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The Royal College of Art : its influence on education, art and design 1900-1950.

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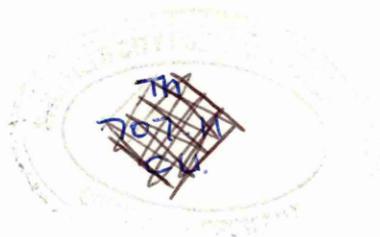
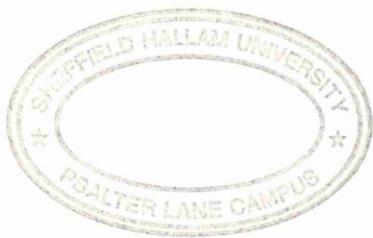
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THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF ART
ITS INFLUENCE ON EDUCATION, ART AND DESIGN
1900-1950

by

HILARY CUNLIFFE-CHARLESWORTH BA MA

A thesis submitted to the Council for National Academic Awards in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

Hilary Cunliffe-Charlesworth

THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF ART

ITS INFLUENCE ON EDUCATION ART AND DESIGN 1900-1950

The Royal College of Art is considered through its teaching of art and design, and its work as a centre for the training of art teachers. The ideas of some of the staff are evaluated with regard to the need for art and design education. The influence of the diplomates of the College on the areas of education, art and design is appraised with a view to assessing the value of the work of the College.

The relevance of government bodies to the Royal College of Art is examined in some detail, notably the Board and Ministry of Education, the Board of Trade and the Treasury. The relationship between the Civil Servants and the College Principals, Visitors and College Council are considered.

The extent to which the College was prevented from achieving its original aims and objectives is explored. This is appraised together with examples of criticism the College received from government circles and external bodies. How such criticism was adapted for future educational policy at the College is also noted.

When the Royal College of Art obtained independence from the Ministry of Education the College established its status as a post-graduate institution and was able to address the requirements of modern design education.

The Appendices provide details of the Royal College of Art's chronology of events, statistical information and summarised results of a questionnaire given to ex-students.

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Finally, this thesis could not have been completed without the generous provision of information from ex-students of the Royal College of Art. I hope that this thesis will establish an understanding of the value of the College, and the work achieved by its staff and students.

Foreword

In 1980 I completed two years full-time research at the Royal College of Art, London, gaining an M.A. for my thesis: The Agrarian Revolution and its Relationship to British Art 1700-1900. This project was supervised by Reg Gadney, at that time Pro Rector of the Royal College of Art. I discovered that I greatly enjoyed the process of research and evaluation, and planned to extend my area of study, for which purpose I remained in contact with the College, after moving to to Sheffield to teach design history at Sheffield City Polytechnic.

I was then approached to research the history of the Royal College of Art, an idea which developed from informal discussions with Professor Christopher Frayling and Professor Bernard Myers. They were concerned at the paucity of information on the history of the College. This led to the registration of my present thesis title. With the prospect of the 150th anniversary of the founding of the College in 1987, my research provided information on the period 1900-1950 for Christopher Frayling's book The Royal College of Art(1987) and provided background details for the catalogue by Paul Huxley of the show Exhibition Road in 1988. This exhibition did not include the work of ex-student Sylvia Pankhurst, an omission which is to be rectified with the publication by Macmillan of Sylvia Pankhurst: From Artist to Anti-Fascist(1992), for which I have contributed the opening chapter on student life at the Royal College of Art.

At the outset of this research the availability of source material was minimal: the Royal College of Art archives had

been destroyed in the Liverpool blitz of 1942 while in transit to Ambleside whither the College was evacuated. Further papers relating to the period post 1945 are not to be found, and were probably destroyed during the reorganisation of the College in 1949. The Royal College of Art Library holds little archive material, most of which refers to the period since 1950. Its collection of College magazines provided some earlier information, while the College scrap books are an invaluable source of illustrations. Other information, notably the early College prospectuses, were found in the National Art and Design Library, at the Victoria and Albert Museum, where the College was located until 1961.

As the College has so poor a record of its own history, it was decided to devise a questionnaire, which was sent out to ex-students of the College, in some cases followed by interviews. By this means information was gained on a wide range of topics including: the organisation of the College, staffing, the syllabus of the Schools, and the career destination of students.

The source material relating to the administration of the College was found in papers relating to the Board and Ministry of Education, and those of the Board of Trade, held at the Public Records Office at Kew. This extensive archive proved highly valuable, as the Civil Service retained duplicates of their correspondence and carefully filed memoranda received from the Principals of the College. Unfortunately some papers are missing or only exist in partial form, notably those from the period 1936-1942.

The Department of Education and Science Library, Queen Elizabeth House, holds the only known copy of the 1911 Report of the Departmental Committee of the Board of Education on the Royal College of Art, which is a key document in the College's history. This library also provided an interesting and eclectic collection of articles relating to design education at the turn of the 20th century.

The Royal Institute of British Architects' Library biographical files have been helpful in providing information on several of the staff and graduates of the Royal College of Art School of Architecture, but the minimal information they contain only served to highlight the need for more research on this area.

The library at the Tate Gallery, Millbank, proved invaluable. It houses a complete run of the annual The Year's Art, from which information on the Royal College of Art and the qualifications of the leading art teachers during the period 1900-1939 could be ascertained. This library was also helpful in tracing exhibition catalogues, notably the 1935 Royal Academy show British Art in Industry.

Resources outside London included the National Art and Design Education Library, Bretton Hall, Yorkshire, which has a collection of educational text books and papers relating to school education in art and craft. Leeds City Art Gallery Library has an excellent collection of exhibition catalogues relating to provincial shows.

The University of Sheffield's Arts Library was used for Hansard and back copies of Architectural Review, while the University of Sheffield's Architectural Library helped in tracing information on past staff of Royal College of Art School of Architecture. Sheffield City Libraries were used for reference material, notably biographical information on Civil Servants and past copies of The Times.

The staff of Sheffield City Polytechnic Library in the School of Cultural Studies, led by John Kirby, assisted by ordering books through the inter-library loan system, while its own Special Collection proved to be an excellent resource for texts relating to the history of design, and provided journals for research, notably the complete run of The Commercial Artist.

The research was carried out on three fronts: six weeks at the Public Records Office provided photocopies of documents from which a chronology could be formed; a questionnaire was devised and circulated, and the results analysed describing how the Royal College of Art functioned. Research into art and design during the period 1900-1950 provided a context for evaluating the information gained.

Introduction

Today the Royal College of Art is a post-graduate educational institution, with a high reputation for excellence both within Great Britain, and much of the Western World. This reputation is largely based on the work of a small number of key artists who trained at the College.

The objective of this thesis is to consider the history of the College during the period 1900-1950, in order to assess what influence the College had in the areas of education, art and design.

This will be achieved through an initial study of the College staff, and an investigation into the career destinations of its diplomates, from which the nature of the College's influence may be ascertained. In order to evaluate these influences, a study of the art and design education during this period will be undertaken.

This will be followed by considering the institution's relationship with government. As the administration and funding of the College was direct from government, a chronological examination of the relationships between the College and various government departments will be made, to ascertain the nature of the influence government had on the College.

At present the Royal College of Art is sometimes confused by authors with the Royal Academy Schools⁽¹⁾: students of

the College are sometimes assumed to be graduates of the Royal Academy. Through this thesis I aim to show that the College has its own distinct history, and that the work of its staff and students during the period 1900-1950 has widely influenced British art, design, and especially education. This thesis will not, however, be an account of the individuals who taught or trained at the College, as that requires a separate study.

The Royal College of Art is unique in that it was founded and maintained by government funding, with a moderate income from fee paying students. The educational tenet of the College was to train individuals who would be of value to the British Nation either by designing for industry or educating the consumer to appreciate good design.

This mission contrasts with the work of other schools: the the Royal Academy which, through the use of privately raised funds, aimed to encourage and develop individual students in the fine arts; the Central School of Art and Design, which was funded by a local authority and trained students (mostly part-time) in skills that had a direct relationship to their careers as artisans in the crafts and design.

As the Royal College of Art was distinct in its objectives and in its method of funding. A proper comparison with other institutions is difficult to make. This may be possible when all the histories of the various institutions have been written, but the amount of information involved in this task would, perhaps, best form the subject of another thesis.

The economic changes which took place during the period 1900-1950 will be mentioned where appropriate, but a fuller consideration of this topic cannot be undertaken within the parameters of this thesis.

At the outset of this thesis, I would argue that the Royal College of Art has received inadequate attention to its unique and influential position in the British education system. The Royal College of Art during the period 1900-1950, illustrates a process that was repeated by successive governments: there was an intention to develop a system of design education in order to create good design for internal consumption and for export. It was also necessary to provide teachers who could educate the consumer. But was Government to blame for the failure to meet its objectives satisfactorily? If the Royal College of Art was formed in 1897, why did it take until 1948 for the Royal College of Art to develop an appropriate strategy? The history of its predecessors illustrates the evolution of design education⁽²⁾.

Over a century earlier in 1836, the Select Committee on Arts and Manufacture had reported on the urgent need to found a specialist School of Design where the syllabus would be linked to the needs of industry. Such a school was founded in 1837, and in 1838 its Superintendent: William Dyce⁽³⁾ who as a painter influenced the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, advocated the practical involvement of industry. He introduced drawing classes, through which design was intended to be taught in the same way as a science. Dyce did not consider it necessary for students to have a liberal education, and concentrated on training students with an ability to draw, and thus to design. Dyce's methods represented an alternative to the historic

apprentice system of craft teaching and to the traditional methods employed in the academies of fine art. This School was administered by the Board of Trade until 1857, when it was transferred to the control of the Department of Art and Science.

In 1852, Henry Cole⁽⁴⁾ the designer and civil servant, was appointed as General Superintendent of the Department of Practical Art. Cole set about organising a national system of design education through a central training school and an art museum. This was supplied with students from provincial schools of art, who could gain free studentships through a National Competition. The aim was to train both designers and teachers nationally. Cole was concerned by the low level of the educational attainment of these students, but continued with a system of design teaching based on the development of drawing skills. The success of Cole's system saw the number of provincial schools increase from 23 to 120, and the provision of some 500 night school classes for artisans. Where previously the only way for many to gain a drawing skill was by attending the mechanics institutes, artisans could now enrol at evening classes (for a fee), and gain nationally recognised qualifications. Natural ability was now supplemented by a formal system of education. Art and design were seen as skills which could be learnt, like reading, writing and mathematics.

Some other contemporaries such as Richard Redgrave⁽⁵⁾ the guiding spirit of the Journal of Design and Manufactures, who was the Superintendent of the Department of Practical Art during Cole's time, were worried that this method of education hindered the development of more expressive drawing skills by emphasizing the need for the art-workman

to know all the processes of manufacture with which he would be involved. Redgrave restructured the course into 23 stages, with some further subdivisions. The result was that nationally all students were taught the same topics in the same way, by teachers who were trained by the same method.

The national system of art and design education was aimed at educating artisans. It was not intended to appeal to the upper and middle classes. However, there was little practical effect on the quality of British design. Gradually, the emphasis upon the practice of design was eroded. At what was now termed the National Art Training School, South Kensington, practical craft classes were ended in 1877. This was challenged by the 1884 Report of the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction, which noted the lack of teaching related to practical design and that:

..there has been a great departure in this respect from the intention with which the Schools of Design were originally founded, viz. the practical application of a knowledge of ornamental Art to the improvement of manufacture(6).

The Government Science and Art Department, which administered the School, was headed by General Donnelly⁽⁷⁾, an well known Civil Servant, who opposed the introduction of craft work. In 1886, the Director of the Art Division, Thomas Armstrong⁽⁸⁾, encouraged by the Royal Commission's report, invited the illustrator and founder member of the Art Workers' Guild: Walter Crane⁽⁹⁾, to give lectures and demonstrations in a variety of crafts, and established classes in enamelling. By 1888, 75% of the students were studying fine art. It was therefore not surprising when, in 1897, the School changed its title to Royal College of

Art. Yet the same year the College Visitors, (persons appointed by the Department of Art and Science and acting as its inspectors) recommended the development of practical, i.e. industrial training at the College. In 1899, Walter Crane was appointed Principal of the Royal College of Art and planned to reform the College through the expansion of its accommodation and increasing workshop facilities and craft teaching. He also recommended a mandatory first year course in architecture. However, he left after only eight months, frustrated by the lack of interest of the Department of Art and Science, and its successor the Board of Education. In 1899, a Departmental Committee of the Board of Education commented that the work of the College should be to train teachers for art schools⁽¹⁰⁾.

By 1900, therefore, the College was the central institution in a system of national art and design education. However, its purpose as a training school for art teachers seemed at odds with its original objectives and those of its preceding institutions: the training of designers and teachers of design.

This thesis aims to ascertain: whether the Royal College of Art continued its role as a training school for art teachers; whether it fulfilled the needs of a growing public education system; if it attempted to provide a publicly funded education for fine artists, or whether it moved closer to its original objective and developed the skills of students as designers for industry and teachers of design. If such developments took place, how far were they the result of institutional change led by individuals and to what extent were they developments which responded to pressure from government departments?

Endnotes

Introduction

1. See Romero, P.W., E Sylvia Pankhurst Portrait of a Radical Yale: Yale University Press (1987) This book confuses the Royal Academy of Arts with that of the Royal College of Art.

2. See Appendix A on the Government School of Design and its Successors page 426.

3. William Dyce (1806-64) studied medicine and theology and was awarded an M.A. by Aberdeen University at the age of sixteen. However, his work as a painter enabled him to travel to London and enter the Royal Academy of Arts, then to travel extensively in Italy between 1825 and 1832, becoming acquainted with the Nazarener, a group of German painters who imitated the techniques of medieval artists. Dyce introduced their ideas to England, notably the use of frescos, which were to be a key influence on the formation of the Pre Raphaelite Brotherhood in 1848. By 1837 Dyce was recognised for his work and for his writing on aesthetics, and undertook as study tour of the schools of design in Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony and France for the Board of Trade, who was the administrative body of the newly founded School of Design in London. The following year Dyce was appointed Superintendent to the School of Design, resigning in 1843 to become an Inspector of the provincial design schools. He returned as Professor of Ornament in 1847, a post he held for one year. He designed stained glass, in particular for ecclesiastical use.

4. Henry Cole (1808-82) entered the civil service on leaving school, to subsequently be appointed a sub-commissioner in the Public Record Office. He studied with the painter David Cox and from 1841 produced work as a designer under the name of Felix Summerly. Cole became increasingly involved in the Society of Arts, and was to be one of the leading organisers of the Great Exhibition of 1851, and an advisor to later exhibitions including that held in London in 1862. He used the Journal of Design and Manufactures to attack the organisation and pedagogy of the Schools of Design. This campaign led to the appointment of a Select Committee on the Schools of Design in 1849. In 1851 Cole refused the post of Secretary to the School of Design, but the following year accepted the role of General Superintendent of the Department of Practical Art, a newly formed body which oversaw the work of all the design schools. He encouraged the growth of a museum of design, which was eventually become the South Kensington and then the Victoria and Albert Museum. Cole retired in 1873. As early as 1854 Cole was satirised by Charles Dickens as Gradgrind, the utilitarian statistician in Hard Times.

5. Richard Redgrave (1804-88) entered the Royal Academy in 1826 and became known as a well respected painter. In 1846 he was appointed on a temporary basis, as a lecturer to the School of Design, accepting a permanent post the following year. His critical views on education ensured that his opinions were close to those of Henry Cole, especially as Redgrave was the editor of the Journal of Design and Manufactures, a periodical which Cole used to publicise his views. Redgrave was appointed Headmaster in 1848, Art Superintendent in 1852 and Director of the Art Division of the Department of Education in 1874, until his resignation the following year.

6. Report of the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction 1884. See Macdonald, S., The History and Philosophy of Art Education London: University of London (1970) p.294

7. John Fretcherville Dykes Donnelly (1834-1902) was educated at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, and entered the Royal Engineers in 1853, serving with distinction in the Crimea campaign during 1854-55. In 1857 he was sent on secondment to the South Kensington Museum, and was allowed to remain at the Museum, despite being recalled in 1859. He later made arrangements to join an old friend, Captain (later General) Gordon, in Egypt, but was offered and accepted a civil appointment. He was steadily promoted and in 1884 rose to the level of Secretary to the Science and Art Department, a post he held until 1899. Although well liked by all levels of staff, Donnelly was the key recipient of criticism when the 1884 Royal Commission on Technical Instruction, (The Samuelson Report), investigated the work of the Science and Art Department. However, he was created a K C B in 1893 and ended his career as a Major-General. Donnelly was satirised in Gilbert and Sullivan's operetta The Pirates of Penance or Love and Duty (1879), as the character Major-General Stanley, who describes himself as 'the very model of a modern Major-General'.

8. Thomas Armstrong (1832-1911) was an English painter who in 1853 went to study in Paris where he became an associate of Poynter, Whistler and the lesser known artist Du Maurier. Armstrong worked with the latter in Dusseldorf in 1860, having spent the previous year living in Algiers. He exhibited at the Royal Academy 1865-77 and at the Grosvenor Gallery 1877-81. In 1881 he was appointed the Director of the Art Division of the Department of Science and Art, a

post he held until 1898, when he retired. The same year he was created a C B.

9. Walter Crane (1845-1915) trained as a wood engraver and became well known as an illustrator of children's books. His work reflected the styles used by the Pre-Raphaelites and the influence of Japanese design. He also produced decorative designs for Wedgwood ceramics between 1867-71, and in 1880 became the Art Superintendent of the London Decorating Company, a producer of encaustic tiles. He later worked for Pilkington's Tile and Pottery Company. He also designed wall papers, textiles (both printed, woven and embroidered), and encouraged a revival of the use of gesso. In 1884 Crane was a founder member of the Art Workers' Guild, of which he became master for the year 1888. The same year Crane encouraged the break-away group the Arts & Crafts Exhibition Society of which he was President. Influenced by William Morris, Crane became a socialist and produced designs for political causes. In 1893 Crane was appointed Director at Manchester School of Art. He resigned this post in 1897 to hold a similar appointment in Reading. In 1898 Crane became the Principal of the Royal College of Art, a position he held for just one year. From the early 1890s Crane's work had become increasingly known on the mainland of Europe, and he continued to exhibit work abroad, including at the Paris 1914 Exhibition. In 1907 Crane's autobiography: An Artist's Reminiscences was published by Methuen & Co of London.

10. 1899 Departmental Committee of the Board of Education Interim Report. This report is to be found in the Education Papers at the Public Record Office: ED23/43.

1 The influence of the Royal College of Art on Education

In 1899, the Departmental Committee of the Board of Education recommended that the primary objective of the Royal College of Art should be:

...the training of students to act as teachers in Art Schools...and that arrangements should be subordinated to this end(1).

This was confirmed the following year on the appointment of Augustus Spencer⁽²⁾, the proactive educationalist, as Principal of the College. This was at a time when the Board noted that the aim of the College was to:

train Art Teachers of both sexes, designers and art workmen(3).

Indeed, Spencer was appointed because of his previous experience in the reorganisation of education in Leicester, and in particular the introduction of a new syllabus for the teaching of drawing in Board Schools. The Board of Education perceived the College as a training school for art teachers. Certainly, one of the original purposes of the Government School of Design was the training of teachers, and this objective was inherited by the Royal College of Art. What is more, the 1902 Education Act attempted to solve the needs of the developing State Education System by encouraging the training of teachers⁽⁴⁾.

The award of the full Diploma Associateship of the Royal College of Art qualified ex-students of the College to teach. Through this the Board of Education ensured that headmasters of art schools were either trained at the College, or if they trained elsewhere, had taken a series of prolonged tests known as the 'Art Masters' Certificate'. Students at the College who already held this certificate were categorised under the title 'students in training'. This was dropped in 1909 when it was thought that a sufficient number of teachers could be assured through the students who received Royal Exhibitioner Scholarships, and a proposal to admit student teachers was made, (although such a provision does not appear to have been made in practice).

By this means the Board of Education was ensuring a uniform standard of education throughout art schools nationally, although some thought it was undesirable that all the art school teachers in Britain should be drawn from a single London college. Other art schools were training teachers, yet the Board of Education only recognised those teachers trained at the College. This seemed unfair, and especially when the Royal College training was criticised for not being wholly suitable for teachers of 'art in its more industrial aspects'⁽⁵⁾.

In answer to such criticism, in 1912 the Board of Education Circular 786 ruled that only those who had a good general education up to a minimum age of sixteen could take the Boards National Advanced Examination. This excluded the majority of pupils who finished their education at twelve years of age, and also students at technical evening classes. The following year the Board ended its existing examination system (where art school students submitted a

range of drawings), and replaced them with Drawing Examinations in specific areas, to be taken after two years in the Intermediate or Lower Course at art school. After a further two years in the Advanced or Upper School Courses students could take examinations in painting, pictorial design, modelling or industrial design.

In 1913, the Board of Education introduced Rule 109⁽⁶⁾, which established the first national pedagogic course for art teachers under the title, 'the Principles of Teaching and School Management'. This led to the qualification of a Teaching Certificate for Teachers in Schools of Art. The Rule stipulated that successful candidates had to possess a School Certificate or equivalent, to have passed the advanced examinations in art, and to have taken a one year course on teaching methods of art in the different types of schools, and to demonstrate an understanding of the relationship to between education, society and industry. This course was based at the leading art schools and in London at the Day Training College⁽⁷⁾. The emphasis on pedagogic training led to the art schools now becoming training centres for teachers, rather than artists and designers, a situation which paralleled that at the Royal College of Art.

However, the entrants to the College did not all have a good general education, a fact which raised criticism in 1911⁽⁸⁾. In 1914, a report by the Board's Inspectorate on the College reiterated that not all the students had received a secondary level of education, and commented that it was disgraceful that there was no method to ensure that a qualified Art Master was educated adequately⁽⁹⁾. It was suggested that a literacy test be introduced, but the start of the First World War prevented any changes being

implemented. In 1915, a memorandum on the aims of the College by its Principal and Professors, noted the relations of the art schools to elementary and secondary schools, and concluded that the College's course should be shortened and made more relevant to industry. The memorandum suggested the publication of tracts with titles such as Design and Manufacture. No changes took place until the passing of the 1918 Education Act, which raised the school leaving age to fourteen, and encouraged the introduction of new College regulations in 1919. At this time, the Burnham Committee⁽¹⁰⁾ was deciding on the qualifications which could be accepted as degree equivalents, the specification of which was the basis of the 1920 Teachers Superannuation Act.

Elsewhere reorganisation did take place, in particular at the Slade School of London University, whose students soon rivalled those from the Royal College of Art in competitions and employment. Further, the Slade Professor, Frederick Brown⁽¹¹⁾, was a member of the Committee on Art Education and its Relation to Manufactures while the College was unrepresented.

In 1919, the rules regarding the Diploma of Associateship were altered. Instead of requiring candidates to study in all the areas of the College, candidates could now qualify by specializing in just one main area of study. This meant all the students at the College were now eligible to take a Diploma of Associateship, and that diplomates would have greater depth of knowledge of specific areas, and thus be more appropriately trained for industry. However, the Diploma was to be no longer recognised as a teaching qualification. A special Post Diploma Course for intending teachers was instituted, and came into existence in

1920⁽¹²⁾. However, in 1921, the Burnham Committee recognised the qualifications of Associateship and Post Diploma of the College together as the equivalent of a degree, thus entitling holders to graduate pay and status. There was a continuing acceptance of ex-students of the College as suitable candidates for teaching posts, notably as headmasters of art schools. Finally, in 1937, the Burnham Committee decided that the qualification ARCA would carry graduate pay, which meant the extra-post graduate year was no longer necessary for prospective teachers⁽¹³⁾.

The Post Diploma Course for Intending Teachers was not, however, viewed positively by the College staff, who were keen to encourage the excellence of students as artists and designers. Indeed, in 1920, the Board of Education held the view that the College should move away from teacher training, and become primarily a School of Design.

Until 1920, all the pedagogic teaching had been undertaken by the Principal, Augustus Spencer, but with the arrival of William Rothenstein as Principal⁽¹⁴⁾, a separate member of staff was employed to teach the Post Diploma Course. During the Post-Diploma Course, students devoted two-thirds of their time to professional theory and teaching practice in a school or in an art school. The other third of their time was spent on further technical study which would be of use to a teacher, but which was not covered by the students' Diploma Course. At the end of the course the students had to sit the Board of Education's Examination, as did students trained elsewhere⁽¹⁵⁾. The opportunity to remain at the College for another year, supported by a continuation grant, did encourage some students to stay on in order to study another branch of art or craft, with the added advantage of the award of a teaching qualification

at the end of the course. The Post Diploma Course thus only strengthened the training of teachers at the College.

Originally, the opportunity to remain at the College for an additional year was instigated to encourage students to enter industry, following criticism from industry that the College siphoned potential designers away from commercial work. However, by 1920 a continuation grant for a fourth year of study in a studio specialism, rather than pedagogy, was not readily available from the Board of Education.

Rothenstein, on his appointment in 1920, had agreed with the Board of Education that the Royal College of Art should change emphasis from teacher training towards the training of designers. Here, there was a dilemma. Rothenstein encouraged the Board of Education to consider employing young artists, designers and craftsmen in 'the more important country schools'⁽¹⁶⁾. However, he failed to convince the Board that this could be achieved by students who had completed a fourth year at the College in their main study, rather than by taking the post diploma course for intending teachers.

Moreover, Rothenstein's appointment was not popular with the Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters in Secondary Schools, who saw the Board of Education's action in appointing Rothenstein as supporting the appointment of headmasters to Secondary Schools who had no previous experience⁽¹⁷⁾.

Rothenstein had seen the effects of poor teaching, and considered that only those who were good craftsmen and had

sufficient commitment should enter teaching as a profession (18). The teaching profession remained hostile and suspicious of Rothenstein's aims to encourage art and design. As Rothenstein himself commented:

At least I was gradually changing the College from being in large part a training school for teachers to an active school for practical designers and artists(19).

The sculptor Henry Moore⁽²⁰⁾ who was a student at the time of Rothenstein's arrival commented on the effect of the new Principal:

...he changed the College completely. It used to be a place where teachers taught teachers who became teachers and taught teachers, rather you know like a snake eating its own tail. Rothenstein was horrified "What arrogance," he used to say to people who wanted to just become art teachers, "how can you presume to want to teach what you don't know?"(21).

Rothenstein continued to disagree with students who wanted to sacrifice their final year to the study of pedagogy, and frowned on those who wished to earn their living through teaching⁽²²⁾. His visit to Paris, Prague and Berlin in 1924, only strengthened his concern that teaching should be done by talented artists, craftsmen and designers rather than by 'professional art masters'⁽²³⁾.

During the 1930s, the number of students at the College increased to such an extent that it became difficult to

organise a post-graduate course for intending teachers. In 1935, the over crowded post-graduate course was moved to Goldsmiths' College, which was affiliated to London University. The course at Goldsmiths' College was specifically for ex-students of the Royal College of Art, although Goldsmiths' College had its own teacher training department and school of art. The move of the Royal College of Art pedagogic course to Goldsmiths' was seen as a positive trend towards educational professionalism by the education profession (24). The intake on the course reached about 25 students each year, but was discontinued in 1939, following the Burnham Committee's decision to accept the Diploma of Associateship as equivalent to graduate status.

This co-operation between the Royal College of Art and another educational institution was not unusual: there had been a steady flow of students studying at the Central School during the evenings since the 1900s, and by 1936, the number had risen to 96. Though no Central students studied at the Royal College of Art, this 'free trade' was accepted by both the London County Council, who ran the Central School, and by the Board of Education(25).

The Hambleden Committee's Report(26) in 1937, recommended that holders of the Royal College of Art Associateship should be entitled to graduate status in the teaching profession, and opined that the primary aim of the College was training the practitioners of 'applied arts'. This was followed by the the Board of Education's decision that holders of the Associate of the Royal College of Art should be accepted as graduates for payment purposes (and also accepted by the Burnham Committee), and there would be no further need for an extra qualification. Although this was to lead to the discontinuance of the Post-Diploma Course,

and the teaching of pedagogy at the College, the Board of Education had noted that out of over 1,000 art teachers employed full-time in schools, only 52 held a Diploma from the Royal College of Art, which indicated that a large majority of the students who had taken the pedagogy course had not entered teaching. The Board of Education was now keen to encourage ex-Royal College of Art students to enter education. A greater number of art teachers was required because of the successful development of art education within the school education system. The Board noted that the extra pay needed to increase salaries up to graduate status would be off set by cutting the Goldsmiths Course (27).

At the College, the staff attitude towards students who wished to enter the profession of teaching remained hostile. A student, who graduated in 1939, remembers the antagonism of an external assessor who disapproved of his desire to become a teacher⁽²⁸⁾. Yet despite the discouragement against teaching from the staff at the College, graduates continued to enter education as a career, and in 1944 the renamed Board of Education, in the guise of the Ministry of Education, was concerned that a post-war Royal College of Art would continue to place a premium on educating students as teachers⁽²⁹⁾. The perception of the College as an establishment for training teachers was compounded by the 1946 Report, The Visual Arts⁽³⁰⁾ which noted that at one time up to 80% of the College students were intending to be teachers.

Certainly, the number of Royal College of Art students who became teachers was considerable, though as a proportion of the College leavers, the figure did vary. In 1898, the 'students under training' specifically for a career in

education numbered 39 out of a total of 420 students. Following the introduction of an entrance examination in 1901, the total number of students attending the College declined to 210, while the number of teachers under training remained comparatively static at 35, until the discontinuance of the 'students under training' scheme in 1909.

From 1909, information regarding the employment of diplomates of the College was published. In 1909, some 29 students left for jobs in teaching. In 1910, this figure rose to 32, of which 7 had gained employment as headmasters. (The term headmaster probably used to denote head of an art school.) In 1911, out of 60 diplomates, just 25 became teachers⁽³¹⁾.

In 1911, the Report of the Departmental Committee on the College showed that during a ten year period, out of 459 students, 126 (or 23%) of students became teachers, and only 32 (or 12%) full-time artists. Indeed, the diversion of industrially experienced students into a teaching career led the Report's Committee to suggest the cutting of teachers salaries. Although these figures were refuted by the Royal College of Art staff⁽³²⁾, they bear similar patterns to the career destinations noted by ex-students of the College in response to a questionnaire.

The responses to a questionnaire show that although just over 33% gained a teaching qualification while at the College, the majority of students (some 57.3%) left the College to enter a career in teaching. Although this survey was not comprehensive, the Board of Education, in 1937, noted that just over 40% of the College students held a

teaching qualification. The higher figure in the survey can be accounted for by students who had teaching qualifications other than those attained while at the College. The questionnaire also provided evidence that, of those who took the pedagogic course, just over half were women. Of all those who became teachers, it was found that, of the fine art students, 70% became teachers, in comparison with about 50% of those who studied design. The questionnaire showed that of those who participated, a total of 85.3% of the College diplomates had worked as teachers during some part of their career⁽³³⁾.

For the most part, teaching careers were in art schools rather than at the level of secondary education. Between 1900 and 1923, a published list of art teachers at the main public and secondary schools showed that, at an annual average of 23.6 schools, just 2.6 art masters (or 11%), held the qualification ARCA⁽³⁴⁾. The influence of diplomates of the College, on education, can be shown more clearly by a consideration of the staff in art schools. The National Society of Art Masters published lists of the art schools and their headmasters for the years between 1924 and 1939. If all the figures during this period are amalgamated, those headmasters noted as holding the qualification of Associateship of the College, accounted for 56.5% of the total number of headmasters of art schools. This figure varied between 42% and 69%, but would appear to have risen during the 1930s, when the economic situation hindered students entering industry⁽³⁵⁾. The mention of other qualifications is exceptionally rare, but includes a BA and BSc, membership of the Royal Society of British Artists, and a number of Fellows of the Society of Art Masters. In 1935, the qualification ATD (Art Teachers Diploma) was noted for three headmasters, one of whom was also an ARCA.

This evidence conclusively indicates that the most common employment of ex-students of the Royal College of Art was in education, despite the attitude of the staff at the College, and the concern of the Board of Education. It is therefore appropriate to examine the nature of the College's teacher training work.

Rothenstein, as Principal, did not encourage students to enter teaching as a career unless they had both enthusiasm and skill, together with a good general level of education. For example he encouraged the painting students to use the College's School of Architecture⁽³⁶⁾. He introduced some inspired teachers to the College and often they were ex-students such as Henry Moore and printmaker Edward Bawden.

The design teaching at the College was crafts based, which gave prospective art teachers a useful ability to teach both art and a range of craft subjects. The teaching of handicrafts in schools had found support because it developed skills which would otherwise have to be taught to boys later during apprenticeships; it was thought to encourage psychological health and manual dexterity⁽³⁷⁾. In 1913, the Consultative Committee on Practical Work in Secondary Schools considered handicrafts in Secondary Education of great importance and 'a necessary constituent of a liberal education'. Such educational ideas led to the growth of craft teaching in schools, as long as the craft was considered 'useful'. Design was also related to the work of the art teacher, who was often the teacher of craft. It was argued that wood and metalwork crafts were physical skills, and that teaching an understanding of the principles of design was a secondary consideration. This led to the assumption that design skills were related to practical application, and that therefore it was easier to

teach design skills through education in craft and fine art.

In 1924, a tutor of pedagogy was appointed, named Fred Richards, himself a graduate of the College, whose teaching experience until this time is unrecorded. In 1927, he was replaced by Dudley Heath, of whom equally little is known. The pedagogic course tutors gave lectures in educational psychology and practical teaching methods. Heath gained the confidence of his students because he spoke from experience. The putative teachers were presented with the challenge of imparting practical skills to pupils. Their course also included some 'home spun' psychology, such as the belief that red haired children had a natural propensity to be short tempered⁽³⁸⁾.

The standard text book for the pedagogy course was Education its Data and First Principles, (1926), by Sir Percy Nunn⁽³⁹⁾, which also formed the basis for Dudley Heath's lectures⁽⁴⁰⁾. Nunn was the Professor of Education at the University of London and the Principal of the Day Training College. He was also an officer for the London County Council. Nunn's aim was for the teacher to develop the individual student in all aspects of his/her personality and talents. Emphasis was placed on equality through opportunity, and the right of a child to receive support for his/her development. This could be achieved through the teacher's understanding of psychology and psychoanalytic theory. Chapters are included on biological development and its relationship to emotional development and psychological motivation; the effects of experience and environment; the relationship between memory, imagination and perception; and topics such as the need for play in education.

No mention was made of colour theory. In part this may have been because students were expected to have a knowledge of colour prior to entering the Royal College of Art.

The text books of the period continued to place an emphasis on developing childrens' drawing skills, though it was now recognised that a strictly systematic approach would only discourage pupils, and that use should be made of real objects rather than copying from pictures. There was a growing interest in child art, and how it expressed changes in the development of the child. This dates back to the turn of the century and the work of the Austrian Professor Franz Cizek⁽⁴¹⁾, who studied the abilities of children in decision making and creativity. Work done by children under his care was exhibited in London in 1908, and in 1917, the Grafton Galleries in London exhibited work of children taught by the Birmingham teacher, Marion Richardson⁽⁴²⁾. In 1930, Richardson was appointed the District Inspector of Art for the London County Council. Here, she worked with Reginald R. Tomlinson⁽⁴³⁾, the Senior Inspector of Art to the London County Council. Tomlinson's work included the local authority art schools of London, most notably the Central School of Art and Design. He was a full Associate Diploma of the College, yet was highly critical of the education authorities who employed those 'drawn from the practising profession and not from the ranks of trained teachers'. He also criticised those in education who continued to use formal training methods (such as those propounded by the South Kensington system and Royal College of Art)⁽⁴⁴⁾. In 1934, Tomlinson published Picture and Pattern Making for Children followed a year later by Crafts for Children which demonstrated different techniques which could be taught. In 1938, Marion Richardson organised an exhibition of child art held at

London's County Hall, but her main book, Art and The Child, was not published until 1948.

As early as 1928, a book by the artist John Littlejohns⁽⁴⁵⁾ was published, discussing the issue of child development through art. Five years later, in 1934, (the same year as Tomlinson's first publication) a College diplomate and Rome Scholar, Evelyn Gibbs⁽⁴⁶⁾, published The Teaching of Art in Schools. This was a book of considerable influence in its period, encouraging creativity and individual development in school children, rather than a speedy acceptance of adult visual perceptions. Gibbs wrote from personal experience and encouraged teachers to give children the opportunity to work with a wide range of media. Her book was recommended to teachers in training. Gibbs was especially influential as a lecturer at Goldsmiths' College.

In 1935, when the College's pedagogy course moved to Goldsmiths' College, a wider range of topics was covered including the various art teaching systems from Montessori to the Bauhaus, including practical handicrafts such as pottery, teaching experience, child psychology and the innovative ideas of Marion Richardson. Richardson's notion that all children had creative abilities, in part, echoed those of Cole who considered all children could be trained to draw. This course was led by a Dr Eckhart, whose background is unrecorded. Eckhart introduced visiting lecturers such as Nikolaus Pevsner⁽⁴⁷⁾, and made an effort to place art in the context of contemporary society and technology.

The continuation of the post graduate year was necessitated by the Board of Education's desire to establish professional standards in teaching, and its awareness of a future demand for art teachers in the state education system. The post graduate course appears to have been distinct in its organisation and operation from the rest of the College.

The Royal College of Art remained conservative in its own approach to teaching, though Rothenstein attempted to break the system where lecturers only had experience in education. He developed a College where trained artists, craftsmen and designers taught with enthusiasm and skill, rather than merely observing a set of pedagogic rules.

The ideals of the South Kensington System of education were reflected in the approaches of the leaders of educational practice in art and design teaching during the 1920s and 1930s. Most notable of these was A E Halliwell⁽⁴⁸⁾, a student in the Design School at the College (1926-29). As a teacher at the Camberwell School of Art, Halliwell developed analytical and creative exercises, covering line, shape, colour and texture, but developed his ideas further by encouraging the students to discuss subjects such as composition, perception and colour. This led to the development of his 'basic design' course, which stressed 'learning by doing'. Such a concern for the importance of relating design, materials, and construction had been propounded earlier by both Crane and Lethaby⁽⁴⁹⁾, together with the need to stimulate originality rather than copyist design. Halliwell denied that his ideas emulated those of the German Bauhaus⁽⁵⁰⁾, but his ideas do reflect the basis of the Royal College of Art teaching, drastically modified to meet the needs of industrial design.

It is usually assumed that modern design education was developed more radically at the Bauhaus in Germany than at any English art school. The Bauhaus used a core curriculum allied to that used in the Prussian design schools, which was developed by Hermann Muthesius⁽⁵¹⁾, one of the founders of the Deutscher Werkbund. He had spent six years in England during the 1890s, under the aegis of the Prussian Government, and made a close study of the organisation of British education, especially the teaching of design, the work and ideas of Morris, the Arts and Crafts Movement and the Glasgow School. Muthesius's stay in England also overlapped with Walter Crane's, Principalship at the Royal College of Art. The two were friends, and undoubtedly discussed Crane's frustration at being unable to reform the Royal College of Art into a national institution for teaching design through an approach predominated by the relationship of design to materials rather than historicism. At the Bauhaus School in Germany, the designer and teacher Walter Gropius⁽⁵²⁾ developed this method of education beyond all recognition. Between 1919 and 1923 the teaching was centred around a system of journeymen and masterships, though for the following ten years a hierarchy of professorships was instated. The Bauhaus carefully selected the students who took its preliminary (or foundation core) course, from which they progressed to specialised areas of work. The courses were rigorously assessed and externally examined. Commercial commissions were accepted and the students were paid for work. The teaching was based on the vocabulary of form, and the close relationship between materials and design. Fine art was accepted as part of the creative process, and the use of workshops for the production of designed products was flexible. Moreover, when the school moved to the industrial city of Dessau, it was renamed the Dessau Institute of Design⁽⁵³⁾ .

The work of the Bauhaus was known to English educationalists, including those at the Board of Education. However, its links with the Arts and Crafts movement and what was perceived as utopian socialism, did not encourage similar developments at the Royal College of Art. In England, the Bauhaus, despite its innovative concern with materials and production methods, was perceived as being closely connected with fine art education, especially with the presence of Klee, Kandinsky and Mucbe as teachers⁽⁵⁴⁾. Therefore to some in British education, the Bauhaus appeared backward looking, for it was not a specialist school of design, separate and distinct from fine art education, which would train designers for industry. This was in contrast to the writings of Walter Gropius in his 1923 manifesto, Art and Technology a New Unity. The importanace of the Bauhaus was recognised by the more forward thinking English designers and manufacturers (such as those encouraged by individuals such as Frank Pick⁽⁵⁵⁾ of the London Passenger Transport Board or innovative companies such as Troughton & Young). The Board of Education, however, seems to have felt that the Bauhaus represented a form of socialist politics.

When, in 1934, after the closure of the Bauhaus in Dessau, Gropius arrived in England, there was considerable interest in his opinions on art and design education. In early 1935, he was interviewed by members of the Board of Education with the idea of employing him as a visiting lecturer at the College and at other main art schools. The Board also considered the possibility of asking Gropius to draw up a report on the state and needs of British design education⁽⁵⁶⁾. Although Gropius' arrival coincided with the imminent departure of Rothenstein as Principal of the Royal College of Art, Gropius was never considered a candidate for the post. However, his views did receive a wider

audience when, in 1937, he was invited to Alexandra Palace television centre. An interview with him followed by an interview with some students from the Royal College of Art, illustrated a major difference in teaching methods and philosophy⁽⁵⁷⁾.

Despite the apparent failings of the Royal College of Art, it was recognised as a centre of design education, not just in Great Britain but abroad. Its influence dated back to the work of the South Kensington Schools, and had been promulgated through the writings of Muthesius and the growth of Prussian art and design schools. In France the Inspectorate of the L'Ecole des Beaux Art, Paris, attempted to introduce the 'university course' of the Royal College of Art's system⁽⁵⁸⁾. Indeed, in 1911, the College was described as 'unique in Europe' and 'a remarkable testimony to the high state of artistic education in England'⁽⁵⁹⁾. It was praised by the Director of Budapest School of Art, and recommended as a model to the Dutch government by the Head of the Amsterdam School of Art. Later, in the 1930s, the Royal College of Art teaching methods used by design tutor, Reco Capey⁽⁶⁰⁾ were copied by the Stockholm National College of Art, Craft and Design⁽⁶¹⁾. As late as 1948, the Bavarian Ministry of Education requested advice on reorganisation of its art schools, and was interested in using the College as a model. This request was received with surprise, as the Royal College of Art was about to undergo its first major reforms for over thirty years⁽⁶²⁾. The above illustrates the power of the College as an institution that was well recognised as a centre for training. Moreover, despite a failure to modernise its studio facilities or introduce a more industrially based aspect to its teaching, the College continued to be perceived as an institution which could provide a model for a national system of art and design education.

The teaching at the Royal College of Art, and the art schools from which it took its students, included design teaching in the form of craft. Unlike the scheme introduced at Camberwell School of Art in 1938, or the work of the Bauhaus students, this was of little use to professional commercial design work. The Board of Education was aware of the need for change, but was unable to instigate or develop innovative design teaching due to a continued lack of funding, notably for workshop equipment and accommodation. Also, there did not appear to be a supply of teachers with an ability to communicate the processes and requirements of contemporary design practice. In spite of the Board of Education's encouragement to Rothenstein, to move the College away from a teacher training establishment towards becoming a school of design in 1920, the innovations which did take place were mainly in fine art and did not meet the needs of a developing design industry. Yet the Royal College of Art remained a key institution in the training of art teachers throughout Rothenstein's principalship, that of his successor Percy Jowett⁽⁶³⁾, and (though to a lesser extent) during the time of Robin Darwin⁽⁶⁴⁾.

The Royal College of Art influenced education via its graduates who entered teaching, and who continued the College's approach to art and design. A large proportion of this group became principals of art schools, partly because the graduates of the College were recognised by the local education authorities as having received a sound training in both the theory and practice of art and education, especially those who had taken the one year course in pedagogy.

The enforcement of educational standards by members of His Majesty's Inspectorate was equally influenced by the

College training. Most notable in the Inspectorate was Samuel J. Cartlidge, the Chief Inspector for Schools from 1900 until 1922. The College influence was continued by J.W. Allison (HMI 1915-29), W.M. Keeseey (HMI 1926-47), W. Travis (HMI 1926-47), G.F. Quarmby (HMI 1933-44) and A. Dalby (HMI 1937-47). From those HMIs whose qualifications are known, it can be demonstrated that between 1900 and 1944, over 25% of the Inspectorate held the Associateship of the Royal College of Art. (In 1945 a new influx of staff on the Inspectorate reduces this figure to 21%). This illustrates the significance of the College on the wider development of state education, at the primary and secondary level, in addition to the work of the art schools. Although the Board of Education was aware of the failings of the College it appointed a number of its graduates to positions of authority in education.

Endnotes

1 The Influence of the Royal College of Art on Education

Note: all references to sources prefaced with the letters ED are Board of Education Papers held at the Public Record Office, Kew, London.

1. ED23/43 1899 Departmental Committee of the Board of Education. Interim Report.

2. Augustus Spencer (1860-1924) was educated at Keighley Grammar School, and then the towns art school. In 1881 he entered the Royal College of Art on a scholarship. On completion of his studies in 1885 he was appointed the Headmaster of the School of Art at Coalbrookdale in Shropshire. In 1888 he became Headmaster at Leicester School of Art. He oversaw the construction of a new School of Art, the control of the School move from the Board of Education to the local authority, and the affiliation of all the Board Schools in Leicester to the School of Art. His appointment as Principal of the Royal College of Art ran from 1900 to 1920.

3. ED23/46 Papers of the appointment of Augustus Spencer as Principal of the Royal College of Art, January 1900

4. The 1902 Education Act (Balfour-Morant) placed the existing art schools under the authority of the recently created local education authorities. This Act ended the system of Payment on Results, and ensured that art masters were paid full salaries.

5. Departmental Committee on the Royal College of Art
London: HMSO (1911) p.14

6. Prior to 1913 students submitting work for the Art Masters' Certificate had to produce drawings for numerous categories. These categories were replaced by Grouped Drawing Examinations. Further the Rules 109 introduced the course Principles of Teaching and School Management as a means to ensure that art students who were intending to become teachers, could cope with the rigours of educational theory and administration. See Macdonald,S., The History and Philosophy of Art Education University of London (1970) p.304.

7. In 1933, this certificate was renamed the Art Teachers' Diploma, although the Board of Education did not relinquish its authority of the certification to the universities and colleges until 1952. See Macdonald,S., The History and Philosophy of Art Education University of London (1970) p.305

8. The Departmental Committee on the Royal College of Art London: HMSO (1911) p.11

9. Board of Education Report on the library, historical and general instruction given to students at the Royal College of Art. 30th March 1914-3rd April 1914.

10. The Burnham Committee was established in 1919 to consider questions of teachers pay. This committee was formed as a result of the 1918 Education Act.

11. Frederick Brown (1851-1944) studied at the precursor of the Royal College of Art, then in Paris during 1883. He exhibited at the Royal Academy, and was a founder member of the New English Art Club in 1886. He taught at Westminster School of Art 1877-92, until he was appointed Slade Professor, a post he held until retirement in 1918. The school at Westminster, then the Slade, acquired a strong

reputation for figurative drawing. He was described as 'the grim and intransigent type of revolutionist' in G.P. Jacomb-Hood's With Brush and Pencil published by John Murray in 1925, p.77. He is occasionally confused the art educationalist Frank P. Brown.

12. Draft of the 1919-20 Royal College of Art Prospectus.

13. ED46/219 21.12.37

14. William Rothenstein (1872-1945) studied at the Slade, University of London, in 1888-89 (under Professor Frederick Brown), then at the Academie Julian, Paris between 1889-93. This latter school had a very strong tradition of academic work. Rothenstein became a member of the New English Art Club, and between 1917-18 became an Official War Artist. In 1918 he was appointed Professor of Civil Art at Sheffield University, a post he held for only two years, until he took up the Principalship of the Royal College of Art. At the College he reorganised the area of Decorative Painting into that of Drawing and Painting, with himself as Professor. He resigned as from the College in 1935 on grounds of ill health. He was an unofficial War Artist with the RAF, between 1939 and 1943. Rothenstein was knighted in 1931.

15. When a student received his or her Diploma, on the reverse was a note to the effect that they were certified under the Board of Education Rule 109 for teaching and school management. This endorsement was dated the year after the examinations had been taken, to ensure the completion of a probationary year.

16. Rothenstein,W., Since Fifty London: Faber (1939) p.21

17. ED24/1599 Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters in Secondary Schools to the Board of Education 20.07.20

18. Rothenstein,W., Since Fifty London: Faber (1939) p.24

19. Rothenstein,W., Since Fifty London: Faber (1939) p.24

20. Henry Moore (1898-1986) entered Leeds College of Art in 1919, having previously seen military action with the army during the First World War. In 1921 he entered the Royal College of Art, gaining his Associateship in 1924. That year Moore temporarily took over the post of assistant in the School of Sculpture, post which he was in fact to hold until 1931. From 1932 until 1939 Moore taught at Chelsea School of Art. He was an Official War Artist 1940-42. His first one person show was in 1928 at the Warren Gallery. He was a member of the London Group 1930-37, the Seven and Five Society 1932-35 and Unit One in 1933. He exhibited at the International Surrealists' Exhibitions of 1936 and 1938. He was awarded O.M. in 1963.

21. Henry Moore in the Sunday Times 25 May 1975.

22. Mildred E.Eldridge (RCA student 1930-33) commented: 'Teaching as earning one's living afterwards was frowned upon. I can remember William Rothenstein's reaction when I said I would have to teach - You really cannot teach after attending the School of Painting'. Letter to HCC 13.07.88.

23. Rothenstein.W., Since Fifty Faber: London (1939) p23

24. In 1891, the Goldsmiths' Company opened a polytechnic, which unlike other institutions was funded from Company funds rather publicly. This polytechnic quickly established a high reputation, but in 1902 was ended by the London Education Act, leading in 1904, to the transfer of the

Institute to the University of London (though not wholly until 1988). One of the main reasons for the acceptance by the University of the Company's offer, was the great need for teachers. See Jenkins, P., 'The Story of Goldsmiths' College' Goldsmiths' Review London: Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths' (1989) p.36-39

25. ED46/219 Internal memo on interchange between Higher Grade Art Institutions in London. 1937.

26. The Hambleton Report was published as the Report of the Committee on Advanced Art Education in London in 1936. The Committee was chaired by William Henry Smith, Third Viscount Hambleton (1903-1948) who was the Governing Director of the retailers W.H. Smith and Sons. See Ashwin. G., Art Education: documents and policies 1768-1975 London: Society for Research into Higher Education (1975) p.74

27. ED24/219 Undated Paper 1937.

28. Respondent to Questionnaire on the Royal College of Art number 83, who attended the College 1935-39.

29. ED23/793 Undated letter from Dickey to Wallis.

30. The Visual Arts Oxford University Press (1946) p.87 This report was sponsored by the Dartington Foundation.

31. The Years' Art London: Hutchinson (1912) p62

32. Quoted by Brown, F.P., South Kensington and its Art Training London: Longman Green (1912) p.27 The letter to The Times was signed by Brown, W.S.George, Malcom Osborne, A.R.Smith and J.A. Stevenson. Frank P Brown (1877-1958) worked for ten years as a designer in the ceramic industry of Stoke-on-Trent, latterly at the company of Josiah

Wedgwood & Sons.. In 1902 he won a Free Studentship to the Royal College of Art, followed by the award of a Junior Scholarship in 1904, and a Royal College of Art Scholarship 1904-07. He gained his Associateship in 1907 and left the College to become the Head of the Art Department at London County Council's Norwood Technical Institute. Between 1910 and 1916 he was Headmaster at Richmond School of Art, Surrey. He resigned his last post to work at a machine hand in Shell Factory 3, Royal Arsenal, Woolwich, during the First World War. He held teaching posts concurrently as Merchant Taylors' School, 1911-39; Highgate School, 1919-39; and at the Davenant Foundation School, 1920-40. His key publication was South Kensington and its Training (1912).

33. Appendix C Questionnaire on the Royal College of Art

34. This information was published annually The Years' Art London: Hutchinson.

35. Headmasters of Art Schools in Great Britain

<u>Year</u>	<u>Art Schools</u>	<u>Headmasters with ARCA</u>	<u>%</u>
1924	174	118	68
1925	181	84	46
1926	182	84	46
1927	188	85	45
1928	188	82	44
1929	188	84	45
1930	196	83	42
1931	193	109	55
1932	194	115	59
1933	201	122	61
1934	201	128	64
1935	202	127	63
1936	192	133	69

<u>Year</u>	<u>Art Schools</u>	<u>Headmasters with ARCA</u>	<u>%</u>
1937	204	132	65
1938	208	130	63
1939	198	132	67

Figures provided by the National Society of Art Masters and published annually in The Years' Art London: Hutchinson. Note that the percentage of art schools headmasters with the qualification ARCA increased by over 20% during the 1930s at a time when the Royal College of Art was officially placing less emphasis on its role as a teacher training school.

36. Rothenstein, W., Since Fifty London: Faber (1939) p.197

37. This latter view was supported by the Professor of Education at London University and Principal of the London Day Training College: Percy Nunn, see Education its Data and First Principles London: Edward Arnold (1920).

38. Interview with Nancy Stanfield (RCA 1924-28) August 1989.

39. Percy Nunn (1870-1944) was educated at University College, Bristol. He was a teacher in various secondary schools from 1891 until 1905. He became an examiner in Education, Philosophy and Psychology in various universities, and President of the Training College Association in 1915. From 1905 until 1922 he was the Vice Principal of the University of London Institute of Education, and its Principal between 1922 and 1936. He knighted in 1930 and made an Emeritus Professor in 1937. His publications included Aims of Scientific Method (1907), the Board of Education Report on Training Teachers of Mathematics (1912), The Teaching of Algebra (1913),

Education: Its Data and First Principles (1920); Relativity and Gravitation (1923).

40. Stanley H Gill (RCA 1931-35) in letter to HCC 27.07.88.

41. Franz Cizek (1865-1942) was appointed assistant in the Vienna Realschule in 1897, where he was allowed to start private classes for children at weekends. These classes consisted of 40 to 60 children of between seven and fourteen years of age. In addition to following the official drawing programme, Cizek allowed children to draw objects freely, and introduced cut paper work. The key idea was to encourage work to be produced from imagination. His work gained the recognition of the Austrian government in 1903. After the First World War relief workers, Beram Hawker and Francesca Mary Wilson (who was a teacher from Birmingham, England), saw Cizek's work in Austria, and as a result organised exhibitions in England of work produced in his classes. A 'Children's Art Exhibition Fund' was proposed by an English advisory committee, which included notables such as Lethaby, Clutton Brock and Charlotte Mason. Cizek's class was closed in 1938. Although a victim of failing eyesight he continued to undertake some teaching until 1941. His best known book is Children's Coloured Paper Work Vienna: Anton Schroll (1927). See Wilson. F. M., A Lecture by Professor Cizek London: Childrens' Art Exhibition Fund (1921) and Wilson. F.M., The Child as Artist: Some conversations with Professor Cizek Vienna (1921)

42. Marion Richardson (1892-1946) was educated at Birmingham School of Arts and Crafts. At nineteen she was appointed to Dudley Girls' High School, Birmingham. When she attempted to enliven the classes required for the passing of the School Certificate, by encouraging work of an imaginative composition. With some pupils she visited an

exhibition of childrens work organised by the art critic Roger Fry. As a result Fry asked Richardson to organise an exhibition of her pupils work, which took place at the Grafton Galleries in 1920. She was appointed a Lecturer in Art at the London Day Training College, which was to become the University of London Education Institute, in 1924. The Principal of the Institute of Professor Percy Nunn. In 1930 she was appointed the District Art Inspector of Art for London County Council. Here she worked with R.R.Tomlinson. In 1934, following an invitation by the Carnegie Trust, she lectured in Canada on her work. In 1938 a large exhibition of child art was shown at the newly built County Hall of London County Council. This was opened by Sir Kenneth Clark and visited by 26,000 people. See Richardson. M., Note to Exhibition of Children's Drawings at County Hall, London July 1938, and Richardson. M., Art and the Child London: London University Press (1948).

43. Reginald Robert Tomlinson (1885-1978) was educated at Farnham Grammar School. He became an apprentice designer to Minton, Hollins & Co and then as a pottery painter and designer for Bernard Moore, between 1906 and 1909. He then entered the Royal College of Art where he was to gain a full Associateship. He was then employed at Art Director to the Crown Staffordshire China Company Ltd, 1913-1919. Between 1922 and 1925 he was Principal of Cheltenham College of Arts and Crafts, then acting Principal of the Central School of Arts and Crafts, London 1935-36 and 1939-46. He was awarded two international Gold Medals for Design and Craftsmanship, in collaboration with Bernad Moore, at Ghent and Turin. In 1955 he was the Master of the Art Workers' Guild.

44. Tomlinson, R.R., Children as Artists London: Penguin (1947) p.14

45. See Littlejohns, J., Art in Schools University of London (1928). This book includes an introduction and additional notes by Reginald R. Tomlinson. Littlejohns exhibited at the Royal Academy and other London and provincial galleries. He illustrated children's books and designed posters, as well as writing books on topics such as water colour painting.

46. Gibbs, E., The Teaching of Art in Schools London: Williams & Northgate (1934). Evelyn Gibbs (1905-1990) studied at Liverpool School of Art 1922-26, then at the Royal College of Art 1926-29, gaining her Diploma in the School of Engraving. Having won a Rome Scholarship she worked at the British School in Rome 1929-31. She exhibited at the Royal Academy and with the New English Art Club. She lived in Nottingham and later London. She married Sir Hugh Willatt. Her work on child art was influenced by her experience in teaching profoundly disabled children.

47. Respondent to questionnaire number 68 (RCA 1933-37)
Sir Nikolaus Pevsner (1902-1983) was born Germany. He gained a PhD in History of Art and Architecture in 1924. He was a lecturer at Goettingen University 1929-33, then Slade Professor of Fine Art at the University of Cambridge 1949-55, and Slade Professor of Fine Art at the University of Oxford 1968-69. Best known for his writings on English architecture.

48. Thistlewood, D., A.E.Halliwell: Art and Design Educationalist Unpublished Paper. Bretton Hall. Yorkshire (1987).

49. Both Walter Crane (1845-1915) and William Richard Lethaby (1857-1931) had connections with the Royal College of Art and the Arts and Crafts Movement. Lethaby had trained as an architect. He assisted Crane with the

foundation of the Art Workers' Guild in 1884 and the Arts & Crafts Exhibition Society in 1887. In 1890, together with the furniture designer Ernest Gimson, he established Kenton & Co and exhibited a wide range of furniture designs. In 1894 with the sculptor George Frampton he was appointed as an Art Inspector to the Technical Education Board of the London County Council. In 1896 they became joint directors of the new Central School of Arts and Crafts, with Lethaby becoming its sole Principal between 1900 and 1912. From 1900 until 1918 Lethaby held the Professorship of Ornament and Design at the Royal College of Art. In 1915 he was instrumental in the formation of the Design and Industries Association.

50. The Bauhaus was an art and design school established from two merged schools in Weimar in 1919. The curriculum was formed of a six month introductory course to form and materials (Vorlehre), study in a craft area with a craftsperson (Werklehre), consideration of form with an artist (Formlehre), and finally a study of architecture and building (Bau). Throughout its existence the school employed a wide range of influential artists and designer. In 1921 a number of teachers left, protesting at the innovative methods of the Director Walter Gropius. In 1923 an exhibition by the school was held at the same time as a meeting of the Deutsche Werkbund. Due to political and economic pressures the Bauhaus moved to Dessau in 1925. Meyer was appointed Director in 1928 leaving in 1930, when the post was taken up by Mies van der Rohe. In 1932 the Bauhaus moved to Berlin, where it remained until it was dissolved in 1933. In 1937 Moholy-Nagy founded the New Bauhaus in Chicago, in the United States of America.

51. Hermann Muthesius (1861-1927) studied philosophy in Berlin 1881-83, then architecture at the city's Technische Hochschule. He worked as an architect including in Tokyo

between 1887 and 1891. In 1893 he became the architect to the Prussian government. In 1896 he was appointed to the German Embassy in London and published work on English architecture, William Morris and the Arts and Crafts Movement. Between 1904 and 1926 he was an official in the Prussian trade ministry and assisted in the reform of the Prussian schools of design. Muthesius was a key figure in the founding of the Deutsche Werkbund in 1907.

52. Walter Gropius (1883-1969) studied architecture in Munich and Berlin between 1903 and 1907. He then worked in the architect's office of Peter Behrens before starting his own practice. He designed furniture and also a diesel locomotive. He became involved in the Deutsche Werkbund, designing a model factory for the movement's 1914 Exhibition at Cologne. He served in the First World War, then in 1919 took up an appointment as Director of the newly formed Bauhaus school. He resigned in 1929 and set up in private practice, the work of which included designing furniture. In 1934 he emigrated to England where he worked with Maxwell Fry from 1934, and as a partnership 1936-37. In 1936 he was appointed Controller of Design to the new Isokon Furniture Company. It was while in London that he published The New Architecture and the Bauhaus (1935). In 1937 he emigrated to the United States of America to work as a professor at Harvard where he lectured until 1952. Additionally, between 1938 and 41 he was in partnership with Marcel Breuer.

53. See Ehrlich. D., The Bauhaus Leicester: Magna Books (1991) p.102

54. Paul Klee (1879-1940), Wassily Kandinsky (1866-1944) and Georg Muehe (1895-1953) were three leading modernist painters who were also concerned with the theory of pedagogic practice.

55. Frank Pick (1878-1941) trained as a solicitor, but from 1902 worked as a railway administrator, from 1909 holding the post of Traffic Development Officer for London Underground. In 1912 he became its commercial manager and by 1933 Chief Executive of the London Passenger Transport Board. Pick commissioned a wide range of work, often from young artists and designers, such as Paul Nash, Marion Dorn and Edward Bawdon, and was also the person who commissioned Edward Johnston's typeface for London Underground. He was one of the key figures in the establishment of the Design and Industries Association, of which he was president in 1931. He held a keen interest in the work of William Morris and the Arts and Crafts Movement. He was the deputy chair of the exhibition held at Dorland Hall, London in 1933, entitled 'British Industrial Art in Relation to Industry'. In 1934 Pick became Chair of the Council for Art and Industry.

56. ED46/13 Dickey to Eaton. Internal paper of the Board of Education 12.02.35.

57. The students selected by the Principal Percy Jowett were Raymond Birch, Anthony Denney, Myfanwy Evans, Margaret Kaye, and Peter Werner. In the event, between three and four of these students took part. Letter Denney to HCC 26.05.88.

58. The Daily Chronical 14.10.11.

59. Report of International Drawing Congress The Daily Telegraph 27.03.11.

60. Reco Capey was a tutor at the Royal College of Art from 1925 until 1947. Although of Czechoslovakian descent, he was born in Burselm. He studied in the Design School of the Royal College of Art sometime between 1921 and 24. He also

noted having studied in France, Italy and Sweden. In 1925 he was appointed as instructor in the Design School, in which capacity he remained until 1935, when he became a part-time lecturer. In 1938 he was appointed Industrial Liaison Officer for the College, a post which seems to have been created specifically for him. In about 1942 he departed for the United States of America, after which nothing is known of his career. He designed in a wide variety of media including pottery, glass, metalwork, fabrics, and lacquer-work, of which he introduced the latter technique to the College. Between 1928 and 1938 he was the art director for Yardley, designing packaging. In 1937 he was made a Royal Designer for Industry, an honour instituted by the Royal Society of Arts only the previous year. He published an important book on The Printing of Textiles. His work was first noted in The Studio in 1926.

61. Astrid Sampe studied at the Royal College of Art, 1932-34 and on her return introduced the ideas of Reco Capey.

62. ED46/451 Darwin, Principal of the Royal College of Art, to Maxwell-Hyslop at the Ministry of Education. 05.04.48

63. Percy Hague Jowett (1882-1955) studied at Leeds College of Art and then the Royal College of Art. He entered the College in 1904 on a Royal Exhibitioner scholarship, receiving his Diploma in 1907. He then studied in Italy, having won a Travelling Scholarship in Painting. He saw action in the First World War in France and Flanders. He exhibited widely in London and was a member of the New English Art Club. In 1930 he was appointed Principal of London County Council's Central School of Arts and Crafts. In 1935 he was appointed Principal of the Royal College of Art, retiring in 1948, when he was created at C.B.E.

64. Robin Darwin (1910-74) was educated at Eton College. He studied at Cambridge University and then at the Slade,

London University, briefly in 1929. He worked as a journalist, then as an art Master at Watford Grammar School, until 1933 when he was appointed to a similar post at Eton College. Between 1939 and 1944, during the Second World War, he worked for the Ministry of Home Security (Camouflage Directorate), becoming its Secretary. Additionally between 1941-45 he worked at the Ministry of Town and Country Planning, then 1945-46 as the Training Officer at the Council of Industrial Design, during which time he wrote the report The Training of the Industrial Designer proposing curriculum changes at the Royal College of Art. Post war he was appointed Director of King Edward VII School of Art, Newcastle upon Tyne, and Professor of Fine Art at Durham University in 1947. In 1948 he took up the post of Principal of the Royal College of Art. He made changes in the staff and curricula, steering the College through its independence from the Ministry of Education. He retired as Principal from the College in 1967, the year the College received its Royal Charter to become a wholly post graduate institution. However he remained as Vice Provost of the College until 1971. Darwin served on the National Advisory council on Art Education and the National Council for Diplomas in Art and Design. He worked as a landscape painter, exhibiting at the Royal Academy being elected A.R.A. in 1966. He was created a C.B.E. in 1954 and knighted in 1964.

2 The Influence of the Royal College of Art on Art

The title of the institution did not fully reflect the work of its students and staff. The Fine Art influence at the College was strong, especially during the period 1900-1950, when all the principals were themselves fine artists. The emphasis of the Design School during this period was towards the craftsman as artist (rather than the designer artisan) and as such was to influence British painting from the mid 1920s.

The practice of painting and sculpture at the Royal College of Art, related closely to the academic tradition at the Royal Academy Schools, and the emphasis on proficiency in drawing was the norm in all British art schools. It could be argued, that Clive Bell's⁽¹⁾ point, that the only skill of drawing masters was to develop imitation, had led to the resultant status quo in mainstream English painting and sculpture which continued until after the First World War. At the College Augustus Spencer, the Principal between 1900-1920, described himself as a painter and teacher, and though an ex-student of the South Kensington Schools was more influential as an educational administrator than as an artist. The School of Painting and Drawing, from 1900 until 1922, was headed by Professor Gerald Moira⁽²⁾, an ex-student and member of the Royal Academy. Though he had studied in Paris his work was accepted as traditional, and he formed no affiliations with bodies outside the establishment.

Despite the existence of avant-garde, radical groups who pursued new styles, and the fact that such work is now considered highly influential, the majority of the art

produced at the Royal College of Art, (and also at the Royal Academy Schools) was figurative and only one step removed from the narrative work of the late 19th century.

The influence of French artists had led to the formation of the New English Art Club⁽³⁾ in 1886, as a challenge to the Royal Academy. Often its members had studied or worked in France. French artists had arrived in England as refugees from the Paris Commune of 1871. The most noted French artist was Alphonse Legros⁽⁴⁾ who taught at the Slade from 1873 till 1893. Legros had been appointed to take charge of the etching class, in 1880, at the South Kensington Schools, joining his compatriot Jules Dalou⁽⁵⁾, who had taught modelling at the College, from 1877. Dalou provided two years of energetic and committed teaching, and in 1880 a political amnesty allowed him to return home, having suggested the appointment of his pupil Edward Lanteri⁽⁶⁾ in his place. Lanteri had been in England since 1872 and had worked with the sculptor Sir Joseph Boehm⁽⁷⁾, and he continued to develop a more modern approach to figurative work, despite very low pay⁽⁸⁾.

The New English Art Club (NEAC) membership showed work which was Impressionist in style, and from 1906, Lucien Pissaro⁽⁹⁾ exhibited with the society. The Club continued 'to protest against the false concept of tradition'⁽¹⁰⁾. Over the first quarter of the 20th century, the membership gradually became perceived as part of the establishment. The Royal College of Art Painting School staff up to 1920 included no NEAC members, at which date William Rothenstein became Principal of the College. Rothenstein had joined the NEAC in 1894, and from his appointment as Principal, the Painting School was predominantly staffed by members of the NEAC. In 1920, the Club was in no way avant-garde, and the

work of the Painting School continued to reflect a strong figurative tradition, encouraged by the teaching of the Design School⁽¹¹⁾.

However, Rothenstein had experience of the modern movements. He had been associated with the Fitzroy Street Group⁽¹²⁾, whose membership included his brother Albert Rutherston⁽¹³⁾ and Spencer Gore⁽¹⁴⁾. In 1908, Gore, together with Walter Sickert⁽¹⁵⁾ and Pissaro, had formed the Allied Artists Association, on the pattern of the French Independent Salons, with the aim of holding regular jury-free exhibitions (which were held between 1908 and 1914 at the Albert Hall)⁽¹⁶⁾. Some of the membership, including Sickert, welcomed the egalitarianism of this group, concerned that the large paintings shown at the Royal Academy were not suitable for the majority of buildings and could only be afforded by a minority of people.

In 1911, the Camden Town Group⁽¹⁷⁾, who felt that the NEAC was now too conservative, held its first exhibition, the work reflecting a Post-Impressionist style. By 1913, it had amalgamated with the future members of the Vorticists⁽¹⁸⁾, (whose number included Frederick Etchells⁽¹⁹⁾ a student of the College) to become the London Group⁽²⁰⁾. Meanwhile, Sickert had been elected as an Associate of the Royal Academy. Roger Fry⁽²¹⁾, the instigator of the large shows of Impressionism and Post Impressionism in England, in 1910 and 1912, taught at the Slade School until 1914. During that time, Slade students included, Paul Nash⁽²²⁾ (a future Design School tutor) and Stanley Spencer⁽²³⁾, whose younger brother Gilbert⁽²⁴⁾ was to become a Professor of Painting at the Royal College of Art. Both Nash and Etchells designed work for Fry's Omega Workshops⁽²⁵⁾.

The Professor of Drawing and Painting at the College, from 1900, Gerald Moira⁽²⁶⁾, included mural decoration in his repertoire. Under his direction the students were encouraged to take an interest in decorative painting, such as the commission of 1912 for the Peace Palace, The Hague⁽²⁷⁾. This work included stained glass, tiles, gesso and painted decoration. Eight students participated, (including Leon Underwood⁽²⁸⁾ assisted by twenty-five Dutch workmen.

There is no ex-student comment on the key exhibitions of the period, although the assistant in the Painting School, E. Constable Alston⁽²⁹⁾, an ARCA and member of the NEAC, in 1912, reviewed the book The Post Impressionists by C. Lewis Hind, in the College magazine. Constable Alston commented on the difficulty of understanding Cezanne, called the sunflowers of Van Gogh 'rank rather than glorious' and concluded that as a people the British '...prefer the illustrator or something photographic'⁽³⁰⁾. Indeed, this College magazine and other contemporary issues, reflect an interest in the work of present and past students and staff, with an emphasis on staff comment, and provide no discussion of controversial work.

No mention was made of the Futurist Exhibition of 1912, which the Daily Mail noted as having been visited by 40,000 people, a considerable number for an exhibition but extraordinary at that time⁽³¹⁾. Nothing was written on the impact of Picasso and the Cubists⁽³²⁾. The magazine conveys the impression that Modernism was not recognized at the Royal College of Art until after the First World War. During the 1920s, English art continued to be compared to French art, and was generally considered inferior.

For students, London was the most usual place to see examples of contemporary work, (although part of Fry's Post Impressionist Exhibition of 1912 had travelled to Liverpool in 1913) and the only readily accessible pictures were those printed in The Studio, which continued to publish traditional landscape and figurative work, occasionally including Impressionist images.

With the arrival of William Rothenstein as Principal, in 1920, considerable changes took place at the Royal College of Art. Although Rothenstein rejected the suggestion by Fisher, President of the Board of Education, that the area of fine art might be 'shrunk' and amalgamated with an institution such as the Slade or the Royal Academy Schools, Rothenstein considered there was a need for fine art, and made it obvious that he already considered the separation between the craftsman and the artist too wide⁽³³⁾. However, that year the School of Painting and Drawing was renamed the School of Decorative Painting. In 1922, with the departure of Professor Moira, this School was divided into a School of Drawing and Painting and the Department of Mural and Decorative Painting, headed by the Medievalist Ernest W Tristram⁽³⁴⁾, already an instructor in the School of Design, under whose administration the new Department fell.

In some ways, this re-organisation reflected the past, as between 1900-1903, there was a post of Instructor of Decorative Art, held by Hugh Hutton Stannus⁽³⁵⁾. From 1906, the Professorship of Painting under Moira had been a part-time post, and on Moira's retirement in 1922, it seemed a natural move for Rothenstein to take on the role of Professor of Painting in a part-time capacity. However, the issue of a part-time Principal was to cause some concern

during the 1930s. Since 1906, much of the teaching in the Painting School was undertaken by E. Constable Alston, who continued as Instructor of the School of Drawing and Painting under Rothenstein, and it was Alston rather than Rothenstein who advised the students.

Rothenstein managed to balance the two concerns for fine art and decorative painting, encouraging young staff into both areas. Also under his direction students worked on paintings for St Stephen's Hall, Westminster in 1927. Even the College Prospectus for 1928-29 stated the aim of the Painting School as to enable the students to 'express himself through disciplined design', while the School of Sculpture promoted the study of: 'the Plastic Arts in Ornamental Design, Architecture and the Industrial Arts and Handicrafts based upon the human figure'.

Rothenstein encouraged the fine arts through the employment of New English Art Club members Randolph Schwabe⁽³⁶⁾, (who worked closely with Rothenstein's brother at Camberwell School of Art) and Allen Gwynne-Jones⁽³⁷⁾, who had only recently finished training at the Slade. Leon Underwood had trained at both the College and then the Slade. Slade trained Rome Scholar, Colin Gill⁽³⁸⁾ was an instructor in both the School of Painting and Drawing and the Department of Mural and Decorative Painting until 1925. In 1926, Rothenstein then appointed the young Rome Scholar Thomas Monnington⁽³⁹⁾.

Rothenstein noted that from his arrival as Principal at the College, the Rome Scholarships began to be entered by, and be awarded to, College students rather than to those from the Slade⁽⁴⁰⁾. This is not wholly true, as the College Rome

Scholars, Henry Moore and Barbara Hepworth⁽⁴¹⁾ (1921-22), had been preceded to Rome by Charles Sargeant Jagger⁽⁴²⁾ in 1912, and slightly later Ernest Gillick⁽⁴³⁾ and David Evans⁽⁴⁴⁾, who had graduated from the College in 1920. The Rome Scholarships increasingly went to students from the College Painting School. These included Alfred Kingley Lawrence⁽⁴⁵⁾ who was a student 1920-23 (Professor Moira's student rather than Rothenstein's). Lawrence was followed to Rome by other College students: in 1924 by Robert Lyon⁽⁴⁶⁾, Edward Halliday⁽⁴⁷⁾ in 1926, and Allan Sorrel⁽⁴⁸⁾ in 1928. Alfred Lawrence was appointed to the College's Department of Mural and Decorative painting on his return in 1926, and Allan Sorrel on his return became an assistant in the Painting School in 1930.

The popularity of the Rome Scholarships among students is questionable. In 1929, there were only seven sculpture entrants for part one of the scholarship. It should be remembered that the Rome Scholarships were considered an accolade of the establishment, rather than providing the opportunity for developing the avant-garde⁽⁴⁹⁾.

From 1929, Rothenstein began to employ the brightest and most enthusiastic of graduates as assistants in the Painting School: Cyril Mahony⁽⁵⁰⁾ (a graduate of the RCA in 1926), Rodney Burn⁽⁵¹⁾ (an ex-student of the Slade), Gilbert Spencer (a graduate of the Slade in 1920) and Percy Horton⁽⁵²⁾ (a graduate of the RCA in 1925), none of whom were Rome Scholars, but all were members of the NEAC.

The work of Paul Nash was to have some influence on the Royal College of Art during the 1920s, though he only taught briefly in the Design School during 1924-25 and

1938-40, while his elder brother John⁽⁵³⁾ taught at the College from 1934 until 1958, (with a break during the Second World War). Neither brother was associated with the Painting School, though Edward Burra⁽⁵⁴⁾, who was briefly at the College 1923-24, was to work closely with Paul Nash. The reason for the exclusion of Nash from the Painting School can be explained during the 1930s by the personal jealousy and dislike of 'modernism' of the Professor of Painting, Gilbert Spencer⁽⁵⁵⁾.

In fact, during the 1920s the Design School seemed to produce as many fine artists as the Painting School: John Tunnard⁽⁵⁶⁾, Edward Bawden⁽⁵⁷⁾, Eric Ravillious⁽⁵⁸⁾, Sam Haile⁽⁵⁹⁾ and Leslie Cole⁽⁶⁰⁾. Moreover from 1926, Rothenstein created the area of Mural Painting, which came under the auspices of the Design School, a separate department. Evelyn Dunbar⁽⁶¹⁾ was one student who studied in the Mural Department. Rothenstein ensured a continuance of a fine art emphasis through the appointment of his student and Rome Scholar A.K.Lawrence, who as a student had assisted Professors E W Tristram and Robert Anning Bell⁽⁶²⁾ and the Assistant Ernest Dinkel⁽⁶³⁾.

There were a number of influential painter graduates: Percy Jowett (who graduated 1907) and John Piper (a graduate of 1929)⁽⁶⁴⁾, showed with the Seven and Five Group⁽⁶⁵⁾; Cecil Collins (1931)⁽⁶⁶⁾ and Merlyn Evans (1933)⁽⁶⁷⁾ exhibited with the International Surrealist show of 1936, and Kenneth and Mary (nee Blamford) Martin⁽⁶⁸⁾, both students during 1928-31, were to contribute to the acceptance of Abstraction in England.

Rothenstein found his role as Principal at the College increasingly arduous, and in 1932 relinquished his role as Professor of Painting, though retaining his Principalship. The post was filled by Gilbert Spencer, who had first been noticed by Rothenstein when a student at the Slade. Spencer had been a tutor at the College since 1930, but precisely why he was appointed is unclear. Gilbert Spencer was to remain over-shadowed by his elder brother Stanley, a factor which made him awkward with personal relationships. Percy Jowett, who arrived as Principal in 1935, seems to have allowed Spencer to have his own way, but clearly found him a difficult colleague. Under the Professorship of Spencer, the staff of the School of Painting remained relatively static. This was an aggravation to the Principal Jowett, who was a figure not associated with past academic traditions, and wished to encourage new ideas. Until Spencer's removal in 1948 by the new Principal Robin Darwin, the employment of young talent in the area of Painting virtually ceased.

In 1948 Darwin appointed Rodrigo Moynihan⁽⁶⁹⁾ as Professor of Painting at the College. They had been contemporaries at the Slade as students. Moynihan was a Member of the London Group, and recognised for his abstract work as well as his portraits and still life. He was joined by London Group members Carel Weight⁽⁷⁰⁾ (who arrived at the College as a tutor in the preceding year) and Ruskin Spear⁽⁷¹⁾ (graduate of the RCA 1935). The other new tutors were Kenneth Rowntree⁽⁷²⁾ and Colin Hayes⁽⁷³⁾, while Robert Buhler⁽⁷⁴⁾ and John Minton⁽⁷⁵⁾ were, like Ruskin Spear, recruited from the Central School of Art and Design. This caused considerable conflict with the Central School, who could not provide the same remuneration to their staff, and only offered a one year contract in comparison with the College's contracts for five years. The Principal of the

Central School, William Johnstone, and R.R.Tomlinson of the London County Council saw Robin Darwin and demanded an apology, while Darwin claimed to be unaware that the new staff were predominantly from the Central School⁽⁷⁶⁾.

The new teaching staff at the Royal College of Art no longer placed priority on draughtsmanship and subject matter, but on colour, tone and representation. The students of this period included Edward Middleditch⁽⁷⁷⁾ and Derrick Greaves⁽⁷⁸⁾, (who admired the work of Picasso as both painter and political symbol). The early 1950s saw the emergence of the 'kitchen sink school' with John Bratby⁽⁷⁹⁾ and Jack Smith⁽⁸⁰⁾, the expressionism of Leon Kossoff⁽⁸¹⁾ and Frank Auerbach⁽⁸²⁾, and the development of Pop Art towards the 1960s with students like the American R.B.Kitaj⁽⁸³⁾, David Hockney⁽⁸⁴⁾, Allen Jones⁽⁸⁵⁾, Derek Boshier⁽⁸⁶⁾ and Patrick Caulfield⁽⁸⁷⁾.

Only with the arrival of Darwin had the Painting School once again become a centre for enthusiasm. It was Darwin as Principal who had made it clear to the Ministry of Education whom he wished to employ. This was in contrast with Rothenstein and Jowett, who were constrained by the administrative powers of the Board of Education. However, the students of the Painting School increasingly gained recognition, despite the system or even the disinterest of staff.

One area of the College which has been underestimated is the School of Engraving. This area was run, from 1891, by Sir Frank Short⁽⁸⁸⁾, who survived the transition of the South Kensington Schools into the Royal College of Art, and was rewarded, in 1913, by a professorship. However, it

remained a supplementary area, specializing in wood engraving until 1920, when it was expanded to include a range of graphic processes including lithography. The creation of a full-time School of Engraving, although supported by the Board of Education, was rejected by the Treasury which considered that expansion unnecessary, since these subjects were taught elsewhere in London. Rothenstein successfully argued that only the College had the advantage of teaching staff such as Sir Frank Short⁽⁸⁹⁾. Short was assisted by the highly influential Miss Constance Potts⁽⁹⁰⁾. He was succeeded by a College graduate Malcom Osborne⁽⁹¹⁾ in 1924, then from 1947 by Osborne's assistant, Robert S Austin⁽⁹²⁾. The other assistants were also diplomates of the College: Job Nixon⁽⁹³⁾, Francis Spear⁽⁹⁴⁾, Henry Martin Lack⁽⁹⁵⁾, Edwin La Dell⁽⁹⁶⁾ and Robert Wright Stewart⁽⁹⁷⁾. Though these individuals are recognised, the influence of the subject area has been somewhat ignored.

At the start of the 20th century, the Sculpture School continued to reflect the influence of French ideas. Lanteri was appointed Professor in 1901 and stayed at the College until 1918. In 1913, Rodin⁽⁹⁸⁾, visited the College, coincidentally, the first year in which the Prix de Rome in sculpture was awarded. Of the four shortlisted, Charles Sargeant Jagger, Harold Brownsword⁽⁹⁹⁾ and (the eventual holder) Gilbert Ledward⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ were students from the Royal College of Art. Lanteri's successor, Francis Derwent Wood⁽¹⁰¹⁾, had attended South Kensington as a National Scholar, but his work was lacking in the contemporary realism of Lanteri and later students.

Although on the surface the Sculpture School seems to have stood aside from the conflict of interest taking place

between the Design and Painting Schools. In 1926, Derwent Wood resigned his Professorship, angry at the continual references to industrial art made by the Board of Education, against which Rothenstein seemed unable to respond effectively. Ironically, in finding a replacement, Rothenstein came into conflict with both the older staff at the College and the Board of Education, because he wished to encourage contemporary ideas. The suggestion of Jacob Epstein⁽¹⁰²⁾ was rejected by the Board and Eric Gill refused the offer of a professorship. The post was filled by Ernest A Cole⁽¹⁰³⁾, who though comparatively young at thirty-three was a safe academic candidate. Cole stayed two years, succeeded by Gilbert Ledward, who had been a student of Lanteri and a Rome Scholar. Ledward also only remained for two years. Rothenstein temporarily took charge of this area, while Allan Gwynne-Jones was appointed as Professor of Painting for just one year. During the changes between 1924 and 1930, the Sculpture School assistants Henry Moore and Barry Hart⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ encouraged a diversity of work. With the arrival of Richard Garbe⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ as Professor of Sculpture, in 1929, there seemed an acceptance of modernism, yet it was in no way avant-garde. Garbe held the post until his retirement in 1946, when he was succeeded by Frank Dobson⁽¹⁰⁶⁾. Perhaps it is time for a reconsideration of the work of Cole, Ledward and Garbe.

It should be kept in mind that it was under the conventional tutelage of Derwent Wood that Henry Moore and Barbara Hepworth developed their very different styles of sculpture. In part, their work was inspired by the emphasis placed on Museum Studies: it was in the British Museum rather than the nearby Victoria and Albert Museum that ideas were sought. Their work was not as modernistic as Picasso or Lipchitz but it was in high contrast to the work in the rest of the College. Further, a sculptor who worked

in such a manner was unacceptable to the Board of Education as a teacher, for although Moore was employed as an assistant in the Sculpture School, a series of derogatory exhibition reviews led to Rothenstein having to dismiss him reluctantly⁽¹⁰⁷⁾.

The number of students in the Sculpture School was comparatively small, with usually between four or six graduates in a year. In view of the impact of the graduates of this School, its influence was notable, with a large number of its students becoming full time sculptors, usually taking on some part-time teaching at the same time.

Both Moore and Hepworth showed at the Seven and Five Society, but late in the society's life (1932-35). This society had been formed in 1919 for the sale of work rather than for specifically advertising modernism. In 1934, the Chairman, Ben Nicholson⁽¹⁰⁸⁾, proposed a name change to the Seven and Five Abstract Group and that all the exhibits of the 1935 show should be abstract. This antagonised the members Nicholson wanted to be rid of, but also led to the end of the Society. The membership of the group fluctuated. The only original member who remained until the society's closure was Ivon Hitchens⁽¹⁰⁹⁾. The group included at various times RCA students Leon Underwood, John Piper, Edward Bawden and teachers, Alan Durst⁽¹¹⁰⁾ (who taught stone carving at the College and was highly influential on the young Moore and Hepworth), William Staite Murray⁽¹¹¹⁾ of the Design School, and the future Principal Percy Jowett. Paul Nash's English contemporary group, Unit One, of 1933 included Moore and Hepworth, who also gave their support to the same year to the Artists International.

Few students or staff from the Royal College of Art were involved in such radical activities. Only two staff, Randolph Schwarbe and Percy Horton, were to show with the London Group, which had been formed in the winter of 1913-14 with the intention of reacting against naturalism. The selection committee often included Roger Fry, until the end of the 1920s, and was predominantly Bloomsbury in flavour. As with the New English Art Club, the work became less reactionary and more concerned with the depiction of landscape in later years.

The main exhibition venue used by the staff (other than Allen Gwynne Jones, Randolph Schwarbe, Cyril Mahony and Barnett Freedman⁽¹¹²⁾) was the Royal Academy Summer Exhibition. The Assistant in the Painting School between 1926-30 was William Thomas Monnington. He first exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1931, began teaching at the Academy and quickly was elected as a full Academician in 1938, when only aged 36. In 1966, he was created President of the Royal Academy, and responsible for encouraging the display of contemporary work. Many of the staff and students exhibited at the Royal Academy later in their careers. For example, Rodney Burn first showed work there in 1945. Other societies where members of staff exhibited were: the Royal Society of Painters in Watercolour, (Randolph Schwarbe, Percy Jowett, Allan Sorrell and Robert Austin, the Professor of Engraving who became the society's President); The Royal Society of British Artists (Edward C. Alston and Francis Helps⁽¹¹³⁾); The Royal Society of Portrait Painters (Gilbert Spencer, A.K. Lawrence and Francis Helps; with Alston also being a member of the Royal Institute of Oil Painters).

The evidence from the questionnaire on the Royal College of Art, shows a membership pattern for ex-students similar to that of the staff. Of the 150 ex-students who took part in the questionnaire, 60 noted membership of the Royal Academy, and 34 noted the New English Art Club. Eleven students were members of the London Group. The other main societies favoured in the survey were the Royal Society of Painters in Watercolour and the Royal Society of British Artists, with 20 members each. Both these societies restricted their membership, and the work of the Royal Society of British Artists related closely to the New English Art Club. Often members belonged to both societies. The only other major societies mentioned in responses to the survey were the Royal West of England Academy with eleven members, and the Royal Society of Painter-Etcher and Engravers with ten members. Specialist sculpture groups included the Royal Society of British Sculptors, with four members and the Society of Portrait Sculptors with just one member, (who also belonged to the R.S.B.S.). Other societies were the Royal Portrait Society, with four members and the Manchester Academy of Fine Art with three members. The membership of design and craft related societies included: the Embroiderers Guild (two); the Red Rose Guild of Craftsmen (two) and the Society of Designer Craftsmen (four).

The evidence shows that the painting, and most of the sculpture produced by staff and students at the Royal College of Art was conventional in form, with the Royal Academy eventually becoming the main venue for the display of work, and reflecting a continuance of the status quo that remains evident up to the present day⁽¹¹⁴⁾.

Of the 41 College Visitors (the equivalent of external examiners) who considered the work of the final year students of the whole College, between 1900 and 1935, twenty-four were either Associates or Royal Academicians. Of the others, three were members of the Royal Society of Painters in Watercolour (Walter Crane, Sir Charles Holmes⁽¹¹⁵⁾ and William Simmonds⁽¹¹⁶⁾), who exhibited at the Royal Academy). The designers included were Lewis F. Day⁽¹¹⁷⁾ and Paul Nash. The architects numbered Selwyn Image⁽¹¹⁸⁾, Halsey Ricardo⁽¹¹⁹⁾, Sir Giles Gilbert Scott⁽¹²⁰⁾, W.G. Newton⁽¹²¹⁾, Henry M. Fletcher and W.H. Ansell. Rothenstein, who was a College Visitor for 1919-20, remained singularly aloof from the Royal Academy, his concern for the French influence in work keeping him at odds with Reginald Blomfield⁽¹²²⁾ and those Academicians who considered professional artistic technique as paramount over innovative forms.

Rothenstein did introduce a wide variety of personalities to the Royal College of Art, and a number of students produced startlingly modern work. But, as with the Royal Academy, the new art being produced by European artists seems to have had little influence, with the work of the visionaries, notably Paul Nash, having more effect on work in the Design School.

Percy Jowett arrived as Principal from the Central School in 1935, and although the Secretary of the Seven and Five Society his work was uninspiring. With the evacuation of the College to Ambleside during the Second World War, the emphasis on landscape work increased. From 1930, the work of the Sculpture School became less academic, headed from that date was headed by the Academician Richard Garbe, and from 1946 by a fellow Associate, Frank Dobson.

Only under the reorganisation of the Royal College of Art, by Robin Darwin, did the fine art emphasis of the College become pro-active and influential on the development of British post-war art. The interchange of European and especially American ideas, finally developed during the post-war period, but until this time the Royal College of Art remained stolidly secure in the academic drawing tradition.

Endnotes

2 The Influence of the Royal College of Art on Art

1. Clive Bell (1881-1964), critic and member of the influential Bloomsbury Group, encouraged modern art, notably with the publication of his book Art in 1914. See Spalding. F., British Art Since 1900 London: Thames and Hudson 1986 p.37
2. Gerald Moira (1867-1959) trained at the R.A. 1887-89 and then in Paris. He was appointed Professor of Decorative Painting at the RCA in 1900, a post he held until 1922. He left to become Principal of Edinburgh College of Art, a post he held until 1932.
3. The New English Art Club was founded in 1886, at a time when the influence of French art was thought important. A number of its members had studied at Parisian schools. On its outset the group was reactionary, considering English art to be constrained by traditional academic education.
4. Alphonse Legros (1837-1911) worked as a house decorator in Lyons until 1851. He then went to Paris and eventually entered the Ecole des Beaux Arts, exhibiting at the Paris Salon from 1857. He arrived in England in 1863, and exhibited at the RA from 1864. He taught at the Slade School, (becoming Professor there in 1876), as well as etching at the South Kensington Schools from 1880. He retired from the Slade in 1893. He became a naturalised Englishman.
5. Aime-Jules Dalou (1838-1902) arrived in England in 1871, a refugee from the Paris Commune. He stayed with Alphonse Legros, and was, with the encouragement of Sir Edward

Poynter (the Director of Art at South Kensington), appointed by the Department of Art and Science, as a tutor in modelling at the South Kensington Schools in 1877.

6. Edward Lanteri (1848-1917) studied at the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris, coming to London in 1872. In 1874 he was appointed to the staff of the South Kensington Schools, becoming Professor of Sculpture in 1880. In 1902 his work Modelling and Sculpting the Human Figure was published.

7. Sir Joseph Edgar Boehm (1834-90) the influential Victorian sculptor, was son of the medallist Joseph Daniel Boehm. He studied in Italy and Paris, then settled in England in 1862. He was elected an RA in 1882.

8. On being made Professor of Sculpture in 1880, Lanteri agreed to teach for a proportion of the fees, and estimated that by 1895 he was losing £40 a year. See Frayling, C., The Royal College of Art London: Barrie and Jenkins (1987) p.5

9. Lucien Pissaro (1863-1944) was the eldest son of the Impressionist Camille Pissarro, with whom he studied. Lucien settled in London in 1890, taking British nationality in 1906. He exhibited with the NEAC and was a founder member of the Camden Town Group in 1911. From 1934 he showed at the RA.

10. See information on the New English Art Club in Who's Who in Art The Art Havant: Trade Press (1988) p.xv, where the Society states 'it stands today against an equally false rejection of tradition'.

11. Another NEAC member, (and exhibitor with the London Group and at the RA) was E.M.O'R.Dickey, who as the Staff Inspector at the Board of Education had considerable contact and influence over the RCA.

12. The Fitzroy Street Group was established at the home of the painter Walter Sickert in 1907. The meetings were informal, with members sending work twice a year to the NEAC shows. The Fitzroy Street Group led to the formation of the Camden Town Group. See Spalding. F., British Art Since 1900 London: Thames and Hudson (1986) p.33

13. Albert Rutherston (1881-1953) was the younger brother of William Rothenstein. He changed his name to Rutherston in 1914, for political reasons. He studied at the Slade School 1898-1902, and showed with the NEAC from 1901. In 1929 he was appointed the Ruskin Master of Drawing at Oxford University, a post he held until 1948.

14. Spencer Gore (1878-1914) studied at the Slade School 1896-99. He met Sickert while working in Dieppe, and was a key figure in the establishment of the Fitzroy Street Group. He joined the NEAC in 1909, and was the co-founder and President of the Camden Town Group in 1911, then the London Group in 1913. He exhibited at the second Post-Impressionist exhibition of 1912.

15. Walter Sickert (1860-1942) was born in Munich. He arrived in England in 1868 and studied art at the Slade School in 1881, then in Paris in 1883. He worked in Dieppe in 1885, where he became a resident between 1899-1905. He then moved to live at Fitzroy Street, London, and formed the Camden Town Group in 1911. He was also a member of the London Group and the NEAC. He returned to live in Dieppe 1918-22, then returned to reside in England until his death.

16. The Allied Artists Association was formed as a reaction against the prevailing art institutions. The AAA was a non-jury exhibiting group, based on the French idea of independent salons. The key member of the group was Frank

Rutter (1876-1920), the art critic of the Sunday Times. The first exhibition of the AAA was held at the Albert Hall in July 1908 contained over 3,000 exhibits. The payment of a subscription fee allowed each artist (many of whom were amateurs) to show five works.

17. The Camden Town Group was formed in 1911 from members of the Fitzroy Street Group, most notably Walter Sickert. Their work was progressive and influenced by the work of contemporary French artists. The group held a series of exhibitions 1911-1913, then merged with the larger London Group, which was established in 1914. See Baron. W., The Camden Town Group London: Scholar Press (1979)

18. Vorticism was founded in 1914 by the poet Ezra Pound and the painter Wyndham Lewis. A manifesto Blast was published, in response to a bogus one put out by the Italian Futurists. Their work was influenced by Cubism.

19. Frederick Etchells (1886-1973) studied at the RCA then in Paris 1911-14, where he showed at the Second Post-Impressionist and the Futurist Exhibition. He was a founder member of the London Group in 1914.

20. The London Group was formed in 1914, with a membership mainly drawn from the earlier Camden Town Group and the Vorticists.

21. Roger Fry (1866-1934) studied science at King's College Cambridge, then became interested in painting and studied at the Academie Julian in Paris. In 1893 he returned to England to work with Sickert, being elected a member of the NEAC the same year. He became Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York in 1905, but returned to London in 1910 to organise two exhibitions of Post-Impressionist work at the Grafton Galleries. He founded the Omega Workshops.

22. Paul Nash (1889-1946) studied at the Slade School 1910-11 where he met Ben Nicholson. By 1914 he was an established landscape artist, but became an Official War Artist in 1917. He was a founder member of the Unit One group in 1933, and exhibited at the International Surrealist Exhibition of 1936. Nash was a visiting tutor in the Design School of the RCA for 1924-25, and an assistant 1938-39.

23. Stanley Spencer (1891-1959) studied at the Slade School 1908-12. He exhibited at the Second Post-Impressionist Exhibition of 1912, and was a member of the NEAC from 1919-1927. He was an Official War Artist 1940-44. He lived at Cookham 1932-38, then again from 1945, where he painted visionary scenes of the village. He was elected an RA in 1950, and knighted in 1959.

24. Gilbert Spencer (1892-1979) was the younger brother of the painter Stanley Spencer. Gilbert studied at the Ruskin School, Maidenhead in 1909-10, then at Camberwell School of Arts and Crafts 1910-11. Between 1911-12 he studied at the South Kensington School of Wood Carving, (which has later been confused with the RCA). He then studied part-time at the Slade School 1913-15 and 1919-20. He joined the NEAC in 1919 and held his first one person show in 1923 at the Groupil Gallery. In 1930 he was appointed to teach at the RCA in the School of Drawing and Painting, where in 1932 he was made Professor, a post he held until 1948. He left following conflict to become the Head of Painting at Glasgow School of Art. In 1950 he left Scotland to teach at Camberwell School of Arts and Crafts until 1957. He was elected a RA in 1960.

25. The Omega Workshops were founded by the artist Roger Fry at 33 Fitzroy Square, London, in July 1913. The aim was for artists to produce designs for interiors and items such

as furniture and stained glass. Although the Workshops survived the economic strain of the First World War, they went into liquidation in 1921, following internal disagreements.

26. Moira appears to have received little assistance in his teaching.

27. The RCA Students' Magazine February 1913 p.77

28. Leon Underwood (1890-1975) studied at Regent Street Polytechnic between 1907-10, then at the RCA until 1913. He also studied at the Slade School 1919-20. He exhibited with the NEAC and travelled widely.

29. Edward Constable Alston (fl. 1886-1934) trained at the South Kensington Schools. From 1886 he exhibited at the leading London galleries, including the NEAC. He was an instructor in the RCA Painting School 1926-29.

30. The RCA Students' Magazine June 1912 pp.29-31 Review by E.Constable Alston of The Post Impressionists by C.Lewis Hind London: Methuen (1912).

31. This fact is noted in a letter by Boccioni dated 15 May 1912 and is quoted in Joshua Taylor's Futurism New York: MOMA (1961). Futurism was a radical Italian movement which glorified machines and war. It was launched in 1909 by the poet Marinetti. Futurism disintegrated with the death of a number of its key members during the First World War.

32. Pablo Picasso (1881-1976) was a Catalan who spent much of his working life in France. From 1907 onwards, he developed Cubism with Georges Braque (1882-1963). Although Cubism was representational, it highlighted the spacial relationships between the objects depicted.

33. ED24/1595 Rothenstein, Principal of the Royal College of Art to Fisher, President of the Board of Education 18.06.20

34. E.W.Tristram (1883-1952) was the Professor of the School of Design at the RCA. 1924-48. He trained at the College under Lethaby, and was reknowned for his work on cathedrals and Medieval murals.

35. Hugh Hutton Stannus (1840-1908) was a specialist in architectural paintings. He was in charge of the School of Decorative Art at the RCA 1900-03.

36. Randolph Schwabe (1885-1948) studied for a short time at the RCA then between 1900-05 at the Slade School, before studying in Paris at the Academie Julian in 1906. During the First World War he was an Official War Artist. He taught at Camberwell School of Art and then at the RCA where, in 1926 he was made an assistant in the Design School a post he held until 1930, when he was appointed Professor at the Slade School.

37. Allan Gwynne-Jones (1892-1982) studied at the Slade 1914 and 1919-22. He may have taught at the RCA from 1923, and was appointed an assistant in 1926. In 1929 he took over from Rothenstein as Professor of Drawing and Painting for one year. He then left to become senior lecturer at the Slade School until 1958.

38. Colin Gill (1890-1940) trained at the Slade School, winning a Rome Scholarship for Decorative Painting in 1913. He became an Offiial War Artist in 1918-19. He taught at the RCA 1922-25. His first cousin, the sculptor Eric Gill (1882-1940), was an associate of Rothenstein, the Principal of the RCA.

39. Walter Thomas Monnington (1902-76) studied at the Slade School 1918-23, gaining a Rome Scholarship in Decorative Painting 1923-26. He then taught at the RCA 1926-29. From 1931 to 1939 he went to teach at the RA and in 1949 he joined the staff of the Slade. He was knighted in 1967.

40. Rothenstein, W., Since Fifty London: Faber & Faber (1939) p.25

41. Barbara Hepworth (1903-75) was a student first at Leeds College of Art, then at the RCA in 1921. She won a Rome Scholarship in 1924.

42. Charles Sargeant Jagger (1885-1934) was educated at Sheffield School of Art 1903-1905, where he then taught until winning a scholarship to the RCA in 1907. After his Rome Scholarship he became the studio assistant to Lanteri.

43. Ernest Gillick (1874-1951) studied at the RCA where he won a travelling scholarship. An associate of the RA, he was Master of the Art Workers' Guild in 1933.

44. David Evans (1895-1988) studied at Manchester School of Art, the RCA and then the RA.

45. Alfred Kingsley Lawrence (b.1893) studied at Newcastle under Tyne King Edward VII School of Art then at the RCA winning a Prix de Rome in 1923. He taught at the College as an Assistant in the Department of Mural and Decorative Painting 1927-29 and returning there 1939-41.

46. Robert Lyon (b.1894) studied at Liverpool School of Art and the RCA until 1924. He was Principal of Edinburgh College of Art 1942-60.

47. Edward Halliday (b.1902) studied at Liverpool School of Art 1921-23, at the Academie Colarossi, Paris, 1923, then at the RCA 1923-25.

48. Alan Sorrel (1904-74) studied at Southend School of Art then worked as a commercial artist, prior to studying at the RCA 1924-27. He won a Prix de Rome in 1929. He became an Assisant at the RCA 1931-48, with a break 1941-45.

49. Curtis, P., 'British Modernist Sculptors and Italy' British Artists in Italy 1920-1980 Exhibition Catalogue Maidstone: Kent County Council (1985) p.7 The Rome Scholarships were awarded by competition and in the areas of Sculpture, Decorative Painting and Architecture, and in 1922 there was suggestion that scholars should work in collaboration. Usually scholars were expected to copy Renaissance works.

50. Charles (Cyril) Mahoney (1903-68) studied at Beckenham School of Art under Jowett, then under Rothenstein 1922-26 at the RCA. In 1928 he joined the College staff until 1930. He also taught at the RCA 1938-39 and 1946-53.

51. Rodney J Burn (1899-1984) studied at the Slade 1918-22. He taught at the RCA 1929-31. From 1931-34 he worked at the School of Museum of Fine Arts, Boston USA. In 1946 he returned to the RCA teaching until 1965.

52. Percy F Horton (1897-1970) studied at Brighton School of Art 1912-1914. Imprisoned as conscientious objector 1916-18. In 1918-20 studied at the Central School of Arts and Crafts. Between 1920-22 he taught at Rugby School. Won a Royal Exhibition to the RCA 1922-25, returning there in 1929 as a tutor, a post he held for twenty years.

53. John Nash (1898-1977) had no formal training. Encouraged by his elder brother, with whom in 1913 he had his first public exhibition. As a result he was invited to join the London Group in 1914. He was an Official War Artist 1918, and again in 1940. As well as teaching at the RCA 1934-40 and 1948-58, he worked at the Ruskin School of Drawing, Oxford 1922-27.

54. Edward Burra (1905-76) studied at Chelsea Polytechnic 1921-23 and the RCA 1923-24. Joined Unit One and exhibited with the English Surrealists 1936 and 1938. Made collaborative collages with Paul Nash.

55. ED23/945 Darwin, Principal of the Royal College of Art to Odgers of the Ministry of Education 02.06.48. Darwin recalled his predecessor explaining that he had not employed Paul Nash because of his fear of Gilbert Spencer.

56. John Tunnard (1900-71) studied at the RCA 1919-23 in the Design School. Worked as a commercial designer until 1930 when he turned to painting. Taught design at Penzance School of Art from 1948.

57. Edward Bawden (1903-1990) was a tutor at the RCA 1930, 1937-39 and 1946-47. He studied at Cambridge School of Art in 1919 and then Design at the RCA 1922-25 winning a travelling scholarship in 1925.

58. Eric Ravillous (1903-1942) was a student at Eastbourne School of Art 1919-22, the RCA 1922-26, (winning a travelling scholarship 1924). He was a visiting tutor in the RCA's Design School 1930-38. He designed furniture, textiles, glass and ceramics. He was killed in action during the Second World War.

59. Sam Haile (1909-48) studied at evening classes at Clapham School of Art until winning a scholarship to the RCA in 1931, where he studied painting and later pottery. He taught in Leicester and London prior to living in the USA.

60. Leslie Cole (1910-76) studied at Swindon Art School and the RCA 1934-37. He was commissioned to undertake work for the War Artists Advisory Committee in 1942.

61. Evelyn Dunbar (1906-60) studied at Rochester School of Art and Chelsea, before the RCA 1929-33. She was appointed an Official War Artist in 1940, and undertook mural work.

62. Robert Anning Bell (1863-1933) left school at fourteen and to become an architect. He later studied at Westminster School of Art, entering the RA in 1881, and completed his studies in Paris. He returned to London to share a studio with sculptor George Frampton, then toured Italy. In 1894 Anning Bell was made Professor of Art at University College, Liverpool, returning to London in about 1897. In 1911 he became Professor of Decorative Art at Glasgow School of Art, where he remained until 1918, when he became Professor of Design at the RCA. A key member of the Art Workers' Guild and the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society.

63. Ernest Michael Dinkel (1894-) studied at Huddersfield School of Art, then following War Service, the RCA 1921-25. Won a scholarship to travel to Italy and France. Became an Assistant at the RCA in 1925. He joined the NEAC in 1927. Head of Sourbridge 1940-47 and then Edinburgh 1947-61.

64. John Piper (1903-1991) studied law 1921-26, then entered Richmond College of Art, 1926-28, and the following year at the RCA. Secretary of the Seven and Five Society 1933-38 and published Axis journal on abstract art.

65. The Seven and Five Society was formed by seven painters and five sculptors in 1919, holding its first exhibition in 1920. The Society ended in 1935. See page 59 for further information.

66. Cecil Collins (1908-89) studied at Plymouth School of Art 1923-27 then at the RCA 1927-31.

67. Merlyn Evans (1910-73) studied at Glasgow School of Art 1927-31 and the RCA 1931-33. He worked in Paris 1934-36.

68. Kenneth Martin (1905-85) and Mary Martin nee Blamford (1907-69) were both students at the RCA 1929-32. Kenneth previously studied at Sheffield, and Mary at Goldsmiths' College. Showed in This is Tomorrow(1956) at Whitechapel.

69. Rodrigo Moynihan (1910-) was born in Tenerife, leaving to be educated in London and the USA. Studied art in Italy then at the Slade School 1928-31. An Official War Artist 1943-44, he was Professor of Painting at the RCA 1948-57.

70. Carol Weight (1908-) studied at Hammersmith School of Art 1928-30 then at Goldsmiths' College 1931-33. Official War Artist 1945-46. Appointed to the RCA School of Drawing and Painting 1947, becoming its Professor in 1957.

71. Ruskin Spear(1911-1990) studied Hammersmith School of Art 1926. Won Scholarship to RCA 1931-35. Exhibited at the RA from 1932. Taught at Hammersmith and St Martins, then a visiting tutor at the Central School of Arts and Crafts 1945-48. Appointed to RCA 1948 until retired in 1975.

72. Kenneth Rowntree (b.1915) studied at the Ruskin School and the Slade. Tutor at RCA 1949-58. Professor of Fine Art, University of Newcastle 1959-80.

73. Colin Hayes (b.1919) was educated at Westminster School then Christ Church, Oxford, 1938-40. War service with the Royal Engineers Field Survey. Taught at the Ruskin School 1945-47, and the RCA 1949-84.

74. Robert Buhler (1916-84) educated in Switzerland and in London at St Martin's School of Art 1934-36. Scholarship to RCA (only stayed six weeks) 1935. Taught at the Central School prior to becoming a tutor at RCA 1948-75.

75. Francis John Minton (1917-57) studied St John's Wood School of Art, London 1935-38. Lived in France 1938-39. Conscientious Objector during Second World War. A tutor at the Central School prior to being appointed to then RCA Painting School 1948-57.

76. Johnstone, W., Points in Time London: Barrie & Jenkins (1980) p.174

77. Edward Middleditch (1923-87) attended the RCA following war service in 1949-52. Represented Britain at 1956 Venice Biennale.

78. Derrick Greaves (b.1927) worked as a signwriter 1943-48 when he won a scholarship to the RCA. He then won an Abbey Major Scholarship 1952-54. Represented Britain at 1956 Venice Biennale.

79. John Bratby (1928-92) studied at Kingston School of Art, then post World War II at the RCA 1951-54, winning travelling scholarships. Taught at the RCA 1957-58.

80. Jack Smith (b.1928) studied at Sheffield College of Art 1944-46, St Martin's 1948-50, the RCA 1950-53.

81. Leon Kossoff (1926) began his studies after war service at St Martin's in 1949-53, then at David Bomberg's evening class at Borough Polytechnic 1950-52, becoming a student at the RCA 1953-56.

82. Frank Auerbach (b.1931) was born in Berlin, taking British nationality in 1947. Studied at David Bomberg's evening class at Borough Polytechnic, then at St Martin's 1948-52 and finally at the RCA 1952-55.

83. R.B.Kitaj (b.1932) studied in New York, Vienna and at the Ruskin School, Oxford, before entering the RCA in 1959.

84. David Hockney (b.1937) studied at Bradford School of Art 1953-57, then at the RCA 1959-62, where he won a Gold Medal. Made an Honorary Doctor of the RCA in 1992.

85. Allen Jones (b.1937) studied at Hornsey College of Art 1955-59, then at the RCA between 1959-60, being expelled for 'excessive independence'. Returned to Hornsey to train as a teacher 1960-61.

86. Derek Boshier (b.1937) studied at Yeovil School of Art 1953-57, then at the RCA 1959-62. Exhibited at The New Generation in 1964, held at the Whitechapel Gallery.

87. Patrick Caulfield (b.1936) studied at Chelsea School of Art 1956-59, then at the RCA 1960-63. Exhibited at The New Generation show at the Whitechapel Gallery in 1964.

88. Frank Short (1857-1945) trained as an engineer but then studied at the South Kensington Schools, exhibiting in London from 1874. In 1889 and 1900 he won gold medals at the Paris Salon for engraving. In 1891 he was appointed a tutor at the South Kensington Schools and its successor the Royal College of Art, where in 1913 he was created a

professor. He retired in 1924. He was a key figure in the English art establishment being the Treasurer of the Royal Academy 1919-32 and a Master of the Art Workers' Guild. He received a knighthood in 1911. His work was influential on the growth of etching and engraving and a revival of mezzotint and aquatint technique.

89. ED23/544 Salter of the Treasury to Moore of the Board of Education. 29.06.21.

90. Constance M Potts (fl.1890-1930) taught with Frank Short until his retirement in 1924, but little is known of her own career.

91. Malcolm Osborne (1880-1963) studied at Queen's School of Art, Bristol, then at the RCA under Short and Lethaby in the Design School. Exhibited widely including at the RA. In 1924 he succeeded Short as Professor of the School of Engraving, a post he held until 1947.

92. Robert S Austin (1895-1973) studied at Leicester College of Art 1914-1916 then at the RCA 1919-22, where he was awarded a Rome Scholarship in his final year. In 1927 he returned to the College as an Assistant in the School of Engraving, a post he held until 1944. He returned after the Second World War to be made Professor in 1947. Following reorganisation at the College Austin remained within the Department of Graphic Design until 1955.

93. Job Nixon (1891-1938) studied at Burselm School of Art, the RCA and the Slade School. In 1920 won the Prix de Rome for Engraving. He was an assistant in the School of Engraving circa. 1924-1927.

94. Francis H Spear (b.1902) studied at the Central School then at the RCA until 1926. He taught lithography at the

College between 1928-47, and at the Central until 1938. He became better known as a designer/maker of stained glass.

95. Henry Martin Lack (b.1909) was educated at Wellinbrough School, then studied at Leicester College of Art and the RCA, where he gained his Diploma in 1934. He was an assistant at the College 1947-53. In 1953 he left to teach at Hastings School of Art.

96. T Edwin La Dell (1914-70) studied at the RCA and returned in 1948 to teach lithography. With the re-organisation of the College he was appointed a Senior Tutor.

97. Robert Wright Stewart (c.1885-1950) was awarded his Associateship of the RCA in 1910. He taught lithography there 1926-27.

98. Auguste Rodin (1840-1917) studied at the Ecole Nationale des Arts Decoratifs, Paris. From 1864 he worked as a mason, and in 1871 went to work in Brussels for seven years, visiting Italy in 1875. He began to exhibit sculpture and at the end of the 19th century was the most celebrated sculptor of his age.

99. Harold Brownsord (1885-1961) studied at Hanley School of Art and the RCA 1908-13. He taught sculpture until his appointment as Head of Regent Street Polytechnic in 1938.

100. Gilbert Ledward (1888-1960) was the son of sculptor Richard Arthur Ledward. He studied at Goldsmiths' College and the RA. In 1913 he was awarded one of the first Rome Scholarship in sculpture, and the same year won an RA gold medal and travelling scholarship. He was appointed Professor of Sculpture at the RCA in 1927 but resigned two years later.

101. Francis Derwent Wood (1871-1926) was educated in Switzerland and Germany, although born in England, where he returned in 1889 to attend classes taught by Lanteri. Between 1890-92 he assisted Legros at the RA where he won a gold medal and travelling scholarship in 1895. Between 1894-95 he was assistant to Sir Thomas Brock. In 1897 he was appointed Modelling Master at Glasgow School of Art, but returned to London in 1901. In 1918 he was appointed Professor of Modelling at the RCA, leaving in 1924.

102. Jacob Epstein (1880-1959) studied in his native New York, and then Paris. He moved to London in 1905 and became a British subject. This led to considerable controversy: a series of statues for the British Medical Association in 1911 were too realistic, while his later work influenced by tribal art and Cubism equally shocked the public. His work gradually gained acceptance, and he was knighted in 1964.

103. Ernest Cole (b.1890) studied at Goldsmiths' College, London, and in Italy and Paris. He was the Professor of Sculpture at the RCA from 1924 until 1926.

104. Barry H Hart served as a assistant at the RCA under both Lanteri and Garbe. He may have worked at the College from 1926, but was on the list of staff for 1929. In 1947 he finally became a tutor in the School of Sculpture.

105. Richard Garbe (1876-1957) studied at the Central School of Arts and Crafts and the RA. He became an Instructor at the Central School in 1901 where he taught until 1929 when he was appointed Professor of Sculpture at the RCA. He remained at the College until 1946.

106. Frank Dobson (1888-1963) was the son of the illustrator of the same name. He first studied under his father then in the studio of Sir William Reynolds-Stephens 1902-06. He

made his first wood carvings in 1913 and showed sculpture at the Leicester Galleries in 1922. In 1940 he became an Official War Artist. In 1946 he was appointed Professor of Sculpture at the RCA, remaining until 1953.

107. Paker, W., Henry Moore London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson (1985) p.94

108. Ben Nicholson (1894-1982) was the son of painter William Nicholson. He studied at the Slade School for one term in 1910-11, then languages in France and Italy. He developed abstract painting, first exhibiting in 1922.

109. Ivon Hitchens (1893-1979) studied at St John's Wood School of Art and the RA. First show in 1925. Created a CBE in 1958.

110. Allen Durst (1883-1970) was educated at Marlborough College and in Switzerland. He joined the Royal Marines, but left in 1913 to study at the Central School of Arts and Crafts under Richard Garbe. He served in the First World War then resumed his studies at the Central in 1920.

111. William Staite Murray (1925-1939) studied at Camberwell School of Arts and Crafts (with the ceramacist Richard Lunn) then at the RCA, gaining an Exhibition scholarship in 1905. Murray became an associate of the Vorticists. After military service in 1919 Murray set up his own pottery at Rotherhithe. In 1925 he accepted the post of instructor in pottery at the RCA.

112. Barnett Freedman (1901-58) began to study in evening classes at St Martin's School of Art in 1916. He studied full time at the RCA 1922-25. From 1925 he became a visiting instructor at the College and at the Ruskin School, Oxford, but in 1930 was appointed as assistant in

the RCA School of Drawing and Painting. In 1941 he became an Official War Artist, returning to the RCA in 1946.

113. Francis Helps (fl.1920-50) taught in the School of Painting at the RCA 1931-47, with a break for War Service.

114. Andrew Graham-Dickson reviewing The Edwardians and After exhibition at the Royal Academy in The Independent 4.08.90 wrote: 'What is remarkable..is how little things have changed. Visitors now are just as likely to be disconcerted by the continued flogging of long-dead horses like British Impressionism, represented in "The Edwardians and After"...This tradition, believe it or not, still lives - most notably in the form of Sydney Harpley RA's perennial girls on swings, titillating nymphets who are, albeit in sculpture, the direct descendants of Dicksee's young ladies and others like them'. Ironically Sydney Harpley was a graduate of the Royal College of Art in 1956.

115. Charles Holmes (1868-1936) was the Slade Professor of Fine Art, Oxford 1904-10, Keeper of the National Portrait Gallery 1909-16, then the National Gallery 1916-28. Known as a landscape painter and art critic, in 1930-32 he was also an artistic consultant to Joseph Wedgwood & Sons,Ltd.

116. William Simmonds (1876-1968) studied at the South Kensington Schools and the RA, in painting. Also gained pretige for his work as a sculptor and woodcarver, exhibiting with the Arts & Crafts Exhibition Society.

117. Lewis F Day (1845-1910) trained with a stained glass manufacturer, starting his own business in 1870. he also designed jewellery and furniture. He was a founder, and later Master of the Art Workers' Guild in 1882, and key figure in the the Arts & Crafts Exhibition Society. He was

an examiner at the South Kensington Schools from 1880. He published a large number of works on the topic of design.

118. Selwyn Image (1849-1930) was the Master of the Art Workers' Guild in 1900 and the Slade Professor of Fine Art, Oxford 1910-16. He designed in stained glass.

119. Halsey Richardo (1854-1928) was articled as an architect, setting up independently in 1878. He exhibited with the Arts & Crafts Exhibition Society and became a Master of the Art Workers' Guild. He taught at the Central School of Arts and Crafts.

120. Giles Gilbert Scott (1880-1960) was the son of the architect George Gilbert Scott. His best known work is the Anglican Liverpool Cathedral.

121. W G Newton was a joint editor, with his father, of Architectural Review until 1922. His father was a founder member of the Art Worker's Guild, an ethos which was continued in W G Newton's own architectural designs. In 1928 Newton was appointed Professor of Architecture at the RCA, a post he held until 1933. As with Henry M Fletcher and W H Ansell, no further information has been found on these figures. In addition there were two College Visitors for women students: Hon Mrs Claud Biddulph and Katherine Countess of Cromer. No information on these two figures has been found. The role of Women Visitors is a topic requiring further study.

122. Reginald Blomfield (1856-1942) trained with his uncle, and designed a considerable number of houses. He also wrote extensively on architecture, and was knighted for his work.

3 The Influence of the Royal College of Art on Design

The original reason for the foundation of the Schools of Design in 1837 was the necessity for design for manufacture. That original motive became diluted due to the need to train teachers who could understand design. In 1857, the Board of Trade relinquished its power to the authority of the Board of Education and, with the increasing needs of state-funded education during the early years of the 20th century, the emphasis at the Royal College of Art was increasingly placed upon teacher training rather than upon the education of designers.

In the 19th century the need for practical application of ornamental art to the improvement of manufactures had been a key element in the establishment of Schools of Design. The use of the term design had, during the Victorian period, become related to skill in 'reproductive' drawing, and led to a scheme designed to educate pupils of all abilities to draw, as a basic prerequisite of 'design'. This principle was, by the end of the 19th century, challenged by those who comprehended the need for an understanding of materials and three dimensional forms. William Lethaby, who was both Professor of the School of Design at the Royal College of Art, between 1900-18, and the Principal of the Central School of Art and Craft 1900-12, was a notable advocate of these requirements. Moreover, until 1920, in order to gain a full Associate of the College students had to pass study in the four areas of the College: Architecture, Ornament and Design, Decorative Painting, Sculpture and Modelling. This prevented any specific specialisation in one area of design unless students were following a less prestigious course for a 'School Associateship'.

The workshops which were set up at the College were for craft subjects (the skills of which might be used for batch production) and not design for mass manufacture. Also the 'technical classes' in crafts were only held in the evenings for students on the Upper School Course, until 1916, when they came under the area of Etching and Engraving, only becoming part of the Design School in 1921, following the arrival of William Rothenstein as Principal and the establishment of a separate School of Engraving.

On one hand, the Treasury was reluctant to provide funding for development of the College, and on the other, the College was being criticized for producing designers who could not be employed in industry. The evidence of the 1911 Report showed there was a demand for good students from craft based manufacturers and 'furnishing houses', but often it was the painting and architecture students who were employed and not the Design students. The manufacturing industry considered Design diplomates unemployable, because they were unaware of manufacturing processes and materials. Certainly the School of Design syllabus emphasized an understanding of design styles, and the development of individual craft skills rather than training designers for mass production. Further, manufacturers were aware that the students from industrial areas who gained National Scholarships to study at the College, did not usually return to their original trades⁽¹⁾. The 1911 Report showed the need for the Royal College of Art to demonstrate a better awareness of the needs of industry and education, and to become a centre for a higher level of education than was offered elsewhere.

Despite William Lethaby's more progressive views, his own teaching in the School of Design was craft based,

restricted in subject matter, and many of his students designs were impractical for mass manufacture⁽²⁾. However, in 1915, the College Principal, Spencer, together with the Professors (whom included Lethaby), wrote a memorandum suggesting that the College should provide courses relevant to industry, and that together with the Victoria and Albert Museum, it should become a propaganda centre for the improvement of British goods. There appears to be no implementation of this suggestion due to the First World War, although it coincided with the establishment of the Design and Industries Association⁽³⁾. William Rothenstein had been one of the College's severest critics in the evidence taken by the Departmental Committee of 1911, and the Board of Education hoped for moves towards the development of the teaching of industrial design when it appointed him as Principal of the College in 1920. But Rothenstein supported the links between art and craft, although aware that crafts education had tended towards 'a somewhat doctrinaire pedantry of pseudo-medieval character'⁽⁴⁾.

There was a distinct division between the fine art and the crafts at the College. There were separate examination papers for entrants to Design, Painting and Sculpture, each area having their own School. The 'functional' side of art, of mural painting, was included in the School of Painting and Drawing until 1922. Only at that date the Department of Mural and Decorative Painting formed, coming under the administrative wing of the Design School⁽⁵⁾.

To some extent the staff of the College associated the Design School with the less talented students, and it had a majority of female students⁽⁶⁾. The craft subjects came under the School of Design, and reflected the continued

belief that the products of any teaching in the craft area should remain art, even if functional. The aim of the Design School would seem to have been concerned with the development of designers who understood the history of styles and had the skills to translate surface pattern into three dimensions, rather than specific training to develop three dimensional forms for machine reproduction.

Both Lethaby and Rothenstein recognised there was a need for balance between artistic talent and product development. But Rothenstein's ambitions in the development of the Design School were compromised by the presence of Robert Anning Bell, who, prior to becoming Professor, had been Lethaby's assistant in the School. In the Spring Term of 1921, Frank Pick, in his role as the Chairman of the Design and Industries Association, gave a lecture in the student Common Room entitled 'Art in Modern Life'. The lecture criticised the students for not meeting the demands of industry. The students felt unable to defend their position as they did not comprehend the issues that were being raised⁽⁷⁾. Although this lecture appears to have been arranged by the students, (and not Rothenstein) the pressure on the Design School to address the needs of industry was too much for Robert Anning Bell, who, as an accomplished painter and designer, believed in the Renaissance ideal of a craftsman as the aim of educational achievement. The divergence of opinion on this issue, between Rothenstein and Anning Bell, led to the Professor of Design's resignation in 1924⁽⁸⁾.

Anning Bell's successor in the post, E.W.Tristram, had been in charge of the Design School Department of Mural and Decorative Painting and Mural Department for the two preceding years. Tristram continued Anning Bell's careful

'archaeological' approach to design, which included an emphasis on the Medieval, which was Tristram's own preferred historical period. One student commented that in fact there was some continuity between Bell and Tristram: 'both of whom encouraged me to think and work as an artist'⁽⁹⁾. Tristram was to remain Professor of Design until 1949, during which time the emphasis on the introduction of skilled contemporary craftsmen to the School of Design has been credited to Rothenstein, rather than Tristram. Tristram is remembered by his students with affection, passing on an enthusiasm for careful research and historical study.

The teaching methods in the Design School encouraged individual artistic development through copying objects in the Victoria and Albert Museum, with regular criticism from teaching staff⁽¹⁰⁾. The paucity of craft facilities for the practical application of design was, in part, due to lack of finances, and also the fact that the craft facilities at the Central School of Arts and Crafts were used by the Royal College of Art students right up to the Second World War⁽¹¹⁾. To the Board of Education there seemed little point in developing the craft workshops at the Royal College of Art, when there was an accepted free interchange between the College and Central⁽¹²⁾. This seems to have been possible, as between 1900-1912, Lethaby was both Professor of the School of Design at the College and Principal of the London County Councils' Central School. This arrangement had endured the departure from the College of Lethaby in 1918, and the arrival of Rothenstein. A number of the teachers, notably Edward Johnson, taught at both institutions. The link continued when, in 1935, William Rothenstein was succeeded, as Principal at the College, by Percy Jowett, who previously had been the Principal of the Central School.

The staff of the Design School continued to be interested in the principles propounded by the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society⁽¹³⁾ and the Art Workers' Guild⁽¹⁴⁾. Of the College's Principals, while William Rothenstein was not a member of the Guild, both his predecessor, Augustus Spencer, and his successor Percy Jowett, were. Of the Professors of Design School staff, William Lethaby and Anning Bell were one time Masters of the Art Workers' Guild, and its membership included the Design School staff: Edward Johnson⁽¹⁵⁾, D.B.Cockerell⁽¹⁶⁾, Harold Wolfenden⁽¹⁷⁾, Alan Durst, Reco Capey, and A.K.Lawrence and E.M.Dinkel of the Department of Mural and Decorative Painting. Another Guild Master was the Professor of Engraving, Sir Frank Short, whose successors, Malcom Osborne and Robert Austin, were both members. The School of Sculpture was similarly influenced through Derwent Wood, Gilbert Ledward and Richard Garbe, while Gerald Moira influenced the School of Painting until the arrival of Rothenstein. Although the Guild was centred around the ideal of craftsmanship, its members did include proponents of contemporary ideas, notably Frank Pick. The students from the School of Design at the College exhibited with the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, indicating a continued concern for craftwork⁽¹⁸⁾.

The College prospectus described the Design School course as 'practical workmanship in different classes' with students gaining proficiency in one specific craft subject. Only from 1929, did the Prospectus note that students specialised and gained contact with 'special forms of industry', adding that book illustration and poster design could be taken to fulfil this requirement. The emphasis on craft continued and would not change until after 1948.

Considering the lack of actual craft facilities at the Royal College of Art, the number of students who became well known as craftpersons is all the more remarkable. The work created by the staff, and the work they encouraged their students to produce was very different from that in the market place. By the mid 1920s, the influence of Rothenstein had led to the encouragement of individual creativity in the Design School.

In the 1920s, educationalists continued to discuss the needs of students in art and design education, and the idea that artists/designers had different educational requirements from artisans. Even Rothenstein believed that there was a need for the unity of arts, illustrated by his support of the architectural course, which had to be taken by all entrants to the College.

Because of the continued lack of funding for design from the Treasury, attempts were made to gain industrial sponsorship in order to improve the workshop facilities. This resulted in the donation of a kiln for pottery, and funding for the teaching of fine metalwork from Goldsmiths' Hall⁽¹⁹⁾. Note should be made that the short 'refresher' courses set up at the College in 1921-22 were the result of a demand from the Federation of British Industries (part of the Board of Trade) contacting the Board of Education, and was not instigated by the Design School staff.

The staff of the School of Design continued to have a predominant involvement with the fine arts. Randolph Schwarbe taught in the Design School up to 1932, and is remembered as a member of the New English Art Club rather than as a designer. The staff membership of the Art Workers

Guild was not counterbalanced by a membership of the Design and Industries Association, and the work at the College, with the emphasis on crafts and decoration, became increasingly out-moded.

One of the attractions of being a student at the College, was the opportunity to experience contemporary art and design first hand. The students' magazine discussed exhibitions and reviews, including those of the Post Impressionist exhibition. Ethnic art and design was influencing sculpture and design, though the different styles were described as 'folk art' or 'primitive'. Diaghilev's Ballets Russes⁽²⁰⁾ with costumes by avante-garde Russian artists, was to influence French and consequently European and American design in the 1920s. There was also an interest in oriental art and childrens' art. The products in the market place increasingly reflected new design styles. The development of Cubism, Art Deco and Modernism were not, however, discussed in lectures at the College. Many institutions at the time (such as the Royal Academy) eschewed any discussion of contemporary modern work.

Some work at the College did relate to contemporary events: including work for the 1924 British Empire Exhibition at Wembley⁽²¹⁾. In 1925, a number of students visited the Paris Exposition of Decorative Arts⁽²²⁾. While Wembley concentrated on representing the trading advantages of the British Empire, the 1925 Paris Exposition publicised France as the world centre for art and design. This was designed to upstage the rising reputation of German functionalism, although the furniture design illustrating the use of laminated woods was not considered as 'proper cabinetmaking' by British critics⁽²³⁾.

The concern for design expressed by the formation of the Design and Industries Association, was given further impetus in 1919 by a short report published, in pamphlet form, by the Ministry of Reconstruction entitled Art and Industry⁽²⁴⁾. This resulted, in 1920, in the formation of the British Institute of Industrial Art, a joint establishment between the Board of Trade and the Board of Education, funded by the Treasury. The British Institute of Industrial Art organised an exhibition of design complete with an information service⁽²⁵⁾. Work for this was selected on the criteria of the attainment of 'a high standard of design and workmanship', and by 1922 this was preceded by the words: 'whether produced by Craftsmen or Manufacturers'⁽²⁶⁾. By 1924, the selected works formed the basis of a permanent collection of 'Modern Industrial Art' housed in the Victoria and Albert Museum. At no time was the Royal College of Art represented on this body, nor is there any remaining reference to this body by the College or its students. Gradually the British Institute for Industrial Art was wound down and subsumed into a newly formed Council for Art and Industry in 1933.

1920 also saw the Federation of British Industries institute its Industrial Art Committee, which in 1924 set up a Designers' Register and Employment Bureau. Ex-students of the College have made reference to this body, but like the British Institute of Industrial Art, further investigation is required. The work of these organisations appears to have encouraged the production of functional design for mass manufacture, and also a parallel reaction in favour of the crafts as design aesthetic. The work of the Omega Workshops of 1913 had shown the way, and the 1920s saw the rise of groups of artists and craftsmen at Ditchling in Sussex, Gregynog, Powys and Dartington in

Devon⁽²⁷⁾. The involvement of ex-students of the College in these, require further study.

It was not easy for the diplomates of the College to gain employment in industries where entrants usually arrived direct from school to be trained 'in house', to be made aware of the demands of manufacturing processes, for which they could design accordingly. The students at the College could gain no such experience, even if they were proficient in design for industry as expressed through textiles, ceramics and commercial art (graphic design). Further, in industries, such as textiles, the various nuances which were required in goods designed for export trades were readily understood, and the rapid changes in styles could be put into practice quickly on the factory floor. From the view of the manufacturers the employment of designers for distinctive collections of designs would have only slowed down the production process.

How many ex-students of the College gained such employment is hard to estimate. Certainly one ex-student of this period commented on the possible future careers of Design students as 'teaching or industry'⁽²⁸⁾. From the result of the questionnaire carried out in 1988, the number of ex-College students who answered the name of the School at the College in which they studied, and who entered a full-time career in design, was thirty-three out of one hundred and fifty. Of these, twenty-five trained in the Design School, including four students who trained in the Department of Mural and Decorative Painting. Unexpectedly, the gender ratio is twelve male to fourteen female designers. The largest number often became designers who worked commercially, while a further five described themselves as freelance illustrators. Two became mural painters, a

further two textile designers, with one each for the careers of silversmith, industrial glass designer, stained glass designer, packaging designer, fashion designer, and industrial designer. The majority of these students noted that their topic of study matched the subject area of their employment, the exception being three respondents to the questionnaire who termed themselves 'commercial artists', who did not consider their training at the College to be relevant to their eventual career. Of this group of twenty five, eight gained posts through the College, three through press advertisements, two by word of mouth, and two on entering the armed forces during the Second World War. The College may have had an even larger influence, as three further respondents to the questionnaire replied they were recommended for jobs by College staff. This refutes the notion that the College staff were out of touch with industry, as to make recommendations they would need to know what jobs they were, and points rather to the reticent development of British design industry.

Careers in design for students from other areas of study were: two male engraving students who worked, respectively, as a commercial artist and as an illustrator; just one of the ex-Painting students became a commercial designer (he studied 1945-49, when the College was rather disorganised and he was able to work in a variety of media). Other Painting students worked as: a stained glass designer, a glove designer (prior to becoming a teacher), one as an illustrator and interior designer, one fashion photographer and one film maker. In all these number just six students, four male and two female. Of this group just two gained posts, on leaving, through the College, two by word of mouth and one through a press advertisement⁽²⁹⁾.

Sadly, although information is readily available on the development of the American Design Industry⁽³⁰⁾, much research has yet to be completed on the parallel growth of design in Britain. The lack of evidence of a British Design industry in the 1920s and even 1930s, in a large part, is due to the anonymity of the designers working in companies, where products were produced under a company, bearing no indication of its designer. However, the designer Milner Gray⁽³¹⁾ pointed out that:

Apart from a very few pioneers, who are independent design consultants, design in Great Britain has developed from within industry by the use of designers employed by and specialising in a particular industry. Many British industries - notably textiles, pottery, glass, boots and shoes, saddling and leather goods, have a high reputation and a long tradition of good design both in home and overseas markets⁽³²⁾.

Moreover, the status of designers in Britain was low, with poor remuneration and little acceptance, by manufacturers, of their worth. This argument was to be used by the College as a reason for not expanding the range of design subjects taught. The College gave this response in reply to the findings of the Hambleden Committee of 1936, which considered the primary role of the College was to emphasise applied art as required by industry⁽³³⁾. In 1931, Noel Rooke noted that there were only three industries where designers had high status and good pay: advertising, the design of women's clothes and interior decoration⁽³⁴⁾. In Britain, it took until 1930 for the formation of the Society of Industrial Artists, by which time, the United States of America was seen to be leading the way towards the professionalism of design. It was not until 1937 that the Board of Trade was to establish the National Register

for Industrial Art Designers, which aimed to link designers with manufacturers⁽³⁵⁾.

The Design and Industries Association was formed in 1915 but its membership was slow to increase, although it covered a wide range of professional interests⁽³⁶⁾. Early committee members had included Ambrose Heal⁽³⁷⁾, Cecil Brewer⁽³⁸⁾, Ernest Jackson⁽³⁹⁾, and Harold Stabler⁽⁴⁰⁾, and, apart from William Lethaby, the Royal College of Art was very poorly represented. A number of the Association's members had originated as craftsmen before turning to mass production: James Morton⁽⁴¹⁾ of Morton Sundour and Frank Warner⁽⁴²⁾ of Warners are two examples. Probably the greatest impact on design came from the work of Frank Pick of the London Passenger Transport Board. Here was an example of a public body commissioning designs and getting them into production.

The number of Royal College of Art graduates who entered the mass production design industry would appear to have been insignificant, but the work related to crafts as art continued to be of importance. Such work at the College was encouraged, from 1925, by the appointment of William Staite Murray to run the pottery in the Design School⁽⁴³⁾. Murray was unconcerned with mass production and sold his work to fine art galleries, considering pottery as a link between sculpture and painting. In 1929, Herbert Read wrote on the experiments that were taking place at the College under Murray's direction, describing the possibilities of 'canvas free artists'⁽⁴⁴⁾. Murray's ideas and energy had considerable influence on the students, though his views were considered anti-industry by his colleague, Reco Capey. Two of Murray's best known pupils at the College were Henry Hammond⁽⁴⁵⁾, who exhibited at the Paris Exhibition of 1937,

and Sam Haile, who taught at Leicester and in London before going to America. Other students were Helen Pincombe⁽⁴⁶⁾, who also taught pottery at the College, Norah Braden⁽⁴⁷⁾, who later worked with Bernard Leach⁽⁴⁸⁾ and Katherine Pleydell Bouverie⁽⁴⁹⁾.

One of the most influential ceramic companies was Carter, Stabler and Adams of Poole, Dorset. John Adams⁽⁵⁰⁾ trained and taught at the Royal College of Art during Augustus Spencer's time. Adam's first wife, Gertrude Shape⁽⁵¹⁾, whom he met while at the College, was responsible for the vast majority of the company's patterns from 1921 to 1939.

There were some craft shops in London willing to retail graduates work. From the early 1920s, the Three Shields Gallery was run by Dorothy Hutton, which showed work by Bernard Leech. Then in 1928, an assistant from Three Shields, Muriel Rose, opened her own establishment: the Little Gallery, off Sloane Street. This survived until the Second World War when, cut off from supplies of European work, she closed the shop. Rose was to continue to be influential through her Exhibition of Modern British Crafts sponsored by the Smithsonian Institute which toured America at the end of the Second World War.

In 1936, the gallery/shop of Dunbar-Hay had opened with the aim introducing young designers to industrialists. Dunbar-Hay was a partnership between Cecilia Dunbar Kilburn, a past student of the College Sculpture School, and the Registrar Atholl Hay⁽⁵²⁾. As a shop, Dunbar-Hay appears to have been financially successful, but it closed in 1941 due to the Second World War. At Dunbar-Hay, work was shown by past students such as the lecturer in the Design School

Eric Ravillious, as well as exhibiting lines by leading ceramic producers, notably Wedgwood. Dunbar has been credited with introducing Ravillious to the industrial output of Wedgwood, but from 1934 till 1966, the art director at Wedgwood was Victor Skellern⁽⁵³⁾, a graduate of the College Design School in 1933, and it was Skellern's role to introduce contemporary designs at Wedgwood.

Shops which retailed well-designed and crafted furniture included Heal and Son in London, P.E.Gane of Bristol (who commissioned work by the German designer Marcel Breuer), and Dunns of Bromley. In 1938, Geoffrey Dunn⁽⁵⁴⁾ with Crofton Gane and Gordon Russell⁽⁵⁵⁾ formed with Good Furniture Group, a small association of retailers who commissioned designs for commercial manufacture, but any links with the College remain uncharted.

As we have seen, the influence of the Royal College of Art Design School staff predominantly featured a craft aesthetic. The one member of staff who was considered to be in favour of mass production was Reco Capey, the Art Director for Yardleys Limited (between 1925-58), although he was President of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society (1934-42), and exhibited as a painter and sculptor at the Royal Academy. Capey graduated from the Design School in 1922, and spent the following two years studying in France, Italy and Sweden. He returned as an instructor in the Design School from 1925 until 1936, when he was appointed the 'Industrial Liaison Officer' for the College. This post seems to have been created for Reco Capey, though probably at the behest of the Board of Education rather than on the initiative of the Principal Percy Jowett, as from 1937, Capey was the Board's Chief Examiner for Industrial Design. He held this post until 1953, though what the work actually

entailed is not clear. He encouraged students to work in the more commercial area of design. Capey designed in a wide variety of media including textiles (he encouraged block printing at the College), pottery, (including work for Doulton), glass, metalwork, fabrics, and lacquer-work which he introduced at the College. In 1926, The Studio reported:

One of the ablest of young men who have turned their attention to fabric designs is Mr Reco Capey...essentially modern in spirit and outlook. His influence at the Royal College of Art at South Kensington, where he is training students in this type of work, should produce results(56).

Other past students of the Royal College of Art discussed in the article were: a Mr J.S.Tunnard⁽⁵⁷⁾, Mrs John Revel⁽⁵⁸⁾, and a Miss Enid Marx⁽⁵⁹⁾. The latter entered the Painting School in 1922 but was failed in her final year. She had friends in the Design School, and her last year at the College coincided with Capey's arrival as a tutor. Marx left and joined the Barron and Larcher textile design studio as an apprentice, later selling her own designs through both the Little Gallery and Dunbar-Hay, and designing for the London Passenger Transport Board (London Transport) and for weavers, Morton and Sundour. In 1944, she became a member of the Design Panel of the Utility Furniture Committee and was created a Royal Designer for Industry.

One of Capey's students who gained recognition was Astrid Sampe, a Swedish student 1932-4, who chose to study at the College because Capey's training was considered more professional than that available in Scandinavia. Sampe

returned to her homeland to introduce Capey's methods of teaching into the Stockholm National College of Art, Craft and Design, and to become Sweden's leading textile designer.

Other students did not achieve such widespread recognition, but were inspired and helped by Capey. However, by the mid 1930s, the College's long standing resistance to commercial art was recognised explicitly by the students in the Design School. One student noted she was told by Reco Capey that the College did not normally exhibit posters in the final diploma show⁽⁶⁰⁾. Poster designs such as those by the Beggarstaff Brothers were considered avant-garde, even twenty-five years after the peak of their influence. Even so, the work of graduates from the College was to contribute to modern developments in British graphics. A key to the growth in commercial design was the enormous investment in the transport industries, which aimed to create jobs, promote mobility and encourage economic activity. There was a considerable number of transport companies, and they recognised the requirements for strong corporate identities and advertising campaigns. Often their artwork and posters were put out to competition.

One of the first most successful commercial artists for London Transport was Charles Paine, (also known as 'Kenneth'). Although he had studied under Lethaby and Anning Bell, his work is notable for its simple modernity. His images included: leaping deer for Richmond Park, goldfish for Uxbridge and the 1921 Boat Race⁽⁶¹⁾. Another designer was A.E.Halliwell, who, while still a student at the Royal College of Art, began to design graphics for London Transport. Indeed, The London Transport corporate

symbol of a 'bull's eye', came into use two years after Halliwell was paid for a similar design in 1914.⁽⁶²⁾ He continued to work in the graphics during the 1930s, and although modern in style, as with many designers whose work remained unattributed, he never achieved due recognition. Note must also be made of calligrapher Edward Johnston, who taught at the Royal College of Art from about 1901 until 1939, designed and developed the typeface used by London Transport between 1916 and 1931. One of the most famous campaigns, 'My Goodness, My Guinness' of the mid 1930s was by John Gilroy, an ex-College graduate⁽⁶³⁾.

During the 1930s, contemporary artists were recruited for many campaigns, most notably by Shell. The artists included: the College tutor Paul Nash, (who as a teacher in the Design School had also been recognised for his textile designs, including moquettes for London Underground), Edward Bawden (who designed wallpapers and graphics for Twinings Tea and Fortnum and Mason, among others), Eric Ravillious, (who also worked for Wedgwood and designed furniture) and Barnett Freedman. Freedman designed the 1935 George V Jubilee postage stamp⁽⁶⁴⁾. This led to an exhibition of Shell-Mex commissions entitled Painters turn to Posters, in 1937.

There was also a fine art aspect of design reflected in textiles. Barbara Hepworth, a graduate of the School of Sculpture, designed constructivist textiles for the Edinburgh company of Mortons. A similar interest was shown in the production of contemporary ceramics, decorated by this new group of artists for Foley's, the work including that of Barbara Hepworth and College tutor Paul Nash⁽⁶⁵⁾.

The main professional association of designers, the Society of Industrial Artists, (later altering its title to the Society of Industrial Artists and Designers) was founded in 1930. This acted as a trade union on issues such as fees and contracts. The early membership comprised industrial designers, graphic designers and illustrators. From 1932, its President and Chairman was Paul Nash, with Milner Gray acting as a protagonist for the Society. The Society of Industrial Artists and Designers only allowed practising designers and commercial artists to join, though no proof of proficiency was required until 1939. This had a membership of about 350, of whom about 150 were classed as industrial designers⁽⁶⁶⁾.

In 1934, the Board of Trade appointed the Council for Art and Industry, headed by Frank Pick. At the Council's suggestion, the Board of Trade instigated the National Register of Industrial Artists and Designers. The Register was confined to practising artist-designers. Applicants numbered 3,000 of which only 750 were placed on the register, though this number did include ex-students of the College⁽⁶⁷⁾.

The profession of design received further encouragement when the Royal Society of Arts started the Royal Designers for Industry in 1938. It can be seen that designers considered themselves to be artists, but now they were also considered a profession. The formation of the Society of Industrial Artists and Designers provided further impetus, but how many of the members were ex-students of the College is unknown⁽⁶⁸⁾. The evidence of trade journals, most notably that of Commercial Artist, does not indicate many graduates of the College worked as commercial or product designers. However, notes on named designs did not usually

include the qualifications of the designer, and until a complete list of past students of the College is available for cross referencing, precise figure cannot be drawn up. The results of the past-students questionnaire would indicate that, despite the craft base of the College, a considerable number of students did enter industrial manufacture. Some are known, such as in the lighting industry where the company Troughton & Young appointed A.B.Read⁽⁶⁹⁾, ex-Royal College of Art, as their Design Director.

Although the ex-students in the questionnaire considered that the teaching at the College had provided them with skills for a career in design, the main influence continued to be in the area of craft. Continuity in teaching was provided by staff such as the calligrapher Edward Johnson (who worked at the College until 1939), stained glass tutor Martin Travers, woodcarver Alan Durst, embroidress Katherine Harris, and metalworker R.J.Ruby, all of whom taught at the College between 1926 and 1948⁽⁷⁰⁾. Professor Tristram was to be remembered as an authority on medieval art (rather than for his educational career) and for his work on restoration, which was well known during the 1930s. The structure of the teaching in the Design School was minimal, with only set periods on architecture and lettering, and with very little formal teaching. Yet at the same period, the students were becoming increasingly aware of commercial art, as one ex-student noted:

Then the words 'commercial' and 'art' came into conflict. It was said that the word commercial degraded art, so it was phased out. The magazine Commercial Art became Art and Industry. At the College however, they favoured the fine arts and advertising was frowned upon⁽⁷¹⁾.

There were younger contemporary influences from, for example, ex-students of the School employed as assistants, e.g. Edward Bawden and Eric Ravillious. Students who undertook craft work did gain some recognition. The possibilities of modern embroidery were shown by the British Institute of Industrial Art at the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1932, and the leading exhibitors included Kathleen Mann, a College student in the late 1920s⁽⁷²⁾. The work at the British Art in Industry show, held at the Royal Academy in 1935, was a display of predominantly craft objects, very few of which were by recognised College diplomates.

The most important influences on main stream design were to come from outside Britain. By the late 1930s, a number of refugee artists and designers arrived from Europe, of whom a number had been expelled from Nazi Germany, notably Walter Gropius, and many of the teaching staff of the Bauhaus. They also included 'Judaeo-Bolshevist' typographers such as Hans Schmoller⁽⁷³⁾, Jan Tschichold⁽⁷⁴⁾ and Bertold Wolpe⁽⁷⁵⁾, potters Lucie Rie and Hans Coper⁽⁷⁶⁾, architects such as Erno Goldfinger⁽⁷⁷⁾, and industrial designers F.K.Henrion⁽⁷⁸⁾ (later a tutor at the College), and Hans Schleger⁽⁷⁹⁾. The arrival of these artists and designers, with their understanding of main stream European work, stimulated British design. In 1934, Gropius arrived in Britain as a refugee. His book, The New Architecture and the Bauhaus, came out in Britain the following year, translated by Morton Shand and with a foreword by Frank Pick which noted: '..What applies to architecture equally applies in those forms of design which relate to things of everyday use'. It was Pick, as Chairman of the Design and Industries Association who suggested the Board of Education should consider Walter Gropius for a position at the Royal College of Art⁽⁸⁰⁾.

The College was receiving considerable criticism from groups such as the Design and Industries Association. Although the Board of Education was aware of problems at the College, it seemed helpless to enforce change there. It was left to the Department of Trade to organise British contributions to the international exhibitions at Brussels in 1935 and Paris in 1937. The importance of design for export was well understood, but the Department of Trade was reticent over these projects, and gave the responsibility for the British Pavilions to its branch body, the Council for Art and Industry, whose remit included the organisation of exhibitions. The Pavilions did include some work by graduates of the Royal College of Art. But the projects received public criticism for their emphasis on the crafts, and were considered a failure by the Board of Trade, (seemingly for financial reasons). The blame was placed with the Council for Art and Industry. That same year, 1937, the Council published the report, Design and the Designer in Industry, highlighting the issues which restrained both British Industry, and the role of design education. Although 'large-scale production of goods by machinery' was considered important, the emphasis on craft skills and tradition remained⁽⁸¹⁾.

This shows that the Royal College of Art cannot be wholly blamed for not 'modernising' its methods of education to take account to the developments of mass manufacture and new materials. The work of the College only reflected the opinions of the government bodies through which it was controlled. However, the evidence does indicate that the College continued to have a strong influence on the development of contemporary craft, notably ceramics, and that it did influence graphic and exhibition design. However, its graduates gained little recognition in these

areas of work, and only a very few graduates appear to have entered industry as designers.

A reorganisation of the Design School was finally implemented in 1948, and with the appointment of Robin Darwin as Principal, moves were made towards removing the College from the administration of the Board of Education. After the College received its independence in 1949, five distinct professorships were created: Richard Guyatt⁽⁸²⁾ for Graphic Design, Dick Russell⁽⁸³⁾ for Engineering and Furniture Design, Robert Goodden⁽⁸⁴⁾ for Silversmithing and Jewellery Design, and Madge Garland⁽⁸⁵⁾ for Fashion Design, with two ex-students of the College, Robert Baker⁽⁸⁶⁾ as Professor of Ceramics, and J.F.Flanagan⁽⁸⁷⁾ as Professor of Textile Design. In addition, departments were formed for the study of Industrial Glass, Stained Glass, and Theatre Design. Although most of these staff were new to the College, and some to education, they formed a continuity of teaching at the College for the next quarter of a century. No longer was the College dominated by a crafts aesthetic, and the graduates of the College began increasingly to influence design for manufacture, and , through graduate employment in teaching, began to encourage a more contemporary approach to design in education generally.

Only one area in the teaching of design was immune to most of the changes in 1948: the School of Architecture, headed by Professor Basil Ward⁽⁸⁸⁾, who had been in post since 1946. The purpose of the School of Architecture was to provide all entrants to the College with a grounding in an appreciation of the unity of the arts, to which architecture was considered central. The centrality of architecture was demonstrated in the work of many art schools (including the Royal Academy schools) during the

period 1900-1940, with architectural classes for painters and sculptors, and an emphasis of the use of mural decoration in architecture. Between 1902 and 1953, the majority of the work of the School of Architecture was in the education of all entrants to the College. The full-time training of architects up to Diploma level, was the School's secondary role.

From 1902 all the students entering the College spent the whole of their first term studying architecture and its vocabulary, with only the evenings available for life study. This followed a recommendation made by the College Visitors, in 1897, that whatever the 'ultimate craft' of the students, they should pass an elementary course of architecture⁽⁸⁹⁾. This was supported by Lethaby as Professor of Design. Students who arrived at the College specifically to study painting or sculpture felt frustrated and considered this course as irrelevant. Complaints were made on this matter by ex-students to the Departmental Committee of 1910-11⁽⁹⁰⁾, and in the 1915, the College Visitors commented that the course was not relevant to students of painting and sculpture, and was responsible for a loss of impetus in the teaching of full-time architectural students. From 1922, this introductory course was taught one day a week across the first year, rather than concentrated into one term. However, negative comments continued to be made by non architectural students to the College, regarding this syllabus, as late as the 1940s.

The only students who were exempt from the architecture course were those who already had accreditation in the subject. From 1902, this course was taken in the Lower School, which also acted as a foundation course for students starting their training as architects. Indeed, the

Royal Academy Schools prospectuses for the 1920s note this Course as an accepted qualification for entry to a higher study of architecture⁽⁹¹⁾.

The Upper School was devised for students specialising in architecture, and intended to illustrate the use of architecture with 'colour decoration and sculpture'. This Advanced Course included architectural design combined with decorative painting, sculpture and wood and metal work, and formed a link with other areas of the College. It also included training on construction of buildings. The level of work in the Upper School was questioned, notably in 1911, when a Standing Committee of Advice noted the anomalous position of the College's architectural course, which was not recognised by the Royal Institute of British Architects.

With the reorganisation under Rothenstein, in 1922, the School of Architecture syllabus appears to have combined the work of the Upper and Lower Schools. The School of Architecture also partly absorbed the teaching of history of art, which since about 1906 had been taught by Beckwith Spencer (brother of the Principal Augustus Spencer)⁽⁹²⁾. The introductory course in architecture was now taught one day a week across the year, and provided an understanding of the development of styles and their use. The practical side of the course centred on drawing, consideration of decorative detail, and the design of an imaginary town or city, with each student designing a specific building. This syllabus remained very similar throughout the period 1922-49. A consideration of more modern approaches, notably functionalism and contemporary designers such as Gropius and Corbusier were introduced only in the late 1930s⁽⁹³⁾. The Architectural School was open to students in the

College who required to make a special study as part of their Diploma work.

The syllabus of the full Diploma covered historical studies, modern requirements and materials. There was also a Post Diploma Study, which included measured surveys and collaborative projects with painters sculptors and designers. These two courses reflect the earlier work of the Lower and Upper Schools. The present writer has been unable to contact any student who specialised in the Architectural School during this period, but from the ten Diploma graduation lists for years prior to 1940, there are only thirteen graduates for the School of Architecture. From this it maybe concluded that the School had only a very small number of its own Diploma students. No comments regarding the Schools failings or success have been found, and the value of the Diploma by comparison with other systems of architectural accreditation remains unknown⁽⁹⁴⁾. During the 1920s, there was considerable debate regarding the need of legislation to limit the practice of architecture to those considered qualified, and this came about in 1931, with the passing of the first Architects' Registration Act, with further Acts in 1934 and 1938. The College Diploma in Architecture seems to have been accepted by the architectural profession as an appropriate accreditation, as the diplomates did practise as architects.

The full-time Diploma course in architecture was offered until 1938/39. The last entrants to this course were in the Autumn of 1936⁽⁹⁵⁾. Although the Architectural School at College had its own Board of Examiners, it did not provide training for professional architectural examinations, and in the reorganisation of 1949, lost its status as a

separate school, becoming an an area of ancillary study for service teaching. From 1949, the School arranged joint lectures and collaborative work with the School of Architecture at the Architectural Association, but the School was to close in 1953, and only in 1985 did the Royal Institute of British Architects once more recognise the School of Architecture at the College.

The School of Architecture made all the students who passed through the College aware of the unity of the arts, and the possibilities of producing work suitable as decoration for architecture. Despite complaints the students appreciated the technical skills acquired, which enabled them to make detailed drawings. The School was mainly concerned to develop an accurate understanding of architecture of the past, to an extent that it was almost archaeological in its approach. The issues and concerns of the Arts and Crafts Movement were paramount until the late 1930s, and the staff of the Architecture School had strong links with the Arts and Crafts Movement and the Art Workers' Guild. There was a belief in the unity of architecture and art, applied and aesthetic. The staff presented students with the differences between the various historic styles and their practical applications to contemporary architecture. From 1900, with the appointment of Arthur Beresford Pite⁽⁹⁶⁾ (who favoured Byzantine motifs), through J.Hubert Worthington⁽⁹⁷⁾ to Arthur B.Knapp-Fisher⁽⁹⁸⁾, the professors of architecture were concerned with historicism and its comprehension, the needs for craftsmanship and truth to materials. There was no obvious interest expressed in contemporary changes or modern European developments, either in styles or uses of materials.

The first professor of architecture at the College, Arthur Beresford Pite, held the post concurrently with that of Architectural Director of the London School of Building at Brixton, an institution which came under the care of London County Council⁽⁹⁹⁾. Pite believed that his students should understand technical details, and he was aware of the need for trained architects in the construction industry. Linked with this was a strong association to the Art Workers' Guild, and in his time Pite was respected as a controversial and prolific author⁽¹⁰⁰⁾.

Pite was succeeded, in 1924, by J. Hubert Worthington, an Associate of the Royal Institute of British Architects, had been an assistant to Lutyens, whom he brought to the College as a visiting Lecturer to the College. Worthington designed public schools and university buildings (such as the new Radcliffe Library and the remodelled Bodleian Library) and wrote on Italian Renaissance architecture. Worthington wrote an appreciation of the work of Ernest Newton and sons⁽¹⁰¹⁾ and four years later was succeeded by his friend and Ernest Newton's son, William Godfrey Newton. Previously a lecturer at Oxford University, and a President of the Architectural Association, he was regarded as an experimentalist in 'modernism'. In 1933, the President of the Architectural Association, Arthur Bedford Knapp-Fisher was appointed as Professor. Knapp-Fisher was known for his design of garden villages, but during the 1930s spoke out against the destruction of historic London and its piecemeal redevelopment.

The students of the College who were awarded a Diploma Architecture, are small in number. Its most prominent diplomate is Joseph Emberton, whose work includes the New Empire Hall, Olympia, Simpson's of Picadilly, London, and

the Blackpool Pleasure Beach Buildings. Despite the contemporary style of his work, in 1934 he was specifically excluded for membership of the M.A.R.S. Group⁽¹⁰²⁾ as he was not considered modern enough⁽¹⁰³⁾. A slightly later diplomate was Leslie Austin, a successful architect in Dorset during the 1920s. The largest number of diplomates leaving the School of Architecture was three, in 1927, all of whom were women: Sophie J. Banham, who was awarded a travelling scholarship; and Phyllis E Marx and Margaret S. Taylor, the two latter were employed as assistants in the School of Architecture. Margaret Taylor received the RIBA Gold Medal for her work, and continued to teach until 1958, yet nothing has been published on her work. The number of graduates declined during the 1930s⁽¹⁰⁴⁾.

The economic recession caused a decline in the need for architects, and this may be one of the keys for a decline in the number of students trained in architecture at the College. Outside the College, architects diversified into product design for a source of income. Architects had a long training and were expected to understand both theory and production processes, and were therefore often willing to undertake small three dimensional commissions. They were also ready to work with 'new' materials such as plastic and steel, for domestic functional objects. Such architects included: Charles Holden⁽¹⁰⁵⁾, who worked for Frank Pick of the London Passenger Transport Board, and the engineer turned architect Wells Coates⁽¹⁰⁶⁾, who in 1932 won a competition run by Ecko (E.K. Cole⁽¹⁰⁷⁾) for the design of radio cabinets, which became the symbol of the decade. The Ecko company also commissioned new radio cabinets in plastics from architects, Serge Chermayeff⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ and Misha Black⁽¹⁰⁹⁾, while the Murphy radio company developed a range of wooden cabinets with Gordon and Dick Russell. Another architect, turned designer, was Keith Murray⁽¹¹⁰⁾

who designed glass for Stevens and Williams, metalwork for Mappin and Webb, and a coffee set for Wedgwood. He also who designed the new Wedgwood factory at Barlaston. Architects influenced furniture design: the tubular steel stacking chairs with canvas seat and back were designed by Serge Chermayeff for Pel in 1932, and the Isokon Long chair, in laminated birch wood, was designed by Marcel Breuer⁽¹¹¹⁾ in 1936.

Some Royal College of Art diplomates did design in modern styles, but few have gained recognition. One example is Ernest Mitchell, diplomate of the Design School, who spent a final post graduate year in the School of Architecture in 1934. The post-graduate study consisted of collaboration with painters, sculptors and designer to produce a complete building scheme. This work was reflected in his future career, designing a large mural panel for the British Pavilion at the New York World Fair of 1939 and murals for the Science Museum, London. He also designed decorative panels and a fountain for the first class entrance lobby on Cunards' Mauritania, and during the Second World War, he produced extensive publicity for the National Savings Movement⁽¹¹²⁾.

In 1946, Basil Ward was appointed Professor of Architecture and offered courses to all students in an attempt to make a grounding in the Modern Movement an essential part of the Royal College of Art experience, until 1953. Ward had designed some notable houses during the 1930s in conjunction with Amyas Connell⁽¹¹³⁾, which although reflecting the earlier ideas of the Arts and Crafts Movement, used reinforced concrete, had large south facing windows, and flat roofs.

The influence of the Architectural School through the work of its students and staff is difficult to assess. The staff who led this School, though known in their own time, are now much neglected. Indeed in order to rectify the lack of information on the staff, their work, and that of any full-time students of the School of Architecture, requires its own specialist study⁽¹¹⁴⁾.

Overall, the impact of the Royal College of Art on design would appear minimal. This maybe ascribed to the fact that the number of College diplomates who entered a full-time career in design is small for the total number of diplomates. This is illustrated by the Board of Education figures between 1897 and 1919, which show that on average twice as many students became teachers, as designers and architects. Of those students who gained employment, only 25% became designers. This figure drops further when placed against the total number of diplomates for each year, to below 20% for the period upto 1914, dropping to below 5% during the First World War⁽¹¹⁵⁾. From analysis of the information given by ex-students of the College, just under 26% of all respondents became designers. This proportion remained consistent during the period 1919-1950. Of those 143 students who named their area of study in the questionnaire, just 32 became designers. Of these, 25 had received their training in the Design School. The remaining 7 had trained in one of the areas of fine art. What is surprising is the gender balance, for 68% of all the designers are female, just 8% having been trained in fine art⁽¹¹⁶⁾.

Endnotes

3 The Influence of Royal College of Art on Design

1. The 1911 Report indicated there was something seriously wrong, for of seventeen students who left a Yorkshire school of art to become National Scholars, none had returned to their original trade. Departmental Committee on the Royal College of Art London: HMSO (1911) p.17

2. The Report of the Departmental Committee of the Board of Education on the Royal College of Art London: HMSO (1911) p.9

3. The Design and Industries Association was founded to provide an exhibition space for designers, and as a result of seeing the work of the Deutsche Werkbund Exhibition in Cologne in 1914. A group of designers organised an exhibition of quality goods from Germany and Austria at Goldsmiths' Hall, London in 1915. They then launched the Association, which operated from the premises of the Art Workers' Guild in London. A leading figure in the DIA was William Lethaby, the Professor of Design at the RCA. The DIA held their first exhibition in 1915, and began to publish pamphlets on design issues. The Association became increasingly influential on the public awareness of design, and concerned with the promotion of Modernism. Although the work of the DIA has been succeeded by later government initiatives, the Association continues to flourish.

4. ED24/1595 Rothenstein to Fisher of the Board of Education 18.06.20.

5. In 1920, Rothenstein had renamed the School of Painting and Drawing the School of Decorative Painting. In 1922, with the retirement of the Professor of Painting, Moira,

this reverted to its previous name, and the the Department of Mural and Decorative Painting was created under the supervision of E.W.Tristram.

6. From the respondents to a questionnaire on the Royal College of Art in 1988, of 143 students who named their area of study, the ex-students of the areas of design accounted for 46 women to 25 men, while the fine art areas accounted for 18 women to 54 men.

7. The R.C.A. Students Magazine Vol I No II Common Room News p28 'We did not excel in debate, perhaps for the reason that we did not at once understand the nature of the somewhat unkind attack made on us by Mr Pick's lieutenants, Mr Hamilton Smith and Mr Sharpland.'

8. ED23/545 Professor Anning Bell to the Board of Education. 1924.

9. Comment of respondent to questionnaire on the Royal College of Art from respondent number 5 who attended the College 1919-23.

10. This was noted by three respondents to the questionnaire: R8 (1922-25), R14(1924-28) and R152(1928-32).

11. The catalogue of the College student exhibition of 1939, noted which items had been made by the Royal College of Art students at the Central School.

12. ED46/219 Note on free interchange of students between London educational institutions. 28.2.38.

13. The Arts & Crafts Exhibition Society was established to enable designers to show work to a wider public. Its first

exhibition was held in 1888, and its members were to show work at majors exhibitions in Europe and the USA. The Society's President was Walter Crane, (apart from 1896 when William Morris held the post). The Society published a collection of essays Handicrafts and Reconstruction in 1919, but the Society was in decline and ended soon after in 1920.

14. The Art Workers' Guild was formed in 1883 out of a discussion group of pupils of the architect Richard Norman Shaw (including William Lethaby), and The Fifteen, a society founded in 1882, with Lewis F. Day as Secretary. The A.W.G.'s first meeting was held in 1884. The Guild's members included Walter Crane and William Morris, and as a society it was an important meeting place for designers who were also teachers. The Guild remains in existence today. See Massie, H.L.J., The Art Workers' Guild 1884-1934 London (1935)

15. Edward Johnston (1872-1944) taught calligraphy at the Central School of Arts and Crafts from 1899, and at the RCA between 1937-39. His two books: Writing and Illumination(1906) and Manuscript and Inscription Letters(1909) were highly influential on the development of contemporary typography. His most famous design is the sans serif face for London Transport.

16. Douglas Cockerell (1870-1945) worked with the bookbinder T.J. Cobden-Sanderson, 1893-98, then after working independently, worked as Head of Bookbinding at W.H. Smith & Sons from 1904 until the First World War. From 1918 taught at the Central School of Art and Crafts then at the RCA from 1936 until his retirement in 1944. He was created both an MBE and an RDI.

17. Harold K. Wolfenden was the technical instructor in Engraving in the School of Design at the RCA from 1929 until 1947 with a break for war service 1939-46.

18. The questionnaire circulated to past students of the Royal College of Art in 1988, included a question asking which societies the respondent exhibited with. Design/craft orientated societies were mentioned by twelve students who trained in the School of Design. Of these, six exhibited with the Arts & Crafts Exhibition Society, latterly called the Society of Designer Craftsman, two with the Society of Scribes and Illuminators, two with the Festival of Britain, one each for the Chartered Society of Designers, the Design and Industries Association and the National Register of Designers.

19. ED23/546 Letter from Prideaux of Goldsmiths' Hall to Rothenstein of the Royal College of Art 23.01.23.

20. The Russian ballet impresario, Serge Diaghilev (1872-1929), employed the talents of modern composers and artists in the creation of the independent dance company: Ballets Russe. The company toured the major cities of Europe and America, which demonstrated the successful collaboration of contemporary music, dance and art.

21. The motif for the British Empire Exhibition was by Fredrick C. Herrick (1887-1976) who had trained at the RCA 1908-12 and then worked as an instructor of drawing at the College. The 'Lion of Industry' sculptures made for the Exhibition were by Percy Metcalf (1895-1970) who had also studied at the RCA. See Official Catalogue London: H.M.S.O. (1924).

22. Comment on visit by students of the College to the Paris Exposition, made by respondent number 14 (who

attended the College 1924-28) during interview in July 1989.

23. See Carrington, Noel., Industrial Design in Britian London: Allen and Unwin (1976) p.85 and p.89

24. Art and Industry London: HMSO (1919) quoted in Design for Today March 1936 p110-112

25. The British Institute of Industrial Art received its funding from the Treasury for two years, after which time the body continued to be funded by private subscription until 1932.

26. Quoted in The Years' Art London: Hutchinson (1922) p.51

27. See: Nuttgens, Patrick., The Spirit of the Age London: B.B.C. (1989)

28. Respondent 32 1928-31 in letter to HCC 14.09.87

29. The respondents were in the Design School: 1,6,8,39,42,45,54,66,67,71,73,74,76,81,92,103,109,111,115, 117,132,136,143,144,149. In Painting: 4,45,68,106. In Engraving: 59,105.

30. See: Marte, Joan., Design in America New York: Harry N. Abrams(1983)

31. Milner Gray (b.1889-) studied at Goldsmiths' College 1916-17 and 1919-21. In 1922 he was a founder member of a multi-discipline design practice, which was reorganised in 1933 as an industrial design partnership. He was the Principal of Sir John Cass College of Art, London from 1937, and was a visiting tutor at the RCA in 1939-40.. In 1940 Gray became the Head of Exhibition Design for the

Ministry of Information. In 1945, with Misha Black, he was a founder of the Design Research Unit. He was the Master of the Art Workers' Guild in 1963, and also held positions of authority in the Society of Industrial Artists.

32. Gray, Milner., 'The Design Profession', in Herbert Read's, The Practice of Design London (1946)

33. ED23/798 Hambleden Committee of the Board of Education, May 1936 ED23/798 Minutes of the Council of the Royal College of Art, 1936.

34. Royal Society of Arts Journal 1931. On 17th January 1931, Nikolaus Pevsner gave a lecture to the Society of Industrial Artists which was followed by a discussion in which Noel Rooke made this statement. Rooke (1881-1953) had worked for Lethaby prior to studying at the Central School, under Lethaby and Johnston. From 1912-46 he taught wood engraving at the Central School.

35. It is rather a significant comment that only one ex-student of the Royal College of Art noted membership of the Design and Industries Association and the National Register for Industrial Art Designers. He was at the College 1924-28 (R13).

36. 1915, the membership of the Design and Industries Association was at 200 and in 1928 the membership stood at 602.

37. Ambrose Heal (1872-1959) was educated at the Slade School, and after serving an apprenticeship as a cabinet maker joined the family firm in 1893. He ensured the survival of Heals through economic strife. He was a member of the Art Workers' Guild and of the Design and Industries Association. He was knighted in 1933.

38. Cecil Brewer was the founding secretary of the Design and Industries Association.

39. Ernest Jackson (1872-1945) trained at the Academie Julian and the Ecole des Beaux Arts, Paris. He taught at the Central School of Arts and Crafts 1902-21, then at the RA 1921-39. He was the Acting Principal of the Bryam Shaw School 1926-40. As a painter he designed some of the first London Underground posters

40. Harold Stabler (1872-1945) metalsmith and jeweller, trained at Keswick School of Art, before teaching at the RCA from the early 1900s. He became Head of the Art Department at Sir John Cass Technical Institute. In 1921 he became a partner in the Carter & Co pottery at Poole.

41. James Morton (1867-1943) was the manufacturer to guarantee fabrics dyed to withstand the effects of sun and water. A founder member of the Design and Industries Association, he wrote an appreciation of the textile work of William Morris. Between 1921-34 he was an advisor to the Board of Trade. He was knighted in 1936. His son, Alastair (1910-63) who succeeded him as Chair of Morton Sundour Fabrics Ltd was also a member of the DIA.

42. Frank Warner (1862-1930) worked in the textile industry, working for the Board of Trade in this capacity in 1916-25. He was a member of the Departmental Committee of the Board of Education on the RCA in 1911, and a Member of the Standing Committee of Advice on Education in Art 1911-15. He was knighted in 1918.

43. Originally William Rothenstein had offered Bernard Leach and William Staite Murray the joint post of instructor in pottery. Murray with held acceptance until Leach had answered. Leach offered to teach for two periods

of six weeks each year, but the money was not available to pay him in addition to a full-time instructor

44. Herbert Read The Listener May 1929.

45. Henry Hammond (1914-90) studied in the Design School at the RCA 1934-38. He taught at Farnham School of Art in 1939 where he became head of ceramics.

46. Helen Pincombe (b.1908) was born in India and educated in Australia. She came to England in 1925 and studied at Camberwell School of Art, the Central School of Arts and Crafts and then gained an Exhibition scholarship to the RCA. After gaining her Diploma she joined the RCA staff, but was to establish her own pottery in Surrey.

47. Norah Braden (b.1901) studied at the Central School of Arts and Crafts 1919-21 then at the RCA 1922-24. After working with Bernard Leach in 1925 she joined Katherine Pleydell Bouverie, prior to teaching at Brighton School of Art.

48. Bernard Leach (1887-1979) studied printmaking at the Slade, then went to Japan in 1909, where he learnt ceramics. He returned in 1920 to establish a pottery at St Ives, Cornwall. a key figure in the development of British studio pottery, he was made a Companion of Honour in 1973.

49. Katherine Pleydell Bouverie (b.1895) studied at the Central School of Arts and Crafts, then with Bernard Leach in 1924, setting up her own pottery in 1925 at Coleshill, where she was joined by Norah Braden

50. John Adams (1882-1953) studied in the evenings at Hanley School of Art, and worked with the potter Bernard Moore. In 1908 won a scholarship to the RCA. On graduation

he taught at the College until 1914, when he left to work as the Head of the School of Art, Durban, South Africa. He returned to work in partnership with Cyril Carter and Harold Stabler at Poole, in Dorset.

51. Gertrude Sharpe (Truda Carter) (1890-1958) studied at the RCA circa 1908-13 where she met her first husband, John Adams. From 1921 a key influence on the ceramic designs of the work of Carter, Stabler & Adams. She married Cyril Carter in 1939. She worked as a designer for the architect Maufe.

52. Dunbar-Hay opened in Grosvenor Street and then moved into Albemarle Street. The shop began with £3,000 capital, the shareholders including Lord Hambleton who was Chairman of the Council of the Royal College of Art, Sir Thomas Barlow, Geoffrey Fry and J.B. Priestly. Many of their friends became customers. The shop's stock was put into store in 1941, shortly before receiving a direct hit in which the shop's records were destroyed. Cecilia Dunbar Kilburn became Lady Cecilia Sempill. See James Noel White 'The Unexpected Phoenix I' Craft History One Bath: Combined Arts (1988) p.53-54

53. Victor Skellern (1908-66) worked as designer, but also produced stained glass and paintings. He exhibited at 'British Art in Industry' at the Royal Academy in 1935 and the international exhibitions in Brussels of 1936, and Paris 1937.

54. Geoffrey Dunn (b.1909) worked for five years in furniture making before joining the family company. He encouraged the production and sale of modern design. Dunns became part of the Heal Group. He became a council member of the DIA and the CoID. Made a CBE in 1976.

55. Gordon Russell (1892-1980) was educated in Chipping Campden, where Ashbee's Guild of Handicraft had moved in 1901. Russell worked as a furniture designer/maker and became involved in the Design and Industries Association. He showed at the 1924 British Empire Exhibition and at Paris in 1925. In 1926, he formed a company and joined the Art Workers' Guild. His work included designing radio cabinets, and from 1942 advising the Board of Trade. In 1947 he became Director of the Council of Industrial Design, a post he held until 1959. He was knighted.

56. Shirley Wainwright, B., 'Modern Printed Textiles' The Studio No 92 1926 pp 394-400

57. John S. Tunnard (1890-71) studied at the RCA 1919-23, gaining his Diploma in Design in 1921. He worked as a commercial designer until 1930 when he turned to painting.

58. Mrs John Revel, nee Lucy Elizabeth Babington (d.1961) studied at the RCA where she met her husband circa 1912. He was a painter and Director of Glasgow School of Art 1925-32, then Headmaster of Chelsea School of Art 1912-24.

59. Enid Marx (b.1905) studied at the Central School of Arts and Crafts, then at the RCA in 1922. From 1925 she worked with Barron and Larcher, then her own studio from 1929 in both textiles and graphics. During World War II sat on the Utility Furniture Advisory Committee.

60. Comment from respondent to questionnaire number 60, who attended the College 1932-35.

61. For information on Charles Paine, see article by Horace Taylor in Commercial Artist Vol II No 12 June 1927. Paine then taught in the United States at Santa Barbara and designed posters of a major tuberculosis campaign, before

returning to work for Baynard Press and Service Advertising Company by 1927. He also designed graphics for Sundour fabrics.

62. Thistlewood, David A.E.Halliwell: Art and Design Educationalist Unpublished Paper relating to exhibition at Bretton College, Yorkshire, 1987.

63. Martin Battersby in The Decorative Twenties (1971) p.185 notes that there were three advertising and commercial artists listed in the London Post Office Directory for 1902, and 103 by 1925. These figures do not include designers who worked part-time or on special commissions.

64. The design was accepted at the suggestion of Kenneth Clark who served as a member of the Post Office Committee under the chairmanship of Sir Stephen Tallents. See Dennis Farr English Art 1870-1940 Oxford: University Press (1978) p.321

65. Commercial Art and Industry London: The Studio (1937) pp.223-226

66. In the questionnaire on the Royal College of Art circulated in 1988, past students were asked which groups they exhibited with, and not of what societies they were members. This omission has prevented information being gathered on membership of societies whose purpose did not include the organisation of exhibitions.

67. This register continued until the Second World War when, due to lack of funding, it was absorbed into the newly formed Design Council. Only one respondent to the questionnaire noted this register, and that through it they exhibited work.

68. Only one student noted membership of this organisation, and they studied at the College after 1945.(R136)

69. Alfred Burgess Read (1898-1973) studied at the RCA 1919-23, specialising in metalwork.. He worked for Clement Dane Advertising until 1924, when he worked for the French lighting company of Bagues. In 1925 he became a Director of Troughton and Young. He designed lighting for the home of Cyril and Truda Carter, the Maufe designed Yaffle Hill, in 1932. He also worked as a ceramic designer for Carter, Stabler & Adams Ltd, returning to work for Troughton and Young in 1957. He was made a Royal Designer for Industry in 1951.

70. Very little is known of the craft teachers of the Royal College of Art. All three mentioned here held ARCAs and so must have been students at the College prior to teaching there from 1926 until 1947. R.J. Ruby arrived later, teaching from 1934. Martin Travers died in 1948.

71. R60 Student in the Design School 1932-35

72. Correspondence with Mrs H.A.Crawford 1988.

73. Hans Schmoller (1916-1985) trained as a calligrapher, then was an apprentice compositor in Berlin 1933-37. He worked in South Africa 1938-47, then in England, becoming a Director of Penguin Books in 1960.

74. Jan Tschichold (1902-74) studied graphics in Leipzig, Germany.He became a teacher at Paul Renner's School 1925-33, but was imprisoned and unable to work after the Nazis came to power in 1933. In 1947 he became the chief designer for Penguin Books. He was made an RDI in 1965.

75. Bertold Wolpe (b.1905) was trained as a goldsmith. In 1932 designed Albertus typeface for the Monotype Corporation. He settled in England in 1935 teaching at Camberweill School of Art 1948-52, and at the RCA 1953-60.

76. Lucie Rie (1902) trained in Vienna, moving to London in 1938 when she was already established as an internationally known ceramacist. She opened a studio a year later, and was joined in 1939 by Hans Coper(1920-81) who had left Germany in 1939.

77. Erno Goldfinger (1902-91) was born in Hungary but studied architecture in Paris. He emigrated to Britain in 1934 and established his own practice, undertaking work for the MARS Group Exhibition of 1939, The Festival of Britain in 1951, and This is Tomorrow in 1956.

78. F.K. Henrion (1914-90) trained in Paris as a textile designer, but also worked as a graphic and exhibition designer. During the Second World War he was a consultant to the British Ministry of Information, and the American Office of War Information. He designed two pavillions for the Festival of Britain, 1951. He was a visiting lecturer at the RCA 1955-65, and Head of Visual Communication at the London College of Printing 1976-79. He was made an MBE in 1951.

79. Hans Schleger studied in Berlin in 1924, then worked in the USA for five years. He established an office in London in 1933, and designed the Design Councils' corporate identity. He was a visiting lecturer both at the Central School and the RCA.

80. ED46/13 Frank Pick to Eaton, Secretary of the Board of Education 10.12.34.

81. Design and the Designer London: Council for Advice on Art (1937).

82. Richard Guyatt (b.1914) was a freelance designer who worked for Shell and BP from 1935. During World War II worked in the Ministry of Home and Security on camouflage. Designed for the Festival of Britain in 1951, and for companies including Wedgwood and the Royal Mint. Professor of Graphic Design 1948-78, being the College's Pro Rector 1974-78, and Rector until 1980.

83. Dick (Richard Drew) Russell (b.1903) was the brother of designer Gordon Russell. R.D.Russell designed modern radio cabinets during the 1930s, and became the RCA's first professor of Wood Metal and Plastics from 1948-64. He designed the chairs used in the reconstructed Coventry Cathedral.

84. Robert Yorke Goodden (b.1909) educated at Harrow School, then trained at the Architectural Association School of Architecture, gaining his Diploma in 1932. He worked in private practice as a designer and architect. He designed the Lion and Unicorn Pavillion for the 1951 Festival of Britain, and undertook designing for glass ware, and gold and silver plate. He was Chair of the Crafts Council 1977-82. He was the Professor of Silversmithing at the RCA from 1948-74, being also the Pro Rector 1967-74.

85. Madge (Ailsa Mary) Garland or Mrs John Rollit Mason, (d.1982) was the Fashion Editor of Vogue 1947-50, becoming the magazines Editor 1960-63. She also broadcast on TV and radio.

86. Robert Baker remained Professor until 1959.

87. J.F.Flannagan had been an apprentice at Merton under William Morris. He had been Lethaby's assistant on the fabric at Westminster Abbey, and was in partnership with Tristram in a Macclesfield silk weaving company. He was a contributor to The Oxford Encyclopaedia of Technology (Singer and Holmyard).

88. Basil Ward (1902-76) was born in New Zealand where he was articled as an architect. In 1924 he entered the Bartlett School of architecture, London University, where in 1926 he won a Jarvis Scholarship which enabled him to spend the next year in Rome. In 1927-30 he worked in Burma, returning to England to form a partnership with Amyas Connel and Colin Lucas. Although Ward's designs reflected the earlier ideas of Voysey and Shaw, they were built using modern materials such as reinforced concrete, and had large windows and flat roofs. He was a member of the MARS Group, and Professor of Architecture at the RCA from 1946 until 1953.

89. The College Visitors were W.B.Richmond and Frederick Shields.

90. This was one of the main points of contention of a deputation of ex-students, which included Sylvia Pankhurst. The Report of the Departmental Committee on the Royal College of Art London: HMSO (1911) Proceedings of Day Thirteen.

91. See The Years' Art London: Hutchinson 1928 p.53

92. Beckwith Spencer's teaching methods had received criticism in the 1911 Departmental Report on the Royal College of Art, and his teaching role was combined with that of registrar. The teaching of History of Art as a distinct subject was not reintroduced until 1951, when

Basil Taylor arrived to develop the College Library and the Department of General Studies. From 1935 until 1939, lectures in the History of Art were given by Alec Clifton Taylor at the Courtauld Institute, London University, but these would seem to have been organised solely as part of the College's post-graduate year in pedagogy.

93. This information has been drawn from consistent information given by past students who answered the questionnaire on their time at the Royal College of Art. The only detailed syllabus available for this course is for the session 1914-15.

94. Both Barrington Kaye's The Developemnt of the Architectural Profession in Britain (University College of Ghana: Allen & Unwin 1960) and Alan Robelon Powers unpublished PhD Achitectural Education in Britain 1880-1914, (Architectural Association 1982) only make passing mention of the work of the Royal College of Art. Information on a number of ex-College students who gained their ARCA in architecture, and who practiced, are held on files at the Library of the Royal Institute of British Architects. The biographical information here often omits mention of education at the Royal College of Art.

95. Royal College of Art Prospectus London (1937).

96. Arthur Beresford Pite (1861-1934) was appointed Professor of Architecture at the RCA in 1900. He held this post until 1929. At the same time he was the Architectural Director of the London School of Building at Brixton, 1905-1928. Pite was one of the leaders of the Arts and Crafts Movement in architecture.

97. Very little is known of J. Hubert Worthington. He had an M.A. and was also an ARIBA. On his appointment as Professor

of Architecture at the RCA in 1924, he was made an Hon ARCA. He left the College in 1928. The RIBA file on Worthington has been lost.

98. No information is available on A.B.Knapp-Fisher who became Professor of Architecture at the RCA in 1933. He resigned in 1946. He was an FRIBA, FRSA and an Hon ARCA.

99. At the same time Lethaby was simultaneously Professor of Design at the College and Principal of the Central School of Arts and Crafts, the latter, like the School at Brixton, coming under the control of London County Council.

100. RIBA Journal 42 (8 December 1934).

101. Hubert Worthington 'Uppingham: The work of Ernest Newton R.A. and Sons.' Architectural Reveiw 56 (July 1924) pp.32-36.

102. MARS (Modern Architectural Research Group) was begun in 1934 with the aim of designing using modern technology and social awareness. The group is best remembered for their proposal for the Post Second World War reconstruction of London on the format of a scientific transport grid.

103. Ind, Rosemary., Joseph Emberton Exhibition leaflet of the Architectural Association School of Architecture, undated.

104. Information is scarce on most architectural diplomates. In 1928, there were two graduates of the School of Architecture: W.J.Kape and G.S.Sanderson, while 1929 saw the successful completion for C.B.Smith, Margot Ulrik and R.P.Watson. From this date the numbers declined with no graduates in 1930, one (W.R.Paine) in 1931, then

one graduated in 1934, (H.L.H.Chadwick). The year 1937 noted the graduation of E.G.Broughton and J.J.Feesay with the last graduate of the School being F.Forest in 1939.

105. Charles Holden (1875-1960) was articled in 1893 and also studied at Manchester Technical School. He studied at the RA and worked as an assistant to C.R.Ashbee 1897-9, then worked as chief assistant to Percy Adams. In 1918 he was one of four architects appointed by the Imperial War Graves Commission. He also worked on the development of London Univeristy.

106. Wells Coates (1895-1958) was born in Tokyo of Canadian parents. He studied engineering in Vancouver and continued his studies as a researcher at London University. From 1924 he worked as a journalist and draughtsman, and from 1927 worked as an interior designer, and later as an architect and industrial designer. He was the first Chair of the Modern Architectural Research Group.

107. Eric Kirkham Cole (1909-1867) founded the Ekco Receiver Manufacturing Business in 1922. He was awarded a CBE in 1958.

108. Serge Chermayeff (b.1900) was born in the Caucasus and came to England in 1910. From 1918 he worked as a journalist, living in Argentina 1922-24. In 1924 he became the chief designer for the decorators E Williams, Ltd, London, and from 1928 a Director of Waring & Gillow's. In 1931 he entered private practice, working with Eric Mendelsohn from 1933. He was a founder member of the MARS group.

109. Misha Black (1910-77) was born in Russia, coming to England in 1912. He attended evening classes at the Central School of Arts and Crafts. He worked as a designer and

architect and in 1933, became a partner in the Industrial Design Partnership, specialising in exhibition design. During the Second World War he worked for the Ministry of Education. In 1945 he founded the Design Research Unit with Milner Gray. He was knighted in 1972.

110. Keith Murray (b.1892) was born in New Zealand, coming to England in 1906. He trained at the Architectural Association, but found little work on graduation. He worked for Wedgwood & Sons, and then from 1934 for Mappin and Webb. He exhibited at 5th Triennale, Milan in 1933 winning a gold medal, and in British Art in Industry at the RA in 1935.

111. Marcel Breuer (1902-81) was born in Hungary. He worked briefly in Vienna as an architect, then specialized in furniture at the Bauhaus in 1920. He set up in private practice in Berlin 1928, then went to work in England in 1935. He moved to the USA becoming Professor of Architecture at Harvard 1937-47.

112. Correspondence with daughter of Ernest Mitchell 1988.

113. Amyas Connell (b.1901) was born in New Zealand, where he was articled as an architect. In 1924 he left to study at the Bartlett School of Architecture, London University, where in 1926 he won a Prix de Rome, enabling him to study in Rome until 1928. In 1931 he set up a partnership with Basil Ward, and was a member of the MARS Group.

114. The role of the Royal College of Art in architectural education has been ignored. Barrington Kaye's text: The Development of the Architectural Profession in Britain University College of Ghana: Allan and Unwin (1960) mentions only the establishment of a chair of architecture at the College, while Alan Power's Architectural Education

in Britain 1880-1914 unpublished PhD RIBA (1982) although recognising the dual role of Beresford Pite at the College and Brixton, fails to discuss the work of the College.

115. Designers Trained at the Royal College of Art

Information taken from Board of Education figures given in the annual publication, The Years' Art London: Hutchinson.

The abbreviations are:

Sculp-Sculpture;

Arch-Architecture;

F.Study-Further

Study at another institution

(1914 R.A., 1916 Brixton and 1917 Chelsea)

Mar-Married

UnEmp-Unemployed.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Teaching</u>	<u>Designing</u>	<u>Sculp</u>	<u>Arch</u>	<u>F.Study</u>	<u>Mar</u>	<u>UnEmp</u>
1909	-	29	10	-	-	-	1	-
1910	-	32	7	-	-	-	-	-
1911	56	27	5	4	5	9	1	-
1912	60	25	8	2	2	4	1	-
1913	61	24	12	1	2	-	-	-
1914	75	22	3	1	1	1	-	19
1915	108	18	-	-	-	-	2	-
1916	70	10	4	-	-	1	2	-
1917	25	8	2	-	-	1	3	2
1918	23	12	3	-	-	-	1	-
1919	30	13	4	-	-	-	1	-

116. Career Destinations of ex-students of the Royal College of Art from information given in Questionnaire 1988.

<u>Career</u>	<u>1900-35</u>	<u>1935-42</u>	<u>1942-50</u>	<u>Total</u>
Teacher	33	23	30	86
Designer	12	12	14	38
Fine Artist	4	8	3	15
Married	-	2	2	4
Other	-	2	2	2
Unknown	1	3	1	5

	50	50	50	150

Royal College of Art : Diplomates Who Became Designers

According to area of study if given by student in response to Questionnaire on the Royal College of Art. For further details see section in Appendix.

<u>Area of Study</u>	<u>Total Number</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Design	25	12	13
Fine Art	7	5	2

4 The Influence of Government on The Royal College of Art 1900-1950

In order to assess the influence of the Royal College of Art, it is necessary to understand the development and organisation of the College. The history of the Royal College of Art needs to be seen in relation to four important governmental bodies: the Board of Education, the Treasury, the Office of Works and the Board of Trade. The Royal College of Art was administered by the Board of Education, and the work and ideas of this department are central to the growth, decline and eventual revival of the Royal College of Art.

Note

For the history of the Royal College of Art prior 1900 see the Appendix A on The Government School of Design and its Successors 1837-1899.

It is to be regretted that despite detailed research, no information could be found on many of the people mentioned in this section, notably members of the Board of Education.

4.1 The Influence of Government on the Royal College of Art During the Principalship of Augustus Spencer 1900-1920

The Government Schools of Design illustrate the apparent problem of successive governments which wanted results yet were unwilling to place financial power and decision making in the hands of their employees, the headmasters and principals. This did not preclude the employment of persons who had considerable influence over the role of art and design, most notably that of Henry Cole. Cole had the advantage of comprehending the workings of the civil service from inside the establishment, and experience as a designer working with industry.

By the end of the 19th Century, Government was aware of the changes necessary to develop, once again, a national education institution which had a good reputation both in Britain and abroad. With the formation of the Royal College of Art in 1897, and the establishment of the Board of Education in 1899, both the institution and the supporting infrastructure were in place. The appointment of Walter Crane as Principal allowed the College to be criticised and assessed from within, but control by the civil service did not allow for the immediate implementation of Crane's ideas. The Board of Education recognised Crane's abilities, because following his resignation he was appointed to a Body which would determine the role of both art and design education nationally and at the College: the Council of Advice for Art.

The Secretary to the Science and Art Department, (soon to be reformed into the Board of Education) wrote in January 1900:

The Special object of the Royal College of Art is to train Art Teachers of both sexes, of designers and of Art Workmen(1).

To this end, a full-time headmaster was appointed⁽²⁾. The appointment of Augustus Spencer was astute, for in his previous post as Headmaster of Leicester Municipal Art School, he had been exceptionally pro-active in the creation of a syllabus for use in school education⁽³⁾. The Board of Education hoped for similar radical reforms at the Royal College of Art, which would make the College more relevant to the needs of education and industry. Although a graduate of the National School, Spencer's critical comments on his training, to the Royal Commissioners, on Technical Education in 1884, had probably been noted⁽⁴⁾, and at 39 years his comparatively youthful age was seen as an advantage.

Spencer found himself subject to the control of an Assistant Secretary of the Department of Science and Art, based at South Kensington. He was placed in the position of channelling the directions of the Council of the College to the Instructors, in order to control their professional work. The post of Headmaster was a busy one, with day and evening classes during term times and short courses for teachers and students during the Summer vacation. He was afforded the assistance of a Registrar to maintain discipline, check attendance and various clerical duties, including looking after the College library, so that the Headmaster could give his whole time to 'instruction at the College'⁽⁵⁾.

Spencer energetically set to work, and it was he who appointed new members of staff⁽⁶⁾. However, the bureaucracy of the civil service was slow, and it took until 1901 for the posts to be made permanent. Spencer appears to have dealt direct with other government departments. It was at his request the Treasury raised the pay of instructors from £300 to £500 per annum⁽⁷⁾. The apparent ease with which the Treasury agreed to Spencer's requests was a reflection, not of Spencer's diplomacy, but the influence of the Committee which had considered the reorganization of the Education and Science and Art Department⁽⁸⁾. The Treasury, and not the Board of Education or Spencer as Headmaster, determined the funding for the College. The monies came from a budget for 'incidental expenditure', which was voted on each year in parliament.

It was Spencer who wrote direct to the Office of Works requesting immediate improvements in accommodation, and additional space was quickly made available in the Victoria and Albert Museum building, which was shared with the College. Later temporary buildings were acquired⁽⁹⁾.

Spencer dealt with a considerable amount of College administration and paperwork. When the Victoria and Albert Museum building was completed in 1909, the College severed shared administrative links with the Museum, and from this time all typing had to be sent to Whitehall, causing delays and inconvenience in administration. Spencer discovered the College had been charged £103, by the Museum, for an Attendant paid by the day and hour, the existence of whom was unknown until the division of the administration between the Museum and the College⁽¹⁰⁾.

However, the Board of Education retained ultimate powers of control through its administrative officers. The Board considered the College staff had more freedom in educational matters than in financial ones⁽¹¹⁾. Yet it was the Board of Education who undertook the award of scholarships and selected candidates, who were to enter the College, on the result of art examinations held throughout Britain. This relationship between the Board of Education and the College appeared, in the opinion of the civil service, to work well and without friction.

Spencer's view of College-Board relations was rather different. He felt himself an administrator, hide bound by conditions, and considered that the interests of the College suffered because the Principal Assistant Secretary, Ogilvie, who oversaw the workings of the College, was a 'Scientific Man'⁽¹²⁾.

The Board of Education's most powerful influence on the College was through the College Council for Advice on Art, and its Board of Visitors, who acted as inspectors. At first, the members of the Council made reports to the Board of Education on their respective departments every month, then, from 1904, termly. In addition, the Council made joint reports and recommendations on the organisation and aims of the College⁽¹³⁾. After 1905, the function of the Council was confined to reporting on the work done by students, and the awarding of diplomas and prizes.

The Council's term of office was due to expire in March 1903, but was extended from year to year until 1907, when it was dissolved and the functions divided between a Special Advisory Council for the Museums and a panel of

four Visitors. The Visitors were appointed ad hoc but from 1909 were appointed annually. They visited the College only at the end of each term, to report on the College, to set tests for the students, and to award diplomas⁽¹⁴⁾.

Through these bodies, the Board of Education retained close control and insight into the working of the College. The Council of Advice for Art, for example, appeared relatively independent of the Board, but as part of its role, submitted a Memorandum on the College in 1900. This was the first major report on the College, yet its primary concern was for improved accommodation, notably the ventilation of the existing studios, and the proposed construction of new buildings. Such an issue, came not under the control of the Board of Education, but the Office of Works and the Treasury. Was the Board of Education aware of these facts and hopeful that such a report could be used to sway the opinions of other government departments? The Council also recommended the division of the College's two schools: the Upper School to consist principally of advanced and qualified students who would enter the College to be trained as teachers ('Art Masters') or 'Decorative Artists', while the Lower School was to consist of less qualified students⁽¹⁵⁾. With regard to the syllabus, the Council recommended that all students should train in four areas (Design and Ornament, Drawing and Painting, Sculpture and Modelling, and Architecture,) before specializing in one area. Students of the Upper School who followed this scheme would become Associates of the Royal College of Art. The personal interest of the Council members was reflected in the proposal for a technical course to cover craft topics, such as book illustration and lettering, and into which the existing etching course could be amalgamated.

The Memorandum gives us a view of the structure and work of the Royal College of Art, with its highly structured curricula. The Council's Memorandum was also to form the basis for the College prospectus, issued in 1900-01. Both this and succeeding prospectuses served as a form of instrument of government, being the only published document stating the whole syllabi and structure of the College. The prospectus for the following academic year, 1901-02, was considerably different, reflecting the changes implemented as a result of the Council's recommendations, with the prospectuses remaining very similar, until 1911-12 when further changes were instigated.

In 1901, the College was divided into the four schools recommended by the Council: Architecture; Ornament and Design; Decorative Painting; and Sculpture and Modelling. Each School was under the direction of an Instructor, a title of which, was soon changed to Professor, the title of Headmaster reverting to Principal in 1902.

With the reorganisation of 1901, a more stringent admission test was instigated to modify the disparity in work between the fee-paying students and those who entered with scholarships or exhibitions from the Board of Education. Also, the student fees were increased from £10 to £25 a year, with a limit placed on the number of fee paying students. This reduced the number of students attending from 390 in 1900, to 190 by 1910⁽¹⁶⁾.

The Board of Education was keen to improve the status of the College, and was aware of the needs of the growth in education. Students who wished to become headmasters of art schools had to pass the Board's Art Master's Certificate.

The examinations and specimen works for this Certificate took up considerable College time. The Board therefore made the Diploma of Full Associateship an equivalent qualification to the Art Master's Certificate.

The so-called Craft Classes were regarded by the Board as an essential part of the curriculum, especially for students of design. It was strongly felt that students could only design in materials, the limitations and nature of which they understood⁽¹⁷⁾. By 1905, the craft classes included stained glass, pottery, writing and illumination, embroidery and tapestry weaving, marble and stone carving, furniture decoration and gesso work, but the classes in metal work and enamelling had not begun⁽¹⁸⁾. The subject matter of these classes reflect a concern for craft rather than design, for mass production, so that despite considerable reorganisation, the College was not reflecting the tenet of its foundation: to train designers for industry.

Gradually, changes were instituted to make the College reflect its national standing within a public education system. In 1901, it was noted that students should not do private work for Professors during College hours, and at the end of 1902, it was decided that fee paying students should study at the College for not more than five years. This was perhaps an indication of the fact that some fee paying students continued for several years.

In 1909, the Board of Education dissolved the Council of Advice for Art and replaced it with a panel of Visitors, from whom they asked for a confidential report on the College. The report was to take some time to prepare. The

Board seems to have wanted a highly critical independent evaluation. Walter Crane, who had been a key figure in initially recommending changes whilst Principal and a member of the Council of Advice for Art, was to be one of the four Visitors. But although Crane's strident views on the role of the crafts had been accepted by the Board of Education in 1900, ten years later the emphasis on craft was no longer welcomed. In January 1910, Crane was informed by the Board that his services were no longer required. The reason for this decision is not stated in the Board's papers, and remains unclear: Crane's socialist politics were well known but not particularly radical. His support of the crafts was perceived as a weakness by the Board, yet Crane did advocate design for mass production. Crane knew William Lethaby, the Professor of Design at the College, but there is no especial indication of a close friendship which would preclude criticism of Lethaby.

In place of Walter Crane, the designer Lewis F. Day was appointed as a Visitor, and the Board requested a report on the Design School that would be outspoken⁽¹⁹⁾. Day wrote to the Board asking whether the report would be confidential or made public. This would influence the way he would phrase the report rather than affect the content⁽²⁰⁾.

This threw the Board into some confusion, for it was unsure over the issue of confidentiality. The internal comments made by the Board show it knew that Day's report would possibly be strongly condemnatory of 'Professor Lethaby's work' in the Design School⁽²¹⁾, and it advised Day that the report might be published.

In February 1910, Day spent two days at the College and reported to the Board that a third visit would be of no further help in assessing the proficiency of the students of Design⁽²²⁾. His Report was hard-hitting: the Lower School seemed to consist of only two students, one of them 'quite hopeless' and the drawing skills in the Design School were too 'pictorial' for practical purposes. He urged the Board to ensure the area of Ornament and Design related to industry, and that if tuition was centred on this need, industrial employers would take on ex-students with confidence⁽²³⁾.

In an accompanying letter with this report, Day wrote to Sir Robert Morant of the Board of Education:

The very fact that Ornament and Design are connected with Trade, and that the Royal Academy ignores them, makes it, I know, difficult to do anything for the subject. And the Arts and Crafts Movement, instead of helping it, has drawn what artistic sympathy there may be for it away from Industry and towards the more or less amateurish pursuit of little Handicrafts - which to my mind matter much less⁽²⁴⁾.

The Board warmly thanked Day for his comments, and felt justified in their choice of him as a Visitor⁽²⁵⁾. Day's views aptly summarised the situation at the College, where the role of craft had subsumed the emphasis of design for industry. The Board realised the urgency of the situation, and by appointing Day, had encouraged criticism. The reports of the visitor were not made public, but their content swiftly led to the appointment of a Departmental Committee, in April 1910.

The Departmental Committee on the Royal College of Art

The Departmental Committee was headed by the Principal Assistant Secretary of the Technological Branch of the Board of Education: E.K.Chambers. The other members were Sir Kenneth S.Anderson, K.C.M.G. (shipowner and manager of the Orient Steam Navigation Company, and later, a member of the Design and Industries Association); Professor Frederick Brown (of the Slade School); William Burton, M.A. F.C.S. (a lawyer and son of a one time Director of the National Gallery); Douglas Cockerell (manager of the bookbinding workshop of W H Smiths); Sir George Frampton, R.A. (the sculptor); Sir Charles Holroyd, Hon Litt D (who was the Director of the National Gallery); Halsey R.Ricardo, FRIBA, (an architect and member of the Art Workers' Guild); and Frank Warner (the silk manufacturer of Warners & Sons). The nine members comprised: a civil servant, a lawyer, an art gallery director, two were from the fine arts and four were involved with design. Two of them held views closer to those of Crane, rather than Day.

The Committee's Terms of Reference were: to consider and report on the functions and constitution of the Royal College of Art, and its relations to the art schools, both in London and the rest of the country. Over thirteen meetings, the Committee received evidence from: staff and ex-students of the College; staff from the leading London and provincial art schools; representatives of the London County Council and other local education authorities; industrialists in the areas of silk-weaving, pottery, glass-blowing, metal work, book production, household furnishings and decorations; and a number of 'distinguished' designers.

The findings of this Departmental Committee were published in 1911. The Committee considered the Royal College of Art was out of touch with the local art schools, which was why the College was finding some difficulty in filling the 'exact place' planned for it in the national system of education⁽²⁶⁾.

The Report indicated that the Principal's relationship with his staff was good, although the past students considered him to be out of touch with them because his time was occupied by administration. The Principal's job included keeping good relations with schools and manufacturers, assisting students in obtaining employment at the end of their study, and acting as Master of Method (training in pedagogy) for those students who were intending to become teachers. Augustus Spencer's influence over the development of education, in Leicester, no longer seemed practically relevant to the needs of education. The Report noted the inadequacy of arrangements made for the 'pedagogic preparation of teachers of Art'.

The Professors who engaged in work outside education, were seen as giving the students a useful opportunity for insight into work outside education⁽²⁷⁾.

The School of Architecture caused debate over its introductory course, which all students not qualified in architecture, had to attend. This had been introduced following one of Crane's recommendations. For many of the students who had not gone to the College to study architecture, such a course seemed an imposition, frustrating them in the study of their chosen area, although the course was invariably appreciated by students.

The 1911 Report opined that the course was not useful for students of surface design such as textiles⁽²⁸⁾.

The School of Sculpture and Modelling, under Professor Edward Lanteri, was seen to be continuing the tradition established by his predecessor, Jules Dalou, and little comment was passed other than on its excellence.

The School of Painting came in for much criticism. Graduates from the School had, it was thought, not made their mark in education. The work was criticised for too much painting from the cast, the head, or small compositions, with the Professor teaching through criticism rather than by demonstration. Similar criticisms were made in the Visitors Report for 1911. It was also noted that while the College Prospectus indicated that those who wished could proceed to the Royal Academy Schools, there was no evidence of this occurring⁽²⁹⁾.

In the School of Design, the methods of Professor Lethaby were described as 'very individual'. Generally, students began with a preliminary period of museum study before they could begin to produce their own designs in the craft classes. The work produced lacked originality, leaning towards the 'Medieval', or the use of floral motifs. The comment that many of the designs were impractical for 'mass manufacture', reflected the Board of Education's concern that the College had diverged from one of its original aims⁽³⁰⁾.

The 1911 Report considered the geographical area from which students at the College originated, and found that

about half came from London and the urban areas of Yorkshire, Lancashire and Staffordshire. The remainder came from the other counties, Scotland, Ireland, and occasionally from abroad. Most of the students were between 20 and 25 years in age. The Report recommended that the entry age should be between 18 and 20, as the length of the courses was up to five years, and would be too long for mid career students, especially those from industry⁽³¹⁾.

The Departmental Committee agreed that too much time was devoted, by prospective students, in working for the Board of Education's Examinations in Art or for the National Competition. The Committee felt that the tests for admission to the College, which were set and administered under the auspices of the Board of Education, were not stringent enough. This opinion was supported by the poor level of some of the student work seen at the College, which also indicated inefficient teaching of drawing in schools.

On the whole, it was judged that the majority of candidates were fairly well prepared in art, but too many lacked a general education. A large number had left school at 13 years of age, and had received no other education, unless they had attended evening classes. This meant that those students who left the College to enter a career in teaching, did not have a level of education comparable to the majority of teachers in elementary schools, who held an ordinary Certificate of Education. This relative illiteracy was too frequently a reason why ex-students of the College were not efficient teachers. In 1903, an attempt to remedy this situation was made with the appointment of a Lecturer in the History of Art, who also taught modern languages and supervised the reading of students who most needed help.

The results were indifferent and no alternative was seen but to recommend the introduction of a literacy test on entrance, particularly for those students who were intending to become teachers. The test would be similar to that given to prospective teacher training candidates⁽³²⁾.

The Committee found that of all the students attending the College, 30% held scholarships from the Board of Education, and 10% held local 'exhibitions', awarded by the local education authorities with financial aid from the Board of Education. These 'local exhibitioners' were very similar to National Scholars, although the standard of work was lower.

The other 60% of students passed an entrance examination in art subjects, set by the staff of the College, and were required to pay fees. These fees were remitted, with some freedom, to deserving students who had spent some time at the College, and some even gained internal scholarships which carried a maintenance grant of £60 per year. These internal scholarships were also used to enable Royal Exhibitioners and National Scholars to devote a year or two more to their courses, than the original awards made to them would have covered⁽³³⁾. This shows that more than 30% of the students were supported wholly or partially by Board of Education funding⁽³⁴⁾.

The National Scholars, Free Students and Royal Exhibitioners were selected on the results of the Board of Education's Examinations in Art. The National Scholars and Free Students had to offer specific groups of subjects corresponding to the four schools at the College. The Departmental Committee thought the entry test was too broad, and inappropriate for the industrial student whom

these awards were intended to assist. It suggested that evidence of practical experience would be more appropriate. It was also suggested that National Scholarships should be mainly granted to the best of the students who already held local scholarships for one year, with a possible extension dependent upon the students's merit and ability to remain 'absent from his occupation'(35).

The National Scholarships, which dated back to 1863, were regarded as giving industrial students the opportunity of improving their design skills for the benefit of the industries from which they came. In 1901, the number of National Scholarships was limited to six a year. Fifteen Free studentships, without maintenance allowances, were offered in addition to, 'industrial students'. Understandably, not all these Free Studentships were taken up, so it was recommended that more funds be devoted to Scholarships. In fact, the number of Scholarships and Free Studentships remained the same, and there appears to be no evidence that these were only given to industrial students(36).

The Royal Exhibitions were established in 1891. No precise rules had been made, but they were mostly given to intending teachers. Indeed, it was considered that the Royal Exhibitioners would provide such a good supply of teachers, that in 1909, the practice of admitting teachers who already held the Art Master's Certificate, under the title 'Students in Training', was dropped. By 1911, the 'nucleus' of these students were those sent by the Board of Education as National Scholars and Royal Exhibitions, with free admission and £60 per annum for two years, extended to three years in 1909.

Although 66% of the students at the College were fee paying, the 1911 Report noted that of these, only 33% stayed at the Royal College of Art for one term, 25% remained for one year, and 25% for two years. These figures indicate a very high rate of non-completion of courses. This may have been, in part, due to the fact that the time taken to complete courses was generally longer than stated in the College Prospectus: an Associate often, took three years, rather than two years, while the Full Associateship took four, rather than three years. Some students stayed for five years, and, exceptionally, a student stayed six years⁽³⁷⁾. This indicates that the length of study varied, and that fee paying students could continue at the College as long as they were accepted. From the Report, we also learn that a 'fair' number of students between 1900-1911 had passed through all four Schools of the College of Art, rather than specialising and becoming an Associate of one School.

Teacher Training

The 1911 Report considered it undesirable that all the art school teachers in Britain should be drawn from a single London college, where the training did not emphasise 'industrial aspects'⁽³⁸⁾.

Several other art colleges were training students for a career in education. However, the graduates of such courses were constrained in their career development by the requirement of the Board of Education, that prospective headteachers should, normally, hold either the Board's Art Masters Certificate (which was gained after taking a series of prolonged tests), or the Associateship of the Royal College of Art. The latter was available only at the

College, and as the College's Associateship was recognised nationally, the holders of this qualification were more likely to gain appointments. Thus, the Board of Education controlled the national art and design education system.

Student Conditions at the Royal College of Art

The evidence of the 1911 Report shows that the life of a student at the College was not easy. In 1910, the maintenance allowances given to Scholars and Exhibitioners had been raised, but many found it difficult to maintain themselves in London. The cost of health care led the Report to recommend to the College the appointment of a College doctor and dentist, and proper hospital treatment. There was a Matron, but as the students seemed unaware of her existence, it was recommended that an educated woman should be appointed, who would have a special responsibility for the women students⁽³⁹⁾.

In April 1911, a deputation of past students of the College, concerned over the organisation of the College, contacted the Chief Inspector for Schools of Art at the Board of Education, Mr Cartlidge. The deputation was headed by John Currie (RCA 1904-06), and Miss G.M.Lacy (RCA 1904-07) and Miss E.S.Pankhurst (RCA 1904-06), later known for her work as a Suffragette. The ex-students thought that the College organisation was unsatisfactory, and in their correspondence with the Secretary of the Committee, raised two issues which they considered unfair: the fact that all students were required to begin their course at the College with six months study in architecture, and dissatisfaction with the way the Principal made recommendations regarding the employment of students who were leaving or had left the College. From their experience, they considered the

Principal neither an artist nor a sympathetic administrator, and asked how he merited his position as Head of the Nation's School of Design⁽⁴⁰⁾.

They also felt that the majority of students strongly resented the Principal making the literary course compulsory. This is an interesting point when taken with the Departmental Committee's note on the poor educational standards of a number of the students.

The deputation was allowed to present personal evidence to a meeting of the Departmental Committee in June. Evidence was taken from three of the student deputation: John Currie, Sylvia Pankhurst and Austin O.Spare. The ex-students highlighted problems such as: the illustrated art history lectures given in the dark and followed the next day by 'seminars', which in fact were the lecture repeated at dictation speed. The students considered they were having the same lecture twice. The art history lecturer happened to be Beckwith Spencer, brother to the Principal.

Overall, the Departmental Committee recognised that some of the criticisms raised by the students had been corroborated by other evidence presented, and by their own investigations. At the same time the Committee considered they could not pursue the more personal criticisms which had been made, an obvious reference to the Principal and his brother⁽⁴¹⁾.

The Recommendations of the 1911 Report

The Departmental Committee's Report on the Royal College of Art was completed in 1911. The main recommendation was that the College should become a wholly post graduate institution, providing courses of only one or two years duration. They also made the very far sighted recommendation, that universities should be encouraged to provide suitable degree courses for intending artists, architects, and teachers of art. The re-organised College would be in close touch with the rest of education, and would have a well-defined position:

as the culminating point of the whole system of industrial art training in England(42).

This was to be achieved by the implementation of a system of provincial art 'colleges'. The provincial art schools, while continuing to provide a general education in art, were to specialize in the training designers appropriate to their local industries. These institutions would also undertake the training of art teachers. Scholarships for industrial students, should be awarded on condition the study was related to the industry the candidate was employed in, and that they would return to the same industry on completion of study.

The emphasis placed on the term 'industrial art', can be seen as crucial to the aim of the Board of Education, which was to develop the Royal College of Art into an institution for training excellence in design for industry, and not an institution centred on the training of teachers. However, intending teachers had to begin study at the College before

the age of 20 years, and were to follow a course in practical training as well as methodology.

Other recommendations were that professors should be associated with the examinations on which scholarships and exhibitions to the College were awarded, thus bringing a closer relationship between the national art examinations and the College. Full time professors should not carry out other educational work without special sanction. The College year was to be extended by one month at the end of each term. Opportunities for combined work by the four schools should be encouraged, together with working on actual projects, such as public buildings.

The preliminary architectural course was recommended to exempt industrial design students, (no mention was made of the relevance of this course to those students studying the fine arts), while the advance architectural course should be widened to include building construction, sanitation and engineering.

The Committee recommended that experts from outside the College should give occasional lectures. The system of College prizes should be reconsidered, with special regard to the value of foreign travel, and the arrangements for assisting students in finding employment, after completing their courses, should be systematized. The last two points reflect the concerns of the deputation of ex-students.

The Departmental Committee realised that its recommendations centred on the creation of a wholly post-graduate institution, which could not be implemented

without the provision of a new building for the College. No recommendation was made for such accommodation, but the Report clearly stated that the existing building was unsuitable for an institution of national standing.

The Advisory Council for Art Education.

The 1911 Report called for the formation of an Advisory Council for Education in Art. This would include the Visitors, together with representatives of industries dependent upon art.

Such a Council was appointed and presented a number of reports to the Board of Education in 1912. It recommended a complete revision of the Board of Education's art examinations (which was carried out), and the reorganisation of art education across the country, (which for various reasons was deferred). The Advisory Council for Art Education concluded that the entire organisation of art education, could only be effective, if placed within a frame work where the role of art was seen to have national importance⁽⁴³⁾.

Proposed Royal Commission on the Royal College of Art.

The critical nature of the 1911 Report, led to calls for a Royal Commission on the College of Art. A Memorial, signed by prominent artists of the period such as: John Singer Sargent, Hubert von Herkomer, Alma Tadema, and George Clausen, and including ex-student Luke Fildes, and past principals Walter Crane and Edward Poynter, was sent to the Prime Minister, H.H.Asquith. They thought it was

imperative for the nation, that the question of art education should be considered by a Royal Commission⁽⁴⁴⁾.

On the 18th August 1911 a further Memorial was presented to the Prime Minister, Asquith, signed by 86 persons in education, manufacturing or those interested in the promotion of industrial 'art'⁽⁴⁵⁾. Asquith consulted the President of the Board of Education about the possible appointment of a Royal Commission into the Teaching of Industrial Art in England. The Board of Education was already considering the need for change in the existing system of State-aided Schools of Art, and especially the teaching of industrial design⁽⁴⁶⁾. By November 1911, it was felt that an enquiry by Royal Commission, would delay changes that were being put forward by the Consultative Standing Committee, which Asquith had already appointed. The recommendation was put forward that this Committee should be enlarged and strengthened by the inclusion of some of the signatories of the Memorial⁽⁴⁷⁾. However, a Royal Commission was not instigated.

The Accommodation of the Royal College of Art

The 1911 Report had noted the poor accommodation of the College, which was still using rooms built in 1863, as part of the South Kensington Museums (the Victoria and Albert Museum). The space had been enlarged in 1900 by the addition of rooms formerly used for residential purposes, but these proved difficult to ventilate and adequately light⁽⁴⁸⁾. The Painting School rooms in part of the Victoria and Albert Museum were cold in Winter, and leaked. The School of Sculpture and Modelling was physically separated from the rest of the College by Exhibition Road. It was housed in iron buildings, which

were intolerably hot and uncomfortable in the Summer months, while in Winter the inadequate heating meant it was impossible to pose a nude model⁽⁴⁹⁾.

Rather than make improvements to the Royal College of Art's unsatisfactory accommodation, the 1911 Report recommended that it would be more economical to build new premises. The existing buildings were markedly inferior to many of the London and provincial art schools⁽⁵⁰⁾. In January 1912, a Memorandum was written on the Royal College of Art accommodation. The President of the Board of Education, J A Pease, urged the Office of Works to purchase a piece of land opposite the Victoria and Albert Museum, known as the Island site:

The College of art is now too overcrowded and accommodation quite insufficient and steps should at once be taken to provide more suitable premises⁽⁵¹⁾.

In November 1912, a Report for the use of the Cabinet, was presented on the government buildings in South Kensington, and the Royal College of Art in particular. In this, the Board of Education made it plain that the situation of the College accommodation within the Victoria and Albert Museum, was unsatisfactory to both institutions. The danger from heat used in pottery and metalwork, meant these activities were thought too dangerous to be carried on in the Museum. They therefore used temporary buildings. The inclusion of the College made it more difficult to patrol the Museum against burglary, and complaints had been made of the inattentive manner of some of the warders. These problems, it was thought, would not happen if the Royal College of Art was separately housed.

This Report vividly identified the problems of accommodation at the College. That of the Painting School was adequate, but the Design School was housed in only one room, so that students were sent to work in the Victoria and Albert Museum⁽⁵²⁾. The facilities for life drawing were cramped, and there was not enough storage space for work. The School of Sculpture was on Queen's Gate, with National Competition rooms nearby. Between the two was the student common room, which was described as 'the most important centre of the social life of the College'. Both the common room and the School of Modelling were liable to be demolished, as they were on the site earmarked for the new Science Museum building. The College lecture theatre was in the Natural History Museum, and the remainder of the College was in the back of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

As the College buildings were in an atrocious state, the President of the Board of Education had no choice but to use the Report to recommend the construction of a new building, in which all the activities of the Royal College of Art could take place. This would also involve the replacement of the student common room, by a new refreshment room⁽⁵³⁾. The Board estimated this would cost an estimated £65,000, with a further expenditure of £7,500, to adapt the existing College premises, adjacent to the Victoria and Albert Museum, for future museum development. These figures were prepared after consultations with the Treasury and the Office of Works.

As early as the 5th November 1912, it was proposed to put the Royal College of Art on the triangular Island Site, opposite the Victoria and Albert Museum. This site had been purchased by the government, that year, for £38,000. Sketch plans were produced, to demonstrate that the site was

capable of containing the College in its entirety, including a students common room, and a room for the storage of the exhibits for the Annual National Art Competition, together with the King's Indian Presents. The estimated cost of £65,000 was considered excessive by the Cabinet Committee, although it would be spread over two or three years.

The question of the design of the new College building, was further complicated, when the Board of Education asked if the new design could be determined through public competition, and not drawn up by the Office of Works. It was also suggested, that the students of the College be given the opportunity to carry out some of the decorative work on the new building. As Professor Pite of the School of Architecture at the College was most familiar with the needs and issues of the new design, it was decided that he should be entrusted with producing plans⁽⁵⁴⁾.

The problem was a pressing one, but funds for a new building were not available. In January 1913, no money was forthcoming from the 1851 Commissioners⁽⁵⁵⁾, but thanks to personal contacts between the Board of Education and Lord Esher, the situation altered. In April 1913, the Departmental Committee on the Royal College of Art Buildings, submitted their report to the President of the Board of Education, together with sketch plans prepared by Professor Pite. Yet it took until mid June 1913, for Beauchamp, of the Office of Works, to announce that Pite's design would cost more, and that if Pite worked in conjunction with Mr Allison of the Office of Works, this could lead to difficulty and confusion. He suggested the best position for Professor Pite would be that of a consultant. However, by this date Pite had already drawn up

his plan. A copy of this was sent by Pease, the President of the Board of Education, then to Beauchamp of the Office of Works, together with a request of £250 for Professor Pite's services. The Office of Works said they could not pay Pite a fee. One week later, further confusion arose when the Board of Education was offered some property for sale, opposite the Natural History Museum.

At the end of July, the issue of an open competition for the new Royal College of Art building was raised by Mr Wedgwood Benn, the First Commissioner of Works, writing in The Times on 30th July. The Manchester Guardian for that date, noted that some Unionists had unsuccessfully tried to get the building put out to open competition. The same day, protests had been made in parliament against inaccurate estimates made by the Standing Committee, considering the Public Building Expenses bill. However, the Government agreed to provide the minimum amount required to erect a building on the site, and the Public Buildings Bill (1912) was passed, under which, £65,000 was allocated for the Royal College of Art.

By January 1914, Professor Pite's plans were becoming more detailed. The Board of Education was suitably impressed and felt that the external features of the planned building should not be sacrificed in the interests of economy. These plans were being considered by the Office of Works, when all progress was stopped by the start of the First World War. The buildings on the proposed site for the new College, were used by the military authorities until 1919⁽⁵⁶⁾.

The start of the First World War prevented any real developments taking place. In the Spring of 1914, the Board of Education Inspectors made a Report on the College, its library, and the historical and general instruction given to the students. The Report recommended that the standard of general student education should be raised, an issue which had already been recommended in the 1911 Report. The situation at the Royal College of Art remained stalemate, and although the First World War was to interrupt studies for some, the life of the College continued without change. The College Visitors were still to give unfavourable reports in 1915 and 1916, and in 1918 noted the depletion of the students owing to the war, with scanty work of a lower standard than expected⁽⁵⁷⁾.

All the concerns of the Board of Education, prior to the First World War, remained unresolved. Despite the findings of the Departmental Committee of 1911 and succeeding reports, the College accommodation remained the same, as did much of the curriculum. The emphasis on the arts and crafts remained, with William Lethaby retaining his post as Professor of Design until his retirement in 1918. He was succeeded by Robert Anning Bell, the Professor of Decorative Art at Glasgow School of Art, who though best known as a painter, also worked in reliefs and stained glass. A staunch member of the Arts and Crafts Movement, Anning Bell's aims would appear to have been contrary to those of the Board of Education and the College Visitors concerned with the integration of design into industrial products. However, the Board selected Anning Bell with a view to his possible appointment as Principal, for a period of two years, when Spencer retired as Principal in 1920. Until that date, no change seemed possible due to financial constraints following the War.

Endnotes

4.1 The Principalship of Augustus Spencer 1900-1920

1. ED 23/64 Papers of appointment of Augustus Spencer. Sir William De Abney, Secretary Science and Art Department to Augustus Spencer. 15.01.1900.
2. The post of principal was replaced by that of a full-time headmaster, following Crane's resignation ED23/800 Departmental Committee of the Board of Education; Interim Report 20.11.1899.
3. In 1897, all the Board Schools in Leicester became affiliated to the School Municipal School of Art, from where a new Drawing Syllabus was issued to the Board Schools.
4. Augustus Spencer giving evidence to the Royal Commissioners on Technical Education, 1884, quoted by Frayling in The Royal College of Art (1987) p.66 'South Kensington teaching is slow, vicious, feeble and antiquated. What takes place...is that students are set to copy an apple or a sphere, or a cone, on which they spend a year, a second year is spent on copying a bad torso and thus the student reaches 30 and knows nothing...'
5. ED23/64. Internal papers of the Board of Education 20.12.1899.
6. George Morton was employed as Deputy Headmaster, a new post. The Instructorship in Architecture was filled by Arthur Beresford Pite. W.R.Lethaby and Gerald Moira were employed in November 1900, to give instruction in Design and Painting respectively.

7. To cover the increased staffing costs, student fees were raised from £5 to £12.10s per term.

8. ED23/47 Letter from President of the Board of Education, to the Secretary, H.M.Treasury. 23.10.1900. This letter makes it clear that it was necessary to review the financial arrangements of the Royal College of Art, in view of facts before the Lord Commissioners, which indicated an increase in expenditure, as recommended by the Committee which considered the reorganization of the Education and Science and Art Departments.

9. ED23/164 The temporary buildings accommodated the schools of Stained Glass, Sculpture, Pottery and Metal Work, plus a students' Common Room. 23.03.10.

10. ED 23/164 29.03.10.

11. 'the staff of the College having had more liberty in educational, as distinct from financial matters.' Opinion of Mr F.G.Ogilvie, C.B. Principal Assistant Secretary 1903 - 1911, given in the Report of the Departmental Committee on the Royal College of Art London: HMSO (1911) p.6

12. The Report of the Departmental Committee on the Royal College of Art London: HMSO (1911) p.6

13. ED23/800 Council for Advice on Art Recommendations: see Board of Education Reports 1900-01 and 1901-02.

14 ED23/800 Papers relating to Visitors of the Royal College of Art.

15. ED23/43 Memorandum Upon the Royal College of Art prepared by the Council of Art and Submitted to the Board of Education June 1900.

16. The Report of the Departmental Committee on the Royal College of Art London: HMSO (1911) p.32.
17. The Report of the Departmental Committee on the Royal College of Art London: HMSO (1911) p.5
18. ED23/162 18.02.1905.
19. ED24/87 '..set out in the fullest, clearest and most outspoken terms..' Letter from Chambers of the Board of Education to Lewis F.Day. 1910.
20. ED24/87 Lewis F Day to Chambers of the Board of Education 12.02.1910.
21. ED24/87 Chambers 15.02.1910.
22. ED24/87 Day to the Board of Education 22.02.1910.
23. ED24/87 Lewis F.Day Report on the Design School
24. ED24/87 Day to Sir Robert Morant of the Board of Education 02.03.1910.
25. ED24/87 Internal comments of the Board of Education March 1910.
26. The Report of the Departmental Committee on the Royal College of Art London: HMSO (1911) p.6
27. The Report of the Departmental Committee on the Royal College of Art London: HMSO (1911) p.7
28. The Report of the Departmental Committee on the Royal College of Art London: HMSO (1911) p.8

29. The Report of the Departmental Committee on the Royal College of Art London: HMSO (1911) Report p.8

30. The Report of the Departmental Committee on the Royal College of Art London: HMSO (1911) p.9

31. The Report of the Departmental Committee on the Royal College of Art London: HMSO (1911). p11

32. The Report of the Departmental Committee on the Royal College of Art London: HMSO (1911) p.11

33. The Report of the Departmental Committee on the Royal College of Art London: HMSO (1911) p.12-13

34. In 1910, the Royal College of Art consisted of:

Royal Exhibitioners	10 for 2 years
National scholars	6 for 2 years
Free Students	15 for 2 years
Students in Training	6 from intending teachers who held an Art Master Certificate.

Local Scholars	73 for 3 years tenable at local art school or RCA (24 in 1911).
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Local Exhibitioners	elected by LEAs for local art school or RCA (25 at RCA 1911.)
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Free Admissions	recommended by RCA, not holding other awards.
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Fee Paying Students	who had to present work and sit entrance examination in chosen school.
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There were also subsequent awards:

32 Royal College of Art Scholarships. Open to all students in training, who had completed 2 years.

4 Junior Scholarships. Open to Free Admission and Fee paying students.

1 Travelling Scholarship. Awarded on the recommendation of the Visitors.

The Report of the Departmental Committee on the Royal College of Art London: HMSO (1911) p.33. This may be compared with the results of the Questionnaire carried out in 1988. For further information see Appendix C.

<u>Funding Recieved</u>	<u>No.of Responses</u> (150)	<u>Percentage</u> (100%)
Board of Education Scholarships:		
Royal Exhibitioners	18	13%
Free Studentships	17	12%
Other Scholarships	12	8.5%
L.E.A.Support	22	15.5%
L.E.A. Loan	3	2%
Unknown grant or funding	12	8.5%
Ministry of Education	4	3%
Further Education Training Scheme	3	2%
Ex-Military Service Grants	19	13%
Supported by family or friends	29	20.5%
No Funding	3	2%
Unknown	10	7.5%

35. The Report of the Departmental Committee on the Royal College of Art London: HMSO (1911) p.12

36. This is supported by comments of ex-students who took part in the Questionnaire on the Royal College of Art. See the section in Appendix A on scholarships.
37. The Report of the Departmental Committee on the Royal College of Art London: HMSO (1911) p.13.
38. The Report of the Departmental Committee on the Royal College of Art London: HMSO (1911) p.14
39. The Report of the Departmental Committee on the Royal College of Art London: HMSO (1911) Report p.10
40. The Report of the Departmental Committee on the Royal College of Art London: HMSO (1911) Report p.11
41. The Report of the Departmental Committee on the Royal College of Art London: HMSO (1911) Report p.23
42. The Report of the Departmental Committee on the Royal College of Art London: HMSO (1911) p.24
43. ED24/89 Report of the Advisory Council for Art Education in Art 1912, including an Appendix : A Memorandum Art Education and Employment of Artists by Halsey Richardo.
44. The Times 27.03.1911.
45. ED24/89 18.08.11.
46. ED24/89 F.W.Leith Ross, 10 Downing Street to the Rt.Hon Sir William Mather 20.10.11.
47. ED24/89 F.W.Leith Ross of St. James's Court to Rt.Hon. Sir William Mather. 21.11.11.

48. The Report of the Departmental Committee on the Royal College of Art London: HMSO (1911) p.10

49. The Report of the Departmental Committee on the Royal College of Art London: HMSO (1911) p.8 Lanteri pointed out that during the Winter the inadequate heating of some rooms meant it was impossible to pose a nude model.

50. The Report of the Departmental Committee on the Royal College of Art London: HMSO (1911) p.10.

51. ED23/551 J.A.Pease of the Board of Education to the Office of Works, January 1912.

52. ED23/604 Report on the Accommodation of the Royal College of Art, rough draft for November 1912 Report to the Cabinet. This noted that on 28 October 1912, nineteen design students and twenty five architectural students had to be sent into the Victoria and Albert Museum to work.

53. ED24/604 J.A.Pease, President of the Board of Education. Paper for Use of Cabinet - Government Buildings At South Kensington. 15.11.12.

54. ED23/604. Plans for the new Royal College of Art accommodation.

55. The 1851 Commissioners control the monies raised from the 1851 Exhibition, part of which were used to buy the South Kensington site on which the Museums were built.

56. ED23/555 Internal papers of the Board of Education January 1913.

57. ED23/559 Report of the Board of Education Inspectors on the Royal College of Art 30th March - 3 April 1914.

4.2 The Influence of Government on the Royal College of Art During the Principalship of William Rothenstein 1920-1935

In 1920, the Board of Education was faced with the opportunity of making changes at the Royal College of Art, following the retirement of its Principal, Augustus Spencer, at 60 years of age. The Board realised that the post of Principal of the College was not a very attractive one. The College was the only educational institution directly managed by the Board, which although critical of its work, was not in a position to be liberal regarding the College's curriculum and remuneration of staff. This was in contrast with the relationship between the larger local education authorities and their art schools⁽¹⁾. The Board was aware that the close association between the Board and the College, was not an attractive prospect for heads of provincial art schools, who already had a fair degree of autonomy. Further, the salary of the Principal, was below that paid to headmasters of large provincial art schools. None of the staff in already in post at the College seemed suitable candidates.

A possible temporary solution was the appointment of S.J. Cartlidge, the Board's Chief Inspector for Art, since 1904, and a one time modelling instructor at South Kensington. The Board considered that, though he was nearing retirement, his experience of art education as a headmaster, and as an inspector, together with his work on the Art Examinations and the National Competition, was unique⁽²⁾.

The difficulty in finding a suitable candidate, led to the Permanent Secretary of the Board wishing the College

management could be transferred to 'some responsible body, as we did in the case of the Royal College of Science'⁽³⁾. He considered the creation of a governing body for the Royal College of Art would be a very controversial matter, and that public opinion would not support the Board handing power over to the Royal Academy. This is the first documentation that mentions the fact that members of the Board of Education even considered relinquishing authority to another body. Although there is no evidence to show that the Board was considering the reduction of the College into a National School of Design, prior to this date, the Royal Academy showed persistent interest in the possible formation of a National Final School of Art, from about 1914⁽⁴⁾.

The discussions which took place, over the appointment of a new principal for the College, demonstrates the importance of the Board of Education in the running of the College. In March 1920, Davies, the Principal Assistant Secretary at the Board of Education, wrote to William Rothenstein as Visitor to the School of Painting at the College, inquiring whether he had any suggestions for the post of Principal⁽⁵⁾. Rothenstein suggested Arthur Gaskin of Birmingham School of Arts and Crafts, though both Rothenstein and Davies considered Gaskin would not be capable of dealing with the amount of administration the post carried⁽⁶⁾. Rothenstein, in correspondence with the President of the Board, H A L Fisher, wrote that he considered the College required a figure such as Legros, (who had influenced the Slade School of Art) or a man 'like Profs Lethaby or Tonks'⁽⁷⁾.

At the start of May, Fisher asked Davies as Principal Assistant Secretary, for his views on the appointment of

Rothenstein as Principal of the College, even for a limited period. Davies sent a long memorandum to Selby-Bigge, the Permanent Secretary of Education, saying he knew nothing of Professor Rothenstein's work as a teacher, or of his capacity for administration, and made comments on such matters as the relationship between the staff and the Principal. He then added that the Professor of Sculpture, Derwent Wood, would be against any change in his present relation to the Principal. Davies asked if Rothenstein had the experience to teach the pedagogical instruction, which Spencer had undertaken, and was doubtful about the wisdom of appointing Rothenstein⁽⁸⁾.

This makes it clear that the Board of Education had, by the start of May 1920, already considered Rothenstein for the post of Principal. Indeed, Fisher first met Rothenstein in Paris, during the 1890s, and continued their association when, in 1917, Rothenstein was appointed to the first Professorship of the Civic Arts, at the University of Sheffield, where Fisher was Vice Chancellor.

In Davies's memorandum, he listed all the most prominent heads of schools, a number of whom he had talked to at length. He suggested the appointment of Dawson, of the Manchester School of Art or Halsey Ricardo, if there could be no interregnum. Ricardo was already aged 66, and Gaskin, Clausen, Tonks and Lethaby were also 'getting on'. However, Ricardo himself had suggested Rothenstein as someone keenly interested in the the work of the College and industry. Would Rothenstein accept the post?

This memorandum shows that the Board of Education realised the work of the College needed to relate more closely to

industry, and that it could resolve this failing by the appointment of an appropriate person as Principal. Rothenstein was interested in the relationship between education and industry, but his appointment could lead to friction between existing staff, but this would be inevitable whoever was appointed.

On May 13th 1920, Herbert Fisher and Sir Amherst Selby-Bigge informally interviewed Rothenstein for the appointment as Principal of the College. Rothenstein came to realise he was being seriously considered for the post of Principal of the College, when Augustus Spencer had explained that if, as Visitor, Rothenstein was approached by the Board, regarding the Principalship, it would be his duty to indicate the 'expressed wishes' to the staff of the College. Following the interview, Rothenstein wrote to Fisher:

You may be sure that if after acquainting myself thoroughly with the scope and character of the studies at the Royal College of Art I can sincerely believe myself helpful, and can at the same time call on, to a reasonable extent, my own creative work. I shall feel it a privilege to serve in the capacity you propose. I am well aware of the greatness of the task and of the limitations of my equipment, but I hope I shall not be wanting in drive or zeal(9).

The Board of Education had a clear idea of how it wanted the Royal College of Art to be administered. Selby-Bigge wrote to the Treasury that the constitution, and the organisation of the College, depended on the development of the provincial schools of art, and the work of the administration of schools such as the Royal Academy and the

Slade, with which the Board had no official connection. It was extremely desirable that new blood and new ideas should, at once, be infused into the staff of the College. Following careful consideration and inquiry, the most suitable person as Principal would be William Rothenstein. Permission for a salary of £1,000 per annum, for a period of three years, was requested, with the addition of the appointment of a part-time Professor of Method (to carry out the work of teacher training, a role which Spencer had included in his work as Principal). Also, as the Registrar, Cyril Fitzroy, was in poor health and nearing retirement, he would not be replaced, and the administration of the College would be carried out by the Board of Education. This would return the College to the tighter control of the Board of Education (a situation similar to that about which Augustus Spencer had complained). The Board reminded the Treasury, that the College had been subjected to public criticism for many years, and that the students had not received the training they required. This was why the Board was particularly anxious to secure the services of Rothenstein who, as a distinguished artist and critic, had a special interest in the application of art to craft and industry⁽¹⁰⁾.

On the afternoon of 1st June 1910, Rothenstein was interviewed by the Royal College of Art Committee. The deliberations of this Committee are not on record but apparently Rothenstein wished to discuss a number of points, including his opinions on: the development of local art as centres for vocational training; encouraging art schools to use the museum as a study resource of architecture, design and art; gaining the support of key men with 'social weight and inspiring personality', as the present heads of art schools had minor influence; that the centralization of art education in London was not

desirable, and the flow of the best students to London should be prevented, by developing the larger provincial art schools⁽¹¹⁾.

The Principal Assistant Secretary, Davies, commented on the difficulty in relating Rothenstein's appointment to any 'reforms' recommended by the Departmental Committee, or contemplated in the documents of the Standing Committee. Some of the recommendations were being carried out, but Davies considered them 'improvements' and not a reform of the College. But did 'reforms' refer to the ultimate extinction of the teaching of fine art and architecture, other than as subsidiary to the training of 'handicraftsmen' and designers for manufacture? There had been a 'somewhat tentative suggestion', that the teaching of painting and sculpture, be reduced or amalgamated with the Royal Academy or the Slade School, and that architecture be taught in a more practical manner. The Report of the Standing Committee on State-Aided Training in Art, had also suggested that the College should become a Final School of Design for handicraftsmen and designers⁽¹²⁾. Or did the term 'reform', refer to the end of the idea that the College had yet to make the link between education and industry? Davies of the Board of Education commented that:

making the British a more artistic nation and at the same time increasing the economic yield of the industries dependent on design...In so much obscurity I think you had better draft precise references to any previous discussion of the problems of the College and concentrate upon
(i) economy
(ii) raising of the standard of efficiency in whatever the College may be doing⁽¹³⁾.

This illustrates the issues that needed to be resolved by the new Principal, and indicates both a certain amount of disagreement between officers in the Board of Education over the appointment, and about the prioritization of reforms. Should the Royal College of Art be re-organised into a College of Design?

News of Spencer's imminent departure from the College leaked out. Selby-Bigge received a letter from Frank Roscoe of the Teacher's Registration Council, stating that, although he had no wish to see any member of the National Society of Art Masters, made Principal of the College, he felt it would be a great mistake to appoint someone solely on the ground of artistic achievements, and without reference to experience as a teacher or administrator. Roscoe proposed Fred Burridge of the Central School of Art and Design as a candidate for the post. He indicated that the headmasters of the provincial schools of art were 'in the mood for giving trouble' over the appointment of a Principal of the College. He had very little sympathy with them, since most of them were:

...engaged in the futile task of providing an elegant occupation for young ladies of leisure who dwell in the suburbs of our large towns...(14)

Fisher wrote on the letter, 'I do not propose to make my appointment at the direction of the TRC', and left it to Selby-Bigge write a diplomatic reply. Roscoe, in his next letter, suggested an amalgamation of the Central School of Art and Design and the Royal College of Art⁽¹⁵⁾. This idea was swept aside as impractical, since the Board would not consider handing over the College to the London County

Council, and the London County Council would not have looked favourably on handing over the Central School to the Board of Education⁽¹⁶⁾. In fact, the Board had already considered Burrige, of the Central School, but Dawson of Manchester and Evans of Brighton Schools, had been stronger contenders⁽¹⁷⁾.

The same day that Roscoe penned his letter, Rothenstein had begun a correspondence with Fisher, putting forward ideas for the College regarding its future policy, reiterating the points he had made in his informal interview. Rothenstein proposed employing some new staff to encourage students, and wrote at length on the role of fine art. He believed the College was:

... established to foster and strengthen the arts of design in this country...there has been of late years a tendency to regard the College first and foremost as a training school for future teachers of art...It is unfortunate that it has not always attracted the best type of student...To make, then, too sharp a division between the training of craftsman and artist would not appear to me to be wise. Nor is it desirable to define and limit, early in a young aspirant's career, his future activity. From the practice of the arts of discipline a fine-artist may develop naturally, while too many men and women may become indifferent painters whose gifts are better fitted for more modest and useful work. This comes largely through an education called on at schools devoted exclusively to drawing, and painting from life. We have among us too many trivial painters and indifferent teachers and too few good and adventurous craftsmen or designers of distinction⁽¹⁸⁾.

The Board of Education agreed with the intention of moving the College away from being an establishment for teacher

training, and also agreed on the unity of art and design. It hoped the College would be seen 'as a great school of Design'. The hand written note by Davies, on the copy of the draft of this letter to Rothenstein, noted that Mr Cartlidge, as the Chief Inspector for Art, was strongly against any limitations being placed on the College in the areas of painting and sculpture 'as adumbrated' in the Report of 1911. Davies added:

I have always felt that the more liberal view expressed in Prof. Rothenstein's letter is essential to the success of the College on the side of 'Design'. The only caution that seems to seem to be necessary and I have already reiterated the point to Prof Rothenstein is that the President told the Royal Academy that the Board had no intention of setting up a Final School of Fine Art. In the circumstances I think the proposed reply right when it may seem to Prof Rothenstein that the outlook of the Principal is to some extent restricted(19).

From this, we may gather that it was the pressure of outside forces that was encouraging the Board of Education, to tell Rothenstein it would support the development of design at the College, while the Chief Inspector of Schools of Art, Cartlidge, was still concerned with the relevance of the fine art area. The influence of Cartlidge would seem to be considerable, especially considering that he was nearing retirement. However, we know from Board of Education notes that Cartlidge knew the staff at the College and was also in contact with manufacturers(20).

When news of Rothenstein's selection for appointment reached the newspapers, some embarrassment was caused to the Board who still awaited the decision of the Treasury(21). The appointment of Rothenstein was not

popular and Fisher was widely criticised, not least by the Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters in Secondary Schools, who took the Board's action as giving support to the appointment of persons with no previous educational experience as headmasters of secondary schools⁽²²⁾. Fisher noted, 'What impudence!'. Even from Sheffield, the city where Rothenstein was presently Professor of Civic Arts, a unanimous protest from the art masters was sent to the Board⁽²³⁾. There might have been even more complaints if it had been realised that Rothenstein's role would be part-time. Selby-Bigge wrote to Rothenstein :

You may rely upon our whole-hearted support if only because we have staked our credit upon your success. I am sure you won't let us down!⁽²⁴⁾.

In September 1920, Rothenstein became the Principal of the Royal College of Art, and set to work considering its needs⁽²⁵⁾. Some action had to be taken to remedy the poor accommodation: the pottery class was held in one room, with no area for expansion. The iron buildings, behind the Natural History Museum, were being occupied by the Army Pay Corps, and would require structural alteration on being returned to the Board of Education. The Board requested the Treasury for money to improve leaking rooms and inefficient heating, and for more equipment. The Treasury could do little more than agree⁽²⁶⁾.

The Board of Education may have appeared supportive of Rothenstein's ideas, but there was little it could do without money from the Treasury. In November 1921, Rothenstein wrote to the Board, voicing his concern over the lack of facilities to train students:

I hope I have your support in looking on the College as a centre which serves, not so much to give a vocational training as to give to each student, whether he intends to be a simple designer of cotton fabrics or an ambitious painter or sculptor, the best possible education through the arts. At the same time it is important that no subject should be taught at the College, in which efficient technical demonstration and opportunities for practice cannot be provided. Amateurishness and executive slovenliness are diseases from which the modern arts suffer too commonly, and these may well prove fatal to some of them unless they are checked. The equipment of the College, in this respect to the actual practice of the most useful crafts, is insufficient. Since I have been at the College I have found the Board aware of this and its needs have received their sympathetic consideration, and in some cases these needs have been supplied. We fully recognise, at this difficult time, the necessary limitations imposed by the finances of the country. I hope by appealing to the industries concerned with the arts, to obtain some of the equipment needed...But if the College cannot count on increased financial help from the Board, it must of necessity carefully consider the resources at its disposal(27).

From Selby Bigges' confidential reply of the following day, it is clear that Rothenstein wished to institute a number of changes on the staff of the College, to improve efficiency. Staff, such as the tutor for Life Class and Anatomy, George Haywood, and the Professor of Decorative Painting, Moira, would be asked to retire, though not the instructor in Decorative Painting, E C Alston, who was also pensionable. Rothenstein advocated the employment of part-time teachers as a way of securing 'resourceful, capable and inspiring teachers' for the College⁽²⁸⁾. The College conditions were slow to improve. Rothenstein could select new staff, but the facilities remained poor. In 1922, Professor Anning Bell pointed out to the Board, the

inadequacies of the equipment for the Design School. The Principal Secretary, Davies, wrote to a colleague about the need for funding and the constraints placed on the Board by the Treasury. The art and technical schools had much more freedom as they came under local authority administration.

If the President, therefore, could, without putting the Board in an undignified position, invite the support of the Manufacturers and the provision of some important pieces of equipment as an earnest of their support, I think it would be a good move(29).

This was supporting Rothenstein's earlier entrepreneurial ideas. Indeed, the President of the Board of Education, Fisher, visited Staffordshire with 'the view of endeavouring to interest the captains of the local industry, in the fortunes of the School'(30). The inadequacy of craft equipment was a considerable problem. Pottery equipment, in the form of a kiln, was donated by manufacturers in Stoke on Trent, under the auspices of the Federation of Potters, notably Wedgwoods. The gift had been encouraged by the Board entertaining the principal manufacturers at the student exhibition on 29th June 1922. In the evening the Federation of Potters held a dinner, with Fisher as guest. Fisher gave a speech, and from this, it is clear that the Board thought it was a sound policy to encourage manufacturers. Indeed, it was the Board, rather than individuals at the College, which appears to have been the most influential in gaining recognition in industry. Fisher used the economic development argument: for industry to remain strong it needed to employ 'the best brains of the nation'. The local authorities and the Board did their best through the provision of schools of art and the Royal College of Art. Fisher urged industry to take on some of the responsibility, moral and material, similar to the

links made between engineering and the universities. He pointed out that the Pottery Industry was taking steps to support the Pottery School at the College, which gave the lead to other industries. If the Board could show the Treasury that industry was concerned and giving practical support to art schools, they would provide the necessary technical instruction. Fisher was to sway the manufacturers with the importance of design education:

Public taste is improving everywhere, and if English pottery can add to the attractions of price and durability, those of design and form, it will find a market throughout the world(31).

The result of this and other contacts was the donation of equipment rather than funding. In 1923, Major Frank Wedgwood guaranteed the subscriptions from the British Pottery Manufacturers Federation up to £100, plus equipment from Grimwades of a kiln suited for pottery or glass staining⁽³²⁾. Also, between 1922-35, generous financial assistance came from the Goldsmiths Company. In the January of 1923, the Royal College of Art applied to Goldsmiths' Hall, for a grant to provide additional instruction from a silversmith, and a grant was made of £100 for an initial three years - as long as Goldsmith's Hall approved the teacher. In 1926, this was extended for another three years⁽³³⁾. But the situation does emphasise that the power of the Board of Education was hindered by that of the Treasury.

From 1922, the relationship between the Board of Education and the Royal College of Art appears to have been amicable enough, with Rothenstein successfully reforming the College. The College was recognised as the pinnacle of art

education, and was attracting more students. The number of students, however, only served to highlight the shortage of accommodation.

Departmental Committee of the Board of Education 1929

The case for a new building for the Royal College of Art had been substantial in 1911. But it was the formation of a Royal Commission on the National Museums and Galleries which forced the Board to take action. When in 1929, the Royal Commission published its Final Report Part I, it called for the urgent and long over delayed construction of a new building for the College. It also noted that the removal of the College from the site adjoining the Victoria and Albert Museum, would provide the Museum with much needed additional space⁽³⁴⁾.

The findings of this Royal Commission led to the Board of Education forming a Departmental Committee on the re-housing of the Royal College of Art, 1929. The Committee was chaired by Davies, as Principal Assistant Secretary and included Rothenstein. This Committee reported on the adequacy of the 'Island Site' in Cromwell Gardens, opposite the Victoria and Albert Museum, which the government had purchased in 1912, as a proposed site for the new College building. In 1920, the site had been leased to the Institute Francais, on a tenancy which was to expire in December 1931.

In December 1929, the Departmental Committee pointed out that the students at the College had risen from around 200, in 1912, to 374 for the academic year of 1928-29. The rise in numbers was 'entirely attributable to women students,

who now outnumber men in the proportion of 3 to 2, whereas before the war there were 4 to 5 men on the books, for each woman'. Such a new building, the Committee felt, was near enough to the Victoria and Albert Museum for the two institutions to continue their links, and the College could continue to use the Museum's lecture theatre and library. But more studio space and a students common room were required.

As a new building would lead to further advertisement of the College, this in turn would lead to further increased growth. It was argued that growth was inevitable, for when the women students left the College to teach in girls secondary schools, standards in the provinces would rise, and the demand on the College would increase. On the other hand, when the general standards of art education rose, a higher grade of admission might have to be imposed, so that the numbers would remain constant, and no further lecturers employed. If the last diagnosis proved correct, it would negate the need for further accommodation for the College. Overall, the Committee concluded that the Cromwell Gardens site would be adequate for any future development of the Royal College of Art⁽³⁵⁾.

The situation remained static. By 1932, the Royal College of Art had 400 students. In January that year, a Memorandum by the First Commissioner of Works went before the Cabinet, with proposals for erecting the Central Block of the Science Museum, and new premises for the Royal College of Art. The Prime Minister asked the First Commissioner to 'do his best so far as financial exigencies permitted'. This led to the writing of a memorandum by Sir Donald Maclean, the President of the Board of Education, to the Cabinet Employment Committee, in February 1932, which

proposed new premises for the Royal College of Art, as part of the government building programme. Mclean's memorandum ended by stating the seriousness of the situation, but toned his note in accordance with the economic situation:

My own conclusion would be that, if considerations of employment policy made it desirable to carry out these works, the broad educational results would be of very great value; but in the circumstances that actually exist, I should hesitate to press the claim of either project as possessing special urgency⁽³⁶⁾.

Nothing further was noted until June 1933, when it became clear that the new building for the Institute Francais, which was being constructed further west along Cromwell Road, would not be ready for occupation until October 1934, delayed by the passing of the French budget, and difficulties with tenants on their new site. The start of construction for the new Royal College of Art building was scheduled to start with demolition of the buildings, on the Cromwell Gardens site, in early 1935⁽³⁷⁾. This continued delay was not viewed favourably by the Board.

In October 1934, a possible solution was put forward to Rothenstein, by the Board of Education, which had received an offer from the London County Council, (which ran the Central School of Arts and Crafts). This suggested that the College provision for 'Industrial Art' might be made at the Central School. Even if it were implemented, such a scheme would require some provision for industrial art at the College in South Kensington. The Board thought that discussions between the Board and the London County Council, over the future of the Central School, should not

delay the construction of the new College buildings. The Secretary outlined the possibility of the Royal College of Art being taken over by the University of London, 'in much the same way as the Imperial College of Science and Technology, had become part of the University'. What Rothenstein was not told, was that the Board had considered the possibility of the College incorporating the Central School⁽³⁸⁾.

Rothenstein saw no objection to the Royal College of Art being taken over by London University, and considered that such an amalgamation would enable the College to receive more support from business and commerce⁽³⁹⁾.

The Board of Education then noted that a triangular site, adjacent to the Cromwell Gardens site, could be added to make a larger site for the new Royal College of Art, although this would increase both construction and maintenance costs. No further action was taken on this. By the end of October 1934, the plans for the new College building were proceeding in detail.

The Board was aware of the advantages in having a new principal when the College moved into the new building. Matters were speeded up when, in November 1934, Rothenstein tendered his resignation. Dickey later claimed that at this date, he suggested disbanding the College, a suggestion which does not seem to have found support. A discussion between the President and the Secretary of the Board of Education, stated that the best plan might be to get rid of the proposed new site for the College, together with the existing buildings of the London County Council's Central School, and provide a single college on an entirely new

site. The Board had substantial grounds for believing that the London County Council was ready to consider a proposal for handing over the Central School, with a view to its incorporation in a unified institution, perhaps under the aegis of the University of London. Alternatively, the College could be moved to a site where it could be coordinated, or possibly amalgamated, with the Slade School of Art at University College. There was no time for further delay and the proposed site in Cromwell Gardens was very suitable. However, the proposed building was only designed to hold 200 students, while the present College had 400 students. The Board considered this figure was too large, and included a number of students who would be 'better elsewhere'. Despite an indication for the need to appoint a Departmental Committee to discuss the possible amalgamation of colleges, the subject was closed⁽⁴⁰⁾.

The Appointment of Percy Jowett as Principal
of the Royal College of Art

In October 1934, the Board of Education had begun to search for a new principal for the College. Rothenstein had originally been appointed in 1920, for three years. In 1923, this was extended for a further similar period, and in 1926, this was changed to a tenure of one year, which could be terminated at six months notice. This was instigated at Rothenstein's request, due to his own ill health, in 1926. In 1934, the Board of Education now saw this as an advantage. They could suggest that Rothenstein retire either a year or two before or after the opening of the new building⁽⁴¹⁾.

Discussions concerning the role of the College had already been held between the Board and the Industrial Art

Committee of the Federation of British Industries, and also with the Design and Industries Association (which had submitted a memorandum to the Board). Here we can see the Board was concerned to prevent future criticism from these two bodies. Further it was aware of the influence of the Board of Trade, whose Gorell Committee Report of 1932⁽⁴²⁾ had led to the formation, by the Board of Trade, of the Council of Art and Industry. The CoID was chaired by Frank Pick, the Vice Chairman of London Transport, who also happened to be the Chair of the Design and Industries Association⁽⁴³⁾. The discussions had included the question of the staffing of 'the National College'. While it was recognised that some of the staff would be part-time, there would be a nucleus of full-time teachers which would now include the post of Principal. The Board was aware that the appointment of another part-time Principal, would lead to considerable criticism from Federation of British Industries and the Design and Industries Association⁽⁴⁴⁾.

The Board of Education was pledged to collaboration with the Board of Trade and the Council for Art and Industry. This was a delicate situation, for although the Council for Art and Industry was an advisory body, it had been created by the Board of Trade, and given responsibility for the advancement of industrial art. The Board of Education realised that one of the main causes for the malaise at the College, was due to the fact that Rothenstein was only a part-time principal⁽⁴⁵⁾.

The Board needed to know the date of Rothenstein's retirement. In October 1934, Pelham, the Permanent Secretary, met with Rothenstein to discuss the date of his retirement in the context of the completion of the new Royal College of Art building. Pelham stated that the

subject of his retirement had been mentioned to the President of the Board of Education, although it is clear from internal papers that this issue had also been discussed by others at the Board of Education.

The meeting appeared amicable. Rothenstein himself preferred 1936 to 1939, and assured the Board of his active help and support in the new developments. Rothenstein suggested the possibility of his successor arriving in 1935, in order to become acquainted with the workings of the College, before taking office. This was a confidential and provisional agreement. At the same meeting there was discussion of a successor. Rothenstein noted that Frank Pick (the Chairman of the Council for Art and Industry), would prefer someone who would spend a good deal of time getting in touch with employers and industry⁽⁴⁶⁾. Rothenstein later wrote confirming he was willing to leave the College in 1936 or 1939, but would prefer to be relieved of the post in the Autumn of 1935⁽⁴⁷⁾.

At a further discussion with Rothenstein, on 5th November 1934, it was agreed he would tender his resignation for the end of 1935, and that his leaving would perhaps be announced in the House of Commons⁽⁴⁸⁾. On 6th November, Rothenstein wrote in his letter of resignation to Viscount Halifax, the President of the Board of Education:

I have always valued the confidence shown me in the often difficult administration of an institution for which the Board is peculiarly responsible. At least I may say that far from my aims though the direction of the College has been, it has been a labour of affection. I have had the advantage, through the Boards sympathetic considerations of colleagues at the

College whose selfless devotion to the students
I cannot praise too highly.

I shall leave the College with unaltered
feelings of devotion to its welfare, and think
back upon my 15 years of office with gratitude
as the most fruitful period of my life(49).

Halifax replied to Rothenstein that it was with 'greatest
regret and reluctance that I contemplate the severance of
your connection with the Board...I thank you most sincerely
for all that you have done in the cause of Art and
Education'(50). Such a statement does not equate with the
internal discussions that had taken place at the Board of
Education.

Now the issue was to find a replacement for Rothenstein who
fitted the criteria of the Boards of Education and Trade,
as well as pleasing critical groups concerned with
industrial art, notably the Design and Industries
Association. At the end of October 1934, Dickey, the Staff
Inspector for Art at the Board of Education, was asked to
produce a survey of the possible candidates to replace
Rothenstein. Dickey's first choice was Percy Jowett, then
the Principal of the Central School of Art and Design.
Jowett had proven his ability to get on well with
manufacturers, as well as with fellow heads of educational
institutions. This suggestion met with approval from other
members of the Board, notably its Principal Assistant
Secretary, Eaton(51).

In December 1934, Eaton was sent a personal letter by Frank
Pick, noting that Dr Walter Gropius was in Britain:

He was one of the leaders in the reform movement in Germany, and he started half a school half an industrial institution at Dessau, called the Bauhaus. It has been taken as a model for the organization of German art schools. As he is a refugee in this country at this present time, I am inclined to think we ought to make some use of him in connection with the problems of the Royal College of Art. Just what use we can make of him at the moment I am not quite clear, but at any rate I thought I might call your attention to the possibilities(52).

An internal memorandum of the Board of Education, emphasised that Pick was the Chairman of the Council for Art and Industry, a body appointed by the Board of Trade, implying that his letter could not be ignored. The Board decided that it might be possible to invite Gropius to visit the Royal College of Art, the Central School of Arts and Crafts, and some of the main provincial art schools, and to write a report on his general impressions of the work and future developments, for which he would receive a maximum of £5.00 a day⁽⁵³⁾. There were problems. If Gropius was to be employed on such a project for two to three months, this would require special payment. For this, the Treasury would have to be approached, and was likely to raise objections⁽⁵⁴⁾. Moreover, a nationality bar operated for all types of teachers at the Royal College of Art. The Board considered Gropius was 'getting on' in years. The Board's memoranda omitted to add that Gropius did not speak English well.

At the end of January, Frank Pick, as President of the Council for Art and Industry, met Walter Gropius, with Mrs Gropius acting as translator. Gropius talked at length about the work of the Bauhaus, which he regarded as an

organisation providing artistic research for industry. Though British industry made full provision for scientific research, it had done nothing in the way of artistic research. This was reported to Dickey, at the Board of Education, by the Secretary to the Council for Art and Industry⁽⁵⁵⁾.

Dickey then wrote to Gropius, using his friend Herbert Read as an introduction, and enclosing a report which Dickey and a colleague had compiled after a continental tour in 1934⁽⁵⁶⁾. Dickey thought Gropius might be interested to see this report, and asked if they could meet⁽⁵⁷⁾. The meeting took place the following week. Dickey reported to Eaton that Gropius might be of:

the greatest possible assistance in an advisory capacity in connection with any new schemes which may be planned for a 'Bauhaus' which might rise up in place of the present Royal College of Art. I do not think that a useful purpose would be served by sending him round to provincial art schools to make a report, although later on he might be invited to lecture at provincial schools. ...I did not, of course, suggest to Dr Gropius that we might wish to employ him in any way. He hopes to be in England a little longer but this may depend on whether a project for building some flats in Manchester in partnership with Maxwell-Fry will materialise or not⁽⁵⁸⁾.

Dickey sent a copy of the interview with Walter Gropius to Frank Pick, who replied with thanks saying:

Could we not appoint him [Gropius] to a post at the Royal College of Art, to take charge of design in some direction, give him the necessary equipment and see what he could do for us? It seems extraordinarily wasteful not

to avail ourselves of this opportunity of seeing whether we cannot institute a class in design which might be the beginning of better things(59).

A few days later, Dickey wrote back to Pick on the matter of how Gropius's skills could be used in an advisory capacity, regarding the scope and organisation of the Royal College of Art, but making it quite clear that it was out of the question to appoint Gropius as Principal of the College. Dickey pointed out that he could not discuss employment with Gropius because of the restrictions of employing non British born subjects (and as the College staff were, on paper, civil servants), but adding:

I hope there would be little difficulty in circumventing these restrictions if a clear case were to be made of employing Gropius which has a strong backing on the industrial side(60).

Was this truly the action of the Board of Education attempting to make the work of the Royal College of Art more relevant to industry? Or the Board of Education wary of the Board of Trade's authority and views on the topic? Two days later, Pick wrote again to Dickey at the Board of Education, making it plain that he had not contemplated appointing Gropius to succeed Rothenstein. (Though not stated in this letter, Frank Pick was encouraging Herbert Read to apply for the post⁽⁶¹⁾.) Pick urged the Board of Education to invite Gropius to give a course of lectures on design, followed by demonstration classes. Pick also suggested that the employment of Gropius could be justified by making him part of the inspectorate for art, or giving him responsibility for organising classes on design

throughout the art schools of the country. Pick added that Gropius:

..certainly might be of use to our Council for Art and Industry when we have got a little further with our notion to set up, say, a central pottery school in Stoke, a central textile school in Manchester, and so forth. He would be just the sort of person to go round and bring all these schools up to some sort of a standard⁽⁶²⁾.

This was a clear attempt to try to encourage the Board of Education to make use of Gropius, but there were too many problems, not least Gropius's spoken English. Internally, at the Board of Education, Dickey, in his role as Staff Inspector for Art, commented that the suggestion to invite Gropius to lecture was a good one, but that it would be more desirable to use him in connection with future developments at the College, and possibly at a latter stage, as an inspector⁽⁶³⁾. Wallis, as Assistant Secretary, was in agreement, but the problem of Gropius's nationality remained.

Another member of the Board of Education noted that the Treasury had sanctioned the employment of persons resident abroad, in connection with the Board's short courses for teachers, where other persons equally suitable were not available. It was presumed that this would enable the Board of Education to employ Gropius in the Autumn, without problems from the Treasury⁽⁶⁴⁾.

Dickey wrote to Pick suggesting Gropius could lecture in the Autumn. The Royal College of Art was the most

appropriate venue in London. The Board of Education would notify the Directors of Education, at the most suitable centres around Britain, to arrange lectures in the provinces⁽⁶⁵⁾. Pick was doubtful whether he could organise the provincial lectures, but thought that the London County Council might be willing for Gropius to lecture at the Central School of Arts and Crafts. It was now March 1935, and Rothenstein had departed the College. The new Principal had yet to be appointed.⁽⁶⁶⁾ It is clear from this, that Gropius was never seriously considered, by the Board, for a permanent post at the College. Apparently at no point had Rothenstein, or any of the administration at the Royal College of Art, been consulted over the employment of Gropius, in whatever capacity.

At the end of March 1935, the Board appointed the new Principal of the College: Percy Jowett, who at the time was the Principal of the Central School of Arts and Crafts. Before Jowett took up his post, he was quickly consulted over the Board's desire to ask Gropius to give lectures at the College during the Summer Term. Jowett thought this would be excellent providing Gropius's English was good enough⁽⁶⁷⁾. The Board considered Gropius's English would be adequate for the job, and it was left to Jowett to make arrangements. Indeed, Jowett met Gropius, who was attracted by the idea of lecturing at the College. Jowett commented that Gropius's spoken English was good, but added that Gropius wanted to know about the Board's scheme for reorganising College, 'but of course this I could not tell him'⁽⁶⁸⁾.

There are no further records of the plans for Gropius to lecture at the Royal College of Art. Gropius was to continue to work in Britain for the next two years, and

ironically, worked on Impington Village College for the Education Officer for Cambridge, Henry Morris, who was himself a graduate of the Royal College of Art. In 1937, Gropius left for America to become Professor of Architecture in the Graduate School of Design at Harvard, where he taught until 1952. If the Board of Education had considered Gropius too architecturally biased for the Royal College of Art, it never showed it. Perhaps the Board of Education felt it had to take the safe middle ground, employing an Englishman known to the educational establishment, who would have no problem in getting accepted by the Treasury, rather than a 'political' foreigner, who might have transformed the Royal College of Art into the British Bauhaus.

The appointment of Percy Jowett as Principal was not wholly surprising. At the end of October 1934, Dickey had compiled a survey of prospective candidates, and recommended Percy Jowett, which met with approval from other members of the Board, notably Principal assistant Secretary, Eaton. Dickey placed possible candidates into four categories of: a) heads of other art schools; b) artists or craftsmen who may or may not have had teaching experience; c) architects; d) others. Under category a) it was thought that Schwabe of the Slade School, or Russell of the Royal Academy Schools would not apply. Both were getting on in years. Dickey considered the virtues of: Williamson of Chelsea, Gardiner of Goldsmiths' Art College, Woolway of St.Martin's, Holden of Birmingham, Trangmar of Ealing, Heiman of Hull, Holmes of Leicester, and Milner of Bristol. In the category of artists/craftsmen, Dickey placed Harold Stabler, the Principal of Sir John Cass School and the painter L.D.Luard. The architects under category c) included Cordingley, the Principal of Manchester University of Architecture, Oliver Hill, and Raymond McGrath. Under

category d) Dickey suggested an unnamed principal of the Berlin Textile School, who had left industry for education. Dickey felt that candidates who came under this category might have a 'Design and Industries Association' point of view and it might be prudent to appoint such a person, giving the example of Noel Carrington (the critic and writer on design). Dickey ended by noting that Wellington, of the Inspectorate, was probably already a candidate in the mind of Eaton⁽⁶⁹⁾.

As Principal Assistant Secretary, Eaton considered Woolway and Luard too old, and others such as Heiman, too young. Stabler and Holden were unsuitable on personal grounds. Eaton had met Carrington and was convinced he would not suit the post, and, Eaton noted, Dickey was opposed to the appointment of an architect on the grounds that their previous training and general outlook made it difficult, if not impossible, for them to sympathise with fine art students⁽⁷⁰⁾.

By February 1935, the Board of Education had received thirty-eight applications for the post of Principal at the College. A short list was drawn up consisting of: Noel Carrington; H.H.Holden, the Principal of Birmingham; P.H.Jowett, Principal of Central School; A.B.Knapp-Fisher; W.M.Whitehead and E.M.O'R Dickey of the Board of Education⁽⁷¹⁾. The inclusion of Dickey on the short list is somewhat surprising. Did Dickey decide to apply having considered other possible candidates? Did his colleagues at the Board encourage his application? Or did he feel that having already done so much work on the Royal College of Art, he was the best person to administer the College? The selected candidates were interviewed by a panel that consisted of: Sir Roderick S.Meiklejohn (of the Civil

Service Commission); Sir William Llewellyn, President of the Royal Academy; Frank Pick of the Council for Industrial Art; and Sir Henry Pelham, President, and Cecil Eaton, Principal Assistant Secretary, of the Board of Education. The constitution of this selection committee, illustrates the growing cooperation between the Boards of Education and Trade. On the 15th March 1935, the interviews took place and P.H.Jowett was recommended for the post of Principal of the Royal College of Art⁽⁷²⁾.

Jowett had a broad teaching experience and as a painter, he had exhibited widely. He had proven his ability to get on well with manufacturers, as well as with fellow heads of educational institutions. He also, though a fine artist, realised the importance of industrial art, a key factor when the Board was facing criticism over the College. The points against Jowett were: his 'extreme amiability may suggest that he does not possess a very vigorous personality', and his age of 52⁽⁷³⁾. Jowett had a good knowledge of the College as an ex-student (he was a Royal Exhibitioner in 1904), and had seen the work of the College as the Principal of a parallel institution, indeed an institution which the Board had considered amalgamating with the Royal College of Art.

Endnotes

4.2 The Principalship of William Rothenstein 1920-1935

1. ED24/1595 13.01.20. W.N.Davies. Principal Assistant Secretary, Board of Education. Minute on the Principalship of the Royal College of Art.
2. ED24/1595 W.M.Davies 13.01.20.
3. ED24/1595 19.01.20. Memorandum to the President of the Board of Education, H.A.L.Fisher, from the Permanent Secretary to the Board of Education, Sir L.Amherst Selby-Bigge, following discussion with W.R. Davies, the Principal Assistant Secretary.
4. T.P.Cowdell The Royal Academy 1918-1930 PhD 1980 University of London. Proposals by the Royal Academy for a National Final School of Design seem to have been abandoned about 1920.
5. ED23/1595 18.03.20 W.R.Davies, Principal Assistant Secretary to William Rothenstein.
6. ED23/1595 21.03.20. Rothenstein to W.R.Davies.
7. ED24/1595 Rothenstein to Fisher 24.03.20.
8. ED24.1595 Davies to Secretary 04.05.20.
9. ED24/1595 Rothenstein to Fisher 13.05.20.
10. ED24/1595 Selby-Bigge to Secretary of the Treasury 28.05.20 letter 20/2336 Y.

11. ED24/1595 RCA Committee Witness 1. 01.06.20.
This document seems incomplete.
12. Report of the Standing Committee in State-Aided Training in Art. Art Committee Paper 61 part vi.
13. ED24/1595 25.05.20. Davies to Ainsworth.
14. ED24/1595. Roscoe to Selby Bigg 08.06.20.
15. ED24/1595 16.06.20.
16. ED24/1595 Selby Bigge to Roscoe 17.06.20.
17. ED24/1595 04.05.20 Davies to Secretary of Board of Education.
18. ED24/1595 8th June 1920 Rothenstein to Fisher.
19. ED24/1595 16.06.20 Davies draft letter notes.
20. ED24/1595 13.01.20 W R Davies to the Secretary of the Board of Education.
21. ED24/1595 Letter dated 15 06 20 from Selby-Bige to Sir Malcolm Ramsay K.C.B.
22. W.R.Anderson, Honorary Secretary of the Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters in Secondary Schools to the Board of Education 20.07.20.
23. ED24/1599 Sheffield Art Masters to the Board of Education 21.07.20.
24. ED24/1595 Selby-Bigg to Rothenstein 22.07.20.

25. ED3/184 Rothenstein to the Board of Education on the subject of teaching wood engraving together with a minute from Sir Frank Short, Professor of Engraving.
26. ED23/187 Treasury to the Board of Education 05.02.21.
27. ED23/550 Rothenstein to Selby-Bigge the Secretary of the Board of Education 01.11.21.
28. ED23/550 09.11.21. Selby-Bigge to Rothenstein.
29. ED23/545 Davies to Kidd 14.06.22.
30. ED23/545 16.6.22.
31. ED23/545 The President of the Board of Education, Fisher, in a speech to the Federation of Potters, 29.06.22.
32. ED23/547 21/03/23 Wedgwood to Rothenstein.
33. ED23/546 23.01.23. and 18.06.26. Prideaux to Rothenstein.
34. Royal Commission on National Museums and Galleries. Final Report Part I H.M.S.O. 1929. Recommendation 14, p.73
35. Departmental Committee of the Board of Education 1929 Chairman: W.R.Davies, with E.G.Howarth, E D Comann, W.Rothenstein, Secretary: D.O.Cochrane. 17.12.29. ED24/1596
36. ED24/1596 Cabinet Employment Committee Memorandum 22.02.32. page 3.
37. ED24/1596 Patrick Duff of the Office of Works to Sir Henry Pelham, Board of Education 12.06.33.

38. ED24/1596 Secretary of the Board of Education in meeting with Rothenstein. 02.10.34. page 2.
39. ED24/1596 Secretary of the Board of Education in meeting with Rothenstein. 02.10.34. page 3.
40. ED24/1596 President and Secretary of the Board of Education. 19.11.34. Signed E H Perry.
41. ED23/555 Internal memorandum of the Board of Education: Wood to Secretary.03.10.34.
42. Report of the Committee Appointed by The Board of Trade under the Chairmanship of Lord Gorell on the Production and Exhibition of Articles of Good Design and Everyday Use.
HMSO: London (1932)
43. The membership of the Council of Art and Industry also included Eaton, the Principal Assistant Secretary of the Board of Education and Burridge of the Central School.
44. ED23/555 Confidential internal Board of Education memorandum to Secretary from C.G. 10.10.34.
45. ED23/555 Confidential internal Board of Education memorandum to Secretary from C.G. 10.10.34.
46. ED23/555 Internal Board of Education memorandum to Eaton and R.S.Wood from Secretary E.Henry.Pelham. 22.10.34.
47. ED23/555 Rothenstein to Pelham, Secretary of the Board of Education. 20.10.34.
48. ED23/555 Pelham, Board of Education 05.11.34.

49. ED23/555 Rothenstein to the President of the Board of Education, Rt.Hon. the Viscount Halifax. K.G. The news of Rothenstein's resignation was made public 14 November 1934.
50. ED23/555 Halifax to Rothenstein 07.11.34.
51. ED24/1597 Dickey in letter to Eaton 31.10.34.
52. ED46/13 Frank Pick to Eaton, Principal Assistant Secretary of the Board of Education 10.12.34.
53. ED46/13 C.G. to Moore with note by Eaton, following discussion with Wallis and Dickey. 18.12.34.
54. ED46/13 Wallis to Dickey of the Board of Education. 03.01.35.
55. ED46/13 G.L.Watkinson of Council for Art and Industry, Board of Trade, to Dickey of the Board of Education. 01.02.35.
56. E.M.O'R Dickey and W.M.Keeysey Industrial Art and Education on the Continent London: HMSO (1943)
57. ED 46/13 Dickey to Gropius 04.02.35.
58. ED46/13 Dickey to Eaton. 12.02.35.
59. ED46/13 Frank Pick to Dickey of the Board of Education. T/853/20/7 14.02.35.
60. ED46/13 E.M.O'Rorke Dickey, M.A. of the Board of Education to Frank Pick 20.02.35.

61. ED24/1597 Sir Eric Maclagan of the Victoria and Albert Museum to Sir Henry Pelham of the Board of Education. Private and confidential letter. 07.02.35. One week before this, Herbert Read had been to see Sir Eric Maclagan at the Victoria and Albert Museum, saying Frank Pick was urging him to apply for the Directorship of the Royal College of Art.
62. ED46/13 Pick to E.M.O'R.Dickey T/853/20/7 22.02.35.
63. ED46/13 Memo on Gropius by Dickey T410/7 27.02.35.
64. ED46/13 Memo: W.H. 05.03.35.
65. ED46/13 Dickey to Pick. 11.03.35.
66. ED46/13 Pick to Dickey T/853/20/7. 14.03.35.
67. ED46/13 Jowett of Central School to Dickey of the Board of Education. 29.03.35
68. ED46/13 Jowett, Principal of the Central School to Wallis of the Board of Education. 29.03.35.
69. ED24/1597 Davies to Eaton 31.10.34.
70. ED24/1595 C.E. (Eaton) to the Secretary of the Board of Education. 08.11.34.
71. ED24/1597 Board of Education to Frank Pick, Chair of Council for Industrial Art. 23.02.35.
72. ED23/556 35/820 Y 15.03.35.
73. ED24/1597 Davies to Eaton 31.10.34.

4.3 The Influence of Government on the Royal College of Art During the Principalship of Percy Jowett. 1935-1947

With the appointment of a Percy Jowett as Principal at the Royal College of Art, the Board of Education could implement change. Although Jowett may have been involved in discussions, it was the civil servants at the Board who appear to have made the decisions. Dickey thought the first change should be to transfer the Post Diploma Course, (post ARCA) for intending teachers, to Goldsmiths' College, which was part of London University. At the Royal College of Art this course suffered from overcrowding, and a move would allow the Board of Education the opportunity to replace its part-time tutor with a full time male or female tutor⁽¹⁾.

But if the course was transferred, the Royal College of Art would not be fulfilling the courses offered in its prospectus. There was a possibility that the course could return, on the completion of the new building, but was the role of the Royal College of Art that of teacher training? The Board consulted the National Society of Art Masters, who favoured the move as permanent, leaving the Royal College of Art to train the very best designers and craftsmen, and teacher training 'left to other Institutions not directly controlled by the State'. The Society felt, strongly, that the College diplomates had an advantage in employment over qualified teachers, and that if a diplomate wished to enter the profession they should take the Art Teachers Diploma⁽²⁾.

In May 1935, Eaton discussed the possibility of the temporary transfer of the Post-Diploma Course to

Goldsmiths' College, with Athole Hay, Registrar at the Royal College of Art. Eaton's words to Hay do not wholly match the sentiments he expressed to his colleagues at the Board. It was decided to move the course during the session of 1936-37⁽³⁾. In early June, Goldsmiths' College had agreed to the move of the Royal College of Art students, for the coming session of 1935-36, and the same month, advertised for a tutor lecturer at the Royal College of Art for the post diploma course⁽⁴⁾. The change in the placing of the Post-Diploma Course was to be overtaken by far wider implications and change instituted by the Board.

The Hambleton Committee 1935

In May 1935, the Board of Education appointed the Hambleton Committee to report on the advancement of teaching of Fine and Applied Art in London. One of the members of this Committee was Dickey, who though not prominent, undoubtedly had a large influence on its the findings. Rather than speed up the course of change, the appointment of this Committee prevented the implementation of change until the completion of its deliberations. By October 1935, the Hambleton Committee came to the conclusion that the proposed new College 'Island Site' in Cromwell Gardens was unsuitable and inadequate, a decision which the Board of Education endorsed⁽⁵⁾. The draft Hambleton Report recommended that a site of not less than one and half acres should be looked for as the new College building. The Hambleton Committee published its findings in May 1936. Its first recommendation was that:

The Royal College of Art should be reconstituted, and while continuing to provide for the teaching of Fine Art should take for its primary purpose the teaching of Applied Art

in all its forms, with particular reference to the requirements of industry and commerce(6).

Other recommendations were: that the Royal College of Art should be an institution to which industry looked for highly trained designers; that contacts with industry should be encouraged, with students spending some time in industry during their studies; that the syllabus should include the economic aspects of design; the provision of fully equipped workshops, but not factory conditions; the instigation of a one year course for designers from industry; and courses in criticism and appreciation should be set up for industrialists and distributors.

In response, the Council of the College reconsidered the staffing and equipment of the School of Design, but felt constrained by the fact that the status and prospects for industrial designers were poor, and did not encourage students to specialise in this area(7).

The Board began to search for a new site, while the Treasury wanted to put the 'Island Site' on the market, in order to raise funds for the purchase of a more suitable one. The sites considered were: four acres behind the Imperial Institute and London University buildings; the Baptist College near Regents Park; and Draycott Avenue, near South Kensington. Eventually, in August 1938, the first option of a site behind the Imperial Institute was chosen, and instructions were sent out to architects to draw up plans. This site was not to be a prestigious roadside development, but rather hidden behind other academic buildings. The Hambleton Report had contemplated a commanding building on modern lines. A further

disadvantage was that completion would take until 1941⁽⁸⁾. But plans were curtailed by the outbreak of the Second World War, in 1939, and many of the recommendations of the Hambleton Committee were not implemented until 1949.

The exception to this was the introduction of a new College constitution from 1st January 1937⁽⁹⁾. On the publication of the Hambleton Report in May 1936, a Board of Education paper was written regarding the future constitutional position and management of the College. Completed in July, this paper noted that the Board of Education would still maintain the institution. The Governing Body would not in fact be an independent body, and the staff of the College would be officers and servants of the Board and not of an independent body⁽¹⁰⁾. The Council consisted of not less than ten to twelve ordinary members, and three members chosen by the Council itself. Its role was to establish the main lines of the curriculum, supervise the College equipment, such as tools and materials, present the annual estimates expenditure on teaching staff and equipment to the Board, present exhibitions of student's work, and maintain close relations with industry and with other 'authorities and institutions for art education'⁽¹¹⁾. The Council in consultation with the Principal, was responsible for the general organisation and discipline of the College, while the Principal was responsible for carrying out the day-to-day running of the College. The Principal was to be appointed by the Board and not the Council. The Board placed Lord Hambleton as the new Chair of the College Council, a clear indication of a desire for change. The responsibility for the provision of clerical and domestic staff lay with the Ministry of Education, while the care and upkeep of the College premises was jointly that of the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Works.

Although this instituted a more formal structure of organisation, with the promise of more external contact with the College, through the Council, it would remain difficult to change the actual work of the College without the support of a proactive Principal and staff. Jowett, although from the Central School, which was well known for its advance of training for industrial design, does not appear to have encouraged a change of attitude in the College staff. He remained constrained by the administration of the Board, although now, with Hamblenden and the College Council, there was support for change.

New Administrative Support and Registrar 1939

In January 1938, the Royal College of Art required a new Registrar, following the sudden death of Athole Hay. The post was unestablished, and the Board wrote to the Treasury over the then temporary employment of a part-time Registrar⁽¹²⁾. This was sanctioned by the Treasury, in April. With a recent decline in the number of students from 400 towards 300, the Board considered cutting its administrative support. In the past the work of the College had been 'carried on in a much more free and easy fashion than it is at present'⁽¹³⁾ with much of the administration performed in Whitehall. But since the entrance examination system was administered by the College, the present registrar was very over-worked, and used other staff, such as the attendants to help out with clerical work⁽¹⁴⁾. Although the College was now responsible for more administration, it was the Board who made appointments, and thereby kept a keen eye on the day to day running of the College⁽¹⁵⁾.

The Effects of the Second World War

The outbreak of the Second World War, in September 1939, was to have a serious effect on the running of the College. Prior to September 1939, no plans appear to have been made for the evacuation of the College from London, but the College remained closed, following the Summer vacation, until January 1940. During the Autumn Term, a circular was sent out to students, and from the responses it was estimated that the College would have a student body of about 150. For the purposes of their Diploma, these were accredited with a years full attendance. The students who were holders of state awards, found that the awards had been withheld due to the College's closure. This had caused some financial distress and led to correspondence between the Board and the Treasury, the latter agreeing to pay such awards, with reduced payment if students had found work⁽¹⁶⁾. The age of students entering the College was reduced to 18 years, to allow students to complete at least one year of their higher education, before being called up for military service⁽¹⁷⁾.

In early September 1940, the bombing of London made evacuation an urgent issue, and the re-opening of the Royal College of Art for the Autumn Term, impossible. The students were informed that the College would re-open in the very near future, and 90 per cent of the students said they would join the College when it re-opened in the country. The Office of Works had selected some possible places to which the College could evacuate, and the first Penrhyn Castle, near Bangor, seemed a possible choice. The Board finally asked the Office of Works to requisition hotels in Ambleside, the Lake District. Circa the 14th of October the Office of Works informed the Board that the Treasury was raising difficulties about the requisitioning

of the Ambleside hotels. It was felt there might be political objections to the removal of the College to a place of relative safety, when numbers of mothers and children, in danger areas, could not be moved. The Minister for the Board of Education, Harry Ramsbotham, wrote to the Treasury pointing out that nearly every other academic institution had already been evacuated⁽¹⁸⁾. Following this high level intervention, the Treasury promptly agreed to evacuation, subject to the Office of Works raising no objections, and presumed that the Minister would be prepared to rebut any criticism made about the College occupying rare, safe accommodation⁽¹⁹⁾.

Two hotels were requisitioned in Ambleside: the Queens Hotel and the Salutation. The Queens Hotel was used to house male students and most of the staff, and also provided most of the classrooms; while the Salutation Hotel housed female students, a few of the staff, and teaching accommodation for engraving and dress design. Later additional ad hoc teaching areas were found, but in total these buildings housed 130 people⁽²⁰⁾.

The student numbers steadily declined as they were called up for military service. Three students who had entered the College in the Autumn of 1938, had declared themselves conscientious objectors in May 1939, before the outbreak of war. All three had studentships and received supplementary awards from their local education authority of Sheffield. Two of the students, Douglas Wain (Hobson), and Jack Wright, appeared before a tribunal in November 1939, and were removed from the register, but agreed to undertake agricultural work, while the third, Geoffrey Hampshire was to undertake ambulance training. Wain's case received much publicity because he said that, as a sculptor, he linked

himself with the creative acts of God. The case led to the College receiving adverse publicity. This did not please the Board, which had been asked what it could do to stiffen public morale. In the late Spring of 1940, Jowett wrote to the Board that the reputation of the College had been well upheld in the recent Battle of Flanders and on the beaches of Dunkirk. The Board noted that, while the government recognised the legitimacy of conscience, the Board could not discriminate against conscientious objectors. The situation was resolved by the Board suspending all scholarships, (and not just of the three objectors,) until the end of the war, and noting that conscientious objectors should be treated the same as members of the forces. In the event of a student refusing to accept the decision of a tribunal, the College of Art should report the student to the Board⁽²¹⁾.

The Board of Education and Student Health

The Board had a key influence on the action taken over the health of the students. The administration of the College could not take action without first asking for assistance from the Board. With the call up of students into the forces, those who remained were often unfit. In December 1940, the question of medical services for students was raised by the College. How far was it responsible for the health of the students? Six of the students were receiving medical attention, and the local doctor was asking who was to pay him. The Board noted that the Ministry of Health Circular 1882, stated that treatment of evacuated children should be given, without cost to the people with whom they were billeted, or the local authority. But the Government Evacuation Scheme did not extend to students over 19, unless, as one civil servant noted: 'any of them should happen to be mothers and have children with them'⁽²²⁾. As

all the students at the College were over the age of 19 years, the Board deemed that the students were out of the government's care. This situation was confusing as students at the Central School of Arts and Crafts were being treated as evacuees, - even those over the age of 19. To emphasise their decision of non responsibility, the Board pronounced that as the College was not residential before its evacuation, there was no obligation to the students to live in College arranged accommodation, especially as other cheaper, non College accommodation was available. Further, it ruled that as attendance by a student at the College was voluntary and not compulsory, the students were not evacuees or the responsibility of the Board of Education. However, the College staff were classed as evacuees, because they were in the employment of the Board of Education. The Board suggested the solution of forming a Students Medical Benefit Society as students were responsible for their own health, and a Health Insurance Scheme was set up by January 1940⁽²³⁾.

In the Ambleside area in January 1941, there was a wide spread epidemic of tonsillitis, and twelve students were acute cases. The College was visited by the Chairman of Local Medical Committee, and a retired doctor, who voiced their concern at the inadequate ventilation, caused by the blackout arrangements. The blackout construction had originally been carried out by the Office of Works, but the architectural students at the College improved the ventilation of the buildings, and ended any further official confusion between the Ministry of Health, Office of Works and Board of Education⁽²⁴⁾.

The health of the students at Ambleside continued to be poor. In 1943, entrants were restricted to those ineligible

to enter the forces on grounds of age of or physical unfitness, and of the College's 90 students many were admitted on grounds of disability. In the winter of 1943-44, during an epidemic of influenza, the visiting physician thought the students were not getting proper medical attention. The Lady Superintendent of the College was responsible for domestic affairs, but had no nursing knowledge or experience, and there were very few nurses in the district. The nearest hospitals were at Kendal and Carlisle. The College requested the Board to provide special nursing assistance. The Board agreed to make up the cost of special nursing, provided the students paid one shilling per day for each special nursing received, and in July 1944, wrote to the Treasury to request that such a payment could be made. Sadly, as with much of the documentation from the war time period, this correspondence is not complete, but illustrates well the restrictions placed upon the Board of Education, and thence on the Royal College of Art, by actions of the Treasury⁽²⁵⁾.

The Summer Term of 1941, was extended for diploma students who had suffered from the disruption of the closure of the College during the Autumn Term.

Post War Reorganisation of Art and Craft Education

The Board of Education was evacuated from London to Bournemouth, and despite the war continued to be aware of the needs of future education. In April 1942, a questionnaire was circulated to art and design schools. The Staff Inspector for Art, Dickey, wrote a confidential discussion paper based on the responses in the following October.

The most urgent problem was the need to reorganise the Royal College of Art. Dickey felt that after the end of the war, the recommendations of the Hambleton Committee would have to be put into effect, and added some recommendations of his own, which arose from his contacts with the College. He thought the subject organisation of the College should be changed, so that it was more commercially biased, and anomalies rectified - such as Mural Decoration, being placed in the Design rather than in the Painting School. In his opinion, most painters wanted to study mural painting or a branch of 'pictorial design for reproduction'. Indeed, Dickey thought the College should not 'cater for the easel painter' and that such students should attend the Slade or the Royal Academy.

This suggestion was not in accordance with the Hambleton Committee, which had recommended that the College should 'continue to provide for the teaching of fine art on the highest plane', but Dickey pointed out that the Hambleton Committee also stated: 'the attractions of the fine arts should not be allowed to divert the College from its primary function'(26).

Dickey thought the College might be organised into 'Main Craft' departments, though his suggestions retained a bias towards craft skills rather than industrial training. The students would spend the mornings engaged in 'general studies' (drawing and painting, modelling and carving, lettering, heraldry, architecture and interior decoration). In the afternoons, students would study in just one of the main craft areas, but later in their course could study an additional craft subject. The later afternoons might be for lectures. Dickey realised that the College had to be concerned with the needs of industry, an issue emphasised

in the Hambleton Report. His suggestions retained a bias towards craft skills rather than industrial training.

As the College buildings at South Kensington were in a poor condition, a number of craft subjects would have to be taken at the Central School or the London School of Printing, while students would be sent to Stourbridge for glass-making, Manchester for hosiery and Nottingham for machine lace. Dickey noted further possible cooperation with selected provincial art schools, sending selected students for a term at a time to gain industrial experience. The College would close for three months in the Summer to enable fine art students to work out of doors, and give 'industrial' students time to gain factory experience, while others might travel abroad.

Dickey's most radical suggestion was to give notice to the existing staff on the return of the College to London. He wanted to abolish all the professorships and to employ a larger number of teachers to run the craft areas. These would be employed on five year contracts to work solely for the College, teaching nearly half the time, and working the rest of the time in their own studio workshops at the College.

The role of the Principal would be to organise the teaching, and ensure that production processes were covered on the courses. Students would be admitted on abilities and personality, with a compulsory interview before acceptance. Dickey thought it advisable that post-war students should not be admitted under the age of 19, with industrial students admitted for a term or one year.

Diplomas would be awarded on the results of three years at the College, and possibly an examination, but the length of study would be elastic and depend on students and subject areas. Dickey ended his report hoping that the College would give students the best chances of gaining employment. He wanted the graduates to be versatile and adaptable, and even readily accepted as teachers in schools. He proposed a rise in student grants, and the inspection and approval of lodgings. In his opinion, the implementation of such changes would make the College the 'crown' of the art school system, and he thought it possible to implement these changes before the completion of a new College building⁽²⁷⁾.

The thoughts of the Assistant Principal Secretary, Wallis or other members of the Board are not recorded, but Dickey's close and continued involvement with the College, must have had some sway in future planning. The subjects suggested by Dickey as 'Main Crafts', suggest a continued miscomprehension of the rapid developments which had taken place in industry design and the related areas of 'commercial art', and seem outdated compared to the recommendations of the Design and Industries Association, published in Herbert Read's Design and Industry of 1935. Dickey's document was to be the basis for discussions in 1944, and his recommendations were similar to the changes which Robin Darwin made on his arrival as Principal of the College in 1948.

Committee on Industrial Art Education 1943

In the early Summer of 1943, the Board of Education returned to London. In the context of the first draft of the projected Education Bill, in June 1943, the President

of the Board of Education agreed with the President of the Board of Trade that a small interdepartmental committee of four, should examine matters of common interest in the area of industrial art, and discuss and report on how to make 'art training' generally more effective. The formation of this committee seems, in part, a response to the formation of the Weir Committee, a Departmental Committee of the Board of Overseas Trade which came under the auspicious of the Board of Trade. One person, Francis Meynell of the Board of Trade, sat on both the Weir Committee and the interdepartmental committee. The Board of Education had little choice but to work with the Board of Trade, and once again consider the future of the College⁽²⁸⁾.

The Weir Committee Report

In September 1943, the Board of Trade Committee, chaired by Sir Cecil Weir, published its findings in a confidential form: The Post-War Export Trade Committee Report of the Sub-Committee on Industrial Design and Art in Industry. The Weir Committee based its findings on the previous Hambleton Committee but concluded that it was doubtful whether a College, reorganised on the lines proposed in the Hambleton Report, would gain the confidence and co-operation of Industry. The Weir Report recommended the continuation of the College as a centre of 'training for individual design', but reorganised for the teaching of industrial design and renamed 'the Royal College of Art and Design'.

The Report suggested the Boards of Education and Trade should jointly consider the changes in training, staffing and curricula, which would be required to ensure the

interest of industry in the renamed College. The College's governing body should remain under the administration of the Board of Education and include members of the Central Design Council (whose Chairman would be Vice-Chairman of the governing board of the College)⁽²⁹⁾. This was a clear suggestion that the Board of Trade should take a leading role in linking the College with industry, and that the College should remain under civil service control.

The Findings of the Interdepartmental Committee

In January 1944, the Interdepartmental Committee sent its Report to the Presidents of the Boards of Education and Trade. This Report went even further than the recommendations of the Weir Report, and no doubt reflects the imminent passing of the 1944 Education Act, which was to strengthen the role of state education. The Report opened by quoting Owen Jones, who in 1852, wrote on the vicious circle of poorly designed goods, manufactured and sold, the standard of which remained unchanged or declined⁽³⁰⁾. It remarked that the present dilemma was the same, if not worse, and that despite having an industry with strong production techniques, and a large domestic and colonial market, Britain faced competition from countries with either a large domestic market or low wage costs, notably the United States, where there had been a 'virtual revolution' in industrial design and a realisation of the importance of 'eye appeal'. The second paragraph defined the word design as having three meanings: form, decoration and function. The Report then noted the five major reports concerned with industrial design⁽³¹⁾ and considered the issues identified in the findings of the Weir Report, notably the need to set up a Design Council and specialist art and design schools, with the College extending its training from fine art to the 'applied arts'

and changing its name. The Interdepartmental Committee suggested the name 'Royal College of Design' would be more appropriate.

The Interdepartmental Committee recorded that pre-war changes at the College were 'never more than a tentative step in the right direction'. It agreed with the views of the Weir Report, and believed them to be in line with the College Council's policy. The changes would provide a few highly qualified designers, appropriate for industry, and an institution which could 'accept practising painters and sculptors for courses in industrial technique' (32).

R A Butler, the Minister for Education commented:

The doves at Ambleside may well be fluttered. I shall wish to test the RCA teachers before I form a considered opinion. Some of the style is the worst baroque. The Romanesque portions I attribute to my own advisers and am happy (33).

In April 1944, the Council of the College considered both the Interdepartmental Report and the Weir Report. The Council reacted strongly to the criticisms, and noted that following the publication of the Hambleden Report in 1936, special attention had been given to the staffing and equipping of the School of Design, which included a Liaison Officer in Industry. The ratio of design students had risen to 62% and appeared to be increasing. Between 1936 and 1939, new departments had been established including an 'Experimental Workshop'. The Board was aware that for several of the new areas the equipment was inadequate, especially compared with provincial art schools. The

Council had pointed to the work of students in industry and retailing and the institution of special scholarships for designers in industry. The Council further added that it was necessary to improve the career opportunities in 'commercial art'. When more ex-students of the College had secure jobs in industry, the Council argued there would be more support for, and confidence in the College. Finally, it pointed out that it intended to introduce experimentation of new materials such as plastic, but this could not take place because all hopes for a new College building vanished in 1938, with the Munich crisis⁽³⁴⁾.

Dickey commented to Wallis, the Principal Assistant Secretary, that the Weir Report implied the College did not have the confidence of industry. He thought the Council's response should have been more direct and shown its intention to adopt the Hambleden recommendations. Dickey thought the present staff of the College would 'not go all out to meet the industrialists', a pointed comment that he now considered, if not previously, the College staff to be one of the key problems.

This document continues with comments which enlighten us on Dickey's comprehension of design terms:

I am not quite clear what is meant by 'Industrial Design'... It is described as a 'subject', which suggests that design for light engineering is meant, but I think the term is probably here used to cover machine made manufactured goods as opposed to hand made, including pottery, textiles, glass, dress etc. I rather feel we ought to know just what is intended for it is suggested lower down that the provincial art schools should send forward to the R.C.A. students specially prepared for further training as 'Industrial Designers'....I think the truth is

that provincial art schools don't all regard the R.C.A. as the place to which a student hoping to make a living as a designer for manufacturing industry ought to go, but let us hope that after the war improved conditions at the College will establish it as the Mecca of the aspiring designer!(35)

The Board of Education was well aware of the demands which were being made by the Board of Trade, and the demands which would be made by the Royal College of Art itself. But although the term 'industrial art' was being replaced by the term 'industrial design', and the comprehension of what constituted 'design' was changing, the subjects taught in the School of Design at the College, continued to equate more with craft. A correspondence over the definition of 'industrial design' appears to have taken place, with Jowett writing:

'Industrial Design' is generally understood in the College as to mean mass produced machine made goods as opposed to hand made articles. Production in Pottery, Textiles, Glass and Dress may be either hand made by Craftsmen, or mass produced by the machine and in some cases both methods are used. It is therefore difficult to classify such Industries quite definitely.

Designs for Advertisement, Illustration, Posters and the Like, are usually referred to as 'Commercial Art'. This is not a good definition, for immediately the designs pass to the Printer they become part of an Industrial Product(36).

The newly renamed Ministry of Education felt beleaguered. At the end of June, a long memorandum by Wallis to the Deputy Secretary of the Ministry, detailed the comments of the College Council, and remarked that the Council did not consider it could implement the Hambleton Committee

recommendations, until the College was housed in a specially designed building. However, such a building would not be available for 'a number of years'. Indeed, in August 1943, at a meeting between Rokeling, the Assistant Secretary and Jowett, it was planned the College should return to its old buildings in London, at the end of the war, hopefully 1944. The Ministry hoped for the erection of a new College on the Prince Consort Road site, as soon as possible. The Board wished to employ an external architect, but this would only be possible if the Ministry of Works was too busy.⁽³⁷⁾ From the Ministry's point of view, the Council had not presented a serious attempt to work out a post war policy for the College, such as the provision of equipment, plans for reorganisation and approaching industries⁽³⁸⁾.

The President of the Ministry of Education presented its viewpoint to the Sub-Committee of the Reconstruction Committee. The Ministry considered there was an impasse, with industry requiring the talent of College diplomates but unwilling to employ them. A large proportion of the Design students were concerned with commercial rather than 'industrial art'. Wallis, who wrote the paper, suspected that students from art schools did not apply to the College because they did not perceive the benefits of doing so. There was no simple solution, but the Weir Report's suggestion of including members of the Central Design Council was welcomed, and it was hoped that links between industry and the College could be encouraged⁽³⁹⁾.

A more personal comment to the President (by an unnamed author) added that the problem of providing first class training in industrial design, presented almost insoluble difficulties. The Ministry had very definitely failed in

its aims, because the College had never been provided with proper premises and equipment. An even greater problem was the need to find staff who had the necessary talent and outlook to run the College. The author of the note also commented that he had sometimes wondered about abandoning the College to establish a number of specialist centres of training, but realised this was controversial. There was no choice but for the Ministry to provide accommodation for the College, but even more importantly, for a complete change of staff to ensure a break from old traditions and encourage innovation⁽⁴⁰⁾. The Ministry of Education now seemed aware of the failings of the staff, but were employing this factor to detract from their failure to support the College, and obtain finance from the Treasury. R A Butler, after reading these minutes, remarked that reorganization of the College would have to coincide with its return to London, but that there was time to discuss the issue⁽⁴¹⁾.

At the end of July 1944, the War Cabinet Reconstruction Sub-Committee met to discuss industrial design. Here, the President of the Ministry of Education said he was anxious to collaborate with the Board of Trade, and suggested a major reorganisation of the Royal College of Art⁽⁴²⁾.

A new building for the College was now a priority, for on 29 May 1944, a flying bomb had caused severe damage to its accommodation in Exhibition Road⁽⁴³⁾. In October, Sir Robert Wood of the Ministry of Education wrote to E.N.de Norman of the Ministry of Works, in a personal and confidential letter, explaining that, although the Ministry of Education was unhappy about the way in which the College had been run, its continuance could be justified, but with a drastic change in the personnel of the teaching staff and

governing body⁽⁴⁴⁾ and the appointment of suitable staff, who would, Wood realised, be difficult to find due to the bad state of the College's South Kensington buildings, following the blitz. Wood requested de Norman to find suitable premises for the College on its return to London, which were 'available, affordable and fairly decent', to use until the completion of a new building.

The Ministry of Works suggested a site next to the Royal Albert Hall, which belonged to the 1851 Commissioners. This would provide 58,000 square feet of accommodation in a three storey building, or if a four storey structure, a further 11,000 square feet. Also, an adjoining site would be available in 1973, which could provide a further 50,000 feet. Even the Ministry of Works was aware that the 69,000 square feet was less than the 80,000 recommended in the 1936 Hamblenden Report⁽⁴⁵⁾. The offer was accepted because it was better than nothing⁽⁴⁶⁾.

At the start of December 1944, a meeting was held between the Ministries of Education and Works to discuss the premises for the College. The proposal to erect a new College before the war had led to the drawing up of the 'Leach Scheme', for the South Kensington site, which included both the museums and the various educational institutions in the area. Any new proposals for the College would effect this scheme, especially the amount of area required, and the Ministry of Works was keen for the College to return to its old building in time for the Autumn Term. The estimated completion time for the new building was five years, so there was little choice but for the College to return to its old premises off Exhibition Road, with the Common Room and some other areas, in Queens Gate, and the first floor of the Western Gallery, Imperial

Institute Road. The Ministry of Works agreed to adapt a house in Cromwell Road for use as a hostel, providing the Treasury agreed. In all, the whole area would hold 300 students, and at this time the College had only 100 students. It was envisaged that the College would remain in these premises until the construction of a new building was completed⁽⁴⁷⁾.

In the January 1945, Butler, the Minister for Education, met with Jowett and Lord Hambleden, the Chairman of the College Council, regarding the site, of the new College building at Kensington Gore next to the Albert Hall. Unlike the previously suggested site, this had an excellent frontage which would raise the public profile of the College of Art, a factor the Board of Education had been keen to emphasise in pre war discussions⁽⁴⁸⁾.

In the Summer of 1944, Dickey sent a handwritten note to Wallis, reminding him that ten years before, at the time of Rothenstein's retirement, Dickey had suggested 'doing away' with the College, and sending the Board of Education scholarship holders to the Central School of Art and Crafts, Slade or Royal Academy Schools. Then, his recommendations were considered impractical, but the present situation could be a case for amalgamating the College with the Central. The College could, however, learn from the Central's example with its links in industry, its pre-apprenticeship classes and part-time students, and its training of designers for industry. Dickey argued that the College had chiefly been concerned with the education of scholarship winners whose aims were for careers in teaching, unlike the students at the Central⁽⁴⁹⁾.

Certainly, now the College was returning to London, into a small building, there was a need to consider what subjects the College could teach. The Ministry seem to have once more considered Dickey's confidential report on the College, written in 1942, in which Dickey recommended a number of changes including making use of the Central School to teach certain craft subjects⁽⁵⁰⁾. Wallis asked Dickey to consider the very tentative idea of the Central School becoming the 'Central School of Art and Crafts (for London)', while the 'Royal College of Design' would become a post-graduate College concerned with industrial design, funded by central government. The new institution would have a joint governing body with some members elected by the London County Council, who ran the Central, and a couple of nominees named by the Minister of Education. The advantage was that subjects could be separated between the two college sites, at a time when a sudden increase in student numbers, following the end of the war, was expected⁽⁵¹⁾, and also at a time when both institutions were short of space. Indeed, Dickey suggested to the Ministry that a new building be designed not for the College, but for the amalgamated institutions. Although the Ministry's scheme had a clear division between the role of the two institutions, Dickey suggested a scheme in which all students who were holders of London County Council awards, National Awards given by the Ministry of Education or fee paying students, would be eligible for the award Associate of the Royal College of Art, while other students could work for the new Ministry of Education's National Diploma in Design, an idea which came from his tentative scheme of two years previous, to amalgamate the two institutions⁽⁵²⁾.

Dickey's suggestions did not agree with the plans of the Deputy Secretary, but the main fear of the Ministry was

that the amalgamation would be interpreted as the absorption of the College by the Central School. Originally it was Dickey who was asked to put the suggestions regarding the change of purpose of the two institutions, to Savage of the London County Council, but his views were clearly at a tangent to the rest of the Ministry, so this role fell to Woods. Whereas, in the 1930s, the London County Council was considered a hindrance to such a unification, the Ministry thought it would now be open to the idea, but the suggestions had to be carefully phrased. Originally this was to be an experiment, but the Ministry soon agreed that it should be put forward as a temporary arrangement, and a politically viable suggestion.⁽⁵³⁾.

A Minute was penned to the Secretary and the Minister for Education, on the position of the Royal College of Art. This stated the facts that a suitable site next to the Albert Hall had been found for the construction of the new College building. When the College came back to London it would return to its premises in South Kensington, which would help the Ministry to make the required changes in staffing and the governing body. This minute described the College as 'a far from creditable institution which can make no very valuable contribution either to Art or to Industry'⁽⁵⁴⁾.

Butler as Minister for Education, saw the great advantage of the amalgamation, but considered the discussions with the London County Council required careful handling. He considered the College far superior to the Central, and that the idea of amalgamation might enable a change in the governing body at the College⁽⁵⁵⁾.

In December 1944, the meeting to discuss the proposed amalgamation took place at County Hall, between Wood for the Ministry, Savage of London County Council, the Council's Chairman, Charles Robertson and also Sir Harold Webbe as Leader of the Opposition. The fact that Jowett, the Principal of the College, had previously been the Principal of the Central School must have helped in the acceptance of the proposals, by the London County Council. However it should be remembered that the London County Council had a Labour majority, and that any central government intervention in the art school system of this local authority would not have been welcome. As far as the London County Council was concerned, it was agreeable, even to the extent of adjusting the governing body, which looked after the Central School, to include nominees from the Minister of Education, with a quid pro quo arrangement on the Council of the College. However, Sir Harold Webbe indicated to Savage that the Minister of Education might face considerable opposition in the House of Commons, if the Ministry was to abandon the College as the apex of the Art School system. Sir Robert Wood, of the Ministry commented that this was :

...just the sort of unreal criticism which we know may take place, and what has to be weighed against that is the prospect of otherwise going on with the Royal College in the somewhat dismal condition in which it has subsisted for so many years, with little prospect of being able to make a clean new start in appropriate premises for a number of years yet(56).

The favourable response of the London County Council outweighed the potential political problems, and indeed Butler, as the Minister, noted he was not worried by Webb(57). Further discussion was required between the

Ministry and Lord Hambleden, as Chairman of the College Council, and Jowett. At the start of January 1945, Butler had decided not to see Hambleden and Jowett, but changed his mind by mid January, probably on the advice of the civil servants, who needed his Ministerial weight to enforce change at the College.

This meeting was also attended by Sir Robert Wood of the Ministry of Education. All hoped that the College would return to London in the Autumn of 1945 with an estimated 140 students. The Minister emphasised the need for the College to develop design into a national school, for which it would require better accommodation and facilities. Jowett agreed the need for improvements, and suggested the development of a research unit for design. He did not want to train too many industrial designers, aware of the lack of employment opportunities. He did not think it was the job of the College to produce lower level staff for industry, but a very few who would influence industry. As Minister, Butler asked for Jowett's ideas for future developments with regard to the various criticism of the College. Jowett could only restate his views, taking the opportunity to say he thought the Ministry of Works should employ an outside architect for the new College.

Butler then indicated that the Ministry was considering a link between the College and the Central School. This statement seemed to be made as an afterthought, and Butler was careful to make it appear that the College was to have charge of the Central, and thus to avoid opposition from Jowett and Hambleden or the House of Commons. From Jowett's reaction, he does not appear to have taken in the full implication of the situation, commenting on the interchange of students between the institutions before the war,

opining that this could be usefully revived on a small scale and that it would be an exchange from the College to the Central, rather than the other way round. After some further discussion on this matter, the Minister reassured both Hamblenden and Jowett that was no reason why discussions should not proceed with the London County Council, on the basis of Jowett taking charge of both institutions, with a joint management committee⁽⁵⁸⁾.

At the start of February, Wood, for the Ministry and Jowett as Principal, saw Savage of the London County Council, together with Tomlinson, who was acting Principal of the Central School. The Central had suffered severe war damage, so the use of some of the studio space at the College was welcomed. It was anticipated that the Central would have up to 2,000 students, with some 800 students at the School at any one time. It was agreed that Jowett would spend a couple of a days with Tomlinson at the Central School, to discuss the needs of the different institutions and produce a joint report, on which a letter would be based and sent by the Minister of Education to Charles Robertson, Chairman of the London County Council Education Committee⁽⁵⁹⁾.

The report was quickly written, and submitted on the 21st of February. This two page document stated the discussion which had taken place, and emphasised that the Central School was a training centre for advanced students. Part time day and evening students were mainly drawn from the London area, while the Royal College of Art was, by contrast, concerned with the training of a limited number of full-time students, selected from throughout the country, by entrance examination. The pooling of activities would provide greater training opportunities and

interchange, with shared lectures. The paper noted that the demand for industrial designers was limited, and the proposed scheme would ensure the number of such graduates would be controlled. It was also proposed that a small joint research unit for the study of future industrial developments would be established. Jowett and Tomlinson considered the co-operation between the colleges would result in a wider field of training, until each institution was adequately equipped and housed. From this, we can judge that the two principals considered the move towards co-operation as temporary. If Jowett and Tomlinson were aware of the Ministry of Education's plan, they did not highlight the fact in their report⁽⁶⁰⁾.

By the end of March, the London County Council was ready to discuss details with the Minister for Education, though issues such as joint management and finance had to wait until a meeting of an advisory committee in May⁽⁶¹⁾. However, when Dickey met Tomlinson of the Central School, in April, it was apparent that co-operation was the most that could be hoped for. Amalgamation was out of the question, as the staff at the Central feared a loss of identity⁽⁶²⁾. Moreover, Sir Llewellyn Smith of the Central School had pointed out to the Ministry of Education, that no students from the College could be accepted in the coming Autumn of 1945, unless immediate repair of war damage at the Central School took place⁽⁶³⁾. It was estimated to cost £10,000 just to repair the wing that was partially destroyed, and with the rest of the Central School building in such a poor state of repair, even the Ministry of Education realised co-operation would be impossible. On the 4th May 1945, Wood of the Ministry of Education explained this to Llewellyn Smith, of the Central School, adding that the Ministry of Education was reliant on the Ministry of Works to undertake repairs, and that

such an event seemed unlikely with the amount of housing repairs required⁽⁶⁴⁾.

Yet the same day, Wood wrote a personal letter to de Norman at the Ministry of Works asking when the Central School might be repaired, especially with a view to the urgent need for accommodation and the planned co-operation between the Central and the Royal College of Art⁽⁶⁵⁾. de Norman replied in a rather unco-operative manner, stating the Ministry of Education should put forward their application for priority in the normal way. If hostilities in Europe ended, the situation might improve and the case for repairing the art schools might justify an application for special consideration⁽⁶⁶⁾. At this time, there was a Cabinet ban on starting new building work in London, due to the great need to repair houses, so the start of construction of a new College building was even more unlikely.

In June, the Ministry of Education was still considering the amalgamation, but any co-operation still depended on substantial repairs to the Central School⁽⁶⁷⁾. The London County Council was now concerned at the possible loss of identity of their School, and was not willing to agree to one joint governing body, though they would accept two governing councils, of which two or three members were also full members of the other council. On a more positive note, it was willing for Jowett to be a joint Principal, being anxious to transfer Tomlinson, the Principal of the Central, to another post. Now the Ministry of Education's plan was reduced to little more than the co-operation which had taken place between the two institutions before the war. Towards the end of June, it was clear that the restoration work on the Central School would not be ready

until 1946, and the possibility of achieving any form of amalgamation, by Autumn 1945 was out of the question⁽⁶⁸⁾.

In August, negotiations looked more promising, with the Ministry of Education nominating two representative to sit on the Advisory Council of the Central School⁽⁶⁹⁾, but it took until January 1946, for the London County Council to nominate to members for the Council of the College⁽⁷⁰⁾. The issue of amalgamation diminished into the background, and by January 1947, the matter appears to have been dropped. The Ministry of Education gained a renewal of the tenancy on the Upper Western Gallery of the Imperial Institute, for another year for use by the College⁽⁷¹⁾.

The Royal College of Art Returns to London

The Royal College of Art returned to London for the start of the Autumn term, 1945. The Ministry of Works carried out repairs, sometimes while classes were in session, which caused some disruption. The continuity of study was made more difficult by the influx of ex-service personnel, both staff and students. A great number of enquiries were received from people who anticipated early demobilisation, which meant staff spent much more of their time interviewing prospective students⁽⁷²⁾. In the Spring of 1946, the number of candidates for the round one of the College's entrance examination exceeded all records of the College, although the low standard of entrants for the Painting School was disappointing⁽⁷³⁾. By May, when the second examination was held, the number of candidates for the Design School was greater than those for the other three schools put together⁽⁷⁴⁾.

The Retirement of the Principal Percy Jowett

In February, 1947 the Ministry began to look for a new Principal. Jowett was due to retire as Principal in June 1947, but his office was extended until the Summer Term 1948, to allow more time for the appointment of his successor. The College Council hoped it would be consulted by the Ministry of Education, but there is no documented evidence to indicate this happened. Jowett had arrived at the College as a Principal who had experience of industrial design training at the Central. However, Jowett did not have the political clout to pressure the Board or the Ministry of Education, to implement change. Jowett was in some ways a compromise appointment. Now the Ministry realised it required a principal who was proactive, and who would provide an ally against the constraints of other government departments, notably the Treasury.

A discussion on the future of the College was held at the Ministry of Education, with a member of the Board of Trade and four members of the Council of Industrial Design (which came under the administration of the Board of Trade), but no members of the College staff or its Council. The College had to be reorganised, taking into account the implications of the Weir Report, and the need to develop an export market⁽⁷⁵⁾. The Ministry of Education was keen to appoint a new Principal and governing body during 1947, but was constrained by the fact that changes could only be implemented after consultation with the present and future Principal and existing Council. The Ministry considered appointing an Advisory Committee to deal with these issues, and the comments made at the meeting reflected Dickey's confidential discussion paper of 1943. The meeting agreed that the College should not train professional artists, who could study at the Slade or the Royal Academy Schools. Fine

art facilities would remain at the College, as background study for Design students, and their time in the School of Architecture was seen as positive.

It was also agreed that the College provided 'more than enough' students for the needs of industry, with the surplus entering teaching, and therefore the Ministry did not need to provide any special provision for intending teachers⁽⁷⁶⁾. On what statistical basis the Ministry of Education had concluded that the College was producing more designers than required, is unknown. Was this purely an assumption based on the opinion of Dickey and Jowett? The members from the Council of Industrial Design and the Board of Trade agreed with the Ministry's view, but on what grounds? It was evident that the College's graduates were continuing to be successful applicants to posts in education. From this, we can see the the Ministry intended to remove the teacher training qualification from the syllabi of the College. This fitted in with the development of new national qualifications, notably the National Diploma in Design, which was to be awarded at art colleges.

The suggestion was made that the College should be divided into four departments of design:

a) Pictorial Design, which would deal with drawing for reproduction, process and machine work for letterpress production, lithographic and other printing processes concerned with illustration and publicity, photography, bookbinding, and calligraphy.

b) Domestic Interior Design, dealing with furniture, floor and wall coverings, furnishing textiles, pottery, glass, and cutlery.

c) Dress Design, for all forms of dress including leather work, buttons, shoes and jewellery.

d) Engineering Design, for light metal, light engineering and plastic industries.

Students would be based in one of the four departments, with some courses having common elements. Subjects such as pottery were seen by the Council of Industrial Design as not requiring a large number of graduate designers. Leslie and another CoID member, Professor Robin Darwin, considered the greatest need was for Engineering Design which might grow to be the largest department. Allen Walton of the CoID hoped students would gain a diploma, then enter industry for six months, before returning to the College for a further six months. Bray, for the Ministry assured them it would endeavour to secure adequate provision for such a department as soon as possible⁽⁷⁷⁾. The issue of accommodation for the College was also discussed. However, the problems and issues surrounding a new building were not discussed in detail⁽⁷⁸⁾.

A month later, the Council of Industrial Design Training Committee was keen to press the Ministry of Education for a fairly final scheme for the reorganisation of the College, one which went further than the Ministry's plans. This placed the Ministry in a situation of some urgency. The CoID were pressing to make fine art an ancillary study, which the Ministry was reluctant to do as the College would then lose part of its traditional educational area. Dickey, who attended the CoID meeting, remarked that if fine art was retained it should be taught in 'a lively way'⁽⁷⁹⁾. Further, the CoID's wish to include engineering, although initially seen by the Ministry as positive, was

now seen as less advantageous. Dickey was not in favour of setting up such a department, and thought its graduates were not required by industry. If they went into teaching, it would only proliferate students for this subject. He further pointed out, that however much the Ministry or the COID wished to determine the future organisation of the College, it would be the new Principal who would have the strongest influence for good or ill. He wrote:

If he is a man of real ability and ideas, there can be no doubt that he would not welcome taking on a job which had been planned for him in advance by people who might have excellent ideas on paper, but were not in the position to know how they would work out in practice(80).

Who Dickey had in mind for the new Principal when he wrote this, is unknown, but with hindsight, the future Principal, Robin Darwin, was to be an excellent compromise. Having been involved in the planning discussions on the College, he would be willing to accept the plans for its future. A practical knowledge and ability in design does not appear to have been one of the qualities required for a new Principal. There is a suggestion that the Ministry approached Darwin with the College plans, six months before he was appointed Principal of the College(81).

In October 1947, the Ministry of Education held a meeting at the Royal College of Art on the February meeting between itself and the Council of Industrial Design. The Ministry explained that the present Governing Instrument for the College dating back to January 1937, worked well but criticism of the College required re-consideration of its organisation. It had been suggested that the College Diploma should only be given to students who had studied

design for industrial and commercial needs, with the schools of Painting and Sculpture being turned into ancillary departments. An emphasis was to be placed on training students as designers for mass production in 'engineering and the plastic industries'. This re-organisation, together with new staffing and equipment, aimed to have the triple object of: making design for industry and commerce more prominent; increasing the College facilities for the design of manufactured products; and encouraging interchange of students between departments during their time at the College.

Jowett was wholly opposed to the Diploma only being awarded to students who studied design for an industrial or commercial purpose, and rejected the suggested ancillary role. He remarked that there were very few students in the Schools of Painting and Sculpture compared with the School of Design, and noted the reputation of the College in the area of fine art. If the Schools of Painting and Sculpture were to influence the Design students, it was essential to have a few first class students working full-time on a Diploma course to produce excellence. He also argued a point which Dickey had made, in his writings, that if all the Diploma students went through the Schools of Design and Engraving, there would be more leaving each year than could find employment.

Tennyson, for the College Council, voiced the opinion that if employers had confidence in the College, then its graduates would have no difficulty finding employment, but the continuation of fine art was an impediment to creating the perception of the college as a centre for design. Another member of the Council, Josiah Wedgwood, emphasised that the present courses could not train industrial or

commercial designers, and that the appropriate place to acquire such training was in the factory or workshop. He suggested co-operation with technical colleges. The Council made it evident that the College was not the right place to teach design for mass production. Jowett thought that with industry unclear as to the training it required, there was a case for the establishment, at the College, of a unit to research the teaching of design. Here, students would divide their time between the College and working in industry. What was not made clear from the discussion, was whether the full Diploma course in fine arts would remain. A working party was set up to study the organisation and running of the College⁽⁸²⁾.

The Ministry informed the College that to strengthen the links between the College and industry, advisory committees would be formed to ensure the relevance of the courses to industry. Representative members from these committees would sit on the College Council. The Ministry laid out its plans for short courses for designers from industry and post-graduate students from provincial art schools, who would benefit from further training, but who would not take the full course for the Diploma. The developments would be best carried out in a new building, and the Ministry asked if they could be achieved using the existing accommodation, or if further accommodation might be found. The Chair of the College Council, Sir Charles Tennyson expressed the view that a closer contact between the Council and the Ministry was desirable, and that an Assessor (a civil servant officer of not lower grade than assistant secretary) should attend the meetings of the College Council. Jowett added that he would be glad for someone 'who was interested', to regularly visit the College to see what was taking place. This comment indicates that there was considerable discontent felt by staff at the College

towards the Ministry, whose staff seemed unaware of the actual work of the College, and whose interest was distant⁽⁸³⁾. Both sides were in agreement that the government of the College required reconsideration.

Endnotes

4.3 The Principalship of Percy Jowett 1935-1947

1. ED23/552 35/1350½Y Eaton(?) to Wood, and note by Dickey. 08.04.35.
2. ED23/552 Meeting between Mr R.R.Carter, Secretary of the National Society of Art Masters and Mr Eaton and Mr Dickey of the Board of Education 18.04.35.
3. ED23/552 report on meeting between Hay of the Royal College of Art and Eaton of the Board of Education. Date unknown.
4. ED23/552. The students would also attend classes with students from the Institute of Education, on the history of art, given by Alec Clifton Taylor at the Courtauld Institute, another branch of University of London.
5. The future of the 'Island Site' was varied: the Victoria and Albert Museum hoped to use the site for its own expansion plans, while Frank Pick suggested it should be used for a permanent exhibition of modern applied art. In fact the site was given to the National Theatre, whose foundation stone was laid on the site in 1939.
6. ED23/798 The Hambleden Committee of the Board of Education, May 1936.
7. ED23/798 Minutes of the Council of the Royal College of Art 1936.
8. ED23/795 36/1554 Y Board of Education Memorandum, M.B.J. to Wood and the Secretary 09.05.36. to 08.06.36. and succeeding memorandum in the same file.

9. ED43/454. Royal College of Art Note for Discussion 1947
10. ED23/939 25.07.36. This meant the Board managed the College through its Council and Principal. These proposals were passed by Ministerial Minute in January 1937.
11. ED23/939 14.01.37. Oliver F.G.Stanley, President of the Board of Education.
12. ED23/799 The employment of B.P.Moore retired civil servant. Bosworth Smith of the Board of Education to Young of the Treasury 04.03.38.
13. ED23/795 24.01.39. R.M.M. to Mr Turnbull.
14. One attendant, Pascoe looked after the attendance and pay of the models and the disbursement of the petty cash, while Lofting acted as storekeeper and carpenter, and a temporary Messenger, Lugg, was in charge of the sale and free supply of materials to students. Farthing, the doorkeeper, helped the students in innumerable small ways, and Miss Green also cheerfully undertook minor clerical work when it becomes necessary
15. ED23/799. Various papers.
16. ED23/794 Davidson of the Board of Education and the Treasury November/December 1939. 39/4652Y and S.2635/3.
17. ED23/799 Minutes 66-73 (1939) Council of the Royal College of Art.
18. ED23/795 H.Ramsbotham of the Board of Education to Captain the Rt.Hon. Harry Crookshank, M.P. H.M.Treasury. 16.10.40.

19. ED23/795 Harry Crookshank of the Treasury to The Minister for Education, H. Rambotham. 24.10.40.

20. ED23/795.

21. In July 1940, Sheffield Education Committee had suspended the supplementary awards to the three students for the duration of the war, and so that they could carry out the instructions of the tribunal. In fact, Hampshire returned to the Royal College of Art for the 1940-41 session and in doing so was not disobeying the tribunals decision, (having found part-time ambulance work,) and so was allowed to resume his studentship, while Wain and Wright did not appear, by January 1941, to have found work of national importance worthy of retaining their awards from the Board of Education. (ED46/191 June to August 1940. Various handwritten notes between members of the Board of Education, T655/613 and between Jowett of the Royal College of Art and Moore of the Board of Education.)

22. ED23/797 Burrows of Board of Education in internal memoranda to G.D.Rokeling.

23. ED23/797 Burrows, Rokeling, and Wallis. Various internal memoranda 11 to 16 December 1940. By early January 1941, a scheme based on the National Health Insurance Scheme was set up at a charge to students of 5 shillings a term, not including the cost of drugs.

24. ED23/797 Memoranda and letters December 1940 to February 1941.

25. ED23/798 Letter from Clear of the Board of Education to Pyke Lees of the Treasury. 43/3398Y 28.07.44.

26. Hambleden Committee, page 15 end of paragraph 16.

27. ED23/798 Dickey to Wallis Reorganisation of Art and Craft Education after the War - the Royal College of Art 19.10.42. The 'Main Crafts', suggested by Dickey, ranged from sculpture and mural decoration, through dress design and textiles, precious metals, light metalwork, pottery, stained glass, engraving and etching, lithography, typography, photographic processes of reproduction, bookbinding, glass making and furniture.

28. The Interdepartmental Committee consisted of A.S.Hoskin, and Francis Meynell for the Board of Trade, with H.B.Wallis and E.M.O'Dickey from the Board of Education.

29. The Weir Committee members included Kenneth Clark, Francis Meynell, Josiah Wedgwood, with W.R.Over as Secretary. ED23/798 Post-War Export Trade Committee, Report of the Sub-Committee on Industrial Design and Art in Industry. Appendix to Paper No 49. 23.09.43.

30. Owen Jones on The True and False in the Decorative Arts a lecture given at Marlborough House in 1852.

31. These were Gorell 1932; Council for Art and Industry 1935 (Education for the Consumer); Hambleden 1936; Council for Art and Industry 1937; Weir 1943.

32. ED23/798 Report to the Presidents of the Board and Education and Trade. p6.-7. 27.01.44.) .

33. ED23/798 R B 09.02.44. Handwritten commend added on Report of the Interdepartmental Committee.

34. ED23/798 Report referring to Minute No 140 of Minutes of the Meeting of the Council of the Royal College of Art, London 12.04.44. Sandilands Secretary of Council, Ambleside

May 1944. The new areas were sculpture, dress design; textiles, weaving and printing; Industrial Pottery; Book-binding; Printing and Typography; Glass Decoration; Advertising Design.

35. ED24/798 Dickey to Wallis 03.06.44.

36. ED23/798 Jowett, Principal to Sandilands Registrar of the Royal College of Art. 14.06.44.

37. ED23/798 Memorandum of conversation with Jowett, by Rokeling. 12.08.43.

38. ED23/798 H.B.Wallis to Deputy Secretary of the Ministry of Education 22.06.44.

39. ED23/798 H.B.Wallis to the Deputy Secretary of the Ministry of Education. 22.06.44. This paper was written by Wallis for the President of the Ministry to Present and the Reconstruction Sub-Committee.

40. ED23/798 R.S.B. Deputy President Walter or Wood to President. 26.06.44.

41. ED23/798 R A Butler 11.07.44.

42. This committee was informed that the Secretary of State for Scotland was also in agreement with the proposals and was considering means of raising the status of one of the Scottish art colleges on lines similar to those proposed for the Royal College of Art. ED23/798 War Cabinet Reconstruction Committee. Ministerial Sub-Committee on Industrial Problems. Minutes of a meeting of the Sub-Committee 11.07.44.

43. ED46/450.College Minutes December 1945.

44. ED23/798 R.S. Wood of the Ministry of Education to E.N. de Norman of Ministry of Works. Confidential and Private 17.10.44.
45. ED23/798 E.N. de Norman of the Ministry of Works to Sir Robert Wood of the Ministry of Education. 28.10.44.
46. ED23/798 Dickey to Wallis Memo 1.11.44.
47. Williams, Woods and Finney, Ministry of Education and two Officers of the Ministry of Works. ED23/798 Finny, Establishments Officer of the Minister of Education to the Deputy Secretary. 7.12.44
48. ED23/937 Wood to Wallis and Minister 4.1.45.
49. ED23/798 letter from Dickey to Wallis 1.11.44.
50. Dickey's 1942 Report has been chronologically detached in the file and placed into the November 1944 papers.
51. ED23/798 H.B.W. to Mr Dickey. 10.11.44.
52. ED23/798 memorandum from Dickey to Wallis 13.11.44.
53. ED23/798 Minute to Secretary and Minister for Education signed P.S.W. 28.11.44.
54. ED23/798 Minute to Secretary and Minister for Education signed P.S.W. 28.11.44.
55. ED23/798 R.A.Bulter, Minister for Education penned 1.12.44. typed up 4.12.44.
56. ED23/798 Woods to Wallis 21.12.44.

57. 'I am not at all concerned about Webbe and will not see Hamblenden and Jowett 6. ED23/798 Butler to Wood 5.1.45.

58. ED23/937 R.S. Wood 17.1.45.

59. ED23/937 Woods 2.2.45.

60. ED23/937 Jowett and Tomlinson Proposed scheme for co-operation between the Royal College of Art and the L.C.C. Central School of arts and Crafts. 21.2.45. The proposals included the College students attending the Central for silversmithing, printing, light industries, furniture making, practical interior decoration and metal casting. Students from the Central would attend the College for architecture, stone carving, industrial weaving, pottery and glass engraving. Lectures could be shared by both schools.

61. ED23/937 Salmon, Clerk of the Council, L.C.C. to the secretary of the Ministry of education 27.3.45.

62. ED23/937 Dickey to Wood 21.4.45.

63. ED23/937 Sir Herbert Llewellyn Smith of Central School to Sir Robert Wood of the Ministry of Education. 2.5.45.

64. ED23/937 R.S. Wood Ministry of Education to Llewellyn Smith 4.5.45.

65. ED23/937 Personal letter to de Norman from R.S. Wood of the Ministry of Education. 4.5.45.

66. 'I understand that so far the Director of Building Programmes had not received an application for priority'. ED23/937 E. de Norman of the Ministry of Works to Sir Robert Wood of the Ministry of Education. 8.6.45.

67. ED23/937 R.S. Wood to Turnbull 11.06.45.
68. ED23/937 Turnbull to Wood 22.06.45.
69. ED23/937 Wood to Savage of the London County Council. 17.08.45. The two members nominated were Miss M.E.Tabor and Mr T.C. Dugdale.
70. ED23/937 Savage of London County Council to Wood of the Ministry of Education. 12.01.46. The two nominees were Mr.R.H.Pott and Mr.F.P.Phillips.
71. ED23/937 Earls of the Ministry of Works to Hunt of the Ministry of Education 24.01.47.
72. ED46/450 Council of the Royal College of Art Eighth Report for the session 1945-46 to the Rt.Hon. Ellen Wilkinson, Minister for Education.
73. ED46/450 Minutes of the Council of the Royal College of Art 173-180. 26.03.46.
74. ED46/450 Minutes of the Council of the Royal College of Art 07.05.46.
75. The Meeting was Chaired by F.Bray of the Ministry of Education, and included: Rokeling, Baker, Shelley,(C.I.) and Dickey H.M.I, all from the Ministry of Education, with four members of the Council of Industrial Design, Leslie the Director, Allan Walton, Professor Robin Darwin, C.Ironside and J. Beresford Evans. The Scottish Education Department was represented by J. Macdonald, and the Board of Trade by P.N. Tregoning.
76. ED46/454 Summary of a Discussion on the Royal College of Art at the Ministry of Education on 24th February 1947.

77. The Ministry of Education had recently introduced new examinations which were in two stages: the Intermediate Diploma and the National Diploma, each requiring two years of study.

78. ED46/454 Summary of a Discussion on the Royal College of Art at the Ministry of Education on 24th February 1947.

79. ED46/454 Dickey, The Council of Industrial Design Training Committee Meeting on the Royal College of Art 11.04.47.

80. ED46/454 Dickey, The Council of Industrial Design of the Royal College of Art 11.04.47.

81. Frayling, C., The Royal College of Art London: Barrie and Jenkins. London. (1987) p.126.

82. ED46/454 Dickey, Council of Industrial Design of the Royal College of Art 11.04.47.

83. At the meeting between the Ministry of Education and the Royal College of Art, the staff present from the Ministry of Education, were the same staff who had attended the earlier meeting at the Council for Industrial Design: Bray, Rokeling, Shelley and Dickey, together with the Secretary, (Baker). The Royal College of Art was represented by members of the College Council: Sir Charles Tennyson, the Hon. Josiah Wedgwood, Keith Murray and Jowett the Principal. ED46/454 Royal College of Art Notes of discussion with the representative of the Council and the Principal. 16.10.47.

84. ED46/454 G.D.R. (Rokeling?) The Royal College of Art Discussion with the representatives of the Council and the Principal. 16.10.47.

4.4 The Influence of Government on the Royal College of Art During The Principalship of Robin Darwin 1948

The post of Principal for the Royal College of Art was advertised in July 1947. The Ministry received thirty applications of which just seventeen had studied at the College. Twelve applicants were principals of provincial colleges (eleven ARCA's, four painters, and eight designers). Other applicants included a retired art advisor, and five designers (four in textiles and one graphic designer) of whom only one had trained at the College. Four applicants were architects, one a film maker, and one a museum director. The age of the applicants ranged from 25 to 53, though the majority were in their 40s. What the Ministry of Education thought of these candidates remains unknown, but the list illustrates the influence of the College on education (1).

Which of these candidates, if any, were interviewed for the post, is unknown. But the applicants did not include Robin Darwin, the Professor of Fine Art at the University of Durham, who the Ministry of Education was to appoint. According to Darwin, his cousin and close friend, John Maud the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Education, asked Darwin to visit him at the Ministry one afternoon. (The date is unknown.) Darwin arrived at the Ministry to find himself facing a formal appointments committee of eighteen people, most of whom he knew from his discussions at the Ministry of Education and the Council of Industrial Design. Although an advocate of engineering, Darwin was himself a fine artist. According to Darwin his cousin had decided that the Royal College of Art should be given one last chance, and offered Darwin that opportunity.

At the start of September 1947, Bray of the Ministry of Education, wrote to Darwin, keen to hear his ideas on the Royal College of Art. Darwin responded by discussing the Ministry's plan for entrance examinations, pointing out that by making one examination 'do double service', and linking the College to the rest of the art school system, the teaching of the College could not move towards industrial design. Darwin thought an examination would seem inappropriate in the fine art area, because of all the most 'interesting and influential painters' under forty-five less than half had ever taken any art examination. Darwin hoped for the sympathy of the Ministry for his aim to employ this standard of talent for the College⁽²⁾.

This view was not in keeping with that of the Ministry, appearing to challenge the validity of their National Art Examination system, through which candidates for the College were selected. The letter is written in true Darwin style, with sweeping statements on the non-success of students going through a formal art education. It should be remembered, that although Darwin was from the post-war period, influential on the development of education in relation to industry, his own development was as a successful Slade student, who had experience of teaching in the state education system at Watford Grammar School, prior to becoming an art teacher at Eton. Darwin wrote:

All I am concerned to ensure is that, however happy go lucky it may seem on paper, a system is developed, sufficiently flexible to make certain that it is appropriate to each branch in which the College intends to train the most original and advanced executants (3).

The past impact of the Rothenstein period, appears to have clouded Darwin's perception of the aims of the College. No comments from the Ministry were penned on this letter, and the file ends. In 1954, Darwin spoke of this correspondence as indicating the future problems he was to encounter with the Ministry:

My letter of acceptance had been followed up by one from the Chief Establishments Officer in the Ministry, welcoming me in the first paragraph but in the second, pointing out that the leave allowance for an officer - note the word - for an officer of my rank was so many days in the year. On that occasion I took the bull by the horns, for I had not yet severed my connection with Durham University, and said that either this letter must be withdrawn or my acceptance would be. The Ministry replied with a phrase of such felicity that I have never forgotten it: they said that though the strict leave allowance was as stated, they hoped that I should feel at full liberty to move as freely in the world of art and design as I desired. That had been my first brush with officialdom, and I thought that I had won....no battle is ever finally won...(4).

The Need For Re-Organisation at the College

In December 1947, G.D. Rokeling, Assistant Secretary at the Ministry of Education, wrote a paper on the Constitutional Position and Management of the Royal College of Art. Rokeling wrote that modern ideas would place the management in the hands of a corporate body, brought into existence by an Act of Parliament or a Royal Charter, or under the Companies Act, with a body of trustees. Although the College Council was not ineffective, it had lacked drive. Rokeling considered that this was due to the late Chairman, Lord Hambleton. However Hambleton and the Principal Jowett collaborated very well. It was suggested that the Council status should be changed by Act of Parliament, rather than

a Royal Charter, which would involve the Privy Council and the Board of Trade.

The Ministry of Education was aware that its responsibility for non teaching staff had caused delays and had not provided the support required by the College. Under a corporate body the College would take over this role, though the College Council would still be required to consult the Ministry for the establishment of advisory committees, and the appointment of chairmen. The Council would have the freedom to appoint its members. The Council meetings would be attended (but not participated in) by a senior Administrative Officer of the Ministry, normally the Assistant Secretary who dealt with the College.

The Ministry of Education had relied upon its Visitors to inspect and report on the College. The system had worked well up to 1940, after which, the reports were consistently complacent and not sufficiently critical. Though this was, in part due to war-time conditions, it underlined the fact that the Visitors were appointed in consultation with the College authorities. Rokeling pointed out that the Ministry would not consult a Local Education Authority and the headmaster of a school on the choice of an Inspector to visit that school. With increased independence of the College, the Ministry wanted sole responsibility for appointing Visitors, and even to increase their numbers. The Visitors would act as watchdogs for the Ministry. In the past the Ministry's own Inspectors had not perused the work of the College, so it was suggested that the Staff Inspector would be appointed as one of the Visitors, for general purposes, with other HMI's appointed to consider the various subject areas. Here, we can see that the Ministry was glad to relieve itself of

administrative responsibility, but keen to remain in control of the College and to use its inspectorate to gauge the College's work. Further, the general involvement of the Staff Inspector of Art allowed for Dickey to continue his close involvement with the College.

The suggestion to rename the College, the Royal College of Design, had been made by several bodies, including the Federation of British Industries, which submitted a report to the Ministry of Education in 1943, and by an Inter-Departmental Committee of the same year. The Ministry papers remark this was also supported by the Professor of Design, Tristram. The evidence of the Ministry's support for this idea is plain. It considered the use of the word 'Art' in the title, gave the mistaken impression that the College was more concerned with 'fine than applied arts'. This was seen as deterring industry from employing diplomates of the College. Moreover the Ministry thought that the College could not produce the best designers without high quality design students, and that the renaming of the College would break a vicious circle⁽⁵⁾.

Darwin arrives at the Royal College of Art

In December 1947 Jowett, the incumbent Principal at the College, invited his successor Darwin, to meet all the members of staff at the College, over tea in his office. At this gathering it became clear that a number of the thirty or so staff had never met before, and others were no more than acquaintances⁽⁶⁾. From this, Darwin realised there was a need for more than academic change, and recognised the need for the establishment of a the Senior Common Room as one way in which to unify the staff, and also promote the College.

When Darwin arrived at the College as Principal, on 1st January 1948, he became aware of the invasive nature of the control of the Ministry of Education. He was asked to sign an Attendance Book, which he promptly threw into a wastepaper basket. A week later he discovered the book had been rescued, and his times of arrival and departure entered every day, on the instructions from the junior clerk attached to the College by the Ministry of Education.

The physical condition of the College was appalling, the equipment inadequate and antiquated, with a minimal secretarial support of one. The Ministry's support seemed non-existent, yet the involvement of His Majesty's Inspectorate was now placed in the organisation of the College. The implications of this were made clear when, three days after Darwin's arrival, he took part in an entrance examination for the School of Painting, where he joined the Professor, Gilbert Spencer, the Visitor to that School, and a female member of H.M., Inspectorate. As the team considered the submitted portfolios, Darwin was amazed that the Professor of the School deferred to the Visitor and Inspector. Darwin told the panel that he considered the College should determine the selection of its own students, although the advice of those outside the college should be listened to with 'interest and respect'. He then added that where a male and female candidate appeared to have comparable merits he should like the male to be given preference. The Inspector left immediately to phone Dickey as Senior Inspector of Art. This incident illustrates that both Darwin's sexist attitude and his derision of the role of the Inspectorate, were unacceptable to the Ministry. Dickey arrived and 'handled the situation with tact and discretion'⁽⁷⁾. But Darwin got his way, in the future candidates for the College were decided solely by the College teaching staff.

At the College Council meeting of January 1947, a letter from Darwin was read which recommended the appointment of advisory committee. Darwin's ideas parallel those in Rokeling's internal report of December 1946. The Council agreed to the establishment of eight advisory committees drawn from members of the Council, realising that changes at the College needed to be put into action before the opening of the 1948-49 session. The minutes of the Council commented:

In general it was felt that the College had been starved for a quarter of a century and it must now think on a different scale altogether and make sufficient demands on the Ministry and the Treasury as would enable it to discharge properly the duties which it had long been criticised for neglecting. It must in the future be provided with facilities and amenities consistent not only with its responsibilities but equally with its tradition and dignity(8).

Such wording would imply that the College was greatly dissatisfied with the support received from government. The wording of the Minute reflects the views of the new Principal Darwin, keen to rectify the problems of the past and aware that the situation of laissez-faire had arisen through the both a lack of leadership of the College, and a Ministry of Education constrained by its financial relationship with the Treasury.

In mid February 1948, Darwin met with a member of the Ministry of Education and one from the Ministry of Works, to discuss the possible changes at the College, and how these would require expansion of premises. There was no prospect of the start of construction of the new College buildings, on the Kensington Gore site, next to the Albert

Hall. However, the development of the School of Design would necessitate the development of the Western Galleries by the end of 1948⁽⁹⁾, which the Ministry of Works agreed to undertake. Further, agreement was made over the use of the Western Galleries until its future demolition for the new extension of the College of Science⁽¹⁰⁾.

Soon after this meeting, Darwin sent a long memorandum to the Ministry of Education setting out his views on the Royal College of Art, its present structure, plans for redevelopment, recruitment, and staffing. This document commented on the critical appraisal the College had received, and which Darwin thought was justified:

The work in almost all Departments appears in general laboured and unimaginative, and the staff unenterprising and curiously self-satisfied. There is no atmosphere of effervescence...Partly from policy and partly from the lack of accommodation and equipment, the training provided in Design is so unspecialised in character that students leave the College unfitted for anything but teaching in which a general training can be put to good uses. They are of no value to industry and many individual students are conscious of this and feel puzzled and frustrated.

The Royal College of Art must therefore be reorganised root and branch. The courses provided must be revised and recruitment for them reconsidered. Many changes of staff will be necessary. Extra accommodation and equipment must be provided on a substantial scale. Concentration of its activities will be advisable and it may be necessary to redistribute students in certain departments among other schools until adequate training for them can be provided in the College. The present position can no longer be tolerated. Further maintenance of the College cannot be justified until it is enabled to give at least equally good and advance training as is already available in the provinces⁽¹¹⁾.

From this document it appears that Darwin thought full-time teachers were inferior practitioners. This was not an unconsidered position, for Darwin had been a full-time school teacher, as had his first wife and his sister. His criticism of the School of Design was correct, in that the subjects taught were not appropriate to industry. He does not appear to have appreciated the need for students to have completed a special training in pedagogy if they were to enter education. The paper also makes it evident that the outlined changes at the College, could not take place without funding and the support of the Ministry of Education.

It could be asked why Darwin had agreed to take on the role of Principal if the College was in such a mess. Did he accept the post because he had been involved in the criticism of the College? Was he put in post as Principal by the Ministry of Education who considered he would act strictly on its behalf? If this was so, why was Darwin also critical of the Ministry of Education?

During the Autumn Term of 1948 the organisation of the College changed quite radically from five schools of Painting, Sculpture, Engraving, Architecture and Design, to a College where the area of Design was divided into nine separate schools. This was similar to the reorganisation plan proposed by Dickey in 1942, of more than nine areas⁽¹²⁾. In fact, in the Autumn of 1948, the School of Design was divided into just six schools: Light Engineering and Furniture Design, Textile Design, Graphic Design, Ceramics, Silversmithing and Jewellery Design, and a Fashion School. The increase in subject areas would necessitate an increase in the accommodation needs of the College. Construction for the new building had been planned

to start in Autumn 1948, with completion after 1951. The plans would now have to be changed.

In order to move the College towards a wholly post-graduate status, the Council decided that in future students would be recruited after taking the Ministry's National Diploma in Design (so that students would have already had four years of study), while those from a technical training in education or industry who held the Intermediate Examination (taken after two years of study), could take a post-graduate course, designed to deprovincialise industrial designers⁽¹³⁾.

As to staff, Darwin recommended they be accorded pay as university lecturers rather than technical school teachers, appointed on five year renewable contracts, with the first two year being a probationary period. Staff should be given adequate time and facilities for their own research. Each School would be headed by a Professor, who would be a leading practitioner in his subject area, with a Senior Assistant for each sub-section.

In April, a meeting was held between Darwin, Sir Josiah Wedgwood, the Chairman of the College Council, and representatives of the Ministries of Education and Works. The basis of discussion was a report, jointly written by Wedgwood and Darwin, on the accommodation needs of the College. Pre-war, the number of students was 340, but this had increased to 400 in Spring 1948, and there was a need for immediate expansion. The College was still using space in the Victoria and Albert Museum. While standards in provincial art schools had risen, the report considered that those at the College had declined, with Darwin

questioning whether the standard of the teaching at the College equalled that of the art schools from where the College recruited. If the College could not provide different and more advanced training, its position was redundant. Out of thirty-nine members of staff at the College only three were full-time (four and a half days a week), while the majority did less than two days a week teaching. This hindered co-ordination of policy and exchange of ideas. This could be altered by the appointment of full-time Professors and Senior Assistants⁽¹⁴⁾.

Such self damning analysis may have been accurate, but would probably not have been publically supported by the then staff at the College. This harsh wording was calculated to gain a response to the urgent needs for accommodation, not just for the new departments, but also a student common room - 'utterly unsuitable' and a lecture theatre. The Ministry of Education was only too aware of the criticisms the College was under and could only agree, discussing the accommodation needs, their cost and timing⁽¹⁵⁾.

Although Darwin argued that the Ministry had neglected the Royal College of Art, the Ministry was in fact seriously concerned about the long standing issues at the College. Complaints about the College had been received from the principals of regional art colleges. During discussions between the Ministry of Education and the Council of Industrial Design, it was apparent that the College Council was not serving the institution at the level required of, what was in effect, a National College in Industrial Design⁽¹⁶⁾.

One of the complaints came from William Johnstone, the Principal of the Central School, noting that ex-students from the Central were earning twice as much or more than university graduates with honours degrees. He notified the Ministry that the Central was reinstating the award of a Diploma which had been held in abeyance. As the Central School was under the administration of the London County Council, there was nothing the Ministry could do to prevent this competition with the College. What was more, Johnstone pointed out, that by giving the Royal College of Art its own degree, the Ministry would lose its power over the College. The Central was keen to keep its reputation and was worried by the rumour that Darwin wanted to make the Council of Industrial Design a department at the College, an arrangement which had been agreed between Darwin and Gordon Russell, who was retiring as Director of the Council of Industrial Design. This plan was pre-empted by Paul Reilly, who was to become the Director of the Council of Industrial Design⁽¹⁷⁾. The Ministry could no longer delay change, yet now had a College Principal who was more proactive than they had expected.

The New Constitution

The changes which were required in the College organisation, which Rokeling had identified in his paper of December 1947, again emerged during discussions. In April 1948, an internal Ministry memorandum noted a number of issues such as the administration of teachers' superannuation and scholarship awards under a new administration scheme. Attention was also drawn to the 1936 Hambleton Report, which had suggested incorporating the Royal College of Art into the University of London, or making it an autonomous body with grants from the University Grants Committee. These suggestions had been

rejected because the Hambleden Committee thought the College should remain with the Board of Education. Now there was a further alternative which had not been considered by the Hambleden Committee. The Ministry of Education was in the process of setting up a number of national colleges, which, although technically charities (non profit making limited liability companies), would look largely to the Ministry of Education for funding. It might be possible to give the Royal College of Art independent charitable status, making the College staff servants of the Governing Body and not the Minister of Education⁽¹⁸⁾.

This seems to indicate that the idea to separate the Royal College of Art from the Ministry of Education came from the Ministry. Exactly when, in April 1948, the idea of separation was put to Darwin and the College is unrecorded, but the evidence would indicate that following this first meeting, a second took place. At this, Odgers of the Ministry discussed with Darwin the disadvantages of separating the College from the Ministry of Education. Perhaps the Ministry was hoping that Darwin would consider the aim of separation as his own idea. Darwin thought over the issues discussed, and on the 24th April wrote to Odgers that:

The fundamental objection to our remaining as we are is that our interests of expediency and common sense, your Ministry and ourselves will constantly have to stretch beyond honest limits rules and regulations devised for one set of circumstances and one type of employment to suit others which are quite different and quite specialised. I think you will agree that this procedure always leads to dishonesty in one degree or another⁽¹⁹⁾.

Darwin illustrated his point by discussing the issue of the ownership of work by College staff (who were classed as civil servants). The one point which Darwin thought would pose a problem, was the number of administrative staff. He summed up his thoughts, indicating he was only too aware of the workings of the Ministry.

Finally, whatever you think of all this and whichever way the mind of the Ministry tends to turn, let me emphasise once again my absolute personal resistance to wrangles, fudgery and general subterfuge in securing the ends which you and ourselves all have in view and of which we have no reason to be ashamed⁽²⁰⁾.

Although further correspondence and discussion between Darwin and the Ministry of Education is unrecorded, matters appear to have quickly gained pace. By May 1948, the Ministry sent the Treasury a draft plan of the re-organisation of the College. The arrangements for the future pensions of the teaching staff, and teachers superannuation, appeared interminable⁽²¹⁾. The Treasury could only find two cases of transfer from the Civil Service, the London Parks and Works Act of 1887, and the Government of Ireland Act, 1920 and neither precedent was very apt. This left the Ministry of Education to negotiate with the Central Council of the Federated Superannuation System for Universities, (F.S.S.U.) to provide superannuation for the College staff. The F.S.S.U. were reluctant to admit the College staff to the scheme, perceiving them as art teachers, and not of university standard⁽²²⁾, and wanted to make sure those submitted for the scheme were lecturers⁽²³⁾.

There was also the issue of who was to employ the non teaching staff, and their terms of employment. At the start of June, the Ministry received authority from the Treasury for the changes to take place, which was a relief to both the Ministry and the College (24). The final decisions eventually sorted out in January 1949. This delay was due to discussion over the employment of manual staff. It was decided that the College would keep those civil servants it required, and the remainder would be absorbed by the Ministry of Education, probably in the role of Museum attendants(25).

On 11th May 1948, the Ministry of Education wrote to the Royal College of Art with the proposal that the College should be reconstituted as a National College. Darwin responded that the College Council had considered and accepted this proposal. The institution would be independent and grant aided 100% by the Minister of Education. The Governing Body would operate under a Trust deed. This was accepted by the College, but the Treasury would only give its agreement if the National College was subject to inspection by the Ministry of Education. The Ministry feared delay, but Darwin had arranged for Sir Stafford Cripps, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to deliver the address at the Convocation Ceremony for the following July. Darwin hoped that Cripps would be able to announce the Treasury's approval then, '..as an indication of the government's intention to make the Royal College of Art the leading institution of its kind in Europe'(26).

It should be noted that Stafford Cripps had been responsible for the Board of Trade when Darwin was working as a Training Officer for the newly formed Council of Industrial Design in 1945-6. Darwin wisely used his

influential contact to assist the College, and this was a crucial factor in a rise in the standards of the College.

In mid May, the Ministry arranged a meeting between two of its members (Odgers and Maxwell-Hyslop), Darwin and Wedgwood for the College and Procter of the Ministry of Works, to discuss the lease on the Kensington Gore site, which would soon be completed⁽²⁷⁾. Meanwhile, Darwin was attempting to reduce the financial estimates for each school, resubmitting new estimates to the Ministry in mid June, and urgently requesting confirmation so that equipment could be ordered and arrive in time for the College reorganisation in the Autumn, and requesting the collaboration of the Ministry of Works⁽²⁸⁾.

In early July, Procter of the Ministry of Works wrote to Darwin with news of possible premises for the common rooms and the School of Fashion, but nothing seemed settled⁽²⁹⁾. Then Procter either went away or Darwin's stirring between government departments had made matters worse, for during July, three letters sent by Odgers of the Ministry of Education to Procter, went unanswered. On 29th July, another member of the Ministry of Works, Brook, wrote to Odgers with news that the lease on the Kensington Gore had been sorted out. On 21st July, it was Brook who saw Darwin, optimistic about the supply of equipment, which the Ministry of Works agreed to install and service. Brook reported to Odgers at the Ministry of Education that the Ministry of Works might have little to do as the College seemed to have the backing of both the Ministry of Education and the Board of Trade⁽³⁰⁾.

The meeting between Brook and Darwin also covered the issue of how the College was to be financed. Funding was presently determined in the House of Commons, and although there was a small amount of money in the 1948 Art and Science Vote for the College, Brook considered the issue could be settled between the two Ministries, especially if they could get the Treasury to treat the College as if it was already covered by the new arrangement financially. The Ministry of Works would, in future, charge the College rent on its buildings, while the annual provision for maintenance, new works and supplies would be looked after by the Ministry of Education. It was hoped that the two Ministries would be able to come to an agreement with the Treasury over the summer⁽³¹⁾. This shows how the Ministry of works was also hindered by the constraints of the Treasury.

Darwin forces staff changes.

At the Royal College of Art, the ratio of staff to students during teaching times was found to be high - 1 to 34. This was considered unacceptable, and a ratio of 1 to 15 was to be aimed at in the new constitution⁽³²⁾. Before increasing the number staff, Darwin first had to make some unpopular changes to the staff of the College. Although the changes were instigated by Darwin, the conflict they caused involved the Ministry of Education. In March 1948, Sir Josiah Wedgwood, Chairman of the College Council, sent a general notice to all the College staff, terminating their appointments, and indicating that reorganisation was to take place. He hoped that changes in staff would be restricted to a minimum.

In May 1948, Darwin wrote to Mrs Gibson the Head of the Department of Dress Design since 1926. As her annual contract was due to expire in the August of 1948, and was not to be renewed, her place was to be taken by Mrs Madge Garland, who had been the Editor of Vogue, and was a member of the College Council. At an ensuing interview, Darwin offered to extend Mrs Gibson's employment by a further three months, provided she worked under Mrs Garland. An argument took place and Darwin told Mrs Gibson that Dress Design at the College had a bad reputation. Mrs Gibson was aggrieved and claimed Darwin had never inspected her Department. Moreover, she understood that Mrs Garland was to be paid more than double her salary with no teaching and a maximum of twelve students. Mrs Gibson's Member of Parliament wrote to the Minister of Education, explaining the situation and suggesting an investigation should be made to see if the 'enormous increase in expenditure of public funds' was justified for such a small number of students⁽³³⁾. The Ministry of Education responded by questioning Darwin, who explained that Mrs Garland was to be paid, like the other professors £1,300 p.a. for a full time post, while Mrs Gibson's contract was part-time. The number of students was to double because of a future need by the fashion industry. Darwin apologised for the situation and added 'I cannot pretend that I think it will prove to be for the last time'⁽³⁴⁾. The Ministry of Education questioned why, as a College Council member, Mrs Garland was appointed. (She was to resign her post on the Council when she began teaching.) Darwin retorted by addressing the letter to Maxwell-Hyslop at the Ministry of Education:

My dear Bill...I don't like the suggestion made here that the Council has appointed one of its own members from questionable motives.....While the appointments to the College are made by the Council under powers delegated to it in the

ministerial minute of 14th July, 1937, all present appointments of professorial rank have been made with the full knowledge and approval of your Ministry who have themselves, as they were bound to do, agreed the terms of employment and the salaries offered. The basis of these appointments and the costs of the new Departments has already been rigorously investigated(35).

Addressing Maxwell-Hyslop by his first name is the first informal contact in the Ministry of Education papers. Darwin claimed that his actions had been taken with the full knowledge of the Ministry. He also pointed out that he did not inspect the Dress Department, considering it fairer to leave the judgement to those with knowledge, notably to Miss Thompson of the Inspectorate. In this instance the Ministry knew that Mrs Gibson's work was poor, and there was no question of the decision being reversed. Madge Garland was not the only member of Council to be employed as a professor: Allan Walton, was to run the new School of Textiles(36).

In May 1948, the Professor of Painting, Gilbert Spencer wrote to the Ministry, complaining about the termination of his post. Darwin had not visited the School of Painting, and made it clear to Spencer that he was a persona non grata. This was unlikely, as Darwin's Office was in the School of Painting, and as a painter, the School would have been of great personal interest. On April 22nd, Spencer was invited by Darwin to meet the Selection Committee for appointments to the various chairs. The Chairman of the Council, who headed the Selection Meeting, told Spencer that he was not to be re-appointed. Spencer described this as being 'spontaneously informed by an official of your Department in the presence of students that I was to be

sacked'(37). On the 7th May, Darwin wrote to Spencer, regretting Spencer's attitude towards 'retirement'. The use of the word 'retirement' did not go down well with Spencer who reiterated the whole issue to the Ministry of Education. Spencer asked whether the Ministry endorsed the Council's action and if so, what compensation would he receive. Spencer was quoted in a Ministerial Minute of 14th January 1937, which empowered the College Council to 'the making of such appointments and adjustments of teaching staff as may from time to time appear desirable'. The Ministry of Education considered the Council to be acting in their rightful authority, and ex gratia payments were not allowed to retiring part-time members of staff(38).

In fact, a letter from Darwin to Spencer explained that Darwin would not expect his staff to be employed under different conditions to those which applied to himself. He emphasised the needs of the College, and that a full time appointment would have been difficult for Spencer to fulfil as a busy and successful landscape painter(39). Darwin's letter led Spencer to write to the Minister for Education, in May and to follow it with another in June(40), though no reply is to be found in the Ministry of Education files. The reputation of the Painting School had not been high, although on arriving at the College Darwin had come to like Spencer and :

...changed to thinking that we should certainly keep him for the time being... a subsequent interview...caused me soon to return to my former view...I was extremely interested that he nursed so many grievancess(41).

There is little doubt that Spencer was awkward. He felt himself over shadowed by his famous younger brother. When in the February of the next year Spencer, who was now Head of painting at Glasgow School of Art, once more raised the issue with his Member of Parliament. Spencer wrote that the reason for his removal had not been disclosed by the College Council who were 'a body of amateurs'⁽⁴²⁾. Spencer had been informed that the Minister of Education had no power to intervene with the Council of the College in the matter of the termination of his appointment. The Ministry were by now tired of corresponding on the topic. Spencer then wrote asking if he could still use the title of professor, which went with his post at the Royal College of Art. This time the Ministry replied, saying that Spencer could no longer use the term professor in respect to his former position at the College, and the matter of a title was up to Glasgow to decide⁽⁴³⁾.

The Move Towards Independence

On the 15th July 1948, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Stafford Cripps gave the speech at the Royal College of Art Convocation ceremony. The speech was based on notes drafted by the College, almost certainly the hand of Darwin. Cripps announced the proposal for the College to become a National College, and no longer an integral part of the Ministry of Education. This would allow the College greater autonomy and academic freedom, which would enable it to be financed by public funds. The College's independence would enable it to accept funding from industry and receive gifts and endowments⁽⁴⁴⁾.

No mention was made of the Treasury's acceptance of this situation, and the Treasury continued discussions, stalling

on issues of finance for the 'new' College. The problem of gaining the Treasury's approval continued until the separation of the College from the Ministry, in 1949⁽⁴⁵⁾. In September 1948, the Treasury agreed for a supplementary estimate of £18,000 including £5,000 for equipment already ordered, given on the provision of a new organisation⁽⁴⁶⁾. This information was passed to Darwin who commented 'we are not really so silly as the Treasury thinks'⁽⁴⁷⁾. The Ministry of Education's Accountant General called for a meeting with the Treasury in order to discuss the Royal College of Art estimates which had been amended and approved by the Sub-committee, appointed by the College Council in September. This meeting took place in October, and was also attended by Bray and Maxwell Hyslop of the Ministry of Education, together with Procter from the Ministry of Works and Darwin for the College. Difficulties were not just financial. The Ministry of Works was too busy to undertake work for the College, yet would not agree to the employment of an outside architect. Darwin was determined to get a full settlement with the Treasury, if necessary sponsored at ministerial level⁽⁴⁸⁾.

The annual cost to the Ministry of Education, for running the Royal College of Art, had been something under £40,000 a year, but from 1st April 1949 until 31st March 1950, Darwin was requesting an estimate, endorsed by the College Council, of the sum of £300,000, half of which was for capital expenditure. Such an increase was, on paper, excessive, especially at a time when money was required for reconstruction. But the Ministry of Education clearly realised the needs of the College, even if they could not openly say so, being tied to the diplomacy of the Civil Service. The vote for the endorsement would come from the Ministry of Education, which did not wish to place itself in an unnecessarily unpopular position. Moreover, the

Ministry questioned when the Ministry of Works could complete the building work, as staff had been recruited in readiness for completion of the building conversions⁽⁴⁹⁾. The Ministry was in a difficult position, for although following independence it would be free from much of the responsibility of the College, the College would still be linked to it for funding. In mid July, the Treasury was still stalling, not keen on the re-appointment of a member of a Governing Body without an interval following the end of his previous tenure of office. There did not seem any clear way to solve the issue.

In July 1948, the College constitution draft began by stating a change of name to the Royal College of Design. This document was discussed with Darwin, who asked to retain the name of the College because of its long use and world wide fame. The Ministry readily agreed with this. The other points were almost identical to those drawn up by Rokeling. The suggested number of ten, for the College Council, was thought to be too small, and Darwin proposed that one third of the Council should retire each year, desiring a quick turnover of members. The College would select its own Visitors, and appoint its own auditors and legal advisors. Darwin wanted the estimates for the College expenditure to be made quinquennially, which was the practice in universities, but this would be difficult as the annual running cost for the College would continue to come directly from the government.

By the 14th of July 1948, the fourth draft constitution was under discussion. On the 29th July the fifth and final draft had been drawn up⁽⁵⁰⁾. The details of Declaration of Trust were drawn up for the Royal College of Art Council, and details were finalised for the Scheme of Government.

Changes were also required for the next Royal College of Art Prospectus for 1949, with details of what awards were to be made and how.

It was Darwin who wrote a paper on the nature of awards. He commended the award of a Licentiate Diploma, which could be converted to the award of Associate, after a suitable time and further experience. This presented problems on how students would gain experience in teaching or fine art. It was therefore proposed that the Associate of the Royal College of Art, as the recognised highest qualification in the area of art and design education, should be accredited post graduate status. As the term A.R.C.A. was well known and recognised by industry and education, it seemed sensible to keep the name of the award, and improve its status. Darwin suggested that the award of A.R.C.A. be given at the end of the course, and to institute, on the basis of exceptional merit, higher awards of D.(Designer)R.C.A. and P.(Painter)R.C.A. There would be F.(Fellow)R.C.A. for honorary awards to artists and designers who had a long service of outstanding distinction⁽⁵¹⁾.

Hale of the Ministry of Education thought it 'a very tricky business'⁽⁵²⁾ and suggested the higher awards being termed M.R.C.A. In internal papers, Maxwell-Hyslop noted the changes that would be possible, and remarked that under the new scheme indifferent students, from the areas of industrial design, would be prevented from going straight into teaching without any practical experience. It would be unusual for College students to enter work as full time school teachers, but any who did would probably have trained in the fine art area. The Ministry's concern was that those who became art college teachers were effective

as a result of having a year's experience outside education. It could not foresee the expansion of the British art colleges, in the 1960s, when Industrial Design graduates from the College went direct into senior full time teaching posts.

The Ministry also had to consider the implications and the position of the Burnham Committee, who accredited graduate status to the holders of the award A.R.C.A. regarding salary scales. Anomalies could arise over the Art Teaching Diploma(A.D.T.), a one year course which students took after a three to four year course for the National Diploma in Design. The Art Teaching Diploma gave graduate status for pay and pensions after five years of study. Students would enter the College with the National Diploma in Design, to gain, after four years, a Des.R.C.A., and enter teaching well behind in the salary scale of a student who had taken an Art Teachers Diploma. The Ministry considered that those with the longer training would get better teaching posts, and if not, there would be little point in a student taking a course at the College⁽⁵³⁾.

In December 1948, Darwin wanted a decision on the accreditation so that he could inform second year students they would not receive their qualification until the completion of a probationary year in industrial practice⁽⁵⁴⁾. In January 1949, the College Council agreed the topic of diplomas: A.R.C.A.'s for students of the Fine Art Area, while for Design students the abandoning of A.R.C.A. and the institution of new awards, and the extra nine month period in industry. Darwin hoped that second year students would now be able to apply for the award, Des.R.C.A. - even though the prospectus description was one based on the earlier war-time wording of 1939-40⁽⁵⁵⁾. The

Ministry of Education was not wholly happy with this situation, but on moral rather than legal grounds, and hoped the situation would not get out of hand.

The previous October, Darwin had written a set of notes on internal administration in which he set out the new hierarchy of the College. Now there were to be Faculties of: Fine Art, Industrial Arts, Graphic Design, and Fashion Design. The faculties would be responsible for academic matters, and co-ordination between departments. An Academic Board would meet twice a term to co-ordinate the work of the Faculties. In addition it would look after administration, such as financial recommendations, the appointment of College Visitors and internal examiners, and the establishment of a selection board for staff. Darwin hoped that on 1st April 1949 these ideas would be incorporated by the Council into the constitution of the Royal College of Art. Darwin ended his paper:

I believe these arrangements will materially assist the establishment of the College as an autotomous institution; and I think that at any time they may go some way towards preserving the Council in Office from the alternative discomforts of too lethargic or too headstrong a Principal(56).

Although the Ministry of Education was to sever its links with the College in April, Darwin was already reacting in a very independent manner, and a trifle too independently for the Ministry. Darwin, together with the College Council, thought that there should be some occasion to mark the end of the 112 years collaboration. On the 8th February, Darwin wrote to Hamilton:

...I cannot say celebrate the occasion, for I have received such unflagging interest and kindness that I must personally regret it in many ways - but at least to mark the event.

We would like accordingly to be allowed to give a small party at the College to which we would hope that the Minister could come together with the Secretary and other senior officers...My Chairman and I realise of course that a party of this kind hardly falls within the terms which cover the use of my Entertainment Allowance. We hope however that you will permit in the circumstances which are, after all, strictly unique(57).

This last paragraph was underlined by a hand at the Ministry and a note added: 'therefore improper!'. The same day Hamilton replied that he could not possibly agree to the entertainment of Civil Servants or ex-Civil Servants by themselves, adding he had no wish to provide grounds for suspicion on the use of the Entertainment Funds. He apologised and remarked:

...I am sure you will appreciate that with the Lynskey Tribunal just over, this is not the time to indulge in doubtful activities of this kind. The normal practice in these circumstances is for those who desire to have a party of this nature to finance it themselves(58).

On the 10th February, Darwin replied that he was surprised to read that the College's suggestion had been regarded as a 'doubtful activity' and found it offensive to make a connection with the Lynskey Tribunal. This was a reference to an inquiry into allegations of misuse of public funds(59). The next day Hamilton reiterated the position to Darwin with the comment,

I am glad my reference in my letter of 8th February to the Lynskey Tribunal stung you, but I am surprised that, within the context of our correspondence, you found the reference offensive... I had particularly in mind the Prime Minister's own statement to the effect that he was engaged in the production of a new code of conduct for Ministers and officials in their dealings with each other and with business...I cannot agree with you that the taxpayer -who, after all, is you and me and your Chairman - should pay for this(60).

Now Darwin let full vent to his feelings:

I found your reference to the Lynskey Tribunal offensive because it implied clearly that, in your view, I and my Chairman and any other Council member...were of the same cast.... One of the reasons why the College has found being part of the Civil Service to be so irksome as you put it, is that it has thereby been subject to rules, regulations and procedures, excellent no doubt for the conditions for which they are framed, but inapplicable to those of an educational institution with a corporate life of its own...

At the party which the College gave last Spring and from which it is still accruing indirectly many benefits...more invitations were accepted by Civil Servants in the full sense (including the Secretary) as well as by Members of the Staff than it was intended to extend on the occasion which is the subject of this correspondence. I have never heard any criticism of that former party, and though the Council must accept your ruling on the one proposed I contest and deny your right to call it improper.

I am left wondering whether it was incorrect to use my allowance last Convocation Day for the luncheon given by representatives of the Council and myself to the Chancellor and Lady Cripps... at which my Senior Staff all technically Civil Servants, were present... I wonder indeed how the annual Parents' Tea Party after Convocation could ever have been approved....I freely admit

to a sense of confusion in all this; and envy you your robust if somewhat insensitive self-assurance(61).

Hamilton noted to a Ministry colleague that there might be repercussions, but Darwin's letter gave the Ministry 'cause to smile wryly'. An internal note to Hamilton commented:

Admirable! you've evidently touched Darwin on the raw. I'm not sure I remember the early Spring affair unless it is the one that cost about £32 and that you wrote and said he should have come to you about first(62).

There is no doubt that relations between Darwin and the Ministry were not affable.

Negotiations with the Treasury

Early in 1949 it was clear that the financial situation for the Royal College of Art was not to be extravagant. By February 1949, the Treasury had decided that the Ministry of Works would 'recover every penny spent' on behalf of the College. The rent was calculated at a figure of £20,000 and the cost of repairing the Western Galleries was £25,000. The Ministry of Education estimated that the total cost would be £93,000, a daunting sum for the new College to face⁽⁶³⁾. The attitude of the Treasury toward the funding of the new College was not encouraging, as may be seen in this letter to the Ministry of Education at the start of February 1949:

Quite apart from any question of accounting technicalities, we see real advantage in

recovery. The reason is the very simple one, strikingly illustrated by the recent demand for spectacles and dentures, that if people are offered things free they are more likely to demand them than if they have to pay for them....Take the case of the Royal College of Art. They have asked for certain temporary buildings, and there is no doubt room for arguments as to their precise design and dimensions, and as to the standard to which they are to be built and equipped. It seems to us that, human nature being what it is these questions are likely to be answered more economically if the College has to pay for them, and persuade you to enable them to do so, than if the Ministry of Works provide them free...You no doubt realise that we are not subjecting you to an irritant specially designed for your annoyance, but to a policy of general application(64).

The Ministry of Education's argument was weak and it had no choice but to agree to the wishes of the Treasury⁽⁶⁵⁾. On the 17th February, Bray, Pearson and Maxwell-Hysop of the Ministry of Education, saw Darwin and informed him that the College Council was now faced with finding funds for an estimated £100,000 for current expense, and £75,000 for building work. Darwin argued that this sum would mean a cut of nearly 30% on the development and work of the College. The Ministry pointed out that in comparison with the previous two years expenditure of, £35,000 and £70,000, the present sum of £175,000 was large, and the College was not therefore in a position to be treated sympathetically. The Ministry warned that the College would lose more than it gained if it protested too much, and there was a real risk that the Treasury would demand to see detailed estimates and insist on an extremely limited power of interchange between the sub-heads. Darwin prepared revised estimates in view of the sum of monies available⁽⁶⁶⁾.

Negotiations with the Ministry of Works

In February, a meeting took place at the Ministry of Works between Darwin, for the Royal College of Art, Maxwell-Hysop of the Ministry of Education, with Auriol Barker and Miss Cockett of the Ministry of Works. It was agreed that after March 31st, the Ministry of Works would undertake day-to-day upkeep of all the College buildings both Crown and leasehold for the time being, until either side wished to reconsider the arrangement⁽⁶⁷⁾. The College would provide the Ministry of Works with a quarterly sum in advance to cover maintenance. There was good news on the site for the College building at Kensington Gore. The Ministry of Works now held the lease from the 1851 Commissioners, which would be subleased to the College.

The College Gains Independence

The Royal College of Art was now nearing its vesting day. Little further information is available from the Ministry of Education papers. When Darwin first arrived at the College he found no records, most lost during the Second World War⁽⁶⁸⁾. He considered this a deplorable situation, yet, the records covering his own Principalship do not exist. Perhaps they were destroyed after Darwin's departure, or as some verbal sources have stated, Darwin destroyed the records himself. It would have been useful and interesting to chart the change over in 1949, and its effects, but as the information is not available, no analysis can be made.

What is evident is that the state of the Royal College of Art in January 1948, had to be improved. Darwin considered the College to have been:

...dead as the Dodo. How had this come to pass? Who was responsible? Well I do not think anyone individually was to blame. Certainly my predecessor, Percy Jowett, was not, for no one, struggled more than he did, ...holding the College together throughout the war....Nor I think can one blame individual officials in the Ministry of Education. Government offices are by nature conservative and slow to move, and its recommendations made nearly forty years ago had not been implemented it is only fair to remember that two world wars had intervened, besides the biggest slump the country had ever experienced. If the College was still run on much the same lines that it had been running on for more than a century, if it had survived a greater number of committees of inquiry than almost any other institution in the country...

And yet, if no individual should be criticized, collectively the Ministry of Education must be a little to blame for allowing a tradition to be established over the years under which no educational establishment could possibly have prospered. It had allowed the College to become just another department of a government office, to be subject to all the minute rules and regulations...(69).

Without Darwin's positive action, the Royal College of Art could have remained under the aegis of the Ministry of Education, and been amalgamated or disbanded as part of art school reorganisation. Perhaps the need for a National School for Design would have been met, and produced a far stronger link between education and industry, leaving fine art to the Royal Academy and the Slade.

The growth of the Royal College of Art from 1949 could not have taken place without Darwin's success in providing the College with new accommodation, new equipment, new staff, new syllabi and a new system of entry and awards. He implemented a university system for staff employment,

through five year contracts, with the same terms of employment for both full and part time staff. This, rather than the terms of pay, attracted staff, who often continued to practice as designers. Darwin also implemented the Senior Staff Common Room, where staff could meet in an informal atmosphere and exchange ideas, which led to greater co-operation between teaching areas. The Senior Common Room also provided a space where possible patrons or industrialists could be entertained, encouraging funding and sponsorship, and widening knowledge of the work and reputation of the College. The changes Darwin wrought were, on the face of it, Draconian and wide sweeping, but they were often based on ideas which had long been discussed, but for which the Ministry of Education had lacked the energy and determination to implement, in part, due to the constraints of the Treasury.

Endnotes

4.4 The Principalship of Robin Darwin 1948-1950

1.ED23/941 List of Applicants for appointment as Principal, Royal College of Art. July 1947. List of Applicants for Appointment as Principal, Royal College of Art. The art school principals who applied were: Sam Hemming of Hull, Gerald Cooper of Wimbledon, Alfred Rodway of Nottingham, Dr.P.N.Dawson of Winchester, Reginald Brill of Kingston, Alfred Gardiner, Headmaster of Goldsmiths College School of Art, Donald Milner, the Principal of West of England College of Art Bristol, Robert Lyon of Edinburgh, Harold Rhodes of Bradford, Albert Poulter of Reigate and Redhill, Hector Sutton of Mansfield, Edward Pullee of Leeds, Kenneth Holmes, Principal of Leicester College of Art, and E.A.Sallis Benney of Brighton plus Frank Medworth the Lecturer in Charge of Art the Dept. East Sydney Technical College. The teachers comprised John Farleigh, the Head of Book Production at the Central School, and Ephraim Cowan, art teacher at the London County Council School of Photo-engraving and Lithography, and Lewis Smales, a disengaged textile designer. Charles Gerrard, the recently retired Director of Art and Adviser to Government of India. The designers were Alfred Longton, Chief designer with Lister & Co, Bradford, Arthur Duxford, textile designer, Robert Bartlett an art director at Erwin Wasey Company until June 1946, Albert McLean the Chief Designer and Colourist with James Meikle and Co carpet design. The architects were Robert Jordan of Messrs, Fairweather and Jordan who were designing flats for the Borough of Wandsworth, Robert Banks, of Frederick Gibberd, who was a town planning consultant to Nuneaton and the Borough of St.Pancras, and Theodore Goddard, Chartered Architect. The film maker was Edward Halliday, (also a painter) who at this time was working on a documentary of

the Roosevelt Memorial. John Wheatley was the Director of the City Art Galleries, Sheffield, a painter and a past student of both the Royal College of Art and the Slade School. The painter was Olive Lee of Leeds University and Art School.

2. ED46/454 Darwin to Bray. 06.09.47. The copy of this original letter to Darwin has not been found.

3. ED46/454 Darwin to Bray. 06.09.47.

4. Darwin, R., The Dodo and the Phoenix The Journal of the Royal Society of Arts: London. February 1954.

5. ED23/939. G.D. Rokeling. Royal College of Art. Constitutional Position and Management. 47/6675Y 11.12.47. It is ironic, that as late as the 1970s, the then Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Education, Sir Herbert Andrews, had no idea that the Royal College of Art was anything other than an art school.

6. Darwin, R., The Dodo and the Phoenix Journal of the Royal Society of Arts: London. May 1956. p.177.

7. Darwin, R., The Dodo and the Phoenix The Journal of the Royal Society of Arts: London. February 1954. p.176.

8. ED23/939 Council of the Royal College of Art, Minutes of the meeting 22.01.48.

9. ED23/939 Odgers of the Ministry of Education to Procter of the Ministry of Works. 12.02.48.

10. ED23/939 Procter of the Ministry of Works to Odgers of the Ministry of Education. 01.03.48.

11. ED23/939 The Royal College of Art Memorandum from Robin Darwin, the Principal of the Royal College of Art to the Ministry of Education. 48/599Y 14.02.48.

12. Dickey's Report on the Reorganisation of the Royal College of Art in 1942 suggested only two areas of fine art - Painting & Engraving, and Sculpture, the craft subjects were to be amalgamated into Pottery & Glass and Silversmithing & Jewellery, with the Textiles and Fashions being two separate areas, while the area of Design was to be expanded with the introduction of Commercial Art, and Light Engineering (which included Furniture), and a school of Architecture was to remain. The Council suggested the possible schools of Book Production and Typography and Theatre and Film Decor.

13. ED46/451 10th Minute of the Council of the Royal College of Art 1948-49.

14. ED23/939 Wedgwood and Darwin of the Royal College of Art to the Ministry of Education. 19.03.48.

15. ED23/939 Royal College of Art accommodation. Note of Discussion 16.04.48.

16. ED23/939 Minute to G.G. Williams from unnamed member of the Ministry of Education. 17.04.48.

17. Johnstone. William., Points in Time London: Barrie and Jenkins (1980) p.283

18. ED23/939 R.C.Dawes to Bray. 13.04.48.

19. ED23/939 Darwin of the Royal College of Art to Odgers of the Ministry of Education. 24.04.48.

20. ED23/939 Darwin of the Royal College of Art to Odgers of the Ministry of Education. 24.04.48.
21. ED23/939 47/6675 Y 10.05.48. and adjoining papers.
22. ED23/947 Wilson of the Treasury to Hamilton of the Ministry of Education 24.08.48 and ensuing correspondence.
23. ED23/947 Wilson of the Treasury to Hamilton of the Ministry of Education. 23.12.48.
24. ED23/947 Royal College of Art -Staffing Undated memo June 1948. Ministry of Education.
25. ED23/947 Memorandum from Establishments and Organisations Branch 11.01.49.
26. ED23/939 Darwin to Bray. 04.06.48.
27. ED23/939 Procter of the Ministry of Works to Odgers Ministry of Education. 21.05.48.
28. ED23/939 Darwin to Odgers Ministry of Education 22.06.48.
29. ED23/939 Procter of the Ministry of Works to Darwin of the Royal College of Art. 48/799Y 06.07.48. The Common Rooms were to be at 21 Cromwell Road and the School of Fashion in Ennismore Gardens.
30. ED23/939 Brook of the Ministry of Works to Odgers of the Ministry of Education. 29.07.48.
31. ED23/939 Brook of the Ministry of Works to Odgers of the Ministry of Education. 29.07.48.

32. ED46/451 10th Minutes of the College Council 1948-49.
33. ED46/451 Richard Low, M.P. to the Rt.Hon. George Tomlinson, M.P. Minister of Education. T.621/251 25.06.48.
34. ED46/451 Darwin, Principal Royal College of Art to Wedgwood, Chairman of College Council. 24.05.48.
35. ED46/451 Darwin to Maxwell-Hyslop Ministry of Education 29.06.48.
36. ED46/451 10th Minutes of the Council of the Royal College of Art 1948-49.
37. ED23/954 Gilbert Spencer to Ministry of Education 27.05.48.
38. ED23/935 Hamilton, Director of Establishments and Organisation, Ministry of Education 22.06.48.
39. ED23/945 Darwin to Spencer. 07.05.48.
40. ED23/945 Spencer of the Royal College of Art to Tomlinson, Minister for Education. 24.06.48.
41. Darwin of the Royal College of Art to Odgers of the Ministry of Education 02.06.48.
42. ED23/945 Gilbert Spencer to Major Sir R.G.C.Glyn M.P. 09.02.49.
43. ED23/945 Spencer to Ministry of Education, undated letter. Embling of the Ministry of Education to Spencer 19.03.49.

44. ED46/451 Notes for speech by the Chancellor of the Exchequer at the diploma giving ceremony at the Royal College of Art Thursday 15th July 1984.

45. ED23/940 contains information on this subject.

46. ED23/940 Embling of the Ministry of Education to Darwin of the Royal College of Art 22.09.48.

47. ED23/940 Darwin to Embling at the Ministry of Education. 23.09.48.

48. ED23/940 Darwin: Royal College of Art, Considerations arising from a meeting at the Ministry of Education to consider College Estimates for 1949-50. 27.10.48,

49. ED23/940 Maxwell-Hyslop 02.11.48.

50. Fifth draft of the Royal College of Art Constitution. ED23/939 Maxwell Hyslop 29.07.48.

51. ED23/939 Darwin. The Associateship of the Royal College of Art and other awards. November 1948.

52. ED23/939 Hale to Darwin 16.11.48

53. ED46/452 Maxwell-Hyslop 18.12.48. Internal memoranda.

54. ED46/452 Maxwell-Hyslop 18.12.48. Internal memoranda..

55. Maxwell-Hyslop was ill and therefore the matter was not wholly confirmed. ED46/452 Minutes of the Council of the Royal College of Art, January 1949.

56. ED23/940 Robin Darwin Royal College of Art Internal Administration Notes by the Principal. 25.10.48.

57. ED23/942 Darwin to Hamilton of the Ministry of Education. 08.02.49.

58. ED23/942 Hamilton of the Ministry of Education to Darwin of the Royal College of Art 08.02.49.

59. The Lynskey Tribunal was a tribunal set up by Parliament in November 1948 to inquire into allegations affecting Ministers and Government Officers. This was presided over by Mr Justice Lynskey. The paperwork surrounding the tribunal was extensive, and the subjects matter under scrutiny were: application for licences to import amusement machines, application for building licences, permission to issue capital on a firm or public company, operating football pools, the withdrawal of protests against football pool promotions. The Times 2nd November 1948.

60. ED23/942 Hamilton of the Ministry of Education to Darwin of the Royal College of Art. 11.02.49.

61. ED23/942 Darwin of the Royal College of Art to Hamilton of Ministry of Education. 15.02.49.

62. ED23/942 Ministry of Education comments on letter from Darwin dated 15.02.49. These estimates for rent excluded the costs of 21 Cromwell Road and some houses in Egerton Gardens.

63. ED23/939 A.R.N.(?) Hale(?) 01.02.49.

64. ED23/939 Hale of the Treasury to Pearson of the Ministry of Education 03.02.49.

65. ED23/939 Pearson to Hale of the Treasury 07.02.49.

66. ED23/939 Note ARTH 21.2.49

67. ED23/939 Notes of Meeting held in Mr Barker's Room at Lambeth, Bridge House. 08.02.49.

68. Darwin, R., 'The Phoenix and the Dodo' The Journal of the Royal Society of Arts London: RSA February 1954 p.178.

69. Darwin, R., 'The Phoenix and the Dodo' The Journal of the Royal Society of Arts London: RSA February 1954 p.179.

Summary

Throughout the period studied, the Royal College of Art was continuously constrained by a lack of financial support. This was due to its position as an institution supported by public funding. The amount of finance required not determined by the College or the Board of Education, but the Treasury. The funding came from the budget for State Aid to Art, the figures of which were known as 'incidental expenditure' and approved by means of an annual parliamentary vote. For a list of the funds made by these means between 1898 and 1950 see Table 1 on page 298, and the related graph given in Table 2 on page 299.

This system of funding dated back to 1836 and the founding of the School of Design. In 1894, an enquiry pressured a hostile Treasury into increasing its funding⁽¹⁾. With the formation of the Royal College of Art, in 1898, the estimated expenditure of State Aid it received amounted to just over £8,000. This amount steadily increased from £10,000 to over £12,000, although the number of students attending the College halved, following the introduction of an entrance examination in 1901. The increase in funding may well have been in response to the request for increases in staff pay, direct from the Principal Augustus Spencer⁽²⁾.

However, the estimates appear to have been below the actual running costs of the College. For example, in 1911, the total State Aid for the College was published at £9,285⁽³⁾, but the Board of Education's Departmental Committee Report stated that the total annual cost of running the Royal College of Art was £13,320, with a gross maintenance cost of £8,980 which was set against £800 received from fees⁽⁴⁾.

It is surprising that despite the Departmental Report pointing out the paucity of facilities and the appalling accommodation of the College, the State Aid did not rise above £10,000 until 1914. This coincided with the start of the First World War, which led to a decline in funding, in 1916, to £8,494. This figure probably fell even further, for the figure for State Aid as a whole declined from £650,604 in 1916, to £600,000 in 1917. The amount the College received from 1917 onwards was not published, but the total amount of State Aid rose to £700,000 in 1919 and £800,000 in 1921. This latter figure remained static for the remainder of the period up to 1940.

During the 1920s, the amount of State Aid to the College would appear to have slowly increased, so that in 1932 it was just under £15,000⁽⁵⁾. This figure continued to rise to £22,557 in 1938. Perhaps significantly this was the first year of the Principalship of Percy Jowett, and also followed the Board of Education's Hambleton Report, which stated the needs of the College. However, from 1939, the figure declined with the onset of the Second World War.

Figures for funding during the war are unknown, but at the end of hostilities the State Aid from the Treasury stood at around £35,000. This figure was static, although the cost of new equipment forced the Treasury to make a supplementary payment of £18,000⁽⁶⁾. This situation led to the amount of support to the College being doubled, in 1948, to £70,000. However, the amount seemed minimal in the face of future costs of £300,000 half of which was for capital equipment costs at the independent College. In view of inflation this was considered a reasonable figure, and one to which the Treasury agreed.

Certainly the Treasury had considerable power over the Board of Education, for example with regard to the employment of teaching staff. In 1920, the Board of Education was placed in the position of having to make the appointment of the new Principal Rothenstein public, prior to the Treasury giving its agreement(7). The power of the Treasury over the employment of staff remained, illustrated, in 1936, when the Board of Education's proposed employment of Walter Gropius was hindered by the fear of Treasury objections. The employment of clerical staff was similarly controlled, illustrated by correspondence over the appointment of a registrar in 1938(8).

The authority of the Treasury prevented the development of new subject areas and facilities at the College: in 1922 the proposal to develop the area of Engraving into a separate School was rejected by the Treasury(9), although the Treasury could do little more than agree to a plan for structural improvements(9). That year the Principal Assistant Secretary at the Board wrote to a colleague:

It is of no advantage to the College to be maintained by the Board of Education because we have to go to the Treasury with detailed proposals for every important new expenditure. It is my experience that the Treasury are not likely to consent to substantial expenditure unless they are pressed...(10)

Although in 1901 it was the Principal Spencer, who negotiated directly with the Treasury, since the 1911 Departmental Report, such negotiations appear to have been undertaken by members of the Board of Education. Although

this allowed the Principal to concentrate on running the College, it prevented a direct contact between the person who most readily saw the need and those who controlled the purse strings. This was in contrast to the schools of art funded by local authorities, where the headmaster of the school decided on the funding required and requested the amount direct from the local authority. Although such a figure had to be decided in conjunction with the approval of the school inspectorate, the contact with the finance officers in the local authorities was direct rather than through an intermediary.

Overall, the control of the Treasury on the College was considerable, and despite the fluctuations in monetary values, the funding of the College was comparatively small, and relatively in decline during the 1920s and 1930s. The failure to fund the College cannot be wholly blamed on economic factors.

It would be a mistaken judgement to think that the Board, and later, the Ministry of Education had not given any consideration to the needs of the Royal College of Art. The College's central position in the National Art Examination system caused the Board to continually assess its own position. The reports written on the Royal College of Art only served to raise questions and realise needs. Funding was constrained by government finances. Perhaps, without the interest and concern of individuals, notably the Staff Inspector E.M.O'R. Dickey, the Royal College of Art would have been amalgamated or gone out of existence in 1948, or even before that date.

The Board and Ministry of Education was to have the greatest influence of any body or single personality on the Royal College of Art. Not only did the Board control the requests for the funding at the College, but also had a say in which candidates went to the College, the syllabus at the College, the employment of staff and their working conditions.

The Board of Education relied upon figures outside the Civil Service to examine the quality of work at the College, and assess how far the College, and thereby the Board of Education, was reaching its aims. This system had the advantage of ensuring independence of thought and avoiding an institution where self assessment led to self assurance and complacency. However, the College was hindered in that the Visitors did not have a unified approach to the nature of the problems or their solutions.

Through the Board's of Education's continued influence, the College remained an institution with an emphasis on training teachers. The Board's aim to develop a National Design College, to train designers for industry and raise the standard of design awareness in the consumer and the manufacturer, was not achieved. This was due to a number of factors, not least the Board's failure to comprehend the rapid developments in design and industry. Although the planned reorganisation did not take place, the College remained the pinnacle of the state art school system, for the training of artists, craftspersons and teachers. This was especially unique, as the Board of Education continued to support a system which encouraged the most talented students of all social classes and economic backgrounds, through a national system of state art education, to enter the Royal College of Art.

Table 1

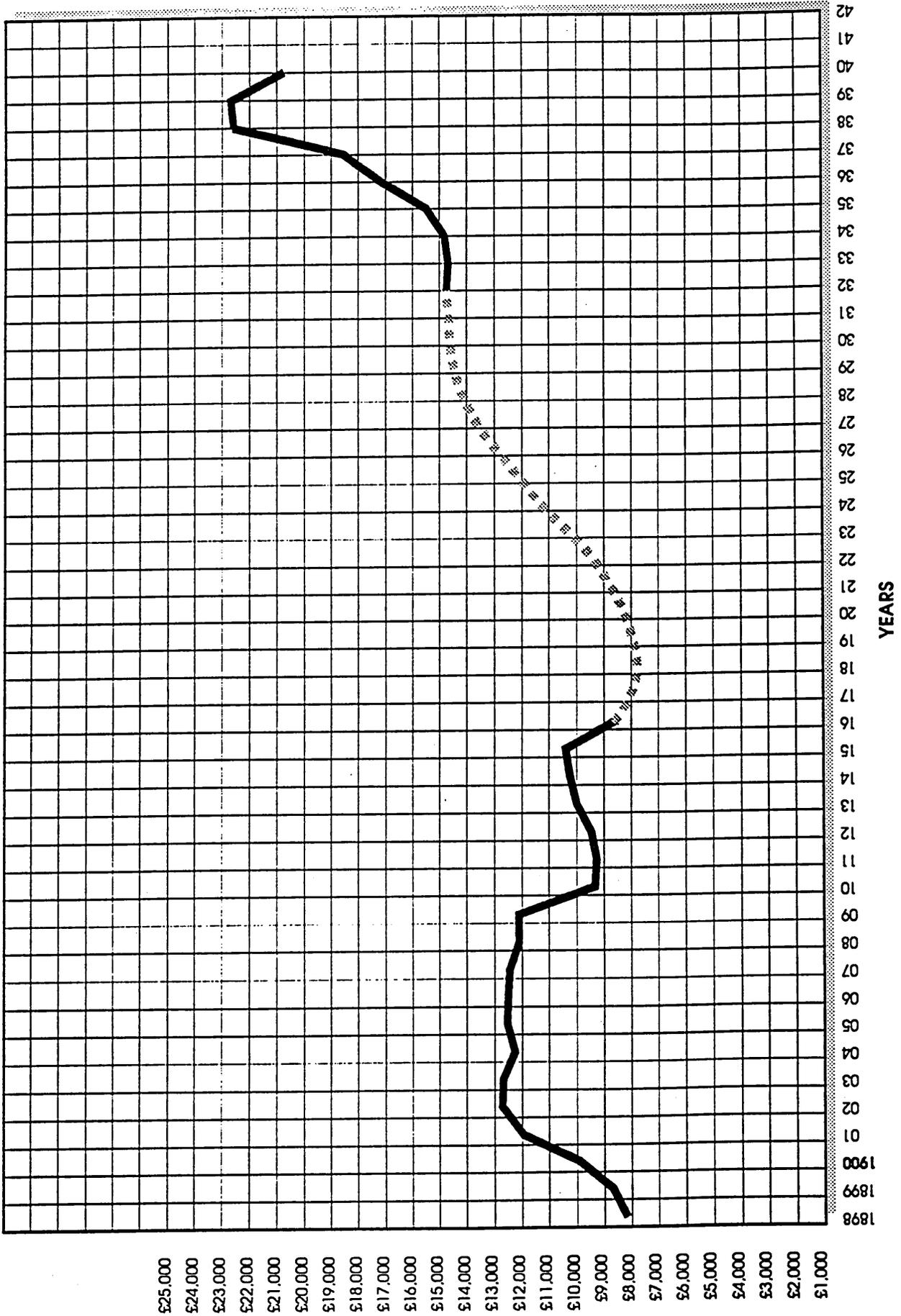
The Science and Art Department of the Committee of Council
on Education, South Kensington.

State Aid for the Royal College of Art

1898-99	£8,060	
1899-1900	£8,762	(estimate)
1900-01	£9,936	
1901-02	£12,214	£11,974 (estimate)
1902-03	£12,716	(estimate)
1903-04	£12,613	(estimate)
1904-05	£12,196	(estimate)
1905-06	£12,443	(estimate)
1906-07	£12,422	(estimate)
1907-08	£12,098	£12,318 (estimate)
1908-09	£12,039	
1909-10	£12,076	
1910-11	£9,300	
1911-12	£9,285	
1912-13	£9,415	£9,390
1913-14	£9,986	
1914-15	£10,198	
1915-16	£10,300	
1916-17	£8,494	
1932	£14,818	
1933	£14,246	£14,745
1934	£14,882	
1935	£15,459	
1936	£17,185	
1937	£18,656	
1938	£22,557	
1939	£22,660	
1940	£20,809	
1947	£35,000	
1948	£70,000	(plus supplementary estimate £18,000)
1949-50	£175,000	(plus £175,000 capital equipment costs)

The Above figures are the 'incidental expenditure' amounts approved
by annual parliamentary vote, for the financial support of the
Royal College of Art.

Table 2



Endnotes

Summary

1. Frayling, C.,. The Royal College of Art London: Barrie and Jenkins (1987) p.58 The improved funding was described as an unanticipated bonus.
2. ED23/47 President of the Board of Education to Secretary H M Treasury 23.10.1900
3. The Years' Art London: Hutchinson (1912) p.60
4. The Departmental Committee of the Board of Education Report on the Royal College of Art London: HMSO (1911) p.13
5. The Years' Art London: Hutchinson (1934) p.50
6. ED23/940 Embling to Darwin 20.09.48.
7. ED45/1595 Selby-Bigge to Sir Malcolm Ramsey 13.01.20.
8. ED23/799
9. ED23/187 Treasury to Selby Bigge of the Board of Education 01.11.21.
10. ED23/500 Selby Bigge to Rothenstein 09.11.21.
11. ED23/545 Davies to Kidd. Internal Paper. 14.06.22.

Conclusion

There are two reasons why the Royal College of Art did not implement design education between 1900-1948. Firstly, there was persistent inadequate funding from the Treasury to the Board of Education (latterly Ministry of Education), which directly administered the Royal College of Art. Secondly, there was a continued lack of industrial experience and an inability to understand the needs of industry by those in education, who were thus incapable of training students as designers for industry.

Attempts to develop design education had been made prior to 1900. In 1886, a Royal Commission report had shown that Britain was falling behind other countries in industrial technology. This had led to the 1889 Technical Instruction Act, which granted county councils the power to levy one penny rates towards funding technical education for the artisan classes. Although, for the most part, this had little effect, it did lead to the establishment by the London County Council of a Technical Education Board. This in turn established the Bolt Court Technical School in 1895⁽¹⁾. Following favourable reports on its work, this became the Central School of Arts and Crafts in October 1896. The London County Council aimed to make this the craft and industrial art equivalent to the fine art education, provided by the Royal Academy and the Slade School, and hoped for eventual university status and even postgraduate work⁽²⁾.

All the classes were held in the evenings, as both the students and staff worked in gainful employment during the daytime. The teachers were not primarily educators. The

aim of the Central School was to teach practical, commercial skills to apprentices and those already in industry. The Joint Principals (George Frampton and William Lethaby) of the Central School waived the need for paper qualifications, notably the Board of Education's Art Teachers' Certificate. The Central School was thus the exception, the one institution where industry was linked directly to education.

In contrast, the Royal College of Art saw its role as primarily that of educating suitable candidates as teachers, even though the high number of diplomates entering a career in teaching rather than industry, was criticised in the 1911 Departmental Report. The College consistently failed to address the needs of the developing design industry, until 1948. From this date, the College became a post-graduate institution, which in turn led to the growth of undergraduate design education in art colleges. This was achieved largely by the graduates of the College who continued the pedagogic tradition of becoming teachers in art schools. After 1950, there was also a large increase in the number of graduates from the College who entered industry as designers, though an exact figure cannot be ascertained.

The issues concerning the needs of industry and the British economy which faced the Royal College of Art in 1900, were similar to those of 1836. The evidence clearly shows that up to 1920, the Board of Education continued to emphasise the teacher training aspect of the College. Despite an apparent interest in the growth of design education after this date, the Board was unable to pressure the Treasury into providing the funding necessary for the founding of industrial workshops at the College.

The apparent lack of concern of the Board of Education regarding the growth of industrial design, led to criticism by the Board of Trade. As the original administrators of the School of Design, the Board of Trade was an interested spectator, while its remit enabled the Board of Trade to be keenly aware of the paramount need for trained designers.

If the needs of industry were perceived by national and local government in 1900, then why was the need for design education at the Royal College of Art not considered during its reorganisation in 1901? As early as Autumn 1898 we find Walter Crane, on taking over as Principal of the Royal College of Art, describing it as a 'sort of mill in which to prepare art teachers'⁽³⁾. The reorganisation of the College in 1901 was based on many of Crane's ideas, though it only further served to encourage the education of teachers, rather than designers, by accrediting the College Associateship as equivalent to the Board of Education's Art Master's Certificate.

It was the Board of Education who, via the Council of Art, specified a curriculum, not just for the Royal College of Art, but also for the National Examinations, which were taken by students at all provincial and London art schools. These examinations naturally dictated the syllabus for the art schools. This system was the direct descendant of that founded by Cole in the 19th Century. The art schools were overseen by the Board of Education's His Majesties Inspectors. Over the period under consideration, 25% of the Inspectorate for Art held the qualification of Full Associateship of the Royal College of Art. Thus the College was influenced by a somewhat

incestuous conservatism, and a tradition of past teaching methods used in the South Kensington Schools.

The fact that the Board of Education desired changes in the form of education, is illustrated by the appointment of Augustus Spencer as Principal in 1900. He was a graduate of the South Kensington Schools but had already achieved considerable success in the re-organisation of art education in Leicester. However, as Spencer's letter of appointment noted, the Headmaster and Principal (as the post was then termed) would be:

...subject to the control of an assistant Secretary of the Department, and will be the channel through which the directions of the Council as to studies will pass to the Instructors(4).

Spencer, therefore, found he had no modus operandi with which he could actively implement change. Moreover, the failure of the Board of Education to provide adequate support for change through financial aid, could be perceived as the failure of Spencer as Principal. Overall, the Board of Education retained ultimate control, with the College staff being restricted to responsibility for purely educational matters(5).

The Board of Education did not, however, allow the Royal College of Art to remain in a static stage of development, and actively collected information with the aim of encouraging change, change which required funding from the Treasury. In 1900, the Council for Art produced a memorandum on the College, which commented that it was

essential for students to be familiar with the nature of the materials with which they worked. The suggested craft subjects and teaching approach were identical to those at the Central School, which was receiving so much positive attention (6). The paper also noted that:

It must be understood that the sole object of these technical classes is educational, and strictly to prepare designers for practical work in the various industries of the country, and not to compete with that of commercial enterprise(7).

This shows that the Council understood that students required an education in processes that would enable them to be employed in the various design industries. Teaching at the Royal College of Art was not to be perceived by industry as a threat to their method of apprenticeships. This can be contrasted with the Weimar Bauhaus, where students took guild examinations.

In 1907, the Council for Art was dissolved and the responsibility for the College was passed to a panel of four College Visitors. In 1910, the Visitors presented a confidential report. Its content was so critical of the Design School that a Departmental Committee was formed to consider the College's function and its relationship to other art schools. This was followed by a Departmental Committee which, in 1911, reported that the College was constrained by poor teaching and inadequate facilities. Funding was required to implement change, and the ensuing discussions over the cost of new accommodation during 1912, illustrate the problems of inter-relationship between the government departments. The Board of Education found it difficult to obtain the funding for new

accommodation, although the Government understood that improvements would contribute to the growth of design teaching, and not upgrade the College in isolation. Moreover, it was argued that the provision of technical equipment alone would not turn the College into a centre for industrial training⁽⁸⁾.

There is little evidence of any more than slight changes in art education philosophy since the end of the 19th Century. It can be argued that in 1900, the Board of Education could have taken far more control in determining change. But the need for design education was unclear, especially with the changes in industrial production methods and materials. Three personalities demonstrate the ideas which were proposed and the different forms they took: Walter Crane, Lewis F. Day and William R. Lethaby. All three were founder members of the Art Workers' Guild (formed in 1884) and the splinter group of the Art and Crafts Exhibition Society (founded 1888).

Crane was strong in his radical political beliefs, and was an influential member of the artistic craft circle. In 1905 Crane, published Ideal in Art. The first three essays in this book deserve comment. In his discussion of the Arts and Crafts Movement and its possible future, Crane noted that design went through a period of ornamentation before it turned to a new simplicity. He then discussed the ways in which handicrafts allowed for greater artistic creativity:

I ventured to say on some occasion in the early days of our [Arts and Crafts] movement that 'We must turn out artists into craftsmen, and our craftsmen into artists'(9).

Crane considered there were artists who were craftsmen in a variety of materials, but that workmen were only specialists, trained to consider mechanical perfection as the ideal. He pointed out that the Society's influence on the use of the machine in industry had been positive⁽¹⁰⁾. Crane argued that all students should begin by a study of architecture and develop an understanding of the connection between the historical, the artistic and architecture⁽¹¹⁾.

The third essay was on 'Methods of Art Teaching', which Crane defined as academic (study of the antique through drawing followed by life drawing or in the case of sculpture modelling in relief), a system which was used 'from time immemorial' and which he indicated to be in use at the Royal Academy. Crane stated:

This is a glimpse of the vista of the possibilities of teaching methods opened up by the arts of design, and in so far as those arts are understood and practised and sought after as harmonious and refined life, so will our methods of art instruction have to adapt themselves to meet those new old demands⁽¹²⁾.

We can see that Crane was advocating modifications to the existing teaching methods of the Royal College of Art which centred on a study of past styles. He reintroduced an emphasis on the practical development of craft and design skills, related to an understanding of fine art and to a study of the natural world. Crane's suggestions were evolutionary rather than radical. It was Crane's introduction of craft classes at the Royal College of Art that caused his rift with the Board of Education, though he continued to press for change at the College after his

departure, being a signatory to the Memorandum to the Prime Minister, in 1911, calling for a Royal Commission.

The professor of Design at the Royal College of Art, from 1900 to 1918, was William R Lethaby. He also taught at the Central School, where he was to hold the post of Principal, between 1902 and 1911. The Board of Education must have recognised the value of his work, which at the Central, had led to studies on its organisation by French and Italian visitors⁽¹³⁾. The Board probably appointed Lethaby hoping that he would promote change, and encouraged the application of practical knowledge through experience, a method he propounded at the Central. For Lethaby, the two teaching posts seem not have caused any conflict of interest, but he resigned from the Central School, in 1911, so that he could work full time at the College. There are two possible reasons for this. Firstly, the London County Council Education Committee curtailed his activities at the Central School, following its move to new buildings in Southampton Row in 1908⁽¹⁴⁾, and secondly this may have been a response to the criticism in the Report on the Royal College of Art of 1911.

On his arrival at the Royal College of Art, he gave a lecture in which he stated the difference between vocational design for trade and art:

..there is quite a large class of students who are studying not design, but the study of design; they are in fact students by trade;...This indeed is a delightful amusement for cultured leisure, but has very little to do with the production of beautiful commodities⁽¹⁵⁾.

Such a statement related more to the work of the Central School than the Royal College of Art. Lethaby was keen to preserve declining craft skills and he encouraged practical crafts because he considered them vital in an industrialised society. But he did not reject mechanization. In 1911, Lethaby, as the Professor of Design at the College, contributed the entry on design to the Encyclopedia Britannica. He wrote:

Modern use has tended to associate design with the word 'original' in the sense of new or abnormal. The end of design, however, is properly utility, fitness and delight.

He commented that design flourished when there was a development in the arts, citing the work of the Greeks, and noted that:

It is necessary for the designer to know familiarly the processes, the materials and the skilful use of the tools involved in the productions of a given art, and properly only one who practises a craft can design for it. It is necessary to enter into the traditions of the art, that is, to know past achievements. It is necessary, further, to be in relation with nature, the great reservoir of ideas, for it is from it that fresh thought will flow into all form of art. These conditions being granted, the best and most useful meaning we can give to the word design is exploration, experiment, consideration of possibilities(16).

This comment clearly expresses the nature of Lethaby's teaching in the Design School at the Royal College of Art, with its emphasis on history and botanical study. Although Lethaby was considered successful in his Principalship at the Central School, his methods of teaching did not meet with approval at the College. In 1910, the College

Visitors commented that the work of the Design students lacked originality and leaned towards the Medieval and historical, with many of the designs for mass manufacture being impractical. Moreover, by 1911, the proposed extension to the range of craft classes had not taken place, and it would appear that the practical technical classes established at the Central Schools were attended in the evenings, on a voluntary basis, by some students from the College.

The severest critic of Lethaby's work at the Royal College of Art, was Lewis F. Day, the designer of stained glass who collaborated with Crane on wallpaper designs, and had become known as a prolific author and critic of design issues. In 1890, Day was appointed an examiner at the South Kensington Schools. He continued this role when he was appointed a Visitor at the Royal College of Art. Despite his work with Crane, Day's views were in conflict with those held by both Crane and Lethaby. Day considered himself to be non-political, and disagreed with the political ideology they expounded. He believed design should be for commercial use and production, and that its education should be concerned with training, not the development of aesthetic individualism or handicrafts. In 1910, Day wrote apropos the teaching of design at the College, that it was very difficult to change the perception of design from association with commercial rather than intellectual applications, especially when the Royal Academy continued to place an emphasis on the Fine Arts. At the same time the Arts and Craft Movement:

..had drawn what artistic sympathy there may be for it away from Industry and towards the more or less amateurish pursuit of little Handicrafts..(17).

Indeed, Day considered the Design School at the Royal College of Art useless. Not only was the teaching based on craft , but it was also centred on handicraft. No doubt Day's criticism of the College would have continued had he not died in June 1910, before the Select Committee on the Royal College of Art had taken its evidence. It may seem surprising that the Board of Education allowed such criticism to be openly made, but it wanted the staff at the Royal College of Art to be aware of the criticism they were receiving. It was considered enough for the Board of Education to keep the staff aware of their failings.

But do the Board of Education's papers indicate not the failure of Lethaby as teacher, but rather his failure to negotiate for change? For example the changes recommended for the Royal College of Art by the Council of Art memorandum of 1900, were similar to those Lethaby had implemented at the Central School of London County Council. If there was conflict between Lethaby and the Board of Education, there is little indication of its cause, other than Lethaby's request for workshops, and Lethaby remained the servant of the Board until 1918.

In 1913, Lethaby published an article on Art and Workmanship (18), in which he called for consideration to be given to the design of objects through art. Lethaby was to become the guru of the Design and Industries Association, of which he was a founding figure. The exhibition of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society was a failure in 1912 and this led to a demand, by its younger members for a different approach. Criticism was compounded by an exhibition of German goods, held at Goldsmiths' Hall, in March 1915. This exhibition had been organised by the Board of Trade and was intended to encourage British

manufacturers to copy the items which had been chosen for their standard of economic production. At the time, there was an embargo on the import of German goods due to the War. In fact few of the goods possessed good design qualities, although many German products, at the time, were praised for their quality of design, particularly those designed by members of the Deutsche Werkbund. The exhibition led to a memorandum from a number of industrialists, Frank Pick of London Underground, the Principals of the Central and Leicester Schools of art, (Fred Burridge and B.J.Fletcher, respectively) and the artist Frank Brangwyn, addressed to the Permanent Secretaries of the Board of Trade and Board of Education and the Director of the Victoria and Albert Museum. The memorandum noted that the expansion of German trade was due to improved quality and design:

In England...commerce and art education remain two separate unyielding and opposing activities. This condition makes for a sterility of education and the degradation of commerce. It is desirable, above all things, to bring the two into true relationship so that education may become a preparation for commerce, and commerce the fulfilment of education(19).

These concerns led to the formation of the Design and Industries Association, aiming to encourage consumers to demand good design. The Association was convinced that machine work could be beautiful, as had been demonstrated by the Deutsche Werkbund. The DIA was founded in May 1915, and by the October that year, it had mounted its first exhibition Design and Workmanship in Print (20). The same year the society also published Lethaby's Art and Workmanship.

From later writings, we know that Lethaby expounded the need for industry to attract students, and suggested that schools of art would include:

training classes for the expert designers who should be so much in demand for all our industries. Our foreign competitors, who in attacking our commercial position have had the proverbial advantage of the offensive, have taken our ideas in art as in other things, have experimented with them, changed them a little and then frequently undersold us in our markets. They have experimented unceasingly and have employed design experts just as they employed experts in chemistry and mechanics(21).

This was far sighted and indicates that Lethaby was willing to develop education for the needs of industry, rejecting the aesthetic emphasis of the past. His ideas here, reflect the aims which Robin Darwin was to instigate in the early 1950s, at the Royal College of Art.

The failure of the government to establish a Royal Commission on the Royal College of Art following the 1911 Report, led to continued criticism. In 1912, C.R.Ashbee published Should We Stop Teaching Art⁽²²⁾, questioning the whole system of state art education, and dismissive of the need for training. Ashbee's criticism was seen as an unfair attack on teachers. More specifically, on the College he pointed out that its system of teaching perpetuated an education which was seen as divorced from the realities of manufacture. Others, notably Reginald Blomfield, thought the funding of teacher training, wasteful, and desired to restrict study to drawing and modelling, he considered the provision for design education adequately supported by the craft classes at the

Central School. Indeed, he questioned whether the state should encourage the production of patterns for mechanical production at all, as he considered this an obstacle to the growth of taste in fine art⁽²³⁾.

These criticisms of the College and its attitudes towards education were challenged the same year by Frank P. Brown, whose book, South Kensington and Its Art Training, showed that the figures on the career destinations of ex-students of the College, published by the Board of Education and repeated by Ashbee, were incorrect⁽²⁴⁾. Brown believed that the education provided at the College was both beneficial and relevant to the needs of art education and industry. The advantages of a College where students had close interchange between subjects, is often forgotten. Further, art at the College was taught by practising artists, a system used until 1948 and continued in the reorganisation of the College.

As early as 1912, the reasons for the apparent failure of the College could be blamed on the Board of Education. By this date the neglect of the College was all too apparent, added to which were the constant shelving of new schemes, and restrictions on the development of art and design education. Walter Crane made the point that the Presidents of the Board of Education did not remain in office long, due to political changes, and therefore had little interest in art schools, let alone art⁽²⁵⁾. Certainly there were five different Presidents of the Board of Education between 1900 and 1910, and on average a change in Presidency occurred every three years between 1900 and 1950. Some continuity of administration is evident through the activities of the Permanent Secretaries,

who over the same period only changed about once every seven years.

There would appear to have been hostility when the Art and Science Department was amalgamated into the Board of Education, in 1900, and the arts seem to have been rather neglected. This situation persisted under the regime of Sir Robert Morant, the Board's Secretary from 1902 until 1911, when L.A.Selby-Bigge took up the position. Walter Crane called for the formation of a separate section solely to administer art education, rather than to cover the wide range of arts subjects which included nursing⁽²⁶⁾.

The growth of industry in Germany and the United States of America posed a threat to the economic future of Britain. This decline was accelerated by a failure to introduce a system of education which was relevant to the needs of industry. Such a system could not be introduced when, as Walter Crane wrote:

...the public do not know (and possibly do not really care) what excellent work is produced by the students of government state aided schools...(27).

The situation was that the Government Schools of Design, and their successor, the Royal College of Art, failed to change the consumer's perception of art and design. The College did, however, provide a large number of art school teachers and members of the inspectorate, who were influential in the development of art education.

While controversy continued about the nature of art and design education and its relationship to commerce, the Board of Education reformed the system of education set up by Cole and Redgrave in the 19th Century. In 1913, the Art Class Teacher's and Art Master's Certificates were replaced by the Board of Education's Drawing Examinations, and in 1915, the National Competition was replaced by a system of unexhibited competition (28). It was clear, that as with previous reforms, the Board of Education placed priority on the training of teachers, rather than the education of designers. This was because there was a demand for teachers, due to the growth of the public education system and a coincidental rise in the school age population.

Yet there seems to have been no determination on the part of the Board of Education to press for the funding of a new building or for more facilities for the College. Both the Board's own Inspectorate in 1914, and succeeding reports of the College Visitors, had highlighted the poor facilities and low standard of student education, and the Board was aware of the failings of the College, with its ageing and weak staff. However, unlike the Local Education Authorities, it did not have the power to alter the curriculum or the financial structure of the College, in order to attract new and active staff(29).

Lethaby was replaced by Robert Anning Bell, who although a decorative painter, like Lethaby, was a trained architect and a member of the Arts and Crafts Society. Thus, even in 1920, the craft teaching at the Royal College of Art was perceived by the Board of Education to be 'design', a combination of decorative and fine art. The suggestions of the 1911 Report and the debate led by the Design and

Industries Association seemed to have no effect on the College, despite the involvement of Lethaby in the DIA.

From 1900 to 1922, the Painting School Professor was Gerald Moira, whose work, though modern in style for the period, in no way reflected the rapid changes taking place in contemporary art at that time. As early as 1911, it was plainly evident (and even more so by 1920), that there was a division between the art and design produced by staff and students at the Royal College of Art, and the work produced in the market place. There was an increasing difference between the images and products students were surrounded by in everyday life, and the historicist and drab work they were requested to produce at the College. The Board had recognised this, for during the First World War it had invited the professors of Painting and Sculpture, Moira and Lanteri respectively, to become part-time employees⁽³⁰⁾. The Board of Education was thankful to see the retirement of an ageing Lethaby in 1918, and then Spencer in 1920.

Rothenstein was appointed because of his interest in the relation of education to industry, or as the Board described it: 'the application of art to craft and industry'⁽³¹⁾. The Board was concerned that the College should be proactive towards design for manufacture⁽³²⁾. The Board of Education realised that reform at the College might involve ending the teaching of fine art and architecture, (other than as subsidiary studies). Indeed, between 1913 and 1920, the amalgamation of the fine art areas with those at the Royal Academy, had been discussed⁽³³⁾. The Board had considered metamorphosing the College into a Final School of Design for 'Handicraftsmen and Designers'. The College continued to train students in

skills suited to a small number of specialist art/craft companies, as well as implementing the education of designers 'of more modest attainments' for general manufacturing industries (34). The development of state education had led to growth of the provincial art schools, which fed the Royal College of Art, and the Board wanted to keep the status of the College distinct from the Royal Academy and the University of London's Slade School. It was considered important to develop the College into an educational institution relevant to the needs of industry as well as to those of education. At the Board of Education, there was disagreement between the officers on the priority of the issues, but the most urgent developments were agreed to be the provision of better accommodation and new equipment. The Treasury, however, was reluctant to provide increased funding(35).

Following Rothenstein's suggestion, the Board of Education considered that industrial sponsorship would encourage a reluctant Treasury. The President of the Board of Education gained industrial support in the form of equipment rather than funding. This move did not, however, encourage the Treasury, and funding became increasingly constrained during the economic downturn of the 1920s and early 1930s.

Rothenstein wished to develop a unity between art and design, encouraging 'adventurous craftsmen and designers of distinction' but also supporting Fine Arts (36). Alarm bells rang over Rothenstein's interest in fine art. Rothenstein thought he was gradually succeeding in changing the College, from a training school for teachers, to an active school for practical designers and artists. The College was attracting 'a different class of student', although under the Board of Education's entrance system,

some of the most talented students failed to gain scholarships, a fact which Rothenstein personally lamented (37).

Rothenstein found support in the Permanent Secretary and staff at the Board of Education:

My new chiefs at the Board of Education, Sir Amherst Selby Bigge, E.K.Chambers, and my immediate chief, W.R.Davies, ready to take me by the hand and guide me in the administrative path. I had heard hard things said about the Board, but I have known fewer abler or more enlightened men than my colleagues there(38).

Rothenstein urged the Board of Education to employ 'distinguished young artists, designers and craftsmen, to posts in the more important country schools'. He considered it was unfortunate that the talented students who were intending to become teachers, had to spend a large part of their final year in the study of pedagogy, which restricted them in the development of their own skills. Rothenstein considered this was not beneficial to the education system. Rothenstein now considered the Board were:

men whose culture is book culture, who deal with systems and paper projects, and cannot be expected to understand a form of education, not to be measured by examinations, which consists, first and foremost, of doing well(39).

In 1924, the Professor of Sculpture, Derwent Wood, resigned, challenging the 'Philistinism' of the Board of Education and its interest in industrial design. Yet the Board was cautious in its attitude towards modernism,

rejecting the suggestion of Epstein for the Professorship of Sculpture as 'a very perilous experiment and one that might cause considerable embarrassment'(40).

Rothenstein brought a more international outlook to the College and the students were encouraged by his concern for a broad education across the arts. He encouraged friends such as T E Lawrence, Rabindranath Tagore, G K Chesterton, Walter de la Mare and even a Tibetan Lama, to speak in the students' Common Room. Even if the contacts were informal they had a lasting effect on the students(41).

But there was no sudden development of a concern for modern art or design with the arrival of Rothenstein. New staff in the Painting School were modern in their ideas, but not avant-garde. Indeed, the most modern style was that of the impressionistic, New English Art Club, which might have opposed the Royal Academy during the 1880s and 1890s but by the 1920s was conservative in its opinions(42).

In the School of Sculpture the work remained predominantly figurative, the tradition of Lanteri, continued by Derwent Wood, Ernest Cole, and Gilbert Ledward. Only from 1930, with the appointment of Richard Garbe, did the work become more contemporary, but even then public opinion clashed with a concern for modernism. It was the stone carving tutor, Barry Hart and the assistant ex-student, Henry Moore, who encouraged modern work. Moore's ideas were in total contrast to those of the professors. The support and encouragement of Rothenstein enabled him to stay until 1931 when the Board of Education felt unable to support modern work at a publicly funded institution(43).

In the Design School the influence of Medievalism continued with the appointment, in 1924 of E.W.Tristram. In part, the Lethaby inheritance continued through members of the Art Workers Guild, such as Edward Johnson who taught writing and illumination, and the artist-potter Staite Murray. It was also true that craft had more social cachet than industrial art, which was the province of 'workers' and did not therefore fit in with the university ethos held by Rothenstein. The Arts and Crafts tradition was continued by the craft classes, which did not reflect the rise in industrial design outside the College. The area of Mural and Decorative Painting came under the aegis of the Design School, its fine art bias illustrated by the presence of A.K.Lawrence as tutor, who moved to teach in the Painting School in 1929. In the Design School (as in the Sculpture School) it was the Assistants who encouraged a concern for modernism, most notably Reco Capey, Edward Bawden and Eric Ravillious. The 'modern' Nash brothers, Paul and John, both taught in the Design, rather than the Painting School.

Fine art was considered to be more 'intellectual' than design, and therefore the Design School was considered by many to be second class, with the staff sending those they considered to be the weaker students to Design⁽⁴⁴⁾. Such a view probably also accounts for the high proportion of women students in the Design School, as well as for the fact the women were expected to find forms of employment other than an artists⁽⁴⁵⁾. With the emphasis on craft teaching, the Design School was aligned toward teacher training rather than industry, even though the relationship between fine art and craft was evident, illustrated by Randolph Schwarbe, leaving the Design School to become Professor at the Slade in 1930, and to be joined by Allen Gwynne-Jones.

By 1929, the 'atrocious character of the premises' (46) was brought to the attention of the Cabinet by the Board of Education, in an effort to gain funding. The Board was supported by the Royal Commission on National Museums and Galleries⁽⁴⁷⁾. It was evident that the growth in state education had led to a rise in the number of students entering the College, notably women students who accounted for 60%. With the rise in standards in general education and at art schools, it was obvious that there would be pressure for an increase in student numbers at the Royal College of Art⁽⁴⁸⁾.

The situation remained unchanged until 1932, when the First Commissioner of Works gained Cabinet agreement for the construction of a new building for the Science Museum and new premises for the Royal College of Art, despite concern over public spending in a time of economic uncertainty. The proposed site was leased to the Institut Francais, which prevented the start of construction. By October 1934, the site was considered too small, and although further land was available, the construction costs would be increased. Any delay was seen as detrimental, by the Board of Education. The Board was approached by the London County Council over the possible provision for industrial art at its Central School, and to a lesser extent, at the Royal College of Art. The Board of Education was not keen to incorporate the Central School into the Royal College of Art, although both the Board and Rothenstein himself saw no objection to the College being taken over by London University. This would have provided university status for the College and the possibility of more financial support from industry. The Board of Education was seriously interested in obtaining university status for the College⁽⁴⁹⁾. Indeed, when the Board had appointed Rothenstein in 1920, they did so, aware of his position as

the Professor of Civic Art at the University of Sheffield, and hopeful that would encourage the College to aim for university status and post-graduate work.

In October 1934, the Board of Education discussed the College with the Industrial Art Committee of the Federations of British Industries, and with the Design and Industries Association. This highlighted the need for the 'National College' to have a full time principal. Since 1926, Rothenstein had been part-time. This had led to a malaise at the College. The Board was aware of the advantage of having a new principal when the College moved into new premises, and could only agree with Rothenstein for the 'need for fresh methods to meet new needs'⁽⁵⁰⁾. Rothenstein admitted the direction of the College was opposed to his own⁽⁵¹⁾, but was willing to supervise and support new developments⁽⁵²⁾. Rothenstein had taken a personal, dedicated interest in the Painting School yet had made no move to introduce more contemporary design studies, other than the employment of the most creative of the Design diplomates. Rothenstein tendered his resignation in October 1935, hoping to leave the following Autumn. The Board diplomatically took the opportunity to rid itself of Rothenstein.

The changing attitude towards design for commercial use, was highlighted by the British Industries Fair, held at Shepherd's Bush in 1927, where the Empire Marketing Board (a division of the Board of Trade,) was praised for the design, quality and display of its stand. Although the quality of British goods was of a sound standard, the design of many companies was found deficient in design. The report of the British Industries Fair in The Studio, set out the issues, which had changed little since 1900.

British products were ornamental and decorative, and did not reflect 'modern educated decoration..[and]..improved aesthetic standards'. If products were designed by 'artistic and inventive' talent, products could compete with foreign goods. However, it was difficult to wholly blame the manufacturers, when public awareness of 'beauty and fitness are extraordinarily crude and elementary'. The Royal College of Art had gone some way towards developing education and design but as The Studio continued:

If we are to hold our own against the facile ingenuity and originality of continental designers, it has become imperative to find some effective means of absorbing into industry the first-rate talents which are undoubtedly to be found in our Schools of Art. The outlook would be far more promising and the future of our industries assured, if means could be found of establishing harmonious co-operation between the creative abilities of our younger generation of designers, and the fine sense of craftsmanship which the majority of British manufacturers display(53).

Criticism also came from the design profession. In 1928, when the formation of the Society of British Commercial Artists(subtitled the Poster Society,) was being discussed, the key issue was the status of membership and the educational qualifications or experience required. The advertising companies could control the membership through the limited number of jobs available and the restriction of apprenticeships. There were courses being developed in art schools which would provide suitable training in commercial work, but the art schools were :

..in the hands of men who have only been trained as artists and have had no experience whatsoever in commerce or the particular psychological part of commerce we call Salesmanship(54).

The Commercial Artist continued to call for the improvement of the status and teaching of design. These needs were also highlighted by a number of societies: the Design and Industries Association, the Federation of British Industries, the British Colour Council and the Royal Academy of Arts. In 1928, Lord Eustace Percy, Minister for Education, advocated closer relations between art schools and industry.

The decline in the economy, and the added loss of overseas markets, triggered the Board of Trade appointment of the Gorell Committee, in 1931. This Committee had the remit to consider 'the desirability of forming in London a standing exhibition of articles of everyday use and good design of current manufacture, and of forming temporary exhibitions of the same kind'. The Committee's primary recommendation was to establish a central body with responsibility for exhibitions of industrial art, supported by finance from private individuals. If such a policy could be aligned to 'first rate' teaching and opportunities for designers, the standard and production of design could only improve. But the Gorell Report included contradictory statements. There was a need to adapt to designing for industry: the reversion to the production of handicrafts was uneconomic. Yet, it also advocated the use of artists for design. In the event, the recommendations for change could not be introduced because of lack of funding. But the Gorell Report did result in the Board of Trade announcing the appointment of a representative council, which early in

1934 was formed as the Council for Art and Industry, under the chairmanship of Frank Pick. This body consisted of 27 members and included Eaton of the Board of Education and Burridge from the Central School. The Council had no executive powers but instigated a programme of research, and in 1935 published a report on Education for the Consumer which was to be followed in 1937 by Design and the Designer in Industry. It was also the Board of Trade which in 1936 established the National Register of Industrial Art Designers, and during the Second World War, established minimum standards of design and the commissioning of utility goods. The activities of the Board of Trade, like the Board of Education, were restricted by financial constraints, but succeeded in being proactive towards the needs of design. Ironically, despite the involvement of Eaton, this only served to emphasise the failure of the Board of Education to develop design education. Moreover, the Board of Trade's interest in design and design education, made it seem possible that the Board of Trade wished to have authority over the Royal College of Art. The Board of Education was all too aware that the Board of Trade had administered the College's predecessor, the Schools of Design.

The need for educational exhibitions relating to design had been shown in 1933, when the Design and Industries Association organised an exhibition held in the newly constructed Dorland Hall, on Lower Regent Street, entitled British Industrial Art, showing a selection of the best consumer goods available, with rooms sponsored by companies or individuals. In November that year, the Prince of Wales announced his support for an exhibition of 'Industrial Art', at Burlington House, to be organised jointly by the Royal Academy and the Royal Society of Arts. The Prince called for a closer relationship between manufacture and

art for the benefit of commerce. In December 1933, the Royal Society of Arts was addressed by Harold Sanderson on the subject 'Art Schools and Art in Industry'. Picking up on the Prince's address, Sanderson pointed to the need for England to maintain her exports through the quality of goods. He noted that there were 58,700 students in 27 art schools, which despite of being created for the benefit of industry, were not training students who could be employed by industry. Sanderson called for art masters to have an understanding of business and manufacture. No mention was made of the Royal College of Art, though the work of the London County Council was praised⁽⁵⁵⁾.

The failure of art schools to supply suitable employees for industry, was reiterated by the 1934 Council for Art and Industry report, Design and the Designer in Industry. This called for the difference between fine art and industrial design to be defined, and for better pay for designers, to stem the flow of students who entered a teaching career because of its better prospects. The Board of Education's proposals for the development of a number of local art colleges to produce designers for local industry was welcomed, but above all the industrial designer needed to study industrial technique. The Chairman of the report, Frank Pick, obviously had the Royal College of Art in mind when he commented on the general lack of concern for industrial design.

In 1934, three books were published which discussed the importance of design, and also criticised the education system: John Gloag's Industrial Art Explained, Geoffrey Holme's Industrial Design and the Future and Herbert Read's Design and Industry.

John Gloag's Industrial Art Explained was dedicated to Frank Pick, indicating Gloag shared similar views to those published by the Council for Art and Industry. Gloag argued for architects to be employed on non architectural projects, because they were trained as designers. He stated the need for an organisation to link manufacturers with designers in England, pointing out that such organisations existed in European countries. Further, Gloag noted that government departments did not know of appropriate designers, and illustrated this point with the failure of Britain at international exhibitions⁽⁵⁶⁾. This was a clear criticism of the Board of Trade.

The book's introduction was titled: The Case for an Academy of Design. Here, Gloag called for an institution to be founded which would forward the aims of societies such as: the Royal Society of Art, the Design and Industries Association, Royal Institute of British Architects, the Society of Industrial Artists and the Council for Preservation of Rural England. There was a clear need for an educational institution which had direct links with industry and with Chambers of Trade and Commerce across Britain⁽⁵⁷⁾, and which could organise trade exhibitions of contemporary manufactured work. This institution could be formed by a combination of the Royal Society of Arts and the Design and Industries Association. In his description of this 'Academy of Design', Gloag used the term 'utopia', aware that the feasibility of such an establishment would take many years to attain because of the poor standard of British industrial design. He blamed the low standard partly on Lethaby, who he claimed, had caused confusion regarding the art of craftsmanship and the employment of machinery. It was implicit that Lethaby had been closely involved in the development of design education in England, and thereby Gloag was indirectly criticizing the Board of

Education for its failure to update the work of the Royal College of Art⁽⁵⁸⁾. Gloag does not discuss the Royal College of Art, but clearly considered it could not be adapted to meet the needs of industry and the future of design education.

The Studio published a book entitled Industrial Design and the Future by its editor Geoffrey Holme. Holme discussed the need for training in design, and praised the work done for the London County Council by R.R.Tomlinson and Marion Richardson. He did not criticise the Royal College of Art by name, but wrote of the uselessness of academic training in period styles, and design without workshop practice, a clear sideswipe at the College. To assess the thoughts of 'industrialists, merchandisers and designers', a questionnaire was circulated, and the replies published. The replies emphasised the separation between education and industry, and that industry was aware of the failings of the education system. Asked to comment on the idea for a university course in design, Robert D. Best, of Best & Lloyd Lighting, Birmingham, commented that the Royal College of Art should be converted into such a university⁽⁵⁹⁾. Best had visited Germany and was aware of the work of Walter Gropius. Best used Bauhaus designs, which required new techniques of production. He seems aware of the work of the Royal College of Art, and as a manufacturer, saw the failure of English education to address the need for design for new materials and mass manufacture. The book does not include comments from anyone connected with the College or the Boards of Education or Trade.

In Design and Industry, Herbert Read made an analogy between machine art and architecture. Read readily

acknowledged the influence to Gropius⁽⁶⁰⁾, and made it clear that appropriate training was not available in England. Read wrote that the problem was not how to adapt handicrafts to machine production, but how to develop new aesthetics for new production methods, and chastised the Board of Trade's Gorell Report on this issue.

But the greatest criticism was directed at the Royal College of Art and the complete failure of the system of academic instruction in design. The alternative was to develop a Bauhaus type training in Britain. A lengthy appendix in the book was an open memorandum to the President of the Board of Education, submitted by the Design and Industries Association, on the subject of Art Education, with special reference to the organisation of the Royal College of Art⁽⁶¹⁾. This concisely evaluated the existing situation: there was ample provision for the teaching of fine art but no provision for instruction in industrial design at a level equating with university status. Read pointed out that the Royal College of Art had been founded for the task of industrial training, and that it should be reorganised to educate suitable, trained 'designers and craftsmen' for industry. It should supply in-service training for those involved in art related industries and fulfil the growing demand for teachers, by training teachers of design for art schools and colleges, who understood the problems of designing for industrial production processes.

Notes were included on: the standard of admission of students if the College was to be equated with a university; the need for adequate workshops and equipment relating to the various industries; the formation of branch colleges in the provinces which would be subject to the

control of the Royal College of Art; the provision of specialist teacher training for the various levels of education; a College exhibition hall; scholarships for research and work experience; and the status of College staff and their need to have practical experience in design, with instructors having 'not less than three years in the trade or industry with which their teaching is concerned'. Finally it was suggested that the College should be governed by an advisory board of no more than twelve persons, appointed jointly by the Board of Education and the Board of Trade.

These suggestions effectively provided a plan for the reorganisation of art and design education across England, at a time when a new Principal of the Royal College of Art was to be appointed. The proposed relationship between the Board of Education and Board of Trade, though sensible, was highly improbable, in view of the conflict and jealousy between government departments, despite Eaton's place on the Board of Education's Council for Art in Industry. However, Read noted 'that some officials of the Board of Education' were aware of the distinction between education for production and education for design⁽⁶²⁾. He was probably thinking of his friend E.M.O'R.Dickey, the Staff Inspector for Art at the Board of Education, and its President, Lord Eustace Percy, who that year had published his considerations on design education⁽⁶³⁾. The reaction of the Board of Education to Read's book and the memorandum, is either unrecorded or lost, but the system of Visitors to the College was subsequently abandoned and a College Council was created in 1937, with no members appointed by the Board of Trade. Perhaps further reforms might have been instigated if the funding and the political climate had been appropriate.

Indeed, when Frank Pick wrote to the Board of Education suggesting it invited Walter Gropius to visit art schools, the Board suspected Pick was writing at the instigation of the Board of Trade. Pick in his role as President of the Council for Art and Industry, considered Gropius suitable for a post at the Royal College of Art, while the Board of Education only considered using Gropius as an advisor to a 'Bauhaus' which might replace the College. There was never any suggestion of making Gropius Principal of the Royal College of Art, but rather to employ him as an advisor on the structure of design teaching across the English education system. Plans were initiated for Gropius to lecture at the College, nothing came of it.

The Board of Education was fully aware of the need to reorganise the Royal College of Art, but also realised that finance for such radical reorganisation along Bauhaus lines would not be forthcoming from the Treasury. While the Royal College of Art was based in a capital city and was central to English art education, the Bauhaus was very small yet international in its influence. The College centred on the work of training teachers and differing disciplines, which contrasted with the Bauhaus students' training across disciplines and in producing work directly related to the market place. While the College continued to avoid the changes which had taken place in the use of material, methods of production, and styles in the market place, the Bauhaus actively became involved in such issues.

The paucity of British contemporary design education was underlined by the 1935 exhibition of British Art in Industry. This only served to reveal many of the inadequacies of the Royal College of Art, and illustrated, not the rise of the modern, but a concern for expensive

handcrafted objects. The exhibition opened in January, at Burlington House. Different galleries exhibited ceramics, glassware, leather and metalwork, and room sets such as a Lutyens Library and shop settings (in which the goods were changed every 14 days), commercial art, decorative ware and furniture, carpets and textiles. The exhibits did include work by graduates of the Royal College of Art but they were few, and only served to draw attention to the failure of the Design School to teach methods suitable for modern production and materials. Some examples were more related to applied art, such as an engraved crystal vase 'Ballet Scene', designed by A.H.Andrews ARCA and made by Thomas Webb and Corbett Ltd, though the use of new plastic material was illustrated through the work of Reco Capey, and ten vitrolite decorative panels by Eric Ravillious. Herbert Read criticised a chromium and glass table by Ernest Proctor A.R.C.A., for its complete inability to design using modern materials. Read ended his review with the comment that the exhibition did not illustrate industrial design in production, and that the designers of such products owed nothing to 'the well-meaning but spurious activities of our art schools and academies'(64). This was a clear criticism of education, and the failing of the Royal College of Art in particular.

One month later in February, Frank Pick wrote to The Times supporting the Art in Industry exhibition against its critics(65). This was followed, on February 18th, by a letter from Paul Nash, the President of the Society of Industrial Artists, complaining that although companies were consulted and approached, designers had not been. He blamed the 'parochial vision' of the Royal Academy, Lamb its Secretary, and the Royal Society of Arts for not representing the contemporary production of work, and commented that the Exhibition of British Art in Industry

was as unrepresentative as the Royal Academy Summer Exhibitions were, in relation to modern art. Herbert Read described it as 'novelism'. The exhibition had failed to achieve its purpose because, except in the areas of ceramics and glass, it ignored the design of modern machine products. As we can see the exhibition was reflecting the state of British design, and the approach to design education at the Royal College of Art.

There was a book to accompany the exhibition. The Conquest of Ugliness was a collection of contemporary views on the place of art in industry. One essay was by E.M.O'R. Dickey, the Staff Inspector for Art, at the Board of Education. Dickey thought the exhibition would help teachers appreciate British design. He advocated the teaching of 'good taste' through practical work such as block printing on cotton or pen lettering, which children could equate to mass produced curtains or printed typography. Dickey wrote that art schools were responsible for training future specialist teachers in art, as well as providing the opportunity for developing teachers of general education, and encouraging links between the different strata of education. There was no direct criticism of the Royal College of Art, but Dickey placed the blame for inadequate education on the unenthusiastic local authorities and institutions. There was no emphasis on a need to link education with industry, a key criticism levelled at the Royal College of Art and by implication at the Board of Education⁽⁶⁶⁾.

All this discussion, together with the published criticism the preceding year, may have caused the Board of Education to appoint the Hambleton Committee in May, though evidence would indicate that consideration of such a move was made

several months previously. The President of the Board of Education, Lord Halifax, wrote to The Times on the 16th May, on the subject of the steps which were to be taken to improve design education and the role of the Royal College of Art, and the formation of an advisory committee (including W.R.M.Lamb, the Royal Academy Secretary who had been heavily involved in the Art in Industry exhibition). The Hambleton Committee reported in May 1936 and a College Council was established, which placed an especial emphasis on the need for improved equipment and staffing in the Design School⁽⁶⁷⁾.

The issues raised by Read, the Design and Industries Association memorandum, and the findings of the Hambleton Committee, caused considerable interest in educational circles. Tom Purvis gave a lecture, 'How Artists Should be Trained for Industry', to the National Society of Art Masters, which emphasised the need for training in industrial design, with a greater selection of students trained to a more exacting standard⁽⁶⁸⁾. In early 1938, the Central School opened an experimental workshop specially equipped for industrial design. The workshop was headed by 31 year old, J.Beresford Evans who had designed interiors, lighting, and had spent two years with Raymond Loewy. The three year course at the Central was considered the first of its kind to train designers who were aware of manufacturing constraints, and included a period of work experience⁽⁶⁹⁾. No such course could have taken place at the Royal College of Art due to the lack of accommodation and funding for workshops. There was also a need to employ suitable staff who could run courses appropriate to the needs of industry, but did such people exist?

Some art schools were making efforts to develop appropriate training for commercial art and industrial design. During 1939-40, a series of illustrated articles was run in Art and Industry and covered courses at the art schools of Leicester, Manchester, the Central School in London, Reading and Hatherly's. There was no mention of the Royal College of Art or comparison with the supposedly higher level institution. It had become all too clear that the Royal College of Art lagged behind the leading art schools in the provision of design education, and articles such as those in Art and Industry can only have placed more pressure on the Board of Education to take action regarding the work of the Royal College of Art.

In May 1943, the Royal Society of Arts Education Committee reported on 'the place and purpose of art and design in the post-war system'. The paragraph referring to the Royal College of Art, noted that the links with industry were slight, and that the place and purpose of the College and its organisation should be carefully considered, in relation to the restructuring of education which the government was proposing. The need to continue teacher training at the College was questioned⁽⁷⁰⁾.

This coincided with the reprinting of Herbert Read's Art in Industry, containing the DIA memorandum on the reorganisation of the Royal College of Art. Although in 1936, the Board of Education had highlighted the need for an emphasis on contemporary design processes, no further action had been taken, and the memorandum still remained highly critical, and more so since the instigation of industrial design teaching at the Central School⁽⁷¹⁾.

The Royal College of Art was also the subject of considerable criticism by the Board of Trade's Weir Report of 1943. The College Council refuted the Weir Report statement that career prospects in industrial design required improvement before students could be encouraged to study in that area, pointing to the fact that the majority of students entering the Design School left to enter commercial art and advertising. This was a vicious circle. There was a need for industrial designers to encourage British industry, and especially goods for post-war export, yet the College claimed that industry was unwilling to employ designers.

The new Ministry of Education disagreed with the College Council, and felt that the College could have done more towards reorganisation, responding to the suggestions made indirectly by the Board of Trade through the Weir Report. The Ministry was aware that the real need was for a change of staff at the College, to a personnel who were sympathetic towards industrial design⁽⁷²⁾. Further, the Central School was recognised as producing suitable designers, though there was a paucity of suitable staff at either institution.

In December 1944, the Council of Industrial Design was formed by Hugh Dalton, President of the Board of Trade. (Dalton was a modernist who took a keen interest in the design of utility furniture). The membership of the Council included businessmen representing their various branches of industry. The remit of the Council included the responsibility to co-operate with education authorities and 'other bodies in matters affecting the training of designers'. Thus the work of the CoID overlapped into the remit of the Ministry of Education⁽⁷³⁾.

In 1945, a new Labour Government came to power and Sir Stafford Cripps succeeded Dalton at the Board of Trade. He instructed the Council to prepare a show entitled Britain Can Make It, which proved an enormous success at its showing at the Victoria and Albert Museum, in 1946. It was visited by 1½ million people. Included was a section of art school exhibits, with a large range of examples from the Royal College of Art. This was remarkable considering the College's war-time evacuation and the criticism of its design teaching.

In 1946, a report sponsored by the Dartington Hall Trustees, on the visual arts, noted the control of the Ministry of Education over the Royal College of Art and the national examination system. The report commented on the 'troubled history' of the College and the lack of support from industry, and that although Rothenstein introduced new staff, the reputation of the College for fine art outweighed its work in design. The report considered design to be the weakest aspect of the College which attracted 'many of the less talented students'. The suggestion that the College should only teach design was refuted by the report, which pointed to the beneficial influence of the Painting and Sculpture Schools on the areas of Design and illustration, and to the fact that 'three separate schools for advanced training in the fine arts are a scanty minimum'(74).

The Report noted that the Royal College of Art had been misleadingly considered a teacher training institution, and had therefore attracted less able students. The conditions of the College made it less attractive than the Slade School, which was attached to London University. The conclusion was that the recommendations of the Hamblenden

Committee of 1936, should be implemented immediately. However, in 1937, Lord Hambleden had been appointed to the newly formed Council of the College for this precise purpose, yet from this date the College Council supported the College, rather than the Board of Education.

The 1939-45 war and evacuation had only served to further the role of craft based design at the College. The position of the Royal College of Art was static and threatened with amalgamation or transformation. Rab Butler, President of the Board of Education, considered the Royal College of Art 'far superior' to the Central School, and his opinion may well have saved the institution⁽⁷⁵⁾.

The reorganisation of the Royal College of Art was not possible until Robin Darwin took charge as Principal, in 1948. Although a fine artist, he had considerable experience in education, (including indirectly succeeding E.M.O'R.Dickey as Professor of Fine Art, King's College, at the University of Durham in 1946-48,). He came to the College from the newly formed Council of Industrial Design, where, as Training Officer, he wrote a report on The Training of the Industrial Designer. In this report, Darwin criticised the art schools for an over emphasis on handicrafts, fine art and a lack of industrial co-operation. (These points had been made previously by Herbert Read.) As a servant of the Board of Trade, Darwin was repeating earlier criticism, but he introduced the idea that designers should be well educated and acquainted with a variety of skills, yet trained for specific areas of industry⁽⁷⁶⁾. Darwin was aware of the needs of industry, and of the different approaches to design education, notably the course successfully developed at Leicester. Darwin came to the College after a period of working

(indirectly) for the Board of Trade. This made him more acceptable to the Board of Education as a future Principal of the Royal College of Art, because only dramatic change could re-establish the direction of the institution. Moreover, Darwin had close personal connections with members of the Ministry of Education.

Darwin instituted changes in the teaching staff, and implemented changes in design education. These moved the Royal College of Art towards a teaching of design which reflected the needs of the manufacturing industry, and the styles seen by the consumer in the market place. Only with the determined pressure of Darwin, did the Treasury eventually release finance for the development of a College which was to become a true College of Design. In 1948, the establishment of new separate Departments of Engineering and Furniture Design, Fashion Design, Graphic Design and Industrial Glass, supplemented the established craft areas⁽⁷⁷⁾. Further reorganisation strengthened the new areas, and clarified industrial application in the crafts. The arguments over the need for craft and its relationship to fine art and design continued, with continued calls for the crafts to be made relevant to mass production and consumption.

In 1948, Art and Industry carried two relevant articles. The first was on 'The Training of Designers' by Kenneth Holmes, A.R.C.A., the Principal of Leicester College of Art and Technology. Holmes pointed out that responsibility for the teaching of design, with the exception of the Royal College of Art, lay with the local authorities. The second, by the Principal of Birmingham College of Art, Meredith W.Hawes, was on 'Training for Industrial Design', and set out a curriculum for the various specialised branches of

design, in contrast with earlier schemes. These articles show that the Royal College of Art was not alone in attempting to introduce change in the system of design education, but under Darwin's leadership many of the reforms suggested by the Design and Industries Association memorandum of 1934 and his own Report of 1946, were implemented.

What was not implemented, was the reintroduction of branch schools in the provinces which would have specialised in specific industrial training. In 1946, the Ministry of Education reorganised and renamed the National Examinations system (which had remained unchanged since 1913) and established the Committee on Art Examinations. This Committee recommended the introduction of the National Diploma in Design, and its recognition as a suitable qualification for entrance to the Royal College of Art, which had its own entrance examination⁽⁷⁸⁾. These recommendations were implemented. The newly independent Royal College of Art remained 'at the top' of the art and design education system in Britain, but was now an institution more relevant to its original aims and objectives.

Between 1900 and 1949, the College had lacked the funding and facilities to make it an institution equal to its mission. Despite the hindrance of the administrative rule of the Treasury and constraints imposed by the Board of Education, the College was an institution held in high regard by its student candidates and diplomates. More generally, the College was perceived as the leading institution in British art and design education, and recognised as such by foreign educationalists. The Board remained keen to retain the College as a distinct

institution, aware of its historical associations, and ever hopeful of possible change. Eventually, in 1949, the College succeeded in raising its status and became the equivalent of a post-graduate university for art and design.

The failure of the College to act as a centre for the development of British industrial design, cannot be wholly blamed on poor investment. Although the entrance system for students to the College was highly egalitarian, the administration of the College remained suspicious of those outside its own social sphere⁽⁷⁹⁾. Partial blame can be placed on the Board of Education, which was uncertain about the nature and meaning of industrial art, and also on some College staff, who predominantly supported the arts and crafts aesthetic. For a long time 'design' was perceived as a process concerned with the work of artisans, a job for the lower orders and related to cheap mass manufacture. Thus design had an image that was 'second rate' relative to fine art or the handicrafts. By continuing a syllabus which required training in a wide range of art and craft techniques, the diplomates of the College remained appropriately trained for the needs of a career in the profession of teaching. The College nominally continued to be a teacher training college in order to support the expanding public education system.

This situation was aggravated by the fact that there was no system of training related to modern methods of manufacture. Although the Board of Education was aware of its failure to provide candidates for employment in industry, it considered such employment below the worth of the College diplomates. The Board did not press for the employment, at the College, of staff who might have

developed industrial training methods, realising that funding for the development of industrial workshops at the College was unlikely to be forthcoming from the Treasury.

The education system at the College was somewhat incestuous, in that ex-students entered teaching and encouraged the next generation of candidates for the College, who shared similar expectations of the education they would receive at the College. Moreover, from the 1920s, the College frequently employed its own graduates as teachers. This prevented the employment of persons with industrial experience and the introduction of new subject areas such as commercial design.

The failure of the College to develop a pedagogy appropriate for the training of modern industrial designers and design teachers, can be blamed both on individuals at the College and at the Board of Education. The Board failed to demand the implementation of a more contemporary syllabus, and was cautious about any new developments, seemingly unable to persuade the Treasury of the importance of the College.

In turn, the British manufacturing industry was not clear about the institution's functions, and fearful of an institution which turned its own designers into teachers. It should be remembered that the rise of mass manufacture and commercial art was gradual. It seemed more provident for industry to train its own designers, who would be more aware of the constraints of production processes and the differing needs of markets. It may also be argued that the Board of Education was slow to recognise the real needs of industry. This situation led to distrust on both sides,

with manufacturers claiming the College did not train candidates appropriate for employment in industry, and the College claiming there was not a great enough demand from industry to warrant the development of such courses.

The need for designers had been recognised more quickly by the Board of Trade, who became increasingly proactive in supporting the growth of design consciousness through the publication of reports and the support of public exhibitions. The Board of Trade realised the need for an educational policy on design at the Royal College of Art. The conflict between the Boards of Trade and Education was exacerbated once again by the failure of the Treasury to provide adequate funding for curriculum development.

During the period studied, the College failed to produce internationally known industrial designers, largely due to an inappropriate curriculum and a lack of proper awareness of industrial issues (although some staff, notably Reco Capey were more perceptive). In contrast, Schools such as the Central (and outside London, Leicester) developed teaching methods which encouraged their ex-students to enter industry, confident in the use of new materials and methods of production. It can be argued that the most successful industrial designers during the 1920s and 1930s were those trained as architects, who understood the nature of new materials and were willing to adapt to new ideas. They recognised the need for mass produced objects which were designed without a loss of 'aesthetic qualities'. It is ironic that the College's emphasis on the unity of the arts through architecture, failed to address the development of modernism, and thus make its students appropriate candidates for employment in design.

However, the College was highly successful in the area of craft, training students to a high level of individual skill, and who after leaving, could undertake commissions which required an understanding of fine art in the context of design. A number of students did enter careers in design, but the total was small. Moreover, as designs for mass manufacture were often not credited and the names of many students unrecognised. Their importance is more difficult to evaluate.

There were a high number of female students at the College, with a majority of female students in the Design School⁽⁸⁰⁾. The employment prospects of women were restricted: until 1944 only unmarried women could hold a teaching post, and the number of women who held managerial posts in industry was few. Some of those women who entered the crafts have gained recognition, but the majority have not. Much research remains to be done on the history of such individuals.

Some blame has to be placed on the staff of the College who, although hampered by the constraints of external administration, failed to provide a coherent syllabus, curriculum or comprehension of the issues at stake. The College was largely staffed by individuals who, although distinctly creative in their own subject areas, failed to view the needs of the College from an external viewpoint.

The Principals of the College illustrate this problem. Augustus Spencer was appointed to reorganise teaching but failed to address the needs of art and design; William Rothenstein was appointed to bring the College into closer contact with manufacturers, but failed to address the needs

of modern design education; Percy Jowett was appointed as a figure aware of the situation of contemporary art and design education, but failed to implement new teaching methods relevant to industry. Only Robin Darwin, aware of the workings of the Civil Service, the role of education and the needs of industry, was able to enforce change. Thus for much of the period studied, the College continued to exist without a clearly stated policy on its aims and objectives.

In all, it may be argued that between 1900 and 1948 the Board of Education aimed to use the Royal College of Art for the training of diplomates who would influence art and design, both as practitioners and as educators. In fact the greatest influence of the College was to be on art school education.

Endnotes

Conclusion

1. The London County Council's Technical Education Board set up a special committee and commissioned a study of technical education in London. Hubert Llewellyn Smith's Report to the Special Committee on Technical Education being the Result of an Enquiry into the needs of London with regard to Technical Education of 1892, concluded that teaching in design and modelling was inadequate at all insitutions, and recommended grants should be given to art schools on condition that design, modelling and at least one manufacturing process were taught. He also recommended the inspection of schools and the formation of a special school, by the London County Council. The report included a list of 21 crafts which could be offered.

2. See London County Council Minutes of Proceedings, (1911) pp.269-270 and Report by the Education Officer, London County Council, Eight Years of Technical Education and Continuation Schools (Mostly evening work), Dec. 1912. Quoted by Gronberg, T,. William Lethaby: Architecture, Design and Education London: Lund Humphries (1984). p.49

3. Crane, W,. An Artist's Reminiscences London: Methuen (1907) p.300

4. ED23/64 Letter of appointment to Spencer from Board of Education. 15.01.1900.

5. The Report of the Departmental Committee of the Board of Education on the Royal College of Art London: HMSO (1911) p.6 This is the opinion of Ogilvie, Principal Assistant Secretary.

6. Lethaby divided the Central School into schools of Silversmithing and Metalwork, Bookbinding and Bookproduction, Cabinetwork and Textiles, Modelling and Carving.

7. ED24/56A Memorandum on the Royal College of Art prepared by the Council of Art and Submitted to the Board of Education. 1900. p.5

8. Brown, F.P., South Kensington and Its Art Training London: Longmans Green (1912) p.52 Brown was the headmaster of Richmond School of Art, Surrey and previously was the Head of Department at London County Council's Norwood Technical Institute.

9. Crane, Walter., Ideal in Art: Paper, Theoretical, Practical; Critical London: George Bell (1905) p.27

10. Crane, W., Ideal in Art (1905) p.30

11. Crane, W., Ideal in Art (1905) p.44

12. Crane, W., Ideal in Art (1905) p.68

13. The Artist May-August 1898 p.121

14. Gronberg,T., William Lethaby and the Central School of Arts and Crafts. William Lethaby : Architecture, Design and Education London: Lund Humphries (1984) p.23

15. Lethaby, W.R., Lecture on Modern Design London (1901)

16. Lethaby, W.R., Encyclopedia Britannica London 1911 p.95

17. ED24/87 Day to Sir Robert Morant of the Board of Education 02.03.1910.

18. Lethaby, W.R., 'Art and Workmanship' Imprint January 1913. This was reprinted by the Design and Industries Committee, London, 1915.

19. Quoted by Plummer, R.,. Nothing Need Be Ugly London: Design and Industries Association (1985) p.3

20. Held at the Whitechapel Gallery Design and Workmanship in Print consisted of commercial work, and included examples from private presses, posters by Frank Brangwyn and Toulouse-Lautrec and Curwin Westminster and Baynard presses. The exhibition then travelled to art galleries in Liverpool, Leicester, Leeds, Edinburgh and other towns.

21. Lethaby, W.R., The Studio special Autumn number 1916 p.20

22. Ashbee, C.R., Should We Stop Teaching Art London: Batsford (1911).

23. Reginald Blomfield in an opening speech to the National Society of Art Masters, meeting held at South Kensington, 26.07.12. Quoted in Brown, F.P., South Kensington and Its Art Training London: Longmans Green (1912) p.28

26. Brown, F.P., South Kensington and Its Art Training London: Longmans Green (1912) p.28

Ex-Students of the RCA
Teachers/designers etc 299 | Not Known 230 | total 459 |
Actual 402 | 57 | 459

	Actual	Board of Education figures
Full time Teachers	147	126
Teachers also doing trade work	137	26
Exhibitioners in 1909 not teaching	102	7
Artists and Sculptors	11	6
Not known	57	230

Total	459	459

25. Walter Crane, in September 1912, quoted in Brown, F.P., South Kensington and Its Art Training London: Longmans Green (1912) p.29

26. Walter Crane letter State Aided Art Education in England The Times 28.07.12. This was in reply to Blomfield's speech to the National Society of Art Masters.

27. Walter Crane letter State Aided Art Education in England The Times 28.07.12.

28. See Macdonald, S., History and Philosophy of Art Education London: University of London Press (1970) p.304 The Studio annually reported on the exhibition of the students' work submitted to the National Competition held at South Kensington.

29. ED24/1595 13.01.20. W.N.Davies.

30. ED23/183 Selby-Bigge to Secretary of the Treasury.

31. ED24/1595 Davis to Secretary of the Treasury 28.05.20.

32. ED24/2595 Davis to Secretary 04.05.20.
33. Cowdell, T. P., Royal Academy 1918-1930 London University PhD. Thesis, Unpublished (1980). Also ED24/1595 16.06.20. Davies.
34. ED24/1595 Davies to Ainsworth 25.05.20.
35. ED23/183 Selby-Bigge to Treasury 28.05.20.
36. ED24/1595 Rothenstein to Fisher 08.06.20.
37. Rothenstein, W., Since Fifty London: Faber & Faber (1939) p.24 Barnett Freedman and Albert Houthuesen were such cases.
38. Rothenstein, W., Men and Memories London: Faber & Faber (1935) p.366
39. Rothenstein, W., Since Fifty London: Faber & Faber (1939) p.21
40. Rothenstein, W., Since Fifty London: Faber & Faber (1939) p38
41. Rothenstein, W., Since Fifty London: Faber & Faber (1939) p.153 and replies to student questionnaire.
42. The NEAC exhibitors were the Principal and Professor of Painting, William Rothenstein, Allen Gwynne Jones, Gilbert Spencer, E C Alson, Randolph Schwarbe, Cyril Mahony, Rodney J Burne, Percy Horton, A E Sorrell, non members were: William Thomas Monnington, A K Lawrence, Barnett Freedman, Francis Helps, and the Professor of Engraving, Robert Austin. Of the fourteen Painting School

staff, six were past students of the College and only five were not members of the NEAC.

43. Moore was already involved with work at Chelsea School of Art and ready for a change. See Paker, W., Henry Moore London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson (1985) p.94

44. see Bliss, D.P., Edward Bawden Surrey (1979)

45. See Appendix C Table B: Number of Diplomates by Subject Area, and Table C: Number of Diplomates by Gender.

46. ED24/1595 08.10.29 Pease, President of the Board of Education to Cabinet.

47. 1929 Royal Commission of National Museums and Galleries. Final Report part I HMSO Recommendation 14 p.73

48. ED24/1596 Departmental Committee of the Board of Education 1929 17.12.29.

49. ED24/1596 Secretary Board of Education to Rothenstein 02.10.34.

50. ED23/555 Rothenstein to Secretary Board of Education. 20.10.34.

51. ED23/555 Rothenstein to President of the Board of Education 14.11.34.

52. ED23/555 Internal Memorandum from Pelham 22.10.34.

53. Wainwright, S.B., 'British Industries Fair' Commercial Artist London: The Studio January to June 1927 p.146.

54. Editorial on 'Education' Commercial Artist (London: The Studio) Vol V No 26 August (1928) p.43

55. Harold W.Sanderson of A.Sanderson & Sons Ltd, 'Art Schools Exist for the Manufacturer'. Account of a paper read before the Royal Society of Arts 13.12.1933. Art and Industry London: The Studio (1934) pp.44-51 This paper noted that during 1930-32 there were 58,700 students at art schools, of which some 29,261 (50%) students came from elementary schools and 29,439 from other types of schools. Sanderson divided art into the three areas of 'picture painting and book illustration', commercial art, and industrial art. The art school at Burslem was singled out for attention, as its Headmaster, Gordon Forsyth managed to achieve 100% employment of his students in the local pottery industry, although discussions with E.M.O'R Dickey, (the Staff Inspector for the Board of Education) and Mr. R.R.Tomlinson(ARCA) of the London County Council, Sanderson had successfully forged links with Hammersmith, Ealing and Willesden art schools.

56. Gloag, John., Industrial Art Explained London: Allen and Unwin (1934) p.30. It should be noted that Gloag was himself a designer of exhibitions such as 'Tudor exhibition pavillions'.

57. Gloag, J., Industrial Art Explained London: Allen and Unwin (1934) p.29.

58. Gloag, J., Industrial Art Explained London: Allen and Unwin (1934) p.76-77.

59. Holme, Geoffrey., Industrial Design and the Future London: The Studio (1934) p73. Other comments were from Josiah Wedgwood, Lord Trent of Boots Ltd, Frank Lloyd Wright and Serge Chermayeff.

60. Walter Gropius's book The New Architecture and the Bauhaus was to be published in England the following year, 1935, with an introduction by Frank Pick.

61. The evidence for this memorandum had been organised by Harold Stabler, a friend of Frank Pick. Both Pick and Stabler favoured the introduction of Bauhaus training, where a system of manual training was linked to a variety of materials, with the design process concentrating on the product, and its mass production (rather than on appearance and material). Read emphasised the need for the same form of training in his book.

62. Read, Herbert., Art and Industry London: Faber and Faber (1934) p.163

63. Rt.Hon. Lord Eustace Percy, M.P. The Schools at Work London: The National Union of Teachers (1934)

64. Read, Herbert 'Novelism at the Royal Academy' Architectural Review LXXVII No.459 February (1935) pp.45-50

65. There was widespread criticism of the Exhibition. By the 9th of January, a letter to The Times complained that the exhibits were mainly by individual craftsmen and not products of mass machine production. Other complaints were on the high cost of the exhibits (although the exhibition did include utilitarian items), the vulgarity of design, the inclusion of leather work, the lack of explanations of the relations of the machine to mass production, and the committee selection process which had repeated the mistakes of the Great Exhibition of 1851. See: Marginalia Architectural Review LXXVII No.460 March 1935 pp.131-2 reprinted the main reviews of the exhibition from The Times, The Spectator, The Listener, The New Statesman, Design for Today The Builder and The Studio. One item

selected for disdain was a nursery dresser design by Amrose Heal with a white china service designed by Albert Rutherston.

66. See de La Valette, John., The Conquest of Ugliness London: Methuen (1935) a collection of contemporary views on the place of art in industry. Contributors included Sir William Llewellyn, John A Milne, Gordon Russell, Harold Curwin, Gordon M.Forsyth, ARCA principal of Stoke on Trent Schools of Art.

67. ED23/798 Minutes of the Council of the Royal College of Art January 1937.

68. Purvis, Tom., 'How Artists Should be Trained for Industry' Art and Industry London: The Studio (January to June 1937) p116-119.

69. 'Around and About' Art and Industry London: The Studio Vol 24 (January to June 1938) p.158.

70. 'Report of the Art Education Committee' Journal of the Royal Society of Arts London: RSA (28 May 1943) pp.331-342.

71. 1943 also saw the publication of Read's new book Education Through Art (London: Faber) and Norbut Dutton's Plan for a School of Technolgoical Design (London: Staple House) which gave detailed proposals for a school with production facilities.

72. ED23/798 E.M.O'R Dickey, Ministry of Education on Weir Report 03.06.44.

73. The membership of the Council of Industrial Design included Hugh Dalton, as Chairman, the textile industrialist, Sir Thomas Barlow, and S.C.Leslie, a

businessman, and an official at the Home Office, who became its first Director. Leslie acted as an intermediary between the Council and the Board of Trade. In 1947 Leslie was succeeded by Gordon Russell. Robin Darwin when he became Principal at the Royal College of Art, attempted a coup in which the CoID would become part of a newly independent College.

74. The Visual Arts Oxford: Oxford University Press (1946) p.86. This was published on behalf of The Arts Enquiry by Political and Economic Planning, an independent research organisation sponsored by the Dartington Hall Trustees.

75. Rab Butler to E.M.O'R.Dickey 04.12.1944.

76. See R.V.Darwin in Design '46 the Council for Industrial Design's publication relating to the Britain Can Make It exhibition: 'the man who designs a refrigerator or a sewing machine may be quite a different sort of person from the designer of, say, a wallpaper, and he will need different training.'

77. The craft areas were Stained Glass, Silversmithing and Jewellery, Ceramics, Textile Design and Theatre Design.

78. Ministry of Education Report of the Committee on Art Examinations London: H.M.S.O. (1948) This Committee noted there were four fields of future employment for art students: painting and sculpture, design for illustration and advertising, design for industry and teaching. Although this Committee included a member of the Royal Academy and the Royal Institute of British Architects, the Royal College of Art was not included. This Committee recommended that in the future: art schools should devise their own 'courses of study' on which examinations should be based, that art school teachers should participate

directly in the examination of their students, and that a National Committee of fifteen members should be established to monitor the national standards.

79. See Appendix C Applying to the Royal College of Art section. From the 1930s, prior to entering the College, students had to present evidence to the Board of Education of enough financial funding to enable completion of their course. This was challenged as being a method of social exclusion.

80. The results of the Questionnaire on the Royal College of Art indicates that there was a higher number of male students, with a gradual increase in the number of female students. (1900-1930, 33 male to 17 female, 1931-1940, 29 male to 21 female, 1941-1950, 24 male to 26 female.) However, analysis of the graduation lists would indicate a far higher proportion of female students, notably in the Design School e.g. in 1931, of the 54 students who graduated in Design, only 15 were male. This is compared with the 24 Painting School graduates of which 19 were male. For further information see Appendix C Table B: Number of the Diplomates by Subject Area, and Table C: Number of Diplomates by Gender.D