 1979), was seen by Shaw Lefevre, the Vice President of the Board of Trade, as having the single-mindedness to be able to harness the hitherto untetherable reigns of the School of Design. Cole had one other significant qualification for the position; not only was he a proven administrator, he was active in his advocacy for links to be established between art and manufacture. In 1846, using the pseudonym "Summerly," he won a silver medal from the Society of Arts in a competition for the design of a tea pot. MacCarthy, in her book, A History of British Design, says that Cole was meticulous in his research for the project, visiting the British Museum for visual references and Minton's, the Staffordshire pottery manufacturers to learn as much as he could about the technical aspects of production. It is interesting to note that Cole's modus operandus, i.e. the reflection on exemplars of the past linked with the actual processes of

manufacture, was not unlike the method that Dyce had wished to establish at the School of Design. Cole, in 1847, buoyed by his success, established "Summerly Art Manufactures," and gathered around him personnel from the School of Design. He recruited Dyce, Herbert, John Bell, Redgrave and Westmacott to form a partnership with manufacturers in a joint venture to produce elegant objects for everyday use. Though Cole was, according to MacCarthy, the "ultimate propogandist for design," he was not prepared to take on the responsibility of leadership of the School. He did, however, prepare three reports on the state of the School. In the first two, Bell (1963) states that "he suggested that the schools should be given a realistic industrial basis by being converted into a State industry--a kind of manufacture, Royale" (p. 219). He was, however, to drop this all too radical an idea, finally concluding in the third Report that "the schools were, as present established, incurable" (p. 219). The term "incurable" was not as finite a term as it might first appear, for in his evidence to the 1849 Select Committee, Cole stated, "I do not consider the failure of the School of Design is a question depending on artists; it is a question of management" (Sessional Papers, 1849, p. 160).

The Select Committee had been appointed on March 15, 1849, to inquire into and to report to parliament on the constitution and and management of the School of Design. Once again, witnesses representing the management committee, the teachers from Somerset House and the provinces, "some gentlemen who take an interest in the subject and have all devoted attention to it" (Sessional Papers, 1849, p. iii)

and a variety of manufacturers and designers were called to view their opinions. The Report itself is comparatively short, though the minutes of the evidence taken from the witnesses is very extensive and it also contains as an appendix Cole's submissions for reform of the School. Considering the amount of internal wrangling that had become very much a part of the School's life, and the public and professional criticism that had assailed it, the Report is noticeably optimistic in tone. It states, "in an undertaking of so novel and experimental a character difficulties have arisen, and no doubt errors have been committed" (Sessional Papers, 1849, p. iii). The 1849 Art Journal was, however, in no doubt that the Report had been quite deliberately tampered with; it states, "those who read the 'Report' only, without reference to the appendix, containing the examination of the witnesses, would gain but a very erroneous and inadequate idea of the nature of the depositions" (p. 270). The Select Committee believed that there was sufficient evidence for it to recommend continued support for a national school of design. They state:

> Witnesses almost all agree in thinking the maintenance of Schools of Design to be an object of national importance, and even those who consider the schools to be at present in the least satisfactory state; are ready to admit the value of such institutions to the manufactures of the country. (Sessional Papers, 1849, p. iii)

A major criticism which was continually put at the door of the School of Design was that it never really got beyond a "mere drawing school"; and indeed, even in its drawing programme, was structured in such a way as to virtually prevent students from progressing to the most advanced levels. The Report, in an attempt to meet the challenge

of such criticism, pointed out that the Schools almost inevitably took on the appearance of elementary institutions because incoming students were not sufficiently skilled. This necessitated them pursuing a much more basic course of study than they would have otherwise taken. The Report states that "the importance of this sound grounding has not always been comprehended and too great anxiety has been shown in some cases to recap premature fruits of the Schools" (Sessional Papers, 1849, p. iv). The perennial issue of whether the programme should be more closely related to actual manufacture was voiced by the teachers of the Evening School. Dyce stated:

> My view was that students should be taught to make working models and patterns, and in order to do that it was necessary they should understand the various processes of manufactures to which the designs should be applied. (Sessional Papers, 1849, p. 59)

Horsley held the same opinion; be believed that "actual design should form a part of instruction in all Classes, that is to say designs applied to manufactures; but the committee of management did not agree" (Sessional Papers, 1849, p. 84). The Select Committee appears to have agreed with Dyce and Horsley, stating that they "urge the necessity which they consider exists of giving the schools a more practical character than they appear at present to bear" (Sessional Papers, 1849, p. 888). The Committee indeed went further and suggested that all teachers should regularly visit industry in order to better acquaint themselves of the manufactureres' needs. Henry Cole was not only a witness called before the Select Committee, he also advised the chairman, Milner-Gibson, in the preparation of the Draft Report. Cole's intervention "was so strong against the School that the Select

Committee could not approve it" (Macdonald, 1970, p. 138). The final report was more favourable to the Committee and was agreed upon. Cole, however, was not satisfied and published his own account, using his own publication, The Journal of Design, in which Sutton (1967) states Cole waged "the most devastating attack on the teaching and management of the Government School of Design" (p. 57). Cole's and Redgrave's evidence, in spite of being so critical, impressed many Committee members, so much so that Carline (1968) states:

> It was scarcely to be doubted that the future reorganisation of the school would be placed in their hands, since they alone seemed sure of the course to be taken. But reorganisation could not, by itself, provide the solution, which lay in reforming the character of the teaching. (p. 81)

Carline's statement that the committee saw in Cole the much needed reformer of the curriculum is most apposite, for it was Cole who proposed significant streamlining of the administration at Somerset House and the development of drawing in all schools of general education--a policy which was for the first time to establish art education as a necessary part of all children's schooling. These actions would be the initial step in the creation of a national art education programme. Carline's characterization of a mood amongst the members of the Select Committee in favour of this reform package, a move which would place Cole in the executive position, was greeted with alarm by an article which appeared in the 1849 Art Journal:

> Rumors of various kinds are in circulation; one affirms that the three masters are to have it all their own ways, to be their own directors and controllers, the country to be only their paymasters. Another rumor is still more proposterous; that a party who has for two or three years successfully labouring to prove his own incompetency as to all matters appertaining to design, is to obtain a permanent place in that direction. Another

> rumour, scarcely less absurd, is that no change whatsoever is to take place in the arrangement. It will of course be our duty next month to deal with the subject at length; endeavouring to show that while on the one hand the Institution is easily capable of improvement, and ought to be improved, it would be little short of madness so to alter its character and constitution as to destroy it for all practical purposes. (p. 231)

Cole was, however, too fully engaged with preparations for the 1851 Great Exhibition, and it was not until 1852 that the Board of Trade created a Department of Practical Art and appointed Cole as Superintendent of Schools of Practical Art, with Redgrave as Art Superintendent. With Cole's appointment, Macdonald (1970) states, :a national system of art education was set up of such thoroughness and rigidity that it truly merited the name 'cast iron'" (p. 157). There is evidence that during the period from publication of the 1849 Select Committee Report and Cole's appointment, the School had experienced a relatively trouble-free existence. Bell (1963) states, "the age of scandals and resignations was over." Criticism decreased appreciably, perhaps as a result of the mounting interest in the planning of the 1851 Great Exhibition, which was to be the ultimate celebration of art and manufacture. Cole certainly lessened his attacks on the School and even The Art Journal, which had waged a long campaign, particularly against the perceived mismanagement of the School, began to give cautious praise. In an article describing an exhibition of student work at Somerset House, Ralph Wornum states:

> Still, let any prejudiced person who knows anything about the state of design in this country only a few years back, stroll leisurely through these rooms, and reflect that he is surrounded by the works of art of totally novel cultivation amongst us; he must admit that the amount of interest in the subject from the

> extent of the exhibition, the skill and taste in execution, the variety and absolute invention displayed, are perfectly surprising and perhaps unparalleled. (p. 104)

Cole's first Report of the Department of Practical Art, published in 1853, outlined a strategy for reform which effectively sounded the death knell for the Schools of Design. It was more than an arbitrary change of title; the schools had been renamed Schools of Practical Art, but their mission was no longer focused purely on advancing the artisan designer. Cole advanced a three-phase plan for the entire country. The Head School, named The Normal Training School of Art in August 1852 and accommodated in Marlborough House, would act as the hub of a network of schools all following a common curriculum engineered by Redgrave. A generally agreed failing throughout the Schools of Design existence was that the authorities had sought to establish a school of higher education without regard to the provision for primary and secondary feeder institutions. The Report states:

> The proposed objects of the Department were classed under the respective divisions. 1st General Elementary Instruction in Art, as a branch of national education among all classes of the community, with a view of laying the foundation of correct judgment, both in the consumer and the producer of manufactures; 2nd Advanced Instruction in Art, with a view to its special cultivation; and lastly, the Application of the Principles of Technical Art to the improvement of Manufactures, together with the establishment of Museums, by which all classes might be induced to investigate the common principles of taste, which may be traced in the works of excellence of all ages. (Sessional Papers, 1852-53, p. 2)

The Department of Practical Art, under Cole's Superintendency, became the administrative centrepiece of a national art education programme. The power was firmly rooted in Cole's and Redgrave's hands. It was hoped to make the system as self-supporting as was possible. In

the sphere of elementary education, local authorities would bear the financial responsibilities for the teaching of art with the Department of Practical Art "merely assisting the initiative" (Sessional Papers, 1852-53, p. 2). The parochial schools would employ Training School trained teachers, and the Department would make available "Collections of Examples" "to any public school for twenty-seven shillings, being half the prime cost to the Department" (see Appendix E for details). Advanced Instruction was to be made available at local "Schools of Practical Art" (formerly Schools of Design). A degree of autonomy was given to these, but the Department still very much controlled "the character of instruction" (Sessional Papers, 1852-53, p. 2). Control by the Department was total--in the "Principles of Technical Art," the Report states that in these classes "operations are conducted without the intervention of any other authority" (pp. 2-3).

The shift of emphasis in Cole's programme was very much towards the needs of general education, the assumption being that by improving the quality of art education at the primary level, the country would benefit from the production of more informed consumers. An additional benefit would also be that the Schools of Practical Art would have more advanced incoming students for their programme. In an address at the opening of an Elementary School for Drawing in Westminster, on June 2, 1852, Cole stated:

> It has taken a long period of 14 years to arrive at the conviction that in order to educate the competent designer, you cannot avoid the obligation of first teaching the very elements of art--a power of drawing; such being the low state of art education in this country. (Sessional Papers, 1852-1853, p. 55)

The success of Cole's reform was to be dependent on the effectiveness of the dissemination of what was a national art education curriculum. He had created three levels of involvement for the Department of Practical Art, and each level would require teachers who were fully conversant with the approved methods. The Normal Training School of Art bore the responsibility for training teachers for the parochial schools, masters for the Schools of Practical Art, and the advanced training in the technical arts. Richard Carline, in his book, Draw They Must, suggests that the emphasis Cole placed on teacher training was indeed an error. He states, "here we have the real fault: the good teacher must be an artist in the first place and the ability to teach must follow" (p. 81). It was not, however, Cole's intention to produce "artist/teachers"; indeed quite the contrary, he wished to establish a legion of "teachers of art" who would use the materials produced by the Department as if they were the bible of art education.

The exercises and materials were designed in such a manner as to not require an artist but a "teacher" to administer them. In the 1854 first Report of the Department of Science and Art, the Bishop of St. Asaph pinpointed the need for teacher-proof materials; he suggested:

> The preparation of a series of drawing--copies of familiar objects, particularly intended for poor schools in remote districts, where it was unlikely that a systematic teaching of drawing could be imparted by a special master. (Sessional Papers, 1854, p. xiv)

The Bishop further suggested that examples, if provided for the schools, would have a salutory effect in relieving "the dry, cheerless aspect which the whitewashed schoolrooms present, and are always useful in developing habits of observation and inducing higher aspects of

study" (Sessional Papers, 1854, p. xx). These suggestions for "art in schools" pre-dated goals set by the "Association of Art for Schools," an organisation to which, some 30 years later, Archdeacon Farrar gave his unreserved support during a presentation at the London Institution. There was, however, some qualification; he believed that only the highest forms of art should be exhibited, cautioning against the dangers of popular art, stating "one would think the main object of English life was the study of the merits of Cadbury's Cocoa, Colman's Mustard, and, above all, Pears Soap" (Journal of Education, 1884, p. 496).

Cole's system of art teaching was seen by some as a challenge to the quite commonly held belief that artists were somehow born with innate ability. Walter Smith (1872) stated that the programme "shattered the ancient notion of genius monopolizing art powers" (p. 9). Indeed, Smith pursued this further:

> There are but four classes of human beings whom it is not found practicable to instruct in drawing. They are the blind, the idiotic, the lunatic, and the parlytic. Of the rest of mankind and womankind, exactly a hundred per cent can be taught to draw. (p. 9)

The undoubted architect of the syllabus was Richard Redgrave; but it was "Cole's genius for centralized bureaucracy" (Thistlewood, 1986, p. 73), that enabled South Kensington to exercise such powerful control over what was taught and by whom. Redgrave's syllabus was a comprehensive, sequenced series of 23 Stages, graduated levels of difficulty (see Appendix F for description of the course of instruction). Thistlewood (1986) suggests that "it was a cradle to grave system" (p. 73). There were three levels of achievement: Grade 1

being for all schoolchildren up to 15 years, Grade 2, for all above that age, and for evening class, students and teachers of elementary drawing in parochial schools (see Appendix G for examples of examinations for this grade). The pinnacle of the system was Grade 3, which was intended for all professional teachers of art, artists, engineers, and architects. At this professional level, there were six certificates available, each certificate corresponding to various of the 23 Stages of the Course of Instruction. The efficiency of the system was alluded to by Smith (1872), who stated:

> This systematizing of art study is made more certain by annual examinations of the schools in every grade of study, with the same tests for each grade in every school throughout the country; and this unification extends even to holding the annual examinations at the same hour in all schools of the United Kingdom. (pp. 132-133).

The Department of Practical Art underwent a change of title in March 1853, when it became part of the Department of Science and Art. The creation of this new department could be seen as being the Government's validation of the programme established for art education. One sees in the first Report of the Department of Science and Art, published in 1854, the beginnings of a truly national educational system. Science and Art had been brought together "through the instrumentality of the Department in connection with the Executive Government, having to support, and being subject to the control of Parliament, the means for mutual co-operation and corresopndence to every district of the Kingdom" (Sessional Papers, 1854, pp. ix-x). The Government was indeed firmly in control, though the Report is at pains to absolve itself from any potential criticism of dictatorship:

> The Metropolitan Establishment, supported to a considerable extent by the fees of the pupils, was not regarded as an attempt on the part of the State, to its own views of Science and Art, but as a healthy and perpetually progressive exhibition of advancing knowledge. (Sessional Papers, 1854, p. xi)

The Report's declared intent not to impose its own views was certainly not shared by Cole or Redgrave. They were dedicated to see that individual art teachers did not deviate from the established curriculum. One of the ways in which they achieved conformity was by linking teachers' salaries to the results achieved by their students in national competition; they, as Thistlewood (1986) states:

> ... ensured the compliance of teachers. The only means of increasing earnings beyond this was by the incremental value of certificates gained in the upper reaches of the system of instruction. And so there was an entirely watertight means of ensuring the priority of a national curriculum, with inbuilt staff incentives to be certain of detailed implementation. (p. 75)

The national course of instruction was essentially a course in copying; only Stages 22 and 23 freed the students from slavish exercises of imitation. Redgrave believed that this was the ultimate stage in the student's training. At this level they could, because of their background of acquired skills of imitation, finally be released from its constraints. Having reached Stage 22, Redgrave states:

> The ornamentalist enters upon the consideration of the fundamental principles wherein his Art differs from Fine Art, the latter continuing to rely on selected imitation of nature, pictorially and perspectively treated as his means of expression, whilst the former, the ornamentalist--is taught to make use of whatever is beautiful in nature, either in form or colour, irrespective of imitation, choosing the general expression of objects, rather than likeness. (Sessional Papers, 1853, p. 32)

Few students ever achieved these levels. Macdonald (1970) states: "only a minority of the students ever reached Stage 10, indeed, sometimes about half of all students, even at the larger School of Art,

such as the one at Manchester, were only at Stage 2" (p. 188). The programme of instruction had irrefutably shed any vestige of Dyce's mission to train the artisan specifically for employment in manufacturing industry. The 1854 Report indicates that the only technically orientated subjects offered were porcelain painting, engraving, and lithography. Technical instruction within the programme began to take a quite definite back seat, though Cole was adamant that:

> The courses for mechanical drawing, architectural and structural details connected with plastic arts and surface details ... are essentially of general application to very many classes of manufacture and are part of the course in teaching in the training class. (Sessional Papers, 1854, p. xlviii)

It is somewhat contradictory to see Henry Cole, the hitherto ardent advocate or programmes of art instruction that had and industrial rather than a fine art focus, to be so totally supportive of Redgrave's syllabus. After all, the philosophies propounded by Dyce and Wallis had also been shared by Cole, but now the special technical courses provided by the School were merely tokens to formerly held beliefs. Bell (1963) suggests "that the students still wanted to be artists and the industrialists still insisted that all the technical training should be undertaken in their own workshops" (p. 257). From this point in the School's history, the concept of a School of Design ceased to exist and the Art School as we know it today emerged on a national scale. The systematic programme sought to switch its emphasis from the practical training of the artisan to a focus on the improvement of the "taste" of the consumer. In this way, it was believed that the nation would benefit from producing more skilled students for art schools, and those individuals not pursuing vocational

interests would also be able to "appreciate the results of the Schools in improving manufactures as the consumers of them" (Sessional Papers, 1853, p. 78). The Art Journal, reknowned for the outspoken nature of its criticism of the Schools of Design, in its report on the Select Committee on Schools of Art in 1864, gave guarded praise the the achievement of the Schools:

> There can be no doubt on this head; much benefit to Art Manufacture and to the country has arisen out of the establishment of the ninety schools in connection with the Department of Science and Art. The money granted annually by Government has not all been mis-spent: many artisans have been taught to know what they are doing when they work; there have been several pupils who have become educated aids to employers; employers have received better ideas than they previously had of the value of Art to manufacture; and the public has been much enlightened on subjects concerning which it was not long ago utterly in the dark. (Art Journal, 1865, p. 280)

The praise, though, contains undercurrents of malcontent; and these relate specifically to the Journal's belief, which was shared by the Select Committee members, that the Cole regime had essentially failed in its prime mission: the training of the British artisans so that they might compete more effectively with foreign products. The Journal states:

> The Art-instruction of the artisan is the "main object" of the Schools but it is an object of secondary importance with the authorities of South Kensington. Yet it is notorious that this "main object" is in France the main source of superiority in Art manufactured produce. (Art Journal, 1865, p, 281).

Thirty years had passed since the Government took its first tentative steps into the realm of art education, and still there was no clear resolution about the best manner in which to implement a programme which would unify art and manufacture. Bell (1963) suggests alarmingly, but not without a grain of truth, that indeed a hundred

years later, "the dispute continues to this day--left the Art Schools of this country with the worst of both worlds--the dreary paper work of the Academy and the dry exactitude of the factory" (p. 257).

CHAPTER V

ART AND INDUSTRY, THE GREAT EXHIBITION AND THE ORIGINS OF THE VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

The 1836 Select Committee and the successive parliamentary reports were to impact upon Britain in three particular and interrelated areas. As a result of the opinions expressed and proposals sanctioned, the "museum," "education," and "manufacturing industry," were to form an alliance, from which, the proponents hoped, beleagured British manufacture would rise phoenix-like from years of aesthetic neglect. By 1849, the Schools of Design had been well established, though they clearly lacked both a unified pedagogic philosophy and inspired leadership. The 1849 Select Committee on the School of Design had reaffirmed earlier intentions that the taste of both producer and consumer would be enhanced by the establishment of museums of art and manufacture. Thirdly, manufacturers began to recognise that their undoubted world leadership in machine technology was not sufficient in itself to command commercial success; and that their competitor nations constantly edged Britain out in terms of design aesthetics. Henry Cole, a civil servant with the Public Records Office, arguably did more than any other to remedy the situation on a nationwide scale. His initial flirtation with design for manufacture was in the form of a prize-winning teapot created for the Society of Arts, which gave him

"the idea that an alliance between fine art and manufacture would promote public taste" (MacCarthy, 1979, p. 8). Cole was extremely critical of the haphazard, eclectic nature of British design. There appeared to him to be no attempt on the part of either the designer or the manufacturer to resort to what Cole considered were universal principles governing all design. Indeed, in his own prize-winning design, he had sought inspiration from Grecian vases in the British Museum. It was, however, not his intention to merely imitate an earlier style, but to extract those classical principles which would be as appropriate in contemporary society as they were in ancient times. Cole acted as somewhat of a magnet to others who shared his philosophy. Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin published, in 1841, the influential True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture and "established his own workshops, anticipating Morris and all the Arts and Crafts" (MacCarthy, 1979, p. 11). Owen Jones, a young Welsh architect and theorist would eventually, in 1868, publish The Grammar of Ornament, a treatise in which he established a series of propositions concerning general laws that he believed appertained to all design. The book, though providing a theoretical model, was intended to have very practical effects:

> I might aid in arresting that unfortunate tendency of our time to be content with copying, whilst the fashion lasts, the forms peculiar to any bygone age, without attempting to ascertain, generally completely ignoring the peculiar circumstances which rendered an ornament beautiful, because it was appropriate, and which, as expressive of other wants when transplanted, as entirely fails. (p. 1)

Jones and Pugin were to join Cole in his brainchild, "Summerly Art Manufactures," and would assist in preparations for the 1851 Great

Exhibition. MacCarthy (1979) suggests that Summerly's products "were hardly epoch making; to a very large extent, they were products of their time with a craze for ingenuity" (p. 10). (See Appendix H for an 1848 Punch commentary on design for manufactures.) MacCarthy (1979), however, believes that Cole was "less important as a visual innovator than as the first great propogandist for design" (p. 10).

The spirit of reform which characterized this part of the nineteenth century in Britain, the desire for change so apparent in socio-political and economic realms, was no less a part of the agenda in the sphere of art/manufacture. Cole certainly was the pivitol figure in the dissemination of proposals for new attitudes towards the relationship between art and industry; and he used his publication, The Journal of Design and Manufactures, to spread the word. The general public were well served with publications keeping them informed of developments in art and manufacture. The Art Journal, formerly the Art Union Journal, and to a certain extent a rival of Cole's magazine, played a significant role in developing the public's consciousness of the aesthetics of the everyday object of utility. It must have seemed, at times, to those outside the field of art education, that just about anything was fair game for the artisan designer's embellishment. What must also have been somewhat confusing was the abundance of views of what indeed constituted an "appropriate" style. Punch, the satirical magazine, had a field day examining, a little tongue-in-cheeck one suspects, a range of issues from the design proposals for a statue of the Duke of Wellington, aristocratic women defending British manufactures with unbridled patriotism, to suggestions that examples of

fine art should grace the walls of stations. (See Appendix I.) Punch contributors took special delight in lampooning the new "artists of manufacture"; an 1848 article entitled "Art Manufactures" states:

> A laudable attempt is being made to apply the Arts to the domestic utensils required of very-day life, and a mustard pot of ETTY has already been advertised. A sugar basin from designs by PICKERSGILL is to come next; and an illustrated boot jack is we believe, now on the easel of an artist, whose name we are not at liberty to mention. LANDSEER is to be intrusted with a commission for a set of pudding basins, and FRANK STONE has a Bath brick placed in his hands, with a carte blanche to do what he likes with it ... REDGRAVE has got a shirt in active preparation, with a domestic incident on each cuff, a scene of home affections on the bosom, and a bit of charming landscape on the collar. We are glad to hail this laudable desire on the part of FELIX SUMMERLY to introduce High Art to our wardrobes and our dwellings by pursuing the spirited course we have called attention to. (p. 102)

Though Punch's commentary contains much humour, this ought not be allowed to discredit what was undoubtedly an exuberant, yet philosophically sound reappraisal of the role of art in British manufacture. It seems, therefore, extremely timely that H.R.H. Prince Albert should have, in June 1849, met with T. Cubitt, H. Cole, F. Fuller, and J. Scott Russell of the Society of Arts, to discuss his proposal for a collection of works of industry and art to be exhibited in 1851. The Art Journal, on January 1, 1850, expressed with almost missionary zeal their support of this enterprize support, which is all the more highlighted considering the barrage of negative criticism that they constantly showered on matters relating to the Schools of Design:

> October 17th, 1849, will be a day often referred to in the history of the Progress of Industrial Art. It will be said, "a Prince, the descendant of a race among the first to achieve and defend the freedom of the mind, the foundation of all real progress, had that day summoned the "magnates" of the city,--by its wealth and

> commercial intercourse for more the metropolis of the world, than from these circumstances alone the capital of Great Britain,--to consider and determine upon a plan for the exhibition of works of Industry and Art, the result of the genius or the skill of every clime, manufactured from the produce of the globe. (p. 1)

Prince Albert's initiative certainly caught the imagination of educators, manufacturers and public alike. The entire project was a masterwork of creative organisation; and as such, Minihan (1972) argues that it provides the researcher with a unique opportunity to analyse the dynamics of socio-political and economic nineteenth century Britain. She suggests, however, that three aspects of this relationship have specific significance: "the Exhibition's financial backing, the place of the arts in the Crystal Palace and the influence the spectacle ultimately exerted on British art education" (p. 99). From its inception, it was decided that the project would be funded entirely by private enterprize. Indeed, it was recognized by all involved that the Government would be unwilling to grant any subsidies to such a private venture. State intervention and the granting of funds to initiatives managed privately was something that the Government was extremely charry about, as one could see from their more than tentative steps into the field of general education. British manufacture, though, was at last beginning to blossom, and Cole and Fuller, who were designated to travel the length and breadth of Britain soliciting opinions and support from manufacturers, were received most favourably. The January 1, 1850 edition of The Art Journal stated: "the result was in all places the same, there was a uniform expression of gratitude to H.R.H. Prince Albert for the interest he showed in the commercial prosperity of this most favoured land" (p. 1). It was also

decided by the planning committee that to encourage manufacturers' participation, and the possible development of products which under normal market conditions would have been unprofitable, they would would establish substantial financial premiums.

The links established between finance, art and manufacture did more than just facilitate an international trade exhibition. Minihan (1972) argues that the relationships so formed gave further momentum to a philosophy which placed "value" on art only where it could be shown to have a financial return:

> The Great Exhibition gave considerable support to the attitude that demanded of art some profitable purpose or instructive lesson. The subordination of art to commercial ends, which first received official endorsement in the 1830s, became part of a widely shared public sentiment in the 1850s and 1860s. (p. 100)

From the outset, it was decided that the creation of a Royal Commission to oversee the Exhibition would assist in deflecting any criticism of impartiality, and the action would establish confidence in the organisation. The Commission's tasks were threefold: (1) deciding on the nature of the prizes, (2) responsibility for awarding prizes, and (3) decisions concerning the nature of the Exhibition. The Commission appears to have been both politically and diplomatically astute as it insisted that judging panels should consist of manufacturers, artists and "foreigners." It is significant that the organising committee spent considererable time developing criteria by which the works should be judged. Commentary in the 1850 Art Journal draws attention to the fact that the requisites that applied to excellence in art as applied to manufacture were indeed the same as those requisites for fine art. The Journal states, "in Fine Art we

seek dignity, simplicity, truth; in Manufactures, design, elaboration, both subservient to utility" (p. 2). The 1835 Select Committee had publicly voiced concern about the quality of the British designer; and fourteen years on, the same concerns were still being expressed. There was, however, a feeling that there was considerable latent potential which was as yet untapped. The January 1 Art Journal states:

> We are afraid great misapprehension exists among many as to the capabilities of the English artist, the manufacturer, and artisan. That they are inferior as to design in many respects cannot be denied; that they are so inferior as to imply what some seek to establish--their inability to excel--we utterly deny. (p. 2)

The criteria so emphatically established by the Royal Commission would appear to herald a period of greater sensitivity to ornament in manufacture. Its dictum of fitness for purpose would have been something which William Morris and Walter Gropius could have supported. The Exhibition pieces, however, with very few exceptions, far from exemplifying the idea that ornament was "subservient to utility," appear to be the results of the manufacturers' quest to disguise utility beneath a dense spray of foliage. Ralph Wornum, in his prize-winning essay, "The Exhibition as a Lesson in Taste in Art-Manufacture," published in 1851 in The Crystal Palace Exhibition: Illustrated Catalogue, clearly suggests that ornamentation of ordinary objects is a general tendency:

> For there is a stage when the mind must revolt at a mere crude utility. So it is a natural propensity to decorate or embellish whatever is useful or agreeable to us. But just as there are mechanical laws which regulate all our efforts in pure uses, so there are laws of the mind which must regulate aesthetical efforts expressly in the attempt at decoration or ornamental design. (p. xxxi***)

Wornum's critical essay displays considerable impartiality, he attacks the mishmash of eclectism in design for manufacture without favour to country of origin. Much of what he saw, he believed, failed to measure up to his and the Commissions' principles of good design, and when it did, the impact was even greater because of the context in which those designs found themselves. This was particularly true of the products exhibited by Joshuia Wedgwood, which Wornum states:

> Appear more beautiful than ever, surrounded as they are by such endless specimens of prevailing, gorgeous taste of the present day, which gives the eye no resting place and presents no idea to the mind, from want of individuality in its gorgeous designs. (p. v***).

The Great Exhibition was indeed a financial success. After all expenses were met, the profit was an incredible 186,000 pounds. Success in finance was shared with the success of advanced technology. Commercial profit and technological developments were, however, overshadowed by the only too apparent truth, that British products lacked taste. George Nicols, in his book, Art Education: Applied to Industry, states:

> The English people did not seem to realize the superiority of the nations of the Continent, and especially France, until the great exposition of 1851. They were quick enough to perceive it then and profit by the examples of their neighbours. (p. 65)

The Exhibition did contain products which were to have a major influence in the areas of design and mass-production techniques. Two in particular are worthy of special mention: the "revolving chair," exhibited by the American Chair Company of New York, and Michael Thonet's intriguing use of bentwood. John Gloag, in his introduction to The Illustrated Catalogue, states:

> Nobody apparently suspected that during the rest of the nineteenth century they would revolutionize the form of mass-produced seat furniture, compete with the popular traditional American forms of rocking chair, and challenge the use of cast iron for such household furnishings as hat and umbrella stands. (p. xi)

If Henry Cole had been reluctant to take charge of the School of Design after the departure of C. H. Wilson, his and his colleagues' disappointment with the range of tasteless manufactures they saw must have whetted his appetite to steer the school and art education nationally in a direction which would create harmony between art and industrial design. The programme to train the artist/designer so ambitiously instigated in 1836, had not yet reaped the benefits of reform. Minihan (1972) states:

> Obviously the programme to train the artist-artisans undertaken by the Schools of Design, had neither produced skilled designers, nor taught the public to demand higher standards of excellence, the quality of industrial design and the nature of public demand were interdependant and any future scheme of art education would have to take both factors into account. (p. 103)

It was obvious to Henry Cole and members of his group, including Jones and Redgrave, that the School of Design, and art education in general, was in urgent need of a major overhaul. The Exhibition being finished, and Cole being released from his responsibilities, there could have been no more appropriate time for him to embark upon his grand design. The Exhibition had been a major catalyst for a new awareness of the importance of art as it related to industry. It was decided that all profits should be directed towards enhancing art education. Five thousand pounds were set aside for the purchase of instructional examples from the Exhibition to support those already in the possession of the School of Design which, unfortunately, "had been

kept in lamentable disarray" (MacCarthy, 1979, p. 16). The Museum was now to become a major factor in the education of both consumer and producer.

Henry Cole's ascendancy to the Superintendancy of the Schools of Practical Art in 1852 was not only to change the face of mid-nineteenth century art education in Great Britain, but his continuing involvement in the affairs of the Great Exhibition held in London in 1851, would provide the legacy which would ultimately become the Victoria and Albert Museum. Though Cole, more than any other single figure, is credited with founding the "V and A," his efforts had antecedents as early as 1836. It was as a result of the Select Committee Report of that year that the Board of Trade had made advances to the Treasury to establish a "School of Design in connexion with a Museum." The Committee suggested that the institution "should contain the most approved modern specimens, foreign as well as domestic, which our extensive commerce would readily convey to us from the most distant quarters of the globe" (Sessional Papers, 1836, p. v). The museum was seen as an ideal vehicle for both informing and training the artisan designer and in elevating the level of taste of the general public. The Select Committee pressed hard their claim that the School of Design should have "everything, in short, which exhibits in combination the efforts of the artist and the workman" (Sessional Papers, 1836, p. v.).

In 1838, under William Dyce's directorship of the School of Design, 1,500 pounds was allocated by Parliament for the purchase of examples from Paris. Dyce, of all the directors of the School, was the most committed to the use of practical training of the potential

designer a training which necessitated not only studio experience, but reference to historical exemplars of design. Casts of ornament, natural forms and the figure were considered by Dyce to be of vital importance in his sequenced programme of seven classes. He believed that examples should be used in both a school and museum setting and had plans to establish a "Museum of English Ornamental Art." Although Dyce's vision was primarily focused on establishing a collection of ornamental art, Bell (1963) states that Dyce "envisaged a permanent collection of all patterns" (p. 87). Dyce's plans for establishing such a collection were further motivated by a patent act which would preserve design rights. His idea of using patterns created at the school for future reference was, it appears, a concept not to find favour with his successors. When he was questioned by the 1849 Select Committee, after reiterating his opinion of the usefulness of a collection of examples and patterns for manufacture, he suggested that not all at the School of Design shared his view. He was outraged that, in spite of the School Council's commitment to the formation of a collection,

> after a period, it was either forgotten for what purposes those copies were to be preserved, or they were sent to the school and some parties in authority at the time, considered them scarcely worthy of being preserved. (Sessional Papers, 1849, pp. 63-64)

Charles Heath Wilson, Dyce's successor and former coleeague at the Trustees' Academy at Edinburgh, was equally voracious in his efforts to secure examples of historic ornament for the school. He gathered together full sized coloured tracings of Roman wall decorations, and extensive purchases were made with the help of parliamentary grants of

of casts so that students might be able to make exact copies during their training. Copying from tracings, engravings and casts, rather than attempting original design was the only way, in Wilson's opinion, that the artist might avoid, as Macdonald (1970 states, a "return to savagery" (p. 89). So enamoured was Wilson with the usefulness of the cast as a teaching aid, that Somerset House fast ran out of storage and exhibition space for the specimens. Wilson was accused in some quarters of making the collection for the collection's sake, rather than for pure educational purposes. It was indeed Wilson's perceived abuse of the use of the casts that was one of the sparks which fueled the 1845 student rebellion. John Herbert, the Figure Master, and his students were justifiably angered when casts were removed without prior warning, and often while they were still in use, from the Figure Class. Macdonald (1970) states that Wilson had them "arranged around the School as if it were a Museum" (p. 96). The students were equally dismayed when Wilson took the casts of Ghiberti's doors and erected them for purely decorative purposes and, in doing so, they were, as Bell (1963) states, "utterly lost to students" (p. 160).

By the time Cole had taken over the Superintendancy of the Schools of Design, the collection of objects in its possession were scattered throughout the rooms of Somerset House. His instructions from the Board of Trade with regard to the collection were "to report to my Lords on the preservation and arrangement of works of art in the schools" (Macdonald, 1970, p. 178). Cole had inherited a collection which was "found in a neglected and ruinous condition, practically inaccessible in use and uncatalogued" (Macdonald, 1970, p. 178). Cole

immediately set about the task of systematizing the collection and was encouraged in this undertaking by H.R.H. Prince Albert, who was himself devising plans for a national institution for the arts. A letter which appears in the appendix of the 2nd Report of the Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851, indicates the Prince's awareness of the state of affairs with regard to the School of Design's collection. The letter is also an indicator of his vision as to the potential of objects taken from the Great Exhibition:

> We should now have a most valuable record of the last hundred years, in fact a great industrial museum of the whole world, not a mere magazine or store house in which natural productions and ingenious contrivances are piled up in endless confusion, where they may remain buried for ages;but a practical, useful, and well arranged, series depicting past progress, and leading to future improvement, a place of reference, in which useful knowledge of all arts would be accessible to everyone, and at all times available for purposes of instruction. (p. 30)

Prince Albert's influence was such that funds were made available by the House of Lords to the Board of Trade, for the express purpose of selecting items of textiles, ceramics and metalwork from the Great Exhibition. It was Cole, Redgrave, Jones, and Pugin who had the task of spending the 5,000 pounds that was allocated for the newly formed "Museum of Manufactures" which was created in Somerset House. The selectors took particular care to choose items which, in their opinion, reflected the principles of good design. The 1st Report of the Department of Practical Art, published in 1852-53, states:

> Each specimen has been selected for its merits in exemplifying some right principles of construction or of ornament, or some feature of workmanship to which it appeared desirable that attention of our students of manufactures should be directed. (p. 229)

It was soon only too apparent that the accommodation in Somerset House was insufficient to house the ever expanding collection of objects of manufacture. Prince Albert was instrumental in securing Queen Victoria's permission for the museum to use rooms in Marlborough House. The museum was opened on May 17, 1852, the opening was a private affair, and the establishment received a very welcome royal seal of approval with the attendance of the royal couple. Macdonald (1970) indicates that this patronage somewhat surprised the general public:

> The "Illustrated London News" reported that with such sympathies for the cause of industry and art, "we need have no fear for the future, which can only be one of progress and ameliorated position for our working classes. (p. 178)

The museum was an outstanding success with the public. Physick (1982) states that "in 1852 it was open 54 free days during which time 42,134 visitors were admitted" (p. 17). The museum was actually open 5 days per week and was closed on Saturdays for cleaning and rearrangement. On Mondays and Tuesdays there was no admittance charge, but on Wednesdays, Thursdays and Fridays, "students and those willing to enter as students free--all others--his willingness is tested as by a fee of sixpence" (Sessional Papers, 1852-53, p. 33). The rationale behind the entrance fee was that without it, the study atmosphere of the museum might be lost:

> But by the payment of this fee everyone acquires the right of entrance and the means of quiet study without entailing those delays involved in obtaining guarantees for personal respectability which are too frequently mere forms. (Sessional Papers, 1852-53, p. 34)

The museum was fast becoming a place of both leisure and study. On all days students were free to make notes and sketches, and "upon a further fee of sixpence and washing his hands before handling the specimens, may demand to have any article removed from its case for minute inspection" (Sessional Papers, 1852-53, p. 34). The "Museum of Manufactures" was not intended to be isolated from the visitor's own experience, from the outset it was designed to be a place of learning for the general public and the student/designer. The establishment of the public museum would in some measure meet one of the original goals of the 1836 Select Committe, i.e. the enhancement of the levels of taste of the general population. The museum had effectively become an arm of art education for the masses. The 1853-53 Report states:

> A museum presents probably the only effectual means of educating the adult, who cannot be expected to go to school like the youth, and the necessity of teaching the grown man is quite as great as the child. By proper arrangement a Museum may be made by the highest degree instructional if it be connected with lectures, and means are taken to point out its uses and application, it becomes elevated from being a mere unintelligible lounge for idlers, into an impressive schoolroom for everyone. (p. 30)

The core of the collection would be items purchased from the 1851 Great Exhibition, and many of those figures involved in setting up the Exhibition took prominent roles in purchasing and establishing the philosophy under which the museum would operate. The Royal Commission established for the 1851 Exhibition was kept intact, and Queen Victoria authorized, by the use of a "Supplemental Charter," the spending of the profits generated from the Exhibition for entirely art educational purposes. It is important to note that at this stage in the museum's development, major funding stemmed from private rather

than governmental sources. As objects were purchased, so a comprehensive catalogue was devised, the catalogue was intended to be very much an instructional device to support viewing and possible handling of the object. The catalogue references were indeed quite substantial, indicating both each object's strengths and weaknesses in relation to the "principles of good design." In an entry for a "saree" manufactured at Ahmedabat and purchased from the 1851 Exhibition for 25 pounds, the reviewer notes, "the border remarkable for the easy flow of lines, and the harmonious juxtaposition of the colours" (Sessional Papers, 1852-53, p. 233).

The education of "taste" was not only to be achieved by exposing visitors to the acquisitions that exemplified all that was good in design, but also by confronting the public with objects that were severely lacking in these prerequisites. A room was set aside for these "Examples of False Principles in Decoration," the exhibit soon became known as the "House of Horrors." An unforeseen problem in the creation of this particular exhibit was the amount of attention it received, often rivaling attention to the serious objects in the collection. The 1852-43 Report states:

> This room appears to excite far greater interest than many many objects the high excellence of which is not generally appreciated. Everyone is led at once to investigate upon which his own carpet and furniture may be decorated, and the greatest benefit to manufacture may be looked for from the investigation. (p. 33)

Though the "House of Horrors" may have been popular with the public, the manufacturers were not too enthralled. Minihan (1982) states:

> The venture was short lived, for victimized manufacturers complained loudly; yet it left no doubt of the dogmatic certainty with which the Department set about its business. Taste was not a matter of opinion for Cole and his colleagues, but a question of fixed principles. (pp. 113-114)

An extremely important concept in museum education began in 1852, when the Board of Trade agreed to a scheme in which articles from Marlborough House would be lent to provincial art schools. The schools were also entitled to purchase duplicates at "half prime cost," and "by these means the whole country is made to participate in the advantages and the prosperity of the central Museum and the benefits are not limited to residents in the metropolis" (Sessional Papers, 1852-53, p. 34). Cole realized that many people would not be able to visit the museum and, when devising the catalogue, it was decided to include coloured lithographs of selected examples, so that individuals might be more informed of the detail of objects they were unable to view first hand. The scheme for dissemination was further developed when, in 1854, an ambitious project, "the Travelling Museum," was conceived, which enabled exhibitions to be transported by train to the provinces. Macdonald (1970) states that the "Museum staff travelled with the exhibition and unpacked and arranged the exhibits after arrival at their destination" (p. 180). The central museum, the loan scheme, and the travelling exhibitions were an outstanding success. In 1853, "125,000 people visited the Marlborough House Museum, with over five thousand crowding the rooms 'most inconveniently' on certain holidays" (Minihan, 1982, p. 114). The success of the Museum generated considerable private patronage, and this support was extremely timely because the Government showed a very definite reluctance to inject

funds for purchases. In 1854, Cole, with the support of Prince Albert, was able to persuade the Government to purchase some selected items the "Bernal Collection." Cole had hoped to secure the entire collection of art manufactures, that ranged from Byzantine to the eighteenth century, but he had to be satisfied with 725 items. Minihan (1982) states that "much of the general public could not understand Government expenditure on such things" (p. 115). The Government was, according to Minihan, even more reluctant to purchase the "Soulages Collection" of Italian majolica, woodcarving and bronzes, and ultimately it was private funding that brought the collection from Toulouse to London. When, in 1856, Palmerstone viewed the collection, he was seemingly unimpressed with what he saw, unable to see how these objects could be at all influential. Minihan (1982) states that "the Government's attitude towards the Museum; invariably, the foremost consideration involved potential benefit to manufacturers" (p. 116). The Museum at Marlborough House, while perhaps receiving somewhat lukewarm support from the Government, was seen as very practical evidence of a new spirit in art education. The 1853 Art Journal states that "the most satisfactory state of this museum cannot fail to be a subject of congratulation to all interested like ourselves in the progress of British Art-Manufactures" (p. 298).

The 1835 parliamentary motion to establish a Select Committee had as its major goal "to inquire into the best means of extending a knowledge of Fine Arts, and the principles of Design among the people--especially among the manufacturing population of the country" (Hansard, 1835, p. 555). By 1853, it was recognized that the museum would play a

vital role in extending knowledge related to art-manufactures. Professor Edward Forbs, delivering a paper on "The Educational Use of Museums" at the opening session of the Government School of Mines, was quite sure of the significance of this educational tool: "museums are the best textbooks ... but a collection is valueless unless it is interpreted to the observer" (Art Journal, 1853, p. 283). The Art Journal, however, recognized that museums "cannot alone and of themselves educate, but they can instruct the educated and excite a desire for knowledge amongst the ignorant" (Art Journal, 1853, p. 282). By 1854, space at Marlborough House was at a premium, and the Museum only had the use of the house on a temporary basis. Prince Albert had sufficient foresight to have begun to plan alternative accommodation. He invited Cole to Buckingham Palace during February 1854, and presented him with ideas for a bold architectural solution to be constructed in iron. The "Brompton Boilers," as they were rather derisively to be called, would become the foundation of the world-reknowned Victoria and Albert Museum.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS: LINKS WITH PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

Research into art education during the period 1835 - 1864 in Great Britain provides one with an opportunity to identify the social, political, and economic contexts that framed art education in the country. Knowledge drawn from this research provides a clearer picture of the state of affairs in the nineteenth century. But what particularly intrigues me is the fact that the model of contemporary art education in Britain was undeniably cast when, in 1835, a Motion was placed before Parliament for the establishment of a Select Committee to "inquire into the arts." Further, what is even more intriguing, is that the issues which were so hotly contested over a century and a half ago, have yet to be resolved, and that they have periodically resurfaced throughout the history of art education to challenge art educators' beliefs about the nature of their field. At this time, the issue in British art education that is clearly rooted in the milieu of the nineteenth century is the extent to which commercial factors should determine, and indeed shape, art education at all three levels, i.e., primary, secondary, and tertiary, of Britain's State education system. I believe it is obvious that the motivation which ultimately encouraged a reluctant government to become involved in the arena of art education was purely and simply one of commercial

exploitation. This is, I contend, the same driving force which directs contemporary art education towards a focus on graphic and product design in preference to fine art. Quentin Bell, in his book, The Schools of Design, prefaces his concluding chapter with an extract from Henry Cole's evidence to the 1849 Select Committee on the School of Design. It is quite obvious from Cole's remarks that he was under no illusions as to what was the Government's rationale for the creation of the network of schools of design:

> I apprehend that the assumption in starting these schools was that the benefit should be strictly commercial. I do not think that the schools were created for aesthetic purposes, or for general educational purposes. I apprehend that the age is so essentially commercial that it hardly looks to promoting anything of this kind except for commercial purposes. In this case, I think it was specially commercial. (Bell, 1963, p. 253)

Henry Cole's conclusions about the essential motivation for government intervention in the arts for manufacture echo the opinion of Sir Robert Peel who, some seventeen years earlier, had expressed his belief, a belief shared by some manufacturers, that art had the capacity to make products more attractive to the consumer. Sir Herbert Read, in his book, Art and Industry, records a segment of Peel's statement to the House of Commons on April 13, 1832:

> Motives of public gratification were not the only ones which appealed to the House in this matter; the interest of our manufacturers was also involved in every encouragement being held out to the fine arts of this country. It was well known that our manufacturers were, in all matters connected with machinery, superior to all their foreign competitors; but in the pictorial designs; which were so important in recommending the productions of industry to the taste of the consumer, they were unfortunately, not equally successful; and hence they found themselves unequal to cope with their rivals. (Read, 1954, p. 6)

Thought the initial motives for the creation of the Schools of Design were without doubt primarily commercial in character, their establishment would produce benefits which would extend beyond the specific interests of the moguls of industry. The real beneficiaries were ultimately the British general public, who reaped twofold benefits. They were to be provided with products to which "design" was now to be seen as a vital ingredient, and "education in art" was to become a part of their general education, no longer the sole prerogative of the artisan. The schools of design were seen as a means of enhancing taste and merging art and industry. The schools, however, during the three decades of this study, were continually in a state of flux; Government, manufacturers, artists, educators, and critics all sought to promote their special interests and as a result, programme development tended to depend more often than not on politically expedient decision making rather than educationally sound rationales. The architects of the schools of design may well have intended to bridge the gulf between art and manufacture, the artist and artisan, but the separation which existed at the time of the schools' creation was indeed maintained throughout their existence. The chasm between fine art and design, that by all rights should have been dissolved, is still in varying degrees entrenched within the contemporary British art education scene. Herbert Read (1954) indeed maintained that this legacy has created a situation where the partnership in terms of product design has created a somewhat unhappy situation in which all art is still seen as a peripheral, rather than an integral component of the design process. He saw the schools of design in the nineteenth

century as being design scavengers, hungry to embellish British products with pirated decoration:

> The fallacy underlying the whole of this movement is by no means yet fully exposed. In the minds of our manufacturers, underlying the activities of our art schools, is still the supposition that art is something distinct from the process of machine production, something which must be applied to the manufactured object. (Read, 1954, pp. 8-9)

The 1851 Great Exhibition was promoted as a physical manifestation of the new attitudes towards design. Unfortunately, according to John Gloag (1970), in his introduction to a reprint of the Illustrated Catalogue of the Crystal Palace Exhibition, "the Exhibition confused taste, strengthened the belief that design and ornament were identical, and the results of the confusion persisted until the beginning of the First World War" (p. xiii).

The artificial separation between the object and its decoration in Victorian design gave full rein to the frivolity so evident in the artifacts of the period. The Victorians' desire to decorate their art-manufactures was not limited to the products of industry, it also spread to the machines of industry. Their seduction by ornamentation totally blinded them to the recognition of the essential form and utility of the object that they were in the process of camouflaging--an action which complete denied the possibility that beauty could exist in raw form. Read (1954) argued that ignorance of the elements of art was a major contributory factor in the confusion which existed in an understanding of the relationship between ornament and product:

> Since both our educationists and manufacturers have for so long been blind to the formal elements in art, they have tended to regard ornament as the only essential element, and their failure has been largely due to this misguided attempt to control and

> twist and otherwise deform the naturally austere and precise forms of manufactured articles into the types of ornament they mistake for art. (Read, 1954, p. 23)

It is questionable as to whether the Schools of Design succeeded at all in improving the quality of British design. Their success, I contend, was more in the realm of establishing an effective mechanism for the production of "patterns"--patterns which could be transferred to the textiles of the embattered Lancashire mill owners, but which themselves did little to raise the level of product design per se. The artisan was being trained as a pattern-maker and there was something essentially mechanical in his training. He was prevented from coming into contact with the potentially liberating force of fine art and further, he was denied the practical workshop experiences which could have unified design and artifact. The student attending a school of design, and indeed pupils in schools of general education to which the South Kensington system had begun to address its message, were being taught just enough to make them productive members of society. The hierarchical philosophy which placed fine art above design would almost inevitably perpetuate the artificial separation of artist and designer that exists even today. The distinctions were not so clear-cut in the Prussian Gwerb Instituts visited by Dyce, and so highly advocated by Dr. Waagen in his evidence to the 1835 Select Committee. It is important to note that it would be a German art school, the Bauhaus, which would, in the twentieth century, recognise the interrelatedness of fine art, design and workshop experiences. The Bauhaus Manifesto states that "the world of the pattern-designer and applied artist, consisting only of drawing and painting, must at last and again become

a world in which things are built" (Naylor, 1985, p. 54). Naylor, in The Bauhaus Reassessed, quotes further from the manifesto, in which Walter Gropius argued the fallacy of separation between artist and craftsman:

> Architects, painters, sculptors, we must all return to the crafts! For there is no such thing as "professional art". For these there is no essential difference between the artist and the craftsman. By the grace of Heaven and in rare moments of inspiration which transcends the will, art may consciously blossom from the labour of his hand, but a foundation in handicraft is essential for every artist. It is there that the primary source of creativity lies. (Naylor, 1985, p. 54)

British art education would continue throughout the nineteenth century to exclude the teaching of crafts from the curriculum; this in spite of the developments inspired by the Arts and Crafts movement spearheaded so spiritedly by William Morris. Richard Carline (1968), in his book, Draw They Must, suggests that "this was mainly owing to the thoroughly false concept prevalent in official and scholastic circles that the preparation of design and its carrying out are two quite separate functions" (p. 241). This separation is very evident in the early public examinations in drawing conducted by the Oxford University Local Board, and in which Carline indicates "pottery, textile, woodcarving, glassware, and metalwork ... were all confined to designing on paper" (p. 241). It was not until around 1938, Carline suggests, that the Government's Board of Education began at last to acknowledge that the union of art and craft was "part and parcel of an important branch of teaching" (0. 242). This philosophy was extended further in a post second world war document Art Education published in 1946, by what had now become the Ministry of Education, where the

Government, in its traditional manner, once again sought to apply vocational and commercial relevance to the teaching of art, stating, "the art and craft course will have established itself most fully as a means of relating work done in school to practical activities in the outside world" (p. 242). This linkage between art and usefulness in a school's curriculum still has its banner carriers today. Professor David Keith-Lucas, chairman of the Working Party on Secondary Education Advisory Committee of the Design Council, declares in the 1980 report, Design Education at Secondary Level, that "education in design can also be justified on the grounds that good design is crucial to the national economy" (p. 2). Keith-Lucas's words would hardly appear redundant in the evidence of any of the witnesses who came before the Select Committee on the arts 150 years earlier. The report was however, unlike those associated with the establishment of the nineteenth century schools of design, far more concerned with design playing a pivotal role in general rather than vocational education. Importantly, the report identifies the unique contribution of design education:

> There can be few more important educational experiences for the children to grapple with the sort of problems they will meet as adults--problems of environment, of man-made things and how they can be improved, of the quality of living--or, in other words, "design" in all its forms. (Design Council Report, 1980, p. 2)

What is especially significant in this Design Council Report is that it is "art education," not "craft-design and technology" that is seen as the agent by which design awareness can be nurtured:

> Promoting "visual literacy" and encouraging young people to make informed judgments about man-made and natural objects are the aims of art education. Teachers of art are especially concerned with the development of aesthetic sensibility--a discovering eye and a sensitive hand. (Design Council Report, 1980, p. 6)

From about the mid sixties, art education in Great Britain began to experience a greater degree of merger between art and the traditionally quite separate craft subjects of woodwork and metalwork. It was as if finally the lesson of the School of Design's failure to make the connections between paper design and actual product had been learned. Numerous government funded projects sought to establish a clearer relationship between art and craft, "Design and Craft Education" (Keele University, 1968-1973), "Art and Craft Education 8-13" (Goldsmiths College, 1969-1972), "Art and the Built Environment 16-19: and "Design in General Education" (Royal College of Art, 1973-1976), all these investigated means by which educators could draw together what had been opposing camps. One is led still, however, to question whether this research was motivated to meet the needs of the student or the country. The 1980 Design Council Report contains observations that Sir Robert Peel could have included in his address to the House of Commons in 1832:

> As a nation, Britain must export manufactured goods to pay for her essential imports--particularly food and raw materials ... It follows that there is a close relationship between national standards of product design and the nation's economic performance. (Design Council Report, 1980, p. 16)

It would be wrong, however, to view advocates of design education as merely being concerned with the education of potential product designers; the report does state that "familiarity with the creation and properties of man-made things and systems is important to both the layman and the specialist" (p. 5). I believe that there is an irrefutable case for art education taking a leading role in making students aware of the visual world that they inhabit. Baynes (1982)

succinctly outlines what I believe to be a pressing challenge to all art educators:

> The evidence for what has happened, and what might happen is a living thing to be found in peoples' memories and aspirations and in objects and buildings they have made or hope to make. All these are eloquent about the relationship between technology and culture and about the political, social, and economic realities of the designer's work. They are waiting to be heard and seen in education in many different parts of the curriculum. (p. 114)

APPENDIX A

SCHOOL OF DESIGN SYLLABUS
PUBLISHED
1843
SCHOOL OF DESIGN COUNCIL REPORT

BRANCHES OF INSTRUCTION

Section 1

Elementary Instruction

Drawing	1. Outline Drawing Freehand Drawing.Geometrical Drawing 2. Shadowing, the use of Chalks etc. 3. Drawing from the Round 4. Drawing from Nature
Modelling	Modelling from the Antique etc. Ditto from Nature.
Colouring	1. Instruction in the use of Colours Water-Colours including Body-Colours and Fresco. Oil Colours. 2. Copies of Coloured Drawings. 3. Colouring from Nature

* NB. Instruction in Colouring only given in the Morning School

Section 2

Instruction in the History, Principles, and Practice of Ornamental Art

This section will embrace according to circumstances the study of ...	1. The Antique Styles 2. Styles of the Middle Ages 3. Modern Styles

Section 3

Instruction in Design for Manufactures

1. Study of various Processes of Manufacture, so may as be requisite, including those of ...	Silk and Carpet Weaving Calico Printing Paper Staining, etc.
2. The Practice of Design for individual Branches of Industry	1. Subject considered generally. 2. With reference to the prevailing modes

APPENDIX B

DUTIES ASSIGNED TO THE DIRECTOR OF THE SCHOOL OF DESIGN
PUBLISHED
1844
SCHOOL OF DESIGN COUNCIL REPORT

1. To suggest for the consideration of the Council, a systematic course of instruction for each of the classes in the Schools, including the Female School.

2. To take care that the instruction, according to the course laid down, be regularly given.

3. To prepare, for consideration of the Council, Rules for the conduct of students whilst in the School: to see that the Rules are duly observed, and to cause printed copies of them, and of the directions as to the course of study, to be exhibited in the Schools.

4. To admit the students provisionally; and to report admissions to the Council for confirmation.

5. To suspend the attendance of students who transgress the Rules, and report such cases to the Council.

6. Personally to give instruction to all classes in the Central School.

7. To exercise a general superintendence and control in every matter relating to the duties of all who are engaged in giving instruction in the Schools.

8. To superintend the production of the Elementary Drawing book published by the Council.

9. To inspect periodically the Spitalfields School, and when required by the Council, the Provincial Schools, and to report thereon.

10. To take charge of all property of the Council immediately connected with his duties as Instructor.

11. To attend all meetings of the Council and Committees.

12. To report to the Monthly meetings of the Council; and at other times when directed by the Council; and to keep the Council informed upon all points relating to the management of the Schools.

13. To give lectures to the students upon History, Principles, and Styles of Ornamental Art, and to prepare a syllabus for such lectures, for the instruction of the masters in the Provincial Schools.

14. To make original sketches of designs in each department of instruction in the School, including the Female School.

15. To place himself in communication with the most eminent manufacturers, in different branches of trade, for the purpose of ascertaining their particular wants, and of affording them advice and assistance.

16. To be in attendance from 11 to 3 o'clock in every day of the week, except Saturday, and to be in attendance at least three times a week at the Evening School.

17. To devote his whole time, except vacations, to the business and interests of the School.

18. To superintend arrangements respecting, moulds and casts to be provided by the Council for the Provincial Schools.

19. Generally to carry into effect such arrangements as may be necessary for the proper management, and successful progress of the Schools.

20. The Director to report all official proceedings to the Council.

APPENDIX C

C. H. WILSON'S PROGRAMME FOR THE SCHOOL OF DESIGN PUBLISHED 1844 SCHOOL OF DESIGN COUNCIL REPORT

VII Class	Outline Drawing of Ornament in Pencil
VI Class	Shading the use of Chalks
V Class	Modelling from Casts; and from Nature
IV Class	Drawing from Casts of Ornament with Chalk
III Class	Elementary Colouring; Copying from Colored Drawings, Colouring from Nature
II Class	Elementary Drawing from the Human Figure, with Chalk - from Prints; and from Casts of Greek Statues etc. including drawing from the Skeleton and Models of the Muscles
I Class	For instruction on the History, Principles and Practice of Ornamental Design; and its application to the various Processes of Manufacture, including the Study of Oil, Tempera, Fresco, Encaustic, or Was Painting, and the Practice of various Branches of Ornamental Art.
	To these it is prepared to add as soon as practicable classes for Porcelain and Glass Painting, and Carving in Wood.

APPENDIX D

1848 PUNCH COMMENTARY ART STYLES

HIGH ART AND THE ROYAL ACADEMY.

MEDIÆVAL-ANGELICO-PUGIN-GOTHIC, OR FLAT STYLE.

FUSELI-MICHAEL-ANGELESQUE SCHOOL.

"DEAR PUNCH,—I SEND you two reduced copies of my grand historical pictures of *Prince Henry striking Judge Gascoigne in Court*, which have just been refused admission at the Royal Academy, *for want of room*, hoping that in your widely circulated journal they may obtain some of that applause which has been denied them in Trafalgar Square.

"You will perceive that although both illustrate the same subject, the styles are widely different, one being in the Mediæval-Angelico-Pugin-Gothic, or flat style, and the other after the manner of the Fuseli-Michael-Angelesque School.

"I did this in the hope (a vain one) that in case one was rejected, the other would be certain of a place, and *vice versâ*; or that they might both be accepted, and being in such opposite styles, would gratify the admirers of both periods of Art; but oh, how miserably have I been deceived and disappointed!

"I am not a vain man; but excuse me, Sir, for saying that justice has not been done; that I *feel* these to be fine historical pictures, and that when the Exhibition opens on Monday, I shall be there, and it will astonish me very much if there be upon the walls anything like my two works.

"Your admirer,

"*April* 29, 1848." "ONE OF THE NINE HUNDRED REJECTED ONES."

PUNCH'S NATURAL HISTORY.

THE SWEDISH NIGHTINGALE (*Curruca Lumlyana.*)

THIS Nightingale is the most celebrated of all the warblers; but she is the one of which least need be said, simply because nothing can describe her. In the first place, there is no mistaking this Nightingale, nothing in the world singing like her. She is the most graceful of all the warblers, being about five feet high, with an extent and strength of wing that carry her over continents and across seas, borne upon the breath of heartiest, deepest gratitude and praise. Her shape is very succinct, and her habits at once frank, graceful, shy, and receding.

Her nest is in the wide world's heart, even though the said nest is feathered with the finest bank-paper, carrying the very heaviest figures.

She sings equally well whether by day or night; and may often be heard in the vicinity of Hanover Square, about two in the afternoon; and as late as ten, somewhere in the Haymarket, in the evening.

Her range of voice is wonderful; reaching from the earth to the stars, whereabout she seems to flutter and dally,

> "Still quiring to the young-eyed cherubim."

She does not deal in the "*jug-jug*" of the *Curruca luscinia*,—so well known to all pastoral folk, but gushes forth all sorts of sounds. Now we have—

> "Oh, gioja, oh gioja—Io ti ritrovo, *Elvino*!"—

sounds that touch the tears into the eyes of the listener. And now she pours forth a stream of plaintive song, and our heart floats away upon it to blissfulness. Sometimes she pours out—

> "Ah! non giunge,"

and they seem to flash like a shower of diamonds, of ethereal sparks, kindling and subliming the sense they fall upon.

We cannot arrive at a certain knowledge of the food of this Nightingale. Some say she lives upon roses steeped in moonbeams; some, on melted amber. But, certain it is, from the divine emanations of her music, most certain it is—

> "She on honey-dew hath fed,
> And drunk the milk of Paradise."

In fine, she is the Queen of Song, and as she lists, with her melodious lips controls each impulse of the subject heart.

A GENERAL MOURNING FOR IRELAND!—MR. SMITH O'BRIEN'S sinister eye.

APPENDIX E

COLLECTIONS OF EXAMPLES
PUBLISHED
1852-53
FIRST REPORT DEPARTMENT OF PRACTICAL ART

Collection 1

1. A blackboard
2. Brass holders for chalk
3. Wooden compasses and white chalk
4. Slip and two set squares
5. T. Square
6. A set of each of the letters A O S, mounted
7. A set of twelve outlines on black and white grounds, mounted
8. A set of twelve plates of outlines for black board, mounted
9. A large diagram of colour, mounted
10. A small diagram of colour, mounted
11. A manual and catechism of colour
12. Definitions in plane geometry by Mr. Burchett
13. Two colour boxes, as samples
14. Two cases of instruments, as samples
15. Catalogue of the articles in the Museum of Marlborough House, with six prospectuses of the Department
16. Address of the Superintendents on elementary drawing
17. Address of the Superintendents of the facilities afforded by the Department for acquiring art-education
18. Give placards of the principles of decorative art

Collection 2

1. A stand with a universal joint, to show the solid models
2. One disc and two wires, One solid cube, One wire cube, One sphere, One cone, One hexagonal prism
3. The elementary work on Practical Geometry, 12 inches by 17 inches, diagrams opposite the text
4. The elementary work of Practical Perspective, 12 inches by 17 inches, diagrams opposite the text
5. The drawing book of elementary outlines of ornament by Mr. Dyce, 75 plates, mounted and "Kalsomined", i.e. the surface may be washed
6. A set of 15 first plates of the elementary work on Practical Geometry (same as No. 3) mounted and "Kalsomined"
7. A set of 26 plates of Practical Perspective, mounted and "Kalsomined"
8. Three specimens of pottery. Minton's bottle, No 508. Indian Jar, 487. Celadon Jar, 489

Collection 3

1. One set of outlines of ornament, by Mr. Herman, the plates mounted and "Kalsomined"
2. One set of outlines of the human figure, by Mr. Herman, 20 plates mounted

3. Four outlines of Tarsia, from Gruners ornaments, mounted, etc.
4. One set of examples of ornament shaded, 4 plates mounted, etc. viz, the antique scroll, Greek honeysuckle, frieze from Gherbertis gates, and renaissance rosette
5. Shaded examples of Bya, or ancient car from Gruner, mounted, etc.
6. Six coloured examples of flowers, mounted and "Kalsomined", viz the perlargonium, petunia, nasturtium camelia, wall flower, althoea frutex
7. Three selected vases in earthenware (Wedgewoods No. 176, 882, 940)
8. Three selected paterse
9. Three selected pieces of ornament on relief
10. Three large shells, such as Delium Chineuse, Morex closseurs, Pecten opercularis
11. Three other selected shells, such as Haliotis Virginea Cassis Rufa, Cassis Gauva
12. Three selected stuffed birds, as examples of colour, such as Crimson Tanager, Orange Oriole, and Blue Mountain Parroquet
13. One copy of Redgrave's Report on the "design" of articles exhibited in the Great Exhibition of 1851, half bound.

APPENDIX F

COURSE OF INSTRUCTION
PUBLISHED
1854
FIRST REPORT DEPARTMENT OF SCIENCE AND ART

STAGES

Stage. Linear drawing by aid of instruments
* a. Linear geometry
b. Mechanical and machine drawing and details of architecture from copies
* C. Linear perspective

Stage 2. Freehand outline drawing from rigid forms from examples or copies
* a. Objects
b. Ornament

Stage 3. Freehand outline drawing from 'the round' or solid forms
* a. Models and objects
b. Ornament

Stage 4. Shading from flat examples, or from copies
* a. Models and objects
b. Ornament

Stage 5. Shading from the round or solid forms
* a. Models and objects
b. Ornament
c. Time sketching and sketching from memory

Stage 6. Drawing from the human figure and animal forms, from copies
* a. In outline
b. Shaded

Stage 7. Drawing flowers, floiage, and objects of natural history from flat examples and copies
* a. In outline
b. Shaded

Stage 8. Drawing the human figure or animal forms from the round or stature
a. In outline from cases
b. Shaded
c. Studies of the human figure from the nude model
d. Studies of the human figure draped
e. Time sketching and sketching from memory

Stage 9. Anatomical studies
a. Of the human figure
b. Of animal forms
c. Of either, modelled

Stage 10. Drawing flowers, landscapes, details and objects of natural history from nature
   a. In outline
   b. Shaded

Stage 11. Painting ornament from flat or copies
   a. In monochrome, either in watercolours, tempera or oil
   b. In colours

Stage 12. Painting ornament from the cast
   a. In monochrome, either in watercolours, tempera or oil

Stage 13. Painting (general) from flat examples or copies, flowers, still life, etc.
   a. Flowers or natural objects, in watercolours, in oil or in tempera
   b. Landscapes

Stage 14. Painting (general) direct from nature
   a. Flowers of still life in watercolours, in oil, or in tempera
   b. Landscapes

Stage 15. Painting time sketches of single objects or groups as compositions of color
   a. In watercolours, in oil, or in tempera

Stage 16. Painting the human figure in animals in monochrome from casts
   a. In oil, or in tempera

Stage 17. Painting the human figure and animals in colour
   a. From the flat or copies
   b. From nature, nude or draped
   c. Time sketches and Compositions

Stage 18. Modelling ornament
   a. From casts
   b. From drawings
   c. Time sketches from examples and from memory

Stage 19. Modelling the human figure, or animals
   a. From casts or solid examples
   b. From drawings
   c. From nature, nude or draped

Stage 20. Modelling flowers, fruits, foliage, and objects of natural history from nature

Stage 21. Time sketches in clay of the human figure or animals from nature

Stage 22. Elementary design
- a. Studies treating natural objects ornamentally
- b. Ornamental arrangements to fill given spaces in monochrome
- c. In colour
- d. Studies of historic styles of ornament, drawn and modelled

Stage 23. Technical Studies
- a. Machine and mechanical drawing, mapping and surveys
- b. Architectural design
- c. Surface design
- d. Plastic design
- e. Moulding, casting and chasing
- f. Lithography
- g. Wood engraving
- h. Porcelain painting

Note - These stages marked with a star (*) are taught in primary parochial schools

APPENDIX G

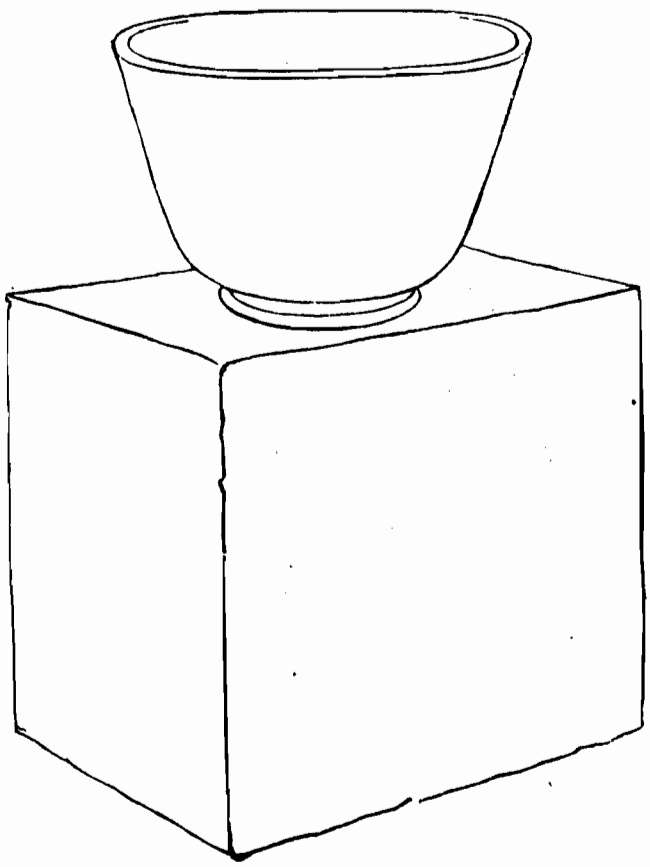
EXAMINATION PAPERS OF THE SCIENCE AND ART DEPARTMENT

SPECIMEN OF

SUBJECT SET UP FOR MODEL-DRAWING.

FIRST GRADE. FORTY MINUTES ALLOWED.

FOR CHILDREN OF TWELVE YEARS AND UNDER.



[NOTE.—This paper, and also the geometrical paper, is one-fourth the size of that used.]

WRITE 1. Your name.
2. Your age.
3. Your school.

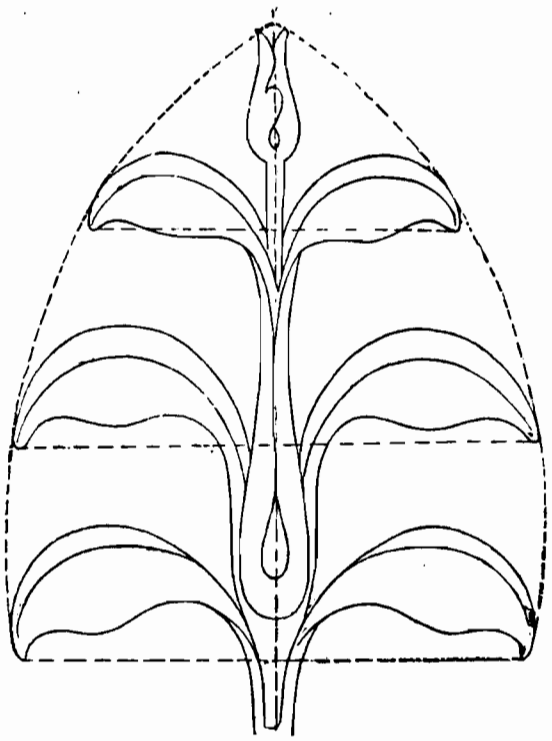
SPECIMEN OF FIRST GRADE

EXAMINATION PAPER FOR FREEHAND OUTLINE.

FORTY MINUTES ALLOWED.

FOR CHILDREN OF TWELVE YEARS AND UNDER.

This example is intended to be copied the same size on paper. An HB or F pencil should be used. Measuring is not to be resorted to.



WRITE 1. Your name.
2. Your age.
3. Your school.

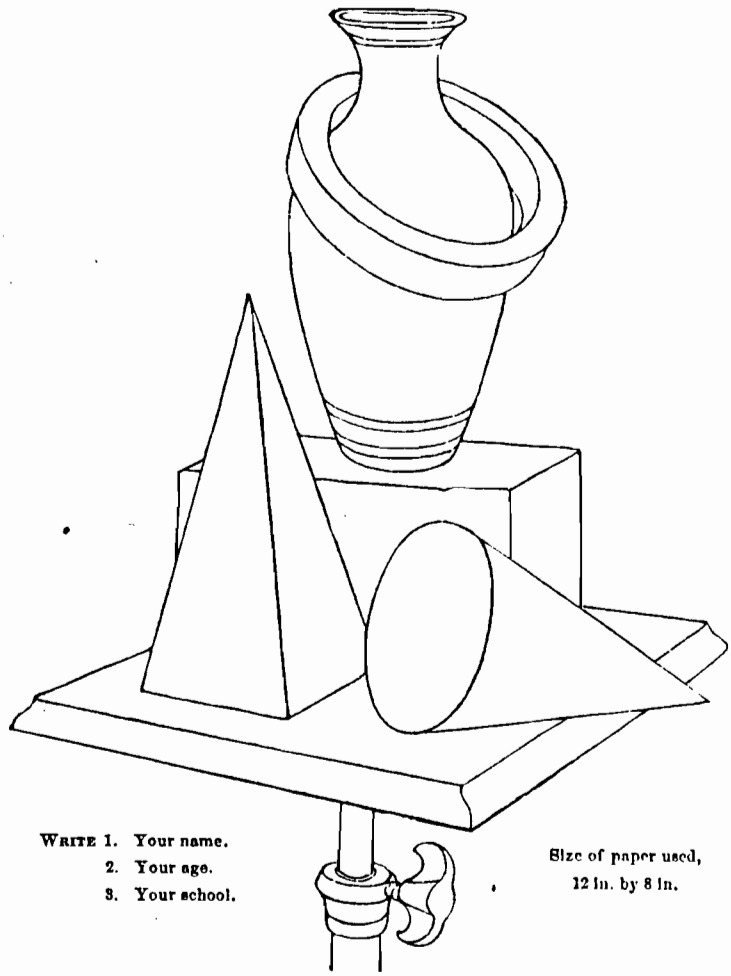
SPECIMEN OF

GROUP PLACED FOR MODEL-DRAWING.

FOR SECOND-GRADE EXAMINATION.

TIME ALLOWED, ONE HOUR.

To be drawn as large as the paper will allow.



WRITE 1. Your name.
2. Your age.
3. Your school.

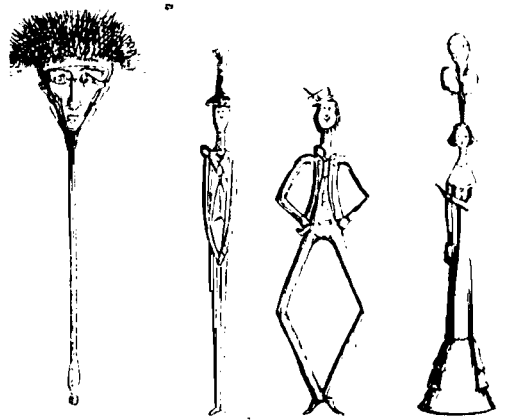
Size of paper used,
12 in. by 8 in.

APPENDIX H

1848 PUNCH COMMENTARY
DESIGN FOR MANUFACTURES

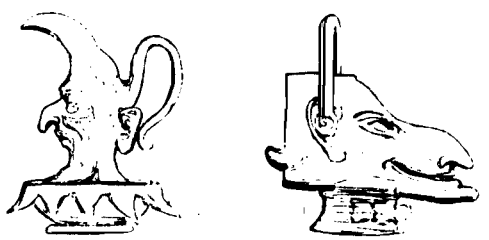
DESIGNS FOR ART MANUFACTURES.

We have looked in vain for the carrying out of the idea we threw out some time back, of supplying articles of real utility amongst the Art Manufactures of Mr. Felix Summerly. "Una and the Lion" are all very well for those who like to turn their mantel-piece into a Zoological Garden; and a card-tray by a first-rate artist may be welcome enough to those who have a pack of visiting cards left with them every day to fill the ornamental receptacle; but a clothes-horse would be preferable to Una's Lion, and a tea-tray far more acceptable than a card-tray in the eyes of those whom the Art Manufactures ought to be adapted for. We shall therefore agitate for the application of the principle to matters of humbler pretension than merely ornamental works; and we begin by proposing a series of implements for the fire-side, including hearth-



A HEARTH-BRUSH. A POKER. A PAIR OF TONGS. A SHOVEL.

broom, coal-scuttle, and shovel, so that if the projectors will go at it poker and tongs, a successful result will be accomplished. The stiffness of the poker will afford an ample opportunity for the introduction of that starched military erectness that is so effective in our iron-work; while the tongs, by their graceful pliability, are at once suggestive of the easy hornpipe with which the other service is identified. The shovel, by its undulating curve, and the broom, by its elegant sweep, may be easily made subservient to the purposes of Art; and as to the scuttle, it offers a scope, not to say scoop, to the most refined handling.



AN EWER. A COAL-SCUTTLE.

A PROBLEM. $1-\frac{1}{3}=0$?

Mr. Punch presents his compliments to Mr. Urquhart, and will be obliged by Mr. Urquhart's explaining to *Mr. Punch* the following passage from his speech on the Currency Question:—"What would have been the effect of paying one-third less gold? Why, that we should have paid none at all." *Mr. Punch* has a friend in a commercial firm, which has suspended payments under the recent pressure. It was the intention of the firm to have offered 6*s.* 8*d.* in the pound to their creditors; but if Mr. Urquhart can explain to them the theory on which his remark is founded, they will pay nothing whatever, which will come to the same thing (in case of such explanation of Mr. Urquhart's proving satisfactory to the creditors) as paying the dividend originally proposed.

D. Urquhart, Esq., M.P., &c., &c.
Punch Office, Friday.

ENGLAND'S WEAK POINTS.

Attention has been called to the state of our national defences, or rather to our national state of defencelessness, against the contingency of an invasion. The ramparts of our coast are represented to be scarcely more formidable than palisades and popguns.

We have opposite to us a set of mischievous boys, from whom, fortunately, we are divided by the water; but they are continually shouting and grimacing, and making other impertinent demonstrations at us on the other side of it. We trust they will be restrained by their better-minded companions from giving us any real annoyance. But as they do talk sometimes about breaking into our island, and robbing that garden of the world, it is certainly advisable that we should take fitting measures to prevent the execution of such a project.

Considering how frequently the British Lion has been stirred up, we do not grudge him a comfortable doze; but we would not have him caught napping, and therefore recommend him to sleep like the weasel—with one eye open.

But all these precautions we would have taken quietly—without fuss. We deprecate the provocation of aggression by flourishing our fists in our neighbours' faces, and bidding them hit us if they dare. Let us merely intimate that steel traps and spring guns are set on our grounds for the destruction of vermin.

In the mean time we trust that our muniments will never be tested. We confide equally with Her Majesty in the maintenance of the peace of Europe. And we have still a firm faith in our old fortifications—the

wooden walls. On these we shall continue to rely mainly for our protection. Should our country ever be threatened by a foreign foe, *Punch* himself will turn sailor. Yes, we will don the blue jacket and the tarry trowsers; we will nail our colours to the mast; we will convert our cudgel into a cutlass: and our march shall be upon the mountain wave, and our office on the deep.

CONCRETE SUPERSEDED.

Governesses ought to see strange things, if advertisers keep their promises. Last Tuesday's *Times* presents to young ladies this rare chance of introduction to an unknown part of London:—

A YOUNG LADY is required as Governess in a family, on the south side of London, of Church of England preferred, high principle, based on religious feeling much wished. The pupils are 14 and 11 years of age. French, acquired by several years' residence in Paris, and that language well spoken and correctly taught, essential. Music thoroughly well performed, well understood and taught, a good disposition, and lady-like manners and accustomed to good society much desired. It is hoped that no Lady who is not accustomed to tuition, or who is not thoroughly qualified, will apply. Mrs. —— will forward letters, post paid, to the lady inserting this.

We knew that some parts of the metropolis were based on clay, others on gravel, others on mud—but we were not aware that any portion of its south side was "based on religious feeling." Perhaps, however, it is the family that is "based on religious feeling," and not the house. If so, we are sorry to see that so respectable a basis supports a superstructure of such curiously bad grammar.

Vive la Danse.

The Government talks of sending Jullien over to Switzerland for the purpose of pacifying the disturbed cantons. He is to take his band with him, and play his *Swiss Quadrilles* whenever there is a conflict. It is expected that the opposed parties will immediately drop their arms and choose partners for a dance—at least all those that the music does not drive away. It is expected that Jullien will put the country on a more friendly footing by this means in less than a week. His organised band must carry everything before it. Switzerland will be cleared before Jullien has got through one Quadrille, and it will remain to be seen whether the *Ranz des Vaches* will bring the Swiss back again. We think a few five-franc pieces, or a handful of English sovereigns, would do it very much quicker. For a republic, we know of no place where the sovereign is so much worshipped as in Switzerland.

APPENDIX I

PUNCH COMMENTARIES
DESIGN

DESIGNS AND DECISIONS OF THE COMPETENT PERSONS.

Letter I.—From A. WELBY PUGIN, ESQ., *Architect.*

"*Feast of St. Idomeneus.*

"MY LORD,—I consider the Statue, in its present position, an eyesore and a disgrace to the Metropolis. Our forefathers of the fourteenth century would have turned such an opportunity to very different account. The work is altogether out of proportion, and, what is worse, utterly deficient in devotional character. I am of opinion it should be at once removed. If anything be required to replace it, I venture to suggest something that may recal the earnest symbolism and deep Christian significance of Gothic monumental art. The accompanying design will explain my meaning.

"I have the honour to remain, my Lord,
"Your obedient Servant,
"A. WELBY PUGIN."

Letter II.—From EDWIN LANDSEER, ESQ., R.A.

"DEAR MORPETH,—The Duke won't do! Down with him. It's a bore for WYATT—but, between ourselves, he is not up to the horse. The hero is well enough, but Copenhagen had no Arab points about him. He was not even a thorough-bred, but a useful hunter; master of the Duke's weight, and uncommonly safe across country. If the Committee *will* have him, I wish you would suggest to my friend RUTLAND the accompanying sketch. The Duke, you know, hunted in the Peninsula, and is a fast hand still, as BEAUFORT can tell you. Here goes for my design. Duke in hunting-togs, Copenhagen snuffing the dew and catching the music of the hounds; a few favourite couples grouped about. How d'ye like it?

"Ever affectionately yours,
"E. LANDSEER."

Letter III.—From A. COOPER, ESQ. R.A.

"MY LORD,—The Statue is detestable. I pity my friend MR. BURTON. If Art is to have any voice in the matter, it should come down at once. If a new design is wanted, I hope it will be a group, and not a single figure. What gives the Duke his claim to a statue? His having successfully fought with NAPOLEON. Why should he not be represented as engaged in a personal encounter with the Emperor, in the style I have adopted with so much success in my *Richard and Saladin, Cromwell and Charles the Second, Bothwell and Balfour of Burley* &c., &c., &c.? Should you be unfamiliar with the above, this sketch will express my notion.

"Respectfully yours,
"A. COOPER, R.A."

Letter IV.—From W. DYCE, ESQ., A.R.A.

"WILLIAM DYCE presents his compliments to LORD MORPETH, and begs to say he is perfectly disgusted with the Statue of the DUKE OF WELLINGTON, now surmounting the arch on Constitution Hill, opposite to the entrance into Hyde Park, Piccadilly, London. WILLIAM DYCE is of opinion that in any monumental design regard should be had to what has been done in Germany, especially at Munich. A monumental work, to be truly great, should combine hardness of outline, squareness of composition, and extreme simplicity of treatment. The Duke's Statue, above alluded to, is hard and square, but wants simplicity: his boots especially are over-elaborated. W. DYCE begs to submit to LORD MORPETH a design to which he thinks artists might very properly be required to conform."

Letter V.—From J. M. W. TURNER, ESQ., R.A.

"SIR,—I think the Statue is outrageous. As I say in my *Fallacies of Hope*, (MSS.):

"'The nightmare hid-ons broods high 'midst the shrieks
Of desolate art! Invention, where art thou?
Peacock in pinions, fluttering sadly down,
Drops like a plummet!'

"No wonder, when painters paint like our exhibitors, that WYATT should have made such a goose of himself. Heroes should be commemorated in painting, as I have commemorated NAPOLEON some years since in my 'Rock Limpet' picture—a noble work, but not understood. Had I to immortalize the DUKE OF WELLINGTON I'd do it in this style somehow.

"Yours, &c.
"J. M. W. TURNER."

Letter VI.—From D. MACLISE, ESQ., R.A.

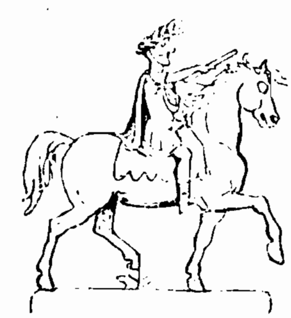
"MY DEAR LORD,—The Statue is too bad—'pon my soul it is! Why wasn't it a touch at the chivalrous—something like this?

"Ever yours,
"D. MACLISE."

Letter VII.—From SIR R. WESTMACOTT, R.A.

"DEAR LORD MORPETH,—I regret, for WYATT'S sake, to pronounce the Statue a monstrous failure. Why, in the name of all that is hallowed by precedent, didn't he give us something classical—like my sketch?

"Sincerely yours,
"R. WESTMACOTT.



We might fill our number with such epistles, but the above will serve as a sample.

GREAT MEETING OF PETTICOAT PATRIOTS.

BRITISH MANUFACTURES!

Yesterday, a very important Meeting was held at Willis's Rooms—a meeting attended by all the beauty and fashion (they invariably go together) of London. The great object of this most interesting gathering of the season was to receive pledges—the deepest and tenderest—from the ladies assembled, with respect to the necessary encouragement of all articles of British manufacture. (We sent our own reporter to attend the meeting; but, as it seems, he had, upon private business of his own, to call on his way at the offices of Messrs. Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, he was unaccountably detained by those gentlemen; and, strange to say, has not been altogether himself since. We are therefore indebted to the fraternal feelings of the *Morning Post* for the flimsy copy containing a true report of the proceedings.)

Lady de Tissue was called to the Chair, which she filled. Her Ladyship—odd as it may appear—in very few words explained the object of the meeting. They had met together to give a blow to the foreigner. The French Revolution had wiped Paris from the world; that magnificent city had been discharged from the map of Europe like a claret-stain from damask. (*Hear.*) Lord Brougham had assured her (*Great laughter*)—her Ladyship begged to say she was not aware that there was anything in the name of that great man to provoke mirth—his Lordship had informed her that what was once Paris was now *un petit fumier*. (*Cries of "Dear me!"*) The Tuileries, where they had all danced—(*Sensation*)—where Lord Brougham had always put up his carpet-bag—was crushed, smashed, broken to bits like a china tea-pot! (*Symptoms of hysteria.*) The trade of France was gone! No lace—no silks—no bijouterie—no, not even a bit of *virtu* to be had for love or money! (*Cries of "Well, I never!"*) Such being the case, it behoved them as patriotesses to take care of themselves. Lyons being abolished, they must, as true Englishwomen feeling for their country, go to Spitalfields! They could moreover still effect a tie of sisterhood in the ribands of Coventry! (*Faint cheers.*) Valenciennes, worked into such historical associations in its beautiful laces, was ruined—gone like a dropt stitch—in which case they must go to—

A Voice. Brussels?

The Chairwoman. Certainly; Belgium being still a monarchy, they might still go to Brussels. Her Ladyship, concluding a very eloquent and rapid speech, called upon the meeting to rally round the Altar and the Throne, the Duke of Wellington and the British Manufactures.

The Marchioness of Packemoff said she was prepared to make great sacrifices for monarchical principles all over the world. She had married six daughters at six different courts; and—why should she blush to own it?—she was the grandm—that is, her daughters were the mothers of six young princes. (*Very faint cheers.*) She had still two daughters to marry (*Signs of impatience*), and neither she nor they were to be put down by clamour. She had already discharged their maid, a Frenchwoman; and had taken a girl—a thing with red elbows, at reduced wages—from Devonshire; she had, moreover, changed her laundress, the woman being obstinately wedded to an Italian iron. (*Cries of "Bless me!"*) After this, need she say she was prepared for great sacrifices?

The Countess of Strawberricreme had only one—one little word to say. (*Ironical cries of "Oh!" and "The last word, no doubt!"*) One little word; upon her word and honour, only one. She was married when quite—quite a child herself, and therefore that must account for the strange fact of her already having just—she might say just—a marriageable daughter. Adeliza—it was not perhaps too much for a mother to say—was favourably known to many ladies present. She might add, very, very favourably known. The child was to be married to Lord Wormwood de Scrubs to-morrow; and she would go to the altar, as wholly and solely a bride of English manufacture. (*Cheers*). *That*, her ladyship thought, was something like a pattern for the Hymeneal season about to commence in high life with its usual severity. (*Three cheers from the Mothers.*) If not intrusive, she would indulge the feelings of a parent by reading the wedding-dress—(she had brought a copy of it with her to give to the man on the press, if he had a salver about him to receive it)—the wedding-dress of darling Adeliza. It was this:—"The very young and lovely bride was magnificently attired in a splendid shot gingham from the mills of Messrs. Cobden and Bright, trimmed with Honiton lace of the British Lion pattern. Over this she wore a Paisley shawl, embodying an exquisite design (the work of a North British artist, and very touching for the occasion, namely, Cupid in a kilt, with a nosegay of thistles.) The fair and timid one also wore a bonnet of the most delicate Dunstable, enriched with a wreath of British buttercups and daisies; to these may be added a beautiful riband from the House of Peeping Tom of Coventry, the bride's-tear water pattern. Neither were the manufactures of the Principality forgotten in the wardrobe of the bride, who seemed to combine all the industrial resources of the United Kingdom. Whilst upon the subject—and we dwell upon it at this length, the *saison de noce* just beginning—it may not be too much to remark, that the bride's dress was wholly put together with Whitechapel needles, and even her wedding-ring had the good old English hall-mark. We feel it moreover only due to the patriotism of the bride's distinguished parents to observe, that the marriage settlement of Lady Wormwood de Scrubs was engrossed upon British parchment, and enriched with an English stamp." (Here her Ladyship, with the conscious air of a woman who deserved well of her country, dropt the MS. upon the salver handed by Mr. Jenkins to receive it.)

Lady Poplet addressed the meeting with considerable diffidence. She so much admired the patriotic principles of her friend the Countess of Strawberricreme—if she might be permitted to call her her friend—that she should wish to see them carried entirely through. She rose with respect to infants—cherubs in the cradle. A poet had said, "And as the bow is bent, the boy's inclined." By which she inferred that bows of foreign lace upon a baby's cap could not but have an unpatriotic influence on the brain of the little precious. (It might, her Ladyship added, be gathered that she spoke as a mother.) She was prepared to go to the root of the matter, and to abolish babies' caps at once. Let them trust to the benign influence of their dear native hair. When, moreover, it was remembered that so many of their little darlings came into the world quite ready for the House of Lords (*Cries of "Order!"*)—her Ladyship believed that she was speaking to an historical fact; their dear male eldest-born coming into the world with all the statutes in their sweet little heads—it behoved them as mothers to guard them against foreign influence. Therefore, she would abolish lace on babies' caps once and for ever. (*Faint cheers.*) Again; she would not put a coral in the hand of a child of hers; he should not cut his teeth upon an exotic, a foreign substance; but—and she was prepared to be called a leveller; notwithstanding, if she knew herself, she was quite the contrary—but upon a piece of home-grown, home-made English crust! She believed that coral, and ivory, and India-rubber rings—all, it must be remembered, the produce of the foreigner—had done more to spoil the wisdom-teeth of the House of Lords (even before they had them) than the chewing of any other thing soever. (*Cries of "Question!"*)

The Dowager Lady Marrobone said they had pretty well discussed two questions—What babies were to be reared in, and what girls were to be married in. She now, as an old woman—and she confessed to having danced with the poet Rogers, in pink and silver—she wished to inquire in what sort of manufacture ladies would like to be buried!

Here there was a sudden shriek. Then confused cries of "*Shame! Shame!*" "*Show that person to the door!*" and the meeting finally separated in several carriages, without coming to any resolution whatever.)

PARLIAMENTARY DEBTORS.

We perceive that Mr. Moffatt and Mr. Brotherton have brought a bill into Parliament to provide for the exclusion from the House of Commons of Members who shall be unable or unwilling to pay their just debts. It is said that this bill will encounter a very determined opposition. This at first sight may appear strange. It is certainly odd that the House which refuses the concession of that point of the Charter which demands a no-property qualification, should persist in retaining Members whose property, since they owe more than they can pay, is less than nothing. But if among the just and lawful debts of Members may be included those which they owe to their country, experience has shown how likely it is that the utmost possible resistance will be offered to any measure calculated to compel them to discharge their obligations.

Cause and Effect.

A finical gentleman—the rose-coloured correspondent of the *Post*—writes with the quill of a poll parrot on the doings in France. He speaks of the eatables at the late *fête*, and says, among other things, there were—"most *[illegible]* sausages, which made one shudder." The shudder, no doubt, arising from the old instinct, "Puppy doesn't eat puppy."

WANTED. By a Gentleman going into the Patriotic Line, a few Gross of [illegible]

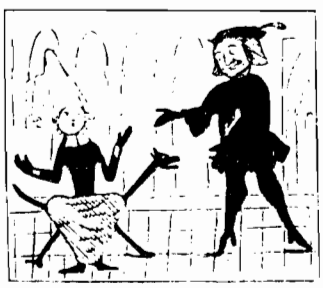
THE FINE ARTS AT EVERY STATION.

FELIX SUMMERLY, in the *Athenæum*, recommends the decoration of railway stations. The reasons he advances are so sensible that we have no doubt his recommendation will speedily be put into the hands of some talented R.A. for execution. The struggle amongst the companies will be which shall have the finest collection of paintings. These might be exchanged after a time—the Southampton lending its pictures to the Birmingham—the Birmingham to the Brighton—and so on, through the whole series of railways—by which arrangement every station would have a new exhibition of ETTY'S and LANDSEER'S, every year, without any additional expense. For this reason, we think oil-paintings preferable to frescoes, which would be too stationary, in the most literal sense of the word, besides falling a certain prey, in the event of fire—for who could remove an entire wall (unless, perhaps, it was a party) whilst the next room was in flames?—whereas the most lackadaisical clerk could take a TURNER off the hooks, or put a MACLISE under his arm, without fear or injury.

Subjects will be wanted, and as one of the objects of these decorations will be to drive away *ennui* and inspire patience into the passengers whilst waiting for a train, we think artists should strive to select such subjects as will inculcate fortitude, and heroism, and all the stoical virtues necessary in moments, or rather hours, of delay, suffering, and hardship. The Spartan and Roman annals should be ransacked for this purpose, whilst many a noble hint might be borrowed from the savage chivalry of the persecuted Indians.

We dot down a few suggestions, which any railway is welcome to.

1. PENELOPE and ULYSSES meeting "after many roving years."



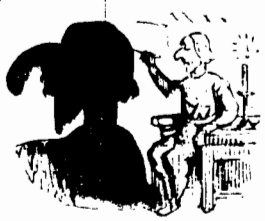
2. LAFFITE in the Bastille, having nothing to do, tames a fly.

3. The one POLICEMAN of Herne Bay, reading the *Morning Herald*, stretched on the sea-shore.

4. A Scene from the Gravesend Famine, 1845; the 500 passengers of the *Lively* steamer drawing lots off Erith for the last herring and the remainder of a pint of shrimps.

5. A View of Smithfield on a Market Day—during July—one mad bull coming in collision with another—whilst another is seen running headlong into a full omnibus. Universal alarm, and flight of horses, pigs, old women, children, and everybody.

6. ROBINSON CRUSOE, taking his likeness from the shadow of his profile on the wall.

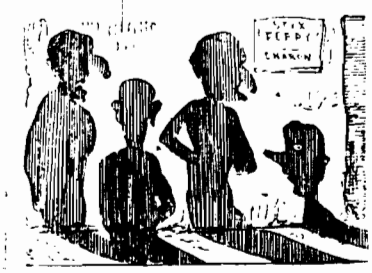


7. RUMOUR, riding *à la Courier de* St. Petersburg, on the five wires of the Electric Telegraph; an allegory of Justice overtaking Crime—the latter personified by a gentleman with mustachios in the first class not having paid his fare.

8. The Passengers of the *Celerity* omnibus waving their handkerchiefs as the Bank appears in sight, after a three hours' run from the White Horse Cellar. An incident during the repairs of Holborn, 1846

9. The Mishaps of JOHN GILPIN, drawn in a number of divisions, like MONSIEUR VIEUXBOIS.

10. SHADES waiting on the banks of the Styx to be ferried over by CHARON.



11. A Shareholder of the English Opera House waiting for a dividend.

12. The Martyr SMITH O'BRIEN in the cellar of the House of Commons, taking a melancholy dish of tea.

13. A Protectionist speaking in the House of Commons—extreme fatigue and nausea of the Members.

14. The Railway King—driving from a triumphal first-class chariot four-and-twenty railway engines, all running different directions—north, east, and west—at eighty miles an hour. Stage coaches, and skeletons of horses, strewed upon the ground. Fairy stokers, flying above him, blowing tremendous trumpets. Triumphal arch in the distance, decorated with innumerable crowns, and with FORTUNE standing on the top, holding the Bank of England dangling by a string. Old TIME, lagging behind, in the distance, quite broken-winded. Rainbow of coloured purses in the sky.

15. The Survivor of a Chancery suit—a very old man, with an Old Parr's beard, being presented with a brobdignaggian bill of costs.

All these subjects are very pictorial. Many of them, of course, might be executed, out of compliment to royal taste, in the present fashionable German style. The PENELOPE and JOHN GILPIN subjects are beautifully adapted for the hard, kitchen-poker drawing of that gracefully stiff lay-figure school. The terrors of Smithfield Market would have every justice done to them by EDWIN LANDSEER, and would convince the timid old ladies and nervous old gentlemen that there are greater dangers on land than there are on rail. We can imagine a mad bull, in the hands of LANDSEER, would make us run, merely to look at him. We should be carried away with the notion that he was close at our heels, and should make all speed for the first butcher's shop—the only place which a mad bull has an aversion to entering. The Flying Rumour and Railway King should be left to the poetic imagination of TURNER, who would turn over his *Pleasures of Memory* (unpublished MS.) for some apt, wild, beautifully incomprehensible allusion. The Famine on board the Gravesend Steamer is peculiarly a subject for POOLE, who would go far beyond his celebrated *Temper of London*, we are confident, in depicting the horrors of disappointed appetite. He would give us the innocent child screaming for its evening's pap—and the stupendous alderman, with a face the colour of old station, sighing in despair for his daily turtle! The other are pretty little poems, which DYCE, HERBERT, LESLIE, and HOOD would make imperishable gems of, in their own brilliant way. We present them to the British nation. The husband anxious to get home in time for dinner—the lover burning to prove his punctual attendance—the merchant in a fever to take up a bill—the wife on pins and needles for the evening's opera—and the housemaid looking forward to nine o'clock, to open the area gate, in answer to the familiar whistle of her dear BILL—will all thank us, as they are kept waiting three or four hours at some lonely railway station, without a novel, or a glass of wine, or a captain's biscuit, for having refreshed them with new hope by the contemplation of such invigorating subjects.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anderson, P. J. (1987). Pictures for the people: Knight's Penny Magazine an early venture into popular art education. Studies in Art Education, 28(30), 133-140.

Arts manufactures (1848). Punch or the London Charivari, p. 102. (Microfilm). Ann Arbor: Xerox University Microfilms.

Bell, Q. (1963). The schools of design. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Baynes, K. (1982). Beyond design education. Journal of Art and Design Education, 1(1), 105-114.

British Sessional Papers (1835). (vol. v). Arts and Manufactures. Select Committee Report. (Microcard). Readex Microprint Edition. Erickson, E. L. (Ed.), The University of Illinois.

British Sessional Papers (1836). (vol. ix). Arts and Manufactures. Select Committee Report. (Microcard). Readex Microprint Edition. Erickson, E. L. (Ed.), The University of Illinois.

British Sessional Papers (1836). (Vol. xxix). Schools of Design in Prussia, Bavaria, France. Mr. Dyce Report. (Microcard). Readex Microprint Edition. Erickson, E. L. (Ed.), The University of Illinois.

British Sessional Papers (1841). (Vol. xiii). School of Design Provisional Council Report. Microcard). Readex Microprint Edition. Erickson, E. L. (Ed.), The University of Illinois.

British Sessional Papers (1843). (Vol. xxix). School of Design Council Report. (Microcard). Readex Microprint Edition. Erickson, E. L. (Ed.), The University of Illinois.

British Sessional Papers (1844). (Vol. xxxi). School of Design Council 3rd Report. (Microcard). Readex Microprint Edition. Erickson, E. L. (Ed.), The University of Illinois.

British Sessional Papers (1845). (Vol. xxvii). School of Design Council 4th Report. (Microcard). Readex Microprint Edition. Erickson, E. L. (Ed.), The University of Illinois

British Sessional Papers (1846). (Vo. xxiv). School of Design Council Fifth Report. (Microcard). Readex Microprint Edition. Erickson, E. L. (Ed.), The University of Illinois.

British Sessional Papers (1847). (Vol. lxii). School of Design Special Committee Report. (Microcard). Readex Microprint Edition. Erickson, E. L. (Ed.), The University of Illinois.

British Sessional Papers (1849). (Vol. xviii). School of Design Select Committee Report. (Microcard). Readex Microprint Edition. Erickson, E. L. (Ed.), The University of Illinois.

British Sessional Papers (1851). Second Report of the Commissioners of the Exhibition of 1851. (Microcard). Readex Microprint Edition. Erickson, E. L. (Ed.), The University of Illinois.

British Sessional Papers, (1852-53). (Vol. liv). Department of Practical Art First Report. (Microcard). Readex Microprint Edition. Edgar, E. L. (Ed.), The University of Illinois.

British Seasonal Papers (1854). (Vol. xxviii). Department of Science and Art First Report. (Microcard). Readex Microprint Edition. Erickson, E. L. (Ed.), The University of Illinois.

Carline, R. (1968). Draw they must: A history of teaching and examining of art. London: Edward Arnold.

Darby, M., Bruton, A., Haskins, S. & Ayers, J. (1983). The Victoria and Albert Museum. Scala: Phillip Wilson.

Derry, J. W. (1963). A short history of 19th century England: 1793-1868. New York: Mentor Books.

Design for art manufactures (1848). Punch or the London Charivari, 13, p. 227. (Microfilm). Ann Arbor: Xerox University Microfilms.

Designs for competent people (1846). Punch or the London Charivari, 20, p. 233. (Microfilm). Ann Arbor: Xerox University Microfilms.

Dickens, C. (1961). Hard Times. New York: Signet.

Edwards, J. R. (1970). British history 1815-1939. New York: Signet.

Fine arts at every station (1847). Punch or the London Charivari, 12, p. 55. (Microfilm). Ann Arbor: Xerox University Microfilms.

Ford, P. (1953). Select list of British parliamentary papers 1833-1899. Oxford: B. Blackwell.

Great meeting of petticoat patriots (1848). Punch or the London Charivari, p. 193. (Microfilm). Ann Arbor: Xerox University Microfilms.

Hansard parliamentary debates (1835). Vol. xxix. London: Thomas Curson Hansard.

Hansard parliamentary debates (1845). Vol. lxxxi. London: Thomas Curson Hansard.

"High art" verus Tom Thumb (1846). Punch or the London Charivari, 10, p. 203. (Microfilm). Ann Arbor: Xerox University Microfilms.

Hussey, W. D. (1971). British history 1815-1939. Cambridge University Press.

Jones, O. (1868). The grammar of ornament. London: Bernard Quaritch.

MacCarthy, F. (1979). A history of British design 1830-1970. London: Allen Unwin.

Macdonald, S. (1970). The history and philosophy of art education. New York: American Elseiver Publishing.

Minihan, J. (1977). The nationalization of culture: the development of State subsidies to the arts in Great Britain. New York: New York University Press.

Naylor, G. (1985). The Bauhaus reassessed. New York: E. P. Dutton.

Nichols, G. W. (1877). Art education applied to industry. New York: Harper and Brother Publishers.

Norris, R. A. (1979). History of art education. Columbus, OH: Central Ohio Graphics.

Pevsner, N. (1973). Academies of art, past and present. (2nd ed.). New York: Da Cappo Press.

Physick, J. (1982). The Victoria and Albert Museum: The history of its building. Oxford: Phaidon, Christies.

Pointon, M. (1979). William Dyce 1806-1864, a critical biography. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Pope, W. B. (Ed.) (1963). The diary of Benjamin Robert Haydon 1832-1840 (Vol. IV). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Pugin, A. W. (1841). True principles of pointed and Christian architecture. London: Henry G. Bohn.

Read, H. (1954). Art and industry. New York: Horizon Press.

Richards, C. R. (1922). Art and industry. New York: Macmillan.

Smith, W. (1872). Art education: Scholastic and industrial. Boston: James R. Osgood and Company.

Steers, J. (1987). Current issues in art and design: Resistance and the freedom to fly. Journal of Art and Design Education, 6(1), 13-26.

Sutton, G. (1967). Artisan or artist? A history of the teaching of arts and crafts. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

The Art-Journal (1849). London: George Virtue.

The Art-Journal (1850). London: George Virtue.

The Art-Journal (1851). London: George Virtue.

The Art-Journal (1853). London: George Virtue.

The Art-Journal (1859). London: George Virtue.

The Art-Journal (1865). London: George Virtue.

The Crystal Palace Exhibition Illustrated Catalogue (London: George Virtue for the Art Journal, 1851; reprint ed. of Art Journal Special Issue, with an Introduction by J. Gloag, Dover Publications, 1970).

The Design Council (1980). Design education at secondary level.

The journal of education: A monthly record and review (1844). London: William Rice.

Thistlewood, D. (1986). Social significance of British art education 1850-1950. Journal of Aesthetic Education, 20(1), 71-83.

Thompson, D. (1964). England in the nineteenth century 1815-1914 (10th ed.). London: Jonathan Cane.

Woodward, E. L. (1949). The age of reform (5th ed.) Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Yeomans, M. R. (1984). Art and design: Interdependent and interrelated? Journal of Art and Design Education, 3(3), 361-366.